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Workplace Bullying in the Arts

When Creative becomes Coercive

Anne-Marie Quigg

A thesis submitted to City University, London
as part of the requirements for the award of the degree of PhD.

Department of Cultural Policy and Management

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Declaration

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Anne-Marie Quigg

Anne-Marie Quigg
Workplace Bullying in the Arts:
When Creative becomes Coercive

Abstract

The original research carried out in a range of arts organisations in the UK included employees at every level within both commercial and subsidised performing arts organisations in England, Scotland and Northern Ireland. It demonstrates that bullying in UK performing arts organisations is common and increasing in frequency: it is damaging, oppressive and unacceptable. Clear evidence is presented of the failure of management satisfactorily to address bullying: some arts workers tolerate intimidating behaviour by powerful managers because they believe in, and are committed to, the Arts.

Among managers, the notion of *the arts as vocation* persists. The widespread perception is that arts organisations work outside the rules and limitations of the ordinary milieu, choosing to work in theatres and arts centres rather than in offices, factories and shops, and that the arts are *different* and exempt from *normal* rules and regulations.

The research found that many aspects of working in the performing arts are not peculiar to the profession, they occur in other employment sectors and are more likely to be characteristic of the times in which we live, than specific to the sector in which we work. In assessing workplace stressors, it is the response of the organisation, alongside the individual response, that determines negative stress levels. The apportionment of responsibility for successful resolution of negative behaviours within arts organisations is examined.

The need to develop suitable policies for dealing with bullying is highlighted. The nature of the behaviour, its effects on individuals and organisations and the role of the perpetrator are outlined. The experience of, and steps taken by, other countries are examined, notably Australia, Canada, France, Sweden and the United States where the profile of bullying behaviour continues to be featured regularly in the press and media, although not yet in the performing arts. (297)

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 HYPOTHESIS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Bullying is a set or series of behaviours, recurring regularly, which results in one person or body regularly intimidating and oppressing another. Whilst it is perhaps most familiar as a feature of childhood and of the school playground, workplace bullying has become increasingly common and more frequently reported by the press and media. Adult bullying is destructive conduct that can have a devastating effect on individuals and on the workplace. The ramifications go beyond the personal interconnection between perpetrator and target.

One individual can bully another and two or more people can co-operate to persecute a target. This target is often a subordinate or a vulnerable peer and, as the focus of the negative behaviour, is put under extreme duress, which has detrimental and sometimes damaging consequences. Often, colleagues who witness bullying behaviour are adversely affected too.

When an organisation bullies its workforce via employment terms and conditions, often workers are not, or feel they are not, empowered to object. Objections are frequently dismissed, apparently without reasonable consideration, and employees perceive that they are being coerced.

In all cases, whether bullying takes place at an individual, group or corporate level, the results are that the efficiency and effectiveness of whole departments can suffer, organisational performance can slump and sectors where bullying is known to be rife earn unfavourable reputations. The status of entire professions can be badly damaged.

Workplace bullying has been identified and investigated by researchers in a range of disciplines and fields, including the armed forces, the police, prisons, further and higher education, the church and the health services. The research into the performing arts in this thesis provides new information. For the first time, the extent of bullying behaviour within arts organisations is examined, and the elements that feature in the creative and the coercive are juxtaposed. No previous study of workplace bullying in the arts has taken place in the UK apart from the inclusion of a single London dance company among selected employers in a study of workplace bullying across a number of employment sectors in the UK (Hoel, Cooper & Faragher, 2001). To date (2006), no evidence has come to light of such research having taken place elsewhere. There has been a great deal written about bullying in schools, in the UK and elsewhere, for example Olweus (1993), Colvin (1998) and a comprehensive overview in Smith & Sprague (2003).

The research originated because of personal experience of bullying, including witnessing bullying behaviour in a number of different arts organisations. As a result, the fundamental guiding question was whether the behaviour represented isolated, rare occurrences in specific creative environments or whether, as was suspected, it was indicative of a more widespread problem in the arts and cultural sector. In the researcher's experience, people working in the arts value creativity per se and most arts managers like to think of themselves as taking an inventive approach to resolving the many organisational and operational issues commonly encountered.

The Oxford English Dictionary Online (2006) defines the adjective *creative* as

> "a. Having the quality of creating, given to creating; of or pertaining to creation; originative.
>
> b. Spec. of literature and art, thus also of a writer or artist: inventive (cf. INVENTION 3b), imaginative; exhibiting imagination as well as intellect, and thus differentiated from the merely critical, 'academic', journalistic, professional, mechanical, etc., in literary or artistic production. So creative writing, such writing; also freq. in the U.S. as a course of study."

Whilst still extant in respect of the production of artworks, in today's management theory the notion of *organisational creativity* has a different meaning: it is a highly valued concept that has excited the imagination of employers across industrial, business and non-profit sectors. It may be understood as an organisation's ability to innovate, by creating

> "a valuable, useful new product, service, idea, procedure, or process by individuals working together in a complex social system." (Woodman, Sawyer & Griffin, 1993)

So, as organisations increasingly aspire to become more creative and to capitalise on, and profit from, the benefits of creativity, researchers advocate the need to recognise that the development of creativity-friendly conditions in the working environment are part of a long-term process, rather than a short-term solution for current problems (Andriopoulos, 2001). Whilst the capability of an organisation to become more creative may start at the level of the individual, personal creativity in itself is not enough. Andriopoulos asserts that a vital, often ignored, component of creativity is that which occurs at the organisational level. He summarises five key factors that influence organisational creativity – and hence that need to be taken into consideration when managing creativity in organisational settings – namely, leadership style; organisational culture; organisational climate; resources and skills; and the structure and

systems of an organisation (Andriopoulos, 2001). These five factors play an important role in the arts research, particularly in regard to the case histories presented in Chapter 4.

In considering the hypotheses to be explored during the arts research, one unknown factor was whether the *differentiation* implicit in the use of the OED term 'merely critical' as part of the definition of creative (above), represented an outmoded reference from the nineteenth century. Alternatively, did the view that creative people are different and somehow *apart from the rest* persist among arts practitioners today? If the latter was the case, and bullying behaviour was found to exist in arts workplaces, what were the reasons for and the effects of creative people becoming coercive?

The original guiding question of the arts research was beginning to change, and this became more refined and grew in several new directions during the course of the study. Gaining the worldview of a group of people is central to ethnographic research, and posing the question: "how do arts practitioners in the UK recognise and counter bullying behaviour in the workplace?" was a route to achieving an understanding of how members of a particular group perceived or understood a certain social or cultural phenomenon. To comprehend how the practice was socially constructed, a further question was added to the quest: "how is bullying behaviour regarded, understood or tolerated among arts managers in the UK?"

Modern anthropological ethnographies are studies based on long-term site-specific field research and provide ways of obtaining an in-depth look at everyday life and issues of special interest to the researcher, in the context of a particular society, history and culture (Schein, 2003). Just as these focus on one central guiding question that connect the specific area of study to larger questions about how culture works (Hall, 2001), so the central guiding question of the arts research evolved into: why do the arts tolerate (or perhaps even encourage) bullying? The connection to *larger questions about how culture works* might then be reflected both in terms of the place of the arts and the cultural industries in today's society, and in our expectations of those managing human resources. Guiding questions can encode within them larger questions regarding culture or social practice and, by refining and reducing, the interrogation became: "do the arts encourage bullying behaviour?"

The work was to focus on areas within the arts that had not been examined previously, adding new knowledge to the field of arts management in relation to the performing arts sector. The first challenge inherent in tackling such an emotive subject was to arrive at an understanding of the overall concept of adult bullying by –

- considering terms and definitions used in other employment sectors, and outside the UK
- evaluating the nature and circumstances of bullying behaviour as reported elsewhere
- gaining an overview of workplace bullying studies in other fields
- judging how/whether findings from these studies are relevant to the arts

Having established relevance and commonality of interest, the research then needed to test responses to the concept of bullying behaviour in arts organisations by –

- sampling bullying as experienced by individual arts workers, arts managers and arts organisations
- considering the multiplicity of views on bullying in the arts in order to ascertain where further data could and should be gathered

The feedback from the initial Pilot Studies (2000: Managers and 2001: Website) highlighted specific issues for bullying in the arts –

- managers' lack of training in human resources issues
- the inadequacy of complaints procedures
- the extent to which responsibility for institutional bullying is acknowledged and acted upon by arts management
- the assertion by management that working in the arts is different, and that this necessitates different terms and conditions

Taking into account the findings from the Pilot Studies, these issues enabled the design of a research methodology that –

- identified further investigative procedures and source material appropriate to the arts
- incorporated quantitative and qualitative analyses, in order to gather empirical evidence as well as to gauge and record perceptions
- ensured that the approach was objective and fair to all participants

Therefore, the main study sought to –

- establish the extent to which bullying is taking place in arts workplaces between individuals and on a corporate level
- test whether bullying was based on 'personal' attributes, such as age, gender, race, disability and/or on 'professional' attributes, such as length of service, area of work, type of post, status, geographical location
- initiate a description of the psychological profile of the arts bully
- examine factors in the arts environment which might contribute to corporate bullying behaviour, such as hours of work and rates of pay

In evaluating the results, the aim was to –

- consider whether the arts working environment is particularly conducive to the encouragement and tolerance of bullying behaviour
- identify indicators for ways to eradicate or to mitigate against bullying, such as workplace policies, resources for support, action by trades unions and legislation

The issue of workplace bullying has been investigated by a growing body of researchers, for example Adams (1992); Randall (1997); Rayner, Hoel & Cooper (2002); Lewis (2002) and the predicament of bullying targets has been exposed by champions seeking to give prominence to the issue, for example Field (1996; 1999; 2001); Wheatley (1999). Cases of adult bullying behaviour have resulted in court cases, involving large sums of money (Bowers, 2002) and are making headlines, particularly where high-profile people or organisations are involved – such as the disclosure of bullying behaviour by television presenter Esther Rantzen, which received national publicity in 2006. Trades unions and employers' organisations are drawing attention to the issue, for example TUC (1999); Unison (2003); MSF-Amicus (2005); BECTU (2005); CIPD (2006), and against this background of validated research, confessional interviews and headline-grabbing expensive courtroom battles, workplace bullying is fast becoming of interest in many employment sectors.

The body of available knowledge is constantly growing, and as the complexity of the problem and its implications become more apparent, a multi-disciplinary approach is frequently being taken and evaluation is becoming increasingly sophisticated. Research into workplace bullying now incorporates elements of psychology (Olweus, 1993; Cooper & Hoel, 2000; Einarsen, 1999), sociology (Lewis, 2002) and social anthropology (Edgar & Russell, 1998) as well as

theories of management and organisational development (Rayner, 1999; Ishmael & Alemoru, 1999). How, then, does the performing arts workplace compare to other workplaces, in terms of the extent of bullying behaviour? If bullying exists, how frequently is it occurring and to whom? To what extent does it vary across comparators, such as: geographical location; areas of work; types of post; line management responsibilities; length of service; gender; age; ethnic origin; experience of or access to training; size of organisation and sectors of the arts?

The research literature tells us that bullying is destructive and damaging (Leymann, 1996; Wilkie, 1996; Field, 1999; McKeown & Whiteley, 2002). What, then, is bullying behaviour doing to individuals working in the arts and to arts organisations? Is there an impact on physical health and/or mental welfare? What is the extent of permanent damage and how does it affect the professional and personal development of individuals? Does bullying have an economic impact on organisations? Does it mar organisational effectiveness, morale, attraction and retention of employees, or reputation? The arts sector mainly comprises smaller organisations and the damaging nature of workplace bullying might prove to be particularly hazardous in terms of personal and organisational welfare.

1.1.1 Research Plan Summary

In order to test the hypotheses, the stratagem for the first part of the research, Pilot Study 1 (2000: Managers), was to discover whether those who manage arts and cultural organisations were aware of bullying in the workplace and, if so, what their attitudes were to bullying and to what extent it was tolerated or ignored. This research considered the extent to which theatre managers had been personally involved in bullying and the level of training in human resources management they had received. Following on from this, Pilot Study 2 (2001: Website) and a range of case histories compared and contrasted the experiences of bullying of arts workers generally. Finally, the major study in conjunction with the Broadcasting Entertainment Cinematograph & Theatre Union, BECTU, involved a wide range of employees in theatres and arts centres in the UK, including managers, and investigated whether arts organisations were guilty of corporate bullying because of unfair terms and conditions, such as working hours, rates of pay, attention to employee welfare, policies and organisational culture. This was particularly relevant in light of the fact that managers in Pilot Study 1 considered some of the sectoral working terms and conditions to be *traditional*, with all that this implies. Overall, the aims were to explore what factors determine the resonance of bullying behaviour in an arts context; to establish what level of organisational responsibility is implied; to examine how management in arts organisations deals with individual perpetrators; to consider this in the context of the corporate culture of the arts sector; and to determine what action can be taken to prevent, and to stop, bullying behaviour in the arts workplace.

1.2 DEFINITION OF TERMS

1.2.1 Bullying

Bullying is also known as mobbing, victimisation or *le harcèlement moral* (moral or psychological harassment). The terms most commonly employed among research groups, they are almost, although not entirely, interchangeable. They refer to destructive, harmful and intimidating behaviour among schoolchildren, in places of work and in militarised organisations. Where the intimidation happens plays a part in determining the terminology used in different parts of the world.

In 1996 Swedish psychologist Heinz Leymann noted that researchers in Australia and England used the term *bullying* to refer to intimidating behaviour in all three locations: schools, the workplace and in military establishments, whereas elsewhere in Europe and the USA, *bullying* referred only to school settings and *mobbing* was used for workplaces. In France and Canada the terms *le harcèlement moral* and *le harcèlement psychologique* place special emphasis on attacks on the integrity of the individual and the psyche. Other common terms include *psychological terrorisation* and *horizontal violence*.

The earliest publications about bullying in schools appeared in Scandinavia in the early 1970s. Professor Dan Olweus, Research Centre for Health Promotion, University of Bergen, Norway carried out an extensive, long-term research project on bullying in Sweden in 1970. In 1997–1999, he led a group in a substantial study that introduced the widely respected Olweus (anti-bullying) programme to schools in Norway. Publications about mobbing in workplaces appeared over a decade after the 1970 study in Sweden (Gustavsson & Leymann, 1984). Generally, mobbing was considered to have connotations of mental and emotional harassment, whereas bullying was held to include a strong element of physical coercion, which was always included in definitions.

Today, in the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, growing awareness about bullying behaviour in the workplace has led to the term becoming synonymous with the more covert and subtle intimidation among adults, traditionally associated with mobbing. Consider, for example, the definition from the Dignity at Work Act, the employment legislation bill first introduced in 1997, which then ran out of parliamentary time.

Bullying is described as

1.2.1.1 behaviour on more than one occasion which is offensive, abusive, malicious, insulting or intimidating

1.2.1.2 unjustified criticism on more than one occasion

1.2.1.3 punishment imposed without reasonable justification, or

1.2.1.4 changes in the duties or responsibilities of the employee to the employee's detriment without reasonable justification.

The definition does not contain any references to physical threats specifically; it encompasses behaviour between individual adults and also between employers, and their representatives, and employees. It provides greater clarity for individuals using employment tribunals to seek redress against bullying (Ball, 1998) and is the term most commonly used in the UK by

(a) researchers, for example Adams (1992), Rayner (1997), Wheatley (1999)

(b) campaigning organisations, for example the Dignity at work Partnership – a partnership Fund Project jointly funded by Amicus and the Department for Trade and Industry

(c) the media (The Guardian (Woodward, 2006), The Times (*Work bullies face punishment*, 2006), The Independent (Colley, 2006), The BBC (Web pages, 2006).

It proved to be appropriate for the present investigative research into performing arts organisations in the UK. Notwithstanding this, however, in the course of the research many respondents expressed the view that, as organisations owe a duty of care to their employees, then the definition of corporate bullying (as at 1.2.1.4) should include protection for employees from oppressive working conditions, whether these are introduced as a result of changes to working practices or are already established as the norm. This is further explored at the end of this section in relation to the Private Bill introduced in France in December 1999.

1.2.2 Harassment

Harassment is not an isolated incident of conflict in the workplace and several factors characterise it: frequency, period of time involved and severity of the effects on the target(s) of the behaviour. The present arts research indicates that there is another factor whose existence is not yet entirely proven: intent. Some researchers indicate that, during and following confrontation about their actions, perpetrators of mobbing or bullying behaviour claim to be largely unaware that they are persecuting others, and that this is understandable (Vartia-Väänänen, 2003). Other evidence suggests that bullies engage in campaigns of deliberate, degrading actions whose effects are calculated and even eagerly anticipated (Field, 1996; Neuman & Baron 1997).

Moral harassment, or *l'harcèlement moral*, is a non-status based form of workplace harassment recognised by the laws of several European Union (EU) countries and one of the most rapidly emerging workplace violence complaints. Although there is no internationally accepted definition of moral harassment, it may be understood generally as repeated, non-physical acts of harassment at the workplace, occurring over a significant time period, that have a humiliating effect on the victim.

In many European countries one or more independent groups combine the functions of lobbying for changes to legislation and providing support, advice and assistance to victims of bullying. One such example is *Harcèlement Moral Stop* (HMS) in France, which uses a definition for moral harassment by psychiatrist Marie-France Hirigoyen, who has raised the profile of the bullying issue in France through her books about psychological stress in the workplace (Hirigoyen, 1998). My translation of this is as follows:

"Abusive conduct by a superior or colleague, aimed at one or more persons over a period of time and carried out repeatedly and systematically, which is characterised by behaviour, actions, words and/or writing, and constitutes a serious attack on the personality and psychic integrity, deliberately degrading employment conditions, and making it impossible for those persons to continue working."[1]

Hirigoyen's definition begins by describing workplace bullying at an individual level, where a higher-ranking employee, or a peer, engages in one or more of a number of harassing activities over a period of time. These are not limited to derogatory remarks or verbal threats, which can take place in private or in front of an audience, for example in meetings, rehearsals or other public or group situations. The definition extends beyond deeds and gestures, which might take place on a one-to-one basis or *behind someone's back* but in front of colleagues. The inclusion of the written word acknowledges that bullying can take place at a remove from a specific point in time and may not always involve face-to-face contact. In terms of using the written word, the element of personal attack is key: so that an evenhanded and balanced report about an employee's sub-standard work is not bullying, however an unfair attack which disparages them is; an accurate appraisal noting poor performance is not bullying, however an unjustly negative evaluation is; a terse letter or electronic communication is not necessarily intimidation per se, however an abusive or offensive tone in a letter or an email, especially when this is a frequent occurrence or one of a range of abusive behaviours employed, is bullying.

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[1] *Original text*: Toute conduite abusive, de tout supérieur hiérarchique ou collègue, qui pendant une durée certaine se manifeste par des comportements, des actes, des paroles, des écrits, répétés, visant systématiquement la (les) les même(s) personne(s), portant ainsi gravement atteinte à sa personnalité, son intégrité psychique, tendant à rendre impossible le maintien de son emploi en dégradant volontairement ses conditions de travail.

Here the reference to intent is clear: the conscious aim of the action is to pollute the working environment so that it becomes unbearable, and the situation thereby becomes untenable for the target; s/he cannot continue working. It is as if the perpetrator sets out deliberately to unnerve and eventually *destroy* the target, at least in terms of their ability to continue working in the same place and/or at the same level. The intention is to undermine and to drive out. These are the characteristics of the *serial bully,* one of twelve types of bullying described on the website of the late Tim Field (see page 15). A serial bully identifies a target and proceeds to systematically bully that person until they are forced to move on, either to another role in an organisation or to another workplace altogether. The serial bully then selects another target and the cycle of bullying behaviour begins all over again.

A further section of the definition used by HMS broadens the behaviour to include the wider workplace. My translation of this is as follows:

> "Any abusive behaviour, particularly words, actions, gestures and/or writing, which attacks the personality, dignity or the physical or psychological integrity of a person, endangering their employment or degrading the social climate of the workplace."[2]

As before, weight is given to the fact that bullying behaviour can take many forms. Here there is slightly more emphasis on the effects of conduct which assaults self-esteem or is threatening to the person. In addition to the notion that, in the workplace, it is vital to safeguard the human body from attack, the importance of protecting the intellectual and emotional wellbeing of an individual is recognised. Also acknowledged are the consequences of bullying behaviour for the target's ability to continue to work effectively. This view is backed up by this research in the arts as, notably in the pilot studies and the case histories, respondents reported the results of bullying behaviour to include increased levels of stress, repeated and worsening health problems, including mental health issues, frequent absenteeism and, in many cases, employees eventually leaving their place of employment. On some occasions respondents became too ill to work at all, or took an extended period of time to recover sufficiently to work again.

Reference is made to the degradation of the wider social climate in the workplace. The arts research in theatres and arts centres indicates that over 50% of respondents had been told of a bullying incident by a colleague, and over 46% had witnessed bullying. This suggests that the issue is being widely discussed and witnessed in performing arts workplaces, and is consistent with the assertion that arts workplaces where bullying is taking place develop a *poor*

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[2] *Original text*: Toute conduite abusive qui se manifeste notamment par des comportements, des paroles, des actes, des gestes, des écrits, pouvant porter atteinte à la personnalité, à la dignité ou à l'intégrité physique ou psychologique d'une personne, mettant en péril l'emploi de celle-ci ou dégradant le climat social.

atmosphere, as related by the case histories featured in Chapter 4, particularly *A Private Museum, A Performing Arts Organisation, A Visual Arts Organisation* and *A Creative Industry.*

This deterioration in the employment environment is characterised by intensely strained working relationships in places where bullying is known to be happening, particularly where it is conducted in a surreptitious way. Accounts also report an ambience in the workplace that is patently tense and uncomfortable, as a result of workers *tiptoeing* around colleagues and/or superiors whose tempers are known to flare and where frequently recurring, unjustified public abuse is a feature of the bullying behaviour experienced. In repeated cases, the behaviour of the bully oscillates between extremes: appearing friendly and jovial on one occasion, yet instantaneously capable of switching to hostile and antisocial responses. This can happen in relation to one individual only, or within the workplace as a whole. In both cases, after a number of these *Jekyll and Hyde*[3] experiences, targets and witnesses become wary of the *apparently positive* side of the bully, and the workplace atmosphere settles permanently into an unpleasant one in which they are constantly wary. Many respondents report that their own behaviour around the bully becomes atypically circumspect, increasing their personal stress levels, and adding another layer of discomfort and tension to the already strained working environment.

In a similar vein to the fourth part of the definition used in the UK 1997 Dignity at Work Act (1.2.1.4), HMS quotes a private bill introduced in France in December 1999, which I have translated as:

> "Moral harassment at work is: persecution by deliberate disadvantageous changes to workplace terms and conditions." *Private Bill, 14 December 1999* [4]

According to this Private Bill, and in the context of a situation where bullying is alleged, the intentional action by an employer or manager which changes workplace terms and conditions in such a way as to reduce the employee's chance of success or effectiveness, is held to be corporate bullying. This law was updated in January 2003 to clarify that the onus is on an employer accused of moral harassment to prove that this is not the case, and to introduce the potential for mediation procedures.

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[3] Robert Louis Stevenson wrote the novel The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde in 1886. The work addresses the themes of right and wrong, good and evil, joy and despair and is told from the point of view of a lawyer and friend (John Utterson) to the brilliant scientist Dr Jekyll, who is discovered to have a cruel and murderous alter ego, Mr Hyde. In the story, the Jekyll/Hyde character oscillates between the two extremes, until the inevitable destruction of both. Also cited by Field (1996) p 61.

[4] *Original text*: Le harcèlement moral au travail est un "harcèlement par la dégradation délibérée des conditions de travail". (Proposition de loi du 14 décembre 1999)

Terms and conditions are normally taken to refer to rates of pay, hours of work and entitlement to leave. However, they also apply to status, job title, location, physical environment and quality of working environment, including the social climate of the workplace (Hirigoyen, 2000). In this light, the action of a manager, a board of directors or any governing body, in altering any of these elements to the detriment of an employee, may be judged oppressive behaviour: the perpetrator is deliberately creating difficulties for the employee, with the intention of increasing that person's chance of failure in the workplace. Several of the case histories in this performing arts research reflect instances of such detrimental changes. Actions of this type are recognisable as part of a pattern of bullying behaviour, and usually an individual perpetrator can be readily identified.

For the purposes of assigning responsibility to corporate groups, however, this definition is inadequate. There are two variables that create difficulties: the elements of intent and change. When detrimental changes are not deliberate, this could be termed creating disadvantage without intent. One example would be where an employee moves to work with a new colleague or superior, perhaps as a result of a promotion, and as a result becomes the target of a bully. If we assume there was no intent on the part of management thus to degrade the employee's working conditions, then as the element of intent is absent, this bill would imply that management cannot be held responsible. A further example might affect the entire workforce. If management were to introduce a new scheme into the workplace, performance-related pay for example, this might be done with the declared intention of improving the lot of employees. Should this not be the case, however, the terms of the private bill indicate that management could not be held to account. The research findings indicate that some organisations display intentionality and some do not.

The second element is change: this could be called disadvantage dictated by organisational culture, or by custom and practice. One example would be where an employee new to an organisation encounters a working environment where oppressive practices have become the established norm. Management has not introduced any changes, and the fact that terms and conditions might be held to be disadvantageous per se, is not taken into account in this bill as it stands. A more complete definition, therefore, would read:

Moral harassment at work is: persecution by deliberate disadvantageous changes to workplace terms and conditions, or by failure to protect employees from maltreatment.

1.2.3 Mobbing

In 1996 Leymann noted that mobbing was used in the USA and in Europe (Sweden, Germany, Italy and elsewhere) for bullying in workplaces, however in the UK at least the term is more likely to conjure up images of bullying by a *mob* or a gang. For example, in a recent UK newspaper item, a young woman claimed she had been driven to the point of mental breakdown because she was subjected to *mobbing* by four female colleagues in her workplace. The article described mobbing as

> "a non-sexual, non-racial harassment that can have serious consequences such as severe anxiety and post-traumatic stress disorder" (Asthana, 2006)

The woman was suing her former employer for £1 million, the global company Deutsche Bank Group Services founded in Berlin in 1870. It may be that her legal representative identified *mobbing* as a more suitable description of the behaviour, rather than group or gang bullying, for example, in view of the collective harassment she experienced, the resonance of which would more easily be understood by the employer. Indeed Leymann's own definition has connotations of bullying by more than one person:

> "Psychological terror or mobbing in working life involves hostile and unethical communication, which is directed in a systematic manner by one or more individuals, mainly toward one individual, who, due to mobbing, is pushed into a helpless and defenceless position and held there by means of continuing mobbing activities. These actions occur on a very frequent basis (statistical definition: at least once a week) and over a long period of time (statistical definition: at least six months' duration). Because of the high frequency and long duration of hostile behaviour, this maltreatment results in considerable mental, psychosomatic and social misery." (Leymann, 1996, p 165)

Leymann's definition expands on abuse of power by the perpetrator in terms of its effect. The terminology – *helpless*, *defenceless* – and the suggestion that it is the perpetrator who has the capacity to determine the outcome, connotes the status of victim. There has been debate among researchers, for example Leymann (1996), Field (1996), Randall (1997), about the use of these terms: that is, whether victim or target is more appropriate. This is further explored in Section 1.3.2. Leymann's establishment of a statistical timeframe for the behaviour serves to distinguish bullying from isolated occurrences in the workplace involving loss of temper or outbursts of anger. The latter are as common in arts workplaces as in any other – indeed those familiar with *artistic temperament*, which is explored in Chapter 5, might say they come with the territory.

Field's definition of bullying appears under the banner of a catchphrase repeated on every page of the extensive *Bullyonline* website, which emphasises the inadequacy and incompetence

factors he believes are associated with the personality of the bully: *Those who can, do. Those who can't, bully* (Field, 1996). It outlines the need of the perpetrator to act in a hostile way, describes how that is accomplished, explains what enables the behaviour to continue and what nourishes it.

> "Bullying is a compulsive need to displace aggression and is achieved by the expression of inadequacy (social, personal, interpersonal, behavioural, professional) by projection of that inadequacy onto others through control and subjugation (criticism, exclusion, isolation etc). Bullying is sustained by abdication of responsibility (denial, counter-accusation, pretence of victimhood) and perpetuated by a climate of fear, ignorance, indifference, silence, denial, disbelief, deception, evasion of accountability, tolerance and reward (for example, promotion) for the bully." (Field, 1999)

The research case studies provide several examples of bullies who are described as incompetent and unsociable in the workplace, and who target highly capable and popular individuals. The notion of what sustains bullying behaviour is also borne out: the absence of support in the arts workplace, in particular the lack of understanding and action on the part of management, emerges as a key factor in determining the outcome of the target's experience of bullying behaviour. Some arts managers also exhibit a 'Pontius Pilate' approach[5] – repudiating the existence of, and responsibility for, workplace bullying in their organisation – whilst at the same time removing the bully to a new location, sometimes through promotion, rather than challenging, or dealing effectively with, the situation caused by the behaviour.

1.2.4 Section Summary

Definitions of the behaviour invoke subtle and slightly different meanings depending on our cultural backgrounds, the local connotations of the terminology, the perceived balance of physical and psychological factors, the number and status of the people involved as perpetrators, and the nature of the place where the behaviour is happening. The term bullying continues to be used in the United Kingdom irrespective of the location of intimidation. The late Tim Field identified twelve types of bullying, some of which overlap in one way or another, employing qualifying prefixes for purposes of clarification, as in *serial bullying* (targeting one person after another), *pair bullying* (joint action by two perpetrators, where a sexual link is often involved) or *group or gang bullying* (bullying by more than two people).

The other types are: *pressure bullying* or *unwitting bullying* – where the stress of the moment causes behaviour to deteriorate; *organisational bullying* – often a failure to deal satisfactorily with changing circumstances; *corporate bullying* – where the employer abuses employees with impunity knowing that the law is weak and jobs are scarce; *institutional bullying* – similar to

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[5] The Roman Procurator reputed in the Bible to have 'washed his hands' of any guilt for the crucifixion of Jesus Christ.

corporate bullying and arises when bullying becomes entrenched and accepted as part of the culture; *client bullying* – employees are bullied by those they serve or employees bully their clients; *secondary bullying* – mostly unwitting bullying which people start exhibiting when there is a serial bully who causes everyone's behaviour to decline; *vicarious bullying* – two parties are encouraged to engage in adversarial interaction or conflict; *regulation bullying* – a serial bully forces their target to comply with rules, regulations, procedures or laws regardless of their appropriateness, applicability or necessity; *legal bullying* – the bringing of a vexatious legal action to control and punish a person; *residual bullying* – the bullying of all kinds that continues after the serial bully has left, having bequeathed a dysfunctional environment to those who remain; *cyber bullying or cyber stalking* – the misuse of email systems or Internet forums etc for sending aggressive flame mails. *Hierarchical bullying, peer bullying* and *upward bullying* all indicate the direction of the behaviour.

The majority of cases of workplace bullying reported to the UK National Workplace Bullying Advice Line and Bully OnLine involve an individual being bullied by their manager, and these account for around 75% of cases. Around a quarter of cases involve bullying and harassment by peers (often with the collusion of a manager either by proactive involvement or by the manager refusing to take action). A small number of cases (around 1-2%) involve the bullying of a manager by a subordinate. Serial bullies like to tap into hierarchical power, but they also generate their own power by simply choosing to bully with impunity and justifying or denying their behaviour with rationalisation, manipulation, deception or lying.

In a case of bullying of a manager by a subordinate, it is my view that as bullying is a form of violence (at the psychological and emotional level rather than the physical) it is the responsibility of the employer, not the individual manager, to deal with violence at work. It has proved useful to consider these various designations during the research, with the result that the first two, serial bullying and pair bullying, alongside corporate bullying, have been encountered most often in the performing arts workplaces and are identified in the analysis of case studies. In effect, the various terms used worldwide have more in common than not, and although interpretations may differ slightly, the word bullying has come to serve as a comprehensive and easily recognisable term which is readily understood.

1.3 THE NATURE OF BULLYING BEHAVIOUR

Bullying between individuals in the workplace is often covert. It is offensive, abusive, malicious, insulting or intimidating and occurs on more than one occasion. As noted by Leymann, the latter precludes one-off incidences of aggression or violence. The most common type of bullying encountered during the research in the arts has been the *serial bully* who picks on one

employee after another and attempts to destroy them (Field, 1999). Examples from the case studies include an instance where a serial bully, occupying a position as a *working* trustee of an arts organisation, endangered succession strategies by targeting the position of CEO, repeatedly bullying each new postholder. In another case, the *serial bully* – a senior arts manager – targeted one individual, then another and so on until a whole team was affected and collective performance and morale were damaged. This bully engaged in moral or psychological harassment, placing great emphasis on attacking the personality, dignity and the physical and psychological integrity of the targets. For two of these targets, continuing at work became untenable and they left. For the others, the social climate of the workplace deteriorated (Hirigoyen, 1998) to such an extent that staff began to conduct business furtively, engaging in *honest* discussions only via conspiratorial cliques and sub-groups. The previously harmonious organisation became characterised by fragmentation and division. The response from those at the top of the management structure, who were informed on more than one occasion of bullying behaviour and staff misgivings, was to deny and then ignore the accusations, meanwhile ensuring their own position was firmly entrenched and could not be affected adversely. Charlotte Rayner has explored this issue of *permissibility* on the part of management (Rayner, 1999, p 36) and this is further discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Pair bullying and group or gang bullying (mobbing) involves more than one perpetrator who victimise an individual until that person is pushed into a helpless and defenceless position and held there by means of continuing mobbing activities. These actions occur regularly over a period of time (Leymann, 1996). Group bullying is common among children and young people, where often a gang leader emerges surrounded by acolytes who are in thrall through admiration, fear or both. Psychologist Professor Dan Olweus describes this *core group of one or two henchmen* (Smith & Sprague, 2003) as *passive bullies*, and studies of school bullying have explored inherited cycles of violence, making links between childhood, adolescent and adult bullying:

> "A cycle of violence appears to occur in which children exhibit bullying behavior at an elementary school age, turn to more serious forms of harassment, dating abuse, and sexual abuse at high school age, and ultimately, to serious acts of violence as adults. These adults, in their own families, model the same behaviors to their children who in turn become bullies at school; thus the cycle continues." (Colvin et al, 1998)

Among arts organisations, evidence of group bullying in this sense was not prevalent, although the case studies cite instances where bullying by a perpetrator was observed by others, non-members of the organisation, who were in a position to intervene – that is, who had sufficient status or power – but did not do so. Rather than passive bullies, these external onlookers might

be defined as *accessories to bullying*, in the sense that they witnessed bullying behaviour by a colleague and chose not to take action: a variation on the permissibility issue.

Examples of pair bullying in this research include a case where two founder trustees, a married couple (consistent with the sexual link identified by Field), dominated a new performing arts organisation and were engaged in a constant internal power struggle with other founder trustees. Alongside the conflict for continuing dominance, the pair (one of whom was the Chair of the organisation) bullied the CEO, who had created and cultivated an organisational development strategy according to principles of best practice, but which would have resulted in spreading the balance of power more evenly among all the trustees. Eventually, following a breakdown as a result of the stress caused by bullying, the CEO left the organisation. The pair bullies prevailed for a short time, but eventually lost the confidence of their peers who retreated from involvement in the organisation. This case bears the hallmarks of *Founder's Syndrome* – whereby an organisation outgrows its founders – as described by Andrew Gaupp in relation to theatres in the USA (Gaupp, 1997), and this is further discussed in Chapter 5.

Corporate, organisational or institutional bullying often includes unjustified criticism and punishment, or changes in the duties or responsibilities of the employee to the employee's detriment, without reasonable grounds. It also includes unfair working terms and conditions, including unreasonably long working hours (or unreasonably short notice of a requirement to work extra hours) and inadequate rates of pay. Failure to deal satisfactorily with complaints is also a feature of a climate of corporate bullying. Trades unions representing those who work in the performing arts, like BECTU, are particularly protective of employee rights in respect of hours of work and rates of pay. Traditionally, arts workers are regarded as overworked and underpaid, not least because arts workers tend not to work *office hours* (in the UK, 9.00am to 5.00pm) because performances and exhibitions happen at evenings and weekends – the inaptly named *unsocial hours.* Often, this means that arts workers attend to some business during *office hours* and then also cover performance or exhibition requirements to work *unsocial hours*. Taken together, these are often more than the *standard* 37–40 hour week. Also, pay in the arts is recognised as being below that for comparable jobs in other industries (according to Metier, further discussed in Chapter 5). It is natural, therefore, that trades unions are concerned to protect employees from exploitative terms and conditions, and the final stage of the performing arts research sought to establish whether corporate bullying is a feature of the performing arts workplace.

The evidence gathered in Pilot Study 2 (Website), the case histories and the BECTU survey supports the existence of bullying in the performing arts. This is perpetrated by individuals, in the main by managers, and is widespread: in the major study two in every five people working in

theatres and arts centres reported being targeted by a bully. Half of the arts workforce were told of bullying by a colleague and over 46% reported witnessing bullying at work. Further, the research provides evidence of the existence of corporate bullying, where organisational culture, custom and practice forces people to comply with unfair or unreasonable working terms and conditions. The situation is accepted and excused by management on the grounds that the arts are *different*. This is further discussed in Chapter 5.

1.3.1 The effects of bullying on individuals

In 1994 the Manufacturing, Science and Finance Union in the UK (now Amicus) produced a description that emphasised the effects of bullying behaviour on the target. This widely-quoted definition was highlighted by the late Tim Field, whose independent Foundation's comprehensive website on every aspect of bullying behaviour links with, and has been the inspiration for, the creation of many other similar organisations and sites worldwide:

> "Persistent, offensive, abusive, intimidating or insulting behaviour, abuse of power or unfair penal sanctions which makes the recipient feel upset, threatened, humiliated or vulnerable, which undermines their self-confidence and which may cause them to suffer stress." (Amicus–MSF, 1994)

There is an emphasis on the perpetrator having the capacity to control and on negative behaviour being repeated, evoking a mental and emotional response from the target, with harmful effect. This performing arts research records reports of stress and stress-related illnesses, consistent with the definition, particularly from the respondents to the website (Pilot Study 2: Website) and interviewees. Stress and stress-related illnesses affect performance at work, health, emotional and mental wellbeing and home life. Recorded effects of bullying include anxiety, sleep disturbances, panic attacks, low self-esteem, protracted stress-related illnesses and loss of confidence, resulting in reduced efficiency, absenteeism and unsafe work practices. The high frequency and long duration of hostile behaviour results in considerable mental, psychosomatic and social misery (Leymann, 1996). Some people harm themselves and even take their own lives as a result of their bullying experiences (Field, 1999).

1.3.2 Victims and Targets: self-help theories and personal blame

In the field of domestic abuse and violence, dubbed *Bullying at Home* by Rathus (1996), increasingly encouragement is given to those who find themselves in abusive relationships to think of themselves as a *target*, rather than a *victim*. A typical website for those experiencing abuse within a relationship can be accessed from: http://www.youareatarget.com/ [accessed 29 April 2006]. A *target* is identified by the perpetrator, who deliberately focuses on that individual:

anyone can be chosen as a target and the implication is that the role is not self-selecting. A *victim*, on the other hand, is a sufferer, a casualty or an injured party. *Target* has connotations of objectivity, whereas *victim* suggests someone who succumbs to a situation, perhaps even playing a slightly pro-active role by failing to resist.

Is it appropriate to refer to people as *victims* of workplace bullying, with all that this implies? The term *victim* is used by several researchers, including William Wilkie who has a background in psychiatry and who focuses on understanding the responses of *victimised people*. He charts three stages of stress breakdown, beginning with free-floating anxiety, then loss of emotional control and the ability to motivate oneself, sometimes resulting in anger and aggression, and finally hypersensitivity and apparent personality change. These processes lead to specific types of behaviour in victimised people [my parentheses]:

> "[First stage] ... the bullied school child or the victimised worker may have difficulty getting off to sleep, may appear jumpy, unable to relax, and complain of the many body symptoms which accompany anxiety.
>
> [Second stage] ... the bullied school child may appear irritable and lazy. The victimised adult may not want to go to work, and perhaps on arriving home from work shouts at the family or the dog.
>
> [Third stage] ... the bullied school child begins to play alone, and the harassed worker looks for any excuse to leave the building.... The bullied school child may suddenly overreact with uncharacteristic violence towards the bully, and this behaviour may be the first that is noticed by the teacher. As a result we sometimes see the victim being wrongly labelled as a troublemaker ...
>
> In the workplace the symptoms of third stage stress breakdown may lead to inappropriately aggressive responses from the victim, with an apparent change of personality and priorities. The changed behaviour usually means the victim cannot continue in his or her job, and will be given sick leave." (Wilkie, 1996)

During the performing arts research, respondents to the website (Pilot Study 2: 2001), and those who discussed their experience of bullying during structured and semi-structured interviews, reported some of the characteristics of all three stages of behaviour exhibited by *victimised people*. Commonly, instances of persistent anxiety and insomnia were recorded, as was a dread of going to work and the tendency to snap at colleagues when there. Interestingly, some of the research in performing arts workplaces suggested that (like the bullied school child in Wilkie's example, above) it is the knee-jerk reaction against bullies that first appears on the radar (if, for *teacher*, one substitutes *management*), rather than the more covert, and therefore less high profile, bullying behaviour itself. Some of those who reported being targeted had been, or were still, on long-term sick leave. Depression, sometimes leading to mental and emotional breakdown also featured regularly in accounts of those who claimed they had been bullied. Robyn Mann, in considering psychological abuse in the workplace (moral harassment), uses

Biderman's stages of coercion to document the process that occurs between abuser and victim: a model originally created in the wake of a study of the breakdown of American soldiers due to emotional and physical torture during the Korean War. Mann has developed the model to illustrate the *Abuser's actions* and the *Victim's response* (Mann, 1996). Biderman's stages of oppression are:

Isolation

Monopolisation of perception

Induced physical and mental exhaustion

Threats

Occasional indulgences

Demonstrating 'omnipotence'

Degradation

Enforcing trivial demands

(Source: Amnesty International, 1975)

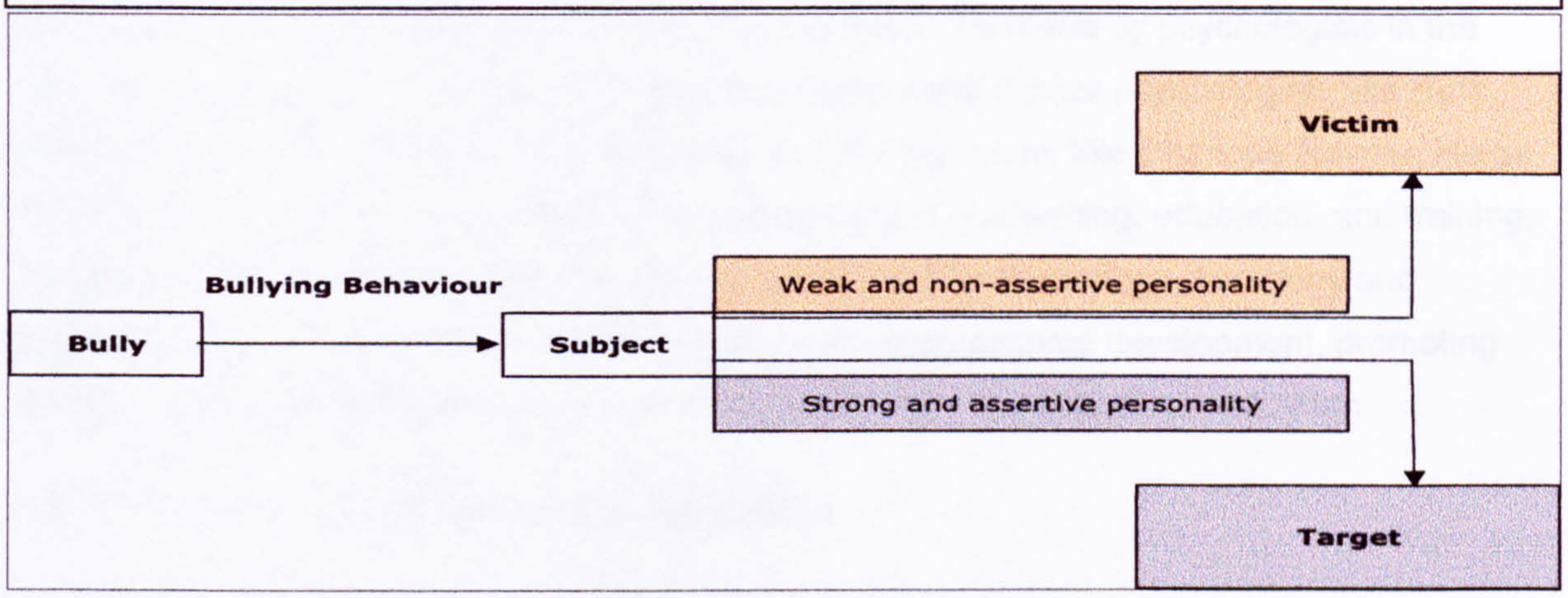
Some of the responses to these elements, as proposed by Mann, include many of the familiar indicators recorded by researchers into workplace bullying, including the *effects on victims* likened to those suffering post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) cited by Randall (1997, p 57) and the physical and emotional *effects of harassment on the individual* referenced by Ishmael (1999, pp 91 – 92). In addition to those symptoms already discussed (see 1.3.1), these include (but are not limited to): recurring unpleasant nightmares; *flashbacks* to the incidents, causing stress; poor concentration; feelings of guilt; palpitations; high blood pressure; embarrassment and pain. During this research in the performing arts, all the respondents who participated in interviews and in Pilot Study 2 (2001: Website) who stated that they had been the target of a workplace bully, without exception, reported many of these symptoms of emotional and physical stress, and other indicators like them.

The evidence suggests that *victimhood* exists, in the sense that suffering and distress on the part of the person or persons targeted is a consequence of workplace bullying. However Ishmael proposes that there are differing mindsets and behaviours for victims, who fail to use personal power and resources to counter bullying, and targets, who have internal resources but struggle to exercise them (Ishmael, 1999 pp 81 – 85). If victims lack the ability to deal successfully with the behaviour, and targets have the ability, but cannot use it, then neither *mindset* is empowered to prevent or stop the bullying behaviour. Field brings another perspective to bear in his view that the state of being a victim is temporary:

> "the state of victimhood is not a permanent one, but with insight, knowledge, enlightenment, support and encouragement, plus the desire to learn, grow and evolve, the frame of mind known as 'victim mentality' results primarily from never having learnt or been taught to withstand the unpleasant behaviours of other people." (Field, 1996 *Preface* pp xix – xx)

Do victims, therefore, suffer because they are incapable of resisting a bully, and is this a transient state resulting from lack of knowledge, experience or skill? If an individual has gained the preferred insights and attained the necessary knowledge, does this mean they will never be a victim, but only ever a target? The problem with these standpoints is that they focus exclusively on the individuals directly concerned with the behaviour, and consider the victim/target issue in isolation from the environment in which the bullying is taking place. At the dawn of research in the UK, publications of the *self-help* variety, which sometimes touched upon *working with difficult people*, implied that it was the response of an individual to negative behaviour that ultimately determined the nature of their experience and, presumably, their designation as target or victim (Walmsley, 1991). As applied to bullying behaviour this delivers a simple model, whereby a bully identifies a subject who, if they have a weak and non-assertive personality will become a victim. If the subject is *strong* they are a target, but not a victim, and presumably they will suffer less (Fig 1.1).

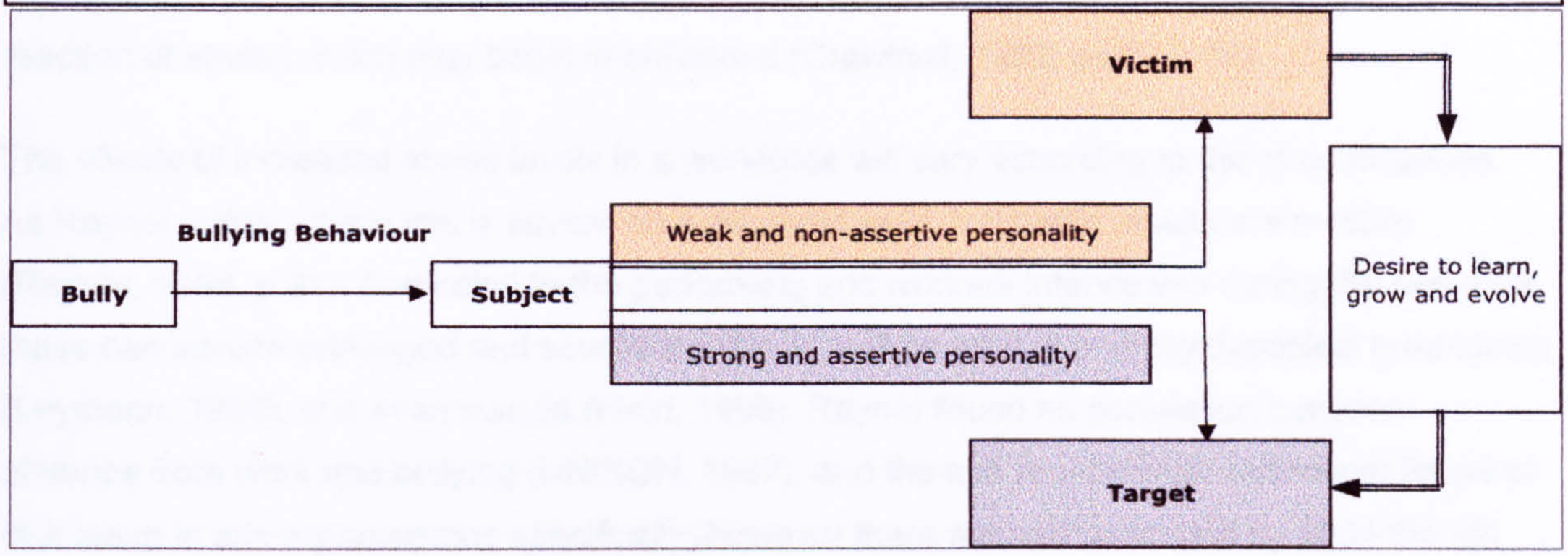
Figure 1.1: Typical *self-help* explanation of the effects of bullying behaviour (UK, early 90s)



If we adopt the 'victimhood is temporary' theory advocated by Field (1996), we arrive at another version of this model, whereby the subject becomes either a victim or a target, depending again on their response, with the added opportunity for the victim to achieve target status through personal enlightenment (Fig 1.2). In this interpretation, action to mitigate the distress caused by the bullying is taken only by the individual subjected to it. This does not prevent or stop the

bullying behaviour, and appears to offer only the subject of the behaviour an opportunity for self-improvement, and not the perpetrator.

Figure 1.2: Victimhood as a temporary state



These approaches provide relatively simplistic views of bullying behaviour, and more sophisticated models are needed to reflect the importance of the environment in which bullying is found and how and why it flourishes (Rayner, 1999, pp 34 – 36; Neilson, Pasternack & Van Nuys, 2005) and the progress of research during the last ten years. This is further examined in Chapter 6.

As researchers have learned more about the underlying complexity of bullying behaviour and its implications, increasingly a multidisciplinary approach is being applied to the issue. Important contributions to the growing body of literature continue to be made by psychologists in the psychosocial sciences, like Ståle Einarsen and Dieter Zapf; clinical psychologists like Ruth Namie; those working in Schools of Business and Management, like Charlotte Rayner, Helge Hoel and Duncan Lewis; and those with a background in counselling, education, and training, like Gary Namie. Methodologies now employ elements of anthropology, sociology and psychology as well as theories of management and organisational development, promoting better understanding of the behaviour and an increasingly sophisticated evaluation.

1.3.3 The effects of bullying on organisations

The capacity of organisations to deal successfully with conflict resolution, leadership issues, power struggles and bullying behaviour impacts on organisational health, and on individual employees, rather than the occurrence of these features per se. The ripple effect of a bullying problem in the workplace means it may start with one perpetrator and one target, but it rarely ends there. A bullied employee experiences negative stress and will often become ill, with resulting implications for workload management and, possibly, an economic impact on the organisation. Colleagues who witness bullying behaviour or hear of it – 50.2% of performing arts

workers were told of bullying incidents by a colleague – share the effects of the unhappy workplace. If a *serial bully* is at work, that person may pick on one member of staff after another, compounding the problem. Randall (1997) also argued that the ripple effect can extend to a bullied employee's home environment, and this fits with the assertion that there is a chain reaction of abuse, which may begin in childhood (Crawford, 1992, pp 69 – 71).

The effects of increased stress levels in a workforce will vary according to the circumstances. As Rayner notes, where this is severe on a personal level, traumatic results are evident (Rayner, 1999, p 31). According to the performing arts workers interviewed during the research, these can include prolonged and severe illness, as well as mental and psychological breakdown (Leymann, 1996), and even suicide (Field, 1999). Rayner found no correlation between absence from work and bullying (UNISON, 1997), and the arts research did not record levels of sick leave in arts organisations specifically, however there are indicators that by 2004 the UK was experiencing record levels of work absences when, according to a report by the Confederation of British Industry, workplace absence rose for the first time in five years (Barham & Begum, 2005, pp 149 – 158).

The 2005 study by Barham and Begum on Sickness Absence in the UK also notes the results of research in 2004 by the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development, which identified the following:

> "The most common cause of sickness absence for both manual and non-manual workers was minor illness, followed by stress for non-manual employees, and back pain for manual staff. Employers believe that almost 20 per cent of absence is not genuine. Public sector organisations were more likely to set targets to reduce absence levels than private sector organisations." (Barham & Begum, 2005, p 157)

Minor illness aside, stress and back pain (another symptom of stress) are the most common work-related illnesses, resulting in 6.5 million lost working days annually in the UK in 2004.[6] The CBI study surveyed 1.4 million employees representing 6% of the workforce and cited an average of 6.8 lost days per person. The CIPD research, which surveyed 1,110 organisations employing 2.9 million people, yielded an average of 9.1 lost working days per employee. In the performing arts, a study which considers the extent to which absence from work in theatres and arts centres mirrors experiences of bullying would make a valuable contribution to the literature, given the rise in the rate of absence from UK workplaces, and the fact that stress is identified as a major cause of sickness. Few arts organisations are in a position to provide cover for employees on sick leave, so that employee absence can create major logistical difficulties.

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[6] By 2006, this had risen to 19 million working days (see Chapter 7)

In Finland, researchers have looked at statistics in the health service and concluded that workplace bullying is associated with an increase in the sickness absenteeism of hospital staff (Kivimaki, Eovanio & Vahterra, 2000, pp 656 – 660). It may be that in the UK, increasing absenteeism is also a symptom of an increase in workplace bullying. In the performing arts research, more than 28% of respondents felt bullying was more frequent during the previous five years and 15% that it was less so. More women than men thought bullying had increased – 35% of all women – including half of all administration/clerical workers and 44% of box office staff.

Persistent or repeated absence from work causes a range of problems for organisations, including logistical or operational difficulties, and unfair workload distribution as other members of staff have to cover for a missing person. One news report on the statistics published by the Confederation of British Industry stated: "Sickness absence cost UK business £11.6 billion in 2003." (CBI, 2004). The 2003 CBI report put the average cost of sickness absence at £475 per employee, ranging from £286 in the smallest organisations to £714 in those with over 5000 employees, and the annual cost of job stress cited by The Institute of Professional Development is around £7 billion in the UK. The Australian Council of Trade Unions has calculated that workplace bullying specifically may be costing Australian business up to $3 billion annually. In October 2005 the Ministry of Defence in the UK admitted to paying out more than £895,000 in compensation to 28 complainants in the armed forces since 2000. It paid £516,000 to 13 victims in 2003/4 alone (*Bullying costs MoD more than £895,000 in payouts.* The Guardian, 2005).

Field has commented:

> "The cost of bullying and resultant injury to health to employers, employees and society is estimated to be at least £12bn each year although this doesn't appear in balance sheets. When the consequential costs (impairment to performance, sickness absence, staff turnover, family breakdown, the tribunal system, regulatory bodies, etc) are included, the annual cost to UK Plc could be as high as £30bn – equivalent to around £1,000 hidden tax per working adult per year." (Field, 2002)

Cost estimates of this magnitude make uncomfortable reading for employers, all the more so in the light of the one of the conclusions of the CIPD report in 2004, that employers perceive almost 20% of absences to be *not genuine* – an increase from 15% in 2003. Without further research, it is difficult to establish if more people are actually becoming ill, and if so to what extent this might be stress-related and bullying-related. Another possibility is that more people are taking absence from work without valid cause, and a third, that stress-related illness may not be considered by employers as a bona fide illness at all.

Bullying also takes its toll by depriving organisations of people: both targets of bullying and witnesses are known to leave their jobs as a result of bullying behaviour. Rayner quotes 25% of bullied individuals who leave their employment in the UK in 1999 (Rayner, 1999, p 32), and in 2005 Namie and Namie estimate 87% of bullied people leave their jobs within the US workforce (reported in Glazier, 2005). Prior to actually leaving, it is highly unlikely that bullied employees, or their colleagues, are being productive, as this bulletin published by Canada Safety Council illustrates:

"The Burden of Bullying

Bullied employees waste between 10 and 52 per cent of their time at work. Research shows they spend time defending themselves and networking for support, thinking about the situation, being demotivated and stressed, not to mention taking sick leave due to stress-related illnesses.

Bullies poison their working environment with low morale, fear, anger, and depression. The employer pays for this in lost efficiency, absenteeism, high staff turnover, severance packages and lawsuits. In extreme cases, a violent incident may be the tragic outcome.

... Moreover, our health care system ends up repairing the damage: visits to the doctor for symptoms of stress, prescriptions for antidepressants, and long-term counselling or psychiatric care. In this sense, we all pay." (*Bullying in the Workplace.* Safety Canada, 2000)

1.3.4 The psychological profile of the perpetrator

When confronted about their actions, perpetrators of harassment, mobbing or bullying behaviour usually claim to be unaware that they are persecuting others. It is possible that bullies may not realise what they have done, or how their behaviour affects other people, given that it is difficult to admit to bullying, when aggressive behaviour is socially indefensible (Vartia-Väänänen, 2003). In the main, however, the performing arts research suggests that many bullies engage in campaigns of deliberate, degrading actions whose effects are calculated and eagerly anticipated (as represented in Field, 1996; Randall, 1997). Particularly, the case studies from arts organisations support the notion that bullies aggressively project their own social, interpersonal and professional inadequacy onto their target, who is usually competent and popular (Field, 1999). The projection seems to enable the bully to avoid facing their own inadequacies, serving to distract and divert attention away from them, the effect of which is often to focus unfavourable attention on the behaviour of other staff. Here is the testimony of an arts worker who participated in Pilot Study 2 (Website) in 2001:

> "The Board only ever gets the version of events as presented by the Chief Executive. I am quite sure that the board would not condone bullying if they perceived that it was happening. A feature of many bullies is that they have a very plausible manner, such as

> their superiors cannot believe them capable of unpleasant behaviour. This leaves the employees in impossible situations; it appears that THEY are the problem."

A number of issues highlighted here are repeated in other performing arts case studies: this arts manager is in a powerful position at the top of the staff team, accountable to the board, to whom s/he presents a subjective account of proceedings. The mechanism for other staff to present alternative views is not in place. Whilst the respondent believes that management, as vested in the Board, would not sanction bullying behaviour, she is also convinced that the Board lacks knowledge or awareness of the issue, as all its information comes through the Chief Executive. The trait here attributed to the bully – of being skilled at producing persuasive arguments, especially ones intended to deceive – is a recurrent theme of those who describe bullies. Normally, the Board of an arts organisation appoints its Chief Executive, and entrusts that person with the prime leadership role. A serious failure on the part of a Chief Executive reflects badly on the Board. In several instances during the research, when arts workers sought to inform senior personnel, including Board members, of bullying behaviour carried out by managers, they reported being faced with patent disbelief and stated that their complaints had been rebuffed out of hand. Where one member of staff has taken a lead to co-ordinate approaches to management, the upshot in many cases is that this person is deemed to be an agent provocateur, and is labelled as a troublemaker. This echoes the experience of teachers who encounter unexpected, unusually disruptive behaviour in a child, unaware that the presenting problem is masking the action of a targeted individual retaliating a bully (Wilkie, 1996).

Field's catchphrase emphasised the inadequacy and incompetence factors he believed were associated with the personality of the bully: *Those who can, do. Those who can't, bully.*

> "Bullying is a compulsive need to displace aggression and is achieved by the expression of inadequacy (social, personal, interpersonal, behavioural, professional) by projection of that inadequacy onto others through control and subjugation (criticism, exclusion, isolation etc). Bullying is sustained by abdication of responsibility (denial, counter-accusation, pretence of victimhood) and perpetuated by a climate of fear, ignorance, indifference, silence, denial, disbelief, deception, evasion of accountability, tolerance and reward (for example, promotion) for the bully." (Field, 1999)

The incompetence factor, including social incompetence, is upheld by participants in the performing arts study, where 50% of all respondents cited competence as the second most common reason for bullying behaviour. Specifically, respondents in the case histories mentioned bullying by individuals who had been appointed to a variety of roles within arts organisations, particularly in the voluntary sector, and who had a non-arts background. These included financial controllers, who were accountants with no experience of working in an arts organisation, and managers whose marketing or other relevant experience had been gained in

the commercial, private sector. This might link in with the self-esteem factor identified by Zapf and Einarsen (2003), who note that social incompetence is one of three types of bullying related to the personality of the bully (as reported in Vartia-Väänänen, 2003, p 16). Anecdotal evidence suggests that interactional difficulties are a feature of bullies in the performing arts, and that the transfer of hostility to a target who is popular and competent is common. The second type of character-related bullying includes bullies who act to gain status or authority within an organisation, rather than according to matters of principle – micropolitical behaviour. This was identified in the performing arts findings by 51.4% of all respondents and was the most cited reason for bullying behaviour. The third type of bullying noted is that which occurs when self-esteem is threatened, and the perpetrator takes steps to regulate the situation by engaging in a campaign to subjugate and control – participants in the performing arts research described this as the bully's need to *punish* someone external to them, rather than take responsibility for their own feelings of low self-worth. All of these types of bullying characterise poor managers demonstrating unconstructive leadership (Rayner, 1999, p 34).

Increasingly researchers are making links between adult bullies and other violence and conflict scenarios, including experiences of school bullying both as perpetrator and as target (Tattum & Tattum, 1996), domestic violence (Rathus, 1996) and personality disorders — the last still being at an early stage: for example, different views are taken by the World Health Organisation and the American Psychiatric Association and it is claimed that personality disorders, which cover a wide range of behavioural abnormalities, affect up to 13% of the UK population (Batty, 2004). Exposure to negative behaviour in childhood may result in adult bullying, especially if a child is subjected to humiliating behaviour by a dominant adult or other individual (for example Randall, 1997; Ishmael, 1999; Clifton & Serdar, 2000). School bullies have been found to have a high level of self-confidence, often characterised as *bravado*, and to tend towards aggression in many situations. They are also impulsive, reacting and responding to situations without prior thought or consideration (Olweus, 1991).

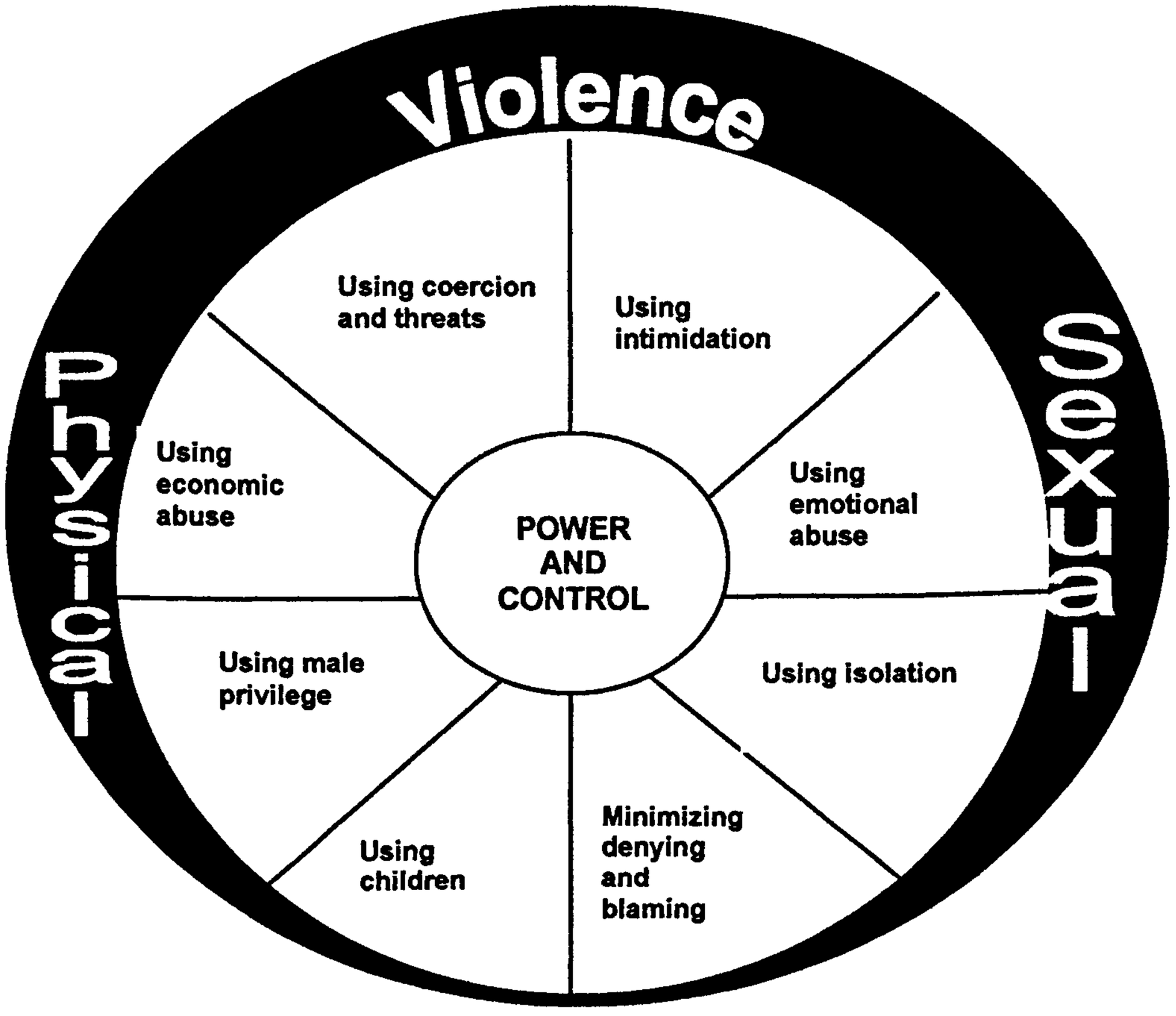
Opportunities to study bullying from the perspective of those who bully are not as plentiful as opportunities to access those who have been targeted. It does not require a great leap of the imagination or intellect, however, to begin to make connections between different types of aggression and the resulting abuse or violence, whether the behaviour presents itself as intimidation in the schoolyard, adolescent vandalism, hostility towards a partner, bullying in the workplace or political terrorism.

The Domestic Abuse Intervention Project in Duluth, Minnesota developed the model of the *Power and Control Wheel* to illustrate how (usually, male) perpetrators employed a variety of methods to dominate their partners (as reported by Rathus in McCarthy, Sheehan & Wilkie,

1996: pp 132 – 134). At the hub of the wheel is the power and control desired by the perpetrator: at its perimeter the violence, physical and sexual, which result. Radiating towards the perimeter are the actions themselves, many of which are familiar in the context of workplace bullying (Fig 1.3). If the perimeter as applied to workplace bullying is understood to contain emotional, psychological, political, and social violence, with economic and technological violence applicable in certain instances (as discussed in Chapter 6), this model serves to illustrate the shared features of domestic violence and workplace bullying.

As with Biderman's stages of oppression (p 20), the perpetrator is able to control the environment, whether in a home or a business, to such an extent that the target is isolated as well as intimidated. Bullying behaviour promotes powerlessness in the target and assists the perpetrator in the home to employ threats relating to children or to underline financial dependence, and in the place of work to trivialise the target's role and to destroy their sense of fulfilment and job satisfaction (Table 1.1).

Figure 1.3: Power and Control Wheel



Source: Domestic Abuse Intervention Project, Duluth, Minnesota, as reported by Rathus, in McCarthy, Sheehan & Wilkie (Eds) (1996) p 133

Table 1.1: The power and control wheel elements adapted for workplace bullying

Behaviour of a perpetrator of domestic violence	Examples of equivalent behaviour in a workplace bully
Using intimidation	Instilling fear by looks, acts, gestures, destructive behaviour, etc
Using emotional abuse	Humiliation, name-calling, playing *mind games*
Using isolation	Controlling contact with others in the workforce, limiting access to shared material, etc
Minimizing, denying and blaming	Dismissing abuse as insignificant, denying it is occurring, shifting responsibility to the target
Using children	Substitute areas of particular importance to the target, eg quality of work or area of responsibility: Undermining these, making target feel guilty or threatening to remove responsibilities
Using male privilege	Substitute using gender-based leverage, resulting in authoritarian or dictatorial behaviour: Promoting powerlessness in the target, assigning menial duties or tasks, defining or re-defining roles
Using economic abuse	Where, for example, job satisfaction is the currency: Depriving the target of personal fulfilment, restricting freedom and curtailing development potential
Using coercion and threats	Making or carrying out threats including unjustified punishments and loss of employment

Source: Adapted from the power and control wheel developed by The Domestic Abuse Intervention Project, Duluth, Minnesota as reported by Rathus, in McCarthy, Sheehan & Wilkie, (Eds.), (1996)

The destructive effects of bullying behaviour are increasingly well documented, however much more research is needed on the motivation for bullying, even though it is neither a new nor an unfamiliar phenomenon in our world literature. We have prime examples in Shakespeare's dramatis personae, particularly Macbeth and the Machiavellian Iago, and many creative writers have endeavoured to fathom the mental and moral qualities distinctive to those who bully. One example from Tolstoy begins by mirroring a familiar trait reported in many of the arts case studies in Chapter 4 – the charisma of the bully (in particular see, *A Performing Arts Organisation*, *A Visual Arts Organisation* and *A Creative Industry*).

> "Yes, he is very handsome," thought Pierre, "and I know him. It would be particularly pleasant to him to dishonour my name and ridicule me, just because I have exerted myself on his behalf, befriended him, and helped him. I know and understand what a spice that would add to the pleasure of deceiving me, if it really were true..." (Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, 1806).

The bully's physical attractiveness is apparent to Pierre, who, prompted by an anonymous letter, is half-afraid that Dolokhov has been intimate with his wife. The combination of fear and awe is a powerful mix: Pierre has come to recognise that all his efforts to please the bully have been in vain – and that Dolokhov delights in deception and in doing a disservice. There is a parallel with the case studies: this could be an example of the point at which a target of bullying behaviour begins to realise what is/has been happening to them.

> "He remembered the expression Dolokhov's face assumed in his moments of cruelty, as when tying the policeman to the bear and dropping them into the water, or when he challenged a man to a duel without any reason, or shot a post-boy's horse with a pistol. That expression was often on Dolokhov's face when looking at him. "Yes, he is a bully," thought Pierre, "to kill a man means nothing to him. It must seem to him that everyone is afraid of him, and that must please him. He must think that I, too, am afraid of him – and in fact I am afraid of him," he thought, and again he felt something terrible and monstrous rising in his soul." (Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, 1806).

Both targets and witnesses of bullying behaviour describe graphic facial expressions and gestures as characteristic of some types of bullying. Dolokhov's series of pointless, crude and sometimes unthinking assaults on other people is reminiscent of the *senseless* actions by bullies reported in the case studies. Taken individually, they could be dismissed as one-off incidents, which are merely unpleasant and regrettable; taken together, they reveal an underlying pattern of behaviour that is unbalanced, if not psychopathic. In this excerpt Pierre recognises that the sight of him produces this same expression on the bully's face, and some respondents have stated that the way a bully looks at them makes them afraid, and also afraid to look afraid. It may be that the knowledge that some form of punishment is inevitable creates for targets an emotional response that is also *terrible and monstrous*.

Another example from D. H. Lawrence offers an alternative perspective born of a target's capacity for critical analysis of the perpetrator, rather than their fear of him.

> "They went on their way in the rain in silence. He was filled with a passionate silence and imperiousness, a curious, dark, masterful force that supplanted thought in him. And she, who always pondered, went pondering: 'Is he mad? What does he mean? Is he a madman? He wants to bully me. He wants to bully me into something. What does he want to bully me into? Does he want me to love him?'
>
> ... That was it: he blackly insisted that SHE must love HIM. What he felt was not to be considered. SHE must love HIM. And be bullied into it. That was what it amounted to. In his silent, black, overbearing soul, he wanted to compel her, he wanted to have power

over her. He wanted to make her love him so that he had power over her. He wanted to bully her, physically, sexually, and from the inside.

And she! Well, she was just as confident that she was not going to be bullied. She would love him: probably she would: most probably she did already. But she was not going to be bullied by him in any way whatsoever. No, he must go down on his knees to her if he wanted her love. And then she would love him. Because she DID love him. But a dark-eyed little master and bully she would never have.

And this was her triumphant conclusion.

Meanwhile ... he was walking in that silent diffidence which made her watch him because she was not sure what he was feeling, what he was thinking, or even what he was. He was a puzzle to her: eternally incomprehensible in his feelings and even his sayings. There seemed to her no logic and no reason in what he felt and said. She could never tell what his next mood would come out of. And this made her uneasy, made her watch him. And at the same time it piqued her attention. He had some of the fascination of the incomprehensible. And his curious inscrutable face – it wasn't really only a meaningless mask, because she had seen it half an hour ago melt with a quite incomprehensible and rather, to her mind, foolish passion. Strange, black, inconsequential passion. Asserting with that curious dark ferocity that he was bigger than the mountains. Madness! Madness! Megalomania.

But because he gave himself away, she forgave him and even liked him. And the strange passion of his, that gave out incomprehensible flashes, WAS rather fascinating to her. She felt just a tiny bit sorry for him. But she wasn't going to be bullied by him. She wasn't going to give in to him and his black passion. No, never. It must be love on equal terms or nothing. For love on equal terms she was quite ready. She only waited for him to offer it." (Lawrence, D.H. *The Captain's Doll*. 1923)

Is this the quintessential response of a target, rather than a victim? The magnetism and fascination of the enigmatic Alexander is explicit and, Lawrence's spirited language and introspection notwithstanding, in this excerpt Hannele reveals a capacity to observe and analyse that character and his behaviour in an objective and dispassionate way. She concludes that he means to coerce her into loving him, because this will give him power and control, however she has no intention of succumbing to Alexander's lust for domination, although she does admit that she is prepared to love him anyway, as long as *equal terms* are observed.

Bullying as a means to gain power and control is clear in this extract, however Hannele's response has several interesting features: she does not fear Alexander, although he puzzles her and makes her feel uneasy; she has considered his motives, his words and his actions, some of which are irrational, however her response is more akin to a *No Blame* approach (Brown, 2004), and although conscious of being a *target*, she does not present as a *victim*. It is a moot point whether the effects of bullying would be less marked if targets felt *a tiny bit sorry* for perpetrators, although if bullies lost the capacity to instil fear, this may be more likely.

Like Alexander and Hannele as represented in this excerpt, then, parties to behaviour where power and control is an issue would be on equal terms. In that case, where neither of the two

parties holds an unfair balance of power, some researchers would consider that the behaviour was not, in fact, bullying at all, for example Zapf and Gross (2001). This issue is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

1.4 THESIS LAYOUT

Chapter 2: contains an overview of workplace bullying studies, including the principal research fields and how bullying sits within workplace Health & Safety, Equal Opportunities and Diversity policies. The chapter considers the new ways in which bullying is carried out, for example cyberbullying, that are emerging as our society changes. Perspectives on bullying individuals and organisations are presented alongside the implications for legal redress, the economic and personal costs of workplace bullying and bullying as a global issue. The balance of power in relationships is discussed in more detail, as well as how the research literature about bullying has grown, both in the UK and across the globe. The development of legislation in Europe, America, New Zealand and Australia is outlined and the varying perspectives of researchers are examined.

Chapter 3: deals with the combined methodologies employed during the arts research, including the rationale for preferring a combination of qualitative and quantitative research to a purely ethnographic route. The basis on which two pilot studies, the BECTU study and interviews were conducted is outlined and the strengths and limitations discussed. Issues around achieving objectivity and the implications of confidentiality are explored in the context of the ethics of undertaking research into bullying behaviour. The content of questionnaires and the limitations of the research are examined.

Chapter 4: examines the key research results from Pilot Study (1) among arts managers and (2) the website responses from arts workers. Issues arising include the continuing professional development of management staff, the culture of long working hours, the diverse experiences of bullying behaviour, how complaints were handled and the extent to which workers felt supported at work.

Chapter 5: presents a series of illustrations of bullying behaviour in a range of different arts organisations. This includes relatively newly-established groups, as in *A Co-Operative Theatre Company* and *A Collective Organisation*; private sector arts organisations as in *A Private Museum* and *A Creative Industry*; settled and mature organisations as in *An Arts Centre* and *A Visual Arts Organisation* and local authority run departments and services – *A Community Arts Service*.

Chapter 6: the findings of the BECTU survey among management and non-management arts workers are presented, and the characteristics of the sub-samples *the bullied group, hearsays* and *witnesses* are outlined. Arts workers' experience of bullying is described, including the role of gender, ethnic origin and disability. Management attitudes to bullying, including how complaints are handled, and anti-bullying policies are considered as well as the potential for trades union involvement in dealing with the issue. Working hours and rates of pay in the arts are outlined in the context of what constitutes corporate bullying. Regional data on Theatres and Arts Centres is compared and contrasted. The relationship between bullying and permissibility is investigated and a positive statistical correlation found.

Chapter 7: the discussion focuses on the working environment in arts organisations and the assertion by arts managers that the arts are *different* is queried. Three practitioner views are examined: an Artistic Director in a theatre, the Director of a contemporary dance touring company, and an actor/musician who is a partner in a touring comedy company. The concept of the arts paying homage to creative genius and artistic temperament is highlighted. The chapter considers the attributes of bullying in the arts environment, the outline profile of an arts bully and how arts managers deal with workplace bullying. The extent to which modern managerialism plays a role in facilitating bullying is considered, alongside organisational responsibility for negative workplace behaviours.

Chapter 8: the conclusions about workplace bullying in the arts note comparative working environments elsewhere and identify that lack of management action and accountability imply permissibility and contribute to corporate bullying. The potential role of Trades Unions and the Law in mitigating the effects of bullying behaviour is outlined. The ethical issues surrounding research into bullying are highlighted. The chapter deals with the question of terminology, and what determines victims, targets and survivors of bullying, suggesting that the onus for change does not lie solely with the individual or group singled out as target. The concept of permissibility and its relationship with prevention is advocated.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 OVERVIEW OF WORKPLACE BULLYING STUDIES

The profile of workplace bullying in the UK has continued to grow since the early 1990s when, through two BBC radio four documentaries, the late Andrea Adams effectively gave the behaviour and the problem a name. Levels of awareness and interest have accelerated rapidly since 1992 when Adams collaborated with Neil Crawford and published Bullying at Work: how to confront and overcome it. (Adams & Crawford, 1992). During the decade that followed, instances of bullying behaviour began to be described and reported in the media at an increasingly frequent rate – often by those who had themselves suffered at the hands of bullies.

2.1.1 Social Research Theory and workplace bullying

Researchers have employed a variety of approaches to workplace bullying, resulting in a multiplicity of studies in many different contexts and a diversity of interpretations of the findings. Across a range of research fields, these perspectives are outlined later in this chapter and include views on individuals who bully and on the bullying organisation. In social research generally, the basic core assumptions about the nature of the social world encompass premises that are metaphysical – concerned with the ultimate nature of reality; epistemological – concerned with the nature and scope of knowledge and belief; and moral – concerned with the lesson to be learned from a phenomenon or an event. Social theory refers to the use of theoretical frameworks to explain and analyse social action, social meanings and large-scale social structures.

The field is interdisciplinary drawing ideas from, and contributing to, such disciplines as anthropology, economics, history, literary theory, philosophy, sociology and theology. Some social theories make philosophical attempts to answer the question what is? – not what should be?. Other critical social theories, such as neo-marxist theories and feminist theories (see 3 below) argue that as theories are generally based on premises that entail normative positions, it is necessary to critique the ideological aspects of theories and related oppressive social relations. Sociological theory is often complementary, so that one perspective works alongside another to give a fuller picture. Some of the major general sociological theories (and their variants) include:

1. Conflict theory: focuses on the ability of some groups to dominate others, or resistance to such domination.

2. Ethnomethodology: examines how people make sense out of social life in the process of living it, as if each was a researcher engaged in enquiry.
3. Feminist Theory: focuses on how male dominance of society has shaped social life.
4. Interpretative Sociology: this theoretical perspective, based in the work of Max Weber, a German political economist and sociologist (1864 – 1920), proposes that social, economic and historical research can never be fully empirical or descriptive as one must always approach it with a conceptual apparatus.
5. Social Constructionism: a sociological theory of knowledge that considers how social phenomena develop in particular social contexts.
6. Social phenomenology: that of Alfred Schütz, an Austrian philosopher and sociologist (1899 – 1959), which influenced the development of social constructionism and ethnomethodology.
7. Social positivism: the belief that social processes should be studied in terms of cause and effect using the scientific method.
8. Structural functionalism: also known as a social systems paradigm, addresses what functions various elements of the social system perform in regard to the entire system.
9. Symbolic interactionism: examines how shared meanings and social patterns are developed in the course of social interactions.
10. Dramaturgical perspective: a specialised symbolic interactionism paradigm developed by Erving Goffman, an American sociologist and writer (1922 – 1982), that sees life as a performance. Goffman uses phenomenology to understand how humans perceive the interactions that they observe and take part in. To Goffman there is no single underlying truth, but interpretations that are real to each individual.
11. Rational choice theory: models social behaviour as the interaction of utility maximising individuals.

Some of these theoretical positions are particularly interesting and relevant in relation to bullying. Conflict theory (1) argues that society is not about solidarity or social consensus, but rather about competition, and is constantly in conflict over resources. It was developed in part to illustrate the limitations of structural-functionalism (8). The structural-functional approach holds that society tends toward equilibrium and focuses on stability at the expense of social change. One of the primary contributions conflict

theory presents over the structural-functional approach is that it is ideally suited for explaining social change, a significant problem in the structural-functional approach.

In reviewing the bullying literature in relation to conflict and conflict resolution, Keashly and Nowell (2003) note that Hoel, Rayner & Cooper (1999) argue for the importance of a conflict perspective on the problem of bullying, describing severe bulling as destructive conflicts going beyond the point of no return (p 221) and that Zapf and Gross (2001) describe bullying situations as long lasting and badly managed conflicts (p 499). Within the conflict domain, Einarsen (1999) asserts that there are at least two types of bullying: predatory and dispute-related (Keashly and Nowell, 2003 p 339). The former is familiar territory in the arts research, exemplified by perpetrators seeking out targets where no prior conflict or provocation has been evident. Examples are found in the case studies, notably *A Co-operative Theatre Company*, *A Private Museum* and *A Visual Arts Organisation*.

Einarsen (1999) proposes that dispute-related bullying arises out of a grievance where retaliatory action is taken, sometimes resulting in one party dominating and becoming more powerful than the other. Again, the imbalance of power in the bullying scenario is evident from the arts case studies and Keashly and Nowell (2003) investigate the similarities and differences between bullying and conflict through analysis of behaviour, strategies for managing conflict, status of perpetrators and targets and the escalation of conflict. They conclude that describing bullying solely in terms of a conflict situation is harmful to the target:

> Applying the label of conflict wholesale without qualification also creates the sense of shared responsibility for the bullying, and the victim may be expected to manage the situation on his/her own or, in some cases, be held accountable for the hostility exhibited by the other person. (Keashly & Nowell, 2003 p 355)

This notion of shared responsibility for bullying is evident in the literature on school bullying (for example, Olweus, 1993; Randall, 1997) and, on balance, Keashly and Nowell (2003) advise that bullying should not be described as a conflict but rather they urge researchers, practitioners and others to consider what a conflict perspective might offer in understanding this extremely hostile and devastating phenomenon (p 356). The arts case studies indicate bullying as a result of conflict in some cases: where a disagreement arises in A Collective Organisation, for example, but, as previously stated, not in others. Conflict theory may offer useful guidance in terms of techniques to

address some circumstances in which workplace bullying takes place, then, but it cannot be held to be applicable universally to bullying situations.

The more familiar assumptions within social theory include positivism and antipositivism, materialism and idealism, determinism and free will, individualism and collectivism. In Chapter 3, positivism is discussed in the context of combined methodologies and is described *as the belief that the existence of objects stems solely from their measurement* (Cook & Payne, 2002). The positivist (7) approach applied to workplace bullying is that the behaviour exists only insofar as it can be measured: therefore, empirical studies are of central importance and every aspect of their findings is quantified in order to produce statistical data. This includes, for example, calculative analysis of written contributions as well as numerical data. Zapf, Einarsen, Hoel and Vartia (2003) carried out a systematic analysis of empirical findings on bullying in the workplace across European studies, demonstrating converging results in the various European countries (p 122). These findings identify similarities between the various types of research that have been undertaken, and a set of conclusions which broadly supports the conclusions of others, although they also call for more rigorous studies... to further substantiate the concept of bullying in the workplace (p 122). In the arts research, the quantitative data gathered during the BECTU survey proved a useful source of baseline information and further empirical studies would add value to this initial work.

Antipositivism, or phenomenology (6), on the other hand, is the view that social sciences need to create and to use different scientific methods to study human behaviour and society from those methods used in the field of the natural and the formal sciences. Phenomenology is a philosophical stance rather than a research method, but as such it may well influence the research methods chosen. Although quantitative methods can be used to assess the impact of bullying behaviour by analysing language, for example, qualitative researchers, and especially phenomenologists, argue that these measurements lack depth and therefore do not really get to the essence of the bullying experience. Phenomenologists hold that research should focus on this experience of phenomena, what it means to the individual and how that meaning is constructed. This is a view that is in direct opposition to the more positivist (quantitative) perspective common to most of the sciences. Whereas positivism sees the world objectively and seeks to discover absolute truths or scientific theories that explain these truths, phenomenologists reject this objective approach, emphasising the importance of interpretation on the part of the

researcher. The research approaches that phenomenologists tend to adopt are known as emergent designs, in which the question under investigation may actually change as the research proceeds and the data is analysed. It is argued that phenomenological approaches offer ways of understanding the world that other research methodologies do not. It is more interpretative, some have even argued poetic, than the so called objective approaches characterised as scientific method.

In Chapter 3, Methodology, these positivist vs phenomenologist stances are further explored and the quest for a satisfactory interview technique to use during the arts research is seen in the context of identifying a route that provides an appropriate level of depth (page 107). Ultimately, the arts research acknowledges the importance of quantitative research and the contribution a positivist approach makes to research in a new field, while also embracing qualitative methods to achieve the most comprehensive fully-rounded picture possible of bullying in the arts. In discussing and examining the role of combined research methods, Silverman (2000), Morse and Chung (2003) and Gorard and Taylor (2004) make persuasive arguments for a thorough overhaul of the traditional theoretical perspectives and philosophical stances.

Some social theories, such as variations on social constructionism (5), are driven by a strong sense of social justice and are concerned with liberation from oppression and exploitation. For example, in the field of workplace bullying, the work of Leymann (1996) and Field (1999) tends to be concerned with the stress and trauma experienced by victims, and their rehabilitation following torment by a bully. The view is that if our society considers that bullying behaviour is a destructive and unacceptable phenomenon, then this specific social construct exists because we have agreed that it does so. In this respect we are following certain generally accepted social norms, standards or criteria. A social construct(ion), then, is a concept or practice that may appear to be natural and obvious to those who accept it, but – in this philosophy – is an invention or artefact of a particular culture or society.

Functionalism is concerned with the structure and workings of society wherein inter-dependent sections work together to fulfil the functions necessary for the survival of society as a whole. Functionalists believe that behaviour in society is structural – that rules and regulations help organise relationships between members of society, and that values provide general guidelines for behaviour in terms of roles and norms. The same view could be taken about how organisations work. Structural functionalism (8) and systems theory may be motivated by a concern with scientific objectivity and seeming

value neutrality. These may entail value commitments, sometimes masked, such as to conformity or acceptance of the status quo in a given society. Structural-functionalism does not account for social change, however, because it focuses so intently on social order and equilibrium in society. There is also the epistemological argument that functionalism attempts to describe social institutions solely through their effects and, as a result, does not explain the cause of those effects. This is not unlike the positivist approach that interprets bullying behaviour in terms of what can be measured (for example, Rayner, 1997). In some ways structural-functionalist theory supports the status quo and this has a bearing on the issue of how organisations exhibit permissibility, as highlighted by Rayner (1999) and explored at several levels in the arts research.

Distinctions used about contemporary societies in sociological theory include broad historical trends such as industrialisation, urbanisation, underdevelopment and globalisation and stages of development such as modernity, postindustrial, underdevelopment, postmodernity and the network society. In discussing employee accounts of bullying, Liefooghe and Mackenzie Davey (2003) claim that postmodernism challenges the positivist theory that there is an objective truth in situations:

> by rejecting the taken for granted notions of rationality, order, clarity, truth and realism and the idea of intellectual progress (Liefooghe and Mackenzie Davey, 2003 p 219)

The authors' desire is to draw attention to:

> disorder, contradictory explanations and ambiguity... postmodernism uses deconstructionism to reveal the strategies that are used to represent truth claims... Postmodernism is thus concerned with the use of language – as such, language becomes the unit of analysis. (Liefooghe and Mackenzie Davey, 2003 p 219)

In this respect then, postmodernists examine and analyse language, as do positivists. However, whereas the measurement made by positivists is held to define the existence of a phenomenon such as bullying, postmodernists are sceptical about the existence of the truth:

> All interpretations are regarded as equally valid, which implies that our understanding of the truth will always be fragmented, selective and biased. (Liefooghe and Mackenzie Davey, 2003 p219)

Bullying is held to be a destructive, harmful and undesirable phenomenon in the workplace. Positivists might identify it and confirm its existence as the truth and in the arts research, the BECTU survey reveals that bullying exists in arts organisations and numerical data provides measurable evidence. Postmodernists will argue that there can be myriad interpretations of the same scenario – different realities for participants in the behaviour. Indeed Lewis (2003) notes that... evidence [that is, from various researchers] can reveal multiple realities of bullying at work:

> Managerial
>
> Organisational
>
> Between individuals (Lewis, 2003 p 283)

In some of the case studies it can be seen that different people do interpret what occurs in different ways – in *A Community Arts Service*, for example, the experiences described by target, witness, supervisor and management vary widely. Postmodernism makes an important point, then:

> While modernism seeks to understand, postmodernism is continually asking whose view is being supported and whose interests are served. (Liefooghe & Mackenzie Davey, 2003 p 219)

Symbolic Interactionism (9) is a theoretical approach to understanding the relationship between humans and society through the exchange of meaningful communication or symbols. In this approach, humans are portrayed as *acting* as opposed to *being acted upon* (Herman and Reynolds, 1994). The main principles of symbolic interactionism are:

> human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that things have for them
>
> these meanings arise of out of social interaction
>
> social action results from a fitting together of individual lines of action

This approach stands in contrast to the strict behaviourism of psychological theories prevalent at the time it was first formulated (in the 1920s and 1930s) and also contrasts with structural-functionalism. According to symbolic interactionism, humans are distinct from infrahumans (lower animals) because infrahumans simply respond to their environment (that is, a stimulus evokes a response or *stimulus -> response*) whereas humans have the ability to interrupt that process (that is, *stimulus -> cognition -> response*). Additionally, infrahumans are unable to conceive of alternative responses to gestures. Humans, however, can. This understanding should not be taken to indicate

that humans never behave in a strict *stimulus -> response* fashion, but rather that humans have the capability of not responding in that fashion (and do so much of the time).

This perspective is also rooted in phenomenological thought. According to symbolic interactionism, the objective world has no reality for humans, only subjectively-defined objects have meaning. Meanings can be altered through the creative capabilities of humans, and individuals may influence the many meanings that form their society (Herman and Reynolds, 1994). Human society, therefore, is a social product. Symbolic interactionists advocate a particular methodology: they see meaning as the fundamental component of human/society interaction, and studying human/society interaction requires getting at that meaning. Thus, symbolic interactionists tend to employ more qualitative than quantitative methods in their research, and many social researchers prefer qualitative research methods (Gorard & Taylor, 2004 p 128). However, the most significant limitation of the symbolic-interactionist perspective relates to its primary contribution: it overlooks macro social structures (for example, norms, culture) as a result of focusing on micro-level interactions. Some symbolic interactionists, however, would counter that if role theory is incorporated into symbolic interactionism – which is now commonplace – this criticism is addressed.

Role theory posits that human behaviour is guided by expectations held both by the individual and by other people, which correspond to different roles individuals perform or enact in their daily lives, such as secretary, father, or friend. Individuals generally have and manage many roles, consisting of a set of rules or norms that function as plans or blueprints to guide behaviour. Roles specify what goals should be pursued, what tasks must be accomplished, and what performances are required in a given scenario or situation. Role theory holds that a substantial proportion of observable, day-to-day social behaviour is simply people carrying out their roles and it is predictive – it implies that if we have information about the role expectations for a specified position (for example, sister, actor, manager), a significant portion of the behaviour of the persons occupying that position can be predicted.

Role theory also maintains that in order to change behaviour it is necessary to change roles, as roles correspond to behaviours and vice versa. In addition to heavily influencing behaviour, roles influence beliefs and attitudes; individuals will change their beliefs and attitudes to correspond with their roles. For instance, someone overlooked for a promotion to a managerial position in a company may change their beliefs about

the benefits of management by convincing him/herself that they did not want the additional responsibility that would have accompanied the position. Many role theorists see role theory as one of the most compelling theories bridging individual behaviour and social structure. Roles, which are in part dictated by social structure and in part by social interactions, guide the behaviour of the individual. The individual, in turn, influences the norms, expectations, and behaviours associated with roles. The understanding is reciprocal.

Role Theory includes the following propositions:

people spend much of their lives participating as members of groups and organisations

within these groups, people occupy distinct positions

each of these positions entails a role, which is a set of functions performed by the person for the group

groups often formalise role expectations as norms or even codified rules, which include what rewards will result when roles are successfully performed and what punishments will result when roles are not successfully performed

individuals usually carry out their roles and perform in accordance with prevailing norms; in other words, role theory assumes that people are primarily conformists who try to live up to the norms that accompany their roles

group members check each individual's performance to determine whether it conforms with the norms; the anticipation that others will apply sanctions ensures role performance

Role theory does not explain social deviance when it does not correspond to a pre-specified role, however, so it does not elucidate bullying behaviour in the workplace. For instance, the behaviour of someone who adopts the role of tyrant or dictator can be predicted – she will intimidate and oppress. However if a manager suddenly begins to bully colleagues in the workplace, role theory is unable to explain why – although role conflict has been suggested (as reported in Einarsen et al, 1994) or one could assume a sudden conversion to management as control – that is, successful managers can exploit and control workers, as reported in Bratton and Gold (1999). Another limitation of role theory is that it does not explain how role expectations came to be what they are, nor when and how role expectations change.

An extension of role theory, impression management is both a theory and process: the theory argues that people are constantly engaged in controlling how others perceive them; the process refers to the goal-directed conscious or unconscious effort to influence the perceptions other people form of an individual, object or event by regulating and controlling information in social interaction. Erving Goffman (1959) cast the idea in a dramaturgical framework (10). Self-presentation is the process of trying to influence the perception of a personal image and it is interesting that bullies are often accused of manipulating others' perceptions of them – presenting one set of values and behaviours to employers, for example, and another to the target(s) of bullying behaviour. Aware of how they are being perceived by their audience, role theory would argue that bullies manage their interpersonal behaviour strategically so as to design and to shape or influence impressions formed by others.

Some sociologists employ an Integrationist approach – combining micro- and macro-level theories to provide a comprehensive understanding of human social behaviour. For example, Ritzer proposes four highly interdependent elements in his sociological model:

> a macro-objective component (for example, society, law, bureaucracy),
>
> a micro-objective component (for example, patterns of behaviour and human interaction)
>
> a macro-subjective component (for example, culture, norms, and values)
>
> a micro-subjective component (for example, perceptions, beliefs)
>
> (Ritzer & Goodman 2004, p 357).

This model is of particular use in understanding society because it uses two axes: one ranging from objective (society) to subjective (culture and cultural interpretation); the other ranging from the macro-level (norms) to the micro-level (individual level beliefs). The integration approach helps to explain social phenomenon because it shows how the different components of social life work together to influence society and behaviour. In the same way, the use of combined methodologies in the arts research allowed for the analysis of statistical as well as narrative evidence, valuing both sets of information and resulting in a more complete picture of the phenomenon.

Critical theory, then, is social theory oriented toward critiquing and changing society as a whole, in contrast to traditional theory oriented only to understanding or explaining it. Core concepts are:

(1) That critical social theory should be directed at the totality of society in its historical specificity (that is, how it came to be configured at a specific point in time)

(2) That critical theory should improve understanding of society by integrating all the major social sciences, including economics, sociology, history, political science, anthropology, and psychology.

Similarly, as is explored later in this chapter, workplace bullying studies have taken place within a range of disciplines in the behavioural sciences, including psychology, psychiatry, sociology and social anthropology. Liefooghe and Mackenzie Davey (2003) say

> Critical theory research has explicit value commitments, and pays direct attention to moral and ethical issues. It is often suspicious of unconflicted accounts. The discourse also holds that people can and should act – an additional activist tone, found clearly in the work of Habermas (1975, 1987, amongst others). Thus while, like postmodernism it seeks to interrogate unitarist analyses, unlike postmodernism, it values some accounts above others (Liefooghe and Mackenzie Davey, 2003 p 220).

Social theory has sometimes had an uneasy relationship with the more traditional academic disciplines – social theorists may make less use of scientific method, and this is further explored in Chapter 3, Methodology. Instead, social theorists tend to tackle very large-scale social trends and structures using hypotheses that are not easily proven, except over the course of time. Extremely critical theorists, such as deconstructionists or postmodernists have argued that any type of research or method has inherent flaws. Often, however, thinkers may present their ideas as social theory because the social reality that those ideas describe appears so overarching as to remain unprovable. The social theories of modernity or anarchy can exemplify this. However, objective science-based research often begins with a hypothesis formed from a social theory and science-based research can often provide support for social theories or can spawn new ones.

In general, and in particular among adherents of pure sociology, social theory has appeal because it takes the focus away from the individual and focuses it on the society itself and the social forces which control individuals' lives. This sociological insight, or sociological imagination, looks beyond the assumption of societal structures and patterns as purely random.

2.1.2 Principal Research Fields

As a research topic, bullying has been studied within a range of disciplines in the behavioural sciences, including psychology, psychiatry, sociology and social anthropology. As a management issue, bullying is germane to studies of organisational behaviour, human resources development, leadership, corporate culture and business ethics. Increasingly, examination of the potential for legal redress and action by employers' associations and trades unions are integral to workplace bullying studies. Research findings on bullying are having an impact on the development of management guidelines and policies for staff welfare, notably in terms of motivation and retention of staff, disciplinary and grievance procedures, managing change and dignity at work. Employers are faced with more extensive responsibilities for employees' welfare at work and are beginning to make financial provision for harm caused as a result of negligence, as legal action on workplace bullying becomes more common.

Types of bullying have been defined in some detail: twelve specific kinds were nominated by the late Tim Field (Field, 2000 – 2001). Some researchers distinguish between person-related or work-related bullying, for example, Einarsen & Hoel (2001) as reported in Salin (2005). Both bullying by individuals and organisational or corporate bullying were identified in the performing arts research as prevailing issues. In the case of the former, pair bullying and serial bullying were more common than group bullying.

In the early 1990s, personal strategies for improving assertiveness – self-help – were advocated as the way to deal with difficult people (Walmsley, 1991; Lundin & Lundin, 1995). In the more practice-oriented literature, as reflected in popular writing, the campaign for self-improvement has endured (Adams, 1992; Wheatley, 1999; Namie & Namie, 1999). Whilst there is undoubtedly potential to help individuals to combat victimhood by improving their internal resources, the quality and depth of research during the last ten years indicates that it is too simplistic to nominate self-improvement of targets alone as the solution to dealing with bullying behaviour.

2.1.3 Health & Safety, Equal Opportunities, Diversity

Workplace bullying now comes within the sphere of influence of policies governing health & safety at work, and also equal opportunities. It is a fundamental health and safety issue because it represents an injury sustained in the process of employment, and, as noted by Turney (2003), for the majority employment is a captive activity. It is central to an individual's life and sense of self. Often equal opportunities and diversity

policies, created to guard against discrimination and harassment on the grounds of one or more of age, colour, creed, criminal record, disability, gender, race or religion, encompass workplace bullying – because although workplace bullying appears to function in the absence of these specific elements, it is a form of interpersonal or intra-organisational conflict, or oppression of employees by management, having the same negative effects as status–based discrimination and harassment.

For example, James Cook University in Australia has a comprehensive set of web pages about bullying and intimidation. The site takes a twin approach to information provision: offering an in-house guide to what constitutes bullying behaviour with appropriate advice and sources of help to targets, and also more general information on what might be encountered in the post-university workplace, including details of research undertaken elsewhere. The topics covered include [my parentheses]:

- Recognising bullies [typical characteristics]
- Behaviour profile [overt and covert forms of bullying]
- Female bullying
- College bullying [detailed account of bullying behaviour associated with higher education establishments; grievance procedures in place at the university and contact details for Discrimination Advisers]
- Workplace bullying [see definition below]
- The Bottom Line [examples of the outcomes of bullying behaviour based on a study, surveying almost 400 National Guard members and their military supervisors, was undertaken by researchers from the University of North Carolina and the University of Kentucky.]

The multi-campus university was created in 1970, with the main sites located in the coastal cities of Townsville and Cairns (Queensland) and smaller sites at Mount Isa, Mackay and Thursday Island. JCU courses are also delivered in partnership with education providers in Sydney and Melbourne, and it attracts many foreign students. The university also offers basic information on why bullying happens and what steps to take to deal with it. It includes advice for Supervisors and guidelines for Managers. Information on Workplace Harassment is also given, and additionally JCU defines corporate bullying as:

> "where an employer takes advantage of the weakness of the law and, perhaps, the scarcity of jobs to create difficulties for any employee who resists unreasonable demands. This may include pressuring employees to surrender previously agreed

terms and conditions, and to forgo permanency in favour of short-term contracts." (Gray, 2003)

The definition is based on Tim Field's work (2000–2001) and cites the exploitation of both licit and economic inadequacies as a control mechanism for employers. Workplace terms and conditions were investigated as part of the performing arts research and the findings yield perceptions on the part of employees within the sector that being coerced into unwelcome agreements over terms and conditions, and being in a disadvantaged position in terms of employment generally, was the norm.

Most, if not all, universities and colleges in the UK now have policies on discrimination, bullying and intimidation, which are easily accessible for staff and students alike. The UCEA (Universities and Colleges Employers' Association) is the employers' body for universities and colleges of higher education in the United Kingdom, and provides a framework within which institutions can discuss, and seek advice and guidance on salaries, conditions of service, employee relations and all matters connected with employment within the higher education sector. A search of the UCEA website[1] provides a link to Success Unlimited's publications on bullying (Field, 1996; Kinchin, 2004; Field & Marr, 2004).

Arts organisations can learn much from these examples from the education sector and many of them are gradually following suit: the larger venues and companies are working alongside trades unions, employers' organisations and professional institutes to introduce the concept of dignity at work within health & safety and equal opportunities policies. In the subsidised sector, the arts funding system helps by promoting diversity as a positive and desirable organisational aim. Smaller arts organisations, however, may take some time to instigate similar changes to instruments of governance.

2.1.4 Cyberbullying

One form of bullying that is particularly of our time is cyberbullying, also known as flame mail and the subject of a number of studies of social control through email, for example, Romm & Pliskin, 1999. The research builds on earlier work on power and politics in Information Technology, extending it to email and more specifically, to the use of e-mail for petty tyranny (for example, Kling, 1991). It includes a case study in which the Chair of a University Department used email to manipulate, control and

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[1] UCEA Website. [accessed May 2006 from: http://www.ucea.ac.uk/]

coerce employees. The authors link the events in the case study with four of the five effects on subordinates of tyrannical behaviour by managers (Ashforth, 1994 as reported in Romm & Pliskin, 1999). These tendencies are:

- low leadership endorsement
- fostering of employees' stress and reactance
- creation of employees' helplessness and work alienation (not cited in the case study but considered to be latent)
- undermining of employees' self esteem and consequent decrease in their performance
- undermining of social unit cohesiveness

All of these symptoms are recognisable as effects of other types of bullying behaviour particularly in an organisational or group context, indicating that email is not necessarily an impersonal or detached medium, but one that provides perpetrators with an additional harassment tool. The study concludes that there are specific email features that make it amenable to political abuse. These are described in Romm and Pliskin (1997) as:

- speed: instantaneous communication, especially with large groups of people, can have significant political implications
- multiple addressability: the capacity to send information instantaneously and simultaneously to a large group of individuals within and outside an organization, offering the instigator a degree of power
- recordability: the capacity to store messages for transmission at a later point in time, for example when this may be politically expedient
- processing: the capacity to modify the content and structure of messages before transmitting to others – neutral messages can thus be transformed into politically explosive ones
- routing: the selection of addressees, including *invisible* ones (for example, using Bcc[2] or similar facilities). Particularly significant when used in conjunction with the editing options in processing above (Romm & Pliskin, 1997)

Email should be considered a technology with strong political potency. Markus (1994) took the view that negative use could be an unintentional side-effect, however Romm and Pliskin (1999) note the opportunities for deliberate exploitation. This discussion is

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[2] Abbreviation for blind carbon copy, which originates from the process of making a clandestine copy of a typed document by using a sheet of carbon paper interleaved between the original document and a blank sheet of paper. As used in regard to email, this enables the sender to copy messages to others, whose identity is unknown by the 'official' recipients

on a parallel with the debate surrounding intent in bullying – as in Vartia-Väänänen (2003); Field (1996); Randall (1997). Negative use of technology resulting from lack of expertise could produce unwitting bullying. Skilful use of technology, including voice messaging, abusive or derogatory websites, email and text messaging, undoubtedly provides a new set of opportunities for individuals to exploit others, should they so wish, by manipulating people, circumstances, events and political situations for advantage.

Educational and other establishments are beginning to include cyberbullying in advice given to tackle school bullying. In Massachusetts, Bridgewater State College, which trains teachers, is host to the Massachusetts Aggression Reduction Centre (MARC) – a partnership between higher education educators and researchers and K-12 educators,[3] guidance counselors, administrators, law enforcement, and public servants in the legal sector (for example, the District Attorney's Office). The partnership was the initiative of Dr Elizabeth Englander, Chair and Associate Professor in the Department of Psychology, and now Director of MARC. The purpose of the partnership is to:

- Educate K-12 faculty, guidance counselors, and administrators about the causes of aggression behavior in children;
- Disseminate current research findings in that area in a speedy and comprehensive manner; and
- Provide K-12 faculty and personnel, and law enforcement, with the knowledge and understanding to cope with aggression in the schools, including conflict-resolution, anger management, and behavior techniques (MARC Statement of Purpose, 2006)

MARC has produced accessible information bulletins for use by local schools, Cyberbullying: A Guide for Parents (Englander, 2006a) and Social Networking Online: A guide for Parents to Xanga, MySpace, and Similar Websites (Englander, 2006b). The centre is also engaged in research into school violence, and runs a grant programme for schools Bullying and Diversity, open to schools running projects that seek

> "to increase greater recognition of and response to bullying behaviors and actively promote respect for racial, ethnic, cultural, religious and other individual differences" (MARC Start-up Grants Program, 2006)

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[3] K12 is a company that delivers programs in six core subjects in schools across the USA (Language Arts, Math, History, Science, Art, and Music) for kindergarten through ninth grade. It is expanding its academic program from grades K–8 to include high school grades 9–12, beginning by offering a complete ninth grade curriculum for the 2005–2006 school year. The curriculum for ninth graders includes content in English, mathematics, science, and history.

The research into cyberbullying, and the ways in which educational establishments are tackling the phenomenon – particularly those with cross-sectoral partnerships such as MARC – should be closely followed by arts and other employers, because as communications technology develops and changes, and as the structure of our working lives adapts to 24/7 virtual live/work environments, so workplace bullying by electronic means is liable to become increasingly prevalent. The impact of developments in technology on employment and work environments has been immense and arts workplaces have benefited like many others, exchanging manual electric systems for computer-controlled lighting boards, and obsolete rigs and apparatus for sophisticated electronic sound and stage equipment. Box office systems are computerised, and software programmes enable marketing data to be readily gathered alongside the automation of ticketing procedures. Directors, administrators and managers access communications and information technology on a daily basis, using this to carry out basic administrative tasks as well as to undertake specialist artistic, financial, marketing, management and risk assessment functions. Communication by email, and by video conferencing, has reduced substantially the requirement for meetings, for the production of written correspondence or extended use of the telephone. Workplaces, like schools and many parental-controlled home computers, frequently have policies in place to limit access to inappropriate material from external sources, including the internet, and apposite security measures to implement them. In the very near future, ways may have to be found to monitor inappropriate communication by email, on an intra-organisational basis as well as interagency. Cyberbullying in the arts workplace features in two of the case studies in Chapter 5, namely A Collective Organisation and A Creative Industry.

2.1.5 Perspectives on individuals who bully

As the vast majority of research findings on bullying are gathered from targets of bullying, the psychological and physiological distress caused by the behaviour is very well documented (Leymann, 1996; Davenport et al, 1999; Clifton & Serdar, 2000; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001). Health problems, both mental and physical, can be caused by bullying and by persistent exposure to other negative behaviours at work (Keashly, Hunter & Harvey, 1997; Einarsen, Matthiesen & Skogstad 1998). Mikkelsen and Einarsen (2001) report that the well-being and productivity of other employees who witness or are aware of bullying behaviour is also affected, and there are links to rises in negligence, staff turnover and cases of sick leave (Cox, 1987; Zapf, Knorz & Kulla,

1996). The performing arts research indicates similar characteristics: the impact of an individual bully in the arts workplace is multidimensional and contagious.[4]

There is less evidence on what motivates the perpetrator of workplace violence, although some studies have looked at how bullies and stalkers think and behave (for example, Schell & Lanteigne, 2000), and the corrosive effect of the way in which tyrants operate:

> "They depend on people giving up; feeling so demoralised that they cannot be bothered to fight. In the cycle of demoralisation, the doubts about oneself, one's motives, what course of action to take, undermines confidence. This plays into the tyrant's hands. They rely on the victim feeling that it is not worth bothering to take any action." (Crawford, 1999)

For example, Crawford further asserts that, in pursuit of complete subjugation, a ruthless manager will knowingly exploit a worker's loyalty to an organisation and/or their economic dependency on their job. Arts workers have complained of being misused in such a way – being publicly castigated if complaints are made and having their commitment to the arts and to their organisation openly doubted and ridiculed.

Archer (1999) noted that in organisations with a military structure, the behaviour of the tyrannical manager could be overtly encouraged and even imitated by others, particularly if it is perceived as strong management, which gets things done. In the arts case studies there are examples of individuals adopting bullying behaviour on the basis that it works – having observed that bullies receive plaudits for results and promotion.

It has been suggested that the creation of the bullying personality has its roots in a dysfunctional childhood (Randall, 1997, pp 73–88). Causes include confrontational, rejective, negative or inadequate parental or caregivers' influence, which has the effect of creating an adult with

> "an antisocial personality characterised by the aggressive manipulation of other people." (Randall, 1997, p 74)

Psychological violence in childhood may be the genesis of adult bullying, and there is evidence of the chain reaction of abuse: the abused child in a loveless environment experiences conflicting emotions, including fear, mistrust of others, envy, self-hatred and an addiction to self-harm battling with pent-up aggression (for example, Crawford, 1992, pp 69 – 71). Many of the traits ascribed to bullies indicate a psychopathic

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[4] See also section 1.3.3 in Chapter 1.

personality (for example, Field, 1996, Table 5 p 54). In the main, bullies are depicted as insecure, often cowardly, individuals with a high need for control and being right. They can be alternately charming and nasty, and are fundamentally dishonest (Wheatley, 1999, pp 20–24). Beyond this, commentators have explored the themes of bullies as individuals who are socially inadequate and as people seeking to protect self–esteem. They have also expatiated on the function of the working environment in bullying behaviour (Einarsen et al, 2003, pp 168–173). All these factors are represented, to varying degrees, in the arts research. Some of the descriptors noted by Wheatley and Field correlate with the attributes of the creative personality, which is further discussed in Chapter 7.

2.1.6 Perspectives on the bullying organisation

Among possible causes of workplace bullying are the organisational culture and the social system of the workplace (Zapf, 1999). Studies have looked at the extent to which traditional organisational cultures tend to permit abuse of power (Archer, 1999; Bennett & Lehman, 1999) and researchers have noted the tendency for organisations to treat the target of bullying behaviour as the problem (Einarsen et al, 1994; Leymann 1990). Ståle Einarsen, a professor in the Department of Psychosocial Science, University of Bergen, Norway and author of many books and articles about workplace bullying comments:

> "When stepping into the case, upper management, union representatives, or personnel administration tend to accept the prejudices produced by the offenders, thus blaming the victim for its misfortune. Third parties or managers may see the situation as no more than fair treatment of a difficult and neurotic person" (Einarsen et al, 1994; Leymann 1990).

This mirrors the description of third stage stress as reported by Wilkie (1996), when schoolchildren who react with uncharacteristic violence to bullying behaviour can be wrongly labelled as troublemakers. It also correlates with the reports from arts workers who attempted unsuccessfully to convince management that bullying was taking place.[5] Apparent complicity on the part of management is consistent with the issue of permissibility (Rayner, 1999), which is further explored in Chapter 7. Research into conflict in the workplace, how it develops and grows, and how it is managed indicates that an imbalance of power or strength is necessary for dissension in the workplace to become bullying, although disparity can evolve over time from an apparently equivalent

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[5] See Pilot Study (2001) findings and Chapter 1 p 27

relationship (Zapf & Gross, 2001). An example of this in the arts research is in the case study of A Co-operative Theatre Company in Chapter 5, which would also appear to provide another ingredient that contributes to bullying in organisations – a situation where there are high demands on collaboration (Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2001). As individuals often act and respond at differing rates, the requirement to work in a team may be likely to cause pressure and tension, per se, and will be exacerbated if there is unconstructive leadership (Rayner, 1999).

Einarsen (1999, pp 21–22) cites separate studies examining work environments in Ireland, Norway and Finland, which have noted broadly similar reports from bullying targets. An organisation undergoing restructuring, managed with an authoritarian leadership style, and coupled with a competitive environment and myriad interpersonal conflicts, created highly stressful working conditions for thirty Irish employees (Seigne, 1998). In a Finnish study, an authoritative approach to settling differences of opinion, married with an information and discussion vacuum, led to a sense of helplessness among employees who lacked the ability to determine their own future (Vartia, 1996). In Norway respondents also cited a lack of ability for self-determination, coupled with the absence of constructive leadership and a high level of role conflict (Einarsen et al, 1994).

These characteristics were also present in the arts research case studies, particularly A Co-Operative Theatre Company, A Visual Arts Organisation and A Community Arts Service. One interviewee described the working environment thus:

> " ... particularly insensitive management style ... constant negativity directed at employees ... undue amount of harassment leading to staff being stressed and absent throughout the year ... a lack of knowledge by management of the work carried out, and absence of support for employees attempting to maintain a service with lack of structure and backing ... Continual 'put-downs' and insinuations that work carried out is not meeting expectations, belies a subversive form of demotivation ... not ... conducive to a good working environment and inter-personal relationships ... my role has been diminished to such an extent that I am indeed threatened with no other option than to 'opt out'." (Case Study: *A Community Arts Service* 2000/2001)

This bullying arts environment features autocratic leadership, poor management, miserable and demotivated staff, who feel helpless, are confused about their roles and aware of only the bleakest possible outlook in terms of their future.

The ripple effect of bullying within a workforce can cause absentee levels to increase and morale to plummet. As a result, members of staff lack inspiration, become less

motivated and less productive, and organisational effectiveness is reduced. A bullied employee is more likely to leave an organisation and high staff turnover can be a dependable indicator of an unhappy workplace, as the ripple effect of bullying extends beyond targets to witnesses (UNISON 1997; Rayner, 1999). Researchers have commented on the difficulties faced by employees who have tried and failed to address the problem according to existing procedures in their organisation, and have then resorted to the supreme anti-social behaviour which runs contrary to respect for corporate culture: whistle blowing (Giacalone & Greenberg [Eds], 1997; Labour Research, London, 1999; Richter, 2001).

Commenting on corporate culture, Michael Sheehan (1999) identified a crisis in capitalist organisations as the principal factor leading to the emergence of a discourse of restructuring (McCarthy et al, 1995), one outcome of which appeared to be workplace bullying. Sheehan identifies open communication as a first casualty of organisational change and this is consistent with some of the arts research and with the study in Finland where employees encountered the complete absence of opportunities to obtain information and to engage in debate and discussion (Vartia, 1996). Both McCarthy and Sheehan cite the need for management styles that are compassionate and caring, offering positive support and team building opportunities.

2.1.7 The Law and the cost of workplace bullying

During the last decade some trades unions in the UK have supported research into workplace bullying and have advocated the development of policy and procedures, including training for managers on how to deal with perpetrators and assistance programmes for employees (TUC, 1999; UNISON 2003). They have also focused on corporate bullying with a view to protecting workers' rights and improving employment terms and conditions. The role of trades unions has been explored alongside the responsibility of employers to protect workers (Ishmael & Alemoru, 1999; Namie & Namie, 2000), and the findings from the BECTU survey among performing arts organisations in 2004 include a unanimous call to BECTU to take immediate and determined action on the issue, which the union has done.[6]

Many researchers have noted the shortcomings of existing judicial systems in terms of dealing satisfactorily with bullying behaviour, and some have provided signposts as to how legal impediments can be overcome. (Chadwick, 1997; Costigan, 1998; Leather et

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[6] See Chapter 6.

al, 1999; Schell & Lanteigne, 2000; Namie & Namie, 2000). Workplace bullying is a global phenomenon and although there is a commonality of interest, interest in and levels of access to legal redress differ inter-nation and indeed inter-continent, and in some cases appear to be aligned with specific cultural and social mores (see next section).

Empirical evidence has been gathered on the financial costs of bullying behaviour due to related health problems.[7] Leymann (1990) suggested that the costs of employees taking sick leave, including estimates for loss of productivity and the need for professional intervention (health workers and human resources officers, etc), could be between US$30,000 and US$100,000 per employee (Sheehan & Barker, 1999). In terms of productivity alone, costs must be substantial given the estimate that 25% of bullied employees leave their jobs as a result of their treatment, and that witnesses of bullying also leave their jobs (Rayner, 1999). As high staff turnover can be an indicator of workplace bullying and other distressing factors, such situations should alert employers to problem areas. For example, in the arts case studies, staff turnover and absenteeism noticeably increased as a result of bullying in *A Co-Operative Theatre Company, A Private Museum, A Visual Arts Organisation* and several of the organisations featured in brief contributions to Pilot Study Two (Website).

In the UK there has been an increasing number of legal actions where bullying has been identified as the main source of complaint. In 2006, for example, one prominent firm of solicitors is advertising its services for people who are in disputes with their employers, through the news pages of a national daily paper. As expected, these include issues such as unfair and constructive dismissal as well as redundancy, however they also include legal services in connection with bullying and harassment, disability discrimination and whistle blowing.[8] The firm's web pages carry a number of news items about discrimination on the basis of gender and/or sexual orientation, particularly in the investment banking business and in the security forces. Compensation claims are high[9] and the specialist lawyers anticipate more claims and legal action in the future, especially concerning heterosexism:

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[7] See summary of estimated annual cost according to the Australian government in the previous chapter
[8] Corries Solicitors Ltd. (2006) Protecting you. *Protecting your career.* Advertisement in *The Guardian.* Monday May 22. p 12.
[9] "A female city worker is currently seeking £11 million in damages from a leading bank for sexual discrimination and wrongful dismissal. Claire Bright, 47, who was head of Asset and Liability Management at HBOS, claims she was unfairly sacked from her £600,000 a year job." Corries Solicitors. Website news item [accessed May 2006 from: http://www.corries.co.uk/employment3.asp]

> "Homophobia in the work place is real. It is important that people both in the City and across other industry sectors become more aware of their rights under the raft of legislation making discrimination and harassment unlawful."
> (Denbghan, 2006, attr.)

In addition to fiscal considerations, the cost of bullying can be measured in terms of the health of affected individuals, the performance and morale of organisations, and the public profile of an entire sector (TUC, 1999). As awareness has grown, bullying has become an increasingly onerous job-related issue (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Rayner, 1997). It is also clear that it is prevalent across a range of organisational groups and industrial sectors (Hoel, Cooper & Faragher 2001; Hubert & Van Veldhoven, 2001). During this research, some managers argued that the arts were sufficiently different from other employment sectors to merit being treated in a different way. This study has found no evidence to suggest that this is, in fact, the case, except in the sense that management culture allied with traditional terms and conditions in creative organisations may serve to intensify problems such as bullying, making these more frequent and more virulent in arts settings.

2.2 NEW HORIZONS

In 2007 there are academic studies and *popular* publications exploring the workplace bullying phenomenon from a variety of different angles. Many include advice to employers on practical steps to take to eradicate, or to mitigate the effects of, bullying (Reynolds, 1994; Giacalone & Greenberg [Eds], 1997; TUC, 1999). Lewis (2004) urges *those charged with dealing with the aftermath of an event to consider the importance of the shame construct* (p 296) and notes that bullying is a phenomenon *rapidly on the increase... increasing numbers of employees being exposed to bullying behaviours* (p 282). Hoel, Faragher and Cooper (2004) note that *levels of bullying appear to vary considerably between organisational sectors* (p 370) and Rayner (1999) warns of the need for researchers to understand the contextual framework of the issue before recommending intervention or prevention strategies. Indeed, *organisational context may affect not only levels of bullying, but also its effect on recipients* (Hoel, Faragher & Cooper, 2004, p 370).

A variety of terms are used to describe a range of abusive behaviours and these may originate from a number of different sources. For example they can be described as *personal* in origin (Einarsen et al, 2003) or *organisationally derived* (Lewis, 2002; Salin,

2003). Further, Lewis (2004) argues that the range of behaviours is so *highly subjective* as to be *open to multiple explications* (p 283). Hoel, Faragher and Cooper (2004) assert that it is *the **subjective** experience of being bullied which may manifest itself in mental and physical health problems* (p 369).

Research on the topic specifically in the arts is new, however there are interesting insights to be gained from the anecdotal evidence of theatrical and literary storytellers (for example, Ronnie Barker, David Hemmings and John Upton). These provide details of the experiences of stage and screen actors, directors, writers and other artists, who offer descriptions of the wide variety of personality types they have encountered throughout their careers, and of strategies they have employed to deal with *difficult people* as well as unhelpful managements. Similarly, there are salutary lessons to be learned from *Founder's Syndrome*, as described by Andrew Gaupp, Associate Professor of Theatre Arts at the University of Texas at Arlington, USA. In a journal article he recounts his own and others' observations on a predicament experienced by a number of theatre companies in the USA, wherein creative professionals establish new arts organisations that grow and become so successful that a more complex system of authority is required, the result of which is that the founder becomes a liability and is ousted (Gaupp, 1997). This is also a familiar phenomenon in the UK, and several of the arts case studies illustrate the level of harm that can be caused by the '*ousting*' process, whether or not this is ultimately successful.

Although early research indicated that bullying was not gender specific, increasingly studies have considered bullying in the context of gender and sexual orientation (Costigan, 1998; Hoel, Cooper & Faragher 2001; Lee, 2001 as reported in Turney, 2003; Lewis 2006). There has been a tendency towards the predominance of women as targets and Lewis (2004) noted that of the 15 participants in his study of workplace bullying in education sectors, and the impact of shame, only two were men (Lewis, 2004 p 296). He urges further research to explore whether men react differently to the constructs of bullying and shame, and whether they employ different coping mechanisms. Hoel, Faragher and Cooper (2004) conducted a national cross-section study (N=5,388) and found that differences between the sexes and between occupational contexts emerged when damage to health caused by bullying was measured. Yet Vartia and Hyyti (2002) conducted a study in prisons in Finland that found no evidence that gender should act as predictors of stress among victims of bullying. During the arts study in 2004, almost half of the women respondents (49%) reported being the target of a workplace bully, compared to less than one third of the

men (32%), and 35% of all women (that is, both bullied and non-bullied) thought bullying had become more frequent during the last 5 years. This correlates with evidence from other studies, for example that with a bullied group by Zapf, Dormann and Frese (1996), that women have a *greater tendency to report more psychological ill health and distress than men in general* (Hoel et al 2004, p 370). There is further discussion of bullying and gender in Chapter 6.

2.2.1 Vulnerability and stress

Within the literature on victims versus targets, some investigation has been made of whether certain employees are pre-disposed to become targets of bullying and what influences perceptions and experiences of bullying (Aquino et al, 1999; Lewis, 1999). Hoel, Faragher and Cooper (2004) consider research into the subjective nature of the response to bullying, which finds that

> being exposed to behaviour which may be construed as bullying is in itself not harmful if it is not perceived as such by the recipient. Accordingly, the stronger negative impact is likely to be found among those reporting or labelling themselves as being bullied (Hoel, Faragher and Cooper, 2004 p 369).

Tim Field was involved in research into the issue of vulnerability in 2005, and researchers have noted that the process of dealing with bullying behaviour, particularly where this involves the target in recounting the experience to others, or participating in difficult grievance procedures may increase the target's vulnerability, rather than reduce it. For example, Duncan Lewis poses the question:

> Could the experience of evidence gathering, HR investigation and potential litigation give rise to higher levels of stress and shame than the actual bullying experience itself? (Lewis, 2004 p 287)

It was a concern during the arts research that the process of interviewing self-styled victims of bullying generated increased stress, simply through the rehearsal of the bullying experience. The interview process was designed specifically to minimise distress, however the vulnerability of the target was evident, even when some considerable time had elapsed since the bullying. This correlates with data from Hoel, Faragher and Cooper (2004) who found that *negative effects of bullying linger on well beyond the time of the incident* (p 380).

Some researchers into school bullying have studied behaviour among targets and concluded that victim status may determine the frequency with which children are

bullied, distinguishing, in the process, between *passive, submissive* victims and *provocative* victims (Olweus, 1993; Randall, 1997). This suggests the potential for some level of participation in bullying by the target/victim and is contrary to the opinion that targets of bullying are entirely blameless, as Leymann (1996) and Field (1999).

Those who witness bullying behaviour do not escape unscathed. In a study of a UK trades union, Rayner (1999) reports that only 16% of witnesses claim to be unaffected and Leymann (1987) and Zapf et al (1999) note the potential role of witnesses in the victimisation process, whilst Vartia (2001) records the psychological and behavioural implications for witnesses. Hoel, Faragher and Cooper (2004) note that *there are negative effects of indirect exposure to bullying* (p 381) and that some bystanders exhibit *fear of becoming the next target or being dragged into existing conflicts* (p 380) and this may explain the arts case studies, where *accessories* to bullying are identified – that is, witnesses who have the power to intervene but choose not to, thereby colluding with the bullying behaviour.

2.2.2 Research traditions and climate

In 1999 Zapf identified two distinct foci when he compared the literature in England to that in Scandinavia: the English research focused on the attacker as a single individual (Adams with Crawford, 1992; Field, 1996; Rayner, 1997) whereas the Scandinavian and German research concentrated on the victim attacked by one or more people (Zapf, 1999: p 76). By 2003, these two emphases had merged into a *European* research tradition, and an *American* research tradition had been added. This concept of two traditions within academic research is noted by Einarsen et al (Eds) (2003) in *Bullying and emotional abuse in the workplace. International perspectives in research and practice* (Preface) wherein the European model represents mobbing/bullying and remains focused on the perpetrator, whilst the American one denotes emotional abuse/mistreatment and is focused on the victim.

However, this may be a simplification: when bullying becomes an issue it is often because information and data on bullying experiences is first gathered about, and usually by, targets of bullying. Next the focus turns to redress, perpetrators and finally prevention. Inevitably, data gathering about perpetrators is considerably more difficult and still relatively rare. Much more research is needed in this area if we are to move towards a more comprehensive understanding of the motivation for bullying behaviour in individuals and the climate in which it flourishes and grows.

The established pattern globally is that support groups (for targets) tend to be set up first, as recently has been the case in Japan, for instance. As networking expands, many of these groups lobby effectively for the amendment of existing legislation, or the introduction of new laws, usually with the twin aims of protecting the targets or victims of workplace bullying and, in so doing, making organisations and management more accountable for the behaviour of bullies among their workforce. Also, unfair working terms and conditions imposed by corporations are increasingly being targeted. Research in Europe began earlier than in America, and as data on the effects of bullying behaviour has accumulated and the literature has grown, so researchers worldwide have become increasingly interested in the organisational causes of bullying behaviour (for example, Salin 2003) and in the psychological profile of perpetrators. Researchers in Australia, New Zealand and European countries have demonstrated that they are just as concerned with targets (Turney, 2003; Amicus/MSF, 1994; Field, 1999) as with perpetrators. Bullying Help and Support Groups are found everywhere, and those in the United Kingdom, Canada, the USA and Australia are listed in Appendix 5.

In analysing approaches to the study of workplace bullying, there has been discussion about the perspectives adopted by a range of interest groups, including researchers, campaigning individuals, lobbying organisations and professionals dealing with bullying repercussions through medical, legal and management professions and consultancies. The use of multi-method approaches is posited to achieve a multi-layered framework for research, reflecting personal, socio-cultural and organisational attitudes and behaviours (for example, Liefooghe & Olafsson, 1999). In the arts research, a combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses proved effective: survey results are supplemented by interviews and case studies, offering more fully-rounded information beyond data manipulation.

It has been suggested that a need exists for more empirical studies on the nature and causes of bullying (Einarsen, 1999) and for more research into specific employment sectors. Certainly, the way in which some behaviours are interpreted does seem to depend, to an extent, on the sector in which employees are working. The example from New Zealand's Employment Court Cases given later in this chapter (p 74) demonstrates that bullying behaviour was considered acceptable in a busy hotel kitchen, because that environment is deemed to be a *tough climate.* Salin (2003) points out the danger of such environments as places employees and managers *can also become socialised into treating bullying as a normal feature of working life* (Salin, 2003

p 36). The Further and Higher Education sectors are chosen by Duncan Lewis for his research into the impact of shame among bullied university and college lecturers partly because of the significant changes taking place in the way education is delivered in the UK and because of the shifting focus in the way public sector organisations are managed (Lewis, 2004, p 282). The methodology for bullying studies is considered by Rayner, Sheehan & Barker (1999) in the context of the benefits and limitations of incidence studies and clinical studies. This is further explored in relation to research in the arts in the next chapter.

2.2.3 The importance of the work environment

Like Hoel, Faragher and Cooper (2004), Lewis (2004) finds *clear evidence for feelings of shame* ***which appear to last long after the bullying episodes have ended*** and notes significant hierarchical policy changes synonymous with the concept of *managerialism*, as postulated by Protherough & Pick (2002). In Chapter 7, *The Artistic Director, Theatre* outlines some of the effects of managerialism in an arts context, noting the changes that have been introduced so that the arts establishment's requirement is now that managers produce *scientific* appraisals in which everything possible has been tallied, measured and calculated; in which milestones have been surpassed, targets exceeded and goals achieved. The effect of this being, according to the account given, that creative individuals working in arts management perceive that they have become a bevy of bean counters. This echoes research findings which note in the contemporary working environment:

> the ever-increasing struggle for efficiency, work intensification, and reliance of performance-related reward systems, which may lead to an increase in bullying and violating and abusive conduct by managers and co-workers (McCarthy, 1996; Sheehan, 1996; Wright & Smye, 1997; Lee, 2000) (Salin, 2003 p 42).

Reflecting this, in terms of the education sectors, Lewis states:

> Trade unions and academic staff operating in these education sectors have subsequently argued that this is an environment where bullying has become a synonym for tough managerial styles. (Lewis, 2004, p 282)

The arts case studies reinforce this perspective and suggest that the environment in which bullying happens has an important influence on the outcome of the phenomenon for target, perpetrator and the organisation as a whole. This view is shared by researchers from other employment sectors. Hoel and Salin (2003) categorise the

organisational precursors of bullying under four headings: *the changing nature of work; how work is organised; organisational culture; and leadership… workplace bullying might be caused by a combination of these or other forces and… these vary in different circumstances* (Lewis, 2004 p 284). Salin (2003) notes that *bullying seems to be prevalent in organisations where employees are dissatisfied with the social climate and the internal communication* (Salin 2003, p 36). Further, the way in which bullying is handled within an organisation or employment sector may contribute to increasing the stress experienced by the target, including shame and embarrassment (Lewis, 2004 p 285).

In one arts case study, the bullying behaviour occurred in *A Community Arts Service* at a time when the local authority department was undergoing significant organisational change, including restructuring. A number of researchers have noted the detrimental effect organisational change of this type has, including bullying behaviour (Salin, 2003; Hoel & Cooper, 2000; McCarthy, 1996; Sheehan, 1996) and Salin suggests that bullying in these circumstances may be viewed as *a 'rational' choice* by the perpetrator *that is a deliberate strategy for improving one's own position* (Salin, 2003, p 36). Indeed, in several of the arts case studies we see how the perpetrator manipulates events to their own ends, for example in *A Private Museum*, as part of organisational politics (Salin, 2003 p 37), and such strategies have been noted by other researchers (for example, Neuberger, 1999; Niedl 1995; Zapf & Warth 1997). Salin (2003) found a clear relationship between bullying and organisational politics in her study of 385 Finnish professional employees holding a university degree in business studies, and notes that organisational politics can have both positive and negative effects (p 41) and that they seem *to thrive in competitive and hectic work environments*:

> Indirectly, this also means that bullying is more frequent in these environments, which is supported by previous studies (Einarsen, Raknes & Mathiesen, 1994; Vartia, 1996; Appelberg, Romanov, Honkasalo & Koskenvuo, 1991; O'Moore, 2000) (Salin, 2003, p 42)

The testimony of arts workers, as discussed in Chapter 7, confirms that arts workplaces can indeed be hectic, however the extent to which they are *competitive* has yet to be established. Perceptions being highly subjective, it seems likely that perpetrators of bullying behaviour may deem themselves to be in competition with a colleague, whether or not this is, in fact, a feature of the working environment. As bullying behaviour may arise for a variety of reasons, and may have more than one cause, the role played by organisational politics deserves further and deeper

consideration. In the arts case study, *A Co-Operative Theatre Company*, for example, there is no organisational *change,* as such, to trigger the onset of bullying, except that the creation of a new company is, of itself, an immense challenge to all participants in terms of change management.

In the arts research, some of the bullied targets who responded to the website survey described a descent into ill-health and depression. In fact, depression is a major factor in the deteriorating health of bullied people (Einarsen & Raknes, 1997; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2002; Niedl, 1996; Vartia, 1996) and Lewis states that depression results from *attributions of failure that are internal* (Lewis, 2002 p 143). Empirical research has found links between depression and guilt, as well as between guilt and shame (Harder, Cutler & Rockart, 1992). Trumbull (2003) argues that *shame makes the sufferer want to shrink from others* and the arts case studies reveal how targets of bullying in arts organisations retreat to the periphery of their working environment as, increasingly, they isolate themselves in response to the behaviour they are enduring. Lewis (2004) finds that *legitimate formal support through personnel departments or trade unions is shunned in favour of support networks amongst colleagues* (p 293) and the arts research reports the growth of online help and support groups for bullied people as testimony to *the blend between empathy and encounter* which assists targets in dealing with their negative experiences (Lewis 2004, p 293). Besides external support networks, another coping mechanism is one where targets share experiences with sympathetic colleagues. Where no coping mechanism exists, researchers have noted that severe cases of bullying can result in Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (Einarsen & Mikkelsen, 2003; Hoel, Faragher & Cooper, 2004) and that stress and depression can cause feelings of helplessness alongside anger (Niedl, 1996; Richards & Freeman, 2002). Lack of support in the workplace for bullied people, and its detrimental effect, has been noted by Leymann and Gustafsson (1996) and Matthiesen et al (2003), and this is clearly evidenced by the data from the BECTU survey and in the arts case studies.

Certainly, the increasing use of multidisciplinary approaches to research into bullying is enabling studies of the subject at a variety of levels. The more popular literature echoes the early self-help publications (such as Walmsley, 1991) and remains focused on enabling people to build 'internal' power and self-esteem, to be more confident and assertive, the implication being that they will be better equipped to withstand the bullying that, inevitably it would seem, they will encounter. Some publications present methods for dealing with dysfunctional interpersonal relationships (Lundin & Lundin,

1995), all or most of which appear to necessitate change on the part of everyone except the perpetrator of the undesirable behaviour, as observed by Adams (1992) and Rayner (1998). Indeed, the arts case studies demonstrate how some bullies are rewarded for their behaviour through accolades or promotion, for example in *A Visual Arts Centre*, and Salin (2003) suggests that *tough internal competition* which yields rewards and benefits for bullies may contribute to both peer bullying and hierarchical bullying (Salin, 2003 p 37). An example of the latter is found in the case study *An Arts Centre,* where two Board members bully a high-performing subordinate who is perceived as a threat to their personal power base.

Whilst the *self-help* model may have its place among literature aimed at the self-improvement market, it reinforces the view, outlined in Chapter 1, that it is the response of the target that determines the outcome of bullying behaviour. For example, Hoel, Faragher and Cooper (2004) report that *a stronger negative [health] impact is likely to be found among those reporting or labelling themselves as being bullied* (p 369). Whilst this may be the case, it does not explain why self-confident, assertive and well individuals are targeted by bullies, or the devastating effect this has on the health of the targets, and on the wellbeing and motivation of affected employees. In the arts research, and in research in other employment sectors, reported adverse health effects include one or more of *insomnia, nervous symptoms, melancholy, apathy, lack of concentration and sociophobia* (Björkqvist, Österman & Lagerspetz, 1994).

In considering *antagonism and rivalry in the field of workplace bullying*, Crawford (1999) warns of the need for each interest group to respect the status of the other as all move forward to contribute to the resolution of a major problem: academic, scientific studies have their place, providing research and analysis methods that help to unravel the complexities of the subject; campaigners and lobbyists bring influence and knowledge to bear so as to instigate political and legal changes; the 'carers' and 'hands-on' workers alleviate suffering and even the sceptics challenge assumptions to concentrate our thinking. It would be a Utopia, indeed, if internationally concerted, collaborative approaches were instigated and supported at an appropriate level.

2.3 A GLOBAL ISSUE

In international studies, researchers are comparing and contrasting the approaches used to address the problem of workplace bullying (Zapf & Einarsen, 2001; Zapf & Gross, 2001; Rayner, Sheehan & Barker, 1999; Sheehan & Barker, 1999). A guide to the level of awareness across the world is the progress of measures to prevent and to legislate for workplace bullying, many of which were begun in the late 1990s.

Sweden: The Ordinance on Victimisation at Work (AFS 1993:17)

We must look to Scandinavia for the world's first law on bullying, other than laws related to discrimination. In 1993 Sweden passed the Victimisation at Work Ordinance, which covered both one-on-one bullying by individuals and corporate bullying by employers. This provided legislation to combat actions destined to give offence or which resulted in ostracising people, including supervision with harmful intent and groundless administrative penal sanctions. The onus is on the employer to plan and organise work so as to prevent bullying, to make clear that bullying is not accepted, to provide early detection of signs of victimisation, to rectify unsatisfactory working conditions which are the basis for bullying, to undertake special investigations to ascertain if causes of bullying are related to the way in which work is organised and to have special routines for offering help and support to employees who are subjected to victimisation.

> "Employers must be prepared to deal with the psychological, social and organisational aspects of the working environment, to the same extent as questions of a physical or technical nature" (Swedish National Board of Occupational Health & Safety).

If bullying unequivocally comes within the compass of workplace Health & Safety (Turney, 2003), increasingly employees in the UK are likely to want policy and legislation here to develop along the lines of the Scandinavian model, although the research indicates that arts managers might reject the obligation such a framework places upon employers.

The Netherlands: Working Conditions Act

Under the provisions of the 2004 Working Conditions Act and the Equal Treatment Act, Dutch employers are obliged to provide a workplace where employees can do their jobs without being exposed to violence, harassment and discrimination. This includes sexual harassment and psychological aggression, and the legislation includes mobbing/bulling and racism. It extends the rights of employees to be protected from undesirable behaviour perpetrated by clients, patients and the public (Hubert & Van Veldhoven, 2001).

The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions reports that, in 2004, an evaluation was carried out to investigate how employers were implementing the provisions of the Working Conditions Act governing violence in the workplace (Van Dam and Engelen, 2004).

> "Compared with other evaluations in 1995 and 2000, the 2004 evaluation revealed that employers were more likely to have a specific policy on workplace violence and were more inclined to take preventive measures. Almost 75% of the employers who were interviewed had a written policy on workplace violence, compared with 57% in 2000. Over half of the employers had appointed a counsellor (34% in 2000)" (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions).

According to the Foundation, employers also reported that they received fewer complaints about aggression and violence than previously, which surprised *experts* who had expected the number of complaints to rise due to an increased awareness among employees, a greater participation rate by women, and a more diverse workforce. Until 2004, the concept of intimidation (by colleagues) was used to refer to acts of mobbing/bullying in The Netherlands. However, the term *intimidation* was held to refer more to threats of (physical) violence and, therefore, a new indicator of bullying was introduced in the 2004 TNO Working Conditions Survey:

> "Although the original concept of intimidation was correlated to the new indicator of bullying, the distribution of this new indicator was quite different. Bullying by customers was mentioned by 7.3%, while 10.1% stated that they had been bullied by colleagues in the past year. Intimidation, on the other hand, mostly originated from customers, indicating that the two concepts are related but different."

Leymann's view was that the term bullying was inappropriate for adult harassment or mobbing because it had connotations of physical menace (Leymann, 1996). However it is evident that in The Netherlands intimidation has this implication, and interesting that

the Dutch research suggests that more physical threats, and less psychological harassment, emanate from customers than from colleagues. The arts research did not include a comparative study of bullying by customers and colleagues, and the bullying incidents reported indicate that these related to colleagues, however box office and front of house staff, comprising employees with the highest levels of customer contact, did report levels of bullying behaviour at slightly higher rates, 24% and 21% respectively, than backstage and other staff.[10] In reference to the public sector, Hubert and Van Veldhoven (2001) note:

> "It is not the targets or the relationships with clients, but the interpersonal relationships with colleagues and the boss that play an important role in the evaluation and judgement of one's work and one's possibility for promotion."

Although the health service reports bullying by clientele as well as by colleagues,[11] it may be that the experience of workplace bullying in the arts more closely mirrors that of employees in education and public administration.

France: Industrial Relations Act (1999) & Law for "Social Modernisation" (2002)

In France, the courts recognized moral harassment, though not by name, long before legislation was implemented. The 2002 law is derived from the report of the Economic and Social Council, April 2001, which was a consultative public body that conducted public hearings on bullying (mobbing). The definitions used were:

> "Mobbing (bullying) is "the perverse implementation of power ...a means of subjugation and persecution of the other, questioning his fundamental rights as the respect which is due him or her...
>
> Consequences ... can be detrimental to the good functioning of the company: disorganisation of production, both quantitative and qualitative, and financial effects." (The Workplace Bullying & Trauma Institute)

France has a duality of jurisdictions: there is one for civil servants (1 in 4 of the working population) with peer civil servant Administrative Judges, although these individuals are not, in fact, trained as judges. The second system of Judiciary Judges, who are trained by the National School of Magistracy, is for all other workers. The new Law treats public sector employees differently and France was found to have breached the

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[10] Although 28.6% of cleaners reported that they were targets of bullying behaviour, they represented only 5 people or 2% of the sample, and this may be too small a representation to be reliable.
[11] For example, NHS staff 'bullied by patients and colleagues'. Unattributed article in *The Daily Mail.* 19th May 2006

European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR) primarily because of the inequities across the systems.[12]

The fact that the ECHR criticised France for the differential treatment of its employees suggests that, in a European context, the response of UK arts managers during the research, in seeking to establish that the arts are different to other employment sectors and that normal workplace terms and conditions should not apply, would be similarly dismissed. In 2006 UK working practices and regulations, backed by legislation, are centred on ensuring parity – equal opportunities policies seek to negate discrimination on the basis of, for example, race, colour, ethnic origin, creed, belief, gender, marital status, sexual orientation, disability, size, age – making it difficult to morally justify the claim that working in the arts is different. This is further discussed in Chapter 7.

Canada: Occupational Health and Safety Act, Ontario

In October 2004 a Private Members' Bill (126) was introduced in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, as a means to protect workers from harassment in the workplace. The Bill proposes that harassment and sexual harassment be specifically included as workplace hazards in Ontario's Occupational Health and Safety Act. The Bill's definition of harassment is that it

> "... includes sexual harassment and harassment because of race, ancestry, place of origin, colour, ethnic origin, citizenship, creed, sexual orientation, age, record of offences, marital status, same-sex partnership status, family status or disability" (Occupational Health and Safety Amendment Act (Harassment), 2004).

According to The Workplace Bullying & Trauma Institute, USA & Canada, the Private Members' Bill requires employers to ensure that every worker is protected from workplace-related harassment, and to prepare appropriate policy and guidelines. It also requires harassment prevention training for workers including those who exercise managerial functions. The Bill further proposes a definition of the phrase workplace-related harassment to mean:

> "a. harassment by a worker's employer or supervisor or by another worker, whether or not the harassment occurs at the workplace, or

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[12] See *The Development of Moral Harassment Law in France* at Appendix 5.

> b. harassment that has the effect of interfering with the performance of any worker at the workplace or that creates an intimidating, hostile or offensive work environment for any worker." (Occupational Health and Safety Amendment Act (Harassment), 2004).

The Canadian description of harassment is wide-ranging and incorporates status-based constituents in addition to conventional discriminatory factors. The requirement to provide harassment training for workers, including managers and supervisors, is significant: the performing arts research identified a low level of human resources training among arts managers generally. The emphasis in the Bill is on behaviour, not location, and the case histories in the arts describe instances of bullying behaviour that occurred outwith employment premises, particularly infringing on employees' non-work time, for example, persistent telephone calls to a worker's home at unsocial hours; a requirement to attend out-of-hours gatherings unconnected with an employee's duties; relentless email demands for information during a worker's holiday period. In part b of the definition, the requirement to avoid social degradation of the workplace is also implied (Hirigoyen, 2005).

Protection from Harassment Act, Quebec

The Act was introduced in 1997 followed by new legislation in 2004 to protect

employees from le harcèlement psychologique, described according to the Commission des normes du travail:

> "For the purposes of this Act, "psychological harassment" means any vexatious behaviour in the form of repeated and hostile or unwanted conduct, verbal comments, actions or gestures, that affects an employee's dignity or psychological or physical integrity and that results in a harmful work environment for the employee. A single serious incidence of such behaviour that has a lasting harmful effect on an employee may also constitute psychological harassment" (Protection from Harassment Act, Quebec).

The Act allows that employees at every level have recourse to the legislation in the event of psychological harassment although how this is taken forward varies according to whether the employee comes from the public or private sector and according to whether or not the employee is a member of a union.

The potential for one single bullying incident to do harm is highlighted in the Act. This is a departure from the position adopted by Leymann (1996), who stipulated that mobbing had a minimum duration of once per week for six months. In a definition of workplace

bullying Einarsen & Skogstad (1996: p 191) declare "We will not refer to a one-off incident as bullying" and Hoel, Cooper & Faragher (2001) further explore the duration of bullying and measure the frequency reported in terms of occasionally (very rarely; now and then; several times a month) and regularly (several times a week; almost daily):

Occasionally bullied	9.2%
Regularly bullied	1.4%
Total bullied	10.6%

(Hoel Cooper & Faragher, 2001: Table 1, p 449)

Short–term or one-off bullying behaviour was not reported by targeted respondents during the performing arts research, although the case histories note that the perpetrator of negative behaviour would commit occasional hostile or aggressive acts directed at others in the presence of the principal target (that is, the person reporting the behaviour). The Quebec Act identifies the reaction of the target and the duration of the harmful effect as the qualifying factors. It also gives the targeted employee the right not to work if harassment is likely to continue, clearly establishing the protection of the target, rather than the regulation of the bullying behaviour, as the primary aim of the legislation. In the interpretation of the Act, however, the legislators seek to use an objective process to analyse whether or not harassment has taken place, and also to protect the rights of the employer. They use the criterion of a

> "reasonable person ... a person with ordinary intelligence and judgment ... to see how this person would have reacted ... finding himself in a situation similar to the one related by the employee. Would this person conclude that this was a harassment situation? ... The effect of the application of such standards must not be to deny the normal exercise by the employer of the management of his human resources. It is important to distinguish the actions taken by the employer as part of the normal and legitimate exercise of his management right, even if they involve unpleasant consequences or events, from those taken in a manner that is arbitrary, abusive, discriminatory or outside the normal conditions of employment." (Protection from Harassment Act, Quebec)

The Protection from Harassment Act, Quebec manifests an approach that strives for an equitable balance between employers' and employees' rights. For some artists, arts managers and workers, the notion of reasonable person and the normal conditions of employment appears problematic. Chapter 7 examines the hypotheses surrounding artistic temperament, wherein some argue that artists are, by nature, not always reasonable when working – indeed, the myth persists that the greater the artist, the less reasonable or sane or ordinary s/he is likely to be. Similarly, arts managers argue

that working in the arts is different from working elsewhere. Thus, terms and conditions are necessarily different too.

USA: The "Healthy Workplace" Bill

The Workplace Bullying & Trauma Institute provides information on active and past legislative projects in USA and Canada. The Healthy Workplace Bill was devised with the twin aims of providing legal redress for employees (1) who have been harmed, psychologically, physically, or economically by being deliberately subjected to abusive work environments – workplaces where an employee is subjected to abusive conduct severe enough to cause physical or psychological harm – and (2) providing a legal incentive for employers to prevent and respond to the mistreatment of employees at work. The Bill was first introduced in California in 2003, then adjourned in committee and no further hearing is scheduled in 2006. In Massachusetts, the Workplace Bullying Public Policy Question on the Ballot in the 3rd Hampshire District (Amherst & Granby) was passed on November 2nd, 2004 (The Healthy Workplace Bill Massachusetts 2005-2006), however no subsequent action has been taken. The Bill called for an empirical survey of the prevalence of bullying, and for employers to be mandated to create anti-bullying policies in organisations employing 50 or more people. Washington State appeared to be following suit when The House Committee on Commerce & Labor voted to pass the bill on March 2nd 2005, however the House Appropriations Committee rejected it in 2006 and it is not currently on the committee calendar.

The Bill did not prevail in Oklahoma, where it was introduced on January 20th, 2004, and rejected by The Commerce, Industry and Labor Committee. Other states considering legislation include Oregon (in adjournment) and Hawaii, where an amendment was introduced to 'urge' employers to voluntarily adopt anti-bullying policies, rather than compelling them to do so. The Senate passed the bill with the amendments in April 2006, and it has yet to be heard by other relevant committees. Two states have introduced the Bill in 2006, Missouri and Kansas, although the relevant committees have not yet scheduled hearings. It seems likely that an amended version of the Bill will complete the legislative process in one of the states before too long. Some commentators on international perceptions of bullying have noted that the American perspective is primarily focused on the victim and determined through concepts of emotional assault and mistreatment (Einarsen et al, 2003). Certainly the North American literature is less developed than that issuing from Europe and from Australia (Keashly & Jagatic, 2003). However, the earliest examination of bullying

emanated from Scandinavia, thus the research tradition is much older in Europe than in America, and an examination of the advancement of anti-bullying support organisations and lobbying campaigns in Chapter 7 indicates an evolutionary process – a time-based linear development. As indicated previously, the research traditions may be sequential rather than bifurcated.

Australia: Overview of relevant legislation

Despite the raft of legislation noted in Table 2.1 below, there are no enactments that specifically prohibit bullying at work, and it is only through a recent amendment (Section 55A) that, for example, the Occupational Health & Safety at Work (OHS) Act can be interpreted for bullying and applied to regulate the behaviour. The Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) has embarked on regular campaigns to raise awareness amongst the community, workers, unions, employers, health professionals, OHS authorities and governments that bullying is a serious health and safety hazard. In a speech to Health and Safety Representatives to launch the ACTU "Work Strain Causes Real Pain" Campaign in 2004, Erich Janssen, ACTU OHS Commissioner remarked:

> "In an Australian study conducted last year ... they found that 85% of the 325 human resources practitioners that were surveyed, had experienced bullying, or seen others bullied at work." (Janssen, 2004)

This high incidence of experience of workplace bullying is to be expected among those whose remit includes interpersonal and intra-organisational relationships. Links between bullying and human resources management in the UK are explored by Lewis and Rayner (2003) whose thesis is:

> "... that 'the' philosophy and components of HRM may create an environment in which bullying can remain unchallenged, allowed to thrive or actually encouraged in an indirect way." (Lewis & Rayner, 2003: p 370)

The arts research presents a parallel proposition: like the ideology of HRM, the arts are people-centric. Ostensibly, both exist because people are valued. HRM is concerned with maximising the potential of people at work, the arts with maximising human creative skill and imagination. It may be, however, that neither advances the welfare of their primary resource and their focus. This is further explored in Chapters 7 and 8.

Australia: Overview of relevant legislation (Office of the Employee Ombudsman, South Australia, 2005).

Table 2.1: Overview of legislation relevant to bullying in South Australia	
Common Law and/or Employment Acts	Behaviour that is workplace bullying pursuant to the *Occupational, Health, Safety and Welfare Act 1986* may also be in breach of an employee's contract of employment at common law and/or an Act of Parliament under which the employee is employed. This may render the employee responsible for the bullying behaviour liable to disciplinary action.
Commonwealth Legislation Racial Discrimination Act 1975 Sex Discrimination Act 1984 Disability Discrimination Act 1992 Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Act 1986 Trade Practices Act 1974 Age Discrimination Act 2004	Commonwealth discrimination laws protect people from discrimination in the workplace and in public life. Complaints are assessed in order to determine whether they should be investigated under Commonwealth law or referred to the State law.
Criminal Law	When workplace bullying involves behaviour that, on its face, is in breach of criminal laws, the incident becomes a police matter and may be dealt with in the criminal jurisdiction.
Duty of Care	An employer has a duty of care at common law to reasonably protect employees from behaviours that amount to bullying under the *Occupational Health, Safety and Welfare Act 1986.*
Fair Work Act 1994	There is no specific provision in the *Fair Work Act 1994* that deals with workplace bullying. However, where an employee is dismissed or forced to resign as a result of workplace bullying, the employee maybe entitled to make a claim under the unfair dismissal provisions of that Act. Where it can be demonstrated that an industrial dispute exists between and employer and employee and all the necessary requirements of the Act have been met, a notice of industrial dispute can be lodged with the Industrial Relations Commission of South Australia to seek its assistance to resolve the Dispute.
Industrial Instruments	Industrial instruments, such as enterprise agreements and awards, usually contain grievance procedures that can be used to assist in resolving disputes involving bullying.
Occupational Health, Safety & Welfare Act 1986	Section 19 of the Act requires that all employers provide a safe working environment and this applies to all areas including the employee's mental health and wellbeing. Section 21 (1a) of the Act requires that an employee must take reasonable care to avoid adversely affecting the health or safety of any other person through an act or omission at work. Section 55A of the Amended Act includes a definition of Workplace Bullying and details the methodology involved for the investigation, mediation and conciliation of involved parties.
South Australian Equal Opportunity Act 1984	Where bullying in the workplace involves acts of discrimination, a complaint may be lodged with the Commissioner for Equal Opportunity. Discrimination includes unfair treatment based on a person's disability, race, sex, age, sexuality, pregnancy and marital status. Equal opportunity laws also protect employees against sexual harassment. It is also unlawful for anyone to victimise a person because they have made, or intend to make, a discrimination complaint.
Workers Compensation and Rehabilitation Act 1986	An employee may make a claim for compensation regarding any compensable injury if it arises out of, or in the course of their employment. Though the Act does not mention bullying specifically, psychiatric disabilities caused by bullying at work, are compensable if, and only if, the employment was a substantial cause of the disability. Refer to section 30A of the Workers Rehabilitation and Compensation Act 1986.

Source: Department for Administrative and Information Services (DAIS) on behalf of the Government of South Australia, as reproduced by the Office of the Employee Ombudsman, South Australia (2005).

New Zealand: Accident Compensation Scheme

Under the current New Zealand Occupational Safety and Health (OSH) legislation, employers must provide a safe work environment, including freedom from harassment and bullying. The Department of Labour includes bullying as a psychosocial workplace hazard. Employers are recommended, but not mandated to establish [my parentheses]:

> "... clear, formal anti-bullying policies and procedures and [to assign] resources in the form of training, management time and access to specialist advisers if these are required. It may be appropriate to include bullying in a workplace violence or harassment policy." (Department of Labour: Te Tari Mahi, New Zealand. 2006)

Workplace bullying is listed as a hazard by the Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC), which administers this scheme in New Zealand, providing personal injury cover for all New Zealand citizens, residents and temporary visitors. In return, people do not have the right to sue for personal injury, other than for exemplary damages.

Writing in the New Zealand Medical Journal in 2004, Dr Steven Kelly, Surgical Registrar at Christchurch Hospital describes workplace bullying as the silent epidemic. Citing toxic work environments as a result of economic and commercial pressures coupled with management as control (for example, in Bratton & Gold, 1999: pp 11–13) he notes that the New Zealand Resident Doctors' Association (NZRDA):

> "... has recently reported an 'avalanche' of complaints about resident medical officers being subjected to workplace bullying and harassment. The reason for this dramatic increase is not clear, but it may indicate a long-term problem that is only now becoming apparent because individuals are prepared to speak about it." (Kelly, 2004: p 1).

This is confirmed by the increasing prevalence of court cases related by the Department of Labour (Te Tari Mahi) (Employment Cases Summary, 2005: pp 10 – 17), some of which were upheld and some not. Bullying was found in instances involving overt and aggressive behaviour; insidious and covert behaviour; imposition of unjust financial penalties; physical threats; overly familiar, manipulative behaviour. Bullying was not found in instances where the nature of the workplace environment (a busy hotel kitchen) was *taken into account*; the attitude of the alleged bully was deemed to be *matter of fact*; *infantile* behaviour was the norm; and where the applicant was described as *overly sensitive* (two cases).

The Employment Court has not yet specifically defined workplace bullying, and New Zealand researchers such as Andrea Needham, an experienced Human Resources

consultant and author, and Olsen Hayden, Development Manager for WAVE (Workplaces Against Violence in Employment), are looking to the UK and other countries for definition and clarification. It is clear that bullying is having an impact on the medical profession, and that cases are emerging in other sectors – the sample in the November 2005 Employment Cases Summary included employers in several types of manufacturing, waste management, the car industry and chemicals. Complaints not upheld came from applicants in gem trading, a national charity, a vehicle testing centre, and catering. Occupations reported as those where bullying is most common include:

> "... health, community services, teaching and public administration/defence. Some of the most common victims of bullying are young people, nurses, social workers and temporary workers." (Olsen, undated. Accessed May 2006)

The New Zealand experience is paralleling developments in the UK. When this study commenced in 1999, the subject was still relatively new – Adams with Crawford (1992) being the acknowledged UK trailblazers with the first publication *Bullying at Work: How to confront and overcome it.* Early research into bullying in the health services, for example, had recently been carried out by Einarsen & Skogstad (1996) and Lyn Quine (1999). Steven Kelly concludes that:

> " ... the medical profession is a caring profession, and although we care very well for our patients, it appears that we need to do more to care for each other." (Kelly, 2004: p 3)

Similarly, many arts companies consider themselves to be fully professional and highly principled organisations. Scale notwithstanding, they are usually passionate about the artistic quality of their work, and committed to achieving optimum standards of excellence on behalf of their beneficiaries. As in the medical profession in New Zealand and the UK, is it possible that whilst undoubtedly caring for their creative outputs and audiences, arts workers also need to do more to care for each other? Despite outward differences, do similar management cultures exist in the two sectors, or equivalent work-related pressures and stressors? Organisational culture as a function of workplace bullying is further discussed in Chapter 7.

United Kingdom: The Dignity At Work Act 2001

Proposed House of Lords, 2001; Passage failed in House of Commons, 1997.

In the UK, following the lack of parliamentary time in 1997, the Dignity at Work Bill was re-introduced and by May 2002 had had its third unopposed reading in the House of

Lords, which encouraged many to expect it to become law during the next parliament. The Act applied to Wales, Scotland and England, but not to Northern Ireland, and allowed for the presentation of a bullying case at employment tribunal, if reported within three months of the [first] incident, and offered employers a defence mechanism:

> "An employer shall not be liable where the following circumstances apply: (a) at the time of the act complained of, the employer has in force a Dignity at Work Policy [outlined in the document] and has taken all reasonable steps to implement and enforce the Policy, including the appointment of a competent person to assist with compliance, (b) the act complained of is repudiated within three working days after they are notified, and (c) the employer takes all steps necessary to remedy any loss, damage or other detriment suffered by the complainant" (*The UK Dignity at Work Act,* reviewed by The Workplace Bullying & Trauma Institute).

The planned legislation was designed to encourage employers to put into effect a Dignity at Work policy, and by 2006 many UK organisations have already done so. However, the research in arts organisations, and in other employment sectors, suggests that targets can take some time to recognise that they are being bullied. Tolstoy gives an example in War and Peace: when Pierre considers Dolokhov's behavioural record over time, he comes to the realisation that Dolokhov is a cruel and ruthless oppressor. (Tolstoy, 1806)

Notwithstanding bullying behaviour via a sole incident, as allowed by Quebec's Protection from Harassment Act, the majority of researchers acknowledge the time factor in bullying (Leymann, 1996; Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996) and the UK Act's requirement to report bullying within three months of the first incident could be problematic. It may take longer than three months to identify the behaviour – Leymann (1993) argued that many targets did not realize what had happened to them for a considerable time (as reported in Zapf & Gross, 2001: p 502) – and even longer to arrive at a point where the target is empowered to act. If so, examples of bullying behaviour occurring earlier than three months before the date a complaint is made are disqualified as evidence, weakening the target's testimony. In the case history of A Co-operative Theatre Company (Chapter 5), the target took eight months to recognise that there was more than a personality clash going on between himself and another member of a co-operative company, by which time the organisation had reached crisis point and the bully was enabled to institute formal proceedings to oust the target.

Meanwhile, some UK workplace bullying cases have been brought under a variety of other laws including those governing heath & safety at work, sex discrimination, race

relations, disability, public order and employment rights. Additionally, there is the Protection from Harassment Act 1997 – although this was primarily drawn up to address the issue of stalking. It is regarded as innovative legislation, involving public intervention in matters that previously were left to private resolution.

> "When a statute innovates in matters of legal procedure as well as of behaviour, its problematic quality doubles. The Act does so, creating a new civil tort, two new criminal offences, and unprecedented procedures to address a newly perceived problem which has psychological and social dimensions and implications ... Despite common belief that stalking involves male on female sexual pursuit, the phenomenon can be female on male, same-sex, or without regard to gender and sexual issues. The Act is blind to these matters. Analogous situations suggest that legal sanctions can make a long-term difference in regard to behaviour that previously was legally neutral. Early evidence suggests that this will be the case with the Act, if it receives vigorous enforcement. Preliminary analysis indicates the necessity of careful attention to the psychological dimensions of stalking and harassment cases." (Von Heussen, 2000)

Socio-psychological dimensions are prevalent in the arts research, and undoubtedly the legal sanctions referred to by Von Heussen have encouraged many organisations to introduce anti-bullying policies and procedures. These were very rare during the Pilot Studies in 2000 (Managers) and 2001 (Website). By October 2002, the Theatrical Management Association (TMA) and BECTU had an agreement that included a statement of their joint opposition to abusive behaviour (Para 1.16: Harassment, Bullying and Victimisation). The proposal to undertake research into bullying among BECTU members was disclosed to the TMA in March 2003 (Bullying in the Workplace: TMA Update). The following month, a clause dealing with bullying and harassment appeared in two collective agreements issued by the Theatrical Management Association – one with Equity, the actors' union, and the other with the commercial theatres sector (TMA/Equity Subsidised Repertory Collective Agreement, 2003: Section 3j, items 4 and 10 respectively).

By April 2004, when the research in theatres and arts centres was active, the TMA had produced a Legal Update, for circulation among members, which contained the following [my parentheses]:

> **"Guidance on Bullying and Harassment**
> ACAS has updated its guidance on bullying and harassment at work. It provides two separate guides, one for employees and one for managers and employers. The guides can be found on the ACAS [Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service] website at www.acas.org.uk or ordered from 0870 242 9090. (*Guidance on Bullying and Harassment:* TMA Legal Update (2004)."

Awareness of bullying in the workplace had increased substantially since the Pilot Studies in 2000 (Managers) and 2001 (Website). By May 2006, ACAS has 34 items on its website (as above) which are bullying-related, including guidance for employers and employees, action plans to counter bullying behaviour, legal advice, information on work-related stress and on Ban Bullying at Work day (November 2005). It has also introduced a free-to-register e-learning course on Bullying and Harassment. It can be seen, then, that stratagems to introduce suitable anti-bullying legislation are ongoing worldwide. Despite the efforts of activists and trades unions, the UK is not at the forefront of the global movement however, and parliamentary proceedings do not indicate major advances in the years since the act was first proposed.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE METHODOLOGY

Bullying is a problematic subject because, at an individual level, it deals with interpersonal differences that can be held to be open to a variety of interpretations and, at corporate level, acknowledgement of its existence is an indicator of socially unacceptable disharmony and conflict. The investigation of bullying behaviour is, therefore, a delicate task for the researcher, requiring the identification of appropriate methods of eliciting and validating data and experiences. When dealing with self-professed targets of bullying behaviour, the researcher must be conscious of the distress caused by the experience, which can be considerably upsetting in the retelling. When examining information presented by alleged bullies, where available, or observing negative behaviours, an objective assessment is vital if the evidence is to be accurately represented. In the corporate domain, the context in which information is presented is vital, as employers' and employees' views of the same set of circumstances are likely to diverge.

During the arts research the information from targets was relatively easy to obtain via respondents to the website survey and through informal, non-structured interviews. There was a willingness to contribute information, alongside a strong reluctance to be identified, notably where the interviewees' experiences were particularly painful and/or relatively recent. Outline profiles of bullies are identified via the case studies. One manager in Pilot Study 1 (2000) acknowledged that s/he had been accused of bullying and another in the BECTU survey (2004) admitted to bullying "only ... when necessary." (Respondent 242)

To establish the key issues for a major study, an investigative method for the research was needed which provided the following baseline criteria:

- valid comparators: a target group which shared one or more of geographical location, artform or type of arts organisation, size and scale, organisational structure and working conditions
- access: a non-threatening approach mechanism targeted at managers
- discriminance: to establish if reports of bullying in arts organisations represented a common experience or reflected a series of particular, one-off instances
- anonymity: opportunities for participants to contribute their views and experiences in complete confidence

- awareness measurement: to gauge levels of awareness and attitudes among arts managers
- proficiency gauge: to ascertain extent of human resources training among arts managers
- corporate responsibility recognition: to examine perceptions among arts managers

3.1.1 The Ethnographic route

The potential to consider an ethnographic approach into bullying in the arts was stimulated by a seminar at City University in November 2001, convened by Dr Juliet Steyn. Ethnography is the branch of anthropology that deals with the description of various racial and cultural groups of people. In addition, it can be described as:

> "(1) the fundamental research method of cultural anthropology, and (2) the written text produced to report ethnographic research results.
>
> ... Ethnography as method seeks to answer central anthropological questions concerning the ways of life of living human beings. Ethnographic questions generally concern the link between culture and behaviour and/or how cultural processes develop over time. The database for ethnographies is usually extensive description of the details of social life or cultural phenomena in a small number of cases." (Hall, 2001)

Much ethnography has focused on the poorest or most disenfranchised populations in societies, however everyone is cultural and therefore the ways of life of all groups are potential ethnographic topics, including powerful groups and institutions. One research option was to undertake a longitudinal study, allowing in-depth observation of a range of workplace interrelations in one specific arts organisation over a period of time. Since groups of people are not homogenous or static, it would offer the opportunity to observe the dynamics of the organisation and its changing social relationships. Interpersonal contact could be monitored in conflict and non-conflict situations, and the findings would contribute additional knowledge and information to the issues around bullying and other negative behaviours, including how workplace stressors and motivators are understood.

In conducting ethnographic research, it is common practice amongst anthropologists to live among the people being studied, or at least spend a considerable amount of time with them, engaging in 'participant observation', that is, participating as much as possible in

local daily life whilst carefully observing everything about it. In conducting research into workplace bullying, arguably I was engaging in participant observation as an arts practitioner and a manager studying other arts practitioners and managers. Simultaneously, I was external to the participants in the research. Would the research findings therefore represent an *emic* perspective – that is, the native's point(s) of view? Or would they provide an *etic*, or outsider's perspective on local life, which is a unique and critical part of anthropology? Sanjek (1990) recommends that readers and writers of ethnography focus on what he calls the *validity* of ethnography. In this way, we can judge the clarity with which decisions regarding the application of theory to data are explained, as well as follow the ways in which events are represented in order to deliver a convincing conclusion in the resultant text.

The validity of a purely ethnographic approach to the research into workplace bullying was troubling. Workplace bullying is an uncomfortable sociocultural concept and a sensitive subject matter, so implementation of a longitudinal study would be complex: the selection of a suitable corporate host – one that is likely to exhibit bullying behaviour – implies organisational dysfunction at the outset, which presupposes the predicted outcome. In opting for a study reflecting behaviour in one organisation only, the extent to which, ultimately, the research would have relevance in, or value to, the wider arts domain was unclear. It seemed to me that, in the absence of substantial, quantitative evidence, arts managers might tend to continue to refute the existence of workplace bullying beyond the boundaries of the single organisation selected for the study. In this respect, then, findings attained via an ethnographic approach alone could be dismissed as irrelevant, inconclusive or non-representative of the arts sector.

So despite the connections between the nature of the work and the principles of ethnography, the guiding questions did not appear to be answerable through ethnographic research alone. As the subject matter was still relatively new, and uncharted territory in the arts, a certain amount of data collection and quantitative analysis was required simply in order to substantiate it as a phenomenon. Therefore, the investigative method would have to allow bullying in the arts workplace to be measured or expressed in numerical terms, as with incidence studies, and it would have to allow for some level of mapping the phenomenon, to determine its prevalence.

3.1.2 Combined methodologies

Traditionally, research methods are considered to be either quantitative or qualitative – the former based on numbers and the latter not. Received opinion has been that quantitative analysis is more *scientific* and therefore *superior to* qualitative work:

> The quantitative paradigm is based on positivism. Science is characterized by empirical research... In contrast, the qualitative paradigm is based on... multiple realities. [There is] no external referent by which to compare claims of truth (Sale, Lohfield & Brazil, 2002, pp 44-45).

Positivism may be described, then, as

> the belief that the existence of objects stems solely from their measurement (Cook & Payne, 2002)

and *Relativism* as

> the belief that objects do not have an external reality, and that there can, therefore, be genuine multiple *realities* (Sale et al, 2002).

Increasingly, however, researchers have questioned the validity of assumptions about the superiority of quantitative analysis (for example, Silverman 2000, Gorard & Taylor 2004). Indeed, Gorard and Taylor have found that the majority of social sciences researchers use qualitative methods and argue that *notions of quantitative and qualitative methodological approaches are unhelpful*:

> it is too simplistic a view to declare that if a researcher uses numbers they must be *positivist* or *realist in philosophy* and must be *hypothetico-deductive* or traditional in style (see, for example, such claims by Clarke, 1999)...

and if a researcher does not use numbers, they

> must be interpretevist, holistic and alternative, believing in multiple perspectives rather than truth, and so on (Gorard & Taylor, 2004 p149).

This reflects the experience of undertaking the arts research. The motivation to undertake research into bullying in the arts stemmed from personal observation and experience: it was not driven initially by either a *positivist* or a *relativist* philosophy, but a hybrid of the two. This could be described as a curiosity about, and a desire to discover, whether observations of bullying were grounded in the researcher's personal reality [relativism] *and/or* whether the phenomenon existed, and could be measured, independently of that reality [positivism]. In this sense, it *combined* elements of both philosophical systems and perhaps had much in sympathy with

> the researchers in no man's land... those who want to get on with a job of research using all and any data that can be of benefit. Grand words, big theories and untestable propositions about the nature of the social world are, too often, more of a hindrance than a help (Gorard & Taylor, 2004 p144).

The design of the methodology for the arts research developed from the aims and objectives of the work itself. In considering whether the purpose was to discover something new, or to illustrate and *flesh out* something already known (Gorard & Taylor, 2004 p38), it became evident that the arts research aimed to do both these things – to discover whether bullying was taking place in arts environments and to shed light on how or why this might be happening. The question of whether quantitative or qualitative analysis would be most appropriate related to what the research questions were trying to find out (Silverman, 2000 p1) and the choice between mono-method or methods in combination, was determined on that basis (Gorard & Taylor, 2004 p135), on the premise that if the research objectives determine the appropriate methodology, then the methods used should provide *valid, reliable and objective data* (Silverman, 2000 p91).

In revisiting the issues explored in Chapter 1, it is evident that the fact and/or frequency of bullying behaviour in arts organisations had first to be established. This inferred quantitative analysis – as had been the case with some bullying research in other fields in the UK (for example UNISON 1997, Quine, 1999). However other central issues included sampling individuals' experiences of bullying in the arts and gathering information on the multiplicity of views about it, and these indicated that qualitative research may be more appropriate. In psychology, experimental and/or statistical methods are favoured, whereas in anthropological studies, qualitative methods are often preferred, on the basis that they are holistic, contextualized and comprehensive (Morse & Chung, 2003 p2).

Quantitative analysis had the apparent advantage of producing *valid, reliable and objective* data because it would involve measuring and mapping the phenomena of bullying in the arts, however Silverman (2000, p7) outlines how such analysis also has some disadvantages:

1. Quantitative research can amount to a *quick fix* involving little or no contact with people or *the field*.
2. Statistical correlations may be based upon *variables* that, in the context of naturally occurring interaction, are arbitrarily defined.
3. After-the-fact speculation about the meaning of correlations can involve the very common-sense processes of reasoning that science tries to avoid (see Cicourel, 1964 pp14, 21).

4. The pursuit of *measurable* phenomena can mean that unperceived values creep into research by simply taking on board highly problematic and unreliable concepts such as *delinquency* or *intelligence*.

5. While it is important to test hypotheses, a purely statistical logic can make the development of hypotheses a trivial matter and fail to help in generating hypotheses from data (see Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

All of these could hold true in relation to this new research topic in the arts. As statistical analysis alone was not likely to span the research questions, might qualitative analysis provide a better route? Certainly, the techniques used in quantitative research are not the only way of establishing the validity of findings from qualitative or field research and indeed statistics and survey data may not always be appropriate to every aspect of social science research. One obvious disadvantage is that they exclude the observation of human behaviour in everyday situations. Morse and Chung record that

> qualitative methods have the ability to record and include multiple dimensions within each method (Morse & Chung, 2003 p2)

and Silverman further suggests that qualitative researchers believe

> that they can provide a *deeper* understanding of social phenomena than would be obtained from purely quantitative data (Silverman, 2000 p8).

It was desirable that the arts research achieve both of these: document the multifaceted nature of bullying behaviour and evaluate, or begin to evaluate, the phenomena against valid criteria from other research fields.

Gathering information through qualitative research alone may be problematic: reliance on qualitative methods may yield a false notion of the extent to which they are representative of the research population, and they may deliver holism in part only, because *the researcher's agenda* may exert influence so that they contain

> assumptions and perspectives that partition reality and provide subtle biases (Morse & Chung, 2003 p2).

Certainly evidence from the interviews, text submissions and case studies in the arts research alone would have presented difficulties. The first two datasets represent self-nominated victims of bullying behaviour in arts organisations, and the extent to which they are representative of the research population could be questioned. The case studies represent a numerically small number of organisations within the arts environment, and the same problem arises. When these findings are considered alongside the quantitative analysis of the BECTU survey results, however, a stronger, clearer picture emerges.

Another reason why qualitative research conducted in isolation has disadvantages and/or presents problems is *reliability*, an issue that can be clouded by

> the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions (Hammersley, 1992 p67)

The perceived reality of any respondent may differ from that of another. Also, the circumstances in which interviews are given, text submissions are made and case studies are written up can deliver variations in consistency in terms of description and attribution within and between recorded events. Such variations can result in the conclusion that they provide *anecdotal* evidence only – another problem which questions the validity or truth of qualitative research (Silverman, 2000 p10), although simple quantitative measures are a feature of some good qualitative research, which

> shows that the whole *qualitative/quantitative* dichotomy is open to question (Silverman, 2000 p11).

Gorard and Taylor argue convincingly that

> the distinction between quantitative and qualitative work is not a clear one, and taken literally almost all work involves both textual analysis and counting, so our classifications... may be misleading (Gorard & Taylor, 2004 p142).

In the arts research the statistical analysis of responses to the BECTU survey established that bullying exists in arts organisations and provided the numerical background to those issues further explored via case studies and interviews. As forerunner to the BECTU survey, the pilot studies provided simultaneous low-level quantitative and qualitative information that guided the quantitative and qualitative research that was to follow. Gorard and Taylor give an example of how effective combined methods research can be in education, if differing methods are used in a logical sequence.

> For example, if we discover via an analysis of public examination results that girls are achieving better qualifications at school than boys then we may use qualitative approaches to try and find out why or how this is happening. But to use qualitative approaches to try and establish the differential attainment in the first place would be inappropriate, since the issue is so clearly a numeric one. (Gorard & Taylor, 2004 p38)

In the arts research the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods provided added value and the former enhanced the latter:

> the relative flexibility of qualitative research... can improve the generalizability of our findings by allowing us to include new cases after initial findings are achieved (Silverman, 2000 p110).

The combination of all the arts research results improves their collective *generalizability*, although Alasuutari prefers the term *extrapolation* to *generalizing* which, he feels, *better captures the typical procedure in qualitative research (*Alasuutari, 1995, pp156-157). For the arts research, *extrapolation* perhaps does offer a more accurate description of how the experiences of participants, married with the data gathered during the quantitative research, can be extended to other, unknown situations, suggesting that existing trends will continue and that similar methods will be applicable elsewhere.

Gorard and Taylor argue that it seems likely that, in education, *research that combines methods is actually more common than is usually reported* (Gorard & Taylor, 2004 p113) and offer a table illustrating the wide range of quantitative and qualitative methods that researchers employ (*Table 8.2 Categories of methods for analysing data*, p127). The methodology of the arts research differs from the combinations of methods favoured by the majority of social sciences researchers, where qualitative analysis seems to be preferred, even when more than one method is employed. Gorard and Taylor found

> the most common pairing of methods among education researchers was the use of interviews *and* observation (79 per cent) ...closely followed by the pairing of interviews *and* qualitative data analysis (78 per cent) and the use of interviews *and* surveys (74 per cent) (Gorard & Taylor, 2004 p 128 and *Table 8.4 Paired use of research methods from a survey of education researchers*).

In this respect, the arts research took a relatively different path: combining as it did interviews *and* case studies *and* quantitative data analysed using computer software. Gorard and Taylor found only 55% of researchers had combined interviews *and* statistical analysis of quantitative data, and only 50% combined interviews *and* quantitative data analysis software (Gorard & Taylor, 2004 p129). The fact that the research was taking place in a sector where the study of bullying behaviour was entirely new influenced the decision to include substantive quantitative data alongside qualitative results, the better to reinforce the generalizability, or enhance the potential for extrapolation, of the findings.

Qualitative research, then, can focus on particular actors within the setting *according to the researcher's agenda* (Morse & Chung, 2003 p3). This might occur most frequently when a single qualitative method is used, for example phenomenology – which deals with the description and classification of phenomena, rather than with their explanation or cause – or grounded theory – whereby a researcher using a systematic methodology will formulate a theory, either substantive (setting-specific) or formal, about the phenomena they are studying that can be evaluated. Morse and Chung make a convincing argument for the combination of several qualitative methods, the better to move towards true holism on analysing a specific scenario (Morse & Chung, 2003 p7 *Table 1, Comparison of types of analyses*).

In the arts research a variety of methods were employed, on the grounds that no single method was deemed to be entirely satisfactory in delivering answers to the key research questions, and that the scope of the work would be increased. For example, the case studies were recorded using a combination of unstructured interview data from forensic interviewing, analysis of text submissions and participant observation. Qualitative studies often combine observation and interviewing, because there are several research questions or because researchers want to use different methods or sources to corroborate each other. Both of these issues arose in the arts research. This is a form of methodological *triangulation* (Mason, 1996 p25) and some qualitative researchers believe that triangulation may improve the reliability of a single method (Silverman, 2000 p99). When we view an object from two perspectives, or study a social phenomenon using two methods, then we expect to find something new as a result... a more well-rounded theory of the wider phenomenon being investigated. This kind of combination reverts back to the true meaning of the triangulation metaphor. (Gorard & Taylor, 2004 p45)

Gorard and Taylor found that there is *some considerable divergence between researchers who use numeric and non-numeric data* (Gorard & Taylor, 2004 p129) and that *expertise in a range of methods is probably limited to a small number of education researchers* (p134). Certainly, using more than one method in the arts research meant learning more than one set of data analysis skills: so interviewing techniques and participant observation became key to undertaking qualitative research, and statistical analysis skills were honed for the quantitative studies. However, this did not make the practice of the research overly complex. Gorard and Taylor note that quantitative work is often portrayed as *so* complex, encouraging simpler approaches on the grounds that this may encourage more researchers to make use of quantitative methods *and so more combined methods researchers*.

> Simple quantitative work can supply the *what* and the *how many,* while basic qualitative work can illustrate *how* and *why.* (Gorard & Taylor, 2004 p41)

The use of multiple methods allowed the achievement of a deeper understanding of the phenomenon than that provided by the statistical analysis alone. The quantitative research recorded numerically the extent to which bullying is taking place in arts workplaces between individuals and on a corporate level and tested whether bullying was based on personal attributes, such as age, gender, race, disability and/or on professional attributes, such as length of service, area of work, type of post, status, geographical location. The qualitative research enabled the examination at a deeper level of a multiplicity of views on bullying in the arts and led to the conclusion that the arts working environment is particularly conducive to the encouragement and tolerance of bullying behaviour.

Adding a number of data collection strategies together does not overcome what Morse and Chung describe as *the problem of focus contributed by theoretical frameworks* (Morse & Chung, 2003 p9): however determining the direction of the research and the level of analysis assists, and this is achieved in the arts research by the triangulation employed, where the sequential use of pilot studies, followed by BECTU survey, plus the simultaneous use of case studies, interviews and text analyses, yielded a systematic research programme, encompassing the scope of the bullying phenomenon in the arts with each study being complete in itself (Morse, 1994).

3.1.3 Bayes Theorem

Whilst combined methodologies do not lead to achieving a complete truth or holistic picture of bullying in the arts, the early pilot studies – combining quantitative and qualitative data – established that there were two distinct viewpoints: that of managers and that of other arts workers – and led to the central hypothesis:
that the arts working environment is particularly conducive to the encouragement and tolerance of bullying behaviour

A feature of the arts workplaces was the *indifference* of management to complaints about bullying, and indeed about employment terms and conditions. As an alternative to traditional statistical analysis, Gorard and Taylor (2004) propose the use of Bayes Theorem, as a way in to deal with the fact that

> new evidence about a phenomenon provides a new likelihood that will 'modify' rather than completely override, that prior probability, leading to a modified posterior probability... [offering us] a prescription of how to learn, collectively, from evidence (Bernardo and Smith, 1994)

Bayes Theorem describes how to calculate conditional probability correctly, that is the probability of an event A, given the occurrence of event B. This might be translated, for example, as the probability of bullying occurring, given the existence of management indifference. The qualitative evidence that management is *indifferent* could create the prior probability for a Bayesian model, which can then be adjusted using Bayes Theorem, resulting in a modified posterior probability (Gorard & Taylor, 2004 pp53–54).

The calculation employed is:

$$\frac{p(A)*p(B|A)}{p(A)*p(B|A)+p(A')*p(B|A')}$$

where

p signifies probability

| signifies given

* signifies multiplied by

‘ signifies the opposite of or not

According to the BECTU survey, 40% of respondents reported being the targets of bullying behaviour [*the bullied group*], whilst 50% had been told of a bullying incident by a colleague [*hearsays*]. Using Bayes Theorem, if the probability of bullying taking place in arts environments where management is indifferent is 40% (as described by the *bullied group*) and the likelihood that this would be the case across the whole population is 50% (as per the *hearsays*), the calculation for the modified posterior probability is:

$$\frac{0.4 * 0.5}{0.4 * 0.5 + 0.6 * 0.5} \quad \text{or } 40\%.$$

If we were to assume, however, that in a larger study the likelihood that this would be the case across the whole population were to decrease, say to only 10%, we would get the following result:

$$\frac{0.4 * 0.5}{0.4 * 0.5 + 0.9 * 0.5} \quad \text{or } 31\%.$$

This leads to a modification of prior judgement – a feature of the Bayesian model – *rather than ignoring it as would be the case in traditional statistical analysis*

> One of the main advantages of this method of synthesis is that, as well as including all the qualitative results, it means that we do not need to make arbitrary decisions about the significance of quantitative results. There is no threshold, such as 5%, below which the probabilities can be used (Gorard & Taylor, 2004 p56).

Bayes Theorem, and *The measuring markets project* undertaken by Gorard and Taylor (2004), are examples of what is termed the *new* political arithmetic

> in which complex situations can be examined by relatively simple arithmetic techniques in combination with other forms of data (Gorard and Taylor, 2004 pp 60–77).

This has much to recommend it, particularly for researchers wary of the complexity of some quantitative analysis, however the authors admit that these views have

> led us into conflict with those who would prefer more complex (but less appropriate) probability approaches... even simple combined methods approaches such as this face opposition from researchers wedded to a particular research tradition.

On balance, the views taken by Gorard and Taylor, and to an extent Silverman, are supported by the arts research, which combined statistical analysis with qualitative methods as offering the most appropriate route.

3.1.4 Methodology of the case studies

The analyses of the arts case studies contribute to the theories of (1) why bullying happens in arts organisations and (2) how the environment in which bullying occurs impacts on the behaviour. The case study framework is important in the context of achieving qualitative research that produces

> explanations which are *generalizable* in some way, or which should have a wider resonance (Mason, 1996 p6)

To achieve this, each case study was chosen to be representative of its particular population (Bryman, 1988, p88) rather than selected as an *intrinsic case study* – meaning no attempt is made to generalize beyond the single case or even to build theories (Stake, 1994 p236). There were a number of options available in selecting candidates for case studies, including choices based on subsidised or non-subsidised organisations/art forms/type and status of organisation/size. These define the *settings* – the first part of the criteria for choosing a case (Silverman, 2000 p 106)

> Settings + Research Focus + Generalizing Further

The *research focus* identified particular individuals, events and processes drawing on how action/non-action and environment affect bullying outcomes. In *generalizing further*, the research cases centred on the power imbalance between the actors in the bullying scenario, the type of bullying that had taken place – *peer, hierarchical, pair*, for example – and the extent to which the environment was controlled externally, and recognised that the cases may be representative of the wider arts world.

The studies built in *certain characteristics or criteria which help to develop and test ... theory and explanation* (Mason, 1996 pp93–94). The purpose behind the sampling was defined and *purposive, not random sampling methods* were used (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994 p202). In this context, the set of case studies yields

> a close-up, detailed or meticulous view of particular units which may constitute... cases which are relevant to or appear within the wider universe (Mason, 1996 p92).

In considering the matrix of the research methodologies later in this chapter (Table 3.1), it can be seen that

> The comparative approach directly tackles the question of generalizability by demonstrating the similarities and differences across a number of settings (Peräkylä, 1997 p214)

and qualitative research [*interviews, text analyses, case studies*] was combined with quantitative measures of populations [*pilot studies, BECTU study*] which, according to Hammersley (1992), p60,

> may allow us to establish some sense of the representativeness of our own single case.

One benefit of combining interviews and case studies with the quantitative analysis is that in adding value to the BECTU study, the research is more likely to yield positive results for policy-makers. This effect was noted in health research where quantitative and qualitative are combined:

> moreover, policy-makers can make decisions on far fuller evidence than provided by simple records of respondent *opinions* or attitudes (Silverman, 2000 p294)

The interviews and case studies can be aligned with the BECTU survey data, supporting the belief that the patterns investigated in later phases are genuine ones, and also enabling reasonably general conclusions to be drawn from the interview data.

> There is a distinction in practice between research that combines methods in a simple way – for example, using appropriate qualitative data analysis approaches to examine interview data, or summarizing data from a survey using cross-tabulations and charts – and research that mixes different methods – for example, collecting data in more than one form and subsequently analyzing data using more than one approach. (Gorard & Taylor, 2004 p135)

3.1.5 Application of combined methodologies

Pilot Study 1 (Managers), commenced in 2000, targeting twenty-one Regional Producing Theatres in the Greater North of England via a bifurcated approach: written postal questionnaires were sent to managers and in Pilot Study 2 (Website) a confidential website containing a shorter online questionnaire, and open to all arts workers, was advertised widely, and particularly in the same geographic locations as the selected theatres. Having established that bullying in arts organisations was not an infrequent, stand-alone occurrence, the results provided the foundation for the principal research to follow.

In 2003–2004, in partnership with the Broadcasting, Entertainment, Cinematographic and Theatre Union (BECTU), a survey of theatres and arts centres examined the experiences of employees at every level within both commercial and subsidised venues in England,

Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. This was the first time an in-depth survey of bullying in the arts had been carried out across the United Kingdom, and possibly anywhere in the world.

BECTU is the independent union for those working in broadcasting, film, theatre, entertainment, leisure, interactive media and allied areas, who are primarily based in the United Kingdom. The union represents more than 25,000 members who are permanently employed, contract or freelance workers within these sectors. Membership is voluntary, and anyone working or seeking employment in the sectors covered by BECTU can apply. The union is financed entirely by individual subscriptions from members. BECTU's affiliations include:

- Trades Union Congress: The TUC is the internationally recognised centre for UK unions.
- Union Network International: UNI has more than 900 affiliated unions around the world.
- General Federation of Trade Unions: The GFTU is the UK federation for specialist unions.
- Federation of Entertainment Unions: The FEU grouping consists of six UK unions:
    - BECTU
    - Equity (representing actors)
    - Musicians Union
    - NUJ (National Union of Journalists)
    - Professional Footballers Association
    - Writers Guild of Great Britain
    - Labour Party: The political party that formed the current UK government.

It can be seen, then, that BECTU has official attachments to a number of important and influential groups within the UK through the Federations and also internationally. Exchange of information between affiliated bodies means that BECTU has access to, and may be influenced by, work undertaken by others – for example, the TUC guide for union representatives and personnel managers on beating bullying at work (1999). Also, it means that research in which BECTU is directly involved, such as the research among theatres and arts centres in 2004, has the potential to reach a much wider audience.

The written postal questionnaires sought to substantiate new parameters, over and above those established in Pilot Study 1 (Managers) and Pilot Study 2 (Website), thus

- valid comparators: within the field of the performing arts, all theatres and arts centres in the United Kingdom, irrespective of geographical location, principal artform or type of arts organisation, size and scale, organisational structure and working conditions

- access: a non-threatening approach mechanism targeted at arts workers

- discriminance: to establish frequency and occurrence of bullying in performing arts organisations

- anonymity: opportunities for participants to contribute their views and experiences in complete confidence

- awareness: where bullying is taking place, to gauge perceptions of awareness and attitudes at management level in arts organisations

- proficiency: to gauge levels of expertise within arts management in dealing with bullying behaviour

- corporate responsibility: to examine the perceptions of where responsibility lies and of corporate bullying within performing arts organisations

Semi-structured interviews with targets of bullying and the gathering of case histories continued alongside the BECTU survey. These yielded information in two key ways: they provided firsthand accounts from individuals who were key actors within bullying scenarios in arts organisations, and they enabled contemplation of organisational responses to bullying behaviour. The impact that bullying behaviour had on individuals working in the arts, including the effects, and the extent of permanent damage on, physical health and/or mental welfare was observed: the repercussions for the professional and personal development of individuals were noted. Interviews and case studies provided further insights into the nature of responses to bullying by arts organisations. Desk research and a review of the literature established the economic impact of bullying on organisations, including the extent to which it mars organisational effectiveness, morale, attraction and retention of employees and reputation.

3.2 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The principal aim of the research was to investigate workplace bullying in the performing arts: to examine bullying behaviour among the workforce – and to consider to what extent this is recognised at management level. As it was a new subject area within the arts management landscape, it was considered necessary to gather quantitative data on the incidence of the behaviour in parallel with qualitative information on its myriad effects. The study aimed to examine critically the perceptions of how satisfactorily arts management dealt with incidences of bullying, to arrive at conclusions to inform best practice and, in gaining an overview of the options for dealing with bullying, to indicate possible containment and management strategies for the future. Further, it aimed to indicate the extent to which corporate bullying was a feature of the arts environs.

The performing arts are part of a wider arts landscape that features a range of artistic disciplines and fields, represented by creative individuals and organisations. In fact, *the arts* encompasses those involved in imagining, inventing, making and communicating, who specialise in creating, broadcasting, designing, exhibiting and performing. Members of the arts constituency include wordsmiths, painters, actors, musicians, photographers, dancers, sculptors, composers, curators, administrators, researchers, directors, conductors, video and film makers, education officers, voluntary and professional board members, marketing staff and managers. They also include technicians, caretakers, bookkeepers, wardens, invigilators, attendants, ticket and programme sellers, cleaners, fundraisers, dressers, make-up artists, caterers and electricians. Arts workers operate within a wide spectrum from grassroots level in neighbourhood communities to the upper societal echelons. Within the broader community of interest, there are discrete sub-sectors within the arts with a history of sub-sectoral specific structures and traditions, such as *galleries and museums*, for example, and *performing arts* is one of these.

To investigate bullying behaviour throughout the whole of the arts population would require a phenomenal amount of time and resources. Pilot Study 2 (Website) had attracted participants from several sub-sectors, and the case studies included visual arts organisations and creative industries, however the major study focused on the researcher's main area of experience, the performing arts. Overall the study achieved a wide reach and the matrix (Table 3.1) details the methodologies chosen as being most useful for achieving valid and reliable results, in the context of the recognition that anonymity and confidentiality were major issues.

3.2.1. Rationale for the methodology employed

The four approaches used to gather information and data for the topic were:

- Pilot Study 1 sought the views of Managers and other senior staff in arts organisations in a sub-sample of the national population.

- Pilot Study 2, working in parallel, sought information from arts workers both within the same sub-sample and from the national population.

- The BECTU survey built on the findings from the pilot studies and gathered new data at national level.

- Unstructured interviews, voluntary submissions and case studies during the surveys contributed qualitative data at national level.

In the matrix that follows (Table 3.1), research criteria are tabulated with the methodologies of the four approaches and the section on **characteristics** sets out types of arts organisations, geographical location, size and scale of organisation, organisational structure and working conditions as covered by each procedure. For example, the case studies and interviews provided access to information about a broad range of organisations, UK-wide, of variable sizes and involved in a variety of arts disciplines; Pilot Study 1 focused on managers in regional theatres and arts centres in the Greater North of England, predominantly members of the Theatrical Management Association; Pilot Study 2 was open to all arts workers and, collectively, these acted as a springboard for the BECTU survey, which took the research UK-wide again, capturing theatres and arts centres in Northern Ireland, Scotland and England. These last were both regional and national organisations, of all sizes and scales, with some degree of unionisation.

Table 3.1 Matrix of research methodologies

RESEARCH CRITERIA		RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES			
		Unstructured and semi-structured interviews and case studies	**Pilot Study 1 2000**	**Pilot Study 2 2001**	**BECTU survey 2004**
characteristics	***type of arts organisation***	a variety of artforms and arts backgrounds	theatres & arts centres with a regional remit	open to all artforms and arts backgrounds	theatres and arts centres
	geographical location	UK wide	Greater North of England	internet-based	England, Scotland and Northern Ireland
	organisational size and scale	all sizes and scales	regional theatres and arts centres	all sizes and scales	all sizes and scales
	organisational structure	variable	TMA regional producing theatres	variable	national & regional organisations with BECTU representation
	working conditions	variable	TMA contracts predominated	variable	variable (unionised)
access	***non threatening approach***	opportunities to respond open to all	targeted at senior human resources managers	opportunities to respond open to all	targeted at a wide range of arts workers, including managers
discriminance	***bullying behaviour***	personal experience of bullying	commonality of experience of the phenomenon	commonality of experience and personal experience	commonality of experience and personal experience
anonymity	complete confidence guaranteed to all participants				
awareness measurement	***and attitudes to bullying***	in arts organisations generally	among arts managers	in arts organisations generally	among arts workers including managers
proficiency gauge	***expertise in dealing with bullying***	in organisations generally	levels of human resources training among arts managers	in organisations generally	perceptions of management expertise
corporate responsibility and recognition	***and corporate bullying***	in organisations generally	perceptions among arts managers	in organisations generally	perceptions of management at employee level

Recognising that bullying is an uncomfortable topic for all, **access and anonymity** were deemed to be particularly important. During the interviews and case studies, the aim was to encourage participants to feel comfortable about giving information, and it was necessary to underline confidentiality, in order to reassure respondents that contributing would not result in exposure or retaliation of any kind. Reports from other UK employment

sectors indicated that the majority of bullying complaints were made about managers and employers (Rayner, 1999), so the pilot research sought to collect the views of managers specifically (Pilot Study 1) but not exclusively (Pilot Study 2). In the BECTU survey arts workers holding a wide variety of posts participated, 10% of whom were managers, yielding information from both management and non-management staff who shared the same workplaces.

Interviewees related personal experiences of bullying, and case studies contributed observations of how bullying behaviour affected both individuals and arts organisations. Quantitative analysis was first undertaken during the pilot research, where the incidence reported by the arts workers completely mismatched levels of **discriminance and awareness** according to managers: arts workers describing bullying as *common* or *not uncommon* and managers declaring it to be *rare, isolated examples only.* The BECTU survey put the same questions about frequency and occurrence of bullying to both management and non-management staff from the same workplaces. This time there was no significant variance in responses and the analysis confirmed the frequency and occurrence of bullying behaviour in the arts at a higher rate than previously recorded in other UK employment sectors.

Management inability to deal satisfactorily with bullying behaviour was highlighted during the interviews and case studies, so Pilot Study 1 sought to determine whether arts managers were equipped with appropriate skills. This was investigated by questioning the level of training in human resources management among theatre managers, in order to gauge the **proficiency** of management in dealing with bullying behaviour. This was followed up in the BECTU survey, where 35% of all workers (and 33.3% of managers) had poor perceptions of management expertise in dealing with bullying behaviour. The findings indicate a clear call for trades unions to become involved in stamping out bullying behaviour.

Interviewees had no evidence that employers were aware of bullying behaviour, or that they felt responsible for it. Arts managers did not recognise that some terms and conditions might be detrimental to employees, and equivalent to **corporate bullying**, and the BECTU survey indicated that arts workers' perceptions of employers were that they held the same views as managers.

3.3 INVESTIGATIVE PROCEDURES

3.3.1. Sample selection

The original nature of the research permitted considerable choice when defining the sample from within the arts population. Consideration was given initially to a focus on museums and galleries, on the basis that these offered relative standardisation of organisational structures, personnel qualifications and working conditions. Often new studies in arts management research have focused firstly on museums and galleries, and City University has a tradition of encouraging students to undertake research in issues relevant to museums and galleries management.[1] However meritorious these attributes, there was an important deficiency in that this sector tended to be less labour-intensive than others, except in the largest institutions, such as Tate, for example, which has three sites in London – Tate Modern, Tate Britain and Tate Store – and also employs staff at Tate Liverpool and Tate St Ives in Cornwall.

By contrast, the performing arts offered a sector in which arts workers were involved in a large number of different roles with a high level of social interaction. Since bullying occurs between individuals as well as between sets of individuals, the performing arts environment offered more instances for the reciprocal actions or influences of human behaviour. Building-based organisations rather than independent touring companies were chosen as these provided a stable work environment with a degree of continuity day to day, rather than a variety of venues and the relatively unpredictable set of environmental circumstances found in touring, the conditions of which expose individuals and companies to severe, but temporary, pressures and tensions. Also, the pattern of activity in theatres and arts centres includes regularly occurring *high-pressure* conditions, for example immovable deadlines such as first nights, and the stressors reported by those who work in performing arts include performance anxiety and distress (*stage fright*), fatigue induced by working long hours often late into the night and a workload often considered unmanageable, due to the multiplicity and disparity of tasks required, not all of which are regarded as status-appropriate. These were important factors as studies in other fields (military establishments, health service, education etc) had indicated that pressure of efficient service delivery was held to contribute to volatile work environments (Quine, 1999).

[1] See list of long studies and other resources for the Department of Cultural Policy and Management, City University, London [at http://www.city.ac.uk/cpm/res_collection/long_studies.html]

Pilot Study 1 in 2000 targeted twenty-one (21) Regional Producing Theatres in the Greater North of England, being the regions at that time defined by the Arts Council as Northern Arts (Durham, Northumberland and Tyne/Tees), North West Arts (Lancashire, Merseyside and Cumbria) and Yorkshire & Humberside Arts (Yorkshire, Humberside and parts of Lincolnshire). The venues were all members of the Theatrical Management Association (TMA) network and in this respect they were part of a defined community of interest. Also in 2000, a survey of a London dance organisation was undertaken by Hoel and Cooper of Manchester School of Management, University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology (UMIST), as part of a larger national survey. They reported *occasional bullying within the last six months* from 14.1% of dance workers, and *current, past and indirect bullying* within the last five years from 29.6%, based on 85 returned questionnaires (Hoel & Cooper, 2000).

Among the theatres and arts centres, it was expected that larger organisations with, generally, a more hierarchical structure, would be likely to exhibit a greater range of positive and negative interpersonal and intra-organisational behaviours. The selected Regional Producing Theatres in the Greater North Of England were identified on the basis that:

- broadly speaking, the buildings and the companies performed the same roles within their geographical areas and were of comparable size

- each venue contained staff with a variety of roles, duties and responsibilities

- on a regular basis there was extreme pressure on staff to function effectively as a team in order to deliver the work to pre-fixed deadlines

- a minimum sample size of 10% for a pilot study was desirable to ensure validity of information, and the 21 organisations selected represented 42% of all UK TMA theatres

- as geographical location might have a bearing on results, 3 Regional Arts Board areas were chosen representing 43% of the then administrative territories in England, and 30% in the UK as a whole

Having selected the category for testing, it was expected that in most cases:

- due to the size of the organisations, the many different functions performed by members of the staff teams and the statistical likelihood of encountering a wide variety of management and behavioural styles, some evidence of bullying would be found in the majority of organisations

- formal personnel training and trades union membership was more likely to be found in these well-established arts organisations

- as a result of both of the above, procedures were more likely to be in place to deal with, for example, disciplinary and grievance matters

and it was further expected that

- senior managers would be well-placed to recognise bullying behaviour, although there might be a reluctance to admit to it

- already, some organisations might have policies in place to deal with the behaviour effectively

The major survey was conducted in collaboration with BECTU in 2004. The Union was receptive to an approach to investigate this topic in the wake of complaints from its members of bullying at work. As a union affiliated to the TUC (which has 70 affiliated unions representing nearly seven million working people from all walks of life) BECTU sought to raise the profile of bullying among its members, much as the TUC had done in 1999 when it produced a handbook "*Beat Bullying at Work: A guide for reps and personnel managers showing how unions and managers have worked together to reduce bullying.*"

BECTU's website was beginning to report stories of bullying behaviour across the UK. As in the examples below, these often centred on threats of employment loss and changes to working practices, which made workers feel insecure and had caused strikes and stoppages in the past. There were also complaints about management strategies that were perceived as deceitful.

> **"Action halted in Glasgow theatre**
> Plans for stoppages at Glasgow's Tramway are on hold during peace talks. BECTU postponed strikes that were intended to run from four days from April 22 after controversial proposals for redundancies and changed working practices were withdrawn. Glasgow Council, which owns the theatre, took its plans off the table after being hit by earlier stoppages in March, and agreed to reopen negotiations with BECTU. Members at the theatre have complained of management tactics, which have ranged from serious breaches of contract to alleged cover-ups of

bullying. One manager at the centre of the allegations resigned after the first 24-hour stoppage in March." (BECTU website news item, 2003)

"Bring back annual pay negotiations
"... West End theatre members want a return to annual pay negotiations, better job security and action on bullying." (BECTU website news item, 2000)

BECTU was established in January 1991 by the amalgamation of the Association of Cinematograph Television and Allied Technicians (ACTT) and the Broadcasting and Entertainment Trades Alliance (BETA). BETA itself was the product of an amalgamation in February 1989 between the Association of Broadcasting Staff (ABS) and the National Association of Theatrical Television and Kine Employees (NATTKE). Of the three unions, NATTKE, the oldest, was established in the 1890s as the union for theatre and music hall employees. ACTT developed in the 1930s as the union for technical workers in film production. ABS started life in 1940 as an internal association representing BBC staff.

The period since 1979 has been a critical one for BECTU and its predecessor unions. The claim is that hostile government legislation, technological and structural changes in the industries in which they organised, sustained attacks by employers on the employment, contractual status, pay and conditions of service of union members left BECTU with a paid-up membership (25,000 at December 1999) significantly smaller than the 60,000 or so members collectively claimed by ABS, ACTT and NATTKE in the early 1980s. By 2006, membership had grown to more than 27,000 in total, indicating that current BECTU members represent, at most, some 45% of those eligible to join. It is likely that the reality is that members represent a much smaller proportion than this, as the broadcasting, film, video and digital media sectors have grown enormously in the last decade due to constantly developing technology.

The union, however, has maintained a presence in the main areas of membership inherited from BETA and ACTT. It has agreements with the BBC and negotiating and representation rights for all categories of its staff. It has agreements with individual ITV companies and independent radio companies and with the regulatory and transmission bodies that replaced the IBA. Its Arts and Entertainment division has national and local agreements in the theatre, cinema and leisure industries. There are agreements for freelance members with PACT (Producers Alliance for Cinema and Television) and the AFVPA (Advertising Film and Videotape Producers Association) covering film and television production and commercials, and in the major laboratories, video and audio cassette duplication companies. By 2000, almost half of BECTU's members were freelance workers, a pattern sustained in 2006. Traditionally, these workers have been particularly vulnerable in terms of employment rights, although the Employment Rights Act

1996 extended much of the protection enjoyed by full-time employees to part-time and freelance workers.

BECTU wanted members to know that it was conscious that workplace bullying was an important issue deserving of serious consideration. To this end the in-house magazine *Stage Screen & Radio* commissioned an introductory article to give prominence to the proposed survey (Quigg, 2003). In 2003/4 there were 3,924 members in the Theatrical Section, 278 of whom were nominated by BECTU as *Active Members*. It was anticipated that Active Members were most likely to participate in the survey, and the number of returned questionnaires at 249 is equivalent to 89.6% of this sample. Respondents came from all parts of the UK except Wales, and represented theatres and arts centres that employ at least 22,672 people. The profile of respondents was representative of the union's broad membership: there were slightly more men than women at 53% to 47%, employees spanned the range from 18 years to 64 years, with the majority being between 25 and 44 years old. There were three disabled people and 8% were from ethnic minority backgrounds. The size of the minority ethnic population in the UK is often over-estimated. In fact, this was 4.6 million in 2001, or 7.9% of the total population of the United Kingdom (Office of National Statistics Census, 2001), so the number of ethnic minority respondents represented in the BECTU Active Members sample is in line with the proportion at the national level.

BECTU members are employed in a number of areas including administration, box office, cleaning, front-of-house, management and production. In this sample, technical staff predominated, (more than half of the men and one fifth of the women) followed by front-of house and production staff. Catering was not represented at all, perhaps because catering in many theatres and arts centres is franchised out. One tenth of the employees worked in management, of whom there were twice as many men as women. Excepting technicians, there were more women than men working in every other area, with almost three times as many in administration/clerical fields and in production. Staff also included dressers, bar staff, a visual arts director and workers in education, maintenance, marketing, press and media.

3.3.2. Engineering the BECTU survey: The Sphinx Programme

When planning and designing the major study in conjunction with BECTU, the effectiveness of survey design and implementation software was considered. Michael Quine of City University had extensive experience of relevant software and recommended the SphinxSurvey, Plus^2 edition, v. 4.0 software programme. This was employed to determine

the data processing formats, to design the questionnaires and to analyse the data. Sphinx is a comprehensive, integrated software package enabling questionnaire layout design and formatting for both paper and web use. Collected responses can be inputted manually, and data capture also allows the importation of database files, so that it is possible to collect data from the internet (as with Pilot Study 2) and to organise multi-site surveys.

SphinxSurvey includes advice and guidance on constructing questionnaires, including an explanation of the types of questions available and a library of stock questions, which may be of use for very basic information (age, gender, etc). The SphinxSurvey evaluation function incorporates the potential to analyse multivariate data, so besides one-way analysis, a range of cross-tabulations are possible, as well as regression[2] and correlation[3] processes and data mining.[4] Analysis of open questions [text entries] is possible via tables of responses or tables of words. Although not used during this research, the programme also has the capacity to provide management of internet surveys.

During analysis, all data can be represented in table and graph form. Frequencies can be calculated according to the number of observations[5] or, for ease of handling questions where more than one response can be made, the number of citations.[6] Percentages and frequencies can be cumulated and there is an option to use intensity outlines. This last was employed in several of the tables used to display the arts research results and offers a quick guide to highlighting significant findings – see statistics highlighted in green in Chapter 6, Table 6.10: Personal involvement in bullying.

For a one-way analysis, statistical tests include the capacity to determine confidence intervals and Chi^2,[7] calculated with equal expected frequencies for each modality. For cross-tabulations, besides citations/percentages, table values can be displayed as absolute contributions, Chi^2 contributions, expected frequencies and deviations from the table of expected values. Chi^2 is available as an independence test, however this is not applicable where very small numbers of citations are returned (less than 5) so not reliable for cross-tabulations where a large number of variables is cross-referenced with another large number of variables, for example in Chapter 6, Table 6.33: Management attitudes to complaints about pay, by region.

[2] a process for determining the statistical relationship between a random variable and one or more independent variables that is used to predict the value of the random variable
[3] the degree to which two or more variables are related and change together
[4] the locating of previously unknown patterns and relationships within data using a database application
[5] the number of participants in a survey
[6] the number of responses received to a question (which can exceed the number of observations if more than one response to a question is permitted)
[7] a non-parametric test of statistical significance for bivariate tabular analysis, Chi square indicates the degree of confidence in accepting or rejecting an hypothesis

Within cross-tabulations, the level of significance can be determined between individual modalities and the whole sample and also between two modalities. Modalities can be characterised in terms of all the variables included. So, for example, the modality representing respondents who stated that they had been the target of a workplace bully can be further characterised to determine their age, gender, BECTU group, geographical region, etc. (See Chapter 6). This can also be done by creating sub-samples within the main data sample, in which case the full range of cross-tabulations and one-way analyses, as applied to the main sample, can be carried out for the sub-sample,

The use of the Sphinx programme introduced a high degree of flexibility into the process of designing and analysing the BECTU survey. In addition to the capacity for creating questions where the input required was numeric, code or date/time format (not used in this research) it was possible to format questions as

- closed single: one answer possible, for example *male* or *female*
- closed multiple: more than one answer possible, within predefined modalities
- closed scale: one answer possible, respondents rate predefined modalities, for example *always, sometimes, never*
- open: text input at the discretion of respondents

and to create question groups so that multiple variables could be cross-tabulated during analysis. In order to make the best use of the opportunity to analyse both quantitative and qualitative data, the option to include text responses to supplement predetermined responses was included wherever appropriate. Finally, the programme included options for rapid data entry and for a spreadsheet overview of results, both of which were extremely useful for checking accuracy and gaining a data overview.

3.3.3. Surveys by questionnaire: strengths and limitations

In determining the matrix for the research methodologies (Fig 3.1) a conscious effort was made to arrive at an apposite balance between qualitative and quantitative research, and to take a flexible approach to the methodology, acknowledging that, for participants, perceptions and actualities of bullying behaviour may vary greatly. The employment of a questionnaire has the advantage of providing written data purposefully submitted, and this holds true of online surveys that deliver printed forms. Rayner, Sheehan and Barker (1999) consider that qualitative study may allow better assessment of bullying behaviour, particularly in the context of the attribution process (Rayner, 1999), whilst allowing that incidence studies continue to benefit from the usual methodology of postal questionnaires.

The pilot research used questionnaires presented in two different formats: a longer version distributed to theatre managers as a postal questionnaire (Pilot Study 1) and an online abbreviated version available to arts workers (Pilot Study 2), the URL[8] of which was advertised especially in the geographical regions where the venues were located. A clear definition of bullying according to the Dignity at Work Act (1997) was given on both types of questionnaire. All respondents to both types of questionnaire could choose to remain anonymous.

The sensitive nature of the subject meant that it was unlikely that the theatre managers would agree to an interview on the subject of workplace bullying. Other researchers have recognised this challenge: in the context of fathoming how to draw employers into participating in research in this field, Rayner, Sheehan and Barker (1999) discerned that:

> "achieving participation may require a more subtle approach (such as not naming 'bullying') and a flexible partnership on the part of both the researcher and the employer." (Rayner, Sheehan & Barker, 1999: p14)

Investigators in human subjects research are morally obliged to be open and honest about their work (Callahan, 1998) however working in emotive and controversial areas, such as adult bullying, dictates that seeking *the truth* (Rayner, Sheehan & Barker, 1999) may require approaches that are not always strictly transparent. This predicament is explored later in this chapter in the section on cloaking and confidentiality.

Although written questionnaires are deemed to have a poor response rate, unsolicited emails to theatre managers were considered even more likely to be ignored or discarded and on balance the judgement was:

3.3.3.1 that arts managers might be more tempted to respond to a formal written request, rather than an email

3.3.3.2 that they would be more likely to value an approach from a peer – someone who was known to have managed theatres and arts centres in the north of England – backed by an establishment respected for its work in cultural policy and management

3.3.3.3 that they might be interested in the opportunity to comment on areas of work that were relevant to their organisations, but about which they were rarely asked

[8] Abbreviation for Uniform (or Universal) Resource Locator: the address of a World Wide Web page

3.3.3.4 that responses to questions about other aspects of their organisations, including known stressors in the arts workplace, might contextualise questions about bullying behaviour, rendering these less threatening

In addition to questions about workplace bullying, the postal questionnaire therefore covered line management responsibilities of managers, establishing their sphere of influence; the extent of their training in human resources management, to gauge levels of accredited competence in dealing with interpersonal conflict; the hours worked by theatre staff, for the purpose of comparison with conditions in non-arts environments; and the organisations' complaints procedures, for a perspective on how arts management dealt with workplace difficulties. In contrast, the website questionnaire was designed to be brief and direct. The nine questions focused specifically on workplace bullying and were necessarily short to encourage online completion.

The postal questionnaire used in Pilot Study 1 (Managers) yielded a response rate equivalent to 62% (13 out of 21 theatres), which may suggest that managers valued the opportunity to contribute. Anonymity might have been a factor and/or managers might have felt compelled to respond personally to questions about *difficult* areas, rather than delegate the completion of the questionnaire to subordinates. All the managers saw themselves as representatives of, and firmly aligned with, the management policy of their organisations, so in this sense they were unequivocally allied with *employers* (Rayner, Sheehan & Barker, 1999). This must have made it difficult or uncomfortable for them to be critical of (or perhaps even strictly honest about) management attitudes and policies.

The website questionnaire used in Pilot Study 2 achieved 18 respondents against a baseline target of 20 (90%), although as this was an *open house* survey there was no prescribed, limited catchment against which conclusively response rates could be measured. Participants could choose to add contact details and/or additional text responses as well as the answers to the questions, and many did. Some of these then agreed to be interviewed as part of the ongoing research. A limitation of the online questionnaire was that respondents were from a wide range of geographical locations, which did not exactly mirror the geographic areas covered by the postal questionnaires to arts managers.

The major study embraced the challenging task of addressing issues important to BECTU, namely levels of pay and working hours, in addition to workplace bullying. Printed questionnaires were distributed with BECTU's in-house magazine, *Stage Screen & Radio.* Whilst the quality of the printed material was much improved from the pilot version, the length of the comprehensive questionnaire was a disadvantage. Front-page coverage was

given to the survey in the Union's magazine, and this undoubtedly contributed to the high response rate among *Active Members*, although deadlines for completion were extended in order to cater for tardy replies. The quality of information was generally consistent and a combination of multiple choice answers and contributed text meant that responses were comprehensive and coherent.

3.3.4. Interviews and case studies

Unstructured and semi-structured interviews with targets and witnesses of bullying were used to establish the context for bullying behaviour in the arts, and to create case studies of how the process of dealing with bullying was experienced within different arts organisations. Initially, three possible methods adapted from psychiatric best practice, were considered. These were based on (i) advice and training in 2000 from Diane Nelson, a UK social worker dealing with interviewing children alleging abuse, and (ii) the New Zealand government's guidelines on dealing with child abuse:

The diagnostic interview: The purpose of the diagnostic interview is to gather information able to be used as part of a fuller assessment and it is deemed useful when there are strong indicators of abuse, often established initially via an unstructured discussion. The disadvantage in terms of the arts research was that the act of bullying itself is known to degrade the environment (Hirigoyen, 2005) and self-reported targets of bullying may feature in workplaces where there are indicators of other problems, so that distinguishing what may and may not be attributable to bullying behaviour becomes problematic.

The evidential interview: this is carried out when a respondent discloses something that indicates they may have been abused. The tripartite purposes of evidential interviewing are to ascertain whether any abuse, for example bullying, has happened; what kind of abuse that is; and to ascertain the individual's safety. Evidential interviews of children alleging abuse are usually videotaped and are made to the requirements of the Evidence (Videotaping of Child Complaints) Regulations, 1990. Alternatively they may be audiotaped or written down, word for word. Here the lack of uniform perceptions of bullying behaviour is an issue. So, *what kind of abuse?* as in *how bad/severe/significant?* becomes a central but insoluble question: the answer differs according to the individual. The intimation that the researcher is liable for the interviewees' personal safety is also difficult. The ethics of research in this area dictate that investigators are aware of their responsibilities to safeguard participants' welfare, within reasonable limits (British Association for Counselling and Therapy, 2000). This is further discussed later in this Chapter.

Counselling: the term is often used interchangeably with psychotherapy – a set of techniques intended to improve mental health, emotional or behavioural issues of individuals, family members or a whole family's interactional climate. It was originally adopted by Carl Rogers, an influential American psychologist, who, along with Abraham Maslow, was the founder of the humanist approach to psychology. Rogers' intention was to distinguish his work from the more medically oriented psychotherapy but the difference between the two has become blurred. Its use today tends to imply a less interventionist approach based on listening skills, which draw out the subject, rather than confronting or challenging them.

Throughout the research period notes were taken at interviews, and in consideration of case studies, however during the Pilot Studies (2000 and 2001) none of the routes noted above had proved to be entirely satisfactory as stand-alone methods, and often elements of each were included in any one encounter. At the end of 2001, when revisiting the techniques used by psychiatrists and social workers dealing with vulnerable people – such as children, cultural minority groups and intellectually disabled people – a fourth technique was identified: forensic interviewing emerged as a credible practice.

Forensic interviewing: this is used by child protective services organisations, and those aiming to produce evidence that is able to withstand legal scrutiny in child abuse cases.

The parameters for forensic interviewing can be summarised as follows:

> "Overall, experts recommend that interviewers' questions need to be matched to the interviewee's communicative abilities, rapport needs to be established while making the process of the interview clear, suggestive/leading questions and other coercive practices should be avoided, and the interviewer needs to be open-minded and to test alternative hypotheses about what occurred (see Powell & Thomson, in press).
>
> In addition to the above factors, one of the most critical skills of a forensic interviewer is the ability to elicit an account of the event in the interviewee's own words. This is referred to as a "free narrative" account (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992; Poole & Lamb, 1998; Wilson & Powell, 2001). A free narrative account is usually preceded with a single non-focused, open-ended question (e.g., "Tell me everything you can remember about ... from beginning to end"). Subsequently, minimal nonverbal encouragers (e.g., head nods, pauses) and further open-ended questions (e.g., "Tell me more about that", "What happened then?") are utilised to steer the interviewee to the next point in the story, or to gently encourage the interviewee to be as informative and detailed as possible without dictating what specific information is required." (Powell, 2002)

Although the procedure sounds simple, it requires a degree of self-discipline because broad, open-ended inquiries are not as commonly used by researchers as the sequential question-and-answer style of conversation (Powell, 2000). Moreover, when abuse is the topic, many vulnerable or anxious interviewees do not deliver precise, logical detail in their

free narrative accounts about offences, relative to what can be obtained using a series of focused or specific questions (Davies, Westcott & Horan, 2000; Dent & Stephenson, 1979 as reported in Powell, 2002). As bullying is a form of abuse, it seemed appropriate to regard bullied adults, or those who are reporting having witnessed or heard about bullying behaviour, as vulnerable interviewees.

Researchers have noted links between child abuse and workplace bullying (for example Randall, 1997; Wilkie, 1996; Crawford, 1992). In both cases most perpetrators deny the abuse and most acts of maltreatment are not witnessed, and as the victim's statement is critical evidence in child abuse cases, so the target's evidence is significant in adult bullying cases. In both instances there may be varying abilities to recall events and use language, and, as in child abuse cases, the trauma experienced by targets of bullying can complicate efforts to obtain information about the abuse. The forensic interview is designed to overcome these obstacles (Hill Country Children's Advocacy Center, 1999). The goal is to obtain a statement in an objective, developmentally sensitive, and legally defensible manner (Davies, et al, 1997).

In the interests of promoting a combined methodology that maximised flexibility, the techniques of forensic interviewing, incorporating *free narrative*, were included alongside the other three methods. When considering the quality of the evidence provided, Powell believes that there are numerous benefits of eliciting a *free narrative* compared to the answers to more focused, specific questions.

> " ... responses to general, open-ended questions are usually more accurate ... because open-ended prompts facilitate deeper memory processing and encourage respondents to provide as much relevant information as they remember, whereas specific questions often elicit responses even when the correct detail is not available in the interviewee's memory store. In this respect, error rates increase with the use of specific questions due to response biases or tendencies to say yes or no without reflection (Powell & Roberts, in press), the provision of stereotypical responses (Aldridge & Wood, 1998; Cooke, 1996), and the false recognition of details that were only mentioned in previous interviews or are inferred on the basis of existing knowledge about the event (Brainerd & Reyna, 1993; Johnson, Hashtroudi & Lindsay, 1993; Loftus, 1975).
>
> ... swift questioning does not allow the interviewee and interviewer time to collect their thoughts, and as a consequence, does not lend itself to elaborate memory retrieval (Lamb et al., 1996; Powell, 2000b). Finally, when the interviewer imposes his/her language and framework of the event, there is greater potential for confusion or misunderstanding (Kintsch & Greene, 1978)." (Powell, 2002)

So, recording an interviewee's *free narrative* about bullying experiences can provide more accurate and reliable information with lower error rates than is yielded via a standard question and answer session. In adopting forensic interviewing techniques during the arts research, every attempt was made to minimise the distress caused by revisiting negative

experiences and to facilitate more accurate recording of case studies and discussions. Forensic interviewing thus provided an important counterbalance to the information delivered by quantitative analysis.

3.4 OBJECTIVITY AND ETHICS

3.4.1 Objectivity: the question of distance

Anthropologists have long since acknowledged that ethnographic research is not objective research at all because we bring to any research project ourselves, complete with personal histories and identities, and *our own interpretive lenses* (Hall, 2001). Despite this, the sensitive nature of workplace bullying as a research topic was such that apparent or perceived non-objectivity would have been to the detriment of the validity of the work. The only ethical approach to the research was to be transparent, objective and fair.

In research and analysis, it can be difficult to establish true objectivity or impartiality, as researchers have a stake in the results of their work, so that the type of objectivity that is promoted is intended as a check on partiality. In research and analysis *objectivity* means *reproducibility* – an objective test is one that produces the same results regardless of who scores it. Thus, to be objective, the data gathered during the arts research would have to be analysed in accordance with standard, acceptable procedures, and the mechanisms used to achieve this would have to be above reproach.

Transparency is another important aspect of objectivity. The arts research had to provide sufficient information to allow others to test the findings through replication. Often, openness can extend to the sharing of data sets, as long as all necessary confidentiality can be maintained, however in this research into bullying behaviour a high degree of privacy was requested by or offered to participants, which might compromise the sharing of baseline information. It was therefore necessary to be fair, in the sense of not exhibiting any bias (*objectivity* again). In the two pilot studies two different routes were taken to canvass opinion from managers and arts workers, and the findings varied considerably. In the main study, therefore, it was important to ensure that both managerial and non-managerial arts staff were included in the sample, that they were asked exactly the same questions and that they were given the same opportunities to contribute additional information, as they so wished.

In pursuit of an equalitarian approach, the discussion of the research findings in Chapter 7 debates whether arts managers who stated that they had no awareness of bullying behaviour in the workplace might be:

a) accurately describing their reality, because bullying did not exist in their workplace

b) inaccurately describing their reality, because bullying did exist in their workplace, but they were ignorant of its existence

c) inaccurately describing their reality, because bullying did exist in their workplace, but they were dissembling in order to protect themselves or their organisation

In the same spirit of openness, respondents to the website in particular were self-styled victims of bullies, with all that this implies. Without this *objectivity* or supposed *distance* it is difficult to claim insight into cultural practices and the basis of ethnographic authority under these conditions is unclear.

It is unlikely that there is only one single truth to be discovered in a research situation (Rayner, Sheehan & Barker, 1999) and adopting a single standpoint from which to judge all cultures and ways of being in the world is to deny cultural relativism, which is the principle that we should not judge the behaviour of others using the standards of our own culture, and that each culture must be analysed on its own terms. In terms of workplace bullying, it became essential to see various perspectives as *positioned* (Abu-Lughod, 1991), and the things learned in the field as *partial truths* (Clifford, 1986). This goes some way towards explaining the huge gap in understanding, knowledge and experience between the respondents to the website and the BECTU survey, who reported bullying to be common and increasing in frequency, and the managers who participated in Pilot Study 1 who denied its existence except on rare occasions. Also, it begins to explain why bullies often do not see their own behaviour as oppressive in any way.

Reflexivity impacts on the ethics of conducting such research: my desire to be seen to be objective was increased as a result of being an investigator who had direct experience of bullying, and had also witnessed it within a range of arts organisations. In designing the methodology, two-tier triangulation offered a means to ensure results and conclusions were based on more than one research activity: on level one the research comprised the bifurcated pilot (website survey + postal survey) plus unstructured interviews, and on the more profound level two it comprised the pilot plus the BECTU survey plus case studies. The research has encompassed unstructured interviews, the findings of two Pilot Studies (1: Managers and 2:Website), the ongoing review of the growing literature on the subject, the semi-structured case studies and the in-depth UK wide BECTU survey, all of which combined has offered the opportunity to give lengthy, and *at a distance*, consideration to the topic.

3.4.2 Cloaking and confidentiality

In considering the guiding questions for workplace bullying it was apparent at the earliest stages that there was likely to be resistance to free and open discussion of such an uncomfortable topic, and indeed the Economic and Social Research Council accords that a *light touch* is permissible in seven types of research, the first two of which are germane:

> a research involving vulnerable groups – for example, children and young people, those with a learning disability or cognitive impairment, or individuals in a dependent or unequal relationship
>
> b research involving sensitive topics – for example participants' sexual behaviour, their illegal or political behaviour, their experience of violence, their abuse or exploitation, their mental health, or their gender or ethnic status (Economic and Social Research Council, 2003)

Bullied adults, or those who are reporting having witnessed or heard about bullying behaviour, were considered to be vulnerable interviewees because bullying is a form of abuse. Further, this places targets and witnesses in the category of *individuals in a dependent or unequal relationship* because their experience has rendered them powerless. Employees who perceive they are targets of corporate bullying are economically dependent on their employers (Crawford, 1999)[9] and among individuals, even if a balance of power existed initially, this is no longer in place following bullying behaviour (Einarsen, 2000; Knorz & Zapf, 1996 as reported in Zapf & Gross, 2001). Bullying is a sensitive topic involving experience of violence, exploitation and negative behaviours.

Researchers are morally obliged to be honest and open about their work, however in some instances it is recognised that there is a need to prevaricate, as with some types of medical research [my parentheses]:

> **"Can I use deception when doing research?**
> As a general rule, deception is not acceptable when doing research ... Using deception jeopardizes the integrity of the informed consent process and can potentially harm your participants. Occasionally exploring your area of interest fully may require misleading your participants about the subject of your study. For example, if you want to learn about decision-making practices of physicians without influencing their practice-style, you may consider telling them you are studying "communication behaviors" more broadly. The IRB [Institute Review Boards for the Protection of Human Subjects] will review any proposal that suggests using deception or misrepresentation very carefully. They will require an in-depth justification of why the deception is necessary for the study and the steps you will take to safeguard your participants." (Callahan, 1998)

[9] See also Biderman's Stages of Oppression Chapter 1, p 20, and the Power and Control Wheel Chapter 1, Fig 1.3 p 28 and Table 1.1 p 29.

So when is it permissible to deceive? There does not appear to be a simple answer, however psychologist Michael Eysenck proposes that the less potentially damaging the consequences of the deception, the more likely it is to be acceptable. In terms of research into workplace bullying, exposure of a bully could be damaging for both the individual and the collective perpetrator, potentially in terms of reputation, cost and legal action. However the behaviour being investigated is acknowledged to be damaging also, arguably more so because of its profound and long-term effects on individuals and organisations.

The purpose of the research was not hidden, however it was put into a context deemed to be *acceptable* to each particular group involved. This *cloaking* of the research topic, in the sense of shrouding or wrapping the issue of bullying, rather than not revealing its presence at all, was intended to dilute the effect or impact temporarily, rather than to deliberately mislead. For example, Pilot Study 1, of managers in Regional Producing Theatres, could have focused solely on bullying behaviour in the workplace. Instead, it introduced the topic as part of an examination of *stressors in the arts workplace*, the others cited being hours of work and complaints procedures. Responses in all these areas were duly analysed and, although bullying was the issue of central concern to this research, the other stressors also contributed and, in fact, provided valuable responses that informed the BECTU survey in 2004.

Although the central subject matter was *cloaked* in this way, a definition of workplace bullying was provided in order to clarify and to aid recognition of the behaviour. With hindsight, this was an important and useful decision to have taken. In the absence of such a definition, it could have been assumed that the failure of managers in Pilot Study 1 to recognise the existence of bullying might have been due to ignorance of the precise nature of the behaviour. Instead, the definition enabled respondents to avoid the tendency to report minor differences of opinion, practical jokes or general disagreements in the workplace as *bullying*. Rather, instances such as these can be described as:

> "**Pressure bullying** or **unwitting bullying** ... where the stress of the moment causes behaviour to deteriorate; the person becomes short-tempered, irritable and may shout or swear at others. Everybody does this from time to time, but when the pressure is removed, behaviour returns to normal, the person recognises the inappropriateness of their behaviour, makes amends, and may apologise, and - crucially - learns from the experience so that next time the situation arises they are better able to deal with it. This is "normal" behaviour and I do not include pressure bullying in my definition of workplace bullying." (Field 1996)

As it was, the designation was clear and unambiguous, and the failure to recognise its existence must be interpreted differently.

From the outset, it was apparent that participants in the research, particularly targets of bullies, would need to be confident that there would be no adverse or damaging consequences from their participation. Preserving their anonymity was critical to securing their involvement, and in the same spirit it was considered ethical also to offer anonymity to all participants. Thus assurances of confidentiality were given to interviewees, website respondents and survey participants alike. This position is upheld by psychologists like Eysenck who emphasises the need for researchers to protect those who take part in a study, however the need to protect participants from stress, "however this might be created" (Eysenck, 2004), leads to another ethical dilemma for researchers into workplace bullying: how to justify the level of psychological, emotional, social or physical distress that may be incurred by allowing or encouraging participants to relive negative experiences, with all that this implies. This is revisited in Chapter 7.

Eysenck's view prompts the question: *are the consequences of not investigating bullying behaviour more damaging than the effects of the research?* and he explores some of the difficulties with telling the truth about the purposes of certain types of research. Whilst obtaining consent and avoiding deception is a key ethical issue in research with human participants, he concludes that to deny the ability to deceive altogether would put a halt to many valuable research programmes and that many forms of deception are entirely harmless:

> "For example, some memory researchers are interested in incidental learning, which involves people's ability to remember information they were not asked to remember. This can only be done by deceiving the participants as to the true purpose of the experiment until the memory test is presented." (Eysenck, 2004)

Eysenck also proposes that it is easier to justify the use of deception in studies that are important in scientific terms than in those that are trivial. It seems reasonable that research into bullying behaviour should be scientific in the broadest senses of the term, that is, it should conform to science or its principles, and it should proceed in a systematic and methodical way. Finally, Eysenck would argue that deception is more justifiable when there are no alternative, deception-free ways of studying an issue. The difficulties inherent in researching bullying, in particular the denial of perpetrators and the issue of management being perceived as condoning the behaviour because no action is taken to prevent or deal with it, means that alternatives to *cloaking* the subject matter in certain circumstances are hard to find.

3.5 THE QUESTIONNAIRES

3.5.1 Source material for the Pilot Studies

Questionnaires used in studies in other sectors were examined in order to identify a suitable range of questions and terminology that was clear, unambiguous and not emotive. These included a survey into workplace bullying in the health sector undertaken by Quine (1999), the MSF/IPD Comparative Study (1999) and a questionnaire for a comparative study on work-related stress and industrial relations used in an inter-governmental European study in 1999. A number of definitions of bullying were considered (Adams, 1992; Field, 1996; MSF Union, 1999) and rejected in favour of that used in the Dignity at Work Bill 1997. This was clear and concise and had the added benefit of being *official*, in the sense that being linked to a serious attempt to bring forward a bill in parliament, it was evidently not a spurious attempt by an individual to invent new types of harassment.

3.5.2 Pilot Study 1 (Postal Questionnaire to Arts Managers)

In 1999 there were three Regional Arts Boards (RABs) in the area designated as the *Greater North of England*, and officers from each of the three RABs supplied the contact details for the 21 Regional Producing Theatres in their catchment. The questionnaire was divided into sections to lead respondents through basic information about their organisation, themselves, their working hours, their experience of bullying in the workplace and the level of support they felt was offered by management via complaints procedures. This was intended to reinforce the message that the questionnaire was confidential and could be completed anonymously, and that the researcher was not targeting specific organisations or individuals. To allow valid comparisons, personal anonymity was offset by the collection of basic data about geographic location, the nature of the artform and numbers of staff employed.[10]

Covering letters accompanying the questionnaires were directed at the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of organisations, and made reference to the delicate nature of the study, suggesting that the person best placed to complete the questionnaire would be the staff member with responsibility for human resources or personnel issues. One aim was to test whether or not the CEO would hand over responsibility for such a potentially problematic piece of work to those more directly related to delivering personnel and human resources management functions (Questionnaire and covering letter at Appendix 1).

[10] It was expected that a minimum of 20 staff would be employed in the sample organisations, and the categorisation allowed for increases in steps of 20 up to 100+.

3.5.2.1 Section 1: Your organisation

This section heading was used to reinforce the message that the questionnaire was designed to be anonymous, and that the researcher was not deliberately targeting specific individuals or organisations. In the absence of establishing the identity of respondents, alternative basic information had to be gathered in order to make valid comparisons possible. Respondents were first asked to indicate in which RAB area they operated (the sample was spread fairly evenly across all three regions). As the survey form was prepared on the basis of the longer-term possibility of looking across a range of arts organisations, Question 1 asked the nature of the artform represented and Question 2 asked for the numbers of staff, including part time and casual staff. It was expected that each participating theatre/arts centre would have a minimum of 20 staff, and (particularly as casual staff could also be included) categories were increased in steps of 20 personnel up to 100+. All organisations described themselves as a Theatre or an Arts Centre and 85% of the sample had staff teams of at least 20 employees.

3.5.2.2 Section 1: You

In this section, besides determining (in Questions 3 and 4) gender and age range, the study tested:

- the status of the respondent (Question 5): to determine whether or not Chief Executives had, in fact, handed over to those with more direct responsibility for personnel
- the extent of formal training in people management acquired by respondents (Question 6)
- the range of line management responsibilities of the respondent, including supervising other line managers and reporting directly to the board of their organisation (Question 7)

It was likely that, in some cases at least, CEOs would not delegate completion of the questionnaire due to its sensitive nature. From personal experience in the theatre, I further suspected that managers at very senior level, despite being responsible for personnel, might have little or no formal training in people management. In the event, the majority of the questionnaires were completed by CEOs and the lack of training in personnel issues was more acute than had been anticipated.

3.5.2.3 Section 2: Working Hours

At the time of the study, Tim Field had devised definitions for eight different types of bullying behaviour. By May 2006 there are 12 different types of bullying cited on the website. It seemed logical to test the idea that bullying behaviour might be linked to other pressures and stressors in the workplace. The NHS study (Quine, 1999) had measured working hours, stress, anxiety and depression alongside bullying behaviour. In theatrical settings, the exploration of working hours seemed particularly useful, as staff in most arts organisations already work *unsocial hours* and frequently arts companies have periods when excessive hours are worked, that is, considerably above the contracted 39 hours per week for full-time staff outlined in the Agreement Between The Theatrical Management Association and Broadcasting Entertainment Cinematograph and Theatre Union (1st April 2004). In addition to measuring this particular stressor, the questions on working hours also served as an introduction to the section on bullying and a useful aid in *cloaking* (See Section 3.4.2 for a further discussion of cloaking and confidentiality).

In October 2002 BECTU made a submission to the European Commission on the Working Time Directive review of individual opt-out (that is, the right for individuals to opt out of the 48 hour weekly working time limit). BECTU presented evidence on the operation of the opt-out – which had only been applied in the UK – and which the Commission was reviewing so that by November 2003 the Council of Ministers could take a decision on whether the opt-out should be extended. In essence, the evidence presented was that, from the experience of BECTU's freelance members, hours in excess of 48 per week were in fact the norm.

Certainly, in Pilot Study 1 2000/2001, it was important to establish in Question 1 what the perceptions were about the frequency with which longer hours were worked. Question 2 was aimed at establishing if longer hours, like night shifts, were fundamentally necessary to the effective function of the theatres and arts centres, or if they might be a cause for concern (and complaint) from some of the workforce. Objections were recorded in Question 3 with the option to describe what happened next (4 a and b) or go directly to the question seeking comments on how management views such objections (5).

Objections were categorised as *formal, upheld or dismissed by management* or *informal and never discussed* (4a). All the participating organisations belonged to the TMA, however the exact level of union representation was not established, so it was useful to test how formal objections were received. Also, given the information from the literature on the likelihood of victims of bullying moving on from organisations (UNISON 1997; Rayner, 1999), Question 4b was designed to confirm the status of the complainant following an

objection. Question 5 offered a range of descriptions of management's attitude to objections to working hours. Respondents were given the opportunity to qualify and/or to add to these responses.

3.5.2.4 Section 3: Bullying in the Workplace

The definition of bullying contained in the Dignity at Work Bill 1997 was stated as a preliminary to the questions. The first question asked to what extent respondents were aware of behaviour of this type. The facility to opt out of the rest of the survey was offered at this point. If senior manager were completely unaware of bullying behaviour (the point of the pilot study), the rest of the questionnaire was irrelevant to them. Those who indicated that such behaviour existed were asked to describe its frequency in Question 2. Changes in frequency were tested in Questions 3 and 4: the former referring to a five-year period and the latter, the previous twelve months. These questions were designed to indicate if there might be a growing or decreasing trend in such behaviour in the medium and short term. The measurement of the frequency of bullying behaviour was recognised as a useful component of incidence studies and provides a comparator with studies of bullying behaviour in other employment sectors (Rayner, Sheehan & Barker 1999). Question 5 focused on the personal involvement in a bullying incident of the respondent. It allowed for contributions from those who had assisted a complainant, those who had assisted management in dealing with a complaint, or who had had another, perhaps less formal, experience. Respondents could also add their own comments, for example if they had been the target of bullying behaviour. There was a low level of awareness of bullying behaviour among the arts managers, and no manager had been targeted by a bully.

3.5.2.5 Section 4: Support at Work

This section was based specifically on the MSF/IPD survey. As with the questions on working hours (Section 2: 4a and b), Questions 6 and 7 were designed to test whether complaints had been handled to the satisfaction of management and complainant respectively. Question 8 gave a list of types of bullying behaviour which were more explicit and wide-ranging than the behaviour outlined in the Dignity at Work Bill 1997. Respondents were asked to indicate which types of behaviour were covered by written policies. Question 9 asked for an assessment of the management's official attitude towards bullying at work: it offered a range of descriptions from which to choose. Finally, respondents were asked if they would be willing to discuss their experiences, in complete confidence, with the researcher and were invited to enclose contact details. A stamped addressed envelope was provided as were telephone, fax and email information. The address of the website for Pilot Study 2: http://members.aol.com/quiggam/index.html (still

extant May 2006) was given on the covering letter. Details of a helpline and a website giving advice on bullying at work were also enclosed.

3.5.3 Pilot Study 2 (Online Survey)

Alongside the first study to examine the levels of awareness about bullying behaviour among senior managers, the parallel pilot aimed to attract participation by those who had direct experience of bullying. It was necessary to find a way to communicate that guaranteed anonymity where this was required and which was non-threatening to the person. Several routes were considered.

Route A:

Advertising the research via journals and newspapers and asking for subjects to come forward. This method can be cumbersome and unreliable, requiring the individual to take an active role in seeking out the researcher. Cold calling is difficult to do in most circumstances, and may be particularly more so for an individual who will be required to share, and by so doing, relive painful experiences.

Route B:

Obtaining the co-operation of selected organisations and getting these to agree to allow canvassing of staff. This method has its merits, however in the context of a pilot study, it was felt that a relatively long lead-in time would be required to gain the confidence of management. Perversely, if management did sanction the work, it could have been difficult to establish procedures that would have reassured staff that they could speak freely, as this may involve making complaints about management.

Route C:

The general increase in the use of the internet and in email facilities offered a third way forward. The creation of a confidential, secure website as a backup to Route A had the added benefits of providing

- a questionnaire designed to elicit the required information without preamble or procrastination
- a facility which could be accessed by respondents at a time and in a location to suit themselves
- complete anonymity if this was desired (use of a webmaster secured this)
- participation in new and important research

In addition, by giving details of the website to the senior managers involved in Pilot Study 1, there was an opportunity to demonstrate that access to the research was freely available to individuals everywhere and, indeed, to make provision for those managers who might be more willing to respond electronically to a remote website than in writing to a questionnaire received via the workplace. The website questionnaire was designed to be brief and to the point. At that (mainly, pre-broadband) time, most internet users appreciated sites that were clearly laid out, easy to navigate and, especially in the case of an online questionnaire, could be completed and submitted reasonably quickly.

Entitled *Workplace Bullying in the Arts*, the opening preamble stated that bullying undermines the principles by which arts organisations profess to be governed and that it is necessary to combat it. The definition from the Dignity at Work Bill 1997 was given and then respondents were asked to answer nine questions as a contribution to the research. The number of questions was kept below ten and mentioned at the outset in order to encourage respondents who might have rejected a long, involved questionnaire.

3.5.3.1 The Questions

The questions used were those included in Section 3 of Pilot Study 1. With the aid of a website toolkit (Adobe Page Mill 3.0) the page was composed as a straightforward form, using pop-up menus for the available answers to the questions posed, and text boxes for additional personalised responses. The pop-up menus were quick and easy to use and the question on written policy towards types of behaviour (Question 7 on the website; 8 in Pilot Study 1) was additionally given a checkbox system to allow for multiple replies. In a final open question, there was an opportunity for respondents to submit brief comments or conclusions of their own. Those expressing a willingness to take part in further research were invited to enter confidential details in a final textbox. The option for providing a name, address, telephone number(s), email details or other contact information was left entirely open so that respondents could choose a contact method to suit. Again, this was to ensure that participants were comfortable with the process. The website address for Tim Field's site about workplace bullying was given at the end of the questionnaire.

3.5.4 BECTU survey (Postal Questionnaires)

The Broadcasting, Entertainment, Cinematographic and Theatre Union (BECTU) responded positively to the possibility of undertaking a survey to provide original research into workplace bullying in the arts. Recognising that this was a topic attracting increased attention and concern, and one which the Union wanted to address, Willy Donaghy, Arts

and Entertainment Supervisory Official, agreed to assist a survey of BECTU members working in theatres and arts centres in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The survey also covered two other areas of concern to the Union and not unconnected with workplace bullying from a corporate point of view, that is, levels of pay and working hours. Statistics made available by BECTU (as reported in Section 3.2.1) indicated that there were 3,924 members in the Theatrical Section in 2003, 7% of which (278) were *Active Members*. These individuals were most likely to participate in the survey and, in fact, the number of respondents at 249 is equivalent to 89.6% of *Active Members*. Respondents came from all parts of the UK except Wales, and represented theatres and arts centres that employ, at the minimum, 22,672 people, excluding performers. In order to accommodate the additional subject areas requested by BECTU this was a long questionnaire (57 questions) and questions were therefore arranged into shorter sections to break up the text.

3.5.4.1 Section 1: You

Respondents were not asked to identify themselves by name or the name of their employing organisation. Questions yielded information on gender, age, disability and ethnic origin. This provided the capacity for cross-tabulation according to these elements. The findings were broadly in line with expectations. BECTU Active Members reflected the 2001 census statistics in terms of population breakdown.

3.5.4.2 Section 2: Your Job

Respondents detailed their area of work (administration, box office, etc), whether they were full-time or otherwise, length of service and line management responsibilities, if any. These details were to provide a profile of the sample, and how representative it was of the survey population. In fact, every area of work in theatres and arts centres in which BECTU has members was represented apart from catering, as were all types of post (full-time, part-time, freelance, etc) and responses to length of service established that the sample comprised both experienced and relatively new members of the union.

Two questions followed about experience of and availability of work-related training opportunities. These were devised in response to the findings of Pilot Study 1 among arts managers, all of whom had line management responsibilities but very few of whom had training in managing people (See Section 3.5.2.2 and Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2). In fact, more than 37% of theatre and arts centre workers had not received any work-related training in the last three years, although 35% said training was planned for the future: more

than a quarter, though, had asked for training but reported that nothing further had happened.

A third question established how many respondents had been trades union representatives, and this was included as a way of identifying individuals likely to have had experience of dealing with difficult workplace issues. It was expected that trades union representatives would have encountered bullying behaviour in the workplace, and 42% of past or present reps stated that they had been involved in a bullying incident as a trades union representative. Also, however, 39% of representatives claimed that *they* had been the target of a workplace bully. When a sub-sample was created of targets of bullying behaviour, it was found that past or present trades unions' representatives constituted 27.3% of the *bullied group*.

3.5.4.3 Section 3: Your Employer

Questions in this section established the geographical location of the employer, the appropriate BECTU category and the approximate size of the staff team in each venue. The research among arts managers had been located among venues with a regional remit in the *Greater North of England* (Pilot Study 1), whereas the website respondents were scattered throughout the UK, as were those involved in interviews and case studies. It was possible, therefore, that significant differences would emerge between the regions within England and the countries within the UK. In the event, this was not the case and, although Wales was not represented, there were more similarities than differences across Northern Ireland, Scotland and England. The *bullied group* contained employees from every location.

Similarly, BECTU has a number of divisions within its membership, for example TMA Theatres, West End Theatres, Arts Centres etc, and it may be that experiences of pay, working hours or workplace bullying could be affected by the nature of the venue in which arts workers are employed. In fact, there were some minor differences in how complaints were handled: for example, in TMA Theatres more objections to working hours were upheld than elsewhere, however in terms of complaints about pay, more objections were upheld in West End Theatres and Arts Centres. In regard to how bullying behaviour was handled by management, those working in Arts Centres and the major London venues were less satisfied than others. The *bullied group* contained employees in every type of venue.

Organisational size was determined by staff numbers, excluding performers, on the basis that the mix of venues would have made it difficult for respondents to include these. The

employment of actors, musicians and dancers varies greatly depending on whether a venue is a producing theatre or a touring venue, for example, so estimates of performing staff can be difficult to calculate. Of interest via this question was whether, for example, bullying would be more likely to occur in larger organisations with more hierarchical structures. In fact, the findings from the *bullied group,* compared to the sample as a whole, suggest that organisations employing 31-40 people have the greatest percentage of bullied people, followed by the smaller organisations (less than 20 employees). Those employing between 41 and 100 employees are at the lowest end of the scale, and the very large organisations (at 100+ employees) fall in between these two extremes (See Chapter 6 for a detailed breakdown).

3.5.4.4 Section 4: Working Hours

The questions in this section expanded on the information requested in the Pilot Study 1 questionnaires to arts managers. They focused on the frequency of working weeks exceeding 40 hours, to establish whether this was a very common, occasional or rare occurrence. They established how much advance notice was given when longer hours had to be worked and whether or not employees take time off in lieu afterwards. Employees were asked to comment on whether it was possible for their organisations to function without working longer hours and to answer a series of questions designed to track objections to longer hours and the fate of objectors. A final question asked respondents to comment on the perceived attitude of management to objections to working hours.

The findings confirmed BECTU's supposition that working longer hours was common practice in theatres and arts centres, and that usually less than a week's notice was given of the need to work longer hours. Time off in lieu is taken where possible, however over 41% respondents said time off was either not possible due to workload or not encouraged.

3.5.4.5 Section 5: Rates of Pay

The same pattern of questioning was used to collate information on attitudes to rates of pay and to track objections to rates of pay and the fate of objectors. In addition, respondents were asked to score a series of statements about:

- pay earned by other people doing similar jobs
- employment benefits in addition to wages
- management's ability to pay higher wages

- willingness of employees to complain about rates of pay
- availability of work generally
- overtime and its alternatives

3.5.4.6 Section 6: Bullying in the Workplace

The definition of bullying according to the Dignity at Work Bill 1997 was given at the beginning of this section. Respondents were asked to comment on how often they had witnessed or heard about bullying as described in the definition. They were then given a range of elements that might be associated with such behaviour (eg competence, physical appearance, social class etc) and asked to score this. As with Pilot Study 1 (Managers), changes of frequency within twelve months and five years were tested and respondents were finally asked about the nature of any personal involvement in bullying they may have had.

The survey had been widely advertised by BECTU and strong images had been used in the reports in *Stage, Screen & Radio* and on the cover of the questionnaire itself. In reviewing the terminology and format for this section, I felt it important, therefore, to continue to use the neutral tone established in the previous sections, in order to aim for a measured rather than an emotive response from participants. Rayner (1999) notes that those *who label themselves as bullied ... report more negative behaviors to which they are subjected at work* (Rayner, 1999: p 30). In Chapter 6 an analysis of the *bullied group*, compared with the non-bullied, tests whether this holds true within the arts environment.

3.5.4.7 Section 7: Support at Work

The questions used in the Pilot Studies were enhanced here to establish the way in which complaints of bullying at work were handled and how outcomes of complaints were regarded by both management and complainants. Respondents were asked to indicate if their organisation had a written policy about bullying at work and to indicate what the *official* attitude towards bullying was. The final questions asked if BECTU had a role in stamping out the behaviour and, if so, what this might be.

3.6 INTERVIEWS AND CASE STUDIES

A series of unstructured and semi-structured interviews with victims, targets and survivors of bullying continued alongside both the Pilot Studies and during the BECTU survey

period. From these interviews and from observation of a range of arts organisations a series of case studies were constructed. Unlike research in Further and Higher Education (Lewis, 2002: p 96), it was not difficult to find interviewees. Respondents to Pilot Study 2 (Website) gave contact details and these were followed up in person, by telephone or by email. Some people who had heard about the research via articles in the BECTU magazines and bullying websites came forward of their own accord and offered their personal story. In the last five years particularly, the proliferation of website discussion groups has yielded abundant opportunities to read about other people's experiences as well as to engage in both one-to-one and collective dialogue via these *virtual focus groups*.[11]

3.6.1 Interviews

Due to the sensitive nature of the subject, and the profound effect the behaviour had on targets, interviewees tended to exhibit a high level of emotion, discomfort and often distress when recounting their experiences, even when some time had passed since the bullying ceased. As a result, discussions about personal experiences tended to take on an aura of the confessional, with the researcher cast in the role of confidante. Given the moral and ethical onus to protect the participants in the study (Callahan, 1998), and the fact that working responsibly with distressed people requires a great deal of skill, I undertook several training sessions with a Yorkshire-based social worker, Diane Nelson, in the use of evidential and other interviewing techniques employed by professionals working with disturbed and abused children. This proved invaluable and researchers in other disciplines, for example in Higher and Further Education, have also undertaken training prior to interviewing targets of bullying (Lewis, 2002). In the education research the approach used was to take appropriate advice so that interviews could be treated as *counselling sessions*.

As stated in Section 3.3.3, the procedures used in the interviews were an amalgam of diagnostic, evidential, counselling and forensic interview techniques. The case studies and notes from interviews constituted qualitative data, providing the ethnographic counterbalance to the statistical analysis contained in the survey findings and, perhaps because I had personal experience of bullying behaviour, a key challenge in handling this delicate, subjective evidence was to achieve the distance necessary to evaluate and to interpret it honestly.

[11] In addition to workplace bullying support groups noted in Appendix 5, a number of online fora exist on popular sites, for example, yahoo, aol, and msn messenger groups. These are often started by individuals experiencing bullying or by researchers.

Anecdotal reports from witnesses of bullying occurred very frequently, virtually whenever the topic was mentioned informally or otherwise. At the presentation of a paper at the Association International de Managements des Arts Conference (AIMAC) in Montreal in July 2005, the assembled international audience of arts professionals and academics (between 50 and 55 people approximately) failed to yield a single person who had not encountered the behaviour in their working lives. This appears to corroborate the finding of the main study, that not only had 40% of the workers in theatres and arts centres been targets of bullying behaviour, but also 50% had witnessed or heard about it from colleagues and validates interviews with targets as an important part of gaining a truly holistic perspective.

3.6.2 Case Studies

In order to establish the context for bullying behaviour in the arts, a number of case studies were constructed from interview testimonies and from observation. How the process of dealing with bullying was experienced within different arts organisations was monitored and the extent to which the arts environment might be held to foster or encourage bullying behaviour was evaluated. Mindful of the difficulties inherent in gathering reliable information about bullies (Rayner, 1999: p33) close attention was paid to reports and observance of perpetrator behaviour and management response.

One benefit of including a wider range of organisations among the case studies was the capacity to appraise whether, in handling bullying behaviour, managements in non-performing arts organisations exhibited any of the characteristics emerging from the performing arts research. Target behaviour tended to be fairly consistent. As with survey participants and interviewees, the right to complete anonymity has been protected in all these cases. The complete range of 15 studies constructed include:

Performing Arts (7):

A Co-Operative Theatre Company

A National & International Theatre Company

An Arts Centre

A Performing Arts Organisation

Dance Company A

Dance Company B

Dance Company C

Service Providers and Funders (3):

Regional Funding Body A

Regional Funding Body B

A Community Arts Service

Museums, Galleries and Visual Arts (3):

A Private Museum

A Collective Organisation

A Visual Arts Organisation

Creative Industries (2):

A Local Radio Station

A Creative Industry

The case notes accumulated for these 15 organisations were compared to identify similarities and differences and seven were selected as typical of arts workers' experiences. These seven (indicated in *italics* in the list above) include organisations in the performing arts, service providers, visual arts and creative industries, and they are broadly representative of the most common arts bullying scenarios encountered. Detailed analysis is given in Chapter 5.

3.7 THE LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The data gathered using all the research methodologies has limitations:

- the survey information represents only theatres and arts centres, and interviews and case studies represent a small number of other arts disciplines, in Scotland, Northern Ireland and England

- the data does not compare and contrast individual performing arts disciplines, for example dance, music, opera, theatre, performance art, mime

- other arts sectors are largely excluded, or represented only in case studies and interviews, for example museums and galleries, the visual arts, film, video, broadcast, digital arts, combined arts and cultural industries

The research conclusions are a signpost rather than a destination:

- they do not provide a definitive reason why bullying exists in the performing arts workplace or why the data indicates a higher frequency than that recorded in other individual employment sectors to date

- they do not provide a definitive guide to preventing or resolving bullying behaviour

Further research into workplace bullying in the arts is appropriate:

- to gather data on the psychological profile of individual perpetrators, in order to increase understanding of the behaviour and how to deal with it, in the context of the victim/target/survivor debate

- to gather data on the context of the corporate bullying culture, in order to address key issues and to inform best practice in dealing with these

- to promote better understanding of the destructive effects of the bullying phenomenon

- to examine individual performing arts disciplines to determine if or how these differ from each other

- to identify and learn from regional variations within the UK and to study bullying behaviour in other arts sectors

- to gather comparative data on bullying behaviour in arts organisations and across arts disciplines in other countries

- to arrive at solutions in terms of appropriate training and other options for continuing professional development within the arts and cultural industries

Chapter 4 Pilot Studies

4.1 INTRODUCTION TO KEY RESEARCH RESULTS

In the preceding chapter the research criteria and methodology were outlined in Table 3.1, demonstrating the scope of the research conducted via Pilot Study 1 (postal questionnaire to arts managers, 2000); Pilot Study 2 (website responses from arts workers, 2001); Case Studies (2000 – 2005) and the BECTU survey (principal study, 2004). The corresponding research results, when tabulated with the methodology give an overview of seven significant findings (Table 4.1).

The findings from the BECTU survey are detailed in Chapter 6, and include analyses of gender, age, ethnic origin and disability as part of the profile of respondents. Areas of work and nature of post (full-time, part-time, freelance, etc) are explored where known and the sub-samples analysed include the *bullied group* and *managers*. Employees' access to, and experience of, training opportunities are monitored. Organisational data is analysed in terms of affiliate status, type, size and scale of arts organisation and geographical location. The main study provides an insight into employee perceptions of terms and conditions within the performing arts, including rates of pay, hours of work and attitudes to the effectiveness of complaints procedures.

Chapter 5 outlines details of seven of the 15 Case Studies, being those most representative of the bullying cases encountered in arts organisations where interviewees were able to provide substantive information. Each study is analysed, the type(s) of bullying identified and the characteristics familiar from research in other areas indicated. Evidence of personal, collective and organisational effects of bullying is presented and some insight is gained into the character and psychological profile of the arts bullies, and into the behaviour of management and employers in respect of an employee who makes accusations of bullying behaviour.

Later in this chapter, the findings of the two pilot studies, (1) arts managers and (2) arts workers with direct experience of bullying, are compared and contrasted. Their respective perceptions of the frequency of bullying behaviour in 2000/2001 are diametrically opposed, as are their opinions on how successfully management deals with complaints. In Table 4.1 below the first significant finding relates to respondents' status as management or non-management (I), which the research identifies as a strong determinant of attitudes to bullying behaviour: whilst Pilot Study 1 (Managers) focused on a management-only perspective, the rest of the research achieved representation from both those with and those without managerial responsibilities.

Table 4.1: Summary of Results

SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS	OUTLINE SUMMARY & ANALYSIS			
	Pilot Study 1 2000	**Pilot Study 2 2001**	**Case Studies (7) 2000–2005**	**BECTU survey 2004**
I Managerial status	100% of respondents were managers	% Analysis not tested, however included managers & non managers	100% cases included managers and non-managers	Managers 10.8% Non-managers 89.2%
II Line management responsibilities	92.3% of respondents were line managers	% Analysis not tested, however included line managers & non line managers	Employees in 6 cases had line management responsibilities	Line managers or supervisors, incl those working to Board 48.6% Non line managers 49.4%
III Awareness of bullying (excludes non-respondents)	YES 46.2% NO 53.8%	YES 94.4% NO 0.6%	In 2 cases the target or a witness displayed awareness of bullying as an issue	YES 92.7% NO 6.4%
IV Perceptions of prevalence of bullying (excludes non-respondents)				
common or not uncommon	23.1%	94.4%	n/a	65.1%
rare	23.1%	5.6%	n/a	27.7%
never encountered	7.7%	0	n/a	6.4%
V Direct experience of bullying				
as a target	0	77.8%	100%	39.8%
as a witness	0	16.7%	100%	46.6%
took action on behalf of complainant or management	46.1%	5.5%	In 2 cases witnesses took action for a complainant	2.0%
was accused of bullying	7.7%	0	In 4 cases direct accusations were made about perpetrators	3.6%
VI Management performance re bullying				
satisfactory/ complaints handled well	30.8%	0	n/a	6.0%
unsatisfactory/ complaints handled badly	0	88.9%	n/a	37.5%
don't know	7.7%	11.1%	n/a	26.3%
it varies	0	0	n/a	27.7%
non-responses	61.5%	0	n/a	2.4%

	Pilot Study 1 2000	Pilot Study 2 2001	Case Studies (7)	BECTU survey 2004
VII Management recognition of corporate responsibility				
policy disapproves of bullying & internal procedures to deal with it	15.4%	22.2%	Not evident in any cases	29.4%
no policy on bullying, but management does not condone it & would consider a complaint	38.5%	5.6%	In 4 cases direct accusations about perpetrators were disbelieved or dismissed	18.1%
does not condone bullying but no consideration has been given to policy	0	16.7%	Most likely in all cases	18.5%
management not persuaded there is a problem with bullying & has not addressed the issue	0	55.6%	Most likely in all cases	10.9%
organisation does not recognise that some terms & conditions are detrimental to employees and equivalent to 'corporate bullying'	n/a	n/a	Evident in 3 cases	14.7%

During Pilot Study 1 almost all the arts managers had experience as line managers and employee supervisors (II), and it was possible that this might be a factor in their overwhelming non-recognition of bullying behaviour, which might have been perceived by them as *strong management*. As indicated in Chapter 3 and further explored in Chapter 7, however, they could also have been denying the existence of the phenomenon, as only 46.2% of managers said they were aware of bullying behaviour in the first place (III). As the outline summary shows, the BECTU survey in 2004 included equivalent numbers of line managers and non line managers (II), and within the *bullied group* an equal distribution was maintained: half of those who had been targeted by bullies were line managers and half were not.

During Pilot Study 2, 94.4% of website respondents reported bullying as *common* or *not uncommon* compared to 23.1% of the arts managers in Pilot Study 1 in 2000 (IV). In 2004, 65% of respondents to the BECTU survey described bullying as *common* or *not uncommon*. Within the *bullied group,* this percentage rose to 85.9% and, in respect of whether bullying was *common*, *not uncommon* or *never encountered*, there is a significant correlation between the *bullied group* and the respondents in Pilot Study 2, 77.8% of whom were self-reported targets (V). One reason may be that, as a direct result

of their experience, targets of bullying are more informed about the extent of workplace bullying; another that they have constructed realities in which bullying features significantly. Notwithstanding either of these possibilities, a total of 51% of the non-bullied people in the BECTU survey in 2004 also said bullying was *common* or *not uncommon.*

There is an experience gap between managers and other arts workers in the pilot research, because no managers in Pilot Study 1 had been targets or witnesses of bullying: a few had been asked to take action on behalf of a complainant or management, or had been accused of bullying by a colleague (V). In the BECTU survey group, 3.6% had been accused of bullying (V) however twice as many individuals within the *bullied group* had been the subject of a complaint about bullying by a colleague than in the non-bullied group. This may reflect the fact that perpetrators are known to accuse the person they have been targeting, as in the *minimizing, denying and blaming* part of the power and control wheel (See Chapter 1, Figure 1.3 and Table 1.1: *The power and control wheel elements adapted for workplace bullying* and also *Biderman's Stages of Oppression* Chapter 1, p 20).

Pilot Study 2 (Website) respondents recorded universally poor experiences of management performance in dealing with bullying complaints, and did not cite *any* positive outcomes (VI). Conversely, 30.8% of the managers who responded in Pilot Study 1 reported that management had handled complaints well, and reported no negative results. In the main study, 6% of BECTU members thought management performance was satisfactory and complaints had been handled well, however 37.5% thought the opposite was the case. In fact, for how management handled complaints, the results from managers aware of bullying behaviour and the *bullied group* are virtually inversely proportional: 57.1% of the *aware* managers thought management performed well, compared to 4.5% of the *bullied group*; 53.5% of the *bullied group* thought management performed badly, compared to 0% of the managers.

This trend continues in the perceptions about the extent to which management recognises corporate responsibility in relation to bullying (VII). There is little evidence to indicate whether the existence of a policy has an impact on the incidence of bullying behaviour, although interview and text contributions indicate perceptions that policies exist but are not adhered to, and that some workers are too intimidated to take action. They also suggest that organisations are in denial or inactive on the subject of bullying. However the majority of arts managers who responded (38.5%) believe even where there is no policy on bullying, management does not condone it and would consider a complaint, whilst the majority of website respondents (55.6%) believe management is not

persuaded there is a problem with bullying and has not addressed the issue. A higher percentage of the *bullied group* believed that organisations fail to recognise *corporate bullying*, and data mining reveals that within the main survey group, one quarter of box office and front of house staff, one-fifth of cleaning staff and 18.5% management staff also subscribe to this view.

4.2 PILOT RESEARCH 2000/2001: ARTS MANAGERS

The findings of the study among managers provided information on the prevalence of workplace bullying in the arts which demonstrated an entirely opposite point of view to that expressed by the arts workers responding to the website. Arts managers reported there to be little or no workplace bullying and consistently presented an image of an *understanding, fair and responsible* management which responded promptly and efficiently to complaints of any kind.

The mangers' responses to the non bullying sections of the survey indicated that:

- they were a mature group of experienced professionals, who took seriously the issues raised by the research
- the extent of the managers' knowledge of day to day personnel issues was unclear
- the majority lacked qualifications in human resources or personnel management, despite having extensive responsibilities in these areas
- experience/longevity of service was cited as an indicator of skill in managing people
- in the context of workplace terms and conditions, including working hours, they expressed the view that the arts are different

4.2.1 The Sample

The sample size of 61.9% of Regional Producing Theatres in the Greater North of England represented arts organisations of differing sizes and scales but sharing common ground on policy issues as members of the Theatrical Management Association (TMA). Although this was a small-scale pilot with a maximum of only 21 participants possible, it was the first time arts managers in a range of venues in the UK had been questioned about bullying behaviour in their workplaces. This group comprised senior employees in the arts, managing constituted organisations, buildings and staff teams and, although numerically small, was influential in policy and decision -making within their profession. The majority of the respondents were located within the Yorkshire Arts region, in line with

the survey population. The breakdown of theatres and arts centres according to Regional Arts Board areas was as follows:

Table 4.2: Geographical spread

	Survey Population		Survey Sample	
Regional Arts Board	***No. of venues***	**%**	***No. of venues***	**%**
Northern Arts	*5*	23.8	*2*	15.4
North West Arts	*7*	33.3	*4*	30.7
Yorkshire Arts	*9*	42.8	*7*	53.8
	21	**100.0**	***13***	**100.0**

Within the category of Regional Producing Theatres, 84.6% described their organisation as a Theatre Company and 15.4% as an Arts Centre. This can be an indicator of size, with arts centres often being smaller than regional theatres, however in this case one arts centre employed less than 20 people whilst the other employed 100 or more. Larger organisations had been targeted, and the breakdown of numbers of employees was as follows:

Table 4.3: Organisational scale by employees

No. of Employees	**No. of Organisations**	**% survey group**
less than 20 employees	2	15.4
20-40	4	30.8
41-60	2	15.4
61-80	1	7.7
81-100	1	7.7
100 or more	3	23.0
TOTAL	**13**	**100**

It was expected that the organisations in the survey group would employ a minimum of 20 staff (particularly as casual staff could also be included) and it was surprising that two venues declared fewer employees than this. The designation *Regional Producing Theatre* may have been interpreted differently by arts officers in the various regions and the subsequent size of these organisations may have been determined by urban/rural location. The managers who responded represented a minimum of 624 employees in Theatres and Arts Centres in the Greater North of England. The maximum number was not established, however by assuming the minimum staff team to be 10 and the maximum 160, the mean number of employees across the whole survey group is calculated at 801.

Table 4.4: Employees represented by arts managers

No. of Employees	No. of Organisations	Min No. of Employees	Max No. of Employees	Mean No. of Employees
less than 20 employees*	2	*20	38	29.0
20-40	4	80	160	120.0
41-60	2	82	120	101.0
61-80	1	61	80	70.5
81-100	1	81	100	90.5
100 or more**	3	300	**480	390.0
TOTAL	13	624	978	801.0
**assumes min no. of employees is 10*		***assumes max no. of employees is 160*		

The proportion of women to men in the sub-group that was aware of bullying behaviour is 5:1 compared to 2:1 in the survey group itself. There is some evidence from the BECTU survey that suggests women may be more sensitive to the incidence of bullying situations, and that they are observing and/or experiencing bullying more than men in performing arts workplaces. For example, more women than men believed bullying to be more frequent (Figure 6.13); women made up 47.0% of the BECTU survey group but 57.6% of the *bullied group*; 39% of the women felt bullying was *common*, compared to 29.0% of the men.

Table 4.5: Profile of arts managers

Gender	%	Age Range				Designation
		26-35	36-45	46-55	56 +	
Male	30.8	1	1	2	0	Marketing Manager General Manager Chief Executive General Administrator
Female	69.2	1	2	5	1	Executive Director (2) Managing Director General Manager (2) Chief Executive Administrator/Company Secretary Administrator (2)

The preamble to the questionnaire recommended that it should be completed by: *Ideally, in the first instance, the company manager or person with most responsibility for personnel matters*. There is no way of knowing from the survey results whether or not those who did reply had hands on responsibility for personnel matters, or whether they had interpreted *most responsibility* to mean an ultimate duty of care, rather than familiarity with day to day personnel issues.

It seems likely that, in the case of the most senior employees, the subject matter of the survey was felt to be too delicate to pass on to more *junior* staff. At the time the research

was carried out, workplace bullying was beginning to have an increasing amount of exposure in the media. The fact that the majority of the questionnaires were completed by the Chief Executive Officers of the participating arts organisations could be held to indicate an active interest in the subject matter, and/or a desire to ensure that the organisation submitted a measured response on important issues of workplace terms and conditions. Although not asked about length of service, the age range of the managers confirms that this is a mature group of experienced professionals, whose rank and seniority is significant in relation to the survey.

4.2.2 Continuing Professional Development

In the context of managing people, the majority of the senior arts managers lacked education and/or training adequate for their considerable human resources or personnel responsibilities, judging by the level of appropriate qualifications gained. Most managers had acquired informal, hands-on training in managing people through their workplace. Some were particularly sensitive to answering questions about the topic, and one manager indicated an underlying belief that the fact of being employed in the arts in various capacities over a period of time was *per se* sufficient to equip him to manage people effectively. Notwithstanding this viewpoint, it is difficult to conceive of ad hoc, impromptu training as being sufficient to equip arts managers to deal effectively with contentious or difficult personnel problems or situations, such as employees' objections to working hours or complaints of bullying.

Table 4.6 Training in Human Resources Management

Training acquired in *managing people*	**Frequency**	**Incidence of sole sources**
Accredited qualification	1	
Non-accredited professional training courses	5	1
Informal, hands-on training through workplace	9	5
No training	1	1
Other	2	1
Total resources used	**18**	**8**

The total number of citations is greater than the total observations because more than one answer can be given

Twelve of the thirteen respondents were line managers to other employees and, of these, 75% also managed other line managers. Only 17% of the survey group did not work directly to the Board of their organisation, so the managers exercised considerable authority over, and responsibility for, other employees within their respective organisations. One manager had obtained a qualification prior to her current employment and another had worked in personnel/training in a variety of sectors. Eight managers had

acquired human resources training from one source only and, for 5 of these, this was informal, hands-on training in their workplace. A further 4 had non-accredited professional training in addition to workplace training.

I felt it important to investigate this area, as evidenced in the literature discussed in Chapter 2, because workplace bullying was increasingly coming within the remit of organisational health & safety, equal opportunities and diversity policies. All of these are concerned with securing the welfare of the workforce. It seemed appropriate, therefore, to determine the norm for the level of formal education and/or training in managing people, with a view to establishing how well equipped senior arts managers might be to deal with negative social behaviours, including bullying.

Within the questionnaire, there was no attempt to distinguish between personnel management and human resources management (HRM), rather the focus was on how managers acquired their skills and it was expected that many would have gained some knowledge and experience *on the job* rather than through access to formal or accredited training opportunities. However it had not been expected that for 5 out of 12 managers this would be the *only* way in which they had learned about managing people.

The question about education and training in managing people drew supplementary details from three respondents and upset at least one manager who, from his comment, may not have understood what was being asked and, in any case, declined to answer. This was a group of senior arts professionals, whose organisations employed circa 800 people (Table 4.4), and the level of training they had acquired to assist them in dealing with staff welfare issues, other than through doing their job, seemed inadequate. For example, one respondent had had no training, either formal or informal, and no experience, yet this senior manager was the Chief Executive of an organisation employing more than 100 staff, working directly to the Board, and personally supervising staff including other line managers. He was aware of bullying behaviour in the workplace, in relation to a specific employee, but believed that bullying had become less frequent during the last twelve months and the last five years. His experience was informal only, however he believed that bullying had been dealt with satisfactorily on the part of both management and complainant, and he was sure that management did not condone bullying behaviour, despite not having a policy. In many ways, this example typifies the overall impression gained from the survey of arts managers in regard to workplace bullying, the charitable interpretation of which is the *ostrich syndrome.*

The apparent paucity of education or training for managers in personnel or human resources matters, despite significant line management responsibilities, raises important issues that deserve to be further explored. The impact of HRM on the bullying phenomenon is explored by Lewis and Rayner (2003) in the context of organisational culture and the decline of trades unions, and the researchers recommend a *careful review* of the reach and impact of HRM (Lewis & Rayner, 2003: p 380). This is a position strongly to be supported from the perspective of encouraging best practice, however in the case of the arts organisations in the survey, the prevalence of informal hands-on training in the workplace as the sole learning mechanism may be taken as an indicator of the absence of HRM ideology or functions. The respondents represented themselves as those *with most responsibility for personnel matters* and, as indicated previously, one manager summarised his experience of managing people as:

Forty years as actor/stage manager, director, Artistic Director at 3 theatres.

The successful career path is not disputed, however there is an underlying assumption in presenting this as an argument that the fact of being employed in *the arts* in various capacities equips an individual to manage people effectively. The arts research does not test this as a specific issue, however the discussion in Chapter 7 does consider a point of view put forward by managers in the context of workplace terms and conditions: that *the arts are different*.

4.2.3 Working Hours

Average working hours in the theatres were stated at 40-45 per week and all managers reported that longer than average weeks were worked in their organisations *commonly, once a month or more*. One manager reported that an average week was equivalent to 60 hours and replied to questions in terms of *long* rather than *longer* hours. Another stated that hours worked depended on the levels of seniority within the organisation, however it was not clear whether this meant senior employees worked fewer or more hours than the contracted hours of 40–45 per week. Responses were split on the subject of the capacity to complete work without working longer hours between those who stated that they and other employees believed the organisation couldn't function without working longer hours (58.3%) and those who reported that opinion among employees was divided (41.7%). The text comments on the subject of working hours exhibited an absolute certainty that the characteristics of the arts environment were not the same as those, for example, in the public sector or manufacturing. [My parentheses]:

"[management has] a recognition that, up to a point, it [working hours] goes with the territory – if you want 9 – 5, work for the council. But also [management is] trying to be reasonable. *Pilot Study, R1*

"We do not produce rivets – sometimes the nature of our work necessitates working in 'unsocial hours' slots – the hours vary but so does the work and that's the compensation." *Pilot Study, R11*

When asked whether employees had ever objected to working longer hours, 53.8% stated that no-one in their organisation had ever objected, whilst 46.2% said there had been objections. Of the six organisations where there had been objections, two had heard the objection at management level – in one case it was dismissed and in another "discussed" – the respondent did not declare whether or not the objection was dismissed or upheld. In four cases the objection was dealt with informally and management had not discussed it.

In the one case where the objection was formally dismissed by management, the employee in question left the organisation. In the BECTU survey 43.8% of the total survey group also commented on whether people left their employment after making objections to working hours. The incidence of those who did was reported as 18.3 employees per 100. For those who complained about pay the response from the BECTU survey group was greater (59.8%) and the incidence of those leaving employment following a complaint was 13.1 employees per 100. Of course, these crude statistics refer to cases where known by individuals as opposed to those officially *on record* and are by no means definitive, however given that Rayner (1999: p 32) has observed that some 25% of targets of bullying leave their job, there must be some doubt as to how effectively management is dealing with objectors to workplace terms and conditions generally, including bullying.

The arts managers, including those who had never received a complaint, said their organisations responded to objections to working hours with *sympathy and understanding*, however only 10.8% of BECTU members chose this description when asked the same question, the majority response being that management exhibited *indifference* (25.3%). The *bullied group* noted that management was "resigned" in its outlook, and that it sometimes had

" sympathy, but lack of ability to act" *BECTU survey, R17*

The responses took as a premise that the arts are set apart from other occupations and that *above average* weeks are the norm. As noted in Chapter 3, the UK government has been engaged in incrementally introducing the EU's *Working Time Directive* since 1998. The directive is a European Union initiative designed to protect workers from exploitation by employers, laying down regulations on matters such as how many breaks employees can take, and the extent of their entitlement to holiday. The directive's headline regulation is aimed at limiting the average working time for employees in the European Union to 48 hours a week. The regulations became law in the UK in October 1998 and workers in a few sectors, such as some transport and healthcare workers, police officers and the self-employed, are exempted. In these sectors, then, presumably *above average* weeks are the norm.

BECTU has noted that contracts issued by employers working in the audiovisual sector, for example BBC, Granada, Carlton, Meridian, HTV and many independent film production companies, include a waiver of the 48 hour limit – an *opt-out* clause – as standard. BECTU regards this as exploitation and has presented evidence to the Commission in the form of a series of *typical* contracts. Their viewpoint is that, in particular, freelance members working in film and television find that they have no option but to agree to work longer hours:

> " The result, in terms of working time, is the prevalence of a long-hours culture, where production schedules are routinely geared to long hours and where contracts (in so far as they are written down at all) provide for long (and often unspecified) hours. The Government itself, through the Department of Trade and Industry's recent Work-Life Balance survey, has shown that 23% of all UK media workers (ie not just those we are concerned about) are regularly working more than 60 hours per week. We know, from the experience of our freelance members, that hours in excess of 48 per week are in fact the norm.
>
> This is self evidently undesirable from the viewpoint of health and safety – especially in light of the fact that many freelances, without a regular workplace, have to accept longer than average home-to-work journeys. Sadly, this has resulted, in some cases, in fatal road accidents linked to fatigue." (BECTU submission to the EC on the Working Time Directive review of individual opt-out. 8 October 2002)

The long-hours culture, then, is not confined to performing arts workers, but is this a feature only of the arts workplace? Nowadays, with many businesses obliged to inhabit a 24/7 commercial world, reliant on flexible working patterns and technological advances, it is difficult to comprehend or to justify the need for employment terms and conditions in the performing arts to be different from those in other professions. There was a belief among managers that longer working hours are unavoidable in theatres and arts centres, and in the BECTU survey 44.3% of employees shared this view, however it is not

possible to know whether this is a function of long-standing custom and practice in the performing arts, or symptomatic of the general attitude: *the arts are different*.

4.2.4 Bullying in the Workplace

In summary, the managers' responses to questions on bullying indicated that

- more women than men were aware of bullying behaviour
- opinion was divided as to how common bullying incidents were
- there was no awareness of any increase in frequency during the last twelve months or five years
- bullying incidents had been dealt with to the satisfaction of all parties
- unequivocally, management did not condone this type of behaviour

However

- no managers had gained experience of both sides of the complaints procedure
- no managers had been the target of a workplace bully
- patently, written policies to directly deal with all aspects of bullying behaviour were not in place

The definition of Bullying at Work according to the Dignity at Work Bill 1997 was given at the start of this section of the questionnaire. Six respondents (46.1%) stated that they were aware of bullying behaviour in the workplace. The questionnaire directed those who were unaware of this behaviour to leave the remainder of the form blank. This was because subsequent questions depended on managers having knowledge of workplace bullying behaviour. Three respondents reported bullying behaviour as a rare occurrence, *with isolated examples only*, and three as *common* or *not uncommon*.

There was no perception among managers that bullying behaviour was becoming increasingly common: all of them perceived that the frequency of bullying had reduced or remained unchanged during the last twelve months or five years. Two managers had intervened and/or assisted someone who had a complaint of bullying. One of these contributed:

> "and, in another incident, was accused of bullying myself!" *Pilot Study, R1*

In the BECTU survey 3.6% of respondents had been the subject of a complaint about bullying by a colleague: two-thirds of these were part of the *bullied group*. As this manager in the Pilot Study (R1) had assisted a colleague, it may be that the complaint against her had been made by the bully, reinforcing the evidence that perpetrators often

accuse the person they have been targeting, as in the *minimizing, denying and blaming* part of the power and control wheel (See Figure 1.3 and Table 1.1: *The power and control wheel elements adapted for workplace bullying*).

Whilst some managers had intervened in cases of bullying either on behalf of complainants or on behalf of management, none had gained experience of both sides of the complaints procedure and none had been the target of a workplace bully. One manager had noted bullying behaviour towards staff by a Board member in a theatre, and commented

> "yet theatres rarely have procedures to cover such situations. We do now!"
> *Pilot Study, R1*

The situation where staff members are bullied by board members is reflected in three case studies – *A Private Museum*, *An Arts Centre*, *A Performing Arts Organisation* – as is the lack of organisational systems, and employee courses of action, that are or may be effective in dealing with bullying behaviour. It is interesting that this arts manager's organisation devised an ad hoc policy in the wake of the bullying, however there is no indication of how successful this proved in preventing future occurrences, or the extent to which a policy so derived might function as a universal catch-all. In the survey, three respondents had written policies in place to deal with the named types of bullying behaviour,[1] and these were identified as a staff manual (R8); disciplinary and grievance procedures (R1); and equal opportunities policy (R2). Unequivocally, respondents stated that management did not condone bullying behaviour, and managers with direct experience of bullying – who included those from the four largest organisations: R1, R3, R6, R8 – were of the opinion that bullying incidents had been dealt with to the satisfaction of all parties, that is, both management and complainants.

In the survey, the majority of arts managers fail to recognise bullying behaviour as a feature of the workplace. Policies do not name bullying explicitly, or they come to name it only after a site-specific bullying incident has both occurred and been registered by those with governance capacity. This corresponds with the issue of *permissibility* (Rayner, 1999) when employees perceive that bullying is tolerated by management, unless the opposite is demonstrated. The assertion by managers, that the handling of workplace complaints, whatever the outcome, is considered satisfactory to all parties, displays a

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[1] Direct insults in front of colleagues; shouting or abusive behaviour/bad language; persistent unjustified threats or sanctions; arbitrary withholding of arrangements; unwanted/persistent jokes; behaviour which is threatening to the person; physical assault, eg throwing objects

degree of naiveté not commensurate with the individual and collective maturity and professional experience of the survey group.

As might be expected, the managers appear to be strongly aligned with organisational culture and policy, however the absence of accredited training in personnel or HRM issues means there is no evidence as to whether they are equipped as individuals to deal effectively with contentious or difficult issues, such as objections to working hours or complaints of bullying. The *ostrich syndrome* emerges as a feature of arts managers' attitudes in this difficult subject area, as they fail to admit bullying in the arts. One respondent who had previously declared no knowledge of bullying behaviour within her/his organisation nonetheless added:

> " in another organisation only. Also arts. Repeated unfair criticism." *Pilot Study, R2*

This may be symptomatic of the [understandable] desire among senior arts managers to avoid admission of culpability on their own or their organisation's part. Interestingly, it also provides another perspective on attribution theory (Baron, 1990 as reported in Rayner, 1999 p29), whereby, like targets of bullying over time, the arts managers "consistently attribute reasons for negative events externally to themselves." (Rayner, 1999).

4.3 PILOT RESEARCH 2000/2001: WEBSITE RESPONSES

The findings of the research work conducted via the website provided information on the prevalence of workplace bullying in the arts which demonstrated an entirely opposite point of view to that expressed by the arts managers participating in the written survey. The descriptions of the experiences of those who have been bullied consistently presented an emotive and powerful picture of workers at the mercy of bullying bosses, managements and systems.

In summary, the respondents indicated that

- workplace bullying incidents were common occurrences
- there had been an increase in frequency during the last five years
- there had been an increase in frequency during the last twelve months
- bullying incidents had not been dealt with satisfactorily by management
- most organisations were not persuaded that there was a problem with bullying and had not addressed the issue

- even where written anti-bullying policies were in place, they were not always implemented
- targets of bullying felt helpless in the face of more powerful corporate hierarchies

However

- a substantial majority of these respondents described themselves as the victim of a workplace bully, and may therefore be considered to have been aggrieved
- written policies to directly deal with some aspects of bullying behaviour were in place in a minority of the organisations cited
- given that some respondents were "victims" it seems likely that they would not easily align themselves with management and it is possible that they may have overrated the level of dissatisfaction among complainants

By 4 December 2000, 18 responses had been received at the website specially created for the project, which is still extant at May 2006.[2] The sample represents a response against the planned pilot (20 hits) of 90%. As with arts managers, this group was numerically small, and the potential effect of self-selection pressures upon the composition of the survey group should be considered (MacLeod, Prescott & Carson, 1996) however the qualitative value of the group was important in informing the questions to be asked during the major study. Publicity about the website was distributed at the same time as the postal questionnaire was launched (June 2000) with a follow-up news release via internet mailing lists in October 2000. Submissions to the website were received between June and December 2000 and individuals responded in their own time, with 45% logging on during normal office hours; 16% between 5.00 pm and midnight and 39% in the early hours of the morning between 1.00 am and 9.00 am.

One third of respondents were willing to discuss their experiences further and four gave contact details in Wales, Yorkshire, the North West and the Southern Regional Arts Board areas. Others gave email addresses or mobile telephone numbers, which did not indicate specific locations. Given levels of access to the internet, it is likely that respondents came from a wide geographical area. As a result, the monitoring of geographical boundaries within the United Kingdom was added to the design of the main study. No questions related to the size or nature of the specific arts organisations in which experience or knowledge of bullying behaviour had been gained. However the text submissions indicated that people from small, medium and large-scale organisations,

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[2] The online survey questionnaire can be accessed from http://members.aol.com/quiggam/index.html

and from education as well as the arts, replied. This study, and the interviews which were carried out alongside it, delivered both quantitative and qualitative data.

4.3.1. Experience of Bullying Behaviour

The definition of Bullying at Work according to the Dignity at Work Bill 1997 was given at the top of the site. People from small, medium and large-scale organisations participated, from education as well as the arts, and 72.2% described bullying behaviour as *common* and a further 22.2% as *not uncommon*. Without exception, all of the people completing the online questionnaire had either experience or knowledge of workplace bullying. More than three quarters of respondents (77.8%) described themselves as victims of a workplace bully. The rest had assisted a colleague or witnessed bullying of someone else. The content and flavour of the text submissions to the website indicated that high levels of distress were experienced by targets of workplace bullying, a characteristic that was reinforced during the recording of case studies. Many people fled the situation rather than confront it and sometimes the damage was long-term.

> "I have witnessed bullying within a predominantly female arts organisation, senior staff picking on Intermediate Line Managers. I have also been subjected to severe levels of stress, and had my contract terminated just before I gained a year's full time service to preclude any legal recourse. I am now suffering from depression" *Pilot Study, 2R11*

> "I was a music teacher with a very good 20 years of success in two schools. I finally had to take retirement on medical grounds at the age of 43 suffering from depression. I had no previous health difficulties." *Pilot Study, 2R10*

Overall, arts workers noted that the frequency of bullying had increased during the past five years, and within the past twelve months. Within each interval – 5 years and 12 months, respectively – responses were filtered to include those who were in a position to have organisation-specific views on the changes in frequency of bullying behaviour.

Table 4.7: Organisation-specific changes in the frequency of bullying behaviour (Pilot Study 2)

Pilot Study 2	sub-sample size as % survey group	bullying more frequent as % sub-sample	bullying less frequent as % sub-sample	no change in bullying as % sub-sample
Last Five Years	*55.6*	80.0	0	20.0
	53.8	*arts managers 0*	*arts managers 42.9*	*arts managers 57.1*
Last Twelve Months	*72.3*	61.5	7.7	30.8
	53.8	*arts managers 0*	*arts managers 28.6*	*arts managers 57.1*

Thus it was established that 55.6% of the survey group had been employed in the same organisation for at least five years; and 72.3% had been employed in the same organisation for at least 12 months. From a rudimentary statistical analysis, it could be argued that the rate of increase according to website respondents slowed between 5 years and 12 months prior to the survey: there was a reduction in the percentage who believed that bullying was more frequent, an increase in the percentage who believed bullying was less frequent and an increase in the percentage who thought there had been no change. However, it emerged that respondents were not merely reporting their present circumstances, nor confining their comments to a particular work experience:

> "I have been involved in a couple of incidents which happened some years ago whilst working for other organisations." *Pilot Study, 2R4*

The frequency distribution table was very different for managers, who reported either no change or a lessening in frequency of bullying behaviour. In the BECTU survey, as can be seen from Table 4.8, 28.1% of respondents felt bullying was more frequent in the last five years and 50.2% had not detected any change: in the *bullied group* this was 41.4% and 38.4% respectively. A similar pattern occurs when considering the last 12 months: 61.3% of respondents felt there had been no change (46.5% of the *bullied group*) and 23.5% that bullying had increased (33.3% of the *bullied group*). So, in the major study, targets of bullying were reporting negative behaviours more than the sample that included non-bullied people.

Table 4.8: Non organisation-specific changes in the frequency of bullying behaviour (BECTU survey)

BECTU survey	bullying more frequent as % survey group	bullying less frequent as % survey group	no change in bullying as % survey group
Last Five Years (excl non-response)	28.1	15.3	50.2
	bullied group 41.4	*bullied group 15.2*	*bullied group 38.4*
Last Twelve Months (excl non-response)	23.5	15.2	61.3
	bullied group 33.3	*bullied group 14.1*	*bullied group 46.5*

The effects of bullying behaviour are well documented – as reported in Chapter 1, Section 1.3.3 – and, whilst the website respondents were entirely self-selected, this does not preclude the notion that the experiences were genuine. The contributions from website respondents helped set the agenda for the major study to follow.

4.3.2. Complaints Procedures

None of the website respondents thought that complaints about bullying had been dealt with to an acceptable degree by the management of organisations, including to the satisfaction of complainants. Apart from two who *didn't know*, 88.9% were unhappy with the way in which management dealt with bullying incidents. Only 11.2% of these arts workers knew of a written policy to deal with the types of bullying behaviour named (see footnote1 on p 115) compared with 23.1% of arts managers, who believed that bullying was covered within existing policies. The majority of the website respondents, at 55.6%, believed that arts organisations were not persuaded there was a problem with bullying and/or had not given any direct consideration to policy. A further, 22.2% reported that policies were in place; 16.7% stated that management had not considered policy but would not condone bullying behaviour; and 5.5% said that, in the absence of a policy, management would consider a complaint.

However, even where written policies existed, the targets of bullying reported a feeling of helplessness when faced with a more powerful Chief Executive, Board or a *corporate culture of bullying* within the organisation.

> "Interestingly I discovered that an organisation I had been working for in an executive capacity had breached its constitution and the laws governing incorporated associations. I reported this to the management committee only to be persecuted and slandered and sought to raise this matter at the annual general meeting. At the AGM I was gagged. Prior to the AGM, I was slandered. When I responded I was threatened with legal action." *Pilot Study, 2R16*

In any case, the existence of a policy, as such, does not appear to guarantee protection from bullying behaviour or a resolution of difficult relationships [my parentheses]:

> "For nine years my life was made hell, then I left. There is a policy but no one enforces it. They'll [management] talk to you for a bit, then say try to like them [the bullies]." *Pilot Study, 2R18*

4.3.3. Support at Work

Among those expressing dissatisfaction with the way in which management dealt with bullying incidents 87.5% described themselves as victims of a workplace bully. In the BECTU survey, however, only 56.6% of the *bullied group* expressed the same level of dissatisfaction. This needs to be considered in the context of the assertion that bullied people report negative behaviour more than non-bullied people (Rayner, 1999), which is further discussed in Chapter 7. Possibly, respondents to the website equated personal dissatisfaction with the perceived failure of management to deal satisfactorily with

complaints of bullying in general. Nonetheless, the remaining 13.5% of website respondents, who were not complainants, were similarly critical of procedures to deal with bullying behaviour and in the BECTU survey, 29.3% of non-bullied people felt that management had performed badly in this respect.

In total, 55.6% of website respondents stated that their organisation was not persuaded that there was a problem with bullying. They described graphically the consequences of not having written policies nor effective methods and/or personnel to specifically deal with difficult behaviours [my parentheses], their emphases:

> "The organisation has no policies that I am aware of to deal with the above [types of bullying behaviour]. Moreover, it does not have a personnel officer, nor a nominated officer to whom a member of staff can turn if they are experiencing **ANY** sort of difficulty within the workplace. The Board only ever get the version of events as presented by the Chief Executive. I am quite sure that the Board would not condone bullying if they perceived that it was happening. A feature of many bullies is that they have a very plausible manner, such that their superiors cannot believe them capable of unpleasant behaviour. This leaves the employees in impossible situations; it appears that **THEY** are the problem." *Pilot Study, 2R11*

> "As far as I am aware we don't have a policy on bullying. We do have a mission statement which states that the company ethos is one of mutual respect and trust, but this is contradicted by the behaviour of the management. It is a very small organisation (8 employees) and the Executive Director is the bully. Recent attempts to address the issue through meetings with the trustees have culminated in the ED convincing the trustees that there is no problem." *Pilot Study, 2R12*

> "In my previous job I had a manager who was guilty of all the sorts of behaviour listed above and as his PA I had to suffer most of it. Although I liked him (in his better moods) and believed in what he and his company were doing, I was forced to leave the job after two years mainly due to being treated like this. I now work as an arts officer within a large NHS Trust which has a written policy to prevent its employees from harassment by other staff, visitors and patients (it covers all the above as far as I know) and am confident that any bullying behaviour would be dealt with – but I haven't had any problems like that here." *Pilot Study, 2R3*

Within a twelve-month period 94.4% of arts workers described bullying behaviour as *common* or *not uncommon* in the workplace, compared to 23.1% of arts managers. Website respondents noted that the frequency of bullying had increased during the past five years, and within the past 12 months, unlike the managers who believed it had changed little, if at all. The emotive nature of the website responses led to further investigation of appropriate procedures for dealing with individual case studies at the next stage, and to the development of evidential interview techniques, as outlined in Chapter 3. The stark contrast between the results of the studies with arts managers and arts workers suggested, inter alia, that direct exposure to bullying behaviour increased sensitivity to it, altered perceptions and recognition and augmented awareness.

Chapter 5 Case Studies

5.1 CASE STUDIES: BULLIES IN THE ARTS

The case studies represent the *stories* of some participants gathered via unstructured and semi-structured interviews. Chapter 3, pp 126 – 127, indicates that case notes were accumulated for a total of 15 organisations. Eight accounts were considerably less detailed than the other seven. The selection reproduced here has been chosen on the basis that these seven yielded the most substantive information and are representative of the most common arts bullying scenarios encountered. For example, two of the dance companies (omitted) featured scenarios similar to *A Co-Operative Theatre Company* and the third (omitted) replicated the *serial bullying* in *A Visual Arts Organisation,* as did the *Local Radio Station* (omitted). The bullying recorded in the *National and International Theatre Company* (omitted) was similar to that in *A Private Museum.* The two *Regional Funding Bodies* (omitted) experienced the same bullying during restructuring as did the *Community Arts Service.*

In some cases personal observations are added. To protect anonymity, precise geographical locations, names of organisations and real names of individuals are not given. To guard against prejudicial value judgements, these texts have been re-checked with the people concerned where possible.

5.1.1 Case Study: A Co-Operative Theatre Company: *peer bullying*

The first example is one of *peer bullying* in a company with a co-operative structure. This is an organisational model that is often favoured by new or young companies, set up to tour or to work in community settings, as is the case in this example.

> A new theatre company was set up to provide workshops and performances in schools, both in inner-city and rural settings. The initiator, Blanche, a young, accomplished actor, recruited five others to form a co-operative company – for economic as well as ideological reasons – three males and two females with backgrounds in acting, directing and writing. All were young, in their twenties, and three were in their first jobs after college or university. From the outset the company worked collaboratively on devising material, writing scripts, preparing sets, props and costumes, although individual strengths soon began to appear, so that after the first three or four months Amanda had taken on most of the administration and organisation of performances and workshops, and David moved more and more into directing the work of the others. Blanche, Greta and Paul were quite happy with this arrangement, however Jim, the oldest member of the company by two or three years, soon began to resent David's authority as a director, and sometimes became petulant and argumentative during rehearsals.
>
> Jim began to cast aspersions on David, making *joking* remarks to the others about his appearance and how he spoke, as well as his acting,

writing and directing skills. At this time, David was living with a well-known actor employed at the national theatre, and soon David's partner also featured in Jim's taunts and increasingly malicious rumours. At Jim's instigation, the company held a meeting to discuss the *creative work* during which Jim found fault with David on a number of counts, questioning his loyalty to the company as well as his directing skills. David calmly rebutted Jim's accusations and other company members agreed. David was popular with Blanche, Amanda, Paul and Greta, all of whom worked well together. Blanche, as founder and key contact for the company's funding agencies, announced that there was no case for David to answer and that the matter was closed.

Following this discussion, Jim's behaviour during rehearsals changed. He was extremely pleasant to everyone, including David, and made a particular point of singling out Blanche's performances and her workshop ideas for praise, whenever possible. When alone with David, however, this demeanour was not sustained and, in the absence of other team members, on a regular basis Jim indulged in name-calling and intimidation, threatening that he would *get rid of* David for good.

This continued for six months and David's behaviour began to alter. He became withdrawn and monosyllabic during company meetings, and took every opportunity to avoid being alone with, or even near, Jim. He stopped socialising with colleagues after work and at weekends. As a result, he did not observe, as did the others, that Jim and Blanche had become more and more friendly, and that Jim, as a more experienced actor, regularly made suggestions about the development of the company, to which Blanche listened.

The first Christmas production, which David was directing, was an important debut for the company, scheduled to take place in a city-centre theatre and due to be covered by the local press and media. During rehearsals, Jim's pattern of behaviour from the early months returned. He was rude to David, persistently accusing him of being *useless*, creating a tense and uncomfortable atmosphere which David found it difficult to allay. Following the Christmas production, which was successful despite the hostile ambience during rehearsals, Blanche convened another company meeting to discuss the *creative work*. Once again, Jim found fault with David on a number of counts, questioning his commitment to the company's shared ideology as well as his directing skills. David remained virtually silent in the face of this tirade, Amanda speaking up on his behalf. Paul and Greta, apparently nervous of the situation, contributed little. Finally, Blanche declared her concern for the future of the co-operative company, which couldn't continue to function with a severe lack of trust among its members.

David left the company almost immediately, and was replaced by a friend of Blanche's – a younger and less-experienced actor. In the wake of this, Jim's partnership with Blanche strengthened and he acquired new status and influence. The other company members became wary of incurring criticism, which Jim was quick to offer, and shortly afterwards Amanda left too, eventually followed by Paul and Greta. Jim and Blanche recruited new people to replace the company members.

Analysis: On the surface, the members of the co-operative group appear as *equal parties* in this encounter. To an extent this was true at the beginning, although

Blanche as instigator can be seen to hold the balance of power initially – it was through her influence, and the support of the other members, that early attempts by Jim to dislodge David were resisted. David is popular and competent, traits often associated with targets of bullying. Jim's behaviour as perpetrator indicates that he feels displaced by David: the aggressive projection of a perpetrator's feelings of inadequacy on to his target is widely acknowledged (Field, 1999). Perhaps Jim feels inadequate because he is the oldest member of the group, yet finds himself in a new, young company with people several years his junior. Following the first failed attempt to oust the target, however, Jim adopts another tack and begins to exhibit the charisma associated with bullies, focusing his attention on Blanche as the perceived power base. The sinister nature of the perpetrator's behaviour reflects the *Jekyll and Hyde* transformations often cited by witnesses and targets. The effects of the bullying on the target are also familiar from the literature: David's isolation from his colleagues intensifies alongside the bullying behaviour (Biderman, 1975) and his ability to counteract Jim's accusations lessens. When David has become more vulnerable and the whole company is under pressure, the bully recreates the unpleasant rehearsal scenarios, implying it is the target's incompetence that is causing disruption and distress. The result is that the bully succeeds, the target is demoralised and leaves the organisation, which is fragmented and disintegrates (Hirgoyen, 2005). The target's replacement is a younger actor perceived, by the bully, not to be a threat. The other company members who witnessed the bullying, were onlookers rather than accomplices, but felt its ripple effect all the same, and left their jobs (Rayner, 1999).

5.1.2 Case Study: A Private Museum: *hierarchical bullying/serial bullying*

The second example is one of bullying by a board member in a privately owned company with a strictly hierarchical structure. Both perpetrator and targets are mature, well-educated and relatively high powered people in their individual circles.

In a small town a privately funded, purpose-built museum was created to provide educational exhibitions, workshops and installations. The museum's owner was London-based and the Board she appointed included a local retired financial executive, Charles. The Museum Director who had overseen the construction phase was also London-based and left after the first full year of operation, when a new Director was appointed. An intellectual, Hazel had experience in managing large museums and was a distinguished curator, a personable individual and an accomplished professional. From the time of her arrival to take up her post, Charles made himself known to Hazel as the *eyes and ears* of the owner. In the early

weeks following Hazel's appointment, Charles began to take a particular interest in the day to day running of the museum, as well as the policy and governance issues appropriate to his remit as a Director and Trustee.

A retired executive with time on his hands, Charles developed the habit of ringing Hazel daily, often with trivial queries ostensibly connected with the work of the museum, or to probe Hazel about income streams and expenditure. This continued for several weeks and then Charles began to appear on site, often turning up unannounced in the museum's offices. At Board meetings, it became apparent that Charles had been *reporting back* to the owner, without consulting the Director, on a number of different issues. His reports were not always accurate. Hazel made it clear that Charles' continual interference was having a serious effect on her ability to manage the museum effectively. As a result, Charles reported to the owner that Hazel had admitted she was not coping with the job, and six months into Hazel's tenure, he moved himself into an office in the museum, full-time.

Charles was extremely polite and courteous to all the museum staff, including Hazel when other people were present, and he made a particular point of letting everyone know of his important role as sentinel for the owner. In Hazel's absence, he often made insulting and belittling remarks about her to other members of staff, especially about her intellectual capacity – describing her as a *know-it-all* – and her appearance. When alone with Hazel, his polite façade disappeared and he continually found flaws and weaknesses in the systems and procedures she had introduced into the museum, sometimes becoming angry and loud, and threatening that he could *have her sacked any time*.

Hazel's attempts to apprise the owner of Charles' actions and their effects were met with incredulity: the owner believed Charles to be *looking after things properly*. During the following three or four months, Hazel's behaviour began to change. She became increasingly isolated from the rest of the staff team and ceased to make her customary tours of the museum to greet staff and visitors, only venturing out of her own office to leave the building. She was fearful of meeting Charles and being drawn into one of his *discussions* about the museum, during which he took the opportunity to find fault with something she was doing, or not doing. Knowing that he was in regular contact with the owner, discussing topics to which she was not privy, she did not feel in a position to disagree when he suggested doing things in a different way. Other staff began to be affected by Charles' constant patrolling of the museum offices and corridors, and his tendency to draw them into conversations during which he could make offensive and malicious remarks about Hazel.

Hazel became more and more withdrawn and began to worry incessantly about Board meetings, where increasingly Charles adopted the role of reporting on every aspect of the museum's performance. Without her knowledge, he tabled financial papers he had drawn up and *evaluations* of staff performance, including her own, which contained negative personal comments, none of which were justified. Unable to bear the situation any longer, Hazel left the museum abruptly, and shortly afterwards so did several of her colleagues.

A new Director was recruited. The absentee owner's reliance on Charles increased as he made it clear that he could provide consistency and stability during the handover period. His status and influence was enhanced and the incoming Director, Helen, although not apprised of the situation at interview, found that she had inherited a *live-in* Board member. Helen had lived and worked abroad and had an array of qualifications in museum management. She was a bright and lively individual with an inquiring mind. After a few weeks, she had begun to get to know how the museum operated, had met the remaining staff and had instigated recruitment procedures for new employees. Charles had been abroad on holiday. When he returned he began to take a particular interest in the day-to-day running of the museum...

> What followed was a duplicate of the type of behaviour and events that had resulted in Hazel's departure. After repeated bouts of sick leave, Helen, too, left the museum abruptly and shortly afterwards so did several of her recently recruited colleagues. Charles *held the fort* pending the next appointment.

Analysis: The relationship between management and staff is a crucial factor in determining the effective management of many arts organisations. In this case, the absentee owner placed all her trust and confidence in a Board member who happened to live locally, rather than in the professional Chief Executive Officers she employed. Both Hazel, and her successor Helen, were well-qualified for the post they held. They had strong track records at national and international level, and were popular with staff. Initially, Charles may have had a genuine interest in being *more involved* in the museum, however his behaviour indicates that there was a high level of confusion about the respective roles of Board and staff members within the organisation – evidence of a lack of constructive leadership (Einarsen, Raknes & Matthiesen, 1994 as reported in Rayner, 1999: p 34). Also, Charles patently enjoyed his privileged access to the owner and, rather than use this to *build bridges* between staff and Board, and to encourage incoming Directors to share aspirations and concerns, he embraced management as personal politics (Watson, 1986 as reported in Bratton & Gold, 1999: p 13), employing Machiavellian intelligence to render himself indispensable to the owner. Needless to say, Charles' action seriously impaired the succession strategy of the museum: the arts world is a small world, and this post developed the reputation of being a *poisoned chalice*.

5.1.3 Case Study: An Arts Centre: *hierarchical bullying/pair bullying*

The third example is one of bullying by a pair of board members in a company limited by guarantee and a registered charity. This is another new organisation, but here the bullying behaviour of the Founder Trustees is not evident at the outset, but rather can be seen to emerge when their authority is perceived to be threatened.

Six people instigated a campaign to rescue a derelict building from demolition and convert it into a centre for the arts. They formed two linked charitable trusts: one to raise capital for conversion to an arts centre, and one to run the arts centre programme when building work was completed. The six original Trustees comprised three couples, who were friends and lived in the same rural area. The Chair, Richard, was a businessman and together with his architect wife, Jane, recruited additional Trustees from amongst their personal friends and business colleagues.

The first member of staff, the Director, was appointed with a brief to help to raise funds for the completion of the building work and then to oversee the development of the building as an arts centre. Annabel had experience as an officer in an arts funding body, where she had managed large budgets and initiated new programmes of community performances, and also in managing theatres, where she had introduced educational and youth theatre activities in a rural area. As the building was still derelict at the start of her employment, Richard made available an office within his factory. Over a three-year period, Annabel raised the necessary funds and the derelict building was made habitable enough to allow the Director, her Administrator and new Centre Manager, whom she had recruited and trained, to relocate. The original six Trustees had reduced to five, following the breakdown of one of the personal relationships, and these five functioned as an Executive Committee, meeting outside regular Board meetings. The Executive liked to monitor all aspects of the development of the arts centre, so Annabel regularly reported on progress with building work, fundraising, financial position and management issues – most often at a weekend and usually on a Sunday morning, in Richard's and Jane's house.

The time came when the charitable trust dealing with the arts programme, which had remained dormant while building work progressed, needed to be activated. Annabel was keen to ensure that this trust recruited individuals with suitable skills and that it was chaired by someone with a sound knowledge of the arts, as the programme plans included the creation of an ambitious new arts festival based at the centre. Richard had studied, although not practised, architecture and was an appropriate chair for the trust managing the building, however Annabel considered Executive member Dominic, who was an eminent figure in the arts, and had had the original idea for the festival, to be more appropriate as Chair for the arts trust. The two trusts would continue to run concurrently, and in fact the arts trust was subsidiary to the premises trust.

It was immediately apparent that Richard and Jane resented the move to recruit new Trustees according to *those best suited for the job* principles, and particularly that they disliked the suggestion that anyone other than Richard should hold the position of arts trust Chair. Richard began *popping in* to the arts centre, often with trivial queries ostensibly connected with committee business, but usually to probe Annabel's current thinking on the question of the development of the arts trust. He threatened to rally his friends on the Board of the premises trust, if Annabel did not *see sense*. Determined to adhere to *best practice*, however, Annabel appealed for support from the other members of the Executive, one of whom was Dominic's wife, Alexis, and the other an arts administrator, Sarah, and Dominic duly became Chair of the arts trust.

In Executive meetings, and Board meetings of the premises trust, Richard and Jane became rude and dismissive to their erstwhile friends Dominic and Alexis. Outside of trust business, shared social occasions between the two couples ceased. Richard and Jane disparaged any ideas Annabel, Dominic or Alexis proposed at meetings. During the next six months, Annabel made repeated attempts to convince Richard and Jane that the development proposals were best for the organisation as whole, but was met with patent disbelief, and accusations of betrayal, which she found very upsetting. Richard and Jane began to take every available opportunity to criticise everything Annabel did, often in front of the other staff. She was asked to prepare time-consuming, detailed written statements on unimportant matters, reducing the time available to see to the business of running the arts centre, which now operated a short-term programme. Meetings of the premises trust chaired by Richard became interminable as every agenda item became a debate, and written reports from Annabel and her staff were requested on every aspect of the arts centre's business. The day after a particularly heated debate at a meeting, when Annabel had pointed out that Richard may not be familiar with recent changes to policies adopted by arts funding agencies, Jane visited the arts centre office in order to confront Annabel about her *lack of respect* for Richard, which she did extremely aggressively. In front of the other staff, Jane was abusive and rude, humiliating Annabel and accusing her of attempting to *upset Richard* to the extent that Annabel broke down in tears and the other staff fled the office, embarrassed.

The unpleasant Board meetings and *visits* from Richard and Jane alternately continued unabated and began to take their toll. The Centre Manager left the organisation and was not replaced. Annabel managed to appoint a temporary Personal Assistant to relieve some of her workload but became increasingly isolated from colleagues in other arts posts: she felt tired all the time and began to suffer symptoms of stress, eventually developing an ulcer. She made an attempt to alert the other Trustees, outside the Executive, to the bullying behaviour, but was met with expressions of disbelief from Richard's and Jane's friends and business colleagues. One morning, about three months after her tearful breakdown in the office, Annabel found that she was unable to get out of bed and became extremely distressed. Her GP diagnosed stress and she had the maximum available six weeks' sick leave. On her return to work she found that the arts centre had lost a grant due to funding cuts and was now in financial difficulty.

Richard's and Jane's behaviour worsened after her return to work, and Annabel was unable to continue. Her departure was closely followed by that of her Administrator and Personal Assistant, and the centre closed down for some months, during which Dominic and Alexis resigned. A new Director was not recruited according to equal opportunities policies, instead Richard and Jane persuaded arts administrator trustee Sarah to take on the running of the centre. Richard and Jane continued to run the premises trust, and the arts trust, with Sarah as their Director.

Analysis: This is a worthy arts project that grows out of friendships and a shared vision, integrating seamlessly, it appears, with the adoption of professional standards and practices along the way. Ultimately, however, it is a story of power and power difference (Einarsen, 1999: p 18). As with *A Co-Operative Theatre Company*, at the

beginning the parties were on an equal footing, although Richard and Jane can be seen to exert additional influence initially – he being the Chair of the premises trust, his factory serving as a first office and their family home being used for meetings. The appointment of the Director, Annabel, is a success. She accomplishes the required tasks and works hard to build the *amateur* committee into a professional arts organisation, with the agreement of all participants. The proposal to install Dominic as Chair of the minor trust, however, appears to Richard and Jane to be a transgression on the part of Annabel and to represent a threat to their dominant status within the organisation. Perhaps there is, again, a sense of inadequacy on the part of the pair who had extensive knowledge of buildings but none of arts programming, unlike Annabel, and their former friends Dominic, Alexis and Sarah. They were content to accept help from these partners, because of their specific skills, in the early stages of the development, but unwilling to let them share in any benefits gained, such as enhanced status, as a result of their combined efforts. Indeed, for Richard and Jane, self-interest dominated everything, including the health and future of the organisation as a whole. The withdrawal of co-operation by the bullies and their active resistance to any change and development that would result in a loss of personal power, created major problems at all levels in the organisation, finally causing it to close. The other Trustees did not take seriously the complaints made to them about Richard and Jane, despite the fact that these came from an employee with a track record of major achievements for them over a number of years. This is symptomatic of the nature of bullying at work outlined by Einarsen: *When stepping into the case, upper management ... tend to accept the prejudices produced by the offenders, thus blaming the victim for its misfortune (Einarsen, 1999: p 19).* This was perceived by the staff members who witnessed the bullying of the Director as tolerance of the situation (Rayner, 1999) and they left the organisation rather than endure the deteriorating atmosphere. Even at this early stage in its development, the organisation is exhibiting hallmarks of the passive-aggressive organisation:
congenial and seemingly conflict free, achieves consensus easily, but struggles to implement agreed-upon plans (Neilson, Pasternack & Van Nuys, 2005).

5.1.4 Case Study: A Visual Arts Organisation: *hierarchical bullying/peer bullying/serial bullying*

The fourth example is one of bullying by a manager. At one level this is peer bullying, as the first target is another manager, however this perpetrator also bullies more junior staff, exhibiting the traits of the serial bully (Field 1996).

A visual arts organisation with a national and international remit had been established for twenty years and was planning important developments in its capital infrastructure. The organisation was mature and settled, and members of staff enjoyed a friendly in-house ambience, despite the organisation having grown considerably in size and importance over the years. It had a loyal and long-term core staff team, and employees numbered twenty in all to include part-time and seasonal workers. The Founding Director, Philip, and his Administration Manager, John, who had been there twelve years, had jointly masterminded the extensive development plan. National and international funding sources had been identified, preliminary applications made and accepted, and plans drawn up. A national funding body encouraged Philip to create the new post of Development Director, in order to ensure the funding already raised was supplemented by additional monies for new commissions, exhibitions and educational work. A consultant working with the Director, Mary, drew up a suitable job description and person specification and the post was duly advertised and filled.

The new Development Director, Felicity, took up her post and was briefed extensively by John and Mary. Felicity had experience of working in the voluntary sector, but not of working in an arts organisation, so many of the funding regimes were new to her. John and Mary spent a great deal of time ensuring that she understood the criteria of those funders who had already promised financial support, and exactly what was required in return.

Felicity quickly established that John had a key role within the social hierarchy of the organisation and that he acted, to all intents and purposes, as Philip's deputy. John and Philip would often discuss issues informally together outside staff meetings or consultant sessions, and sometimes take autonomous decisions. Felicity disliked the fact that she was excluded from these meetings and said so. Philip acknowledged that she was a Senior Manager and that this was a reasonable point, and the discussions with John, usually over a cup of coffee in the gallery café, stopped.

Felicity began to pursue John, almost on a daily basis, with repeated requests for information that he, or Mary, had already supplied. She would then let Philip know, and anyone else who happened to be within earshot, that John had failed to provide her with information necessary for her to do her job well, and/or that he didn't understand the parameters within which she was working. Over the next three months, it became difficult for other staff to meet Felicity without hearing a tale of John's most recent shortcomings. On several occasions, Felicity telephoned Mary, who worked off-site, to complain loudly and abusively about John. Her calls were usually made from a busy carriage on an inter-city train. In meetings about the capital development, which were attended by a large number of external consultants, and which John and Felicity attended, but Philip didn't, Felicity would make loud, insulting *jokes* about John's appearance and capabilities. John was a quiet, modest man and mostly ignored her remarks, although he found them extremely hurtful and expressed this to colleagues. The external consultants observed Felicity's behaviour but took no action. It was *none of their business*.

By the fourth month, Felicity also began to find fault with some of the junior members of staff, and could regularly be heard throughout the office building shouting abuse at them. She also continued to phone Mary,

complaining about other staff members as well as about John. Privately, Mary was told by junior staff that Felicity made unreasonable demands of them, regularly asking them to undertake tasks for her that were outside their sphere of activity. However they were too frightened of her to complain. Then another senior manager told Mary how she had discovered that Felicity had been withholding important information, which had created major issues for John, and that she had confronted Felicity about this. She was told to *butt out*. Mary advised that the staff approach Philip with their complaints, however the staff felt that Philip was too engrossed in the new development and would not want to be troubled with *personality clashes*.

Mary requested a private meeting with Philip and told him what she had learned of Felicity's behaviour towards the staff, and of her personal experience of Felicity's loud condemnation of colleagues both within and outside the workplace. Philip was astonished, but promised to *look into it*. He had a meeting with Felicity, at the end of which he let Mary know that Felicity had denied any insulting or upsetting actions on her part, and said that she believed John was *stirring up trouble* for her. No further action was taken. Felicity's behaviour towards John deteriorated, and, guessing that Mary had been the whistleblower, she began to publicly ridicule her too, causing Mary to sever her relations with the organisation. When Philip was present, however, Felicity was pleasant to everyone.

John suffered a stroke and was away from work for almost a year. During that time, Philip employed a Personal Assistant who acted as gatekeeper, and he became more remote from the other staff, tied up with the issues inherent in running a major capital project. Two of the staff who had been verbally abused by Felicity left during the year that John was absent, and on his return the old pattern of behaviour was resumed. This time Felicity developed the habit of mocking his poor health, constantly asking him if he was *all right*, and saying she was worried he might *drop dead at any moment*.

The capital project was completed and the new gallery opened. Colleagues told John that during the two years she had been employed, Felicity had not, in fact, raised any additional money for the development. During John's absence, she had instead simply provided the (previously withheld) paperwork to confirm the funding originally secured by John and Mary. The senior managers in the organisation were *covering up* a deficit in the required funding, which it would take many years to recoup: there was, in fact, a considerable shortfall. At the gallery opening the Chairman of the Board gave extensive thanks naming everyone who had helped, except Mary and John, both of whom had been *out of the picture* for the previous twelve months. He commended Felicity, in particular, for her diligence in obtaining the necessary funding. John expressed the feeling that he had been *air-brushed from history*.

John left the organisation without having another job to go to, but made a successful career in consultancy. On the strength of her accolades, Felicity left to become an officer in a national funding agency.

Analysis: The Founder's vision for this arts organisation was delivered at great personal cost to the participants, including to himself. The relationship with his close ally was severed, the stable staff team disintegrated and the economic benefits he

anticipated from creating a new post did not materialise. Here, as in *A Co-Operative Theatre Company* and *A Private Museum*, the bully identifies the power base and focuses on establishing strong links to it: the target is in the way and has to be dislodged. Crossing into a new area of work is demanding and it can take time to adjust, however in this case the bully responds to those who had assisted her with belligerence and antagonism. She perceives John's relationship with Philip to be a threat to her own position within the organisation, and takes steps to dismantle it. She upsets and antagonises staff who are her juniors – and less able to defend themselves or to object – and dismisses her peers as if they were being unreasonably intrusive. All of this behaviour is completely outside the established culture of the organisation and, it seems, no-one is quite sure how to react. The new manager has difficulty adjusting to the milieu in which she finds herself – perhaps she is insecure about her knowledge and skills level in an unfamiliar environment; the organisation has difficulty adjusting to her overbearing management style – for her management is *politics and control*, rather than *science* or *art* (Bratton & Gold, 1999). When Mary acts as whistleblower, the bully protests innocence and then retaliates with a heightened campaign, causing two staff to leave during John's absence. Meanwhile, the CEO withdraws from the situation, using his *gatekeeper* to ensure he is not tainted with the bully's behaviour. By isolating himself from the behaviour, he seeks to absolve himself from responsibility (see Chapter 1, Section 1.2.3). The work colleagues external to the organisation who witness the bully's words and actions, apart from Mary, exhibit the same desire to distance themselves from the behaviour, although they and the CEO are by this time fully aware of what is going on. In this sense, they are all accessories to the bullying, colluding with the behaviour. The very public triumph of the bully in this case must surely have caused some of the remaining staff to question whether their own behaviour ought to change, as in this case bullying evidently paid dividends, and other researchers have noted that people who are not bullies will nevertheless adopt bullying behaviours *if they see that these behaviours are influential and valued* (Archer, 1999).

5.1.5 Case Study: A Collective Organisation: *client bullying / pair bullying*

The fifth example demonstrates that bullying behaviour is not limited to those who share the same building or work for the same company. We might expect that bullying in a client-consultant relationship would be carried out by the consultant, in the role of *expert*, and in that context this case is an example of *upward bullying*, a

phenomenon more usual in theatres and arts centres than might be imagined, according to the anecdotal evidence gathered during the arts research.

A group of artists had access to cheap studio space in a near-derelict warehouse. Over time, this became more and more unsatisfactory as the roof leaked, plumbing was virtually non-existent and the power supply was unreliable. Two young artists, Kate and Joe – the self-styled *leaders* of the collective – approached funders for assistance with capital finance. The idea was that the group would identify alternative premises and refurbish these as studio spaces. The funders were interested in the concept, however in the absence of any strategic development plan, they felt that the young artists would benefit from professional advice in order to achieve a sound business plan to support their aspirations.

This idea was not popular with Kate and Joe. The artists thought of themselves as radical and anarchic, and felt the employment of consultants to be a poor fit with their fundamental ideology. Nonetheless, they wanted access to finance and new premises, so they engaged a firm of specialist consultants to work with them on the production of a strategic business plan. Alongside this they began a selective process of recruiting members of a new Board of Directors from among their friends and colleagues. The appointed consultants had wide experience of working in a variety of arts environments and of arts capital developments. Lead consultant, Steve, was a former musician, and an experienced arts administrator. He had worked in a senior capacity with a national visual arts organisation, and was interested in the work of young artists.

With co-operation from Kate and Joe, the consultants undertook market research to establish areas of need among local artists, and their interim report indicated that capital finance would be available from European as well as UK sources for the proposed studio complex, and that the project had every chance of being successful if the complex provided facilities to meet the identified needs of artists, and was well-managed. This last point enraged Kate and Joe, who complained that they were running a facility for artists, not a commercial business, and that *management* was of no interest to them. Steve explained that, to be sustainable, they would have to ensure their overheads, including any staff they may want to employ, were met by income from letting studios, plus other sources such as grants or fees.

The concept of sustainability, beyond support through arts council grants, was new to Kate and Joe and they rejected it, saying they did not plan to employ staff at any point in the future. They then began to complain frequently, in person, by phone and by email, to the directors of the consultancy company that the lead consultant was not *up to the job*. They also complained to other colleagues that the consultant was *useless* – in person and by email – and when project meetings were held, would ignore him completely, holding private conversations that excluded him. This behaviour began to affect Steve adversely. He had been working with Kate and Joe for three months and had become anxious about his relationship with his clients and unhappy about their response to him. The quality of his work on other projects declined and, realising that he was depressed about the constant harassment he was receiving from Kate and Joe, after attempting without success to make progress for a further month, he asked to be removed from the project.

The consultancy company checked the work undertaken against the brief and found no omissions: Kate and Joe's complaints about Steve were of a personal nature, and unjustified in terms of the quality of his work, however in the interest of expediency a director of the consultancy company stepped in to complete the work personally, only to find that Kate and Joe had *written off* the company as entirely *hopeless*, and proceeded to say so loudly, to their new Board members and in public, at every opportunity. The defamatory and derogatory emails, by now directed at the company director, continued, often copied to other professionals, and at the completion of the study, when a draft document was already in their possession, Kate and Joe, backed by their new Board, refused to pay the agreed fee. The consultancy company therefore withheld the release of the raw data Steve had collected from artists during the primary research period, individual responses having been confidential to the consultancy company. The company contacted artists to let them know that their information would not be released or published.

The studio conversion plan fell through, and a local arts magazine, having interviewed Kate and Joe and recorded some of their views remarked that perhaps the young artists needed to *wake up and smell the coffee*. More than a year later the development plan was revived, and this time the advice from the [different] consultant prevailed. Although the status of the Board is not known, Kate and Joe are still *in charge*: they manage the premises, rent out studio spaces and employ staff. There is considerable capacity remaining within the building.

Analysis: From the outset, potential benefits to be delivered via the Founders' vision for this arts organisation were jeopardised by their antagonistic attitude to the concept that they had to earn or to justify the financial assistance they sought. Presumably, the lesson they learned eventually was that funding and support is not a categorical entitlement that automatically accompanies the state of being *an artist*. Those who suffered most, perhaps, were the artists who willingly participated in the research project, only to find that the achievement of the project vision to which they had enthusiastically subscribed was delayed for a long time. Kate's and Joe's wholesale rejection of the idea of *managing* – both managing people and managing finance – was founded on the belief that these were facets of *commercial* ideologies, and therefore inappropriate for artists. This philosophy contradicts the recent growth and development of creative enterprises, however it is not uncommon in certain kinds of arts organisations, and among certain artistic *types* (see the discussion of Artistic Temperament in Chapter 7).

The bullying behaviour appears to materialise as a result of lack of trust and of conflicting goals and priorities (Einarsen, Raknes & Matthiesen, 1994 as reported in Rayner, 1999: p 34). Kate and Joe were dealing with unfamiliar territory, and perhaps were nervous of losing sight of their core objectives through having to conform to rules they perceived as pertaining only to profit-driven organisations. Their

preconceptions about consultancy, and about basic business principles, prepared the way for them to castigate and vociferously reject anything that they believed threatened their *artistic integrity*. Perhaps due to his considerable experience, Steve was fortunate enough to realise the effects the bullying behaviour was having on him after a relatively short period – four months. Zapf and Gross (2001: p 502) report the views of Leymann (1993) that many victims do not realise for a considerable time what has happened to them, and the other case studies support this. Zapf and Gross (2001) also outline the stages of conflict detailed by Glasl, 1994 (p 501) indicating the tendency for bullies to engage in increasingly severe means to harm the other party as time passes, as is evident in the preceding case studies. Glasl (1994) models the stages of conflict from levels 1 – 9, increasing in severity from (1) *incidental slips into tensions* to (9) *total destruction and suicide*. Steve was also fortunate to be able to remove himself from the situation: Zapf & Gross (2001: p 504) report that in stress research Semmer (1996) has shown that control is an important moderator for successful coping, and author and consultant Tom Lambert advises consultants who experience *personality clashes* as follows:

> "If the problem cannot be resolved try to have a qualified member of your team or network complete the assignment." (Lambert, 1994: p 241)

This is what Steve did. Attempts by the consultancy company director to alleviate the situation are to no avail, however: by this stage the bullies are engaged in a systematic destructive campaign against the target – level 7 of Glasl's nine levels of conflict escalation. The target has extended beyond the individual, Steve, to the company itself. The clients' ability to withhold payment for already completed work tilts the balance of power in such professional relationships. The consultancy company did what it could to protect its intellectual property in the circumstances, however it lost the income earned for the work undertaken. Ultimately, perhaps the magazine's candid prompt for a dose of realism had an impact on the two artists; or it may be that the drive to succeed forced Kate and Joe to re-evaluate their prejudices and make a fresh start. Whatever the reason, the organisation is now employing staff and presumably *managing* premises after all. It may be, however, that the spare capacity in the much-needed studios is an indicator of unconstructive leadership (Rayner, 1999) or simply bad management resulting in a negative workplace atmosphere.

5.1.6 Case Study: A Creative Industry: *peer bullying/corporate bullying/serial bullying*

The sixth example exhibits the activities of the same bully in two contexts: that is, hostile behaviour to subordinates within an organisation and aggressive behaviour to colleagues in external organisations: *downward bullying* and *horizontal bullying.* This is very similar to the behaviour described in *A Visual Arts Organisation* and is particularly interesting because the bully in this case – *A Creative Industry* – was an external consultant who had previously witnessed the bullying in *A Visual Arts Organisation*, but had taken no action. This recalls the observations of Archer (1999) that witnesses of tyrannical behaviour in military organisations may adopt bullying behaviour themselves, if it is seen to be *successful* (See Chapter 2, p 36).

> Ingrid was one of two directors in a small architects' practice specialising in social housing. Her role was to develop the business for the firm, which she tackled with enthusiasm and a great deal of personal magnetism. Ingrid perceived that lottery funding was bringing capital finance into new areas, including community development and the arts. However, the practice did not have experience in these areas so Ingrid identified potential partners who did have relevant experience, including quantity surveyor Rex, engineer Susan and development consultant Peter. Talking persuasively to these three individuals and the other members of their companies, Ingrid's charm and zeal convinced them to join forces in pursuit of new work, despite the architects' lack of relevant experience.
>
> The consortium successfully bid for several projects, the architect's practice learned much about working in the voluntary and arts sectors from the other companies, and its reputation grew. As a result, Ingrid, who had been trained as an architect and was the *public face* of the practice, was offered a position on an important national committee, which she accepted. Overnight Ingrid's demeanour changed and the team spirit that had prevailed in previous projects disappeared. Ingrid positioned herself publicly as *leader* of the consortium, although the architects' practice was by no means the largest company in the group, and at the start of new projects she issued imperious orders to Rex, Susan and Peter, demanding that they *improve the quality* of their work. The instructions she broadcast tended to be non-specific however, causing confusion among the recipients and anxiety about how they should respond to her inappropriate, meaningless queries.
>
> Internally, the harmonious atmosphere of the architects' practice began to diminish. Ingrid's behaviour had become intolerably officious, she was constantly looking over everyone's shoulder *literally* and was rude and intimidating to the administrative staff and the professional architects. Reception and administration staff became ill, and an increasing number took sick leave more and more frequently. One architect in the firm confessed that he was *afraid to speak up* because Ingrid's co-director in the practice was also her husband. Another architect left the practice rather than tolerate her behaviour any longer.

Externally, Ingrid began to scrutinise and to question the information provided to the clients by the other members of the consortium, even though the details were outside her sphere of knowledge. Sometimes she did this in client meetings, intimating that it was necessary for her to *keep an eye* on the other members of the consortium to ensure they were *doing the best job*. Sometimes she harried Rex, Susan and Peter by phone, and sometimes the whole team collectively by email. As a result of her deficiency in appropriate knowledge – she was not a quantity surveyor, an engineer or a strategic planner – the questions she asked continued to lack purpose or significance and caused misunderstandings and anxiety on the part of clients as well as among the members of the consortium.

> Colleagues from the other companies began to experience a sense of dread when faced with the prospect of *communication* with Ingrid. Gradually, Rex, Susan and Peter began to minimise all contact with her and *her* practice, each selecting other architects to work with instead. When approached by Ingrid to bid for new projects, the other members of the consortium became *unavailable*. None of them work with her, or the practice, any longer. Ingrid sought out new colleagues in other companies but has had difficulties sustaining professional relationships beyond a short period of time.

Analysis: Ingrid was an ambitious woman – for herself and for her company. She saw an opportunity to access new sources of funding and business, and pursued these vigorously. Her personal charm enabled her to attract the interest of colleagues from other companies, however in the process Ingrid seems to have developed a misplaced sense of her own importance. Perhaps the success enjoyed by the consortium and the practice put pressure on her to achieve more. Perhaps being invited on to the national committee, which may have been a daunting prospect for an individual still relatively inexperienced in the arena of the arts and voluntary sectors, triggered her bullying behaviour. This was *peer bullying* of colleagues, and also managerial and *corporate* bullying by a company director of members of staff.

Dieter Zapf, of the Department of Work and Organizational Psychology, Frankfurt University, acknowledges that there may be instances where an organisation is the cause of bullying but this manifests itself through a specific individual (Zapf, 1999). This does not seem to be the case here, however, as Ingrid's behaviour had two sets of negative effects, both within and without her workplace. As with Felicity, the bullying manager in *A Visual Arts Organisation*, communication and miscommunication is an issue here: Felicity withholds information, causing difficulties for a colleague and ensuring her own personal gain; Ingrid uses miscommunication to confuse and to instigate anxiety among her colleagues. Zapf describes conscious miscommunication as *a mobbing strategy* and Felicity's lies, as well as Ingrid's unintelligible commands, seem to support this. The results of the bullying are

manifold: the personal distress of the staff in the architects' practice, resulting in illness, absenteeism and eventual loss of expertise from the company; the confusion and anxiety of Ingrid's colleagues, resulting in personal and professional embarrassment and eventual loss of business for the architects' practice.

5.1.7 Case Study: A Community Arts Service: *organisational bullying/corporate bullying*

The final example depicts a restructuring nightmare, where confusion, conflict and hostile behaviour are permitted to take hold and flourish. It supports the research finding that *a gap exists between the rhetoric used as justification for organisational restructuring and the reality of participants' experiences* (Sheehan, 1996). Although there is an identifiable bully at work in the shape of one person, more accurately this case illustrates the abandonment of, and abdication of responsibility for, all the staff involved, and presents a scenario wherein a specific individual is the embodiment of bullying perpetrated by the whole organisation (Zapf, 1999).

> A local authority education department was undergoing relocation and restructuring, during which several staff posts became vacant and were not filled. This resulted in heavier workloads for remaining staff, and some gaps in line management. The community arts service team delivered a small part of the education department's remit, and found itself under the auspices of a new manager, Nina, for whom community arts was a new concept. Nina was an experienced administrator, used to delivering reports on the council's service within a framework that included quantifiable performance indicators. The community arts service, on the other hand, specialising in working with disabled people and disadvantaged communities, had not had to work within these parameters before.
>
> Soon after her new responsibilities began, Nina began to express a dismissive attitude towards the concept of community arts, letting the service staff know that it was unlikely they could provide enough *hard indicators* to secure their continuing existence. During the following months, an atmosphere of *constant negativity* prevailed and staff became distressed about their future prospects. Nina did not communicate well with the staff, who began to feel that she was suppressing important information and that she lacked knowledge about their work, and the management it required.
>
> One staff member, Jenny, felt the absence of support for staff during restructuring was having a detrimental effect, including eroding developments the service had achieved and resulting in staff experiencing embarrassment in public situations, for example when information they should have had, via Nina, did not reach them. Jenny's line manager, Laura, experienced *put downs* and insinuating comments from Nina that her work was not meeting expectations, in front of Jenny and other staff, and became severely emotionally distressed, then took prolonged sick leave. On her return, Laura found that her remit had been changed and she was to be relocated away from the rest of the community arts service team.

Internal relationships deteriorated, and Jenny complained verbally to the personnel department on a number of occasions to no effect, until finally she brought a complaint about Nina's *insensitive management style* under the council's Disciplinary & Grievance Procedure. She took advice from the Citizens' Advice Bureau and copied her complaint to the chair of the council's education committee, ensuring that it was taken seriously. In the months that followed a series of meetings were held involving Jenny and senior staff from outside her department, culminating in a final meeting comprising Jenny, her line manager Laura and Nina, plus senior staff, including personnel staff, external to the department.

Every attempt was made to treat the situation *non-officially*: senior staff indicated that Jenny had not completed the grievance form correctly; she had not detailed specifics of *personal hurt*; her past verbal complaints had not met with any action *because comments and actions were tolerated as particular behaviour could be expected from particular people*; no physical threats had been made; Jenny could not make a complaint under the Disciplinary & Grievance Procedure about the treatment of *other people*. During the final meeting, Nina expressed surprise at the complaint. *No malice had been intended* in anything she had said or done. The senior staff proceeded to outline their proposal to bring in external consultants to develop a strategic plan that would ensure all staff members were valued and appropriate systems were put in place.

Laura left the organisation. Jenny moved to another job as visual arts officer where she assisted local young people in compiling a video about bullying problems in their community. The community arts service was wound up and Nina moved on to another department.

Analysis: The background to this study is one of organisational mayhem. Bullying has been found to correlate with:

> "dissatisfaction with management, role conflicts, and a low degree of control over one's own work situation." (Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2001: p469)

and all three elements are present here. Nina's lack of experience in the field of community arts is matched by a lack of understanding of the staff and their concerns. She withholds information and bullies the supervisor, Laura, in front of other staff, causing distress in those, like Jenny, who are witnesses. The organisation, via restructuring, changes Laura's role and further isolates her on her return from sick leave.

There is inconsistency and disarray about the way in which Jenny's complaints are handled: these are not taken seriously and various relatively trivial reasons are cited for them being inadmissible under the council's Disciplinary & Grievance Procedure. The promised strategic plan is held up as some sort of solution, but there is no attempt to address the specific concerns Jenny raises, and the bully is patently believed. There is no evidence that the council accepts any responsibility for the

bullying behaviour: the restructuring takes responsibilities away from Laura and the bully, Nina, devalues her work, undermining her capabilities.

Laura's distress is acute, and accords with other findings:

> "Exposure to systematic and long-lasting verbal, non-physical, and non-sexual abusive and aggressive behaviour in the workplace causes a variety of negative health effects in the target." (Zapf & Einarsen, 2001)

The effect on the witnesses here is exemplified by Jenny, who takes action. Vartia (2001) notes that witnessing of bullying

> " was found to be a significant predictor of general stress and mental strain reactions" (as reported in Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001: p 394)

so Jenny's concerns on her own behalf are real, and the statement that she could not make a complaint under the Disciplinary & Grievance Procedure about the treatment of *other people* – which may have been a literal interpretation of the council's policy – indicates that a review of such policies may be needed to ensure they protect the welfare of all staff, and not simply those who directly encounter *personal hurt*.

Chapter 6 BECTU Survey

6.1 BECTU SURVEY 2003/2004

As outlined in Chapter 3, following the pilot studies a larger scale survey was developed to investigate bullying behaviour within a group of arts workers from a number of UK geographical locations, who worked in different sizes and scales of arts organisations that had varying structures and working conditions. This was achieved by working with BECTU and surveying employees in diverse theatres and arts centres across the UK.

In order to follow up the issues that arose during the Pilot Studies and the Case Studies the survey sought to

- compare and contrast the extent to which bullying behaviour exists in theatres and arts centres in different regional locations across the UK
- identify the main reasons why bullying was taking place, if this was the case, and whether it was specific to certain groups due to issues of gender, ethnic origin or disability
- collect the views of both managers and non-managers, the better to establish if reports of bullying in arts organisations represented a common experience or reflected a series of particular, one-off instances
- determine if arts organisations were offering fair terms and conditions to employees: were working hours and rates of pay on an equal footing with those in other sectors, or were employers wittingly or unwittingly indulging in *corporate bullying*?
- ascertain the extent of job-related training generally among all arts employees, and the degree to which this was accredited, rather than informal and hands-on

Continuing personal development through job-related training allows employees at every level to continue to hone their skills and increase their competence. The prevalence of training in the arts workforce is significant as *competence* is cited, particularly by managers, as the main reason behind bullying. Informal and hands-on training on its own may be less trustworthy as an indicator of *competence* – custom and practice in a specific working environment can nurture bad as well as good working practices, hence the significance of gathering information on accreditation.

The BECTU survey found that the majority of the 249 participants from across all geographical locations in England, Scotland and Northern Ireland – 65.0% – described bullying behaviour as occurring *commonly* or *not uncommonly*: 6.4% had never encountered

any of the bullying behaviours listed. A sub-group of 99 employees (39.7%) stated that they had been the target of a bully: *the bullied group*. Of the 249 survey participants, 10.8% worked in management and levels of awareness of bullying behaviour among managers in the 2004 BECTU survey showed a significant increase compared with levels of awareness exhibited in Pilot Study 1 in 2000/2001.

Targets of bullies were found in arts organisations in all UK regions, with a particularly high rate of bullying in the London houses outside the West End. Bullying was prevalent in every BECTU category, apart from catering which was not represented within the survey group, and more box office staff reported bullying than those in any other single work area. Fewer people working in management reported bullying than in any other work area. More young women than men were found to be bullied, and the *bullied group* contained a smaller percentage than the norm of those who identified themselves as being from ethnic minority backgrounds. No disabled people reported being targets of a workplace bully.

Status/position and competence in the workplace were cited as the principal reasons behind bullying by participants who contributed their opinions on their experiences of, and management attitudes to, longer working hours and rates of pay, as well as bullying behaviour. As indicated above, managers identified *competence* specifically. The research considered the responses of all employees, whether targets in the *bullied group*, *witnesses* or those who had heard about bullying – *hearsays*. The anonymous questionnaire offered opportunities for participants to contribute their views and experiences in complete confidence.

More than a third of employees (37.3%) had not undertaken any job-related training within the last three years, including 25.2% of line managers and 35.0% of those who supervised other line managers. A similar result was recorded within the *bullied group* at 36.4% (-0.9% variance), however there were more marked variations in the *bullied group*'s experiences of training provision:

- more of them had not asked for, or been offered, training at 37.4% (+4.5%); might targets of bullying be under-trained?

- more had requested training but no further action had been taken at 28.3% (+1.0%); might targets of bullying be aware of being under-trained, but unaided in their attempts to remedy this?

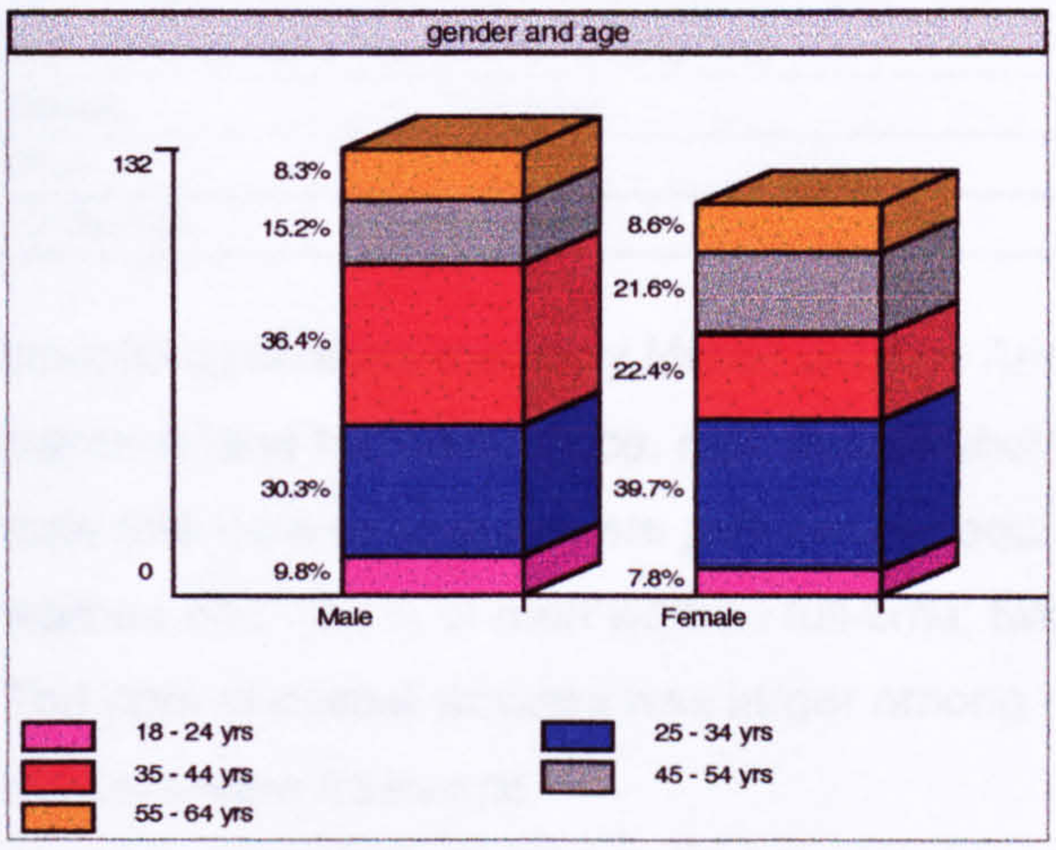
- future training was planned for fewer of those who had requested it at 30.3% (-4.2%); might arts employers be negligent in ignoring the training needs of targets of bullying?

According to the responses, managements that were *indifferent* to complaints about working hours, pay and bullying predominated in all types of venue, as well as all geographical locations. Where no anti-bullying policies were in place, 32.6% of non-bullied people said their organisation would give consideration to a complaint and does not condone bullying behaviour, and 24.3% of the *bullied group* said their organisation does not recognise that some terms and conditions are detrimental to employees and are equivalent to *corporate bullying*.

6.5.1 Introduction: Profile of The Participants

The 249 participants came from England, Scotland and Northern Ireland, and represented theatres and arts centres that employed at least 22,672 people. The profile was representative of the union's broad membership: there were slightly more men than women at 132 (53.0%) to 117 (47.0%).

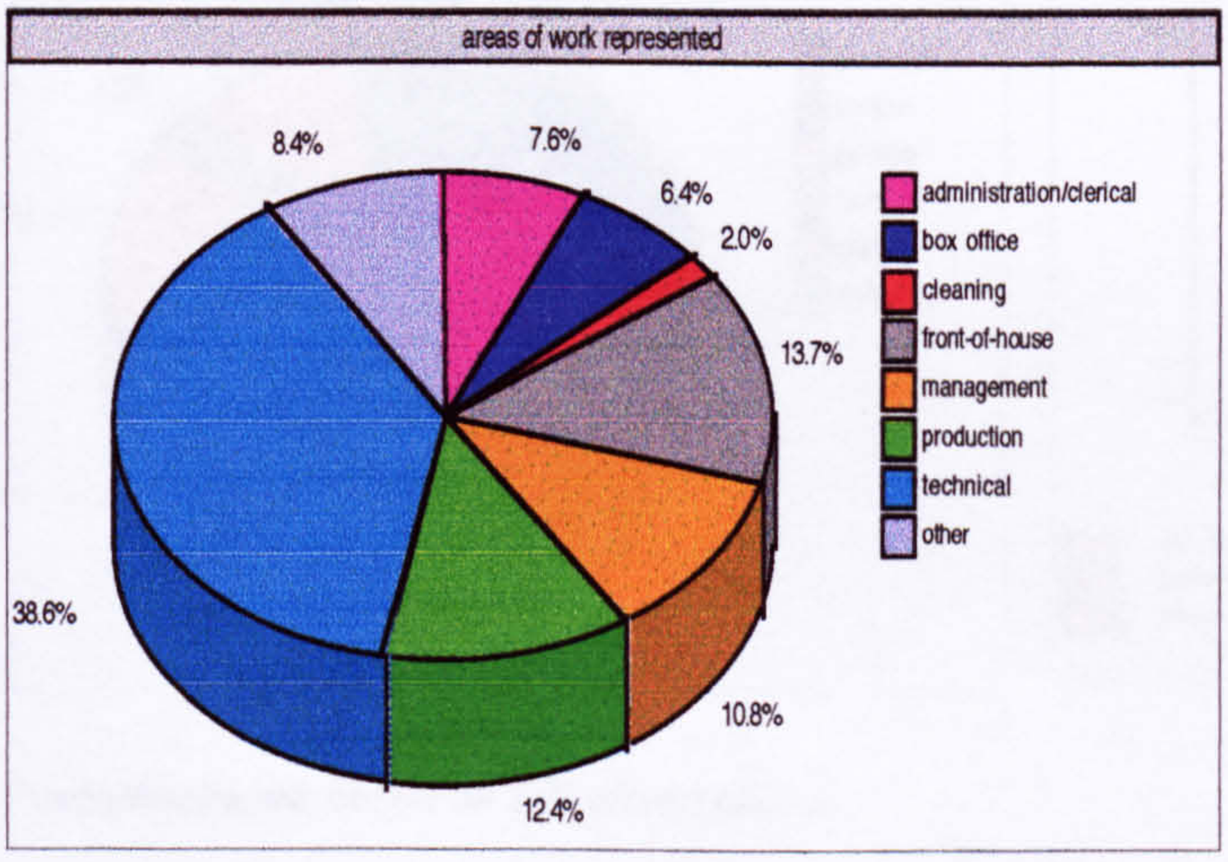
Figure 6.1: Participants by gender and age



Employees spanned the range from 18 years to 64 years, with the majority being between 25 and 44 years.

Percentages are based on 'male' (132) and 'female' (117) within 249 observations

Figure 6.2: Areas of work represented



BECTU members were employed in administration, box office, cleaning, front-of-house, management and production. Technical staff predominated, comprising more than half of the men and one fifth of the women, followed by front-of house and production staff.

Percentages are based on 249 observations

Catering was not represented at all and one tenth of the employees worked in management, of whom there were twice as many men as women. *Other* staff (Figure 6.2) included education workers, bar staff, dressers, maintenance, marketing, press and media and a visual arts director.

Among the 249 participants, there were three disabled people and 6.8% were from ethnic minority backgrounds. The size of the minority ethnic population was 4.6 million in 2001 or 7.9% of the total population of the United Kingdom (*Office of National Statistics, Census 2001*) so the level of representation is slightly below the population norm. The preponderance of white workers results in a very small number – 17 people – who can be identified accurately as being from non-white ethnic minority backgrounds.

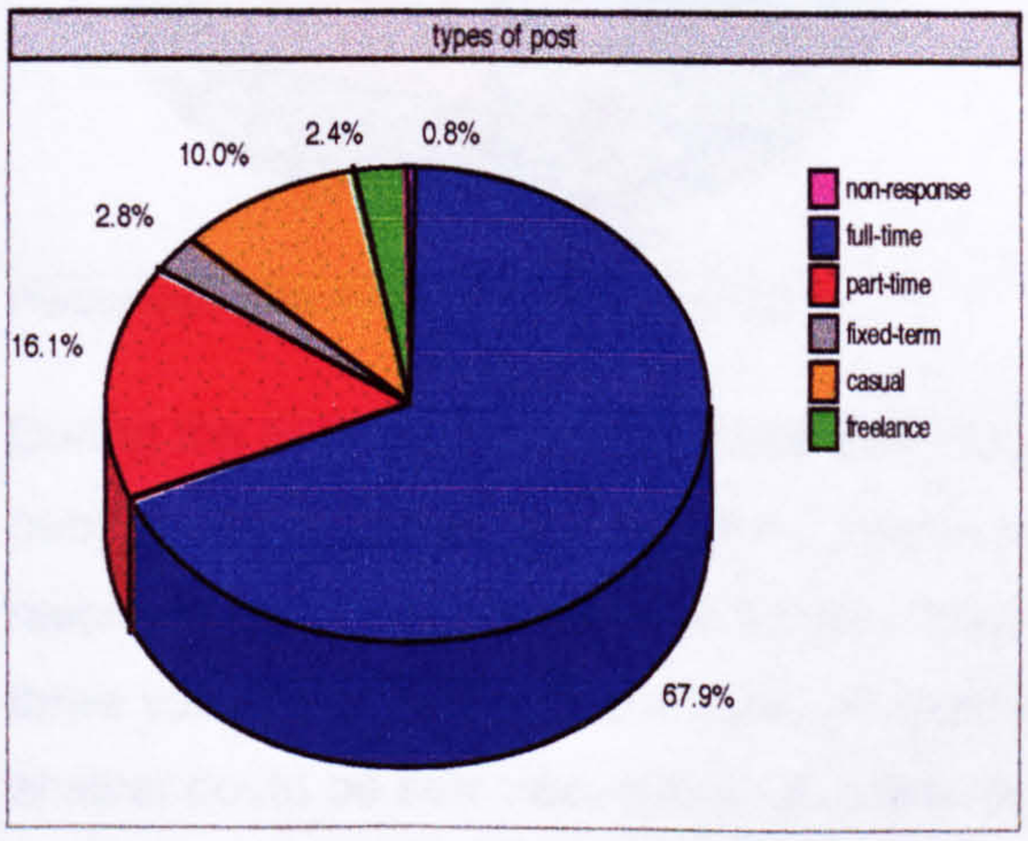
Table 6.1: Participants by ethnic group

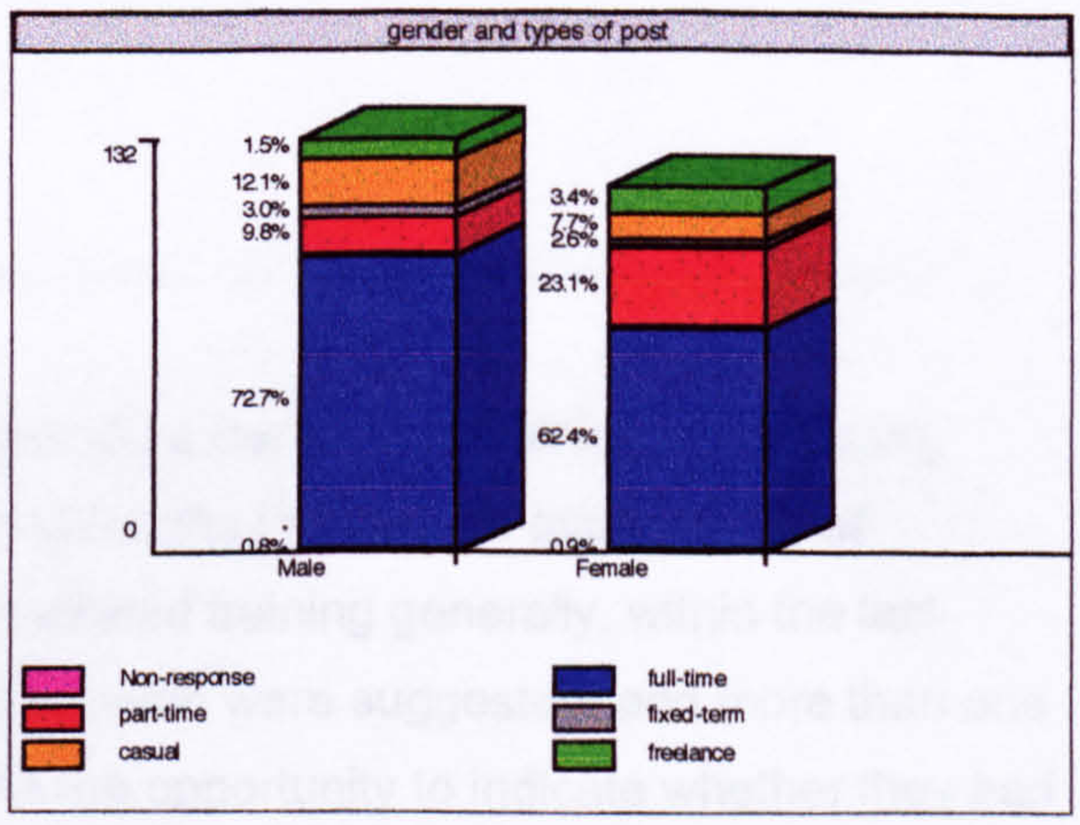
ethnic group	N° cit.	Percent
Non-response	3	1.2%
Asian or Asian British (includes Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, other Asian background)	2	0.8%
Black or Black British (includes Caribbean, African, other Black background)	8	3.2%
White (includes British, Irish, other White background)	229	92.0%
Chinese	1	0.4%
Other	6	2.4%
TOTAL OBS.	249	100%

Among *other* (Table 6.1) were people from other ethnic backgrounds who had British citizenship.

Despite assertions made by Metier and the Arts Council, that performing arts working patterns tend to be freelance, part time or short term (further discussed in Chapter 7), less than one-third of all jobs were part-time or equivalent (Figures 6.3 & 6.4). In all, 62.4% of women and 72.7% of men worked full-time: twice as many women as men worked part-time. The pool of casual workers was larger among men, however twice as many female as male workers were freelance.

Figures 6.3 & 6.4: Types of post by gender

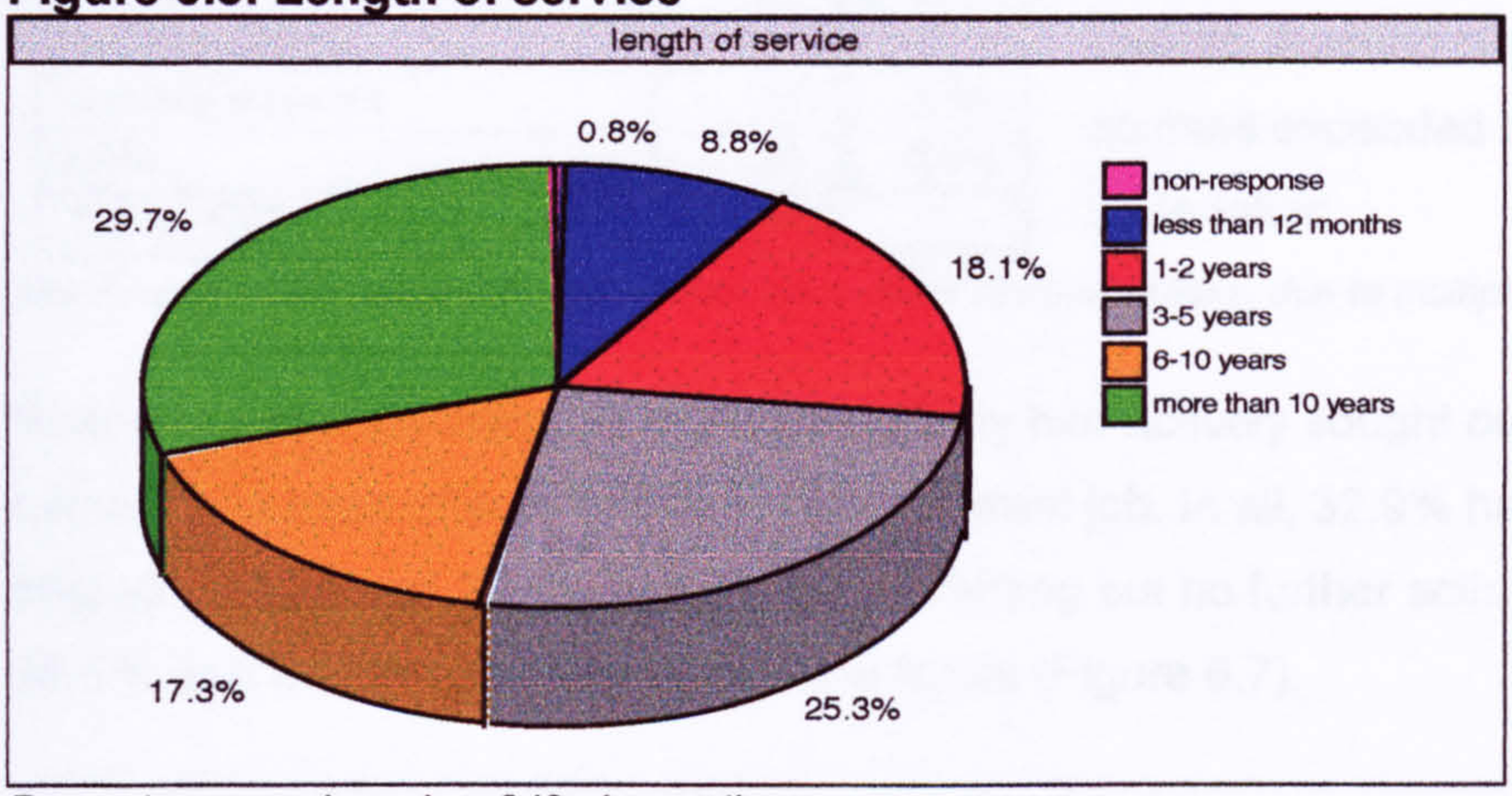




Percentages are based on 249 observations.

The smallest group of female workers was the group on fixed-term contracts and the smallest group of male workers was the freelance group. In terms of permanence and job security, 29.7% of BECTU members had given more than ten years of service in their current jobs and 42.6% had given between three and ten years (Figure 6.5).

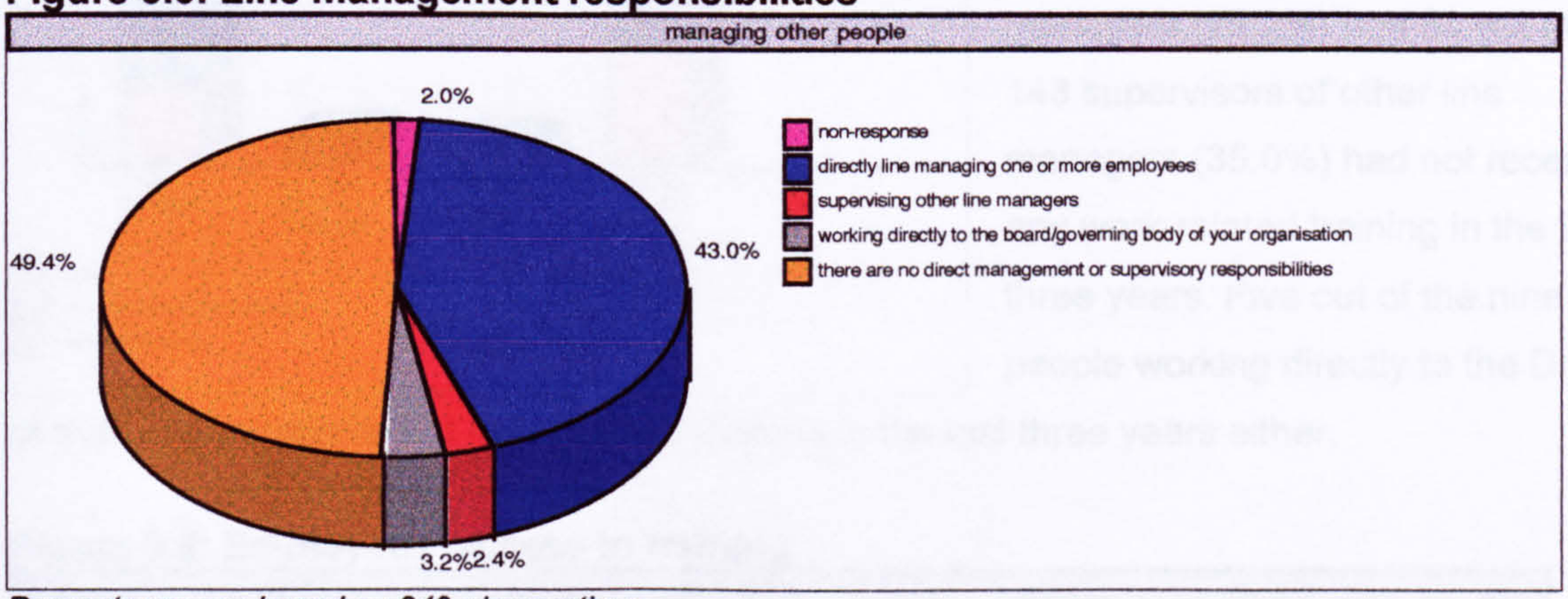
Figure 6.5: Length of service



Percentages are based on 249 observations.

Approximately 49.4% of the survey group had no supervisory or management responsibilities, as opposed to 48.6% with direct line management or supervisory responsibilities, or who worked to the Board of their organisations (Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6: Line management responsibilities



Percentages are based on 249 observations.

During the Pilot Study among managers (Chapter 4), a low level of training in managing people was recorded, and this poor uptake prompted the inclusion of questions to all respondents in this study about access to work-related training generally, within the last three years. Several different types of training provision were suggested, and more than one answer could be selected, allowing respondents the opportunity to indicate whether they had undertaken training in a number of different ways. In all, 37.3% of respondents had not undertaken any job-related training within the last three years.

Table 6.2: Training undertaken by respondents

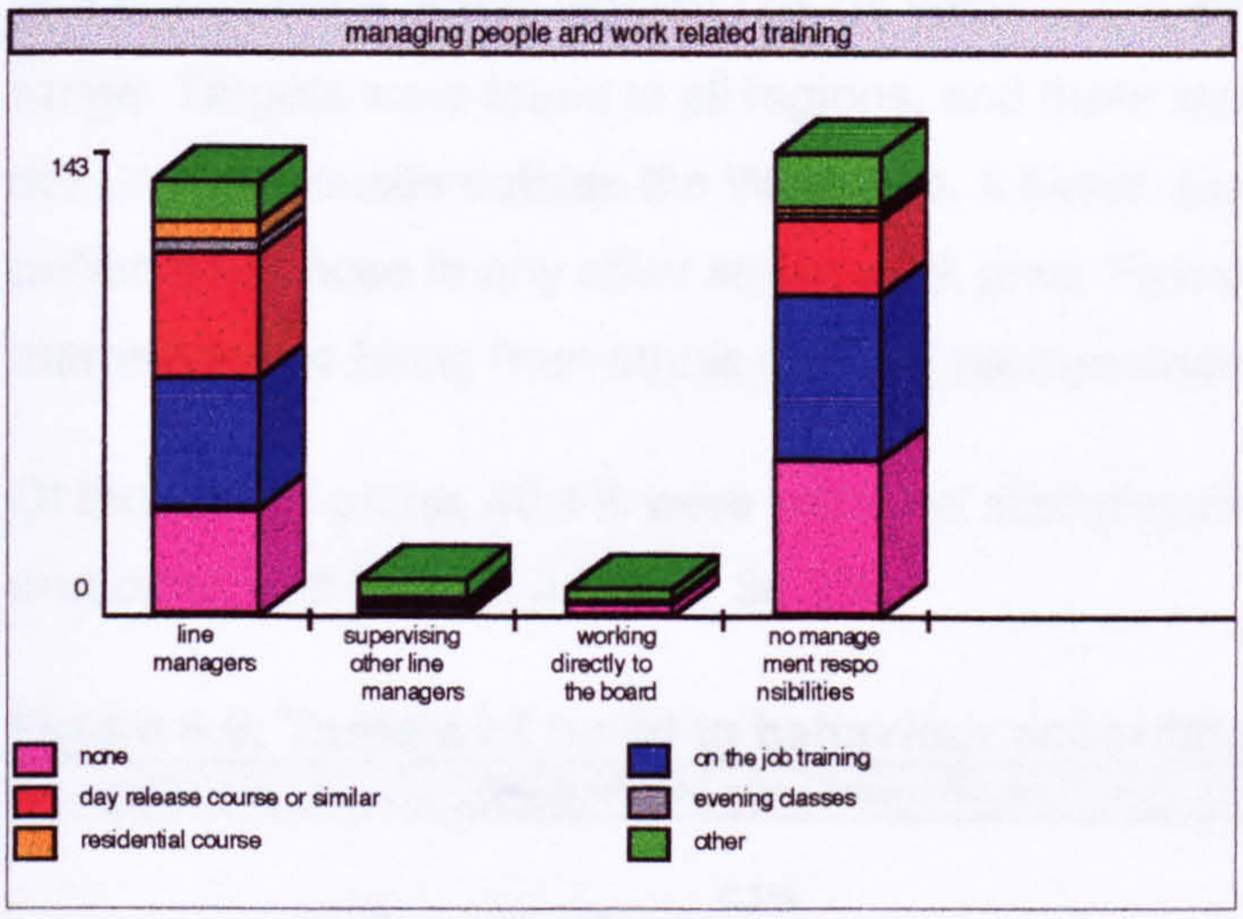
work related training	N° cit.	Percent
non-response	1	0.4%
none	93	37.3%
on the job training	100	40.2%
day release course or similar	67	26.9%
evening classes	11	4.4%
residential course	12	4.8%
other	20	8.0%
TOTAL OBS.	249	

The number of responses is greater than the number of observations, due to multiple responses (maximum of 6).

Of those who had received this kind of training (156 people), 64.1% had received on the job training and 42.9% had attended a day release course or similar (Table 6.2). Overall, evening classes and residential courses exceeded other types of training undertaken.

Respondents were asked to say whether they had actively sought out training and/or if training had been offered to them in their current job. In all, 32.9% had not asked for or been offered training and 27.3% had asked for training but no further action had been taken, whilst 34.5% said training was planned for the future (Figure 6.7).

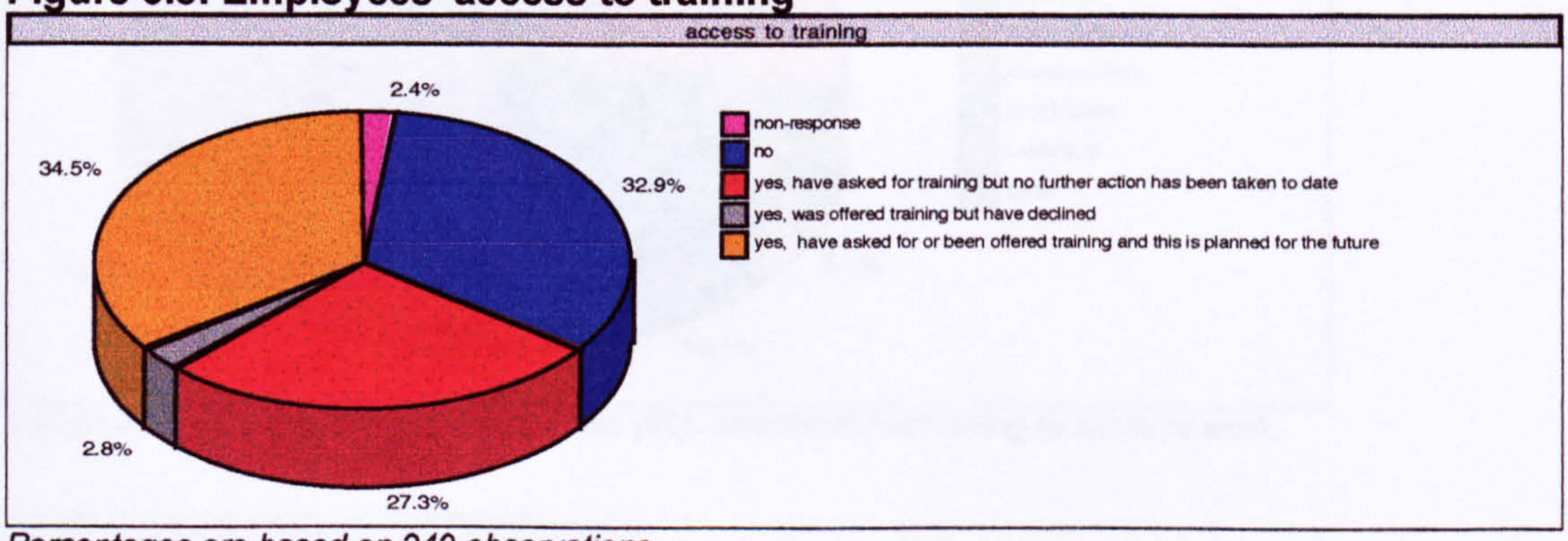
Figure 6.7: Work related training undertaken by line managers



Established on 249 observations. More than one response can be selected (to a maximum of 5)

Information from line managers revealed that 34 out of 135 line managers (25.2%) and 50 out of 143 supervisors of other line managers (35.0%) had not received any work-related training in the last three years. Five out of the nine people working directly to the Board of their organisations had not received training in the last three years either.

Figure 6.8: Employees' access to training



Percentages are based on 249 observations.

6.5.2 The *Bullied Group*

The survey dealt with arts employees' experience of workplace bullying as defined by the Dignity at Work Bill 1997:

a. behaviour on more than one occasion which is offensive, abusive, malicious, insulting or intimidating

b. unjustified criticism on more than one occasion

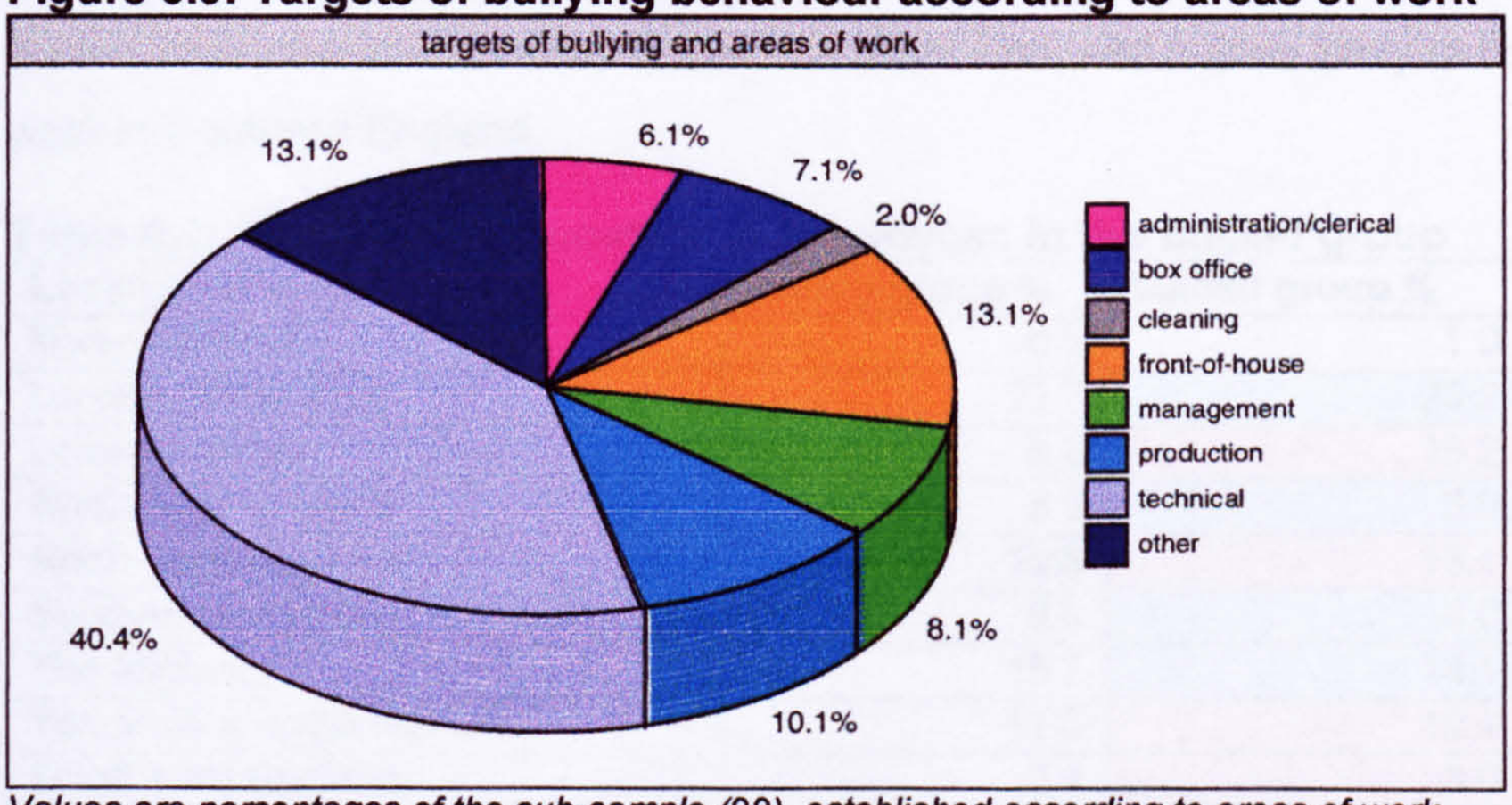
c. punishment imposed without reasonable justification, or

d. changes in the duties or responsibilities of the employee to the employee's detriment without reasonable justification.

A number of features emerged from the research, which characterised the targets of workplace bullies – the *bullied group.* Altogether two in five of the total number of respondents reported being the target of a workplace bully, equivalent to over 9,000 employees in participating theatres and arts centres, or 304,000 people engaged in cultural occupations in the UK.[1] More women than men were found to be bullied, across every age group, and more young women (18–24 years old) were targets than those in any other range. Targets were found in all regions, and there was a particularly high rate of bullying in the London houses outside the West End. A higher percentage of box office staff were bullied than those in any other single work area. Five of the 17 people who identified themselves as being from ethnic minority backgrounds were in the *bullied group*.

Of the *bullied group*, 40.4% were technical staff (Figure 6.9). Front of house, production staff and *other* staff totalled a further 36.3%.

Figure 6.9: Targets of bullying behaviour according to areas of work



Values are percentages of the sub-sample (99), established according to areas of work.

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[1] *Artists in Figures* (2003). Study conducted by Institute of Employment Research, University of Warwick for Arts Council England.

When compared with the total number of respondents in each work area, the *bullied group* represents sizeable proportions of employees in each sector, although some sectors were numerically much smaller than others. For example, 41.6% of technical staff is 40 people whereas 40.0% of cleaning staff is two people (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Targets of bullying behaviour within employment sectors

29.6% of management staff	40.0% of cleaning staff
31.6% of administration/clerical staff	41.6% of technical staff
32.2% of production staff	43.7% of box office staff
38.2% of front of house staff	61.9% of *other* staff

Targets of bullying behaviour occurred most frequently among *other* staff — those working in education, fundraising, marketing and the media, facilities and bar management, and backstage as crew, dressers or at the stage door. They occurred least frequently among management staff. Targets are from all age ranges and types of post. A slightly higher percentage of the *bullied group* have attended evening classes and residential courses than the norm. In many respects the *bullied group* does not vary significantly from the non-bullied group, apart from in their views on bullying behaviour, management attitudes, employee objections and complaints procedures.

As with the survey group as a whole, the venues in which participants worked consisted of BECTU houses in England, Scotland and Northern Ireland and, although there were representatives from every geographical region within the *bullied group*, the distribution pattern differed from that of the survey group overall (Table 6.4). For example, whilst 8.8% of the group as a whole was based in London, outside the West End, this accounted for 15.2% of the *bullied group*; Southern England constituted 8.0% of the survey group and only 4.0% of the *bullied group*. Compared to the norm, then, employees are almost twice as likely to be bullied if they work in London, outside the West End, and half as likely to be bullied if they work in Southern England.

Table 6.4: Geographical location of employees in the bullied group

Location of employee	survey group %	bullied group %
Non-response	0.8	1.0
London (West End)	25.7	23.2
London (other)	8.8	15.2
North-East England	3.2	3.0
North-West England	10.8	13.1
Southern England	8.0	4.0
The Midlands	15.7	14.1
Yorkshire and the Humber	11.6	12.1
South-East England	2.4	3.0
Northern Ireland	1.2	1.0
Scotland	11.6	10.1
TOTAL OBS. (%)	**100**	**100**

Established on 249 observations and sub-sample bullied group (99 observations)

The statistics suggest that, compared with the norm, the major London houses have a higher proportion of bullied people than any other type of venue – 19.2% compared with 16.4%. In fact, although greater numbers of bullied people were found within larger arts institutions, the distribution is more complex, with higher than the norm percentages of those who stated they had been the target of a bully both in the small-scale venues, and in the very largest ones with 100+ employees (Table 6.5).

Table 6.5: Scale of venue reported by bullied group

Numbers of employees per venue	survey group %	bullied group %
Non-response	1.6	2.0
less than 20	4.0	5.1
21-30	8.8	10.1
31-40	10.8	15.2
41-50	6.4	5.1
50-100	27.7	21.2
over 100	40.6	41.4
TOTAL OBS. (%)	**100**	**100**

Established on 249 observations and sub-sample bullied group (99 observations)

Types of bullying behaviour were listed and respondents were invited to comment on how often these had been encountered. A very small number (16) had never encountered bullying behaviour and 65.0% of the survey group described it as *common* or *not uncommon*. This latter rose to 85.9% among the *bullied group* (Table 6.6).

Table 6.6 Experience of bullying behaviour

	Survey Group	%	Bullied Group (sub-group)	%	Non-Bullied Group (sub-group)	%
non response	2	*0.9*	0	*0*	2	*1.3*
never	16	*6.4*	0	*0*	16	*10.7*
very rarely, isolated examples only	69	*27.7*	14	*14.1*	55	*36.7*
not uncommonly	78	*31.3*	30	*30.3*	48	*32.0*
commonly	84	*33.7*	55	*55.6*	29	*19.3*
TOTAL OBSERVATIONS	**249**	***100***	**99**	***100***	**150**	***100***

Sample percentages established on 249 observations: sub-groups bullied group (99) and non-bullied (150)

A higher percentage of the *bullied group,* at 55.6% compared to 19.3% of the non-bullied group, perceived that bullying occurred *commonly* (Table 6.6). Among the managers (10.8% of the survey group) 25.9% described bullying as occurring *commonly*, however 37.0% said it occurred *not uncommonly* – a higher percentage than both the non-bullied group and the *bullied group.* One-third of managers and 36.7% of the non-bullied group felt bullying was *rare*, however only one manager had never encountered it. Although the survey group size in the Pilot Study 1 (Managers) was equivalent to only 48.1% of the numbers in the BECTU Study, the results are still very striking: in 2000/2001, 53.8% of the managers were unaware

of bullying behaviour in the arts workplace, compared with 3.7% of management workers who had never encountered bullying in 2003/2004.

Among the *bullied group*, those who thought bullying in arts workplaces occurred *commonly* or *not uncommonly* totalled 85.9%, compared to 51.3% of the non-bullied group, and 62.9% of managers. Personal experience is likely to have contributed to heightened awareness of the issue, however it was also the case that employees in all areas of work (whether bullied or not) reported bullying behaviour broadly to the same degree, although management employees maintained that it was less common than did others. At 47.4%, more administration/clerical workers felt it occurred *commonly* than any other employment sector (Table 6.7).

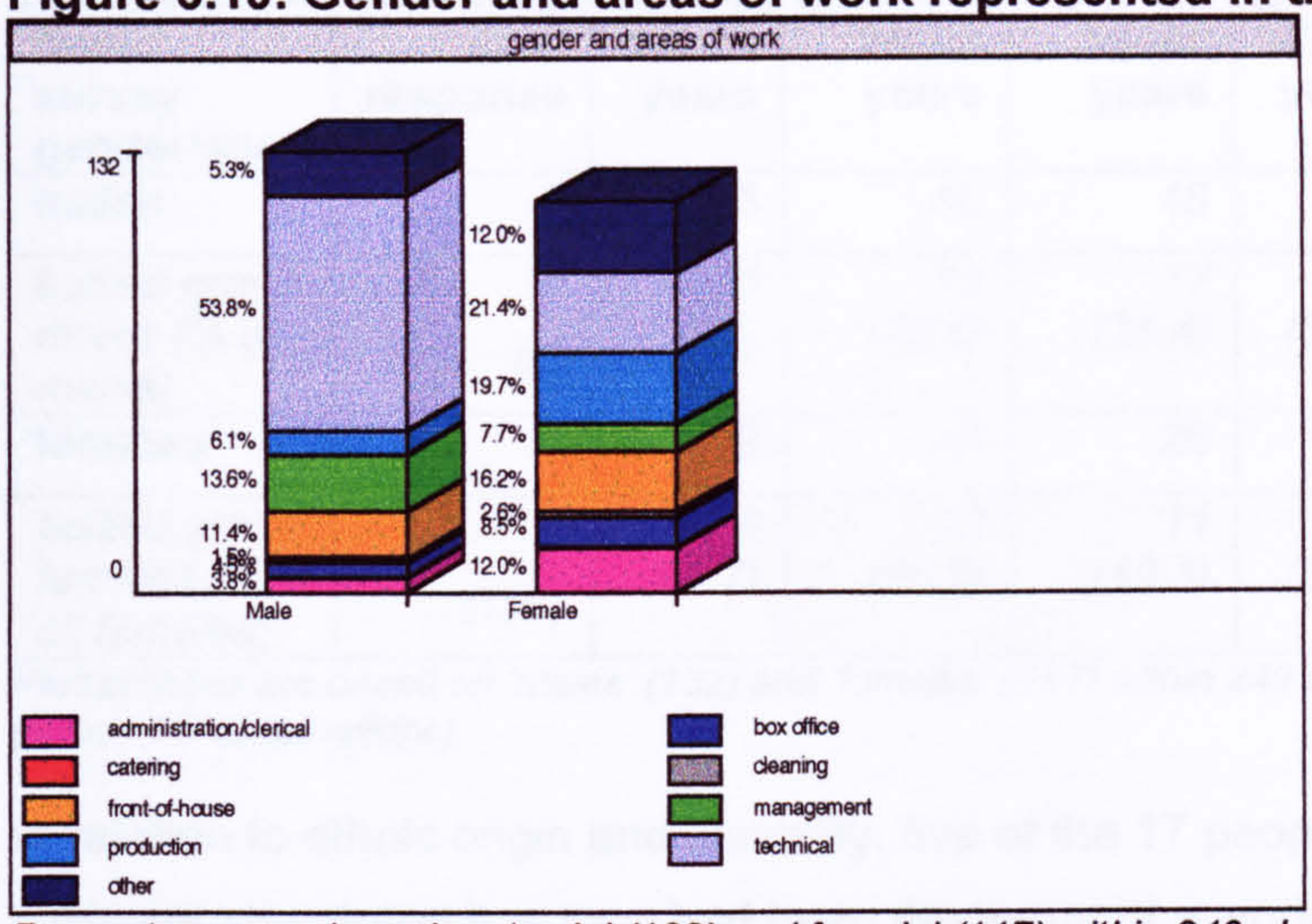
Table 6.7: Experience of bullying by areas of work

experience of bullying / job	non-response	never	rare, isolated examples	not uncommonly	commonly	TOTAL
administration/clerical	0.0%	5.3%	21.1%	26.3%	47.4%	100%
box office	0.0%	6.3%	31.3%	31.3%	31.3%	100%
cleaning	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	40.0%	40.0%	100%
front-of-house	0.0%	5.9%	26.5%	35.3%	32.4%	100%
management	0.0%	3.7%	33.3%	37.0%	25.9%	100%
production	3.2%	9.7%	25.8%	29.0%	32.3%	100%
technical	1.0%	7.3%	30.2%	28.1%	33.3%	100%
other	0.0%	4.8%	19.0%	38.1%	38.1%	100%
TOTAL	0.8%	6.4%	27.7%	31.3%	33.7%	100%

Table values are the in-columns percentages established on 249 observations.

Among the *bullied group*, there was a positive variation from the norm in the percentages of staff working in box office (+0.7%), technical (+1.8%) and *other* staff (+4.7%), and a negative variation among production (-4.3%), administration/clerical (-1.5%) and management staff (-2.7%). There was an insignificant or nil difference among cleaning and front-of house staff. Excepting technicians, there were more women than men working in every other area, with almost three times as many in administration/clerical fields and in production. The *bullied group* featured higher proportions of staff on freelance and fixed-term contracts, at +1.6% and +1.2% respectively. Numerically, the largest subsets within the *bullied group* were male technicians (66.7% of bullied males) and female technicians (21.0% of bullied females). This is the only work area in which more men than women stated that they were bullied, presumably because men outnumber women 134:25 (Figure 6.10).

Figure 6.10: Gender and areas of work represented in the survey



Percentages are based on 'male' (132) and female' (117) within 249 observations.

As reported in Chapter 2, Literature Review, early research in workplace bullying indicated that bullying was not gender-specific, although some researchers are investigating the predominance of women as targets (Costigan, 1998; Lee, 2001; Turney, 2003; Lewis, 2006) and among the *bullied group* in theatres and arts centres a greater number of women than men are bullied within every age group. Compared to men, more women also report having witnessed bullying behaviour and more describe it as being on the increase. Within the survey group, 31.8% of men stated they had been the target of a workplace bully, compared to 48.7% of women. However within the *bullied group*, the gender breakdown changed and a higher percentage at 57.6% were female, compared to 42.4% who were male.

The majority of men in the study were aged between 35–44 years, whilst the majority of women were between 25–34 years, and this pertained also to the *bullied group*, so that bullying does not appear to be age-specific, although lower rates of bullying are returned for both men and women in the 55+ age group. Among the youngest participants, aged 18–24 years, there were more men than women (Table 6.8) yet 23.1% of the men in this age range belonged to the *bullied group,* compared to 66.7% of 18–24 year old women. This may suggest that young females perceive themselves to be, or are actually, commonly targeted by bullies. Alternatively, it may indicate that younger women are more sensitive to negative workplace behaviours than men of the same age.

Certainly, women appear to be bullied more than men as a similar pattern, with different absolute percentages, is found among the 25–34 year olds: half of all the women in this category belong to the *bullied group*, and 32.5% of the men, resulting in the majority of the *bullied group* (36.4%) being in this age range. Each age band yields similar results: in every case a higher percentage of women than men are among the *bullied group*, even in the range where men predominate overall – the 35–44 years band.

Table 6.8: The survey group and the bullied group: age and gender

Bectu survey gender/age	non-response	18–24 years	25–34 years	35–44 years	45–54 years	55-64 years	Total
males	0	13	40	48	20	11	132
bullied group males (% all males)	*0 (0)*	*3 (23.1)*	*13 (32.5)*	*17 (35.4)*	*7 (35.0)*	*2 (18.2)*	*42 (31.8)*
females	1	9	46	26	25	10	117
bullied group females (% all females)	*1 (100)*	*6 (66.7)*	*23 (50.0)*	*11 (42.3)*	*13 (52.0)*	*3 (30.0)*	*57 (48.7)*

Percentages are based on 'males' (132) and 'females' (117) within 249 observations and sub-group 'bullied group' (99 observations).

In relation to ethnic origin and disability, five of the 17 people from non-white ethnic minority backgrounds stated that they had been the target of a workplace bully. If there were disabled people among the *bullied group* they did not indicate that this was the case – there were 8 non-respondents on this point.

Given the high level of bullying described by young females, it might have been expected that employees relatively new to an organisation, particularly young women, would report being targeted more than longer established colleagues. Within the *bullied group*, however, the highest proportion of employees reporting bullying (29.3%) had been in post for between three and five years (+4.0% above the norm), followed by those who had been in post for longer than 10 years (27.3%), which is -2.4% below the norm (Table 6.9).

Table 6.9: Length of service – bullied group

length of service	N° cit.	Percent
Non-response	1	1.0%
less than 12 months	9	9.1%
1-2 years	17	17.2%
3-5 years	29	29.3%
6-10 years	16	16.2%
more than 10 years	27	27.3%
TOTAL OBS.	**99**	**100%**

So length of service in an arts organisation does not appear to make a significant difference to the likelihood of being targeted by a bully, and there is some basis for supposing that the probability of becoming a target increases with career longevity.

Percentages are based on the sub-group 'bullied group' (99 observations).

The *bullied group* displayed a similar breakdown to the survey group as a whole in terms of management and supervisory responsibilities: these were recorded at 54.8% of men (+ 2.5% on the norm) and 36.8% of women (-0.8% of the norm) respectively compared with the survey group baseline of 52.3% of men and 37.6% of women. It would seem that those with

line management responsibilities, whether male or female, are just as likely to be targeted by a bully as those without, and this is the case in four out of the seven case studies.[2]

6.5.3 The Bullying Experience

Respondents were asked to comment on their personal experience of bullying behaviour, indicating any of a number of stated occurrences that applied to them. In all, the 249 respondents cited 473 different experiences, indicating that individuals had encountered bullying in a number of different ways (Table 6.10).

Table 6.10: Personal involvement in bullying

personal involvement	N° cit.	Percent
Non-response	10	4.0%
I was involved as a trades union representative (BECTU or otherwise)	23	9.2%
I was asked to intervene and/or assist someone who had a complaint of bullying	29	11.6%
I witnessed one or more bullying incidents	116	46.6%
I was told of a bullying incident by a colleague	125	50.2%
I was asked to deal with a complaint for the management of an organisation	5	2.0%
I was the subject of a complaint about bullying by a colleague	9	3.6%
I was the target of a workplace bully	99	39.8%
I have had no personal involvement in bullying	47	18.9%
other	10	4.0%
TOTAL OBS.	249	

The number of citations is greater than the number of observations (249), due to multiple responses (to a maximum of 9).

Three significant and overlapping sub-groups emerged:

a. the *bullied group* of 99 people who stated that they had been the target of a workplace bully – 39.8% of the survey group

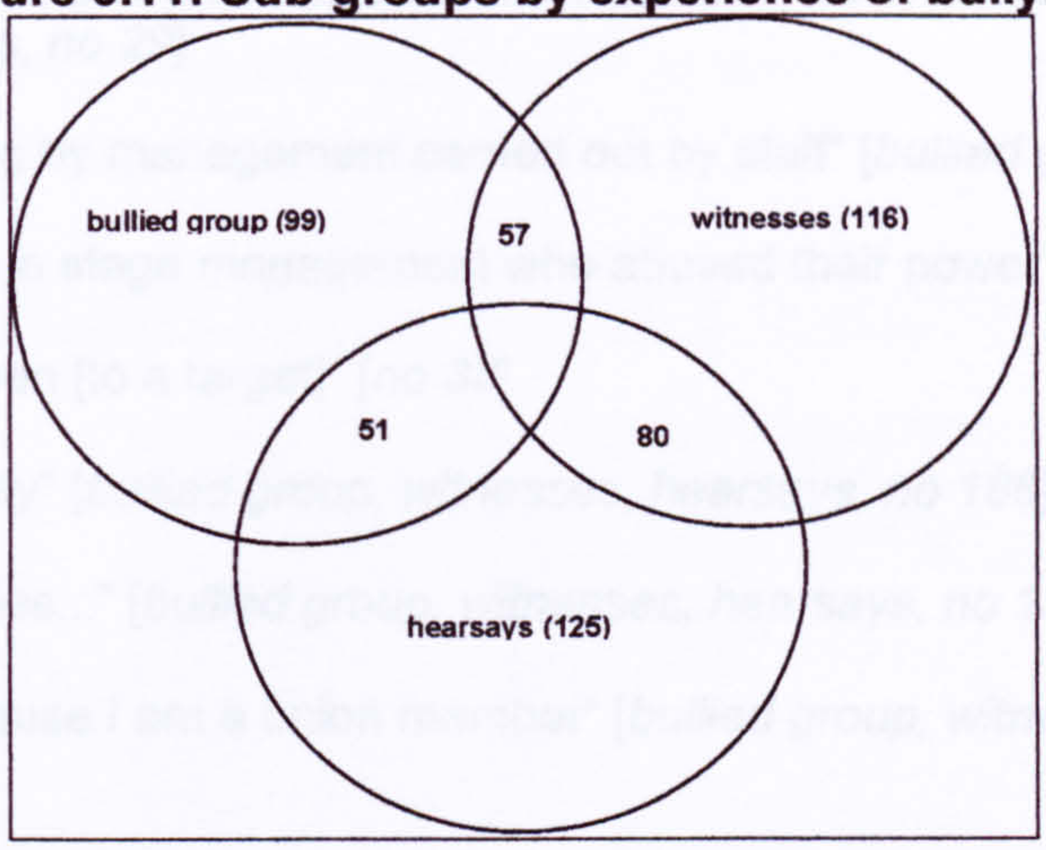
b. 116 *witnesses* who had observed bullying – 46.6% of the survey group

c. 125 *hearsays* who had been told of a bullying incident by a colleague – 50.2% of the survey group

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[2] Chapter 5: *A Private Museum, An Arts Centre, A Visual Arts organisation* and *A Community Arts Service*.

Figure 6.11: Sub-groups by experience of bullying



In Figure 6.11 above and Table 6.11 below the areas where the results intersect reveal that within the largest group *hearsays* (125), 80 people had also witnessed bullying behaviour and 51 had been targeted by a bully. Among the *witnesses* (116), 57 had been targeted by a bully and 80 had been told of an incident by a colleague. Among the *bullied group* (99), 57 had also witnessed bullying and 51 had heard reports of bullying behaviour from a colleague. A few stated that they had *no personal involvement in bullying*, however it is likely that they equated this with being the target of a bully, as they then went on to demonstrate that they had either witnessed it (5) or heard about it (9).

Table 6.11: Three sub-samples concerned with bullying behaviour

personal involvement in bullying	bullied group	witnesses	hearsays
I was involved as a trades union representative (BECTU or otherwise)	9	11	13
I was asked to intervene and/or assist someone who had a complaint of bullying	10	15	22
I witnessed one or more bullying incidents	57	116	80
I was told of a bullying incident by a colleague	51	80	125
I was asked to deal with a complaint for the management of an organisation	2	1	5
I was the subject of a complaint about bullying by a colleague	6	5	6
I was the target of a workplace bully	99	57	51
I have had no personal involvement in bullying	0	5	9
other	4	7	5
TOTAL CITATIONS	**238**	**297**	**316**
TOTAL OBSERVATIONS	**99**	**116**	**125**

The number of citations is greater than the number of observations in each case, due to multiple responses (to a maximum of 9).

Interventions on behalf of management and/or a complainant and trades union roles were explored. Respondents could add comments and 10 supplied further clarifications that included descriptions of their encounters with bullying. The selection below indicates in which sub-samples the commentators occurred [my parentheses]:

"...as a member of the box office involved with a grievance procedure against a line manager" [*witnesses, no 29*]

"constructive bullying by management carried out by staff" [*bullied group, no 149*]

"had difficult people in stage management who abused their power" [*hearsays, no 234*]

"help and advice given [to a target]" [*no 38*]

"a management bully" [*bullied group, witnesses, hearsays, no 186*]

"Trade Union activities..." [*bullied group, witnesses, hearsays, no 132*]

"I was targeted because I am a union member" [*bullied group, witnesses, hearsays, no 174*]

"the bully was a drunk/arrogant manager" [*bullied group, witnesses, hearsays, no 131*]

"I witnessed indirect degradation..." [*witnesses, no 229*]

One respondent made the statement "I have only bullied when necessary"[3] She had witnessed one or more bullying incidents, and was directly line managing one or more employees in one of the larger theatres. A full profile is outlined in Chapter 7, Discussion, paragraph 7.2.8. Those who had been, or were at present, trades union representatives numbered 69 people or 27.7% of the survey group as a whole. Among the *bullied group* were 19 current and 8 former trades union representatives, and all representatives had encountered workplace bullying in some respect or heard about it from colleagues.

More than half the members of the survey group suggested *status or position within the organisation* as the reason behind bullying behaviour, closely followed by *competence and popularity* (Figure 6.11). More than a quarter gave gender and physical appearance as possible explanations. In text responses, other reasons cited included age, political affiliations, trades union membership, personal dislike and issues in the personality of some managers. Among the *bullied group*, more people, at 63.6%, felt status/position within the organisation was a reason for bullying than in the non-bullied group where 43.3% selected this reason. Most non-bullied people (45.3%) identified competence as an issue and this was also recorded at a high level in the *bullied group* (57.6%). However popularity scored 54.5% among the *bullied group* and only 26.7% among the non-bullied group.

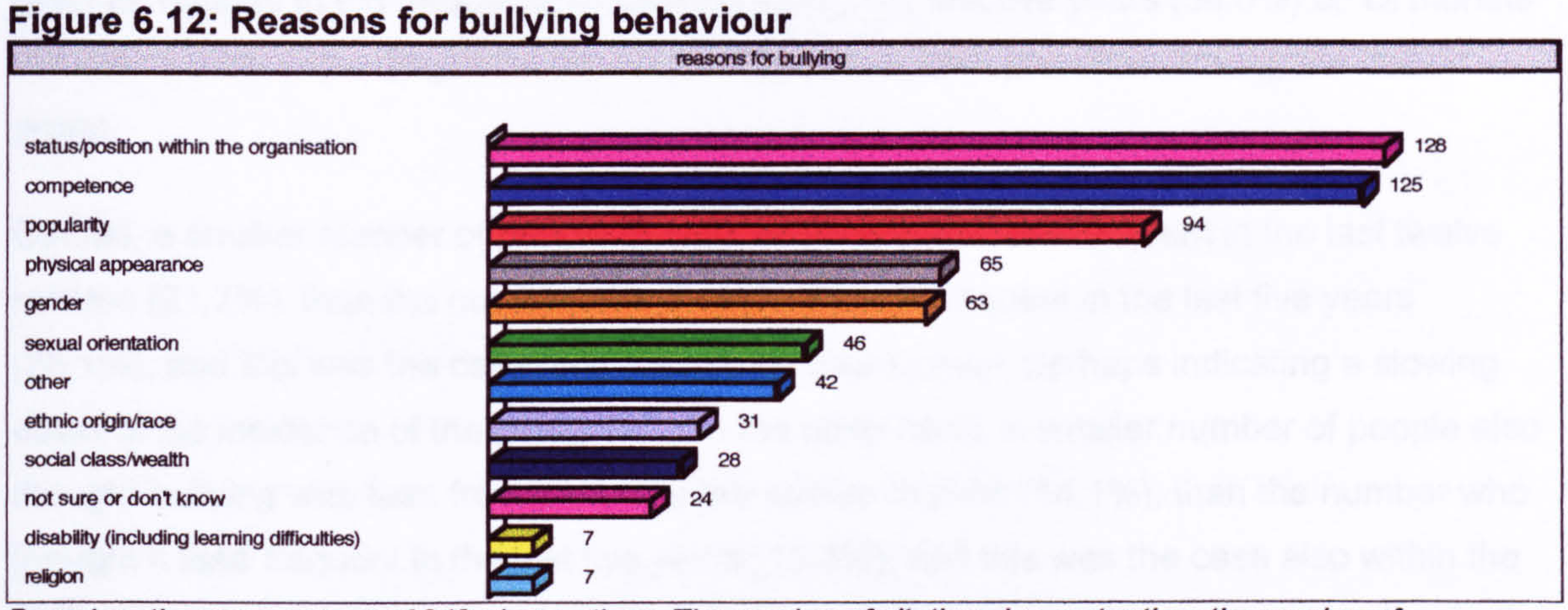
The main reason for bullying, according to managers, was *competence*, chosen by 59.3%, followed by status/position chosen by 44.4%. It is important to note that managers may have intended to signal that *lack of competence* in a target is a reason for bullying behaviour, whereas other employees and targets of bullying identify *being good at one's job* as a factor

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[3] Respondent 242, BECTU Survey 2003/2004

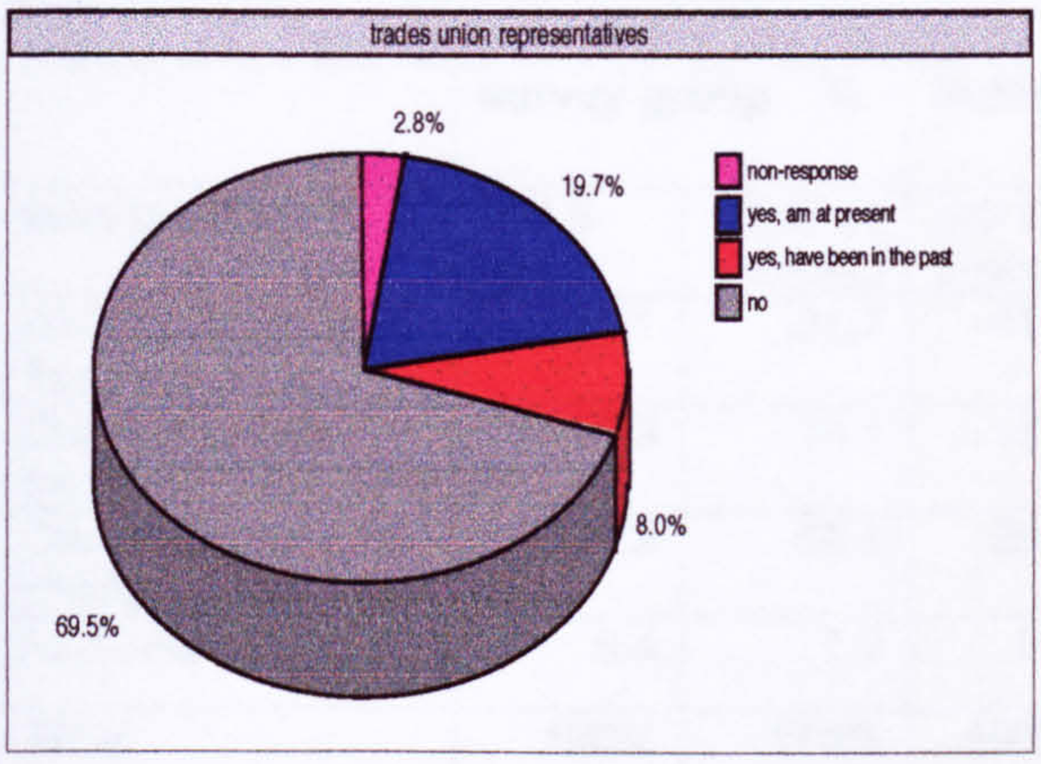
that attracts the attention of the *incompetent* bullying manager. No managers identified disability, including learning difficulties, as a reason for bullying although both non-bullied people and members of the *bullied group* did.

Figure 6.12: Reasons for bullying behaviour



Based on the survey group of 249 observations. The number of citations is greater than the number of observations, due to multiple responses (to a maximum of 11).

Figure 6.13: Trades union representation



Trades union representation was cited as a reason for being a target. However, 27.7% of the survey group had been in the past, or were currently, trades union representatives, compared with 27.3% of the *bullied group*, so no significant difference was found.

Percentages are based on 249 observations

Overall, half of the respondents, at 50.2%, had not perceived any change in the frequency of bullying during the last 5 years: 28.1% felt it was more frequent and 14.9% that it was less frequent (Table 6.12). However, more women than men thought bullying was more frequent (35.0% of all women), whilst more men than women thought it was less frequent (16.7% of all men) or that there had been no change (56.8% men). This tallies with the findings that more women than men are bullied (Table 6.8). A higher proportion of the *bullied group* thought the frequency of workplace bullying had increased in the last five years (41.4%), and the last 12 months (33.3%) compared to the non-bullied group – 19.3% and 14.0% respectively, probably another indicator of heightened awareness in this group.

Interestingly, although the majority of managers thought there had been no change, a substantial number thought bullying had increased in the last five years (37.0%) and the last

12 months (29.6%), and it may be that the high-profile cases in the media and the introduction of *Dignity at Work* policies has registered with management staff more than with other employees, as in the non-bullied group the majority of respondents believed there had been no change in the frequency of bullying during the last five years (58.0%) or 12 months (63.3%). Lower percentages for the *no change* option were prevalent among the *bullied group*.

Overall, a smaller number of people thought bullying was **more** frequent in the last twelve months (21.7%), than the number who thought it **more** frequent in the last five years (28.1%), and this was the case also within the *bullied group*, perhaps indicating a slowing down of the incidence of the behaviour. On the other hand, a smaller number of people also thought bullying was **less** frequent in the last twelve months (14.1%), than the number who thought it **less** frequent in the last five years (15.3%), and this was the case also within the *bullied group*, indicating a growing trend. As a result, there is no clear outcome as to whether bullying is increasing or decreasing in arts organisations.

Table 6.12: Perceptions of the frequency of bullying

	survey group %		**bullied group %**		**non-bullied group %**	
time period	*last 5 years*	*last 12 months*	*last 5 years*	*last 12 months*	*last 5 years*	*last 12 months*
Bullying is more frequent	28.1	21.7	41.4	33.3	19.3	14.0
Bullying is less frequent	15.3	14.1	15.2	14.1	15.3	14.0
There has been no change	50.2	56.6	38.4	46.5	58.0	63.3
Non-response	6.4	7.6	5.0	6.1	7.3	8.7
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

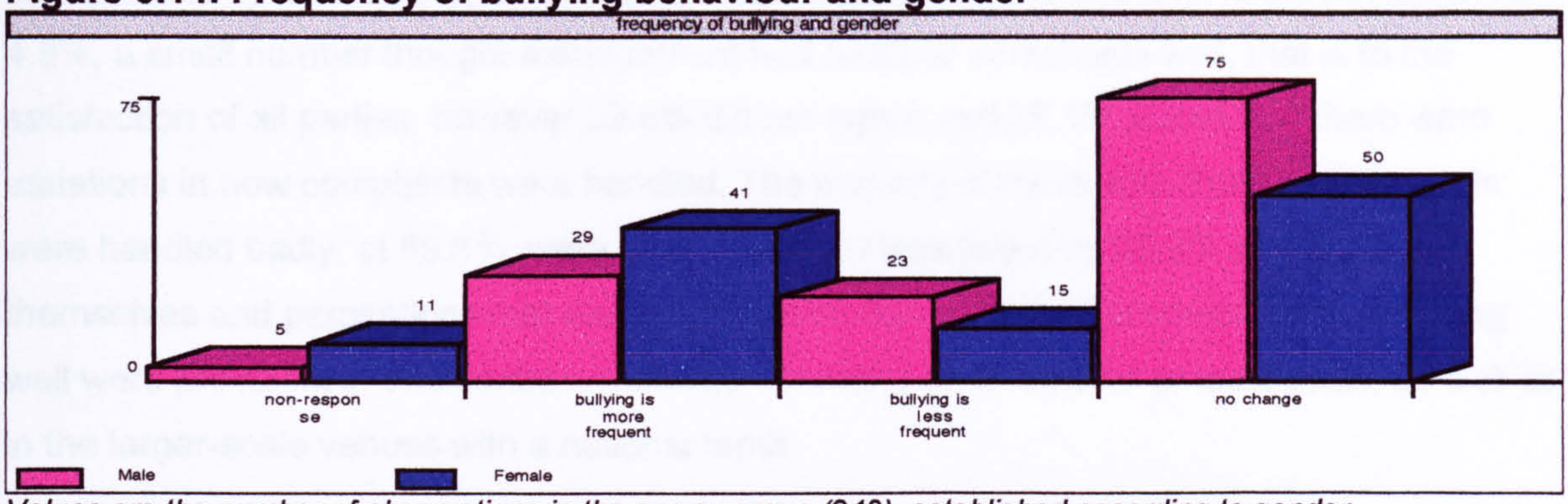
Values are in-columns percentages pertaining to the survey group (249 observations) and its two sub-groups the 'bullied group' (99 observations) and the non-bullied group (150 observations).

6.5.4 The Role of Gender, Ethnic Origin and Disability

We have seen that within the *bullied group*, there was a 10.6% difference from the survey group in terms of gender breakdown – a higher percentage at 57.6% were female, compared to 42.4% who were male. The findings in the BECTU survey indicated that women were observing and/or experiencing bullying more than men in performing arts workplaces and also that a higher percentage of women than men described bullying behaviour as occurring *commonly* or *not uncommonly* at 38.5% and 33.3% respectively, compared to 28.8% and 31.1% of men (Figure 6.14). Numerically equal proportions of males and females (47.0% of the men and 53.0% of the women) had been told of bullying behaviour by a colleague –

the *hearsays*. Ten fewer women (53) than men had actually witnessed bullying incidents, however the *witnesses* still included 45.3% of the total number of women respondents.

Figure 6.14: Frequency of bullying behaviour and gender



Values are the number of observations in the survey group (249), established according to gender.

Respondents of non-white ethnic origin, both male and female, reported bullying behaviour occurring *commonly* (Chinese) or *not uncommonly* (Asian or Asian British) or both (Black or Black British or other). All but one, who had never heard of or witnessed bullying behaviour, were part of either the *bullied group* and/or *hearsays*: they had been told of bullying incidents by a colleague and/or had been targets of a workplace bully. None had been asked to deal with a complaint for management or had been the subject of a complaint by a colleague.

Four people declared that they were registered disabled: two men and two women. They worked in administration/clerical, management and technical posts. Three were full-time and one a casual worker: three had given more than 10 years' length of service and one between three and five years. They included employees without supervisory responsibilities, line managers and one who worked directly to the Board of the organisation. All said bullying occurred *commonly* or *not uncommonly*, and they had witnessed or heard about bullying, or been asked to intervene on behalf of a colleague who had complained of bullying, however none of them cited disability as a reason for bullying behaviour.

However, seven individuals did cite disability as a reason for bullying: 5 males and two females. They worked as technicians, in production and front of house. Three were line managers and three were, or had been, trades union representatives. They worked in some of the largest houses employing well over 100 people including the Royal Opera House, the Royal Shakespeare Company and several TMA theatres, and one worked for a small arts centre employing less than 20 people. Their personal involvement in bullying was that two had been targets and three witnesses of bullying, one had been involved as a trades union representative and one had been asked to assist someone who had a complaint of bullying.

6.5.5 Bullying and Management

Respondents were asked to consider whether complaints of bullying had been handled satisfactorily by their employers. Overall, a few did not respond and 24.9% did not know. At 4.8%, a small number thought management had handled complaints well, that is to the satisfaction of all parties, however 39.8% did not agree and 28.1% stated that there were variations in how complaints were handled. The majority of those who thought complaints were handled badly, at 55.6%, were men. This view was taken by 22.2% of managers themselves and perceptions that their organisation had not handled complaints of bullying well were prevalent in arts centres, normally operating on a regional or local basis, as well as in the larger-scale venues with a national remit.

Table 6.13: How management handles complaints of bullying

how complaints of bullying are handled	survey group %	bullied group %	non-bullied group %
non-response	2.4	2.0	2.7
yes (well)	4.8	3.0	6.0
no (badly)	39.8	56.6	28.7
it varies- sometimes settled satisfactorily by management, sometimes not	28.1	27.3	28.7
don't know	24.9	11.1	34.0
TOTAL %	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Values are in-columns percentages pertaining to the survey group (249 observations) and its two sub-groups the 'bullied group' (99 observations) and the non-bullied group (150 observations).

A much higher proportion of the *bullied group*, at 56.6%, thought management had handled complaints badly than did the non-bullied group at 28.7%, and more of the non-bullied group did not know – 34.0% compared to 11.1% of the *bullied group*.

Respondents were asked to consider whether complaints of bullying had been handled to the satisfaction of the person making the complaint. Again, a few did not respond and 27.7% didn't know; 7.2% thought those who had complained of bullying had been satisfied with how their complaint was handled; 35.3% did not agree and 27.3% stated that there were variations in how satisfied complainants had been. Again, a much higher proportion of the *bullied group*, at 50.5%, thought their organisation had not handled complaints to the satisfaction of the complainant than did the non-bullied group at 25.3%, and more of the non-bullied group did not know – 38.7% compared to 11.1% of the *bullied group*.

On this occasion, a higher percentage of the *bullied group* felt the outcome varied for complainants, than had thought their employer's handling of bullying behaviour varied.

Table 6.14: Satisfaction of complainants of bullying

complaints of bullying	survey group %	bullied group %	non-bullied group
non-response	2.4	0	4.0
yes (complaints handled well)	7.2	6.1	8.0
no (complaints handled badly)	35.3	50.5	25.3
it varies- sometimes settled satisfactorily for complainant, sometimes not	27.3	32.3	24.0
don't know	27.7	11.1	38.7
TOTAL %	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Values are in-columns percentages pertaining to the survey group (249 observations) and its two sub-groups the 'bullied group' (99 observations) and the non-bullied group (150 observations).

Almost half of the respondents – 48.6% (53.5% in the *bullied group*) – did not reply when asked to comment on whether their organisation had a written policy to govern certain types of behaviour. This might indicate uncertainty about or ignorance of written policies, although some staff from all areas of work stated that written policies to deal with bullying behaviour existed. Those who did answer identified the behaviours covered by written policies as those most often connected with physical assault and least often with arbitrary withholding of information or unwanted/persistent jokes. Physical threats in the workplace may be more tangible, in terms of descriptions for policy documents, than the often more subtle, insulting behaviour which acts to harm psychologically.

Table 6.15: Types of bullying behaviour covered by written policies

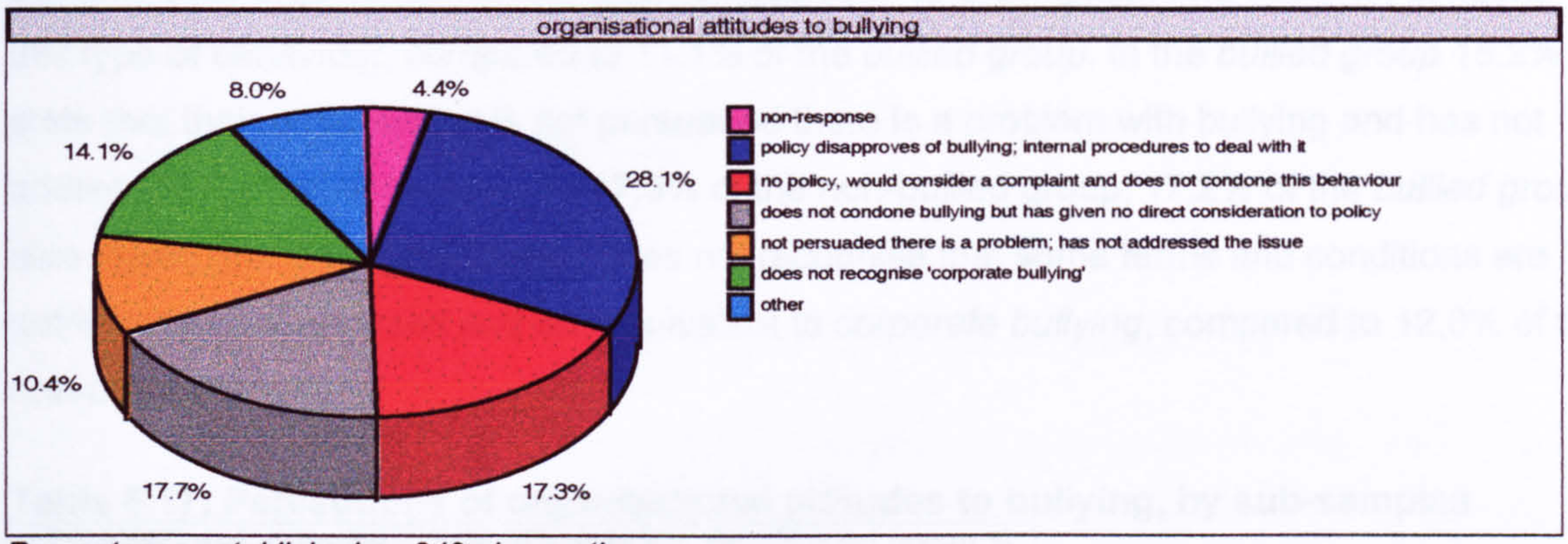
written policies	N° cit.	Percent
non-response	121	48.6%
direct insults in front of colleagues	69	27.7%
shouting or abusive behaviour/bad language	78	31.3%
persistent unjustified threats or sanctions	55	22.1%
arbitrary witholding of information, co-operation or arrangements	27	10.8%
unwanted/persistent jokes	34	13.7%
behaviour which is threatening to the person	87	34.9%
physical assault, eg throwing objects	97	39.0%
other (please state)	23	9.2%
TOTAL OBS.	249	

Values are in-rows percentages pertaining to the survey group (249 observations) The number of citations is greater than the number of observations due to multiple answers, to a maximum of 8.

Opinions on organisational attitudes to bullying were canvassed (Figure 6.15) and overall 28.1% thought that their organisation had a policy disapproving of bullying and internal rules and procedures to deal with it. Certainly, some organisations are likely to include mechanisms for dealing with negative behaviours within Disciplinary and Grievance Procedures and/or Health and Safety policies. Fewer people among the *bullied group* (25.3%) than the non-bullied group held this view, perhaps illustrating the subtle nature of

some types of bullying behaviour, as previously indicated, and/or the inefficacy of existing policies to deal adequately with these behaviours.

Figure 6.15: Perceptions of organisational attitudes to bullying



Percentages established on 249 observations

Whilst acknowledging that management would not condone bullying behaviour, 26.3% of administration/clerical staff and 33.3% of *other* staff said their organisation was not convinced there was a problem with bullying and had not addressed the issue; 25.0% of the box office and front of house staff, and 20.0% of the cleaning staff, said their organisation was not always aware that terms and conditions could be detrimental to employees; 25.9% of management staff said their organisation did not condone bullying, but had not given any direct consideration to policy.

Table 6.16: Perceptions of organisational attitudes to bullying, by area of work

organisational attitudes / job	A	B	C	D	E	other	TOTAL
admin/clerical	26.3%	21.1%	10.5%	26.3%	10.5%	5.3%	100%
box office	31.3%	12.5%	0.0%	6.3%	25.0%	25.0%	100%
cleaning	0.0%	20.0%	40.0%	0.0%	20.0%	20.0%	100%
front -of-house	28.1%	18.8%	21.9%	3.1%	25.0%	3.1%	100%
management	29.6%	14.8%	25.9%	3.7%	18.5%	7.4%	100%
production	39.3%	10.7%	17.9%	7.1%	14.3%	10.7%	100%
technical	33.3%	23.3%	18.9%	10.0%	10.0%	4.4%	100%
other staff	9.5%	9.5%	19.0%	33.3%	9.5%	19.0%	100%
TOTAL	29.4%	18.1%	18.5%	10.9%	14.7%	8.4%	100%

Values are in-rows percentages pertaining to the survey group (238 observations): Key below for interpretation.

KEY for Tables 6.16 and 6.17

A: the organisation has a policy, which disapproves of bullying, and internal rules and procedures to deal with it
B: there is no policy on bullying, however the organisation would give consideration to a complaint and does not condone this type of behaviour
C: the organisation does not condone bullying but has not given any direct consideration to policy
D: the organisation is not persuaded there is a problem with bullying and has not addressed the issue
E: the organisation does not recognise that some terms and conditions are detrimental to employees and are equivalent to 'corporate bullying'

The attitudes of the *bullied group* and the non-bullied group differed (Table 6.17). A higher percentage of the non-bullied group were in organisations that had anti-bullying policies and procedures; 21.3% of non-bullied people believed that although there is no policy on bullying, their organisation would give consideration to a complaint and does not condone this type of behaviour, compared to 11.1% of the *bullied group*. In the *bullied group* 15.2% state that their organisation is not persuaded there is a problem with bullying and has not addressed the issue, compared to 7.3% of the non-bullied group; 17.2% of the *bullied group* also stated that their organisation does not recognise that some terms and conditions are detrimental to employees and are equivalent to *corporate bullying*, compared to 12.0% of the non-bullied group.

Table 6.17: Perceptions of organisational attitudes to bullying, by sub-samples

organisational attitudes	bullied group %	non-bullied group %
non-response	4	4.7
A	25.3	30.0
B	11.1	21.3
C	15.2	19.3
D	15.2	7.3
E	17.2	12.0
other	12.1	5.3
TOTAL %	100%	100%

Values are in-columns percentages pertaining to the two sub-groups the 'bullied group' (99 observations) and the non-bullied group (150 observations).

Those who responded *other* contributed their own comments clarifying their perceived organisational attitudes and these are outlined in Table 6.18. Views among the 8 people from the non-bullied group tended to be vague, expressing uncertainty about policy. Among the 12 from the *bullied group* attitudes were more forthright. Evidently, the view was that policy is not implemented, that management is disinterested and inactive about dealing with bullying behaviour.

Table 6.18: Additional comments on organisational attitudes, by sub-groups

bullied group (12 people commented)	**non-bullied group (8 people commented)**
don't know (2)	don't know (3)
written policy but not supported in practice	not aware of a policy
a policy exists but it is not internally applied/adhered to	don't know what company policy is
there is a policy but workers are often too intimidated to use it	not sure but would think they have a policy
varies at different management level	bullying is ignored – bad PR
bullying is part and parcel of daily life without recourse to higher management	deal well with staff bullying – reluctant to address management bullying

the bullies are two senior managers	
denial/inactivity	
not interested	
if it suits them they turn a blind eye	
they realise there is a problem but do nothing about it	
the organisation is currently investigating the bullying. In the past it has not dealt with the bullying satisfactorily and has not supported the bullied to any degree, but as far as I know they don't condone it.	

On behalf of its members, BECTU already negotiates with employers on terms and conditions including hours of work and rates of pay. Other unions, such as the TUC, had begun to take action on bullying behaviour in order to raise awareness and provide advice, information and training. Respondents were asked if there was also a function for BECTU in addressing bullying behaviour in the workplace, and there was a positive response to the idea that the union should have a role (Figure 6.16). Just as agreements have been reached on pay and working hours, strong lobbying by Trades Unions might encourage employers to introduce written policies promoting Dignity at Work, and 83.5% of those who responded were in favour of this (Figure 6.17). Respondents also wanted BECTU to represent employees, who make complaints about bullying behaviour, both formally and informally, and to provide information, advice and assistance on the subject to all members (82.1%).

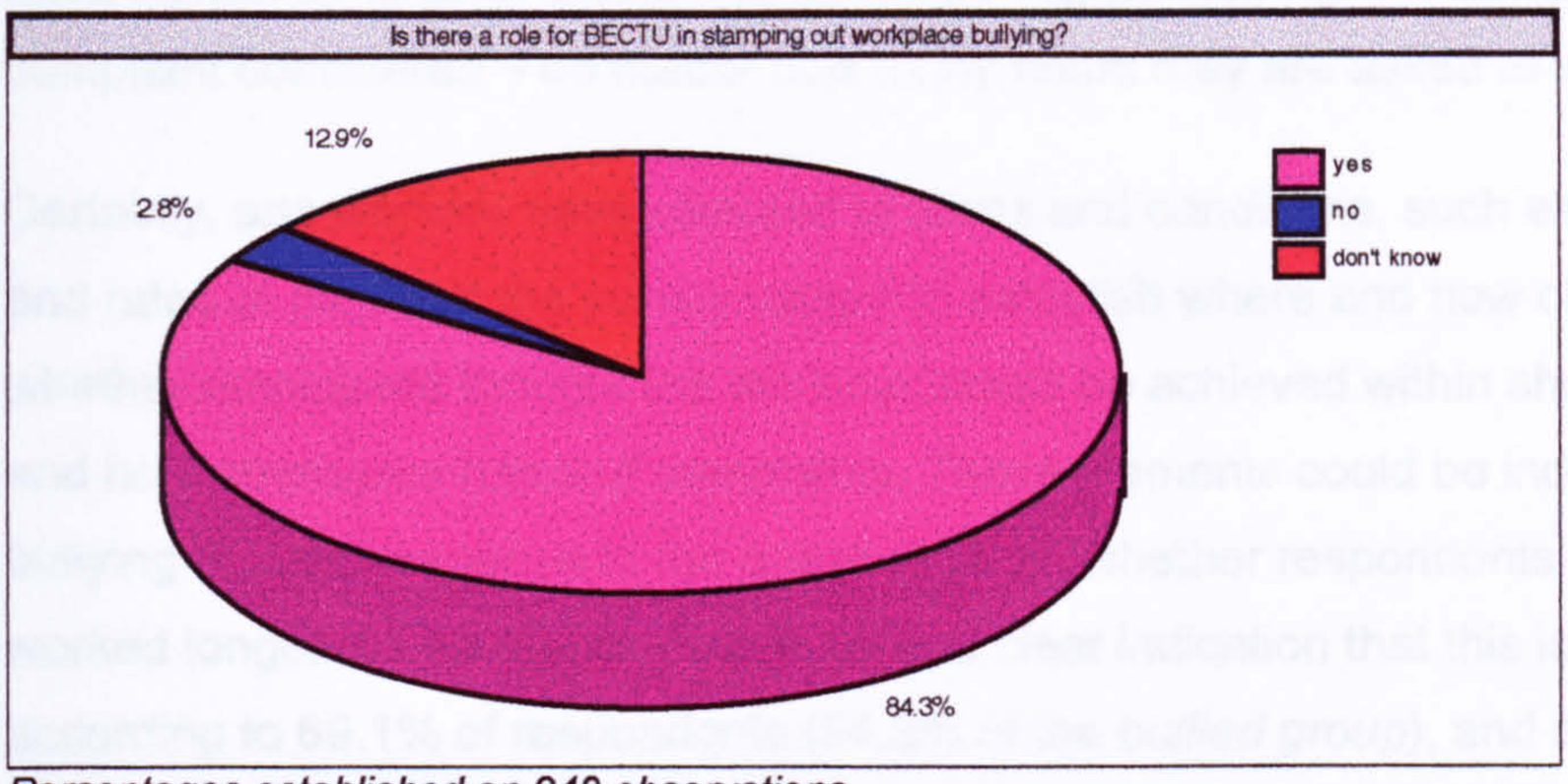
Among comments from the *bullied group*, there was a call for BECTU to raise *awareness of the subtle and degrading nature of bullying*[4] and to provide *training for stewards leading to them setting an example in the workplace – which some at present do not.*[5] This latter reflects text comments that identified some trades union representatives as bullies, an important factor for BECTU to recognise if it, and other trades unions, plan to position themselves to provide constructive leadership on this issue. The suggestions from non-bullied respondents included *encouraging employees to approach management in confidence*[6] and also focused on BECTU giving advice and assistance to members only. The former came, unsurprisingly, from a manager – perhaps keen to ensure that a joint employer-union partnership approach is taken to future action on the prevention of workplace bullying behaviour. The assertion that advice and assistance should be given to BECTU members only reflects a wider concern about union activities generally, expressed

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[4] Respondent no 49.
[5] Respondent no 58.
[6] Respondent no 82 (manager).

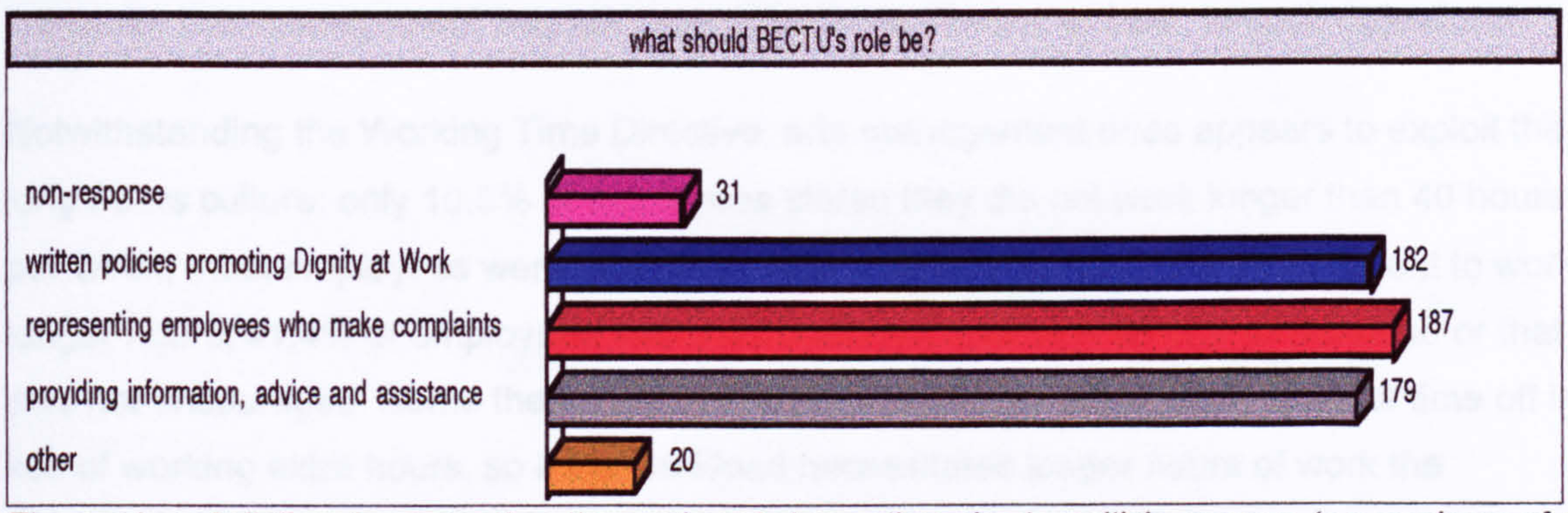
by some respondents who appear to resent non-union members benefiting from *legitimate* union members' hard work and successes.

Figure 6.16: Views on a role for BECTU in stamping out bullying behaviour



Percentages established on 249 observations

Figure 6.17: How BECTU can help to stamp out bullying behaviour



The number of citations is greater than the number of observations due to multiple answers, to a maximum of 4.

A number of other comments and forthright suggestions were made at the conclusion of the survey and the main points covered are available in Appendix 4, including issues about Trades Union membership, training and awareness and promoting understanding of workplace bullying. In Chapter 7, the perceptions of the *bullied group* and the managers are located in the context of the working environment of the performing arts.

6.2 WORKING HOURS IN THE ARTS

In the wake of its submission to the European Commission on the Working Time Directive opt-out (Chapter 3), BECTU had a particular interest in surveying members' attitudes to working hours. Also, arts workers who participated in the Pilot Study intimated that arts organisations might be guilty of *corporate bullying*, by virtue of the terms and conditions offered to employees. The Working Time Directive provides for a maximum 48-hour working week, unless an employee has signed a waiver to opt out of this condition. In theatres and

arts centres, such a waiver is routinely included in some contracts of employment, the result being that the worker has no option of working within a 48-hour working week – the opt-out is the compulsory norm. Is this, then, a coercive measure by employers? Also, if employees have signed up to such a contract, does this negate their right to complain and to have their complaint considered – no matter how many hours they are asked to work?

Certainly, arts workers have objected to terms and conditions, such as longer working hours and rates of pay, and the survey sought to establish where and how often this occurred, whether employees thought the workload could be achieved within shorter working hours and how employers handled complaints. These elements could be indicators of corporate bullying and the response to the question about whether respondents or other employees worked longer than a 40-hour week, gave a clear indication that this is common practice according to 69.1% of respondents (64.6% of the *bullied group*), and an occasional feature for a further 19.3% (23.2% of the *bullied group*). Also, more than half of the *bullied group* and two-thirds of the managers reported that employees had objected to working hours, and, in the main, that management was considered to be *indifferent*, at best, to such objections.

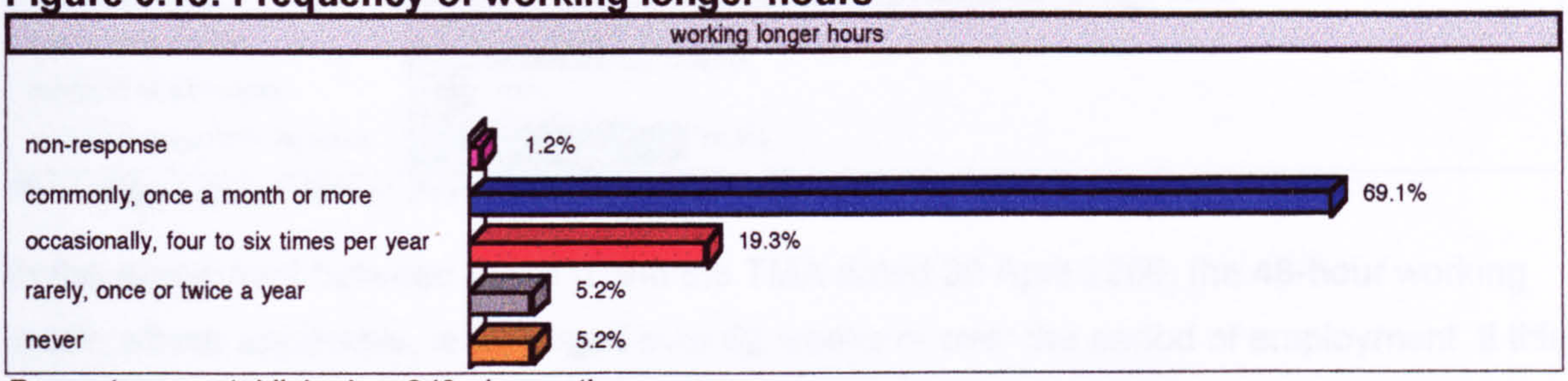
Notwithstanding the Working Time Directive, arts management does appears to exploit the *long hours* culture: only 10.8% of employees stated they did not work longer than 40 hours per week; most employees were given less than a week's notice of the requirement to work longer hours; 41.4% of employees said they could not take time off due to workload or that it was *not encouraged*. Some theatres and arts centres make no provision at all for time off in lieu of working extra hours, so if the workload necessitates longer hours of work the employee is unable to offset these against shorter hours on another occasion.

A large number of arts workers, 110, said their organisation could not function without staff working longer hours. Whilst this would appear to justify the opt-out, is it as a result of long-term custom and practice in the arts? Is it a myth promulgated by arts management, or is it the truth? If it is a fact, it reveals that arts organisations are under-resourced, or that they are not strategically managing staff time and workload effectively, or both. Not everyone shares this view and employee objections to longer hours were reported by 66.7% of arts managers, one third of whom declined to comment on how these were handled. Those that did reported that *informal* objections were dismissed and a small number of formal objections (that is, brought with trades union assistance) were upheld by management.

Complaints about working hours resulted in objectors leaving the organisation according to 18.3% of respondents, although no managers reported employees leaving following objections. In general, arts workers were reluctant to comment on management attitudes towards objections, including those within the *bullied group*, and this may have been through

fear of negative reports being fed back to their organisations, however the majority opinion of those who did respond was that management was *indifferent* to complaints. This was also true among the managers themselves.

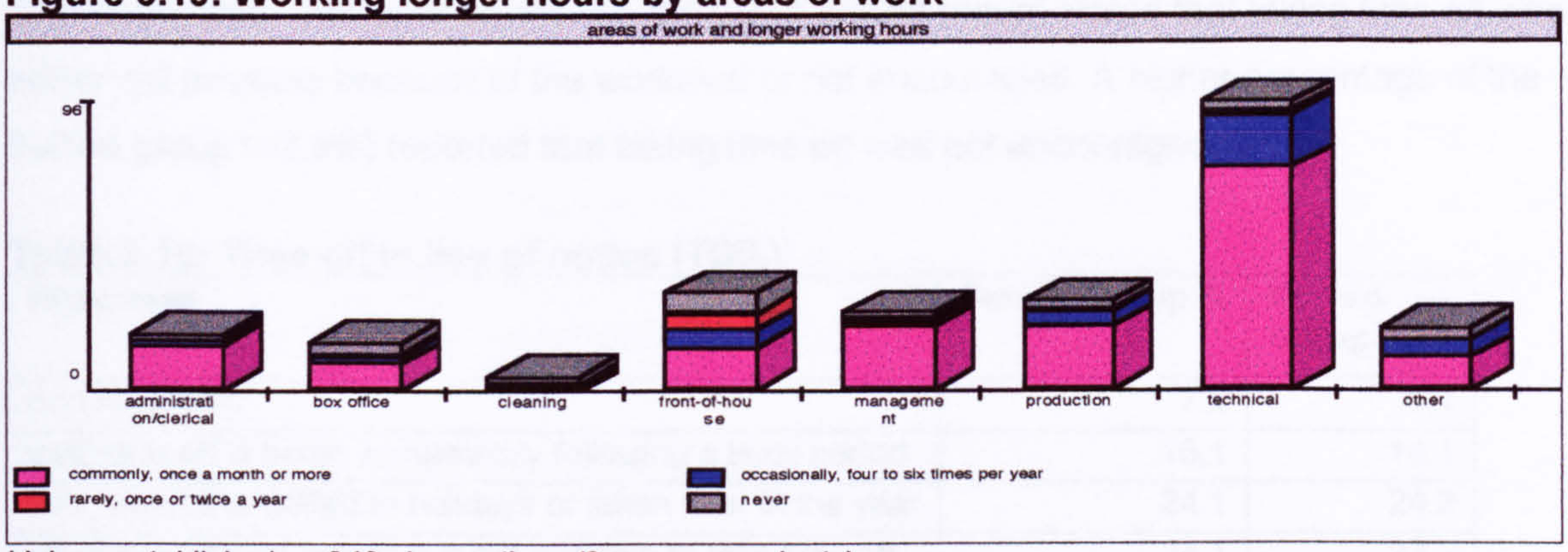
Figure 6.18: Frequency of working longer hours



Percentages established on 249 observations

Technical staff were most likely to work longer hours once per month or more, as were the majority of management, administration and production staff.

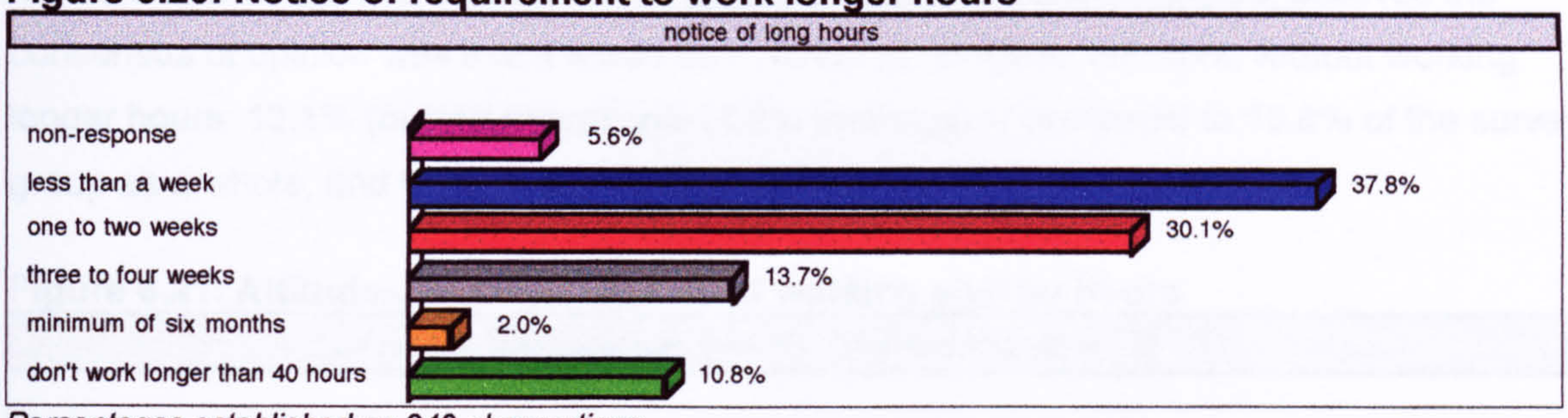
Figure 6.19: Working longer hours by areas of work



Values established on 246 observations (3 non-respondents)

Most frequently, advance notice of the requirement to work longer hours was less than one week: more than two weeks' notice was rare. In some houses, repeated, familiar working patterns might provide informal signals as to which weeks working longer hours was more likely, however this was not identified during the survey. Among the *bullied group*, 41.4% (+3.6% on the norm) reported that they normally had less than one week's notice to work longer hours, and 11.1% (+0.3% on the norm) said they did not work longer hours than 40 per week.

Figure 6.20: Notice of requirement to work longer hours



Percentages established on 249 observations

In the agreement between BECTU and the TMA dated 30 April 2006, the 48-hour working week, where applicable, is averaged over 52 weeks or over the period of employment, if this is less. Employees are entitled to a break of 11 consecutive hours in any period of 24 hours, and 24 consecutive hours in any period of 7 days. Where these cannot be given for operational reasons, *compensatory rest* (or Time Off In Lieu: TOIL) is given during basic working hours. For 40% of all respondents it was possible to take TOIL after a busy period or later in the year. However 41.4% (43.4% of the *bullied group*) stated that taking time off was either not possible because of the workload or not encouraged. A higher percentage of the bullied group (+2.9%) reported that taking time off was not encouraged.

Table 6.19: Time off in lieu of notice (TOIL)

Response	Survey Group %	Bullied Group %
non response	7.2	9.1
yes, time off is taken immediately following a busy period	16.1	14.1
yes, time off is added to holidays or taken later in the year	24.1	24.2
no, the workload means it is not possible to take time off	24.1	23.2
no, taking time off is not encouraged	17.3	20.2
other (please state)	11.2	9.1
TOTAL OBS.	**100**	**100**

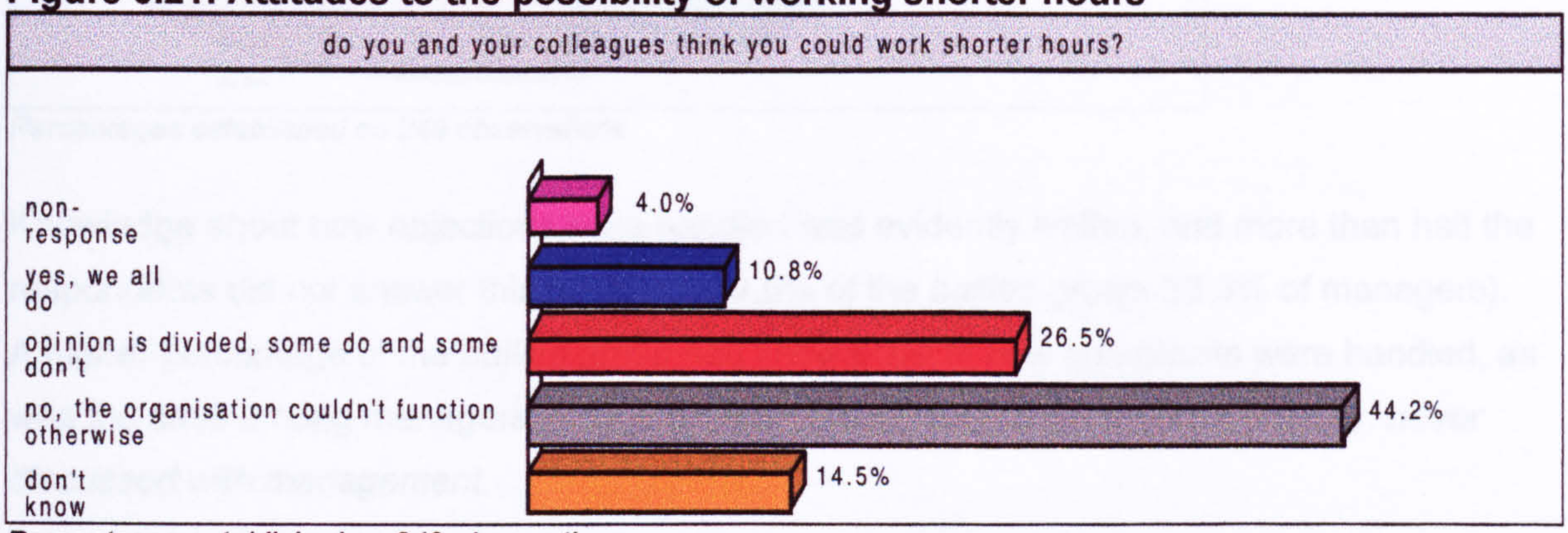
Values are based on the survey group (249) and the bullied group sub-group (99).

Other answers to the question about TOIL included references to receiving overtime payments, annualised hours and working a flexible rota. This was also the case among the *bullied group*, where only one respondent said that TOIL was not provided. There was also evidence that no provision at all was made by some theatres and arts centres and in two cases in London venues the working week was reported as *always 48 hours*. Some of the staff in all types of theatres or arts centres said that taking time off was not encouraged.

Respondents were asked if they or their colleagues considered that it was possible to work in such a way as to complete the work, but without working longer hours. Opinion was divided, although the majority of respondents believed that the organisation could not function without employees working longer working hours. This held true for the *bullied group*, and for the

managers, although more people in the *bullied group,* and more managers, believed the consensus of opinion was that it would be possible to complete the work, without working longer hours: 13.1% (*bullied group*) and 14.8% (managers) compared to 10.8% of the survey group as a whole, and 9.3% of the non-bullied group.

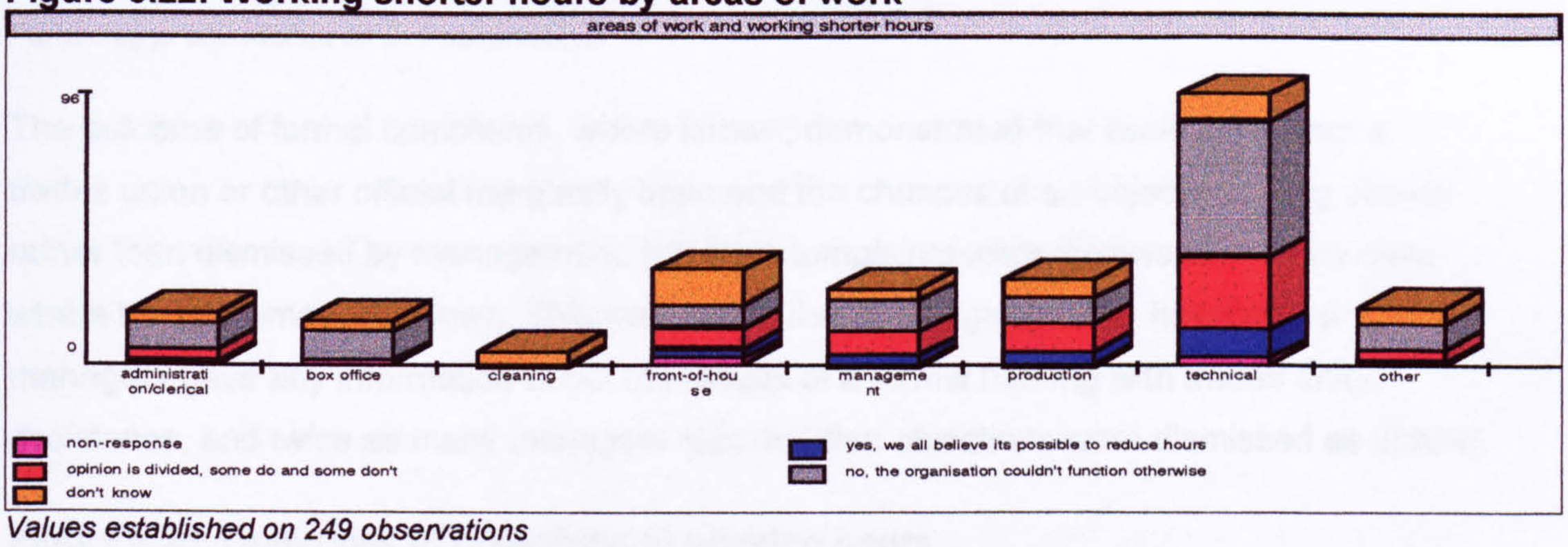
Figure 6.21: Attitudes to the possibility of working shorter hours



Percentages established on 249 observations

Of the 110 respondents who felt that the organisation couldn't function with reduced working hours, the majority at 43.6% were technical workers. In administration and clerical, box office, management and technical fields the majority believed it was not possible to reduce working hours without this being detrimental to the function of their organisation. The majority of those working in front of house and cleaning answered *don't know.*

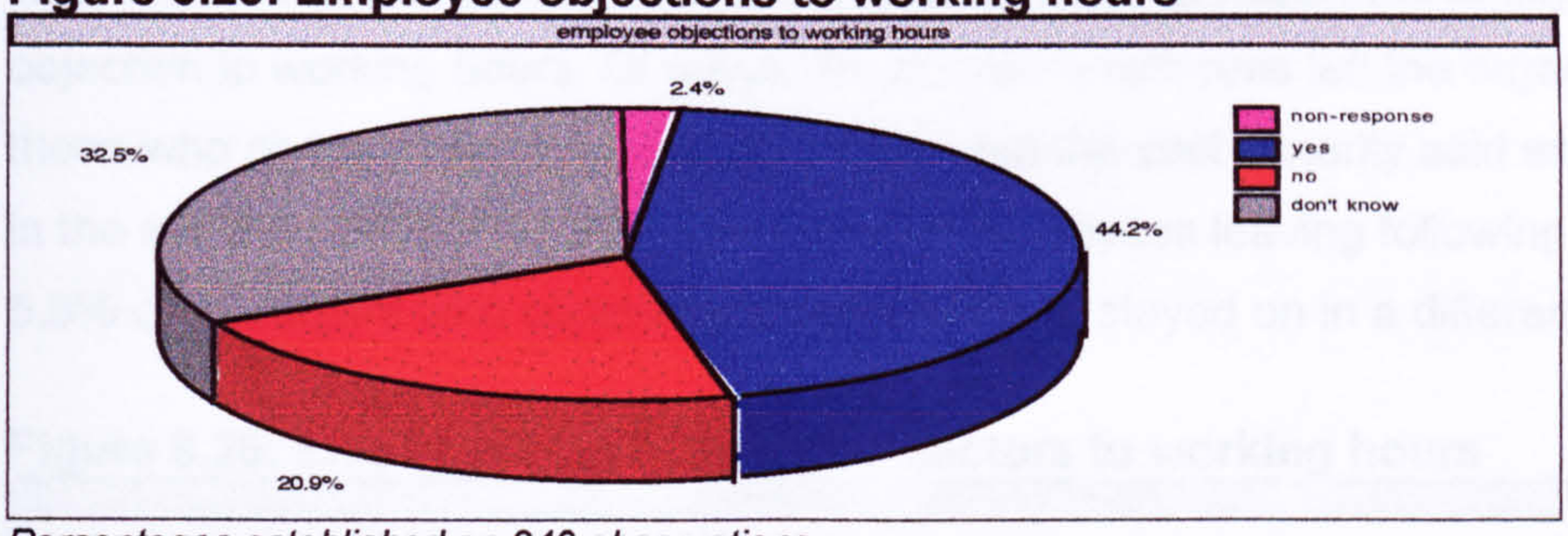
Figure 6.22: Working shorter hours by areas of work



Values established on 249 observations

As signalled earlier, employees were asked if anyone in their organisation had objected to longer working hours during the last five years. Of those who replied, 44.2% said there had been objections. Among the *bullied group* this rose to 50.2%, and among managers to 66.7%. Logically, managers may be more likely to know about objections to working hours from all parts of their organisations, than employees based within particular areas, who may only have knowledge specific to their working group.

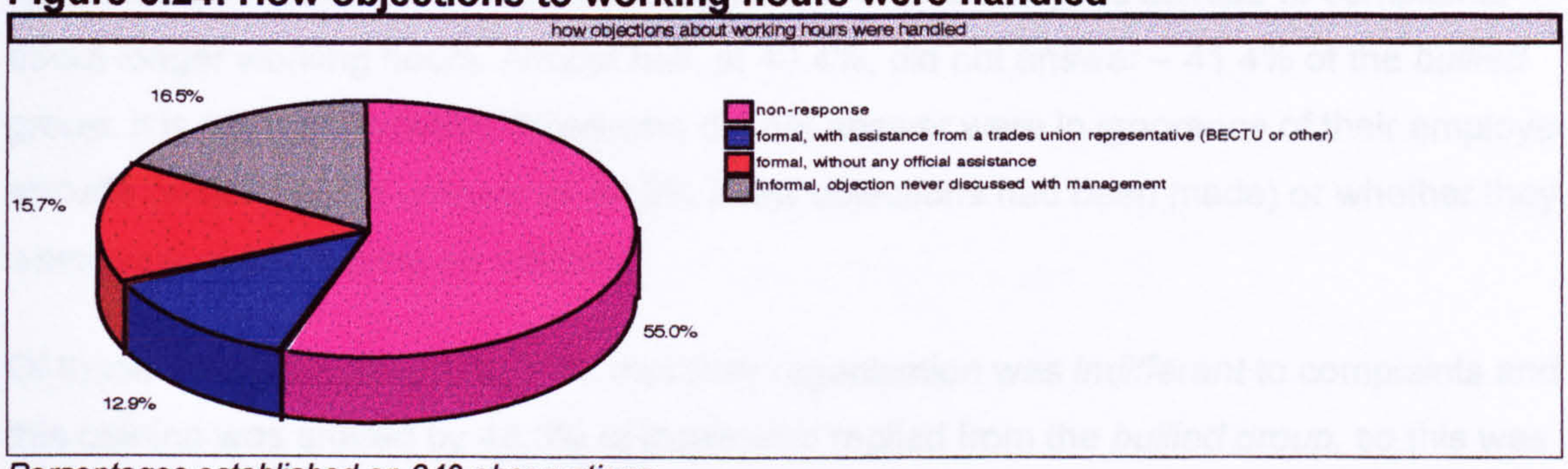
Figure 6.23: Employee objections to working hours



Percentages established on 249 observations

Knowledge about how objections were handled was evidently limited, and more than half the respondents did not answer this question (49.5% of the *bullied group;* 33.3% of managers). A higher percentage of the *bullied group* had knowledge of how complaints were handled, as was the case among managers, 40.7% of whom said these were settled informally: *never discussed with management*.

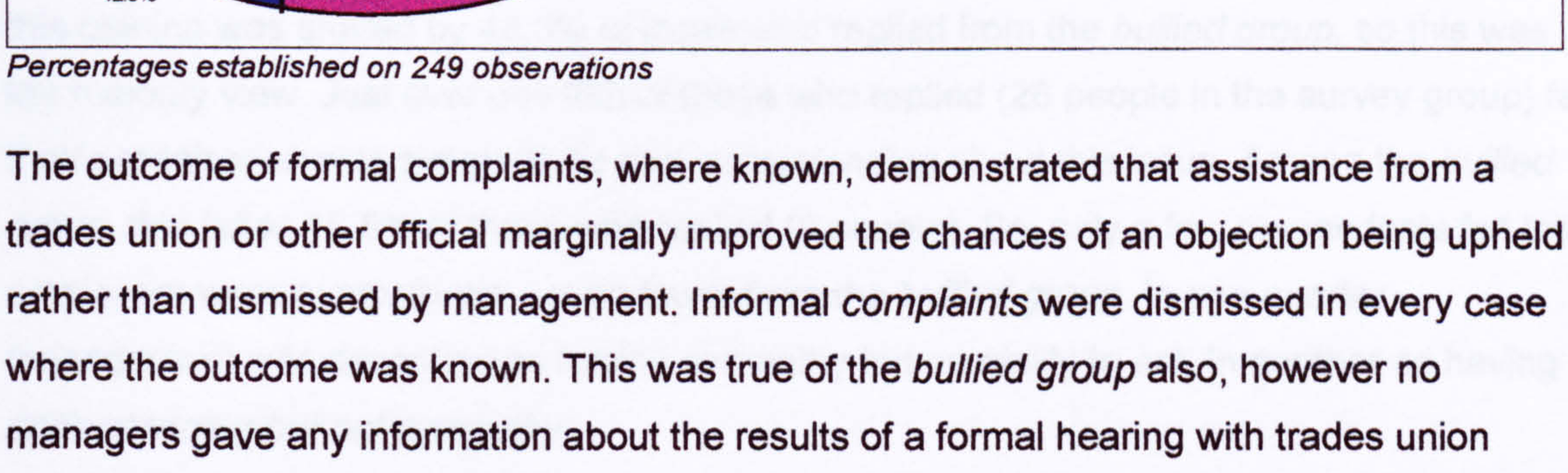
Figure 6.24: How objections to working hours were handled



Percentages established on 249 observations

The outcome of formal complaints, where known, demonstrated that assistance from a trades union or other official marginally improved the chances of an objection being upheld rather than dismissed by management. Informal *complaints* were dismissed in every case where the outcome was known. This was true of the *bullied group* also, however no managers gave any information about the results of a formal hearing with trades union assistance, and twice as many managers reported that objections were dismissed as upheld.

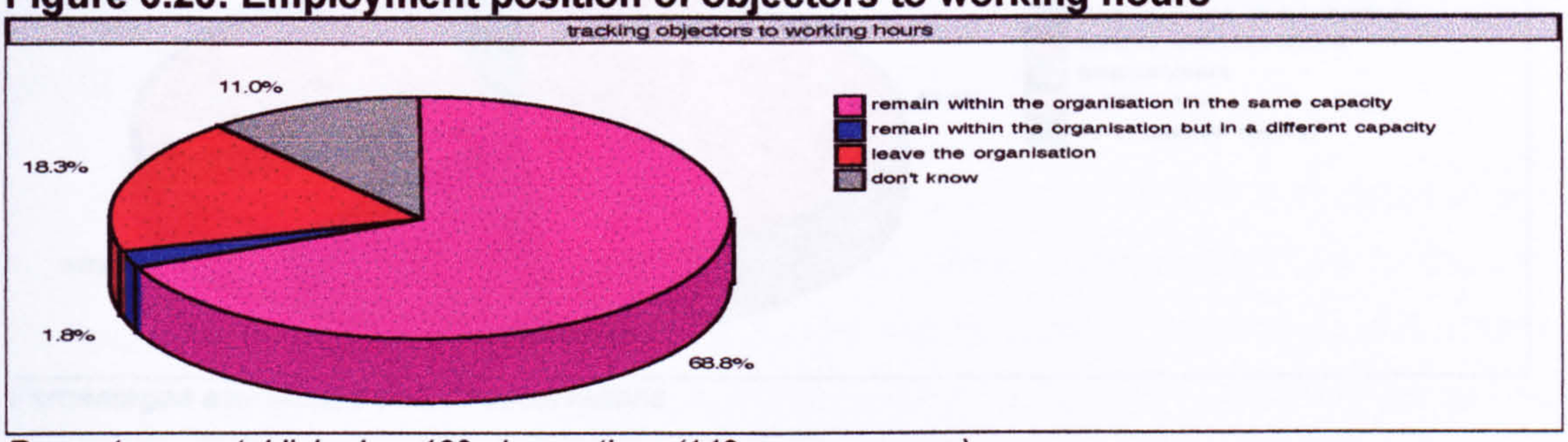
Figure 6.25: Outcomes of objections to working hours



Values established on 106 observations (143 non-responses)

A total of 109 respondents (43.8%) commented on what happened to objectors following an objection to working hours. Of these, 18.3% said employees left the organisation – 25.5% of those who commented in the *bullied group* – but the vast majority said employees stayed on in the same position. No managers reported employees leaving following objections, and 5.6% of managers who commented said objectors stayed on in a different capacity.

Figure 6.26: Employment position of objectors to working hours



Percentages established on 109 observations (140 non-responses)

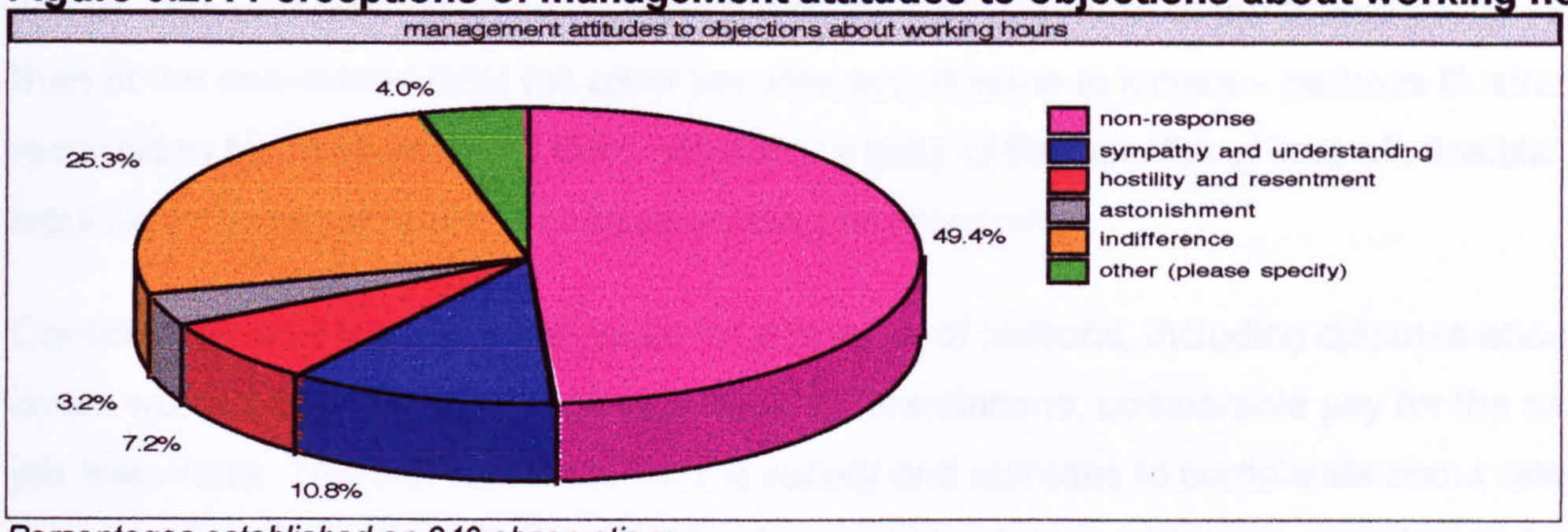
Respondents were asked for their perceptions of their employer's attitude to complaints about longer working hours. Almost half, at 49.4%, did not answer – 41.4% of the *bullied group.* It is not clear whether those who did not answer were in ignorance of their employer's attitude (which seems unlikely as 44.2% knew objections had been made) or whether they were wary of expressing an opinion.

Of those who did respond, half felt that their organisation was *indifferent* to complaints and this opinion was shared by 48.3% of those who replied from the *bullied group,* so this was the majority view. Just over one fifth of those who replied (26 people in the survey group) felt their organisation was *sympathetic and understanding* about this issue. Among the *bullied group*, this fell to 15.5% of those who replied (9 people). So, only a few respondents felt their employers were *sympathetic* – even fewer from the *bullied group*. In one quarter, management was described as having sympathy but no ability to act. In another as having *understanding but not sympathy!*

Other comments on employers' attitudes indicated that these included resignation, annoyance, that they vary (presumably with the individual), that they *only pay lip service to reducing hours* (this from a manager within the *bullied group*) and that the organisation's management team itself *does not work more than 39 hours*. There was acknowledgement that some individual managers were *understanding*, but also a reference to an organisational position that is *can't function any other way*.

Two-thirds of the managers replied to this question about employers' attitudes to objections to working hours. The majority at 25.9% cited *indifference*, however, unsurprisingly, more managers at 18.5% felt their organisation responded with *sympathy and understanding*.

Figure 6.27: Perceptions of management attitudes to objections about working hours



Percentages established on 249 observations

As might be expected, a higher percentage of members of the *bullied group* at 8.1% recorded *hostility and resentment*, compared to 7.2% of the survey group. Interestingly, 14.8% of the managers also recorded this response. Presumably, managers have a relatively accurate view of their employers' attitudes because they are privy to them, and the *bullied group* may be nearer to the truth because they may have been on the receiving end of their employer's attitudes to difficult personal circumstances.

Some of the *bullied group* also reported that employers reacted to complaints with *astonishment* (7.1%) and this was almost twice as much as reported by the survey group as a whole. Among the managers 3.7% shared this view.

6.3 RATES OF PAY IN THE ARTS

In considering the issue of *corporate bullying* by virtue of the terms and conditions offered to employees, levels of pay and the incidence of objections to rates of pay, coupled with management's response to complaints, could be indicators. The majority of respondents (73.5%) considered that their rates of pay were *low*, even with overtime, and, as with longer working hours, their organisation was considered to be *indifferent* towards complaints about pay. Benefits other than remuneration counted for very little, with only 10.0% of the survey group (12.1% of the *bullied group*) stating that these *often* or *very often* added value to wages and the majority opinion was that employers could afford to pay more *often* or *very often*.

Respondents were asked about their current rates of pay and there was a high response rate to this question, representing 100% of administration/clerical workers, cleaning staff,

managers and other staff; 93.7% of box office staff; 94.2% of front-of-house staff; 93.5% of production staff; 97.9% of technicians. Overall, 22.1% felt these were *about right* (24.2% of the *bullied group*) and 73.5% that these were *low* (69.7% of the *bullied group*), so a higher percentage of the *bullied group* was satisfied with rates of pay than the survey group as a whole. This is of interest when compared with the fact that more of the *bullied group* (12.1%) than of the non-bullied (8%) felt other benefits added value to wages – perhaps illustrating a recognition by those who had been targets of a bully of the benefits of time off, flexible working arrangements and a positive working environment.

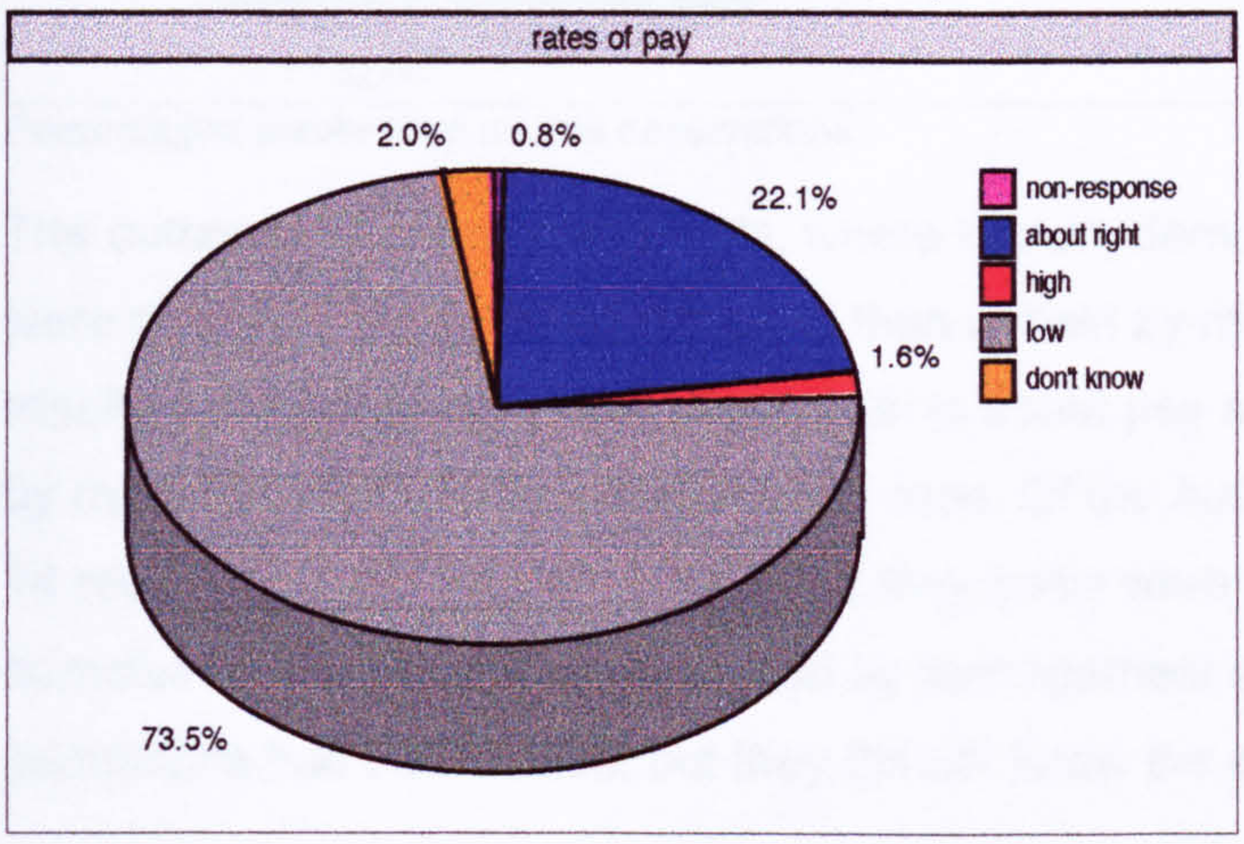
Complaints about pay might be made for a number of reasons, including disputes about hours worked, inter- and intra- departmental differentiations, comparable pay for the same job elsewhere. This last was tested in the survey and attitudes to complaints about rates of pay were handled differently from those about working hours, with more reported as having been given a *formal* hearing: at 50.9%, complaints with assistance from a trades union representative totalled just over half of all complaints made. In terms of objections presented with official assistance, 71 staff knew of those to working hours, and 128 knew of complaints about pay. As with objections to working hours however, employers dismissed complaints about pay more often than they were upheld. As before, those who objected to rates of pay were known to have left the organisation according to 13.1% of respondents, including 18.7% of the *bullied group.*

A greater number of respondents commented on their organisation's attitude to complaints about pay, compared with those who commented on attitudes to objections to working hours. On this occasion, two thirds replied and, once again, the majority view was that employers were *indifferent* to complaints, including within the managers (25.9%). There is an indication that a two-tier system may be operated by some arts organisations in relation to rates of pay: respondents reported that employers are sympathetic to higher status employees but indifferent to the concerns of low paid workers. Evidently, arts workers are making comparisons, both within and without their specific areas of work, in terms of other people's levels of earnings compared to their own, and on this count opinion is divided. There is more certainty about management's ability to pay higher wages: 60.2% indicated that their employers would be able to afford to pay more, *always* or *nearly always*.

More arts employees knew of complaints about pay than knew of complaints about working hours, and one-third of respondents indicated that workers were *sometimes* afraid to complain about pay. On this count there is another gap between perceptions of employees and perceptions of managers, as 48.1% of managers said this was *rarely* or *never* the case. A surprisingly large number of respondents at 57.4% (67.7% of the *bullied group*) said it

made sense to accept any wage offered *sometimes, often or very often* and it may be that arts workers are put under pressure to accept lower earnings by the perceived or real scarcity of work in their specific disciplines. Most employees did not feel that overtime compensated for having to work longer hours, and the majority at 65.0% felt that even with overtime pay in the arts is *rarely* or *never* generous.

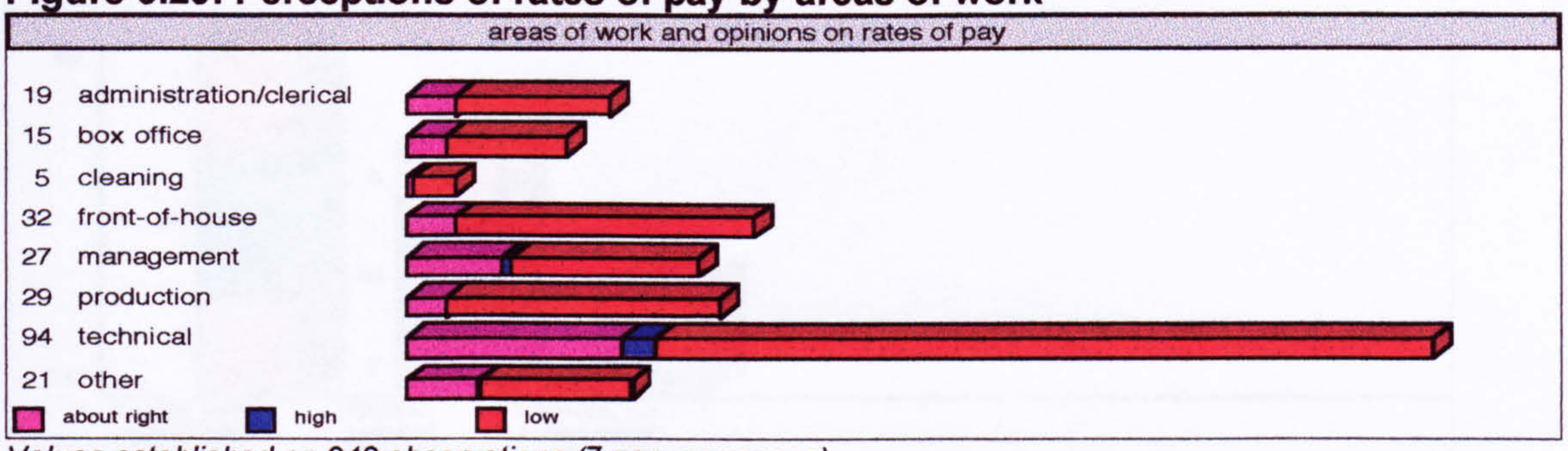
Figure 6.28: Perceptions of rates of pay



Respondents were asked to consider whether rates of pay were *about right*, *low* or *high*. Among the managers, 33.3% felt rates of pay were *about right* and 63.0% that they were *low*, whilst 1.6% of the survey group felt pay was *high*, compared to 3.7% of the managers. The great majority of respondents in each sector felt that pay was low.

Percentages established on 249 observations

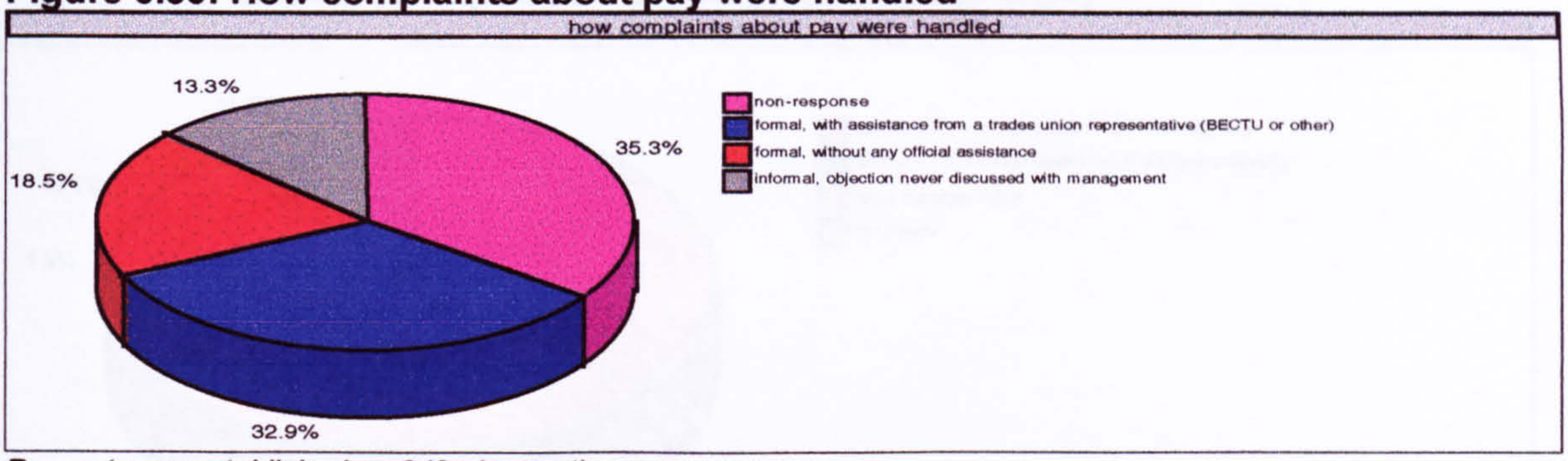
Figure 6.29: Perceptions of rates of pay by areas of work



Values established on 242 observations (7 non-responses)

Among the survey group as a whole, 64.7% commented on how complaints about pay were handled. Among managers and the *bullied group* the response rate was slightly higher at 66.7%. Of all those who replied from the *bullied group*, 47.0% said complaints were handled formally, with assistance from a trades union representative. Responses from the survey group indicated that formal complaints with assistance from a trades union representative totalled just over half of all complaints made at 50.9%. Other formal complaints, without official assistance, were reported by 28.6% and informal complaints by 20.5% of those who responded to the question. In terms of objections presented with official assistance, those to working hours totalled 71, and complaints about pay totalled 128.

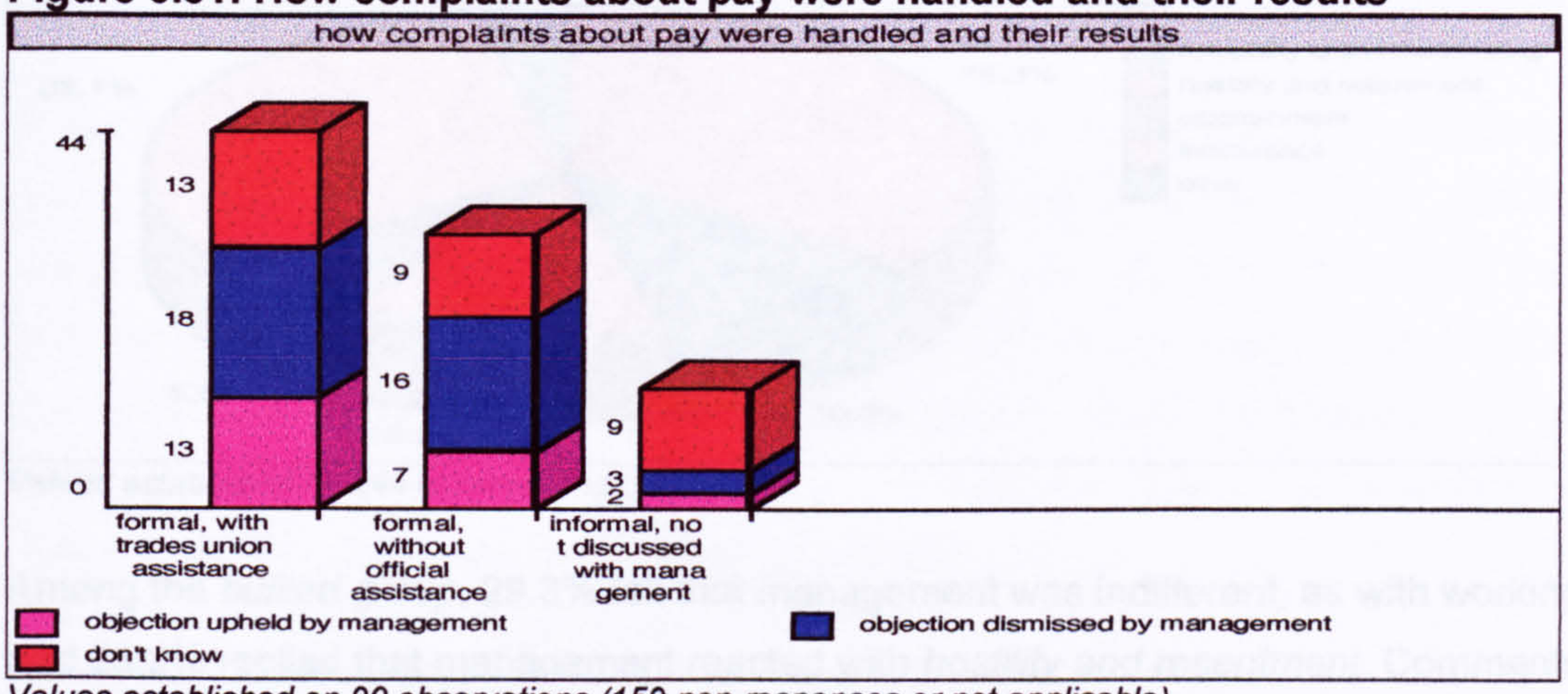
Figure 6.30: How complaints about pay were handled



Percentages established on 249 observations

The outcome of formal complaints, where known, demonstrated that complaints about pay were generally more often dismissed than upheld by management. Trades union assistance resulted in the same number of complaints about pay as about working hours being upheld by management – 13 reported in each case. Of the *bullied group* who responded (64.6%), 14 reported complaints about pay that they knew were upheld by management, 39 reported complaints that they knew dismissed by management and the remaining 11 reported that complaints had been made, but they did not know the outcome.

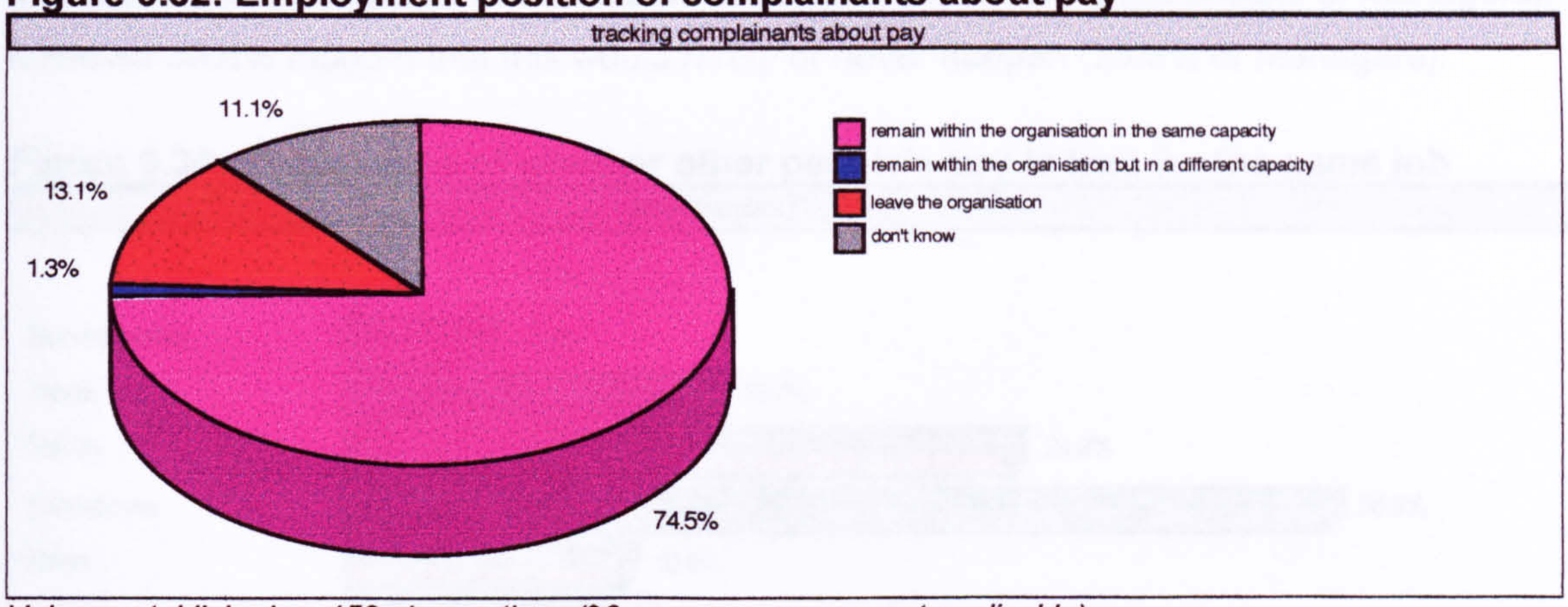
Figure 6.31: How complaints about pay were handled and their results



Values established on 90 observations (159 non-responses or not applicable)

More appears to be known about pay disputes (153 respondents) than about those concerning working hours (109 respondents). In the wake of an objection about pay, 13.1% of respondents said employees left the organisation. Within the *bullied group,* 18.7% indicated that employees left the organisation following complaints about pay. Evidently, employees will not always know the detailed outcome of complaints, except perhaps to some formal complaints where agreements/resolutions are published, or indeed the precise reason why an employee leaves an organisation, even if this is in the wake of a complaint.

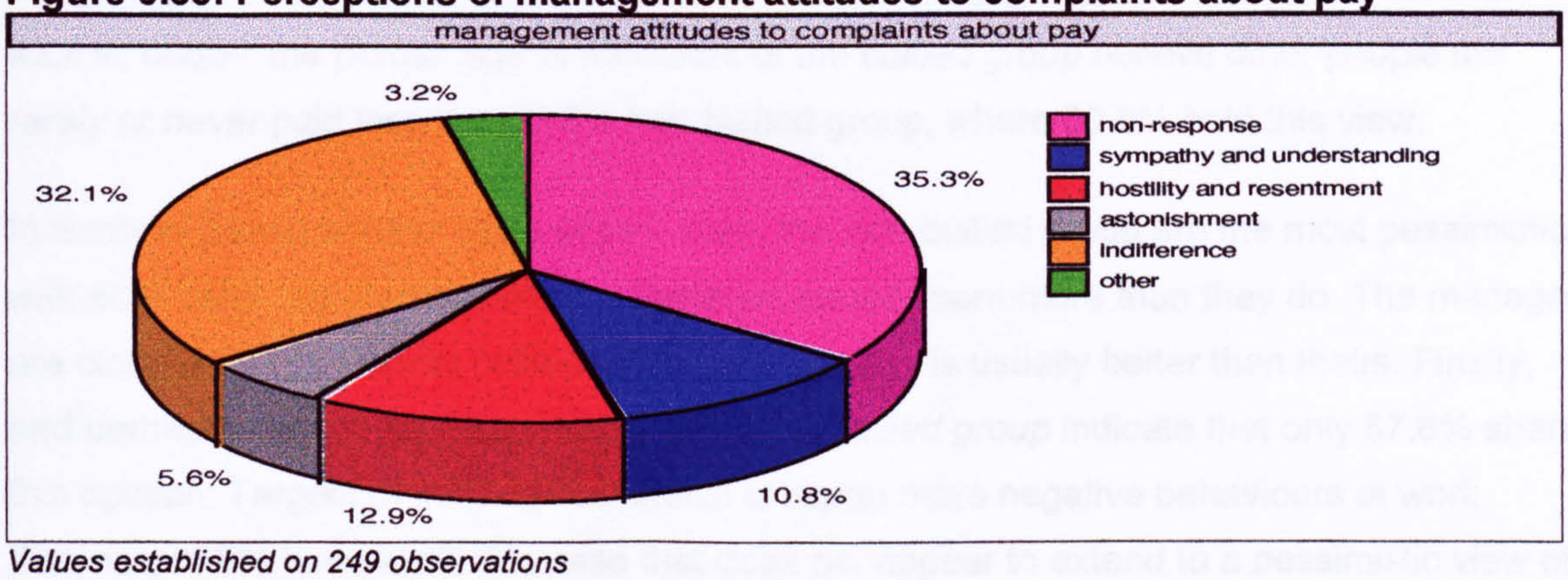
Figure 6.32: Employment position of complainants about pay



Values established on 153 observations (96 non-responses or not applicable)

Respondents were asked for their perceptions of management attitude to complaints about pay. On this occasion, two thirds replied and once again the majority view was that management was indifferent to complaints, including within the managers (25.9%).

Figure 6.33: Perceptions of management attitudes to complaints about pay



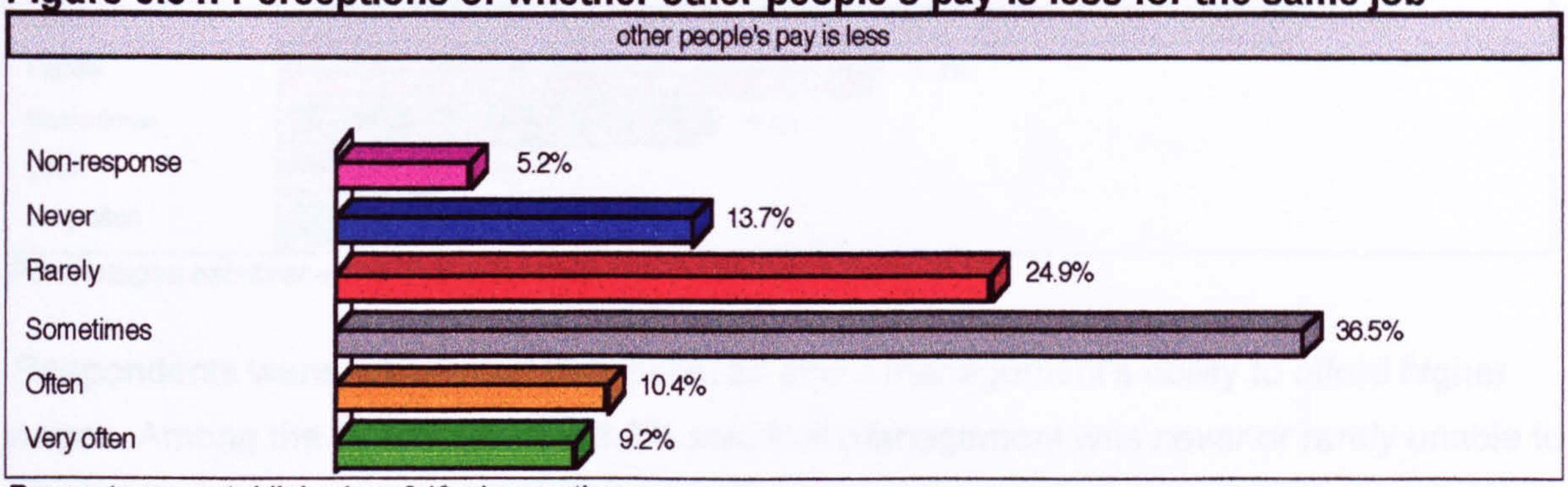
Values established on 249 observations

Among the *bullied group*, 29.3% felt that management was indifferent, as with working hours, and 23.2% replied that management reacted with *hostility and resentment*. Comments on management attitudes indicated that companies say they *pay the going rate*. There is a perception that management contrives *sympathy*, that they are *stubborn over costs* and that they are sympathetic to higher grades but indifferent to concerns at low paid grades. One respondent felt that management responded to complaints about pay with *irritation – entirely reasonable in my opinion*. Another believed there was some level of understanding and yet another that pay levels were studied fairly and professionally. One member of the *bullied group* said the company claimed it was paying *above the going rate*. Collective bargaining was cited as the norm in at least one instance.

Respondents were asked to consider whether other people doing the same job were likely to be paid less than them: 36.5% thought this would be the case *sometimes* (44.4% of

managers), 19.6% thought this would be the case *often* or *very often* (22.2% of managers), however 38.6% thought that this would *rarely* or *never* happen (33.3% of managers).

Figure 6.34: Perceptions of whether other people's pay is less for the same job



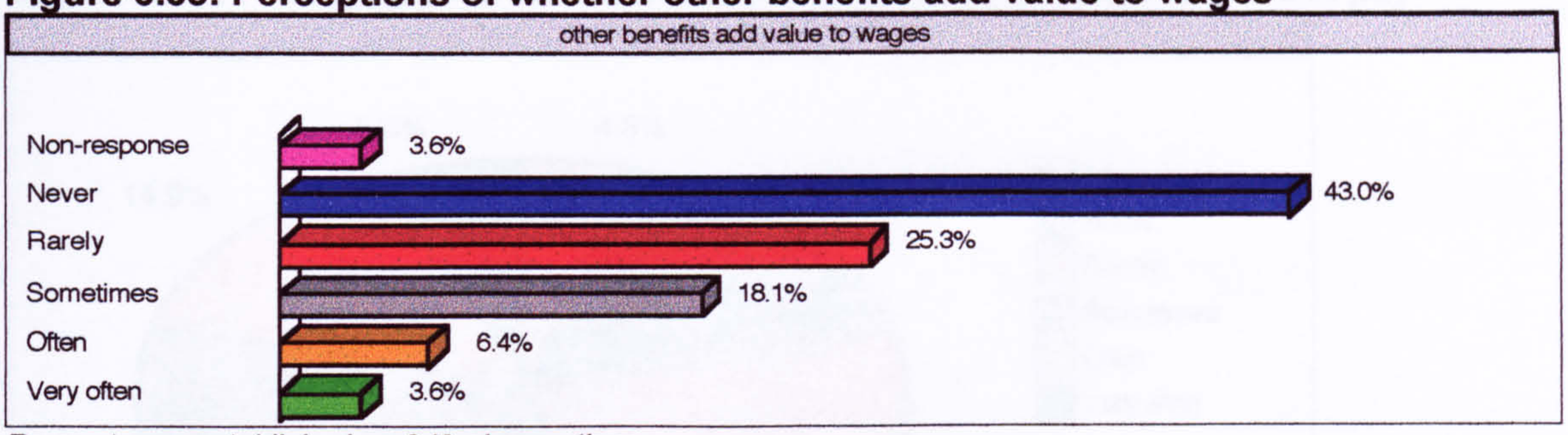
Percentages established on 249 observations

Among the *bullied group*, 33.3% thought other people's pay for the same job would be less elsewhere *sometimes* and 19.2% that this would happen *often* or *very often*. As with the issue of working hours, the trend within the *bullied group* and the managers sub-group on rates of pay is very similar to that illustrated by the survey group as a whole. However at 42.4%, double the percentage of members of the *bullied group* believe other people are *rarely* or *never* paid less than in the non-bullied group, where 20.0% hold this view.

In terms of perceptions of rates of pay, then, the non-bullied group are the most pessimistic, with 80% believing others doing the same job usually earn more than they do. The managers are close – 76.7% of them believe other people's pay is usually better than theirs. Finally, and perhaps surprisingly, the statistics from the *bullied group* indicate that only 57.6% share this opinion. Targets of bullying are known to report more negative behaviours at work (Rayner, 1999) however in this case that does not appear to extend to a pessimistic view of their own position regarding levels of remuneration.

As indicated earlier, there is little or no perception among arts workers that they get added value through other benefits – only 10.0% think other benefits add value to wages *often* or *very often*. In this instance, the non-bullied group appear generally less positive than the *bullied group*: 8.7% of non-bullied respondents felt other benefits *often* or *very often* add value to wages, compared with 12.1% of the *bullied group*. None of the managers subscribed to this view: 51.9% said other benefits never add value; 33.3% said they did *rarely* and 14.8% that they did *sometimes*. The majority of employees, especially managers, believed that remuneration was the principal benefit of working in the arts.

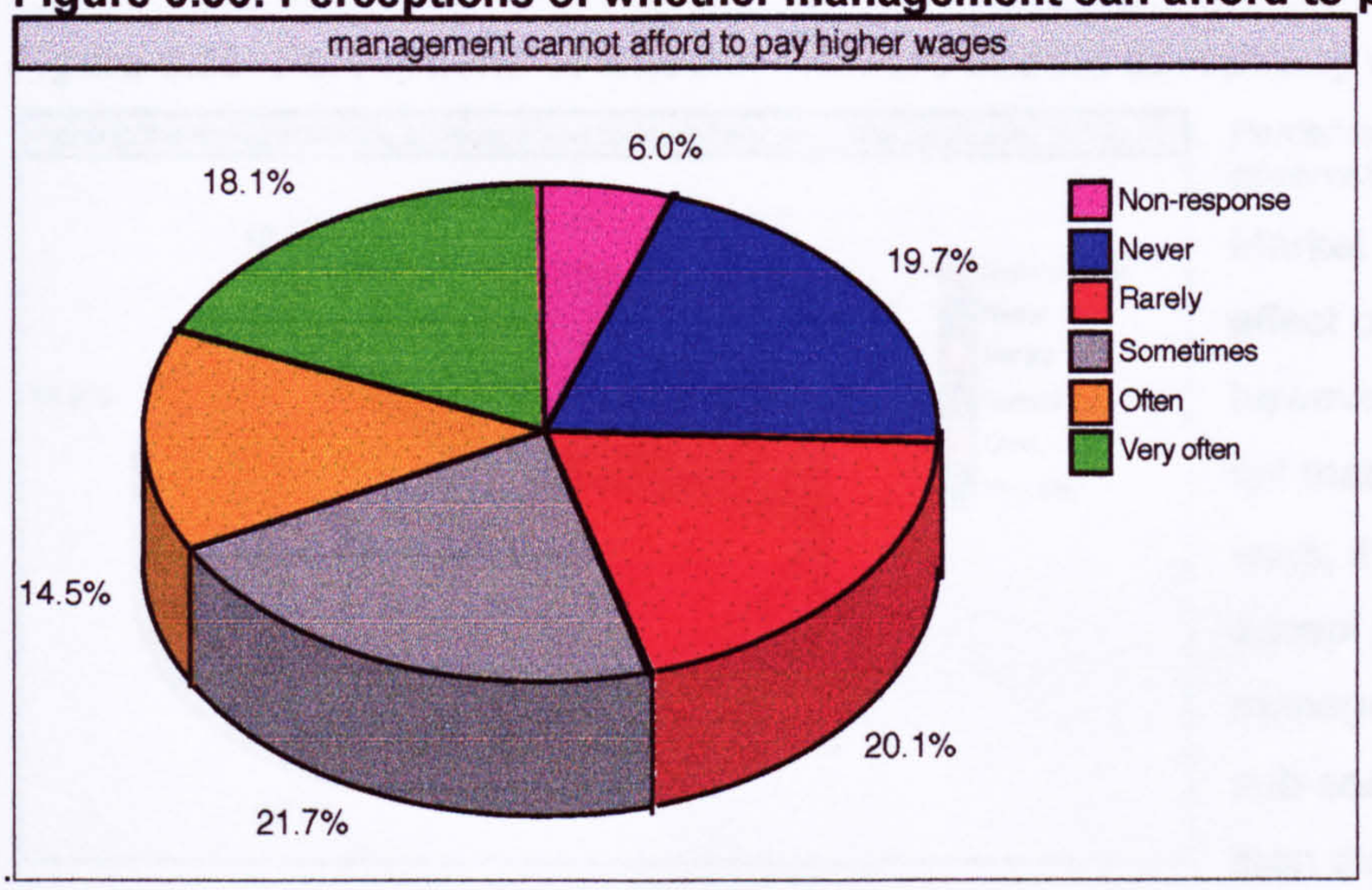
Figure 6.35: Perceptions of whether other benefits add value to wages



Percentages established on 249 observations

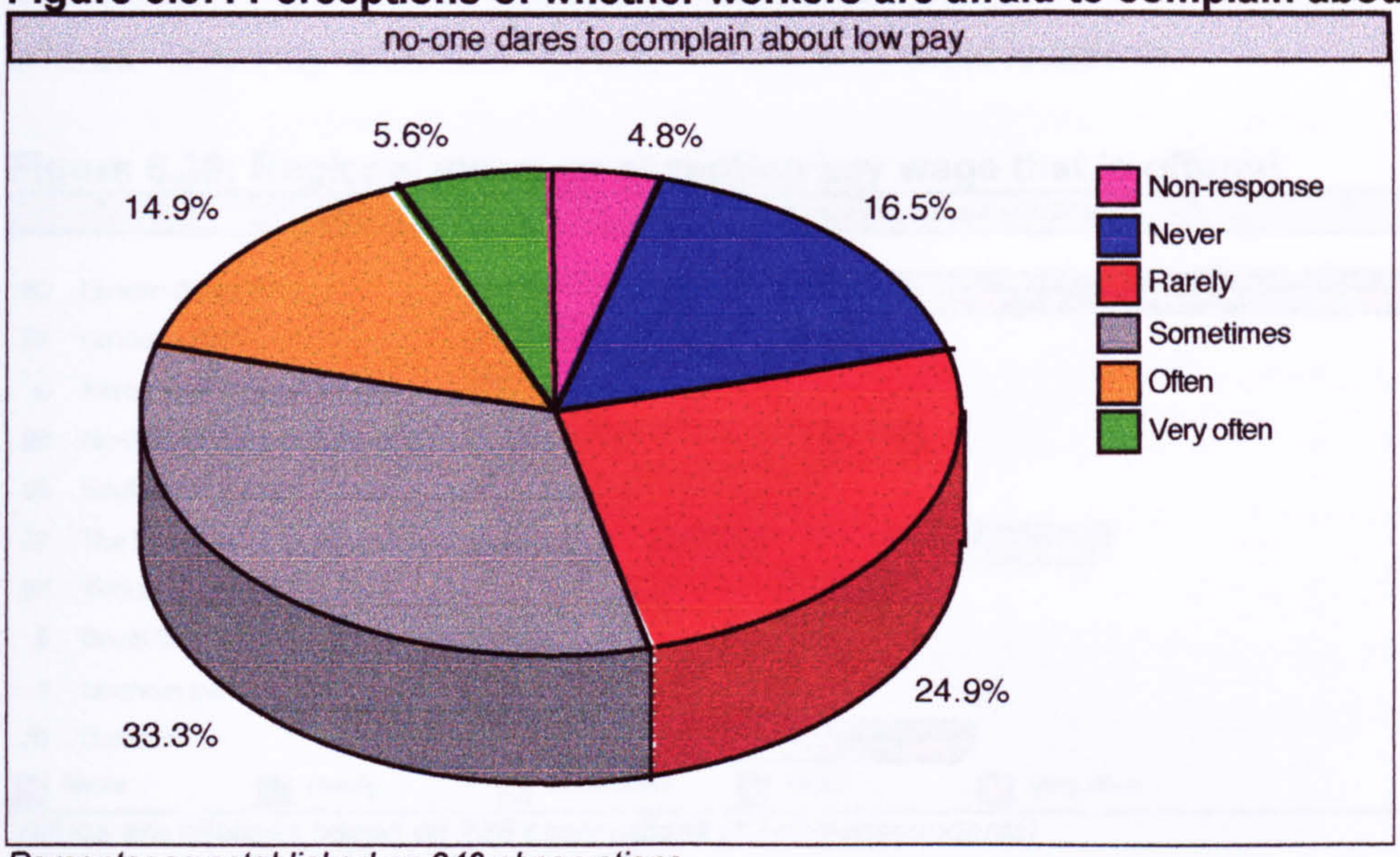
Respondents were asked what they believed about management's ability to afford higher wages. Among the *bullied group*, 46.5% said that management was *never* or *rarely* unable to afford to pay more; 18.2% thought lack of affordability may be the case *sometimes*; 27.3% thought this was the case *often* or *very often*. Overall, the majority of employees, at 39.8%, said that management was *never* or *rarely* unable to afford to pay more; a further 21.7% thought lack of affordability may be the case *sometimes*; 32.6% thought this was the case *often* or *very often* (Figure 6.36). Opinion among managers was divided, with one-third of this group citing each of these three sets of views.

Figure 6.36: Perceptions of whether management can afford to pay more



Respondents were asked to comment on the statement that no one in their organisation dared to complain about low pay. In the majority of cases (41.4%) this was *never or rarely* the case, (in the *bullied group* 39.4%); one-third answered *sometimes* (identical within the *bullied group*) and 20.5% replied *often* or *very often* (24.3% within the *bullied group*).

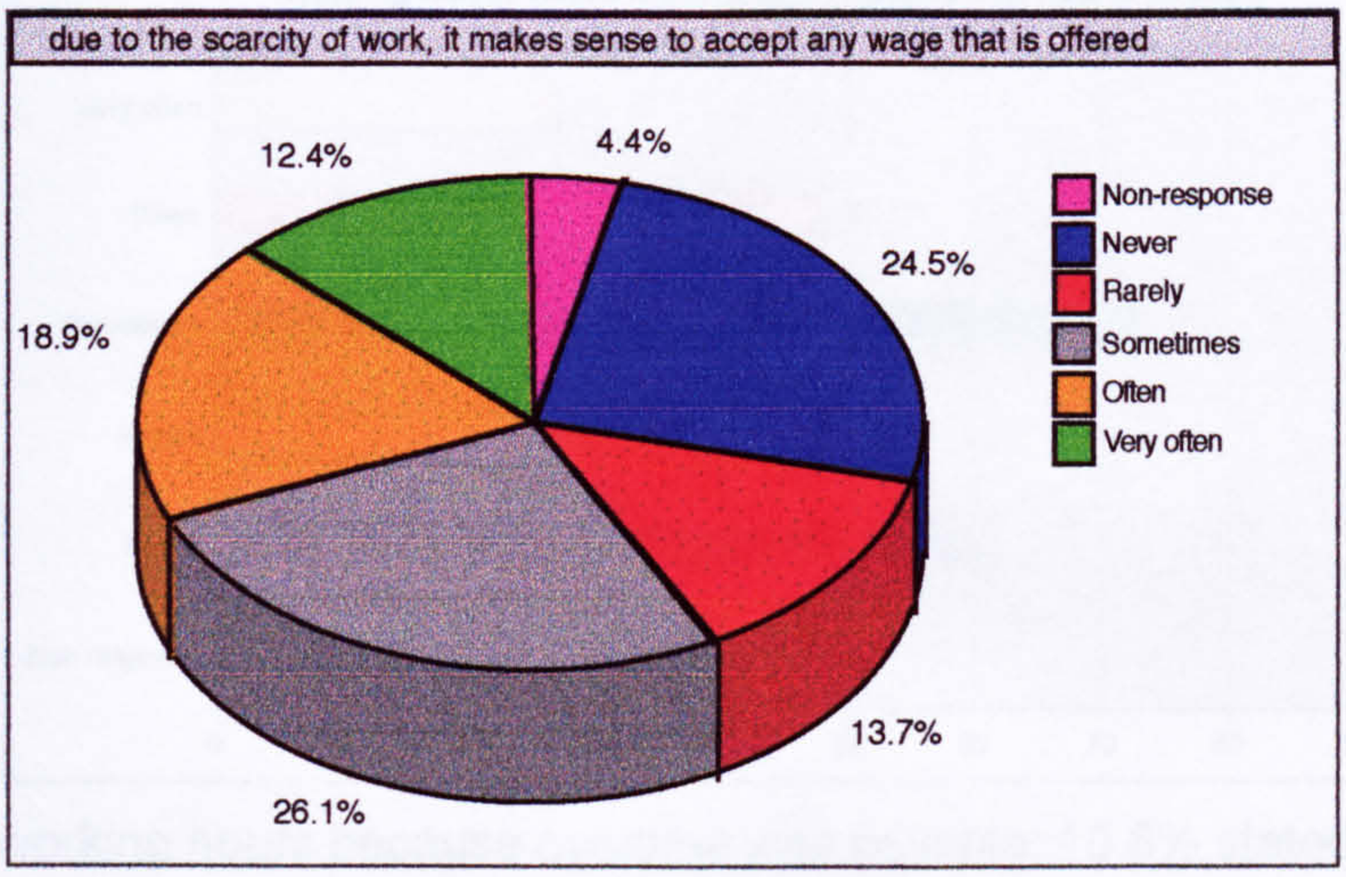
Figure 6.37: Perceptions of whether workers are afraid to complain about pay



Percentages established on 249 observations

The managers were more positive that employees are *rarely* or *never* afraid to complain about low pay and 48.1% of them stated this, however they are less sure that it does not happen *sometimes* (29.6%) and 22.0% believe it happens *often*.

Figure 6.38: Perceptions of whether workers should accept any wage offered



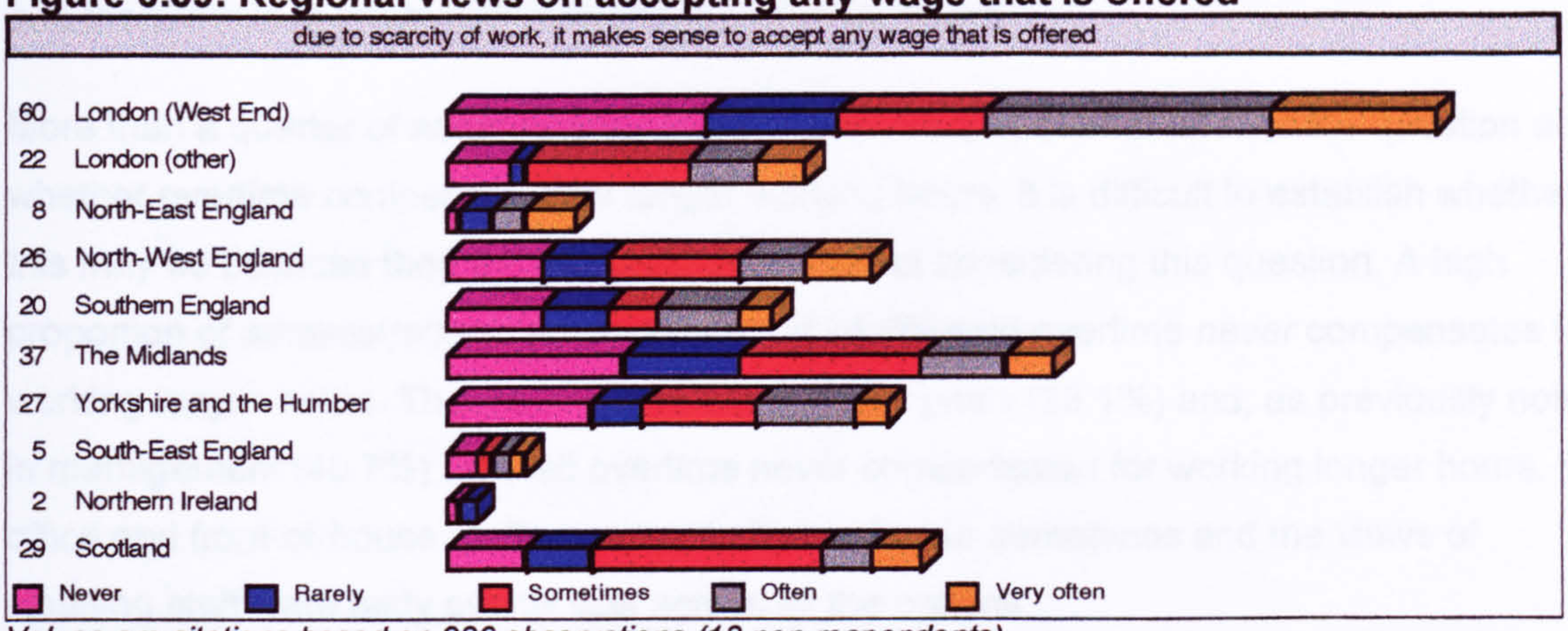
Percentages established on 249 observations

Market forces are likely to affect opinions on wage levels, however 24.5% of respondents felt that, despite the scarcity of work, it was *never* sensible to accept any wage offered. More managers, at 22.2% of the sub-sample agreed with this than did members of the *bullied group*, at 20.2%. The highest percentage of the survey group (26.1%), the sub-sample of managers (29.6%) and the *bullied group* (31.3%) thought it made sense to accept any wage *sometimes*.

Overall, the majority opinion was that accepting just any wage should be resisted – 38.2% answered *rarely* or *never* – although in Scotland the majority view was that sometimes it might be sensible (Figure 6.39). The majority verdict in the North-East at 62.5% (followed by

London West End at 45.0%) was that it makes sense *often* or *very often* to accept any wage offered. This may reflect the scarcity of work in specific locations.

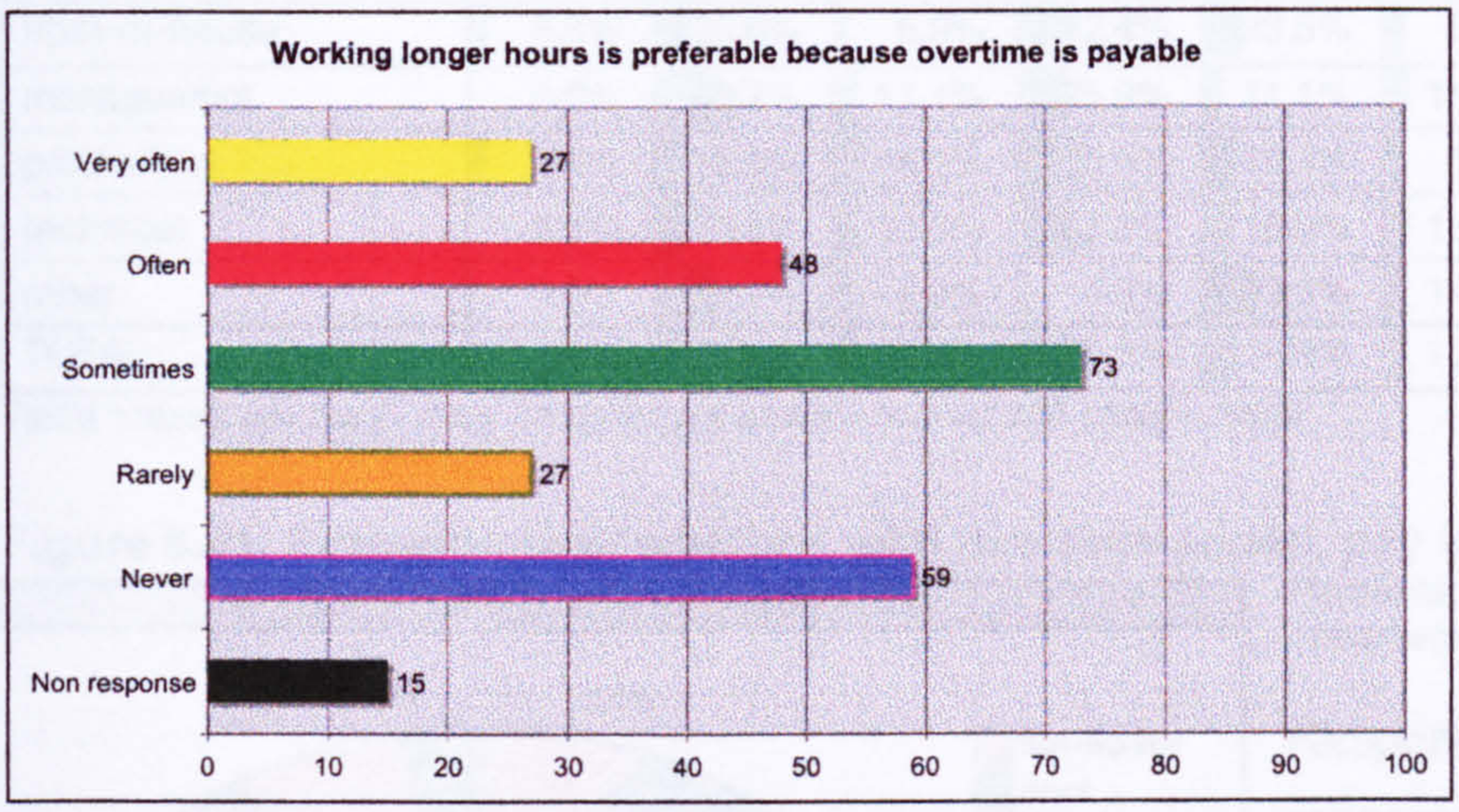
Figure 6.39: Regional views on accepting any wage that is offered



Values are citations based on 236 observations (13 non-respondents)

On the question of overtime, regional responses were mixed everywhere, although proportionately there was more resistance to overtime in Northern Ireland, Yorkshire & the Humber, Scotland and The Midlands than elsewhere.

Figure 6.40: Response to overtime payments for longer hours



249 observations

Views on overtime payments were tested to see if these made longer hours more acceptable or attractive: 23.7% of respondents were definite that they did not prefer longer working hours because overtime was payable; 10.8% stated that this would be the case *rarely*; 29.3% replied that *sometimes* longer hours were preferable because of increased income and a further 30.1% positively welcomed longer hours because of the financial reward. Among the *bullied group* responses were similar, although more people thought longer hours were preferable *sometimes* (32.3%) and fewer people (26.3%) felt longer hours were preferable *often* or *very often* because overtime is payable. Among the managers the percentage against working longer hours – those who chose *never* – rose to 40.7%, and only 25.9% felt this would be preferable *sometimes*. At 22.2%, a smaller percentage of managers than those in the *bullied group* thought it was *often* or *very often* preferable to work longer

hours. This may be because overtime is not normally payable in management posts or, given that some employees claim that management pays attention to the pay claims of higher status workers, perhaps managers are in a stronger position to negotiate pay rises and therefore less interested in overtime for longer hours.

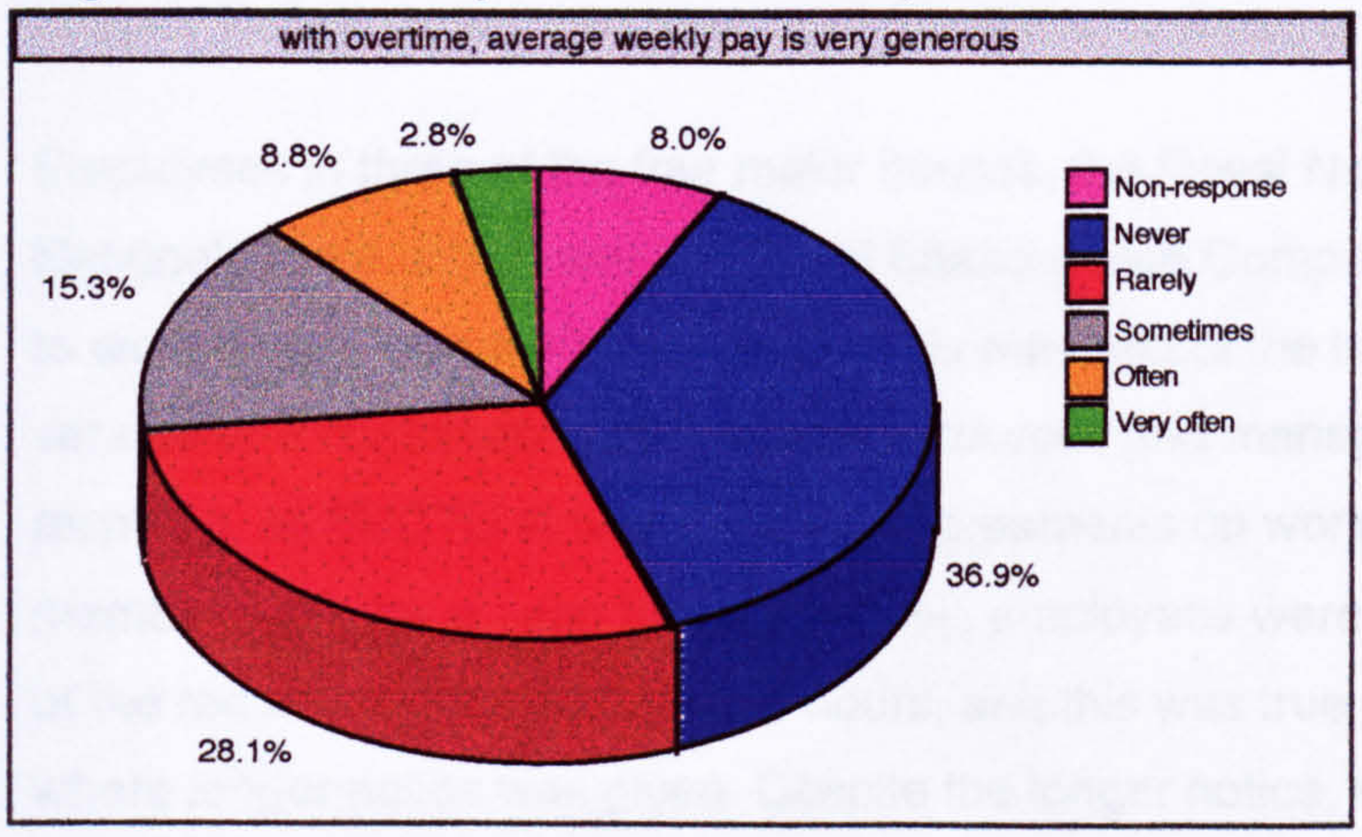
More than a quarter of administration/clerical staff (26.3%) did not answer the question about whether overtime compensated for longer working hours. It is difficult to establish whether this may be because they were uncomfortable about considering this question. A high proportion of administration/clerical workers at 31.6% said overtime *never* compensates for working longer hours. The majority of those in *other* posts (38.1%) and, as previously noted, in management (40.7%) also felt overtime never compensated for working longer hours. Box office and front-of-house staff were most often in favour *sometimes* and the views of cleaning staff were fairly evenly split across all the options.

Table 6.20: Views on whether overtime compensates for long hours, by areas of work

job \ overtime	Non-response	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	TOTAL
administration/clerical	26.3%	31.6%	5.3%	21.1%	10.5%	5.3%	100%
box office	18.8%	6.3%	6.3%	37.5%	25.0%	6.3%	100%
cleaning	0.0%	20.0%	20.0%	40.0%	0.0%	20.0%	100%
front-of-house	8.8%	20.6%	5.9%	32.4%	23.5%	8.8%	100%
management	0.0%	40.7%	11.1%	25.9%	11.1%	11.1%	100%
production	6.5%	16.1%	16.1%	35.5%	19.4%	6.5%	100%
technical	2.1%	20.8%	12.5%	32.3%	18.8%	13.5%	100%
other	0.0%	38.1%	9.5%	4.8%	33.3%	14.3%	100%
TOTAL	6.0%	23.7%	10.8%	29.3%	19.3%	10.8%	100%

Table values are the in rows percentages established on 249 observations

Figure 6.41: Perceptions of whether, with overtime added, pay is generous

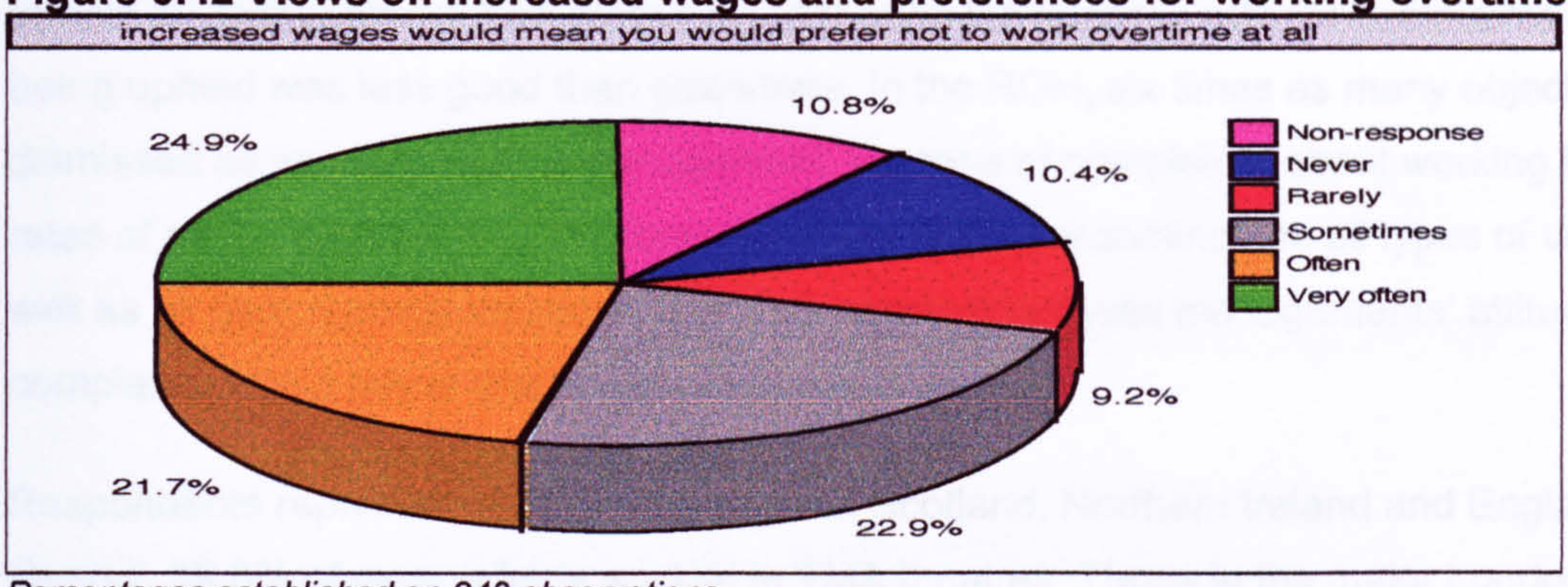


Percentages established on 249 observations

Respondents were asked to reconsider their opinions of pay when overtime is added and to state whether this made levels very generous: 11.6% believed this was *often* or *very often* the case (8.1% of the *bullied group*), 15.3% said this was the case *sometimes* (11.1% of the *bullied group*) and 65.0% stated that this was *never* or *rarely* the case (72.8% of the *bullied group*). The managers' responses were that 22.2% believed pay

plus overtime was *often* very generous; 3.7% felt this was the case *sometimes* and, as with the *bullied group*, 74.1% felt that pay plus overtime was *never* or *rarely* the case.

Figure 6.42 Views on increased wages and preferences for working overtime



Percentages established on 249 observations

Respondents were then asked to indicate to what extent they agreed with the statement that increased wages would mean they would prefer not to work overtime at all. As illustrated in Figure 6.42, 46.6% said this would *often* or *very often* be the case and 22.9% that this would *sometimes* be the case. Among the *bullied group* there was greater resistance to working overtime and 50.5% said that if wages were increased they would prefer not to work overtime at all *often* or *very often*; 23.2% said this was the case *sometimes* and 17.2% opted for *never* or *rarely*.

6.4 REGIONAL DATA ON THEATRES AND ARTS CENTRES

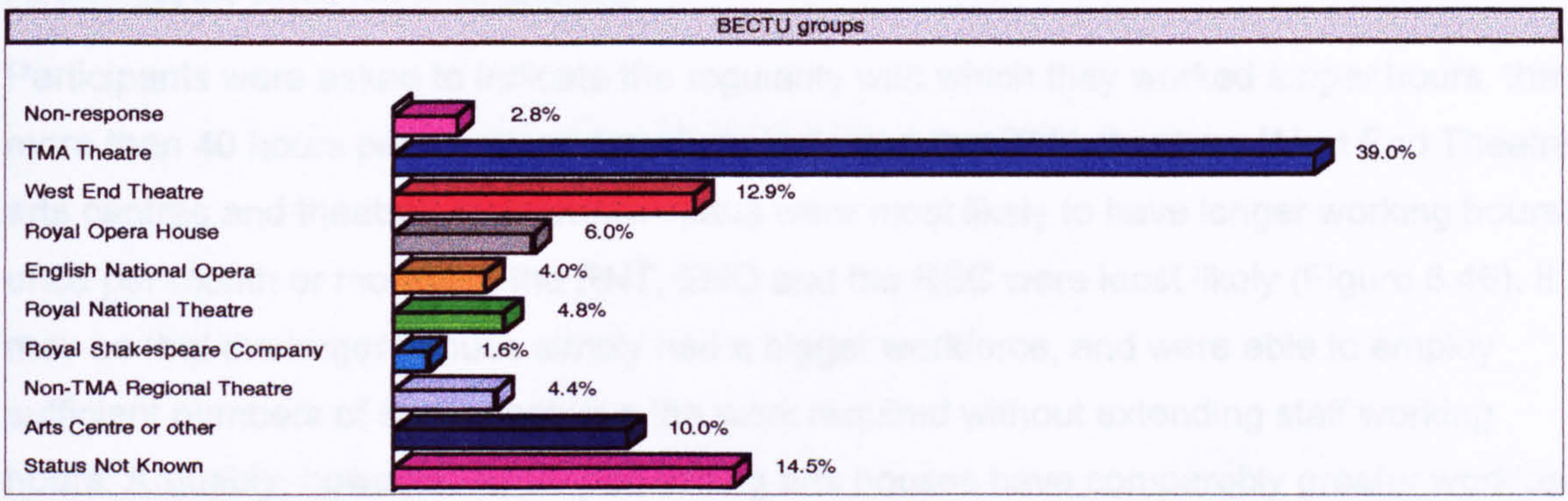
Although most respondents to the BECTU survey in 2004 were London-based, there was some representation from all the English regions, as well as Scotland and Northern Ireland. All sizes and scales of venue were also represented, from those employing less than 20 people, including part-time and casual workers, to those employing more than 100.

Employees in three of the four major houses, the Royal National Theatre (RNT), English National Opera (ENO) and the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC) were least likely to have to work longer than a 40-hour week. This may reflect the larger staff teams in place in these venues or a combination of available resources and management expertise in strategic planning, as BECTU strives to ensure agreements on working practices are uniform for all its members. We have seen that, frequently, employees were given less than one week's notice of the requirement to work longer hours, and this was true in every venue apart from ENO where longer notice was given. Despite the longer notice, employees at ENO and those at the RSC reported that they were not *encouraged* to take time off in lieu. There was also evidence that no provision for TOIL was made by some theatres and arts centres and in two cases in London venues the working week was reported as *always 48 hours*.

Employees everywhere, excluding Northern Ireland, reported that there had been objections to working hours and rates of pay in their organisations within the last five years. Both of these were most common in TMA Theatres where more objections to working hours were upheld by management than elsewhere, although the success rate for complaints about pay being upheld was less good than elsewhere. In the ROH, six times as many objections were dismissed as were upheld by management. In terms of complaints about working hours and rates of pay, it appears that *indifferent* managements predominate in all types of venue, as well as all geographical locations. The *bullied group* believes managements' attitude to complaints about pay is one of *hostility and resentment.*

Respondents represented BECTU houses in Scotland, Northern Ireland and England. Overall, 39.0% of respondents worked in TMA theatres. Those in the major London houses totalled 16.4% and a further 12.9% worked in the West End (Figure 6.43).

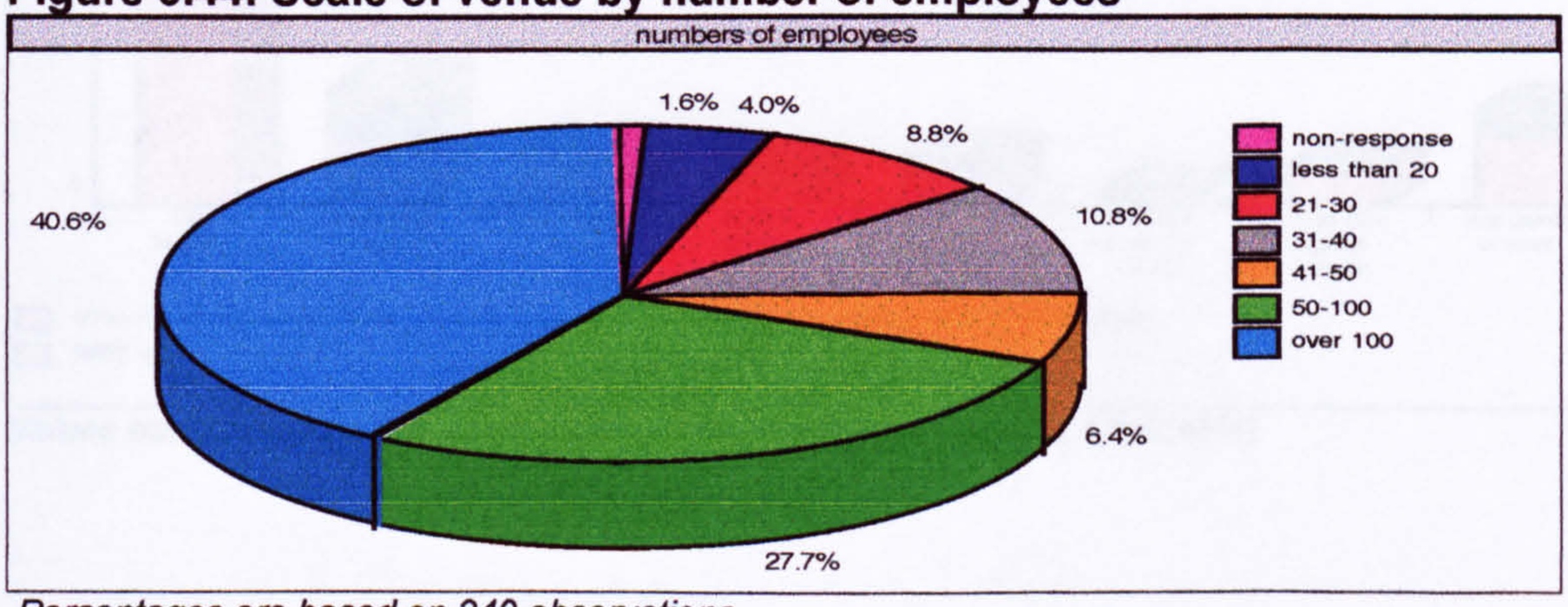
Figure 6.43: Category of venues as defined by BECTU



Percentages are based on 249 observations

The majority of arts workers were based at venues in London, including 25.7% in the West End and 8.8% in other venues. These included the major London houses (Royal Opera House (ROH), English National Opera (ENO), Royal National Theatre (RNT) and Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC)).

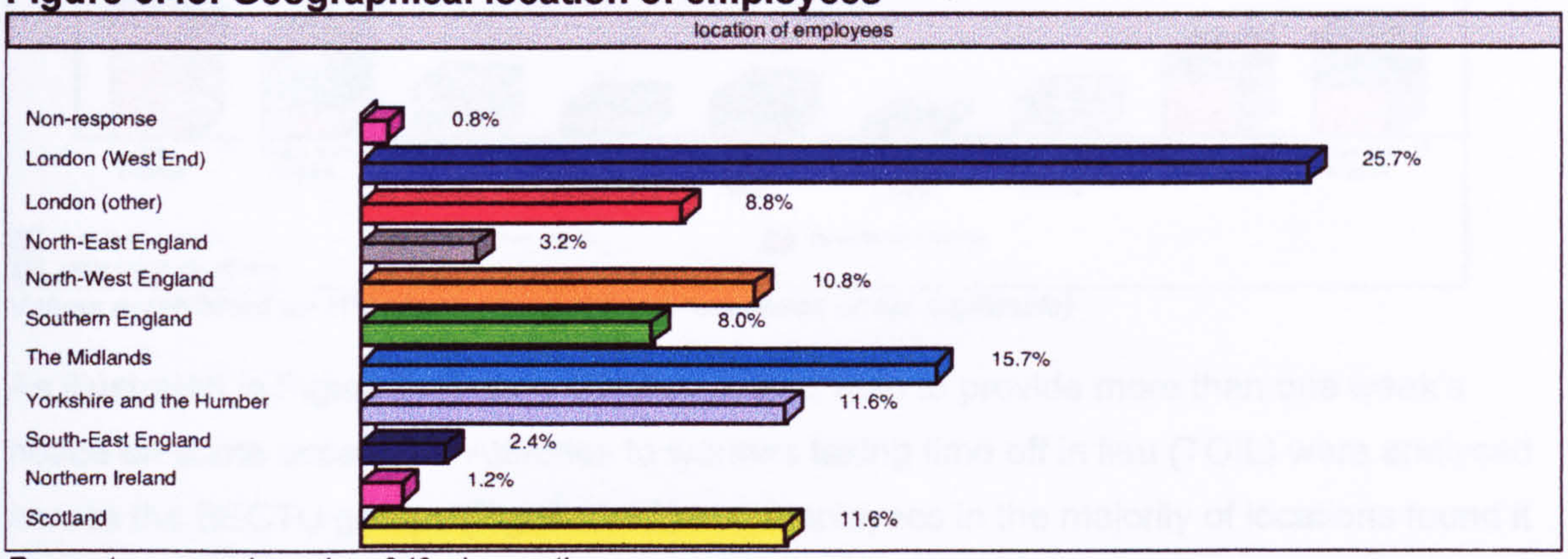
Figure 6.44: Scale of venue by number of employees



Percentages are based on 249 observations

A feature of the survey is that larger theatres predominate (Figure 6.44) with 40.6% having a workforce of 100 employees or more and 27.7% having between 50 and 100 employees. There were 15.7% of participants from the Midlands and 11.6% from each of Scotland and Yorkshire & The Humber, followed by 10.8% from North-West England (Figure 6.45).

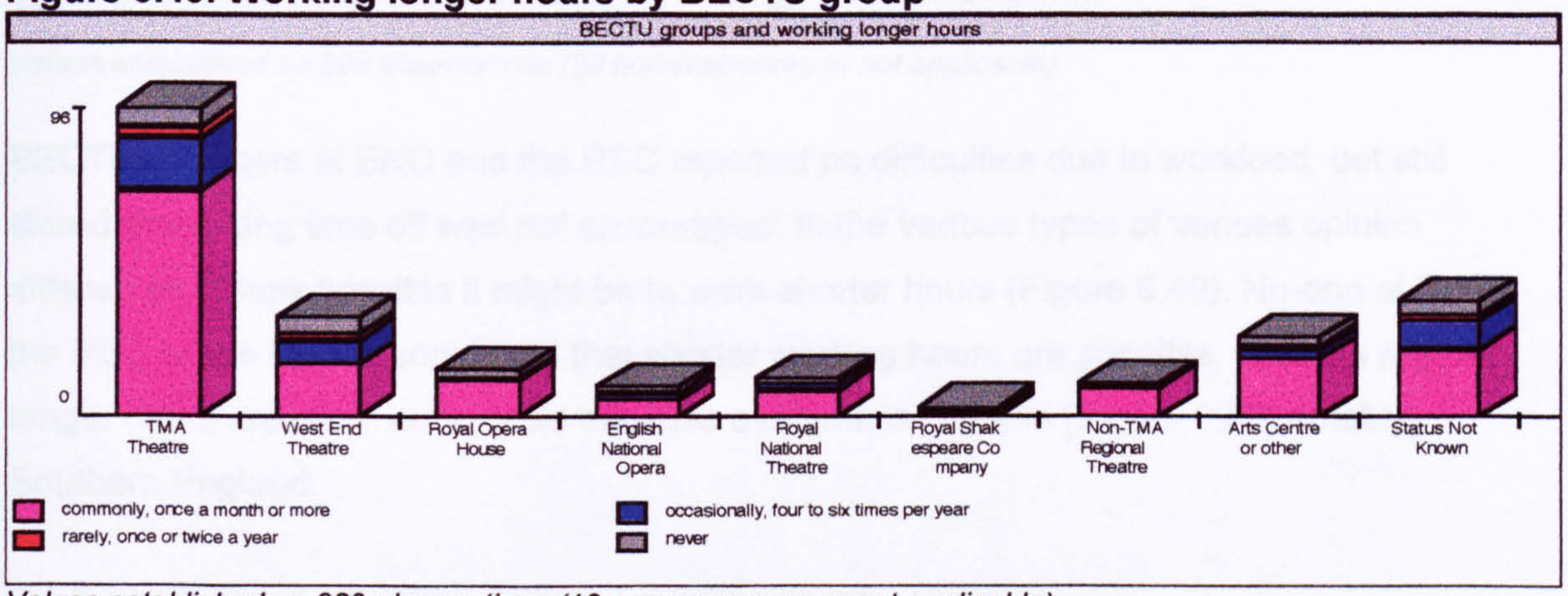
Figure 6.45: Geographical location of employees



Percentages are based on 249 observations

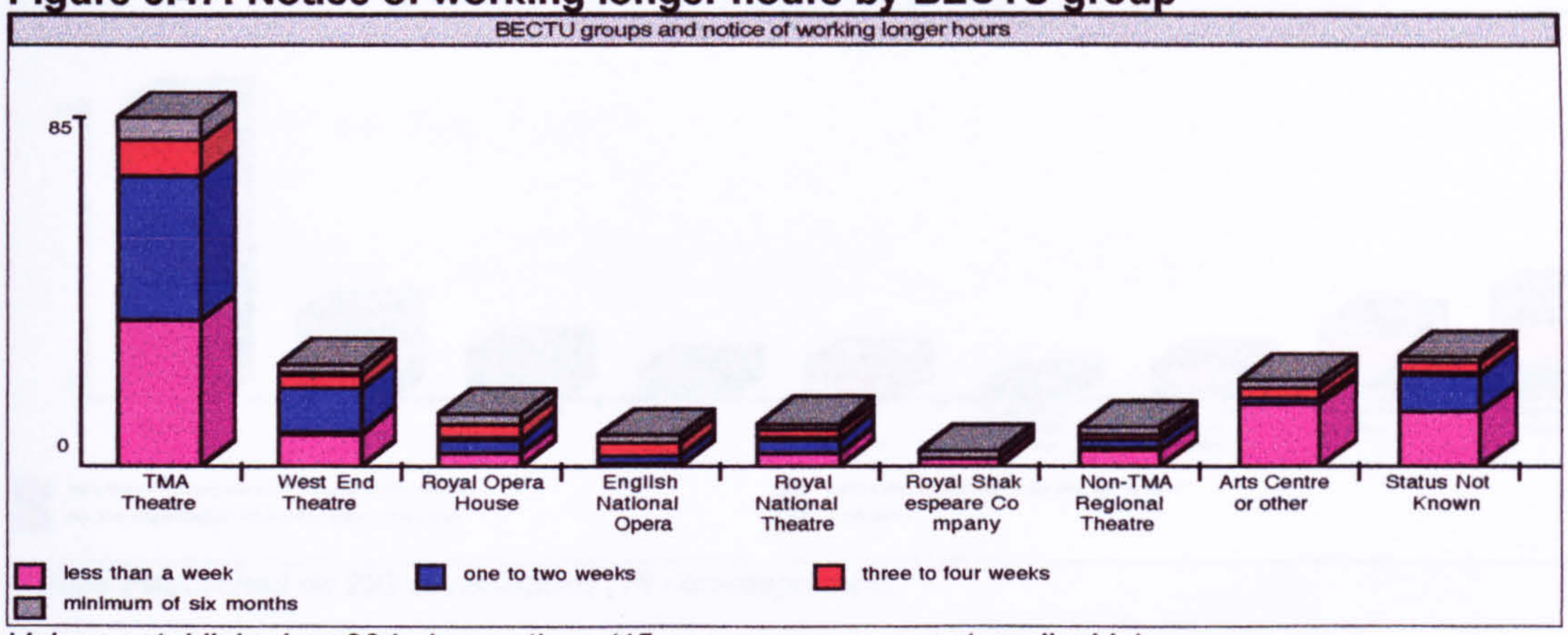
Participants were asked to indicate the regularity with which they worked *longer* hours, that is more than 40 hours per week, and analysis indicated that TMA theatres, West End Theatres, arts centres and theatres of unknown status were most likely to have longer working hours once per month or more and the RNT, ENO and the RSC were least likely (Figure 6.46). It may be that the larger venues simply had a bigger workforce, and were able to employ sufficient numbers of staff to achieve the work required without extending staff working hours. Arguably, however, larger performing arts houses have comparably greater workloads in terms of programme, which in turn would demand more staff time.

Figure 6.46: Working longer hours by BECTU group



Values established on 239 observations (10 non-responses or not applicable)

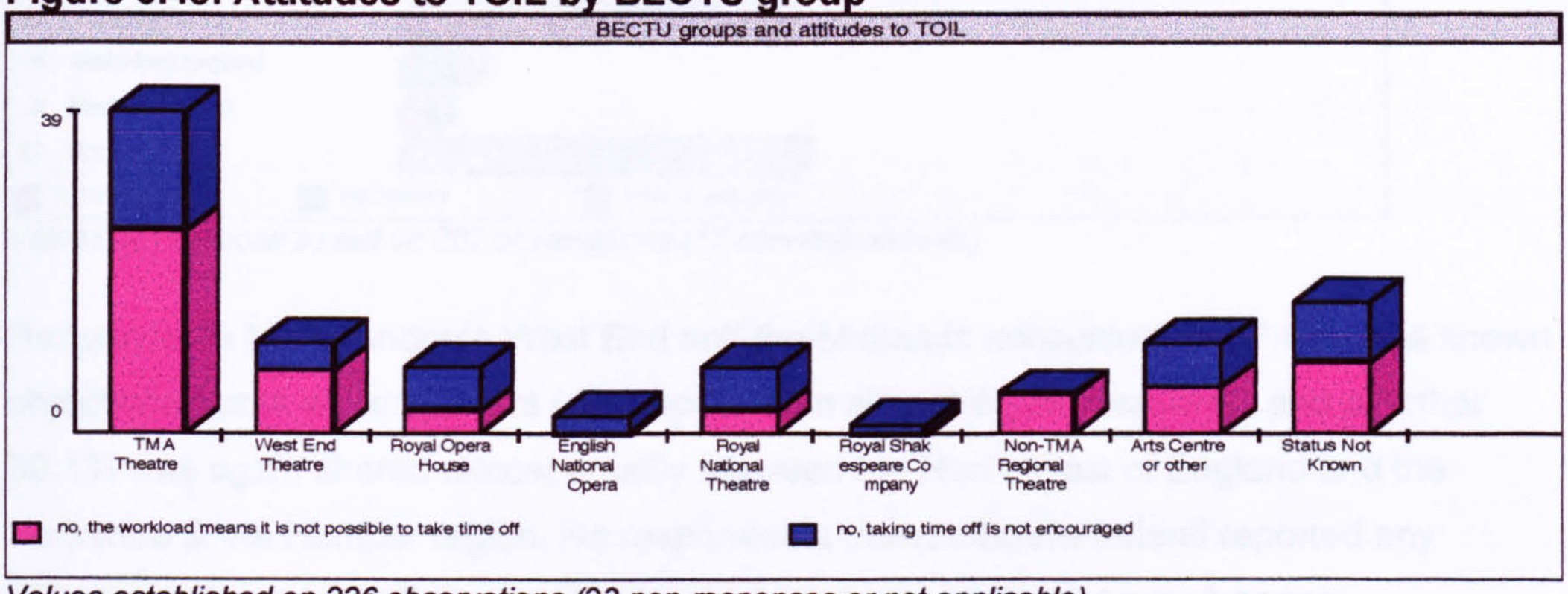
Figure 6.47: Notice of working longer hours by BECTU group



Values established on 204 observations (45 non-responses or not applicable)

As illustrated in Figure 6.47, only ENO appeared able to provide more than one week's notice on some occasions. Attitudes to workers taking time off in lieu (TOIL) were analysed across the BECTU groups (Figure 6.48) and employees in the majority of locations found it difficult to take TOIL due to workload and stated that taking time off was *not encouraged*.

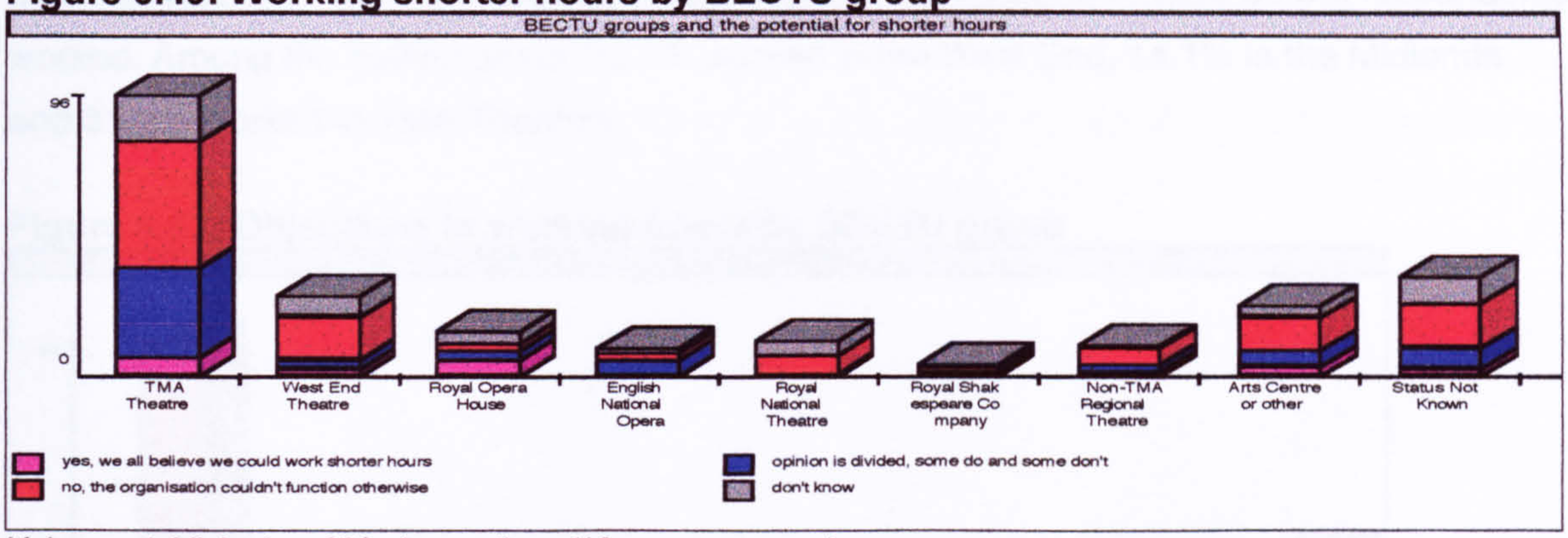
Figure 6.48: Attitudes to TOIL by BECTU group



Values established on 226 observations (23 non-responses or not applicable)

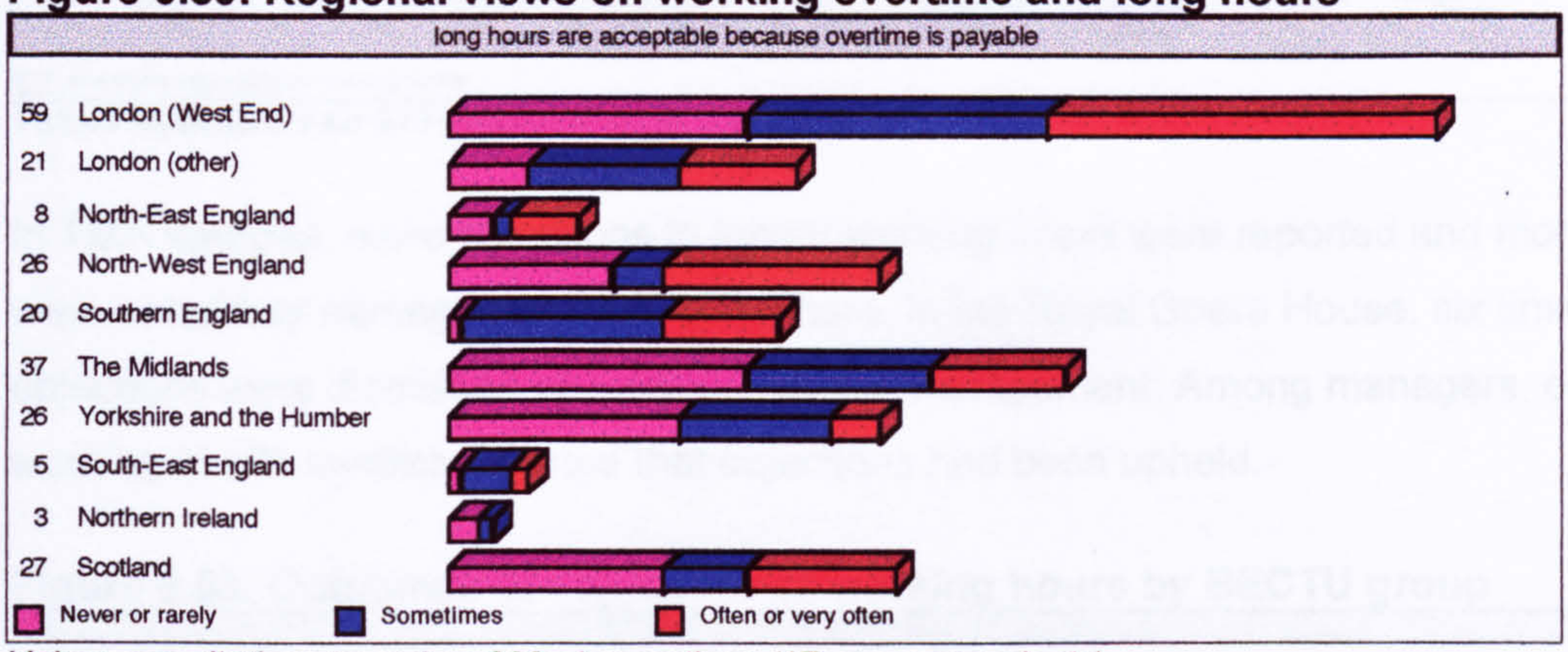
BECTU members at ENO and the RSC reported no difficulties due to workload, but still stated that taking time off was *not encouraged*. In the various types of venues opinion differed as to how possible it might be to work shorter hours (Figure 6.49). No-one at ENO, the RSC or the RNT is convinced that shorter working hours are possible. In some regions longer hours are more acceptable because overtime is payable (Figure 6.50) notably, Southern England.

Figure 6.49: Working shorter hours by BECTU group



Values established on 233 observations (16 non-responses)

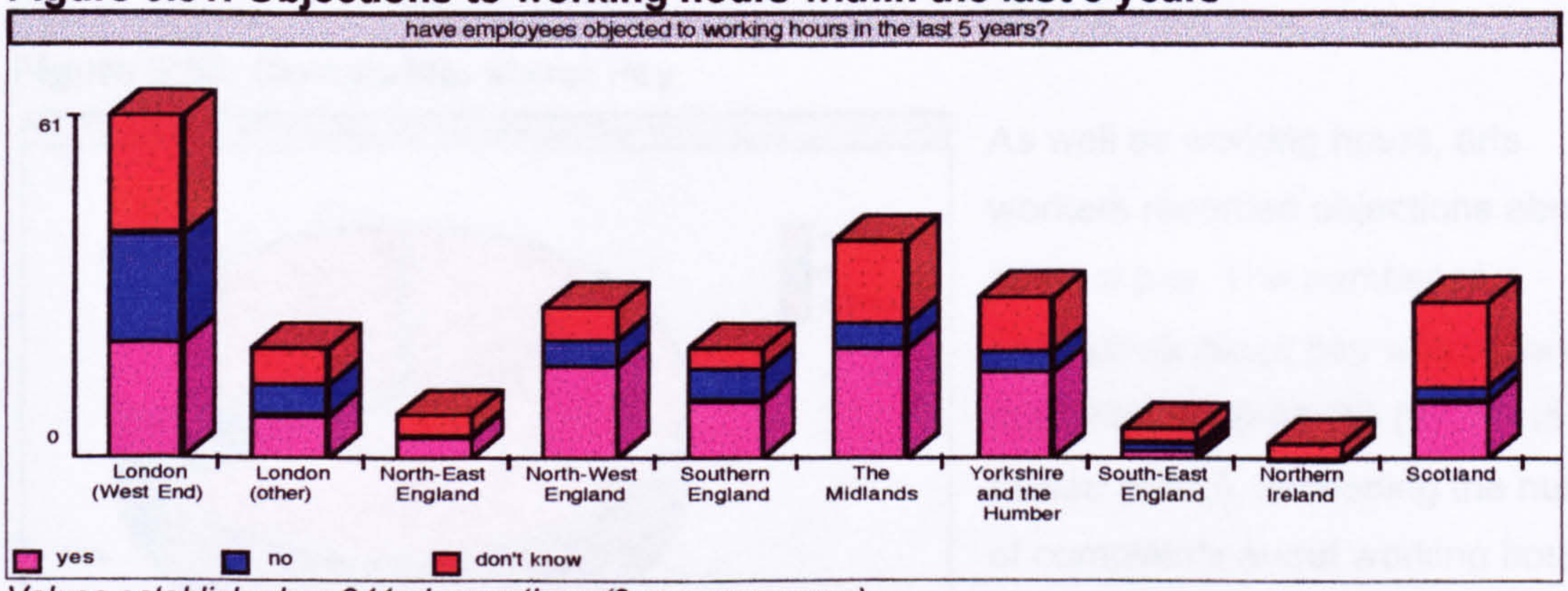
Figure 6.50: Regional views on working overtime and long hours



Values are citations based on 232 observations (17 non-respondents)

Respondents from London's West End and the Midlands accounted for 37.6% of all known objections about working hours (110 reported) in almost equal measures, and a further 30.1% was again shared almost equally between the North West of England and the Yorkshire & the Humber region. No respondents from Northern Ireland reported any objections, however validity may be an issue as this represented only 3 people.

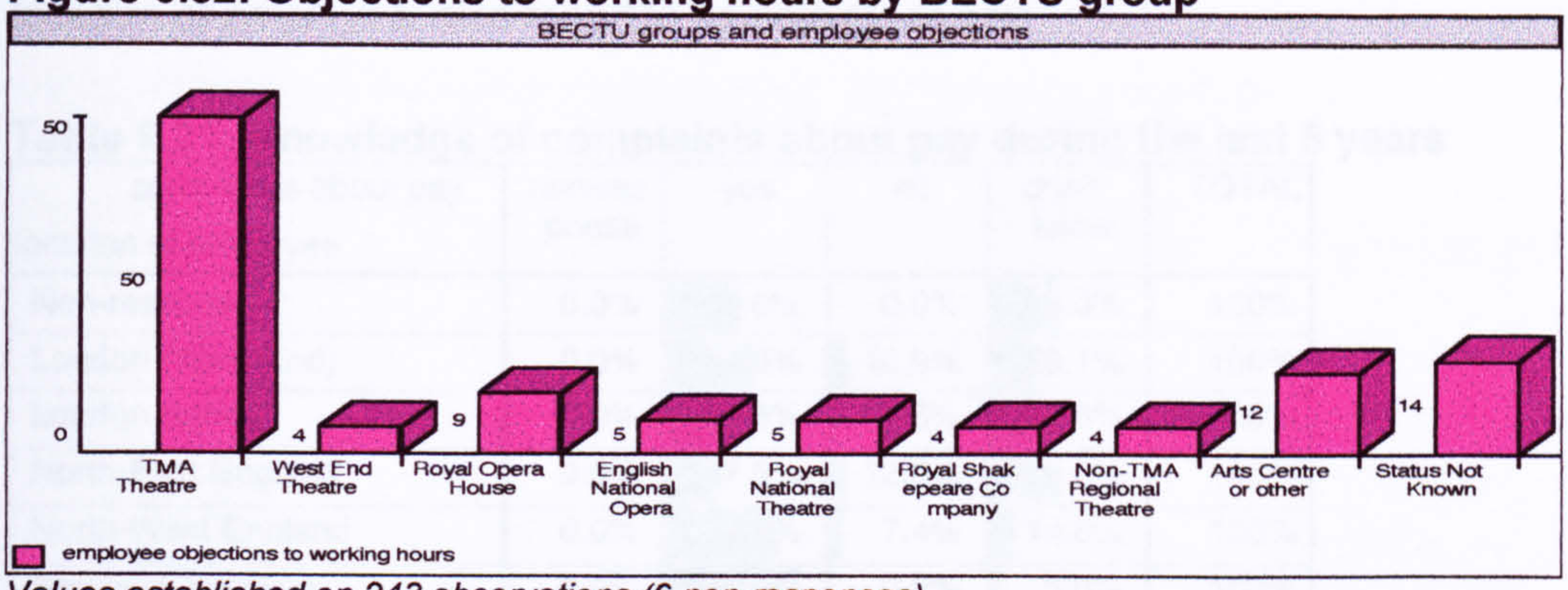
Figure 6.51: Objections to working hours within the last 5 years



Values established on 241 observations (8 non-responses)

Most objections to working hours, at 45.4%, were at TMA theatres where 39.0% respondents worked. Among the *bullied group*, 23.2% worked in the West End, 14.1% in the Midlands and 31.3% worked in TMA Theatres.

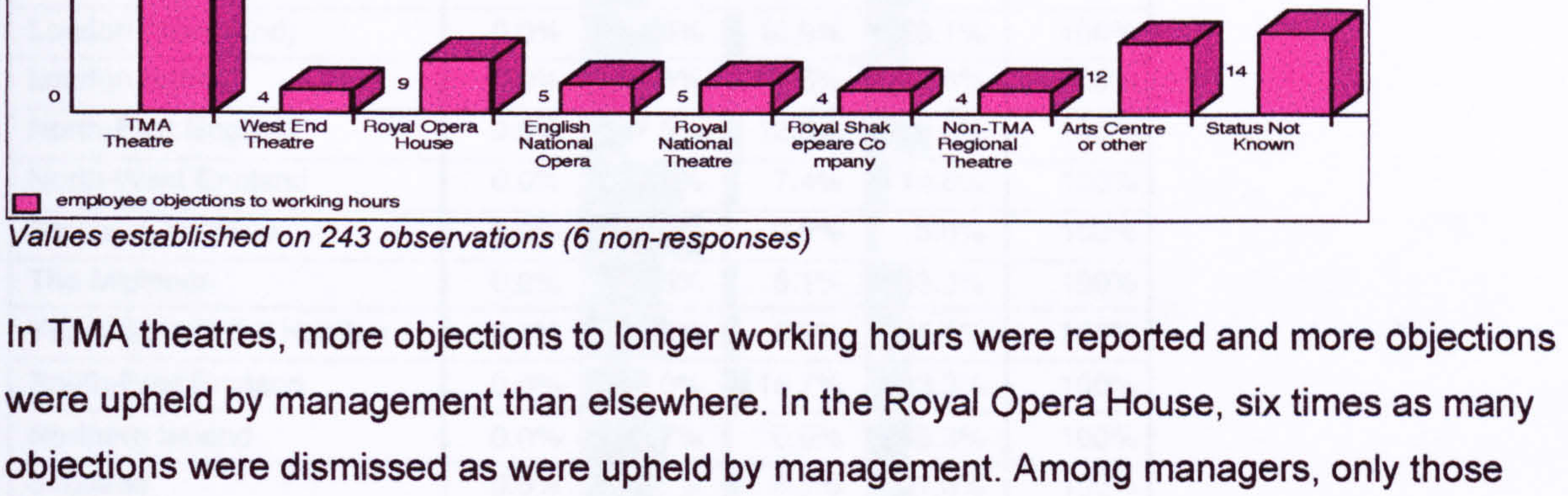
Figure 6.52: Objections to working hours by BECTU group



Values established on 243 observations (6 non-responses)

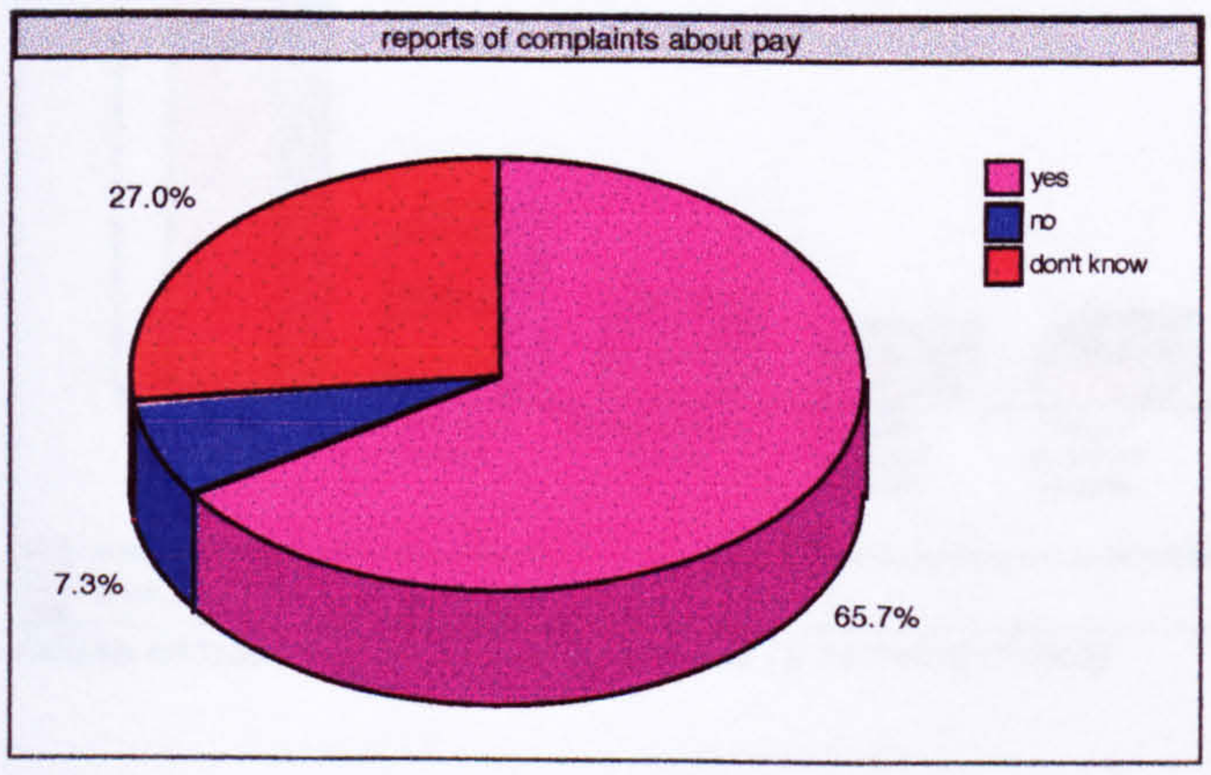
In TMA theatres, more objections to longer working hours were reported and more objections were upheld by management than elsewhere. In the Royal Opera House, six times as many objections were dismissed as were upheld by management. Among managers, only those working in arts centres reported that objections had been upheld.

Figure 6.53: Outcomes of objections to working hours by BECTU group



Values established on 104 observations (145 non-responses)

Figure 6:54: Complaints about Pay



As well as working hours, arts workers recorded objections about rates of pay. The number of complaints about pay was reported by respondents at 65.7% (67.7% in the *bullied group*), exceeding the number of complaints about working hours by 21.5%. In all areas the numbers

reporting that complaints had been made in the last five years represented a significant majority, with the exception of North-East England, where 50.0% of respondents didn't know whether or not there had been complaints about pay in their organisation. Half of those who did not disclose their location, indicated in Table 6.21 by the designation *non-response* under *location of employee*, also reported complaints of pay.

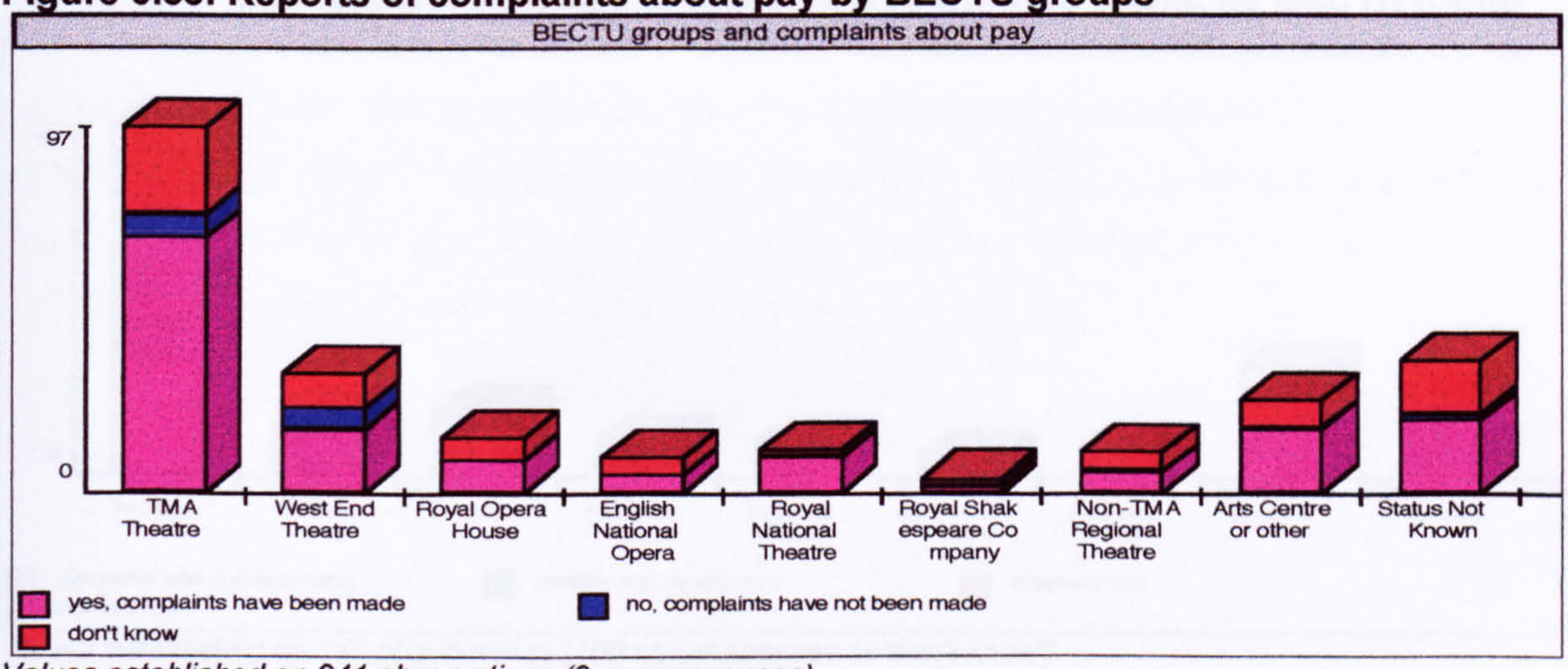
Table 6.21: Knowledge of complaints about pay during the last 5 years

complaints about pay location of employee	non-response	yes	no	don't know	TOTAL
Non-response	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%	50.0%	100%
London (West End)	0.0%	60.9%	10.9%	28.1%	100%
London (other)	0.0%	63.6%	4.5%	31.8%	100%
North-East England	0.0%	37.5%	12.5%	50.0%	100%
North-West England	0.0%	77.8%	7.4%	14.8%	100%
Southern England	0.0%	95.0%	0.0%	5.0%	100%
The Midlands	0.0%	61.5%	5.1%	33.3%	100%
Yorkshire and the Humber	3.4%	65.5%	6.9%	24.1%	100%
South-East England	0.0%	50.0%	16.7%	33.3%	100%
Northern Ireland	0.0%	66.7%	0.0%	33.3%	100%
Scotland	0.0%	62.1%	6.9%	31.0%	100%
TOTAL	0.4%	65.5%	7.2%	26.9%	100%

Table values are the in rows percentages established on 249 observations

One-third of all respondents who knew of complaints about pay were employees in London (London West End 39; London other 14); followed by 24 in the Midlands, 21 in North-West England, 19 each in Southern England and Yorkshire & the Humber and 18 in Scotland. Most of the complaints reported (41.7%) were made at TMA theatres where 39.0% respondents worked.

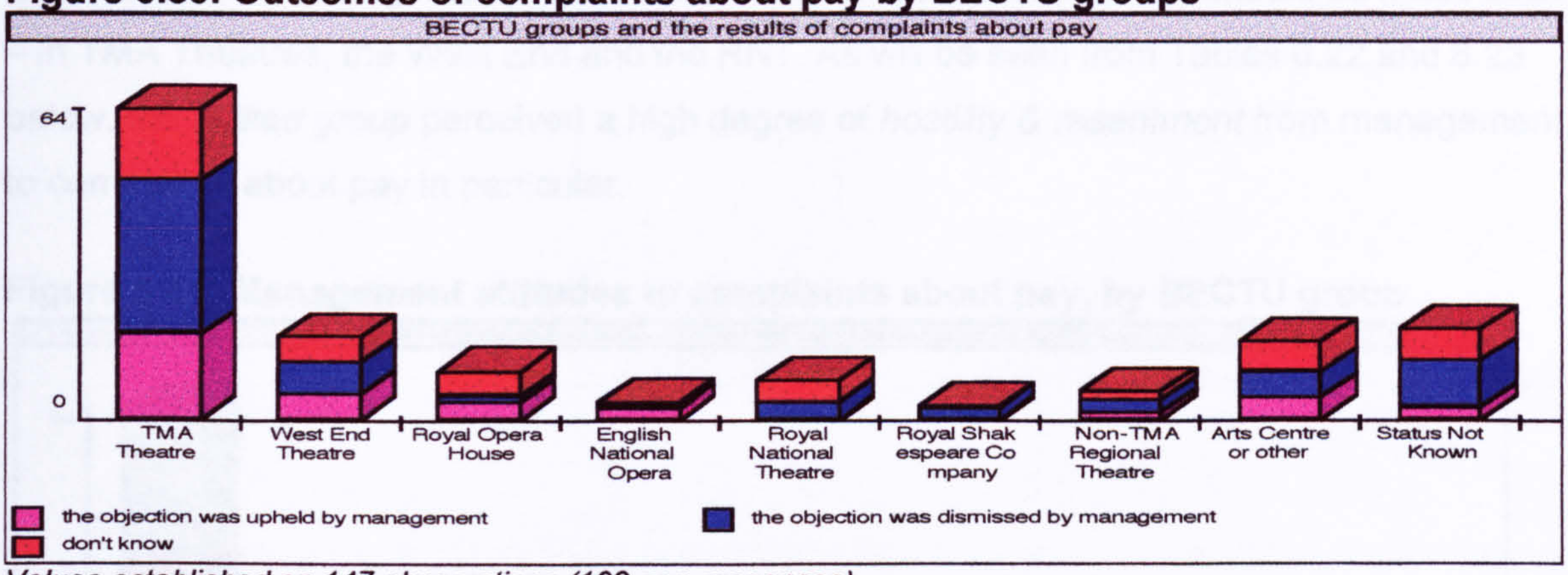
Figure 6.55: Reports of complaints about pay by BECTU groups



Values established on 241 observations (8 non-responses)

More complaints about pay were reported in TMA theatres and a larger number of objections (18) were upheld by management here than elsewhere. However, the *success rate* in getting management to uphold objections was better in West End theatres (6 upheld from a total of 17 complaints made), the ROH (4 out of 10), ENO (3 out of 4) and arts centres (5 out of 16) than in TMA theatres (18 out of 64). Responses for the RNT and the RSC indicated that management was not known to have upheld a complaint about pay.

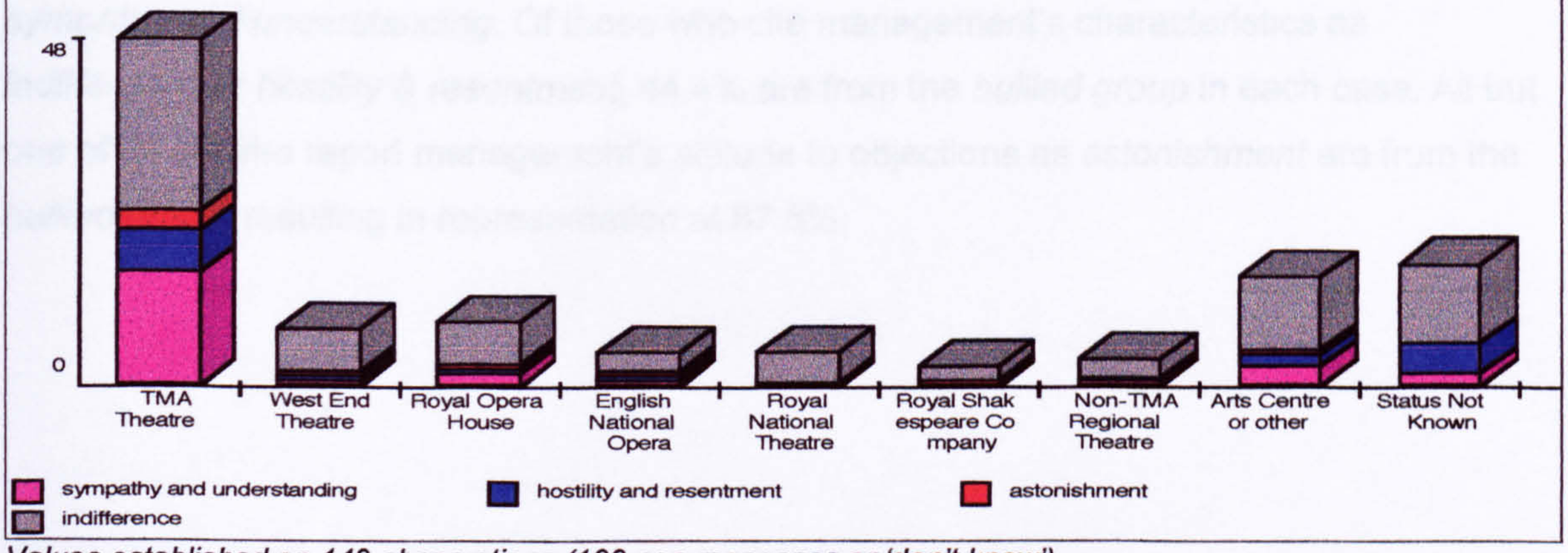
Figure 6.56: Outcomes of complaints about pay by BECTU groups



Values established on 147 observations (102 non-responses)

Employees were asked to state their views of management attitudes to complaints. The range of options included *sympathy & understanding, astonishment, hostility & resentment, indifference,* or *other*. In all, 116 respondents (46.5%) commented on management attitudes re objections about working hours (Figure 6.57) and 161 (64.7%) on management attitudes re complaints about pay (Figure 6.58). Considering the responses from across England, Scotland and Northern Ireland, and between all the different types of BECTU houses, there is consistent representation of the *bullied group* among the respondents in each category.

Figure 6.57: Management attitudes to objections re working hours, by BECTU group

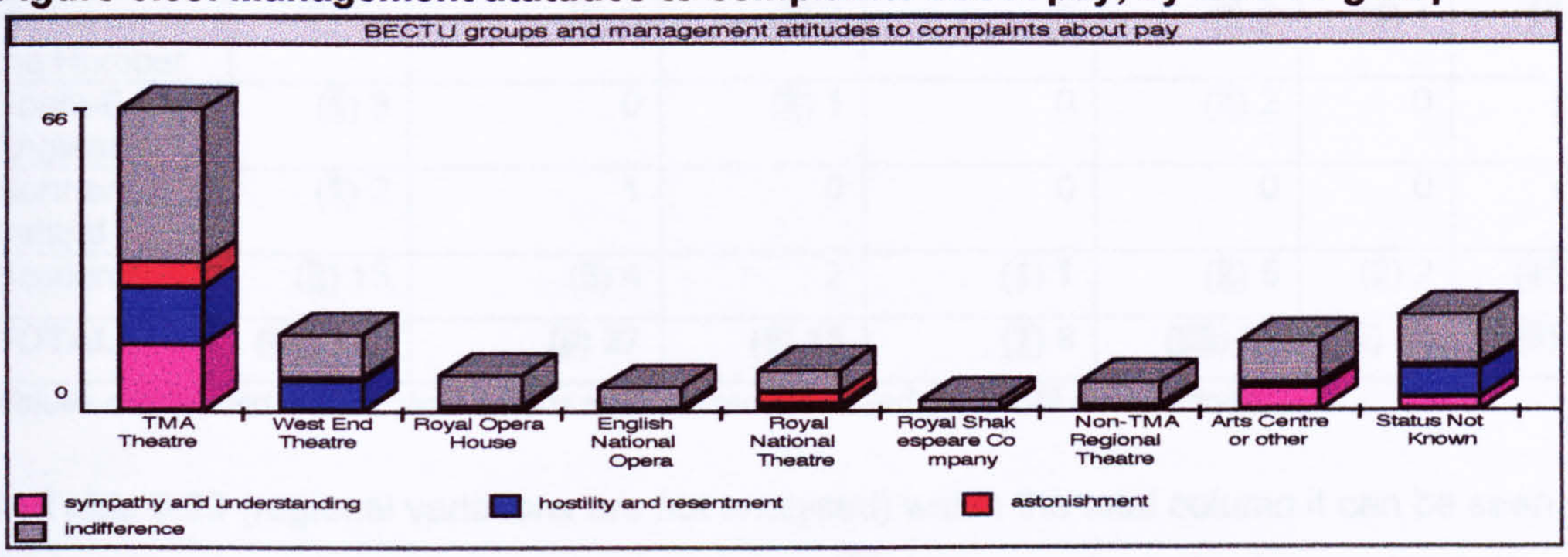


Values established on 149 observations (100 non-responses or 'don't know')

Management response, or perhaps lack of response, exhibiting *indifference* is the prevailing reaction: this is the majority view cited by respondents from every venue type in respect of both types of complaint. Those who considered that management reacts with *sympathy and understanding* were found in TMA Theatres and arts centres/other venues and in ROH, the last in respect of complaints about working hours, but not pay. They were more common in Yorkshire & the Humber and Scotland.

Evidently, some managements exhibited astonishment that complaints should be made at all – in TMA Theatres, the West End and the RNT. As will be seen from Tables 6.22 and 6.23 below, the *bullied group* perceived a high degree of *hostility & resentment* from management to complaints about pay in particular.

Figure 6.58: Management attitudes to complaints about pay, by BECTU group



Values established on 149 observations (100 non-responses, 'don't know' or 'other')

Within Tables 6.22 and 6.23 below, the responses from the *bullied group* are mapped across the regions, identified alongside the survey group as a whole. For example, in Table 6.22, within the 39 West End employees who did not respond, *(12)* belong to the *bullied group*. Overall, one-third of those who did not respond are from the *bullied group*, as are one-third of those who consider management's attitude to objections about working hours to be one of *sympathy and understanding*. Of those who cite management's characteristics as *indifference* or *hostility & resentment*, 44.4% are from the *bullied group* in each case. All but one of those who report management's attitude to objections as *astonishment* are from the *bullied group*, resulting in representation at 87.5%.

Table 6.22: Management attitudes to objections to working hours, by region

management attitudes location of employee	non-response	sympathy & understanding	hostility & resentment	astonishment	indifference	other (please specify)	Total
Non-response	1	0	0	0	(1) 1	0	(1) 2
London (West End)	(12) 39	(2) 4	(1) 3	(2) 3	(6) 15	0	(23) 64
London (other)	(8) 13	(1) 1	(2) 2	0	(4) 6	0	(15) 22
North-East England	(2) 3	2	0	0	(1) 3	0	(3) 8
North-West England	(5) 10	(1) 3	3	0	(7) 11	0	(13) 27
Southern England	(1) 9	(1) 5	(1) 1	(1) 1	2	2	(4) 20
The Midlands	(2) 17	1	(2) 3	(3) 3	(4) 10	(3) 5	(14) 39
Yorkshire & the Humber	(7) 11	(1) 6	(1) 3	0	(2) 8	(1) 1	(12) 29
South-East England	(1) 3	0	(1) 1	0	(1) 2	0	(3) 6
Northern Ireland	(1) 2	1	0	0	0	0	(1) 3
Scotland	(2) 15	(3) 4	2	(1) 1	(2) 5	(2) 2	(10) 29
TOTAL	**(41) 123**	**(9) 27**	**(8) 18**	**(7) 8**	**(28) 63**	**(6) 10**	**(99) 249**

Values established on 249 observations and sub-sample bullied group (99 observations)

In Table 6.23 (regional variations are not analysed) within the total column it can be seen that of the 88 employees who did not respond, *(31)* belong to the *bullied group* (35.2%). Evidently, the *bullied group* felt management had a stronger reaction to complaints of pay than they did to complaints about working hours, as the *bullied group* constituted 71.9% of those in the survey group who reported that complaints of pay were met with *hostility & astonishment* – for complaints about working hours only 44.4% of the survey group who felt this way were from the *bullied group*.

As indicated previously, according to the responses *indifferent* managements (scoring 63 and 80 in each of the tables respectively) predominate in all types of venue, as well as all geographical locations.

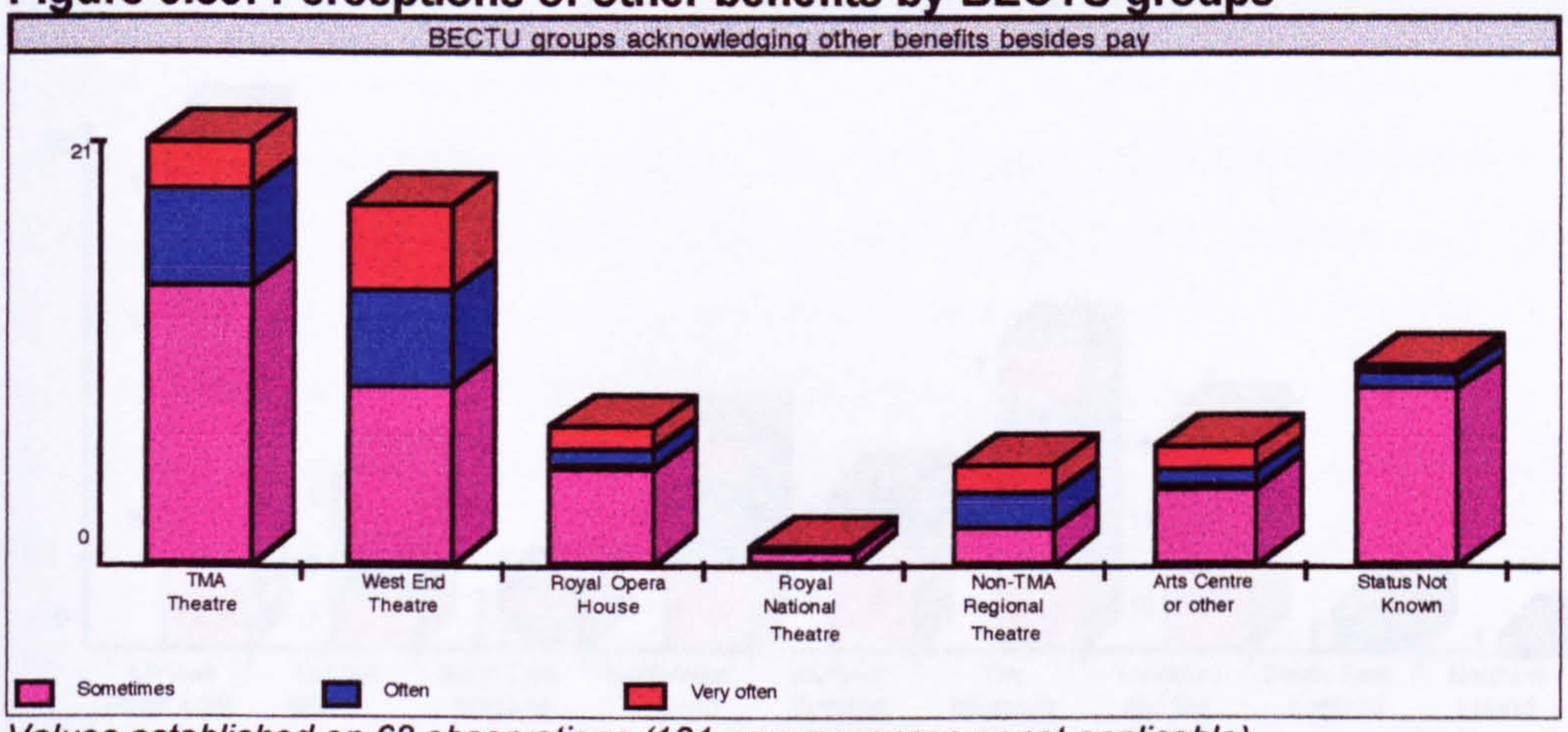
Table 6.23: Management attitudes to complaints about pay, by region

management attitudes location of employee	non-response	sympathy & understanding	hostility & resentment	astonishment	indifference	other (please specify)	Total
Non-response	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
London (West End)	28	2	7	4	20	3	64
London (other)	8	1	2	3	7	1	22
North-East England	5	1	0	1	1	0	8
North-West England	7	4	5	0	11	0	27
Southern England	1	4	2	1	10	2	20
The Midlands	14	2	8	1	13	1	39
Yorkshire & the Humber	9	7	4	2	6	1	29
South-East England	3	0	1	0	2	0	6
Northern Ireland	1	0	0	0	2	0	3
Scotland	11	6	3	2	7	0	29
TOTAL	**(31) 88**	**(9) 27**	**(23) 32**	**(6) 14**	**(29) 80**	**(1) 8**	**(99) 249**

Values established on 249 observations and sub-sample bullied group (99 observations)

In the previous section, it was noted that arts workers generally were sceptical about other benefits that might add value to wages, with only 10.0% believing this might be the case *often* or *very often.* Those employees who did acknowledged other benefits to an extent were based in London, Southern England, the Midlands, Yorkshire & the Humber and Scotland. Respondents in this category were from a variety of venues, however of the *big four* houses, only the ROH and the RNT feature.

Figure 6.59: Perceptions of other benefits by BECTU groups

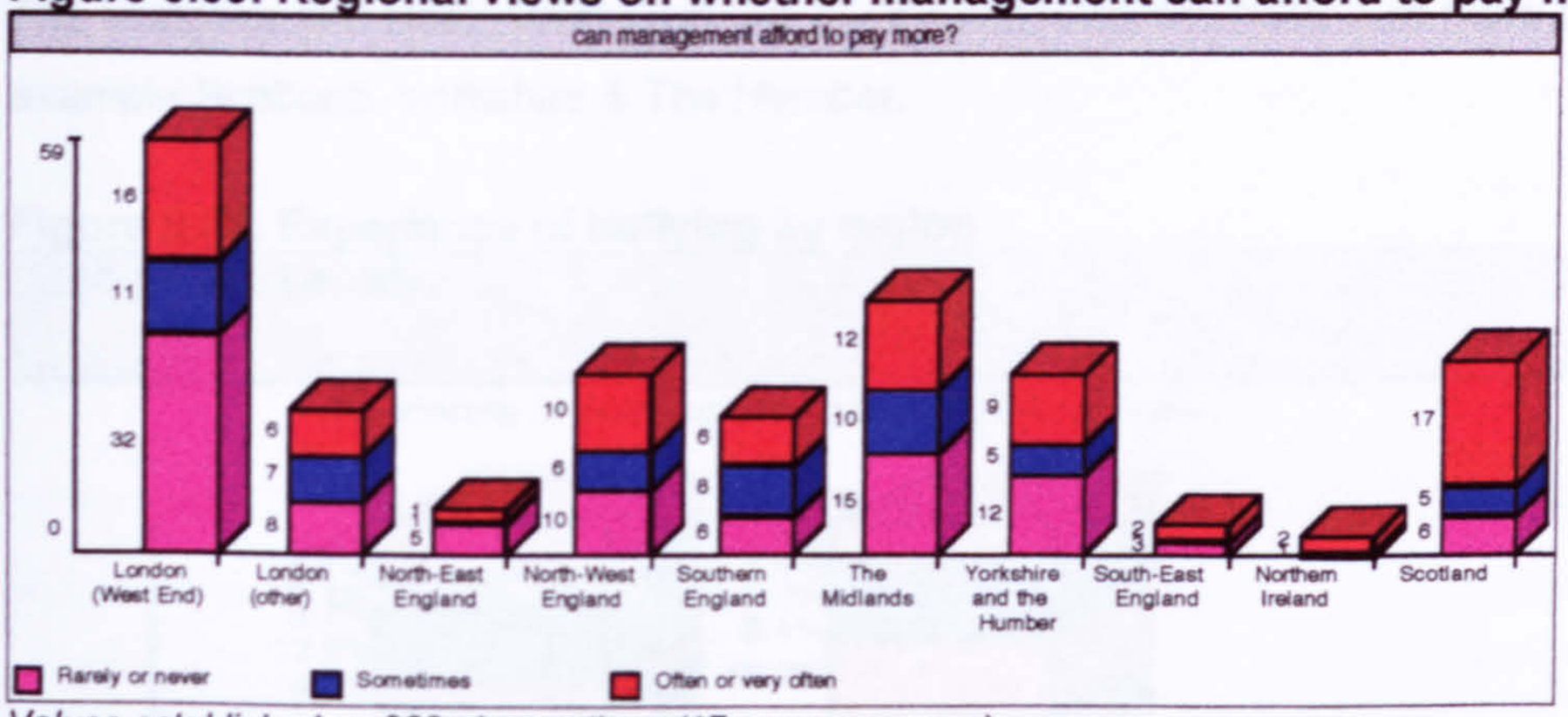


Values established on 68 observations (181 non-responses or not applicable)

Employees were also sceptical about management's inability to afford higher wages, with 39.8% claiming this was *never* or *rarely* the case. The highest number of respondents who

believed that management *often* or *very often* could not afford to pay higher wages worked in Scotland (58.6%). In other areas opinion was divided as to what management could or could not afford, although more of the people working in London's West End believed management could not afford to pay more, than in any other area.

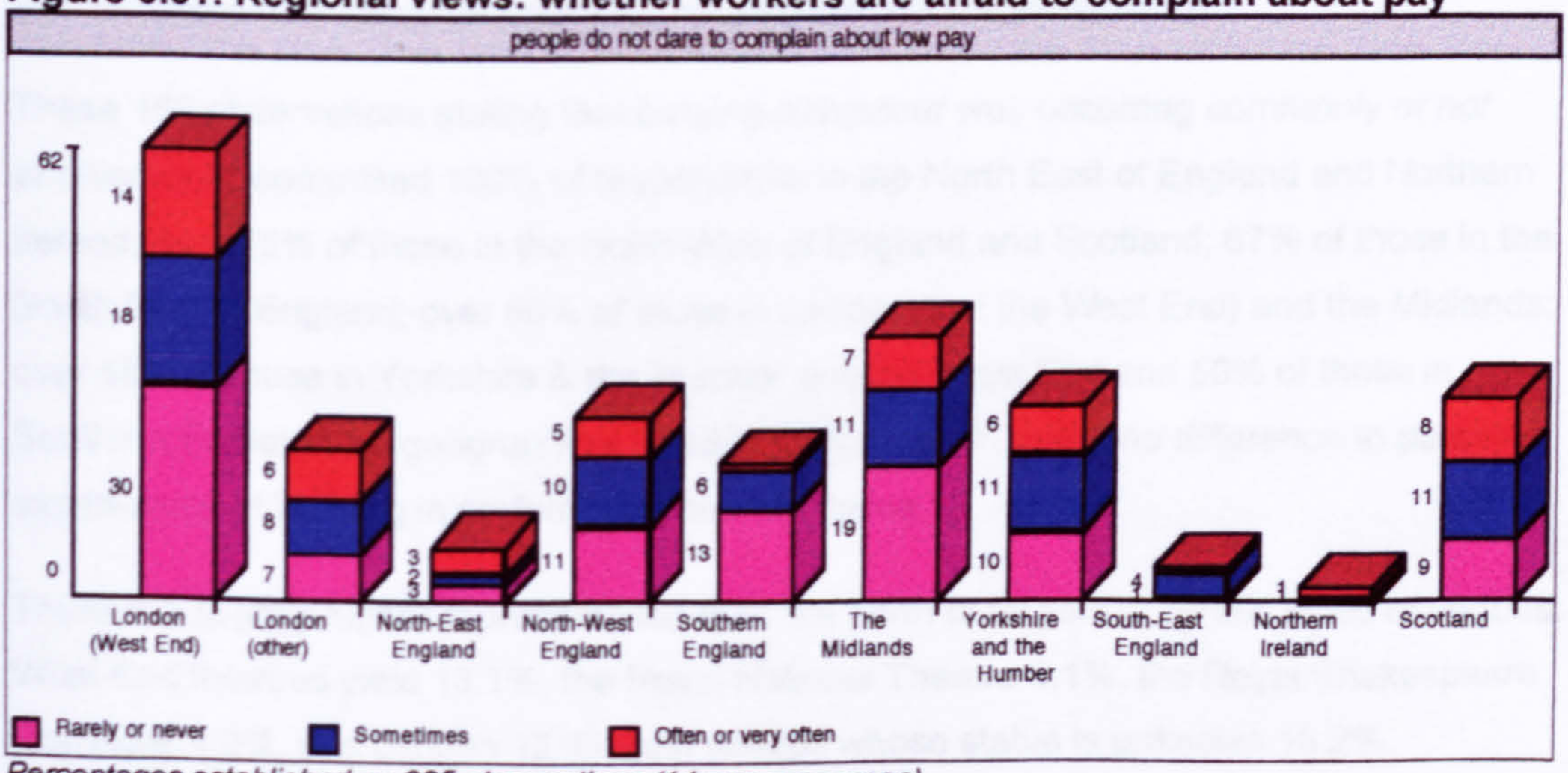
Figure 6.60: Regional views on whether management can afford to pay more



Values established on 232 observations (17 non-responses)

In the survey group we have seen that 53.8% of employees thought workers were *sometimes, often* or *very often* afraid to complain about pay: this view was held by 57.6% of the *bullied group* and 51.6% of the managers. It correlates with the *bullied group*'s report of attitudes of *hostility and resentment* from management towards complaints about pay. Regionally, in Southern England, the Midlands and London's West End the largest percentage of respondents stated that people were *rarely* or *never* afraid to complain about pay. Elsewhere opinion was divided.

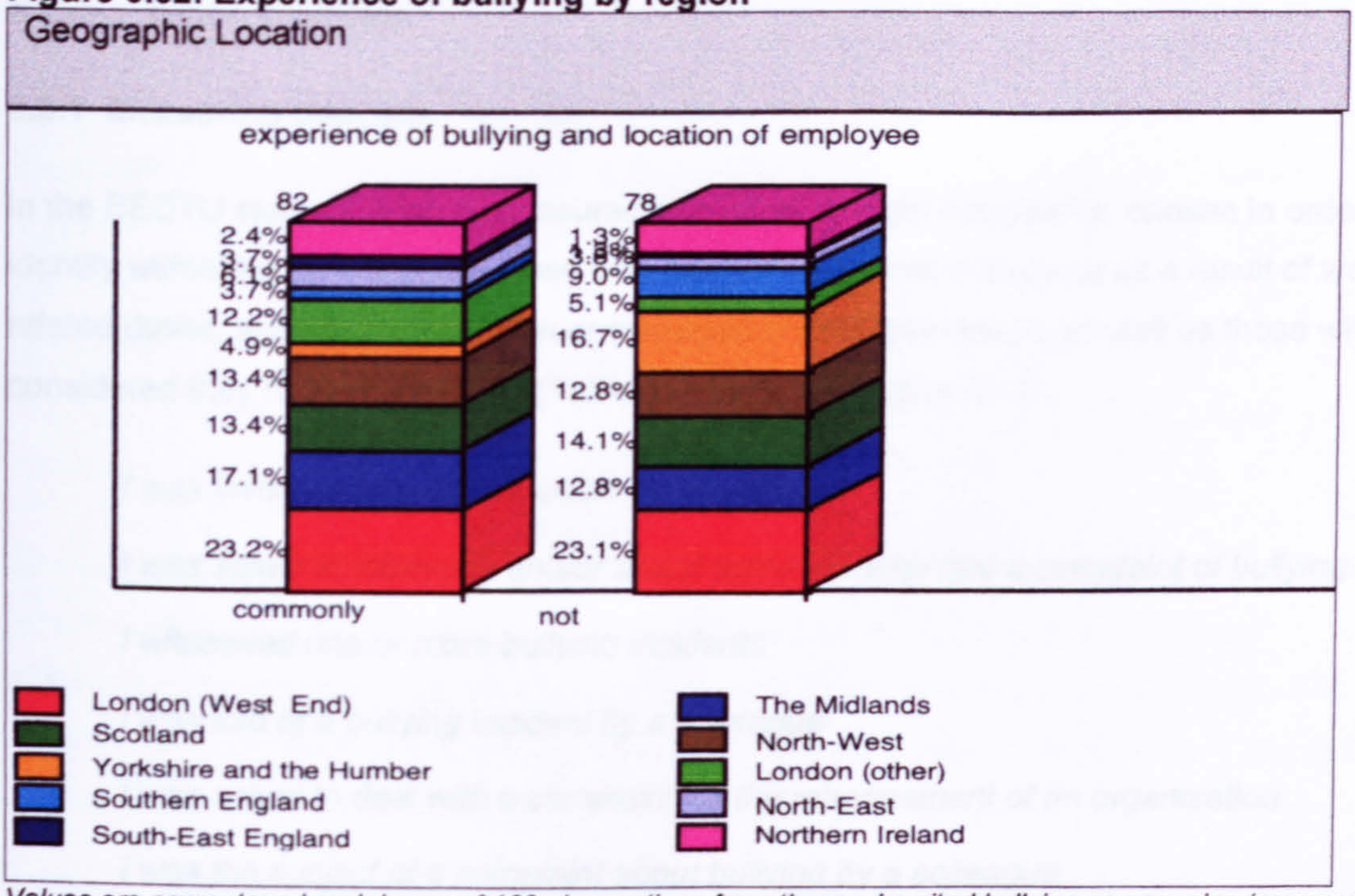
Figure 6.61: Regional views: whether workers are afraid to complain about pay



Percentages established on 235 observations (14 non-responses)

Responses to questions about bullying behaviour were analysed to give data relating to specific geographical locations. In Figure 6.62 below, the sub-sample who stated that bullying was occurring *commonly or not uncommonly* was examined in further detail, in order to identify if there were regional variations.[7] In several regions *commonly* was used to describe the frequency of workplace bullying by the majority of people, for example London, The Midlands and North West England. In others *not uncommonly* was more popular, for example Scotland, Yorkshire & The Humber.

Figure 6.62: Experience of bullying by region



Values are percentage breakdowns of 160 observations from those who cited bullying as occurring 'commonly' or 'not uncommonly' (2 responses as 'commonly', not geographically located, are omitted).

These 160 observations stating that bullying behaviour was occurring *commonly* or *not uncommonly*, comprised 100% of respondents in the North East of England and Northern Ireland; over 75% of those in the North West of England and Scotland; 67% of those in the South East of England; over 60% of those in London (not the West End) and the Midlands; over 58% of those in Yorkshire & the Humber and the West End and 50% of those in Southern England. So geographical location within the UK made no difference to people's experiences of bullying in performing arts workplaces.

There is a slightly higher representation than the norm of targets in certain types of venues: West End theatres yield 13.1%, the Royal National Theatre 6.1%, the Royal Shakespeare Company 4.0%, arts centres 12.1% and venues whose status is unknown 16.2%.

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[7] Two respondents who said bullying occurred *commonly* were not geographically located.

6.5 STATISTICAL SUPPORT FOR THE BULLYING AND PERMISSIBILITY LINK

In Chapter 1, Introduction, there are illustrations of how bullying behaviour works according to the self-help publications of the early 1990s (Fig 1.1) and of how victimhood may be regarded as temporary (Fig 1.2). These models are unsatisfactory, however, primarily because their focus is on the target, without regard to the environment in which the perpetrator of bullying behaviour is operating. During the arts research the potential for a positive relationship between a high degree of *permissibility* on the part of management, and bullying, began to emerge.

6.5.1 Measuring bullying

In the BECTU study bullying is measured according to eight descriptors, chosen in order to identify within the survey group those who had an active role in bullying as a result of work-related duties, such as trades union or management representation, as well as those who considered they had been targets (Tables 6.10 & 6.11; Figure 6.11).

I was involved as a trades union representative

I was asked to intervene and/or assist someone who had a complaint of bullying

I witnessed one or more bullying incidents

I was told of a bullying incident by a colleague

I was asked to deal with a complaint for the management of an organisation

I was the subject of a complaint about bullying by a colleague

I was the target of a workplace bully

I have had no personal involvement in bullying

The eight modalities were established through closed questions, enabling the responses to be analysed easily. They are also very quick and easy to answer from the point of view of the respondents. However, because responses are limited to a set of alternatives, closed questions have the potential to be biased and so respondents who felt the need to provide an explanation about their bullying experience were able to do so elsewhere in the questionnaire. Because the role of the statements was to identify specific sub-groups, they were not scored according to a scale, instead the most significant sub-groups were isolated and further analysed to provide additional data.

In each of the case studies workplace bullying is characterised by the involvement of *targets* and *witnesses,* and this was also the case in the BECTU survey. In addition, it has been noted that there is a collective response to bullying by other staff – workplace colleagues communicate about bullying and the internet provides ample evidence that virtual fora enable people to communicate within wider networks. In the BECTU study 65% of respondents – 162 people – reported that bullying behaviour was occurring *commonly* or *not uncommonly* and, in order to test this perception, a statistical analysis of the number of people self-reporting as *targets, witnesses* or *hearsays* was carried out using a Chi-Square (Chi^2) test.

The Pearson Chi^2 test is the most common and was chosen because it allows the testing of the independence of two categorical variables. Thus, the Chi^2 test is similar to tests of correlation, in that it measures the strength of associations between variables. The Chi^2 test can be used to test associations in one or more groups and it does this by comparing actual (observed) numbers in each group, with those that would be expected according to theory or simply by chance. The Chi^2 test requires that the data be expressed as frequencies, i.e. numbers in each category; this is nominal level of measurement.

All chi-square tests are based upon a chi-square distribution and are calculated according to a particular formula for the statistic. This statistic is then compared to a chi-square distribution with known degrees of freedom in order to arrive at the p-value. The p-value is used to decide whether or not we can reject the null hypothesis. If the p-value is less than "alpha" which is typically set at .05, then we can reject the null hypothesis.

Chi^2 was calculated with equal expected frequencies for each of the eight modalities above and the analysis indicates that the distribution from the norm is highly significant for three of the overlapping sub-groups: *the bullied group*, the *witnesses* and the *hearsays*. Chi^2 = 431.16, df=10, 1-p>99.9%. To further test the significance of these groups as indicators of bullying, confidence intervals were calculated to 95% as follows:

witnesses (125)	20.7% < 24.5 < 28.4% (387)
hearsays (116)	22.5% < 26.4 < 30.4% (397)
bullied group (99)	17.3% < 20.9 < 24.6% (366)

It may be concluded, then, that the perception of the wide prevalence of bullying is not confined to self-reporting targets, as might be expected, but is also statistically supported by people who have heard about and witnessed bullying behaviour, and who were not involved in a bullying incident as a result of their workplace role or duties.

6.5.2 Measuring permissibility via complaints procedures

In the survey, permissibility can be characterised by two elements: how well or badly management is perceived to handle complaints of bullying behaviour (Table 6.13) and perceptions of organisational attitudes to bullying (Table 6.16). Regarding how management handles complaints, Table 6.13 analyses respondents' views according to a *satisfaction scale*, providing a measurement of satisfaction as experienced by the survey group as a whole, and also its two sub-groups *bullied* and *non-bullied*. It was expected that more of the *bullied group* would consider that management handled complaints badly than in the *non-bullied* group, and this was the case. Therefore, to ensure balance in testing perceptions of how management handles complaints, further statistical analysis was carried out on the responses of the survey group as a whole.

The inclusion of this question signals to respondents that their judgement about how management performs is a concern of the research, and allows them to be impartial on the topic, hence the inclusion of the neutral point "*Don't Know*". Chi^2 was calculated with equal expected frequencies for each of the five modalities. That is, "management handles complaints of bullying..."

well; badly; it varies; don't know; non-response

and the analysis indicates that the distribution from the norm for the responses that management handles complaints *badly* is highly significant: $Chi^2=127.00$, df=4, 1-p=>99.9%. As this result reflects the whole survey group and not just the *bullied group*, this means that arts employees perceive management practice in handling bullying complaints as poor. To further test the significance of this view as an indicator of permissibility, confidence intervals were calculated to 95% as follows:

management handles complaints badly 33.7% < 39.8 < 45.8% (607)

The follow-up question in this area allowed respondents to differentiate between management's views of how complaints were handled, and those of the complainants themselves. As workplace colleagues communicate about bullying, it was expected that information on how complaints procedures were viewed by the complainant of bullying would be known. Again, within the survey group as a whole, the analysis indicates that the distribution from the norm for the responses that complainants were *not satisfied* with complaints procedures is highly significant: $Chi^2 = 127.00$, df = 4, 1-p > 99.9%. This reinforces the view that management handles complaints badly, and supports the view that management practice in handling bullying complaints is unsatisfactory for the complainant.

To further test the significance of this as another indicator of permissibility, confidence intervals were calculated to 95% as follows:

complainants dissatisfied with management 29.4% < 35.3 < 41.3% (593)

6.5.3 Measuring permissibility via organisational attitudes

The second element characterising permissibility is the perception of organisational attitudes to bullying. The survey asked respondents to select a statement describing their organisation's attitudes to bullying and a five point requirements scale was used to score the responses:

1. the organisation has a policy, which disapproves of bullying, and internal rules and procedures to deal with it
2. there is no policy on bullying, however the organisation would give consideration to a complaint and does not condone this type of behaviour
3. the organisation does not condone bullying but has not given any direct consideration to policy
4. the organisation is not persuaded there is a problem with bullying and has not addressed the issue
5. the organisation does not recognise that some terms and conditions are detrimental to employees and are equivalent to 'corporate bullying'

The last three statements indicate increasing levels of permissibility on the part of management and respondents who chose any one of these three statements were therefore deemed to be indicating permissibility:

the absence of policy-making (3)

refusal to accept/address bullying as an issue (4)

lack of awareness of detrimental terms and conditions (5)

Interestingly, if the responses to these three statements are combined, this results in a highly significant total of 105 observations. Chi^2=118.37, df=4, 1-p=>99.9%. The existence of permissibility in arts workplaces is confirmed as confidence intervals are

perceptions of permissibility 22.5% < 28.1 < 33.7% (558)

6.5.4 The relationship between bullying and permissibility

Having tested the characteristics of bullying via an analysis of the three sub-samples – *bullied group, witnesses* and *hearsays*; and having tested the levels of permissibility exhibited by organisations via an analysis of *complaint-handling* and *organisational attitudes to bullying*, the next step was to test the extent to which there may be a positive relationship between a high degree of *permissibility* on the part of management, and bullying.

Correlation tests are used to assess whether there is a relationship between two or more variables. There are two types of correlation: a Pearson's correlation is used when the data is parametric (interval/ratio). A Spearman's correlation is used if the data is non-parametric (ordinal). As the data from the survey was non-parametric, the most appropriate test for measuring the degree of correlation between the permissibility and bullying was Spearman's Correlation Coefficient. The Spearman's Rank Correlation test is a distribution free test that determines whether there is a monotonic relation between two variables (x , y). A monotonic relation exists when any increase in one variable – such as *permissibility* – is invariably associated with either an *in*crease or a *de*crease in the other variable – such as *bullying*. In equation form, for the pairs (*X1*, *Y1*) and (*X2*, *Y2*):

If *X2* > *X1* then *Y2* >= *Y1* for a monotonic *increase*

If *X2* > *X1* then *Y2* <= *Y1* for a monotonic *decrease*

The monotonic relation is expressed using rank-order numbers instead of the values. This also makes the Rank Correlation a test *distribution free* test and is useful to check whether matched pairs are really matched. If they are, their rank correlation should be statistically significant.

In Table 6.24, the *bullying* experience of the whole survey group is examined against the extent of *permissibility,* as measured by poor handling of complaints of bullying by management. In Data Table 6.25, the *bullying* experience of the whole survey group is re-examined against the extent of *permissibility,* as measured by those organisational attitudes to bullying that display lack of policy, rules and procedures – the sum of the responses to statements 3, 4 and 5 above.

Table 6.24: Correlation between bullying and poor complaint-handling

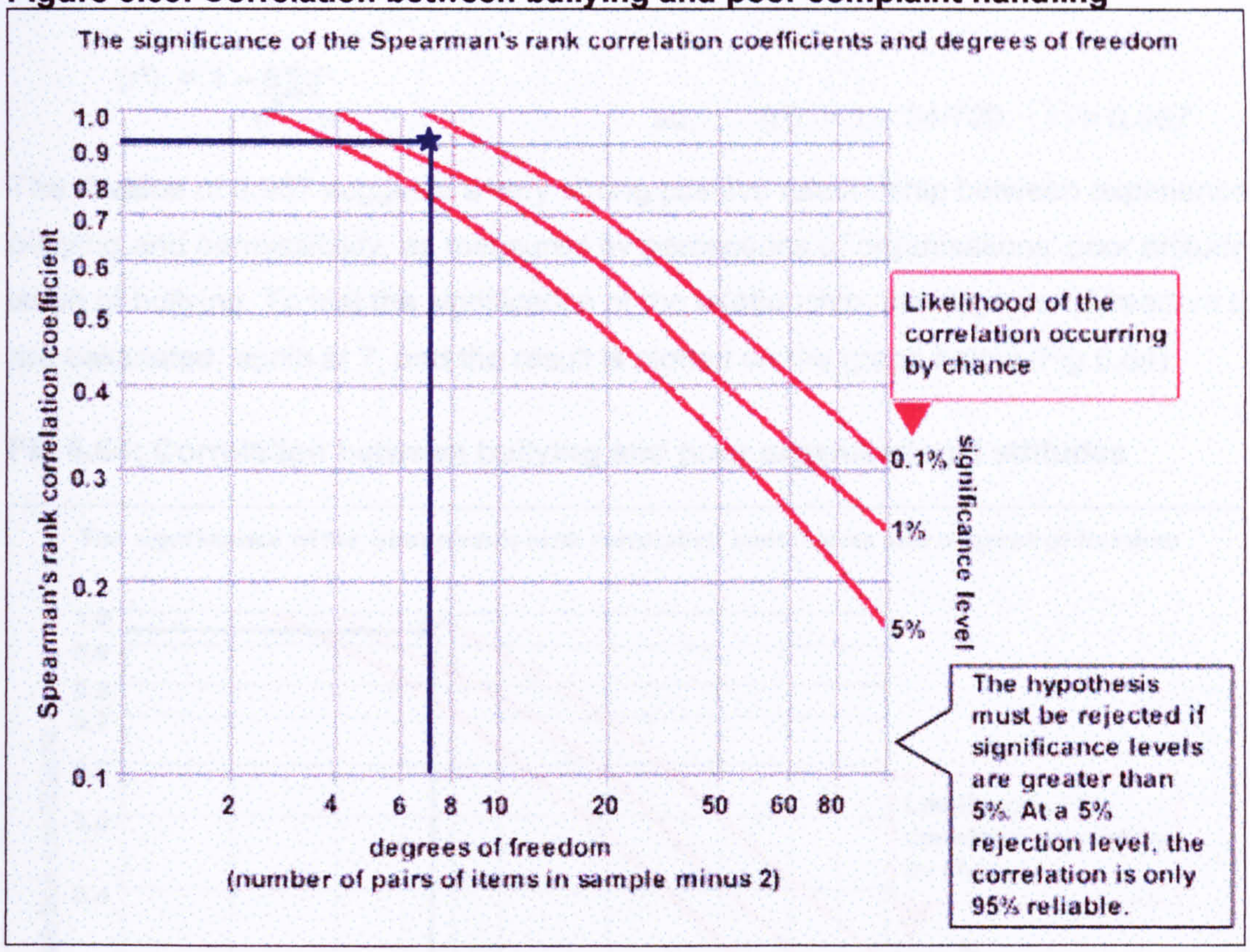
Bullying Experience	No of Citations in the survey group	*Rank*	No of Complaints handled badly by management	*Rank*	Difference between the ranks (d)	d^2
TU rep	23	*6*	12	*5*	1	1
Assisted complainant	29	*5*	18	*4*	1	1
Witness	116	*2*	59	*2*	0	0
Hearsay	125	*1*	68	*1*	0	0
Assisted management	5	*9*	2	*9*	0	0
Subject of a complaint	9	*8*	5	*6.5*	1.5	2.25
Bullied group	99	*3*	56	*3*	0	0
No personal involvement	47	*4*	5	*6.5*	-2.5	6.25
Other	10	*7*	3	*8*	-1	1
						$\sum d^2 = 11.5$

The coefficient (r^2) was calculated in the following way:

$$(r^2) = 1 - \frac{6\sum d^2}{n^3 - n} \qquad \text{so,} \qquad (r^2) = 1 - 69/720 \qquad = 0.904$$

A perfect positive correlation is +1 and a perfect negative correlation is -1. The r^2 value of 0.904 suggests a very strong positive relationship between experiences of bullying and permissibility, as measured by management's poor handling of complaints of bullying. This means that the experience of bullying increases where poor handling of complaints procedures increases. To further test the significance of the relationship, the *degrees of freedom* to use are calculated, in this case at 7, and the result is plotted on the graph below (Figure A). It can be seen that the significance level is part way between 0.1% and 1%, roughly 0.45%. That means that the probability of the relationship between bullying and permissibility being a chance event is less than 1 in a 100. It is 99.55% certain that the hypothesis is correct: bullying exists where the environment in which it is happening displays aspects of permissibility, here measured by poor systems for handling complaints.

Figure 6.63: Correlation between bullying and poor complaint-handling



In order to further study the relationship between bullying and a high degree of permissibility, organisational attitudes to bullying were examined and these were also tested against bullying behaviour. On this occasion, the permissibility indicators reflect the responses to statements 3, 4 and 5 as outlined above.

Table 6.25: Correlation between bullying and poor organisational attitudes

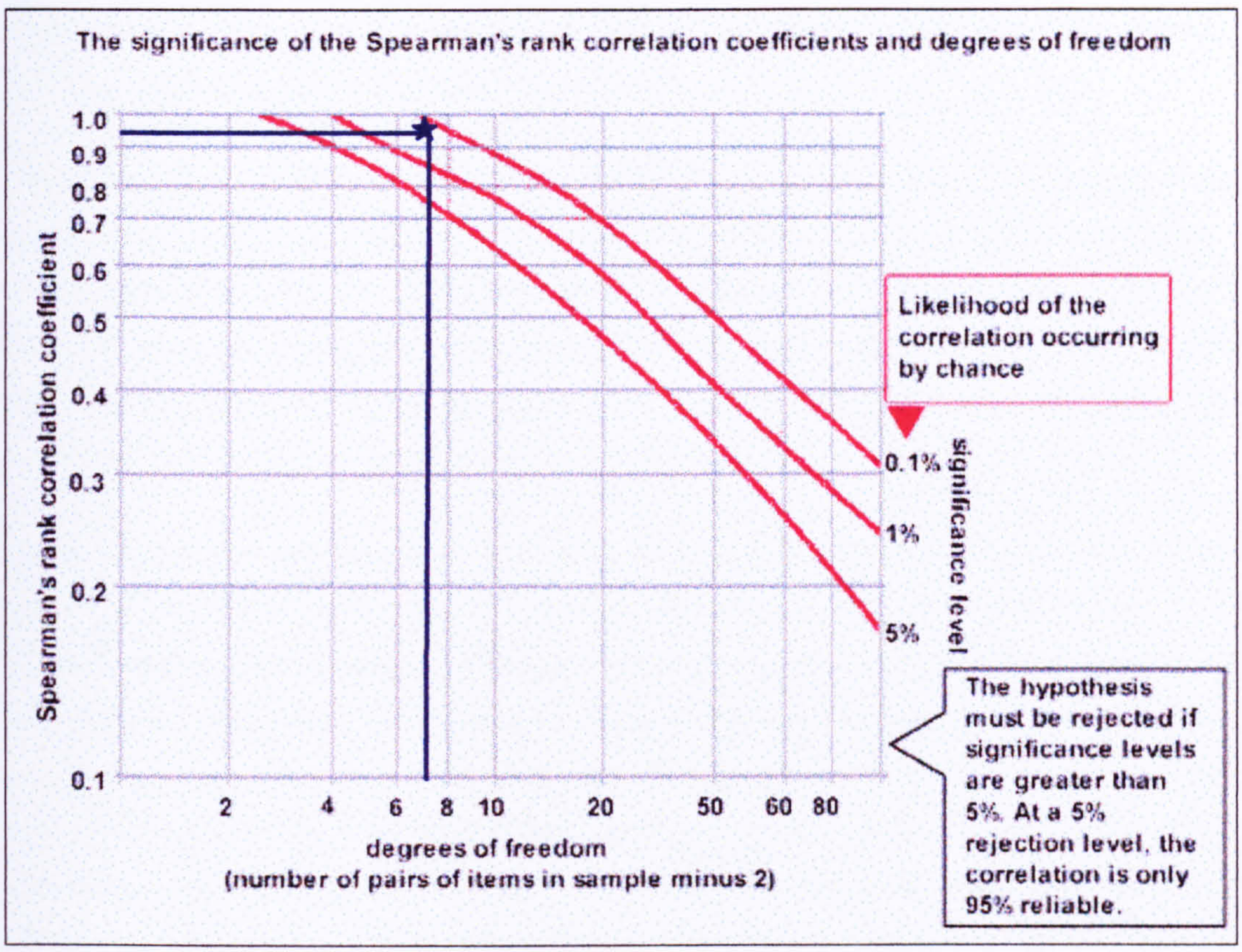
Bullying Experience	No of Citations	Rank	Organisational attitudes exhibit permissibility	Rank	Difference between the ranks (d)	d2
TU rep	23	6	9	6	0	0
Assisted complainant	29	5	16	4	1	1
Witness	116	2	58	2	0	0
Hearsays	125	1	66	1	0	0
Assisted management	5	9	2	9	0	0
Subject of a complaint	9	8	5	7	1	1
Bullied group	99	3	47	3	0	0
No personal involvement	47	4	12	5	-1	1
Other	10	7	4	8	-1	1
						$\sum d2 = 4$

The coefficient (r^2) was calculated:

$$(r^2) = 1 - \frac{6\sum d^2}{n^3 - n} \qquad \text{so,} \quad (r^2) = 1 - 24/720 \quad = 0.967$$

The r^2 value of 0.967 suggests a very strong positive relationship between experiences of bullying and permissibility, as measured by perceptions of organisations' poor attitudes to the issue of bullying. To test the significance of the relationship, the *degrees of freedom* to use are calculated, again at 7, and the result is plotted on the graph below (Fig 6.64).

Fig 6.64: Correlation between bullying and poor organisational attitudes



It can be seen that the significance level is close to 0.1% and that the probability of the relationship between bullying and permissibility being a chance event is less than 1 in a 100. It is 99.03% certain that the hypothesis is correct: bullying exists where the environment in which it is happening displays aspects of permissibility, here measured by poor organisational attitudes to the issue. Each of these tests provides statistical support for the link between bullying and permissibility. Taken together, they demonstrate a strong correlation between management permissibility and bullying. This relationship between permissible environment and the experience of bullying is evidently strong and needs to be taken into account when assessing the ways in which bullying might be tackled. This is further discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

Chapter 7 Discussion

7.1 DISCUSSION

The preceding chapters detailed the research into workplace bullying in the arts via the results of the two pilot studies, seven case histories and the national survey in collaboration with BECTU. This chapter considers the working environment in arts organisations and examines the claim made by managers, in the context of justifying different terms and conditions, that *the arts are different.* There are certainly distinctive characteristics of working in the arts, and these are explored by reports from practitioners, however the same can be said of many employment sectors. Ultimately, there is insufficient evidence to support *special status* for the arts in terms of how people are treated, or to justify the bullying behaviour in arts organisations that the research indicates.

Seven significant findings were noted in Table 4.1 categorised as (I) managerial status; (II) line management responsibilities; (III) awareness of bullying; (IV) perceptions of the prevalence of bullying; (V) direct experience of bullying; (VI) management performance re bullying; and (VII) management recognition of corporate responsibility. These issues are of import in the context of the conduct of the arts constituency and the set of precepts, beliefs, principles and aims that underlie arts practice today.

Managerial status has long been identified with bullying – for example, Rayner & Cooper, 1997 pp 221 – 214 – and in the arts research bullying by managers features more than that by colleagues or subordinates, although *peer bullying*, also called *horizontal intimidation,* is also present, and anecdotal evidence indicates that *upward bullying* may also be occurring, as is the case in other employment sectors. During one unstructured interview a Theatre Manager outlined how a member of her management team was adopting a proprietorial role with other staff *acting as the boss* and interfering with their designated roles and functions, which were outside her remit. The employee constantly sent long memos by email to her superior about *inadequate* work practices in other departments, drawing attention to *apparent oversights* on the manager's part. Line management responsibilities are significant in the labour-intensive arts world because arts organisations have a duty of care to the people who work in them – a principle acknowledged in the arts mindset, but often secondary to *higher* considerations, such as the quality of creative *product*, audiences and profile/reputation. Some arts managers might say this was necessarily so, however it raises the issue of how or whether they are equipped to deliver a duty of care, and compels consideration of whether current education and training provision for the profession is appropriate and sufficient to this end.

The growth of awareness of bullying behaviour is inferred in the comparison between the 2000 Pilot Study among 13 Theatre Managers and the 2004 BECTU survey, in which 27 management staff participated. Although the samples represent numerically small groups in terms of quantitative analysis, and different individuals, the attitudinal change in levels of awareness during the four years from the benchmark position in 2000 is highly significant in qualitative terms. So, too, are examinations of the perceptions of the prevalence of bullying. These indicate that bullied arts workers – as evidenced by Pilot Study 2 (Website) and the *bullied group* (BECTU survey) – report workplace bullying in the arts as occurring *commonly* or *not uncommonly* at a much higher level than non-bullied arts workers. This tallies with the findings of other researchers:

> People who label themselves as being bullied do report more negative behaviours to which they are subjected at work. This applies both to the range of different types of behaviours and also for the frequency of experiencing those behaviours. The "bullied" group also reports a stronger emotional reaction to their treatment at work. (Rayner, 1999 p 30)

The extent to which personal experience influences perceptions, both for arts managers and for bullied arts workers, emerges as key to understanding their respective responses to the subject. The *bullied group* in the arts research regarded working conditions, such as rates of pay and working hours, in more or less the same way as the non-bullied group. However they displayed stronger feelings than non-bullied people when describing the attitude of their employers to employee complaints about pay and hours, for example a higher percentage of the *bullied group* said employers reacted with *hostility and resentment*. Unsurprisingly, arts managers took a relatively positive view of their organisation's attitudes, for example just over one-fifth thought their employer had handled complaints of bullying badly, compared to 39.8% of the survey group as a whole.

Reflecting on arts workers' direct encounters with workplace bullying reveals experiences identical to those reported in other employment sectors, and the findings of the BECTU survey are that almost two in five arts employees are bullied in the UK. There is little evidence of the capacity to handle bullying behaviour satisfactorily in arts organisations, and the issues of hours of work and rates of pay continue to be causes for complaint in the profession. Not surprisingly, a high proportion of bullied arts workers are disappointed in how management deals with problematic issues, and considers that management does not recognise corporate responsibility for bullying behaviour.

Rayner (1999) p 36 stressed the importance of understanding the context in which research data on bullying is collected, and from whom, in order to establish its *applicability into specific work environments*. The impact of the significant issues for the arts must be judged in the context of understanding the arts milieu and the codes of practice and standards that govern artists and creative organisations today.

7.2 THE ARTS WORKING ENVIRONMENT

A study conducted in 2003 by the University of Warwick's Institute for Employment Research for Arts Council England, *Artists in Figures*, painted a picture of a vibrant and economically active cultural sector: employment in the arts and culture had increased by over 150,000 in the 10 years to September 2003. At the end of 2000, 760,000 people were employed in cultural occupations in the UK, compared with 610,000 in 1993. Since 1993, unemployment within the pool of cultural labour had declined from 9.5% to just 2.5%. The survey also stated that individuals in cultural employment often sacrificed potential earnings and job security to follow their chosen career.

Peter Hewitt, Secretary General commented:

> The arts are a growing source of employment and an increasingly important part of our economy. Just in terms of hard economics, people working in the arts and culture contribute more to society than they take out – and that's before taking into account their positive and transforming impact on the quality of life in this country. The growth in employment opportunities has not seen any reduction in the personal commitment or the powerful sense of vocation of individuals working in the arts. Alongside this massive growth in employment we know there is a huge public demand for the arts and culture –an appreciation of the unique qualities of an original work of art, the power of live performance and a recognition of the value of the arts in our communities. (*Artists in Figures*, University of Warwick, 2003)

It seems that people in cultural occupations are three times more likely to be self-employed than those in non-cultural occupations – 39% compared with 12%. Among the self-employed, people in cultural occupations are twice as likely to have a second job than people in non-cultural occupations – 10% compared with 5%. While those in cultural employment receive above overall average earnings – that is national and all-sectors – their earnings are generally substantially less than similarly qualified professionals working in other fields. The Warwick University study shows the earnings of those working in arts and culture have declined relative to overall average earnings. In 1991 average earnings in cultural occupations were 22% higher that the national, all-sectors average, but this declined to 14% by 2000 and the decline is most marked in London. For example, in Inner London in 1991 earnings in cultural occupations were 21% higher than the average, falling to just 6% in

2000. People directly employed in cultural occupations are half as likely to claim state benefits than those in other areas of employment – 4% against 8%. This may suggest that pay levels are therefore not as low in the arts as in other employment sectors, or it may support the information published by EQ (formerly Metier) about freelance working patterns, allowing some arts workers to have more than one job. The proportion of people working beyond statutory retirement age in cultural occupations is twice that of those in non-cultural occupations (*Artists in Figures*).[1]

Traditionally, the arts have been regarded as providing vocational occupations, for which participants nurture a passion rather than the more prosaic desire to make money or advance a career. This may go some way towards explaining the fact that earnings in cultural occupations are substantially less than those of *similarly qualified professionals working in other fields* and also that, in the BECTU Study, 73.5% of respondents perceived their pay to be low. Notwithstanding the negative ramifications of the appendage of *industry* to every aspect of working life today, as in *leisure industry, tourism industry and creative industry* (Protherough & Pick, 2002) a touch of romanticism still lingers about working in the arts and might be held to contribute to the assertion by arts managers in the Pilot Study that *the arts are different*.

Today the nature of working specifically in the *performing* arts, as with those participating in the BECTU Study and some of the case histories, tends to be represented by an emphasis on people working together to form creative partnerships, reflecting the fact that the performing arts is essentially collaborative in nature and labour intensive. Southwest Missouri State University, for example, in its introduction to its performing arts courses, particularly elaborates on the importance of people, to and within performing arts organisations.

> SMSU understands the essentially public nature of the performing arts and the ramifications of such a nature: that performing artists, as vehicles of human expression, must actively participate in the community and not be isolated from it; that the performing arts fulfill a variety of needs which range from enlightenment to entertainment to economic development; that the performing arts are inextricably linked to the visual and language arts; and that the performing arts must consistently seek to develop breadth of expression in deference to the diversity of the public they serve. Inasmuch as the performing arts are of, by, about and for the people, the university's commitment to the performing arts is a statement of oneness with its community. (Performing arts course description, Southwest Missouri State University, 2006)

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[1] The findings in the report are based on a statistical analysis of two major government surveys: the Labour Force Survey and the New Earnings Survey. Information on the career development of people working in cultural occupations was drawn from two longitudinal studies: the National Child Development Study and the British Cohort Study. The definition of a cultural occupation is based on the Office for National Statistics' Standard Occupational Classification (SOC). The SOC encompasses a range of occupations, for example, from visual artists, actors, authors, musicians and goldsmiths to entertainment managers, architects and information officers. A full definition can be found on page 4 of the report.

Commonly, people working at technical, administrative and executive levels in performing arts organisations deal with a range of pressures which can include strict deadlines, long hours for the level of remuneration, and colleagues, line managers and leaders with variable egos and temperaments. Metier (now EQ), an arts training and advice service in the UK, publishes the following facts about working in the arts:

- working hours tend to be seasonal, flexible and *unsociable*
- large numbers of people who work in the industry work in other industries as well (whether by choice or need)
- pay for very few is very high but for the most part pay tends to be below comparable jobs in other industries
- working patterns tend to be freelance, part time or short term

Whilst some or all of this may be true of many arts jobs, undoubtedly in other professions working hours are long and unsociable too, as with junior doctors, and/or seasonal, as in tourism, catering and hotel work. Those working in sport and for the fire brigade often work in other professions as well. There are many freelance, part-time and short-term workers in a range of sectors, including education, retail and manufacturing.

7.2.1 The arts are *different*

Among the arts managers in the Pilot Study, the notion of *the arts as vocation* persisted. They asserted that those working in a performing arts environment did not have the expectation of a *normal* nine to five working day, of a well-remunerated position or of working with conventional colleagues: those who had chosen to work in theatres and arts centres, rather than in offices, factories or shops, were *different*. One manager commented on working longer than average hours

> Management has a recognition that, up to a point, it goes with the territory — if you want 9 to 5, work for the council. (*Pilot Study, 1R1)*

The perception that arts organisations work outside the rules and limitations of the ordinary milieu (as represented by the public and private sectors) appeared to be widespread. So is it the same outside the UK? Are the arts *different* everywhere else too?

> The arts are indeed different, a special kind of business. I am quite prepared to use the language of business if, in exchange, the language of the arts is understood as a different language with its own grammar and intonation... The arts are but one part of culture... The arts are not the same as entertainment, though they can be entertaining. Entertainment includes all of what we do in our spare time. The arts are

> different. When we buy a product in a shop, we know what to expect. With an artistic event, a work of art, an artistic performance, we are paying for an experience, the effect of which is not quantifiable and may vary from person to person. The arts, thus, produce a special kind of product, an experience. (*Extract from an address by Dr Brian Kennedy, Director, National Gallery of Australia, to the Canberra Business Council).*

So, then, in Australia the arts are special and different and we could intimate that the same could be said of the people who manage and deliver them. In 2002 filmmaker David Mullen thought that the arts were different too, but not in a good way.

> Yes, the arts are different than other professions; anyone with an artistic thought, armed with a paintbrush or a pen or a camera, can rightly call themselves a painter, a writer, a photographer — not everyone can call themselves a surgeon, an airline pilot, a plumber ... Filmmaking does not have to be a profession; certainly there are days when my bank account is so low that I wonder if this is more of a hobby than a job! (Weblog, 2002)

In July 2002 the editor and publisher of *Carolina Arts* (USA), Tom Starland, wrote candidly about what he had learned in 15 years.

> The arts are a business, an industry — full of politics. Some people act like the arts are different than the rest of the world. As long as money is involved — it's all the same. You produce a product or service. You hope people will feel what you offer is worth the price you want. And, you're in competition with a lot of other producers, so you need to promote, market, and profit. A lot of artists and art groups never understand this concept and they suffer for it. (*Carolina Arts*, 2002)

So, then, in Carolina the arts are not different, they are *full of politics* like everything else and the people involved in the arts must be no different to the people involved in other sectors or professions. Except that later in the same article, Tom Starland presents for consideration another aspect of working in the arts:

> We who are in the arts should pinch ourselves every morning we wake. We're living a charmed life. Think about it — you or I could be working in a major corporate conglomerate. We could be ditch diggers or working for the IRS. Working in the arts isn't easy, but it sure beats a lot of other things we could be doing to make a living. I hope everybody knows how lucky we are. (*Carolina Arts*, 2002)

Now the arts are special and different again, because they are better than *a lot of other things*. Perhaps working in the arts is regarded as *different* from an individual perspective, even if the *arts industry* behaves like any other. Or does it? At Lancaster University in the UK, the Higher Education Academy Subject Centre for Dance, Drama and Music (PALATINE), celebrates the success of a funding bid to create the project CAREER

> A major concern in developing our funding bid was to focus on the distinctive features of the labour market in the performing arts and creative industries. In the world of the

> arts, the labour market is very competitive and employment prospects for all graduates are relatively uncertain. (*PALATINE*, 2004)

The creative industries as a whole are also increasingly dominated by part-time, self-employed, and *freelance* working. In the music industry, approximately 90% of people work part-time, or on a self-employed basis. Performers in dance can face the greatest difficulties. A dancer's working life often begins at an early age and performing careers are short (about ten years on average). Employment is sporadic and often short-term, with many dancers also working in non-dance areas to support themselves, especially in the period immediately after graduation. They then face the prospect of embarking on a second career, which is often not dance-related. In spite of the fragmented nature of the performing arts sector, people still think in terms of having a career, although career paths in this field are very different from traditional career models in other industries.

> Those who do well in the performing arts are creative, expressive individuals who are passionate about their craft. Patience, perseverance, and stamina—in addition to talent, practice, and a thick skin—are crucial to success; performing artists must get accustomed to rejection. Actors and professional dancers may perform the same roles for months, sometimes years. Film actors must sometimes shoot the same scene over and over again. And regardless of how a performer is feeling—whether he or she is exhausted or in a bad mood—the show must go on. (*Wetfeet: a 'recruitment solutions provider' based in San Francisco*)

The concept that the arts are *different*, persists today. The following contributions are from three performing arts practitioners, each asked to describe the nature of the performing arts workplace and how they believe it differs from other workplaces. There is a clear correlation between their input and that of the arts managers who participated in Pilot Study 1 (2000).

7.2.2 Artistic Director, Theatre

This is the Artistic Director of a regional producing and receiving house in Northern Ireland:

> "In no particular order, what I notice is:
>
> 1) There can be a sense that normal rules do not apply, probably engendered by the sense that it is hard to get work in the arts, and that we are *very* lucky to be doing something we love, so a sense of perspective in terms of work-life balance, health and safety, pay for work doesn't seem to apply, after all who needs a life-work balance when your work is what you live for, not in a workaholic sense, but in the sense that Theatre is the place where I am most myself?
> 2) Correspondingly in rehearsal normal rules also do not apply when it comes to not bringing emotions and personal stuff to the professional table, its often all there, without much sense of the checks that "professional decorum" would normally impose.
> 3) The range of material we are asked to cover in any given day – I think we are true renaissance people – to be able to teach mask technique and non-verbal status body language one minute, then script edit, then instruct a lighting designer and deliver a

£450k touring budget, arts council grant, or plan a volunteer development programme, and deal with a staff bullying claim the next – but then I guess that might be true of anyone heading up an SME,[2] I just wouldn't know.

4) There is a lot more burdensome bureaucracy of reporting and back-covering in the arts, I think – all that time spent reporting to various funders on the steps taken to ensure the projection of vulnerable adults, equality of opportunity, targeting social need etc – it feels as though the main business of the business, ie Artistic Excellence or even just running a good commercially successful venue, doesn't count. What counts is the by-product of meeting other people's targets. Maybe I seem a bit cynical, although I try not to be, but I'd say that if I work 47 weeks of the year about 5 of those are spent on achieving Artistic Excellence, which is the actual raison d'être of what I do. I think if I actually sat down and looked at this ratio over the last ten years I might leave the Arts! Maybe I'd do better working in some other field and doing Arts as a hobby!
5) The pay is lower – when I look at what my skills would buy outside the arts...
6) The furniture is usually a lot nicer in other walks of life
7) People are more fascinated by what we do if we're in the arts, but correspondingly they can make a lot of assumptions about how skilled, hard working, mentally disciplined we are. I've had cracks about what time I must get up in the morning, etc."

This arts employee eloquently expresses *the arts are different* concept voiced by the theatre managers in the Pilot Study in 2000. She communicates that the arts are exciting and special – this is revisited in the discussion of organisational culture later in the chapter – indeed, so special as to negate the need for the *rewards* associated with a *normal* work environment – for example, a reasonable balance between time at home and at work; a decent income; the duty of care employers owe to employees, and that employees owe to themselves. The view of *professionalism* in the context of preparing theatrical productions is an interesting one: the implication is that all performers exploit their emotional life experiences and bring these to their artform – unlike those in any other profession. Patently, performers are proficient and intelligent professionals who learn, improve and refine a set of skills appropriate to their artform. They apply themselves to the development of a range of performance techniques, and the extent of self-discipline and expertise required to achieve excellence transcends the device of *connecting with their psyche*. Also, individuals in non-arts professions have little choice but to bring their emotional experiences with them to their particular *professional table,* albeit not always overtly. Were this not the case, there would be no charismatic *captains of industry* capable of inspired leadership, no workers in the caring professions and ethnographers would not need to consider their own *interpretive lenses* (Hall, 2001) when undertaking research.

Skills in workload organisation and the requirement for multi-tasking are certainly features of working at management level in the arts and of many other small and medium-sized

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[2] Abbreviation for Small or Medium-sized Enterprise

enterprises. The frustration created by the experience of *burdensome bureaucracy* is recognised by Protherough & Pick (2002) who dub it *managerialism*. Undoubtedly, within the arts establishment of funders and policy-makers, who set targets, invent criteria and require accountability from those they support, there has been a shift to quantitative rather than qualitative evaluation and assessment methodology – a result, say Protherough and Pick (2002: p 177), of the transfer of theories of scientific management (Taylorism)[3] from traditional (manufacturing) industries and institutions to the new *vocational industries* – arts, education, health, religion. Ironically, the very ingredient that has attracted this creative Artistic Director to the arts – the opportunity to achieve *Artistic Excellence* – is the one element within her workload that is being relegated to a *by-product of other people's targets*, in danger of being lost altogether, perhaps, by the requirement to deliver the end products of *managerialism*. It could be argued that it is within her power to change her situation, however that may only be by changing her job, in which case her employer could be considered a *corporate bully.* This is further explored later in this chapter.

The recognition that rates of pay and physical working environments of the arts are less attractive than elsewhere, taken alongside *other people's perceptions* of those who work in the arts, implies that the arts remains the *poor relation* of the commercial world of business and industry. There, better terms and conditions prevail and the workplace is populated by *highly-skilled, hardworking and practical workers*, not the *unfocused, fanciful types* in the arts. It is ironic that this concept should persist in 2007, despite the arts establishment's requirement that managers produce *scientific* appraisals in which everything possible has been tallied, measured and calculated; in which milestones have been surpassed, targets exceeded and goals achieved – ultimately causing creative individuals to perceive that they have become a bevy of bean counters.

7.2.3 Artistic Director of Touring Company, Contemporary Dance

The second contribution is from a dance teacher/lecturer who is also the Artistic Director of a contemporary dance company based in the North of England and touring nationally in the UK [my parentheses]:

> "Why is it [working in the arts] different?
>
> I was teaching a new group of students yesterday and the course leader and I spoke about the nature of the dance sector. I guess in everything we do we are striving for excellence.

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[3] *Holding that the manager's function was to discover "scientifically" the most efficient use of workers, thereby increasing productivity.*

The reason why we are carrying out the work is often driven by a passion for the arts, an ambition to succeed in this competitive industry but [an arts organisation's] existence is one with huge financial pressures... Many of the ideas are driven by pressure to deliver the highest quality with little or no reward.

There are many unwritten rules [in the performing arts workplace] ... there are many different ways to get our dance students to do things.

Compared to others [that is, other employment sectors... there is a different] drive to make money.

Having worked in both the commercial and arts sector I have found that the main difference is the motivation behind the work we are doing. The arts workplace is generally more rewarding, perhaps because we feel we are doing something which makes us feel good or make others feel good. In contrast in other workplaces it tends to be motivated by financial reward and career opportunities. Arts projects are often run for relatively short periods of time fuelled by creative energy and rewarded by the results of the work. Because of this timeframe it provides little security long term and no clear career path, but provides the freedom and opportunity to experience different projects and feeds the creativity and ambition of artistic individuals.

The workplace for the artistic team is often on the move and workers can get on top of one another, sharing rooms on tour, spending social time together, as well as rehearsing and performing daily. There are positive outcomes of this environment; feeling like you are a part of a family who can provide emotional support and social time; encouraging a greater understanding and connection between team members during rehearsals and in performance. This close relationship can often cause unnecessary tensions and conflicts which can affect the performance of the artist. If you are lucky you have a permanent base where rehearsals and administration staff are based [however] the 'workplace' for the artistic team is often on the move.

Other differences apparent is in the personality of the Artistic Directors who can often be very demanding and expect the highest standards at all times. The arts workplace can be emotionally and physically exhausting and there are huge pressures to deliver the highest quality service."

This arts employee teaches dance as well as running an independent touring company – multi-tasking necessary to her exit strategy from the profession. Again, the concept is highlighted of striving for *excellence* and being *driven by a passion* for the arts, juxtaposed with the paucity of financial reward, reinforcing the total commitment and dedication of the artist: art for art's sake. Whilst the sincerity of the expression is not in any doubt, the belief that this marks the arts out as *different* to other professions is surely misplaced? Who, except the very jaded, in **any** business, would declare that they did **not** strive for excellence, or they were **not** committed or dedicated to their chosen profession? Unenthusiastic or demotivated staff are found in most employment sectors, and are not exclusive to non-arts fields. Perhaps the issue of fiscal returns is the real one that resonates here: business and industry being unashamedly interested in profit, which is perceived by artists and arts organisations to sit uncomfortably alongside their artistic integrity?

The physical environment of the workplace referred to by the Theatrical Artistic Director (7.1.2) features again here. In this case, the transient nature of touring is symptomatic of impermanence for artists, and an acknowledged stressor among musicians, dancers and other performing artists (Giga, Hoel & Cooper, 2003: p 3, 2.8). The final comment has no sinister connotation and refers to the need for dancers and dance teachers to inspire others, to harness creativity and constantly to invent new ways of working. Again, whilst these are laudable, if demanding, features, the capacity for imaginative and original ways of thinking, acting and working is not exclusively confined to arts workplaces.

7.2.4 Partner in Touring Company, Comedy

Finally, a contribution from a partner in a comedy company based in London, touring nationally and internationally, who is a musician and actor/writer. His company devises and performs comedy material for all ages, works in role-play and improvisation in business settings and also in conventional theatre productions and film [my parentheses]:

> "Definition of the arts workplace?
>
> Probably the main difference is the way energy is directed towards an end product, which is a goal with an almost grail-like aura.
>
> Most other businesses can direct energies in a less frenetic and more controlled way (otherwise they'd be failing as businesses). It would seem to replicate the energy surges of the hunter-gatherer – lots of effort to make the kill at almost any cost, then a good rest afterwards with a project complete.
>
> [This] seems to sum up the way we would view it – except when you're touring 3 different shows, and a venue wants posters for next July **now**... hmmmm"

This is another multi-talented individual and for him, the *emotional experience* of striving for *excellence* is described as *energy,* and the objective – the artistic product – is transmuted to the stuff of mediaeval legend.[4] Theatre focuses on the artistic product, whilst drama focuses on the process, so the core of his activity as a theatre practitioner and writer/musician is arriving at a *product* – apparently, no matter what the (personal) cost. The artistic process, or how his *energies* are *directed*, he describes as *frenetic* compared to how he believes non-arts businesses operate. In fact, it seems highly likely that many people outside the arts work

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[4] ***the (Holy) Grail, the Saint Grail*** or SANGRAIL: in mediæval legend, the platter used by our Saviour at the Last Supper, in which Joseph of Arimathea received the Saviour's blood at the cross.
The fortunes of 'the Holy Grail' (OF. *le saint graal*, whence Malory has the corrupt form *sancgreal*: see SANGRAIL), and the adventures undergone in the search for it by various knights of Arthur's Round Table, form an important part of the matter of mediæval romance. According to one story, it was brought by Joseph of Arimathea to Glastonbury (see the 14th cent. *Joseph Arim.*, where it is called 'e dische wi e blode'). Sometimes the Grail or Sangreal has been erroneously supposed to be the cup or chalice used at the Last Supper.
Oxford English Dictionary Online (2006). 2nd edition. Oxford University Press. [accessed May 2006 from: http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50097551?query_type=word&queryword=Grail&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&search_id=ivl0-bqV2zQ-2320&result_place=1]

in a way that sometimes is characterised by feverish activity, confusion and hurry – not just the dealers on the floor of any stock exchange, for example. It is certainly not the case that all commercial businesses are in strict control all the time of how they *direct their energies*.

The notion that arts organisations are less *in control* of their *energies* than others is undermined by the requirement they have to manage multiple priorities. This company is touring three productions in repertoire; performing a children's show, an adult cabaret and a musical in different venues, frequently on consecutive nights in different parts of the UK and on tour abroad. Organising the distribution of publicity material months in advance is a minor part of the logistical operation this represents. Perhaps creative individuals and companies exist in a world of *organised chaos*; perhaps they are more disciplined than they think, or want to admit?

7.2.5 Creative Genius and Artistic Temperament

The responses from these practitioners portray the arts workplace as a centre of frenzied, energetic, creative activity where low-paid, emotionally–charged employees, driven by a passion for the arts, continually strive for excellence. Arts executives are experts at multi-tasking and required to spend considerable time on detailed quantitative reporting to meet the onerous demands of funders: they are regarded by non-arts people as idiosyncratic and scatterbrained. Arts organisations are underfunded, and the arts workplace is an insecure element; constantly arts workers must be inventive in their approach to their *vocation*, exclusively, at personal cost and in the face of adversity, channelling all their energy into a creative task until it is accomplished: *the show must go on.*

Versions of this reality are valid for each of these practitioners, however they do not provide evidence of an actuality that is *different* necessarily from other workplaces. These ingredients could be facets of a shared arts mythology, particularly if viewed in the light of two other components of arts folklore with a particular relevance for this research into arts workplace bullying: the concepts of creative genius and artistic temperament. The terms are used not in the sense employed by Oscar Wilde, as something desirable possessed by great artists, but rather as interpreted by Bertrand Russell when he talked about artists as "inspired by some kind of rage against the world so that they wish rather to give significant pain than to afford serene satisfaction" (*On Youthful Cynicism)* and by G K Chesterton when he said disparagingly:

> The artistic temperament is a disease that afflicts amateurs. It is a disease which arises from men not having sufficient power of expression to utter and get rid of the element of art in their being. It is healthful to every sane man to utter the art within

> him; it is essential to every sane man to get rid of the art within him at all costs. Artists of a large and wholesome vitality get rid of their art easily, as they breathe easily, or perspire easily. But in artists of less force, the thing becomes a pressure, and produces a definite pain, which is called the artistic temperament. Thus, very great artists are able to be ordinary men – men like Shakespeare or Browning. There are many real tragedies of the artistic temperament, tragedies of vanity or violence or fear. But the great tragedy of the artistic temperament is that it cannot produce any art. (*Heretics: Chapter XVII. On the Wit of Whistler)*

According to arts mythology, at the heart of every great creative enterprise lies one or more stereotypical *artistic genius* personalities, who work outside the *ordinary* milieu, in a flourish of uncontrolled creativity which can cause havoc with *normal* procedures but which eventually yields *great art*. It is also understood that the creative periods of the artistic genius are frequently accompanied by interludes of depression, alcoholism or drug abuse, which may lead to suicide, and researchers such as Jamison (2001) have reported on strong links between the creative personality and manic depression or other mental illness. There are examples in historical biographies of the phenomenon: many of our well-known artists have lived lives of emotional turmoil, notwithstanding, or because of, their *exquisite* artistic genius – for example, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Byron, Vincent Van Gogh, Virginia Woolf, Ludwig von Beethoven, Emily Dickinson.

By virtue of office, people working in the arts tend to subscribe to the value of *great art* per se. As the art is revered, so, too, is the creator: art for art's sake.

> A work of art is the unique result of a unique temperament. Its beauty comes from the fact that the author is what he is. It has nothing to do with the fact that other people want what they want. Indeed, the moment that an artist takes notice of what other people want, and tries to supply the demand, he ceases to be an artist, and becomes a dull or an amusing craftsman, an honest or dishonest tradesman. He has no further claim to be considered as an artist. (Oscar Wilde's 1891 essay *The Soul of Man Under Socialism*)

Diva, Prima Donna, Maestro, Virtuoso: the terminology is testimony to the esteem in which is held the creative genius – a superior being in terms of the ability to deliver artistic excellence. The difficulty with *art for art's sake* is that the acceptance and acknowledgement of this superiority can become generalised to other areas – generalised in the sense used in psychology, that a response learned to one stimulus is carried over to another stimulus, for example, Pavlovian conditioning – especially in areas of emotional influence, for example in human relationships. This serves to tilt the balance of power in relationships and to substantiate the notion of artistic temperament: the Master is always right; the Diva must have her way; the artistic genius may be hell to work with, but the end result (the art) is exceptional so behaviour deemed unacceptable in *normal* circumstances must be tolerated.

Here, then, is a new slant on the issue of permissibility (Rayner, 1999): if the corporate culture in the arts is still in thrall to the concept of the artistic genius, then across the various disciplines within the creative sector, the prevailing mentality may be subscribing to a set of values that allows, even directly encourages, behaviour, terms and conditions that are abusive, in the name of the pursuit of creative excellence. This mindset has the capacity for a profoundly negative effect in performing arts organisations: allowing employees to be subjected to exploitative terms and conditions, or permitting managers and other staff to ignore bullying behaviour, as long as *the show goes on*, as it surely must. This way of thinking is likely, therefore, to be a significant contributory factor to the high incidence of bullying behaviour in the performing arts. For arts managers to subscribe implicitly to the argument that the arts are *different* as a way of excusing bullying, both personal and corporate, is to undermine the integrity of the arts workplace and to perpetrate an injustice against its workers. In effect, this equates to sanctioning any sort of abusive behaviour on the grounds of *artistic temperament*: the end (great art) justifying the means.

So, do we in the arts cultivate bullies? Given the creative role models available to us, perhaps we have come to expect bullying behaviour from *creative* people, although we may deem it unforgivable in *ordinary* people. This may explain the perception by arts workers that management responds to complaints about terms or conditions with indfference. The relationships between creative artists and those who work with them, both one-to-one and within a team, can be complex and are often emotionally stirring, as the evidence from practitioners and the case studies indicates. However, there is no valid reason why arts workers have to put up with insulting, belittling and demeaning behaviour from colleagues and/or unfair workplace terms and conditions. It is unacceptable to assume that they must do so in order to serve the core purpose of their arts organisation and to assure its success. It is possible to subscribe to a shared artistic vision, without giving up fundamental human rights to live and work in a safe, healthy environment: one that respects the dignity and wellbeing of the individual. There is no justification for creative to become coercive. Indeed, the capacity for coercion may be the converse of the capacity for true creativity *[my parentheses]*.

In my previous job [in the arts] I had a manager who was guilty of all the sorts of [bullying] behaviour listed ... and as his PA I had to suffer most of it. Although I liked him – in his better moods – and believed in what he and his company were doing, I was forced to leave the job after two years mainly due to being treated like this. I now work as an arts officer within a large NHS Trust which has a written policy to prevent its employees from harassment by other staff, visitors and patients – it covers all the above [types of bullying behaviour] as far as I know – and am confident that any bullying behaviour would be dealt with – but I haven't had any problems like that here. The attitude at the small company where I used to work was "if you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen". So I did! My boss always claimed that there were many much more difficult people than him out in the "real world". If this is true I have yet to

> meet any of them and I work for the NHS! I think there is a big problem in the small and medium sized arts companies as regards treating staff properly. (*Pilot Study, 2R3)*

In this case, the *big problem* of bullying behaviour in the arts has caused an employee to leave the profession altogether. This is not likely to be a lone incident, given the levels of stress and illness, absenteeism and high staff turnover recorded by targets of bullying behaviour elsewhere (for example, Turney, 2003 p 2), among the website respondents in Pilot Study 2 (2001) and in the arts case studies outlined in Chapter 5, which are discussed further later in this chapter.

7.2.6 Founder's Syndrome

The arts practitioners describe the phenomenon of being *driven* by the creative process, and this is a central characteristic of a particular type of creative individual: the arts entrepreneur. In the case studies, four of the examples given were of newly-founded organisations where the founders were active stakeholders in the future development of the organisation: *A Co-Operative Theatre Company, An Arts Centre, A Visual Arts Organisation* and *A Collective Organisation*. The expansion and development of an arts organisation, and its success, brings it own difficulties:

> He was greatly admired in his community for his vision, energy, inventiveness and success in overcoming overwhelming obstacles and creating the wonderful local theatre. A few years later the board of directors fired him because of unbearable internal conflict within the theatre. (Gaupp, 1997)

Andrew Gaupp was an associate professor of theatre arts at the University of Texas at Arlington when he produced a compilation of his own and others' experiences of *Founder's Syndrome*. These are the stories of *spontaneous developers* – described as theatre practitioners who achieve a one-off success but then find themselves in conflict with the organisation they have created. Like the CEO in *A Visual Arts Organisation*, founders work long and hard to attain their vision, often battling with difficult situations in hostile environments. As with Gaupp's example above, they do so to great acclaim, finally winning the battle for *hearts and minds* and frequently obtaining a degree of statutory or other establishment support:

> These creative founders assume and insist that they have a leadership position, usually the principal one, once the new theatre has been launched (Gaupp, 1997).

This can be the root of organisational conflict – in Gaupp's examples founders tend to be driven out, however in the arts research this is not always the case. Sometimes the conflict results in bullying behaviour, and the founders prevail, often creating organisational dysfunction and incurring personal loss, notably where *founding* has been a team effort.

In *An Arts Centre,* the fact that leadership might be diminished for two founders led to internal conflict, fuelled by their pair bullying, and eventually to the disintegration of the original core team of founders. One issue was what Gaupp describes as an *inability to bureaucratize* – the pair bullies could not cope with the changes required as the organisation grew and matured, because these necessitated the relinquishing of personal control. There is another sense in which this case study reflects aspects of Gaupp's *Founder's Syndrome:* the Director in this instance was an arts professional who had committed herself to seeing through the early stages of the project, and this entailed educating the voluntary Board in the process. She may have regarded herself as the *professional founder* of the arts organisation, with all that this implies. When the point was reached at which significant changes had to be made, involving the devolution of power, the *professional founder*'s vision proved excessive for some members of the Board, the bullying by two Board members began and ultimately the Director felt she could not remain within the organisation.

In *A Co-Operative Theatre Company*, the principal founder is usurped, slowly and surely, by the bully who manages to oust his perceived competitor in order to establish his position of power. Within twelve months this founder has lost all the original members of her team, except the bully, with whom she appears to have formed an alliance.

In *A Visual Arts Organisation* the founder, as CEO, adopts the mantle of leader and achieves success after a 20-year struggle. The arrival of the new Development Director precipitates the loss of his confidante and his highly personal ways of working – Gaupp refer to this as *closely kept* or *kitchen table administration*. His response to the bullying by his staff is to ignore it – thereby protecting his vision – to retreat, building a protective barrier around his private image and vision by employing a personal assistant as gatekeeper, and to evade the issue on the basis that the negative effects of the bullying will fade away – *ostrich syndrome*.

Finally, in *A Collective Organisation* the founders experience acute culture shock – confusion and anxiety on finding themselves in an unfamiliar environment. They are confronted by the reality of arts funding requirements, which contravene their personal ideology. The impact this reality may have had on *traditional artists* is brought to light in *Modern Managerialism*, later in this chapter. Gaupp names certain characteristics of the personalities of founders: energy, charisma, singular focus, zeal, financial need, ego and spontaneity. He interprets

these as – they work hard; appeal to establishment figures; concentrate on one goal; willingly ignore *rules* to achieve their aims; hunger after their personal goal; crave appreciation by others; are concerned with present outcomes rather than future stability. As with *An Arts Centre* the founders here experience *inability to bureaucratize* at a very basic level. Gaupp states that some founders do not actually resist professionalisation, instead "They recognize the need for change but insist that the changes be on their own terms so they retain control and their vision is not contaminated" (Gaupp, 1997). It is difficult to judge whether the founders in *A Collective Organisation* really did recognise the need for change (although eventually they achieved a version of their goal).

Ultimately, Founder's Syndrome is a transferable concept: any of these studies could exemplify the stories of, particularly smaller, enterprises in any field where there is a requirement to manage leadership change. Writers on leadership have identified it in charitable and commercial organisations, and have begun to suggest remedies for easing the transition from Founder to new Chief Executive (McNamara, 1999).

7.3 ARE THE ARTS 'DIFFERENT'?

The responses from the practitioners indicate that arts workers hold many positive views about how working in the arts is *different*, especially in terms of access to opportunities to work creatively and to engage in continuing self-development. Creative employees enthusiastically embrace the idea of creativity as an affirmative experience, willingly succumbing to the passion that drives them – the Artistic Director makes the point: *we are **very** lucky to be doing something we love*, echoing the sentiments expressed by Tom Starland in the initial sections of his article about working in the arts (see page 234). In so doing, however, unwittingly they may be positioning themselves to be treated unfairly:

> Organisational consultations frequently reveal the exploitation of individuals who are excited by a profession or the 'buzz' of working for an important organisation or person. For those who are ambitious, part of their salary is the privilege and kudos of working for that organisation. This type of exploitation is so endemic it is unquestioned. This organisational scenario is also a breeding ground for bullying. Many people need encouragement, affirmation and a superior's praise. (Crawford, 1999 p 98)

There is no doubt that practitioners acknowledge the *buzz* of working in the arts: the pursuit of artistic goals – *the Grail* – delivers high job satisfaction. However the assertion by managers in the Pilot Study that the arts are *different* was not made in relation to high levels of contentment and passionate commitment on the part of employees, but in the context of claiming exemption for performing arts organisations from *normal* workplace terms and

conditions, as experienced by those working in manufacturing, retail or other private and public sector enterprises. The managers believed that conditions of employment in the performing arts, including hours worked and rates of pay, were also, necessarily, *different* from other sectors, in effect justifying low rates of pay and longer working hours:

> We do not produce rivets — sometimes the nature of our work necessitates working in 'unsocial hours' slots. The hours vary but so does the work and that's the compensation. (*UK Theatre Manager, Pilot Study, 2000)*

There is no evidence from any participants in the arts research, however, to support a correlation between the fulfilment generated by working in an arts environment and poor working terms and conditions. Long hours of work and low rates of pay for individuals, plus the financial pressures under which arts organisations labour, are recognised by arts workers as characteristic of the sector, however this does not mean necessarily that they approve of the situation or consider it desirable: in the BECTU Study, 44.2% of arts employees said there had been objections to working hours and 65.7% that there had been complaints about pay. The research demonstrates statistical support for the correlation between permissibility exhibited by management and bullying. It may be that here is yet another version of the permissibility issue (Rayner, 1999): despite making complaints, do those working in the arts ultimately condone poor terms and conditions by continuing to tolerate them?

Commonly, people working at technical, administrative and executive levels in performing arts organisations deal with a range of pressures which can include strict deadlines, long hours for the level of remuneration, and colleagues, line managers and leaders with variable egos and temperaments. Some managers and other employees working in performing arts organisations cited these issues as stressors and as examples of how their sector was *different* from other private, public or voluntary sector organisations.

However, in 1997 the 20 most stressful jobs in the UK were defined as: Prison Service, Police, Social Worker, Teaching, Ambulance, Nursing, Doctors, Fire Brigade, Dentistry, Mining, Armed Forces, Construction, Management, Acting, Journalism, Linguist, Film Producer, Professional Sport, Catering and Hotel, Public Transport (Field, 1997). In this context the performing arts presence is 3 (Management, Acting, Film Producer) out of the top 20, on the supposition that *management* includes arts managers.

Between 1985 – 1997 the jobs which showed major *increases* in stress were: Armed Forces, Social Work, Linguist, Teaching, Ambulance, Local Government, Nursing, Occupational Therapy, Biochemist, Farming, Youth and Community Worker, Water Work, Radiographer,

Brewing. In this context the performing arts presence is 1 out of 14, if *Teaching* is held to include drama, music and dance teachers. So, three types of performing arts occupations in the UK were acknowledged as stressful in 1997, however, unlike other employment sectors, the arts were different in that the level of stress had not significantly *increased* during the previous twelve years.

All these fields of employment produced callers to the UK National Workplace Bullying Advice Line during the period 1 January 1996 to 31 January 2004, the top four groups of Advice Line enquirers being staff in: Teaching, Nursing and Healthcare, Social Work, Voluntary/ Charity/ Not-for-profit sector, followed by the Local Government, Management, and Finance sectors. It is a reasonable supposition, therefore, that some voluntary sector performing arts organisations and some arts managers may have been reporting bullying behaviour, alongside those in other employment sectors, during this period. Since 2004, when Tim Field's Advice Line ceased to gather statistics, it has been difficult to isolate the impact of stress as a result of bullying among those involved in the cultural and creative sectors. For example, the UK Government's Health and Safety Commission does not provide sufficient information on the prevalence of stress generally in cultural, media and sport workplaces due to the fact that sample sizes are too small to be reliable (*Health and safety statistics 2006-2006*, Ill health and injury statistics by sector, Figure 8, p 13).

The settings in which we would expect to find bullying are those governed by *command and control* management styles and include militaristic organisations: prisons, police and the armed forces. One could argue that the strong emphasis on, and need for, discipline and obedience in these establishments creates the environment in which mobbing and bullying can flourish. The hierarchical structure in hospitals, for example, may contribute to the bullying behaviour in the health service (Quine, 1999). However this does not explain the adult bullying taking place in education, churches and our performing arts organisations, the majority of which would not automatically endorse *command and control* management styles, but tend towards management by *consensus*.

BECTU members had personal experience both as targets of bullying, at 39.8% the highest rate in any UK employment sector recorded to date, and as witnesses (46.6%). In 2006 the statistics declared on the website of the Andrea Adams Trust, were that *one in four people are bullied in the workplace* (Headline, Home Page) and *two thirds of all workers have either experienced or witnessed bullying* (Headline, Introductions Page). The BECTU results, at 39.8% and 63.4% respectively, indicate a higher proportion of bullied people in the arts, and a slightly reduced, but comparable, percentage of those who have been either targets or witnesses. Besides *creative genius* and *artistic temperament*, we have seen that

permissibility is strongly correlated with bullying behaviour. What else might have given rise to a high level of bullying behaviour in this sector in the UK? The following sections re-examine the case studies, and consider the profile of a manager who volunteered information about using bullying behaviour during the BECTU Study.

7.3.1 Attributes of Bullying in the Arts

The similarities and differences in the attributes of bullying in the arts case studies are outlined below (Table 7.1). In every case, the bully *wins* and the popular and competent target becomes demoralised and leaves the organisation, or withdraws all contact (*Creative Industry 5.1.6*), as do some of those who are witnesses. There is evidence of a sense of inadequacy or insecurity on the part of the bullies, who focus on what they perceive to be the power base and some of them exert personal charisma to influence superiors or colleagues, especially when confronted with accusations about their behaviour. The arts workplaces where bullying takes place are under pressure, for example due to restructuring (*Community Arts 5.1.7*), change management (*Arts Centre 5.1.3*), or because of the need to win new business (*Creative Industry*). Staff members are required to work closely together to deal with the pressures, for example to facilitate a major capital development (*Visual Arts 5.1.4; Collective 5.1.5*); an important theatre production (*Co-Op Theatre 5.1.1*); or to ensure the effective operation of a new venture (*Museum 5.1.2*).

An imbalance of power develops between co-workers (*Co-Op Theatre*), colleagues (*Collective*) or between management and staff (*Arts Centre, Community Arts*). In some cases this is fuelled by conflicting goals and priorities: good management practice versus self-interest (*Museum, Arts Centre, Creative Industry*), fear or suspicion of the unknown (*Collective, Community Arts*). In all cases, except only the consultancy companies in *Creative Industry*, those in authority do not acknowledge or recognise the existence of bullying behaviour, and fail to provide constructive management or leadership. In the case of the consultancy consortium, the partners withdraw co-operation.

Witnesses of bullying behaviour exhibit several, sometimes conflicting, types of behaviour even when they share the same environment. Some become uneasy and nervous about their situations, and fearful for themselves, so that they tolerate what is happening (*Co-Op Theatre, Visual Arts, Creative Industry*). Some become *accessories to bullying* by deliberately taking no action, even though this is within their power (*Visual Arts*). In certain cases witnesses withdraw contact (*Creative Industry*) and in others absenteeism from work rises (*Museum, Arts Centre, Visual Arts, Community Arts*). Occasionally individuals will take positive action (*Co-Op Theatre, Visual Arts, Collective, Community Arts*).

The effects on targets are universally negative. Many experience isolation, all have their confidence undermined, resulting in illness including emotional and mental breakdown for some. They are unable to continue in post and ultimately leave their respective organisations. Some, as noted in Pilot Study 2 (Website), leave the arts profession altogether.

Table 7.1: Attributes of the arts bullying case studies

Chapter 5 Reference	5.1.1	5.1.2	5.1.3	5.1.4	5.1.5	5.1.6	5.1.7
	Co-Op Theatre	Museum	Arts Centre	Visual Arts	Collective	Creative Industry	Community Arts
bullies							
desire to exert influence	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	possibly
inadequacy or insecurity	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	possibly	possibly
personal charisma & persuasiveness	yes		yes			yes	
focus on perceived power base	yes	yes		yes			yes
bully 'wins'	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
bullying environment							
pressured workplace	yes		yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
heightened teamwork requirement	yes	yes		yes	yes	yes	
ultimate imbalance of power	yes		yes		yes		yes
conflicting goals & priorities		yes	yes		yes	yes	yes
lack of recognition, action or leadership by those in authority	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes		yes
witnesses							
uneasy & nervous of the bullying situation	yes		yes			yes	yes
become ill / avoid contact		yes	yes	yes		yes	yes
tolerate bullying behaviour	yes			yes		yes	
take positive action	yes			yes	yes		yes
depart the organisation / withdraw contact	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
targets							
popular & competent	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
become isolated	yes		yes		yes		yes
become demoralised	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
illness or breakdown		yes	yes	yes			yes
depart the organisation	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Aspects of all of the attributes of bullying in Table 7.1 above have been discussed in previous chapters in relation to bullying in other, non-arts workplaces. They are influenced by psychosocial phenomena – occurring because of the interrelation of behavioural and social factors. The actions and reactions of the arts bullies, witnesses, targets and organisations appear to be grounded in personal morality, ethics and organisational cultures, rather than the qualities and characteristics specific to the arts professions.

In terms of bullying, there are no behaviours occurring in the arts workplace that are noticeably different from bullying behaviours elsewhere. The same is true, as far as can be established, of the profile of arts bullies. The description of the manager responding to the BECTU survey, who admitted bullying when necessary, does not represent one that is alien to any other employment sector. In many respects it is the portrait of a very ordinary citizen.

7.3.2 Profile of an Arts Bully

In an effort to identify characteristics of an arts manager who admits to bullying, a summary of the data gathered during the BECTU survey for respondent No 242 is presented below:

> White female, 25 – 34 years old, working in arts management full-time in the North-West of England. She has been in her current post for 6–10 years, has had on the job work-related training and is directly line managing one or more of the 50–100 employees in the organisation where she works. She works longer than 40 hours per week *rarely, once or twice a year*, and when this is required she normally gets less than a week's notice. In her organisation taking time off is not encouraged, and opinion is divided in the workplace about whether employees could complete their work without working longer hours. In her opinion, management looks upon objections to working hours with *hostility and resentment* and whilst there have been objections to working hours, these were *informal...never discussed with management.* She does not know what happened to the objectors afterwards.
>
> This manager considers her average weekly pay is high – there have been no complaints about pay in her organisation – and she acknowledges that other people's pay is less for the same job *sometimes. Rarely* she receives other benefits that add value to her salary and believes that *often* management cannot afford to pay higher wages. No-one in her organisation would be afraid to complain about pay, and scarcity of work would *never* be a reason to accept any wage offered. She would not prefer to work longer hours because overtime is payable (*rarely*), although with overtime her average weekly pay *often* is generous. If wages were increased she would prefer not to work overtime at all *sometimes.*
>
> This manager states that workplace bullying occurs *not uncommonly* – the chief reasons being ethnic origin/race, sexual orientation, popularity, religion and *socialists/ commies.* The frequency of bullying has not changed in the past 12 months or 5 years, and, besides bullying people herself *when necessary*, she has witnessed one or more bullying incidents. Complaints of bullying behaviour have been settled satisfactorily by management and to the satisfaction of the complainant, *sometimes*, but this varies. Her organisation has written policies covering direct insults in front of colleagues; arbitrary withholding of information, co-operation or arrangements; physical assault, eg throwing objects. Her organisation *does not condone bullying, but has not given any consideration to policy.* She does not think there is a role for BECTU in helping to stamp out bullying behaviour in the workplace and states instead that *BECTU must be dissolved.*

Of note is the lack of job-related training beyond what has been learned in office, despite the line management responsibilities. This manager considers herself fortunate to be employed in a high-paid position requiring little additional time beyond her normal working week of

maximum 40 hours: she is satisfied with her terms and conditions of employment. Whilst she acknowledges that her employers are unsympathetic to complaints about working hours, she confidently asserts that scarcity of work should never be a reason to accept any wage offered.

She is familiar with bullying behaviour – it is not uncommon – and besides the blatant reasons she offers for this occurring – that is, evident physical and cultural differences such as race, gender, creed and politics, she identifies popularity as a cause. During the research status, popularity and competence were cited as the principal reason for bullying by both bullied and non-bullied people alike. Bullies may be seen to be prone to personal and professional jealousy, which in this context can be described as experiencing one or more of the following emotional reactions:

- feeling bitter and unhappy because of another's social, educational or professional advantages, their personal attributes, or their real or perceived good fortune, especially in terms of opportunities for advancement
- feeling suspicious or mistrustful of a colleague's influence, especially in regard to an issue or an individual that is perceived to be of central importance to the instigator, to the extent that this colleague is judged to be a rival or competitor
- possessively watchful of someone in everything that they do

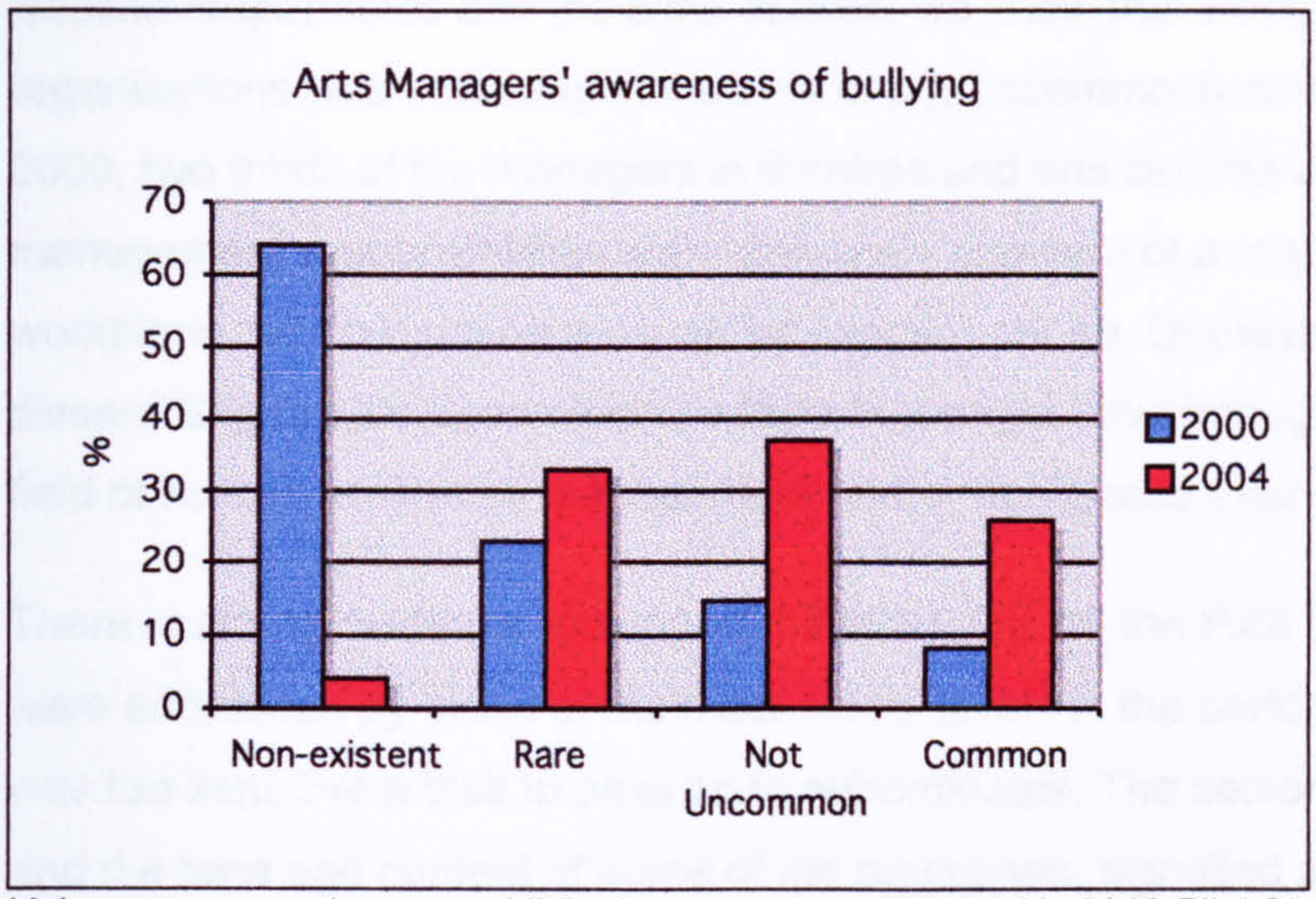
This last is reminiscent of the stalking phenomenon, whereby one individual persistently and obsessively harasses another with inappropriate attention. In the UK, the Protection from Harassment Act 1997, which has been used occasionally for bullying cases, was originally introduced to deal with stalking offences. Finally, this manager dismisses any role for the trades union in dealing with workplace bullying, in fact she dismisses BECTU altogether and in the context of her remarks about bullies targeting *socialists and commies*, it is clear she resents the union's status and influence in her arts workplace. It must be emphasised that this last is not a common view among the respondents, 84.3% of whom wanted BECTU to have an active role in stamping out bullying behaviour. One comment from another manager was that the trades union should be *encouraging employees to approach management in confidence* (Respondent 82).

7.3.3 Arts Managers and Workplace Bullying

In the Pilot Study among arts centre and theatre managers in 2000, 53.8% of the participating arts managers said bullying was non-existent. Four years later workplace bullying was described as occurring *commonly* or *not uncommonly* by 62.9% of the

management staff participating in the BECTU survey. In the interim, did the rate of occurrence of the behaviour in arts establishments escalate dramatically? Did the arts managers in the BECTU survey become aware of the phenomena through increased media coverage?

Figure 7.1: Arts Managers' awareness of workplace bullying



Values are percentages established on managers surveyed in 2000 Pilot Study 1 (13) and 2004 BECTU study sub-sample of managers (27)

In the BECTU survey 50.2% of respondents had not perceived any change in the frequency of bullying during the last 5 years, while 28.1% felt it was more frequent and 14.9% that it was less frequent. Possibly, the rise in the public profile of adult bullying led to a striking increase in awareness among arts managers. Certainly, during the course of this research there has been a significant upswing in media coverage. In 1999 only occasional stories (about one per month in the UK) found their way into the media, mainly about high-profile people involved in workplace bullying incidents. By 2005, however, the topic had widespread media coverage including frequent and long-running reports of abuse, particularly in the army, prisons and the health service.

As indicated in Chapter 3, arts managers who stated that they had no awareness of bullying behaviour in the workplace may have been engaged in

- accurately describing their reality, because bullying did not exist in their workplace
- inaccurately describing their reality, because bullying did exist in their workplace, but they were ignorant of its existence

- inaccurately describing their reality, because bullying did exist in their workplace, but they were dissembling in order to protect themselves or their organisation

Did the attitudinal climate in arts management change sufficiently to give managers *permission* to acknowledge the prevalence of bullying in their own workplace? From the website respondents and the case studies, we know that workplace bullying in arts organisations was occurring *commonly* or *not uncommonly* at that time. It may be that, in 2000, two thirds of the managers in theatres and arts centres with important line management responsibilities were genuinely unaware of a major social problem in the workplace, which must be a cause for concern per se. Or these managers may have been dissembling to hide uncomfortable facts that might have impugned their personal skills in the field of human resources management and/or denigrated their organisational culture.

There is strong evidence to support the latter. During the Pilot Study, the questionnaires were addressed by those at the most senior levels in the performing arts organisations: this was too sensitive a task to pass on to subordinates. The senior status of the respondents, and the tone and content of some of the responses, signalled a desire to protect the reputation of their organisations and also their personal positions. In a report on bullying by UNISON carried out by Staffordshire University (1997), 83% of bullies were labelled as managers, whilst a study published by the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology (UMIST) in 2000 also found that bullies were more likely to be managers and supervisors, although 9% of senior managers also reported being the targets of bullying. Although the BECTU Study did not test specifically the extent to which bullies were managers, as opposed to those working in other areas, nevertheless the text responses indicated that managers featured most frequently, and the bullies in four of the seven selected case studies comprise either employees at management level or Board members of arts organisations.

In the Pilot Study, arts managers may have been cloaking their private encounters as targets of bullying too. Although 15.4% had acted on behalf of management in a bullying case, none cited personal experience as targets. Four years later, 29.6% of BECTU managers reported being targets of a bully – perhaps because they felt it was now possible so to do.

Website respondents stated that 88.9% of bullying cases were handled badly by management; BECTU members said 39.8% were handled badly (56.6% of the *bullied group*) and 28.1% were *variable*. Among the managers, 22.2% of those participating in the BECTU

survey said complaints were managed badly, a scenario which was not admitted by **any** managers in the Pilot Study, 92.3% of whom thought management handled complaints *well*.

With this tendency to refute workplace bullying as a phenomenon, and to imply that, where it did exist, management had dealt adequately with it, the managers were exhibiting signs of *repression* and of being *in denial* [my parentheses]:

> [Repression is] the primary ego defence that makes all other psychological defensiveness possible. It prevents anxiety-provoking thoughts from entering consciousness.
>
> Repression helps us cope with everyday problems. It can act in response to conflict and pain of one's past....
>
> [Denial is] blocking the ego threatening events or facts by refusing to believe them. It may enable a person to live through a difficult time. Over-reliance can lead to self destructiveness (for example, an alcoholic who denies being an alcoholic)." (Falikowski, 2002)

Repressing and denying the workplace bullying reality echoes the *ostrich syndrome* highlighted in Chapter 4, whereby arts managers in 2001 chose to ignore the facts: one year later in 2002, twelve years after the BBC Radio Four programme about workplace bullying featuring Andrea Adams,[10] the response to which was overwhelming, the IRS Employment Review reported that complaints about pay no longer topped the popularity poll: almost half the complaints raised by workers were related to bullying (45%).

A by-product of the Pilot Study among managers was the information yielded about the lack of training in *how to manage people* among senior managers in theatres and arts centres, notwithstanding their considerable supervisory and line management responsibilities. The implications must be considered carefully by those delivering arts management education and training, and by performing arts organisations themselves. In particular, the absence of accredited training among arts managers in managing people, means there is no benchmark to enable the arts constituency to ascertain whether arts managers are equipped to deal effectively with potentially contentious or difficult personnel problems or situations, such as employees' objections to working hours or complaints of bullying. Indeed, the evidence from non-management performing arts workers in the BECTU Study suggests that they are not. Is the prevalence of managers among workplace bullies due to the fact that the HRM ideology expects too much of individuals with line management responsibilities and/or are managers

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[10] "In 1988, journalist Andrea Adams was told of a case of bullying in a local bank near her home in Downton, just outside the cathedral city of Salisbury, Wiltshire, England. It was reported that a department of 40-50 people were being terrorised by the departmental manager. After investigating and verifying the story, Andrea coined the phrase *workplace bullying*. In 1990, Andrea took part in a BBC Radio 4 programme on bullying in the workplace which evoked a major response. She was then asked to write a book, which was published in 1992. For four years, *Bullying at work: how to confront and overcome it* (Virago, 1992) remained the only book on the subject." *From Tim Field's archives at* http://www.successunlimited.co.uk/archive/AAT.htm [accessed 29 January 2006]

simply not being adequately equipped with the skills to deal with the full range of responsibilities that accompany their remit?

Lewis and Rayner (2003) have made important links between the development of the concept of Human Resources Management and the later emerging awareness of workplace bullying, and have signalled that *all may not be well in HRM*. They report on one of Storey's (1993) perspectives that:

> The line manager role is seen to accomplish everything from individual performance appraisal through to discipline, quality and performance-related pay. Implementation of such initiatives is not the concern of personnel staff but of the line managers themselves. (Lewis & Rayner, 2003)

Lewis and Rayner cite *morality and justice* issues created within HRM particularly in relation to bullying and other *non-ethical* behaviour, suggesting that employees have lost their ability to speak and to be heard within workplaces where the presence of trades unions and staff representation, other than line management, is absent or in decline. There is strong evidence to support this in the responses to the website and the case studies – employees who seek to complain of bullying behaviour, often by their line manager, have no alternative arena in which to be heard other than the line manager's line manager. This is not an environment that supports or empowers them and they tend to be disbelieved.

In 2000/2001 a majority of participants in the website survey stated that management was not persuaded there was a problem with bullying (55.6%); contemporaneously, the Arts Managers said their organisations had responded with *sympathy and understanding* to complaints from staff about pay or working hours and stated unequivocally that management did not condone bullying behaviour, although no written policies were in place specifically to deal with the behaviour. By 2004, the management viewpoint had altered and 29.6% of managers stated that their organisation had a policy which disapproved of bullying, and internal rules and procedures to deal with it. This is in line with the response of the workforce as a whole. The introduction of policies for bullying behaviour may indicate the increase in awareness of the problem during the intervening years, however this still means that management in 70.4% of theatres and arts centres did not have specific guidelines or procedures in place.

Managers themselves confirmed this. A further 25.9% declared that their organisation did not condone bullying but had not given any direct consideration to policy and 14.8% were clear that the organisation would give consideration to a complaint and did not condone bullying

behaviour. In only 3.7% of cases did managers say their organisation was not persuaded there was a problem with bullying and had not addressed the issue, whereas 18.5% acknowledged that their organisation did not recognise that some terms and conditions were detrimental to employees and were equivalent to *corporate bullying*.

Additional comments from three managers highlighted other issues [my parentheses]:

> [the organisation] deals well with staff bullying [but is] reluctant to address management bullying
>
> [organisational attitude] varies at different management levels
>
> [there is a] written policy, but [it is] not supported in practice

So, even though individual managers may have been considered to have *moved on* in terms of their thinking about bullying behaviour between 2000 and 2004, organisational attitudes appeared to be in disarray, lacking consistency and/or a co-ordinated approach to the issue. Given the scenario of *repression* and *denial*, have arts managers, wittingly or otherwise, conspired to create in the performing arts workplace an environment that has encouraged or actively promoted bullying behaviour? Alternatively, is this a historical issue? Has the performing arts, in homage to *artistic genius*, always provided a climate in which bullying can flourish?

It may be that the culture of management in modern Britain, including management in arts organisations, has fully embraced *managerialism* (Protherough & Pick, 2002), the *sinister new orthodoxy* whereby organisations must endure an endless round of target-setting, achievement-monitoring, success- (and failure-) evaluating for each area of their operation. The increasingly mandatory requirement to produce quantifiable data, as opposed to qualitative assessments, is illustrated in the contributions from practitioners and may have intensified existing pressures on managers and created new ones, leading in turn to the exertion of pressure on every employee at every level to perform and to deliver according to a *league-table mentality*. Certainly, the testimony of the Theatre's Artistic Director (7.2.2) would appear to support this view and it may be that workplace bullying is a symptom of *modern managerialism* at work, or the result of it.

7.3.4 Modern Managerialism

Does the growth and spread of workplace bullying as reported in UK research mirror the growth and spread of *managerialism* as mapped by Protherough & Pick (2002)? Initially, the BBC Radio programme on *bad bosses* in 1991 attracted widespread interest; Andrea Adams

and Neil Crawford published *Bullying at work: how to confront and overcome it* in 1992 and the first research into workplace bullying in the UK was carried out in organisations with a clearly defined chain of command where discipline was a prime factor – the army, police and prisons (Oxford University, 1998). In 1999, research in the National Health Service – also strictly hierarchical – revealed bullying behaviour was increasing (Quine, 1999). The *Bullyonline* website has reported an increasing number of complaints of bullying behaviour from the voluntary sector over the last five years. By 2002, bullying behaviour is being reported in education establishments (Lewis, 2002), the church (*The Age*, 2004) and in 2007 in the arts. These last three sectors are those scrutinised in *Managing Britannia*.

As previously outlined (page 202), Protherough and Pick cite managerialism in the *vocational* sectors as the result of the transfer of theories of scientific management (Taylorism) from traditional (manufacturing) industries and institutions to the new *vocational industries* – arts, education, health, religion. They state the need for management to be context-specific:

> ...the modern world believes as fervently in the *transferability* of management as it believes that management skills are separate and identifiable realities. Managers of supermarket chains can nowadays expect to be head-hunted for posts in national museums; managers of finance companies or high-profile television performers can expect to be offered high-level managerial positions in our universities. (Protherough & Pick, 2003 p 13)

This is reflected in the arts case studies: in *A Private Museum* and *An Arts Centre*, the bullies were board members from outside the arts profession who had been imported from financial and manufacturing sectors respectively. In *A Visual Arts Organisation*, the bully was a manager with voluntary sector experience in a non-arts charity. In *A Creative Industry*, the consultant who harangued her colleagues knew nothing of their areas of expertise and *in A Community Arts Service*, the incoming manager came from a separate local authority department, and had no previous experience of community arts philosophy or ethos. Perhaps the validity of transferability of management, in the arts as elsewhere, needs to be questioned? Perhaps non-familiarity with new management responsibilities fuels the feelings of inadequacy and insecurity noted as part of the bully's psychological make-up (Table 7.1)?

Protherough and Pick (2003) lament the passing of public institutions including the Arts Council of Great Britain, the Regional Arts Boards, the Crafts Council, the Museums and Galleries Commission and the Office of Arts and Libraries, to make way for the creation of the UK's first version of a *Ministry of Culture*, known as the Department of National Heritage, in 1992. The impact this had on the arts infrastructure was significant – beyond providing financial support, the new body would have *responsibility* for the arts, whereas its predecessor (the Office of Arts and Libraries) had always been careful to say that accountability rested with artists and the Arts Council. The economic importance of *the arts*

industry was suddenly a consideration, and the introduction of bureaucratic steps for the creation of industries, where none had been before, were instigated. These included the collection of data to identify strategic importance; highlighting of potential development areas; reorganisation of *the arts industry* under state-controlled management; redefinition of aims, purposes and functions within managerial language; target-setting and monitoring. This is reflected in the information provided by arts practitioners. By 2006, these functions are familiar to arts managers and indeed many are charged with their implementation on behalf of arts organisations today.

The language in the text of *Managing Britannia* (ibid) is rife with references to control and dictatorship, and warlike images pepper the pages. It is asserted that artists and politicians had never imagined that a government ministry for culture would be introduced in the UK:

> ...The monolithic brutality of Stalin's USSR, Mussolini's Italy and the Third Reich – all of which featured a Ministry of Culture – were, it was thought, too indelibly imprinted upon the British mind for this country ever to embark on that course. (Protherough & Pick, 2002 p 103)

Given the position of managers within this framework, is the advent of workplace bullying in the arts, then, an inevitable result of intimidating governmental tactics employed across the whole of the arts constituency? Certainly, the government's thirst for statistical information and reports on the arts since 1997, through its Department of Culture Media and Sport, has created increased pressure on arts management at every level. Did arts management learn to ape the regime imposed by government, just as Archer (1999) noted that in organisations with a military structure, the behaviour of the tyrannical manager could be overtly encouraged and even imitated by others, particularly if it is perceived as *strong management*, which "gets things done"? The Dance Company's Artistic Director described herself and her colleagues as people who "can often be very demanding and expect the highest standards at all times. The arts workplace can be emotionally and physically exhausting and there are huge pressures to deliver the highest quality service." A *chain reaction* of bullying seems much more likely to occur in a pressured and demanding environment, than in a relaxed and imperturbable one.

The transference of management tactics and modus operandi from industry to the vocational sector has resulted in a number of changes to working practices, one of which was the introduction of *Total Quality Management* to the arts and also to education. Protherough and Pick cite an instance where one academic questioned the success of the work of the Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education, established in 1997, saying:

> The QAA's work is not about improving teaching: it is about controlling teachers. (Charlton, 2000: reported in Protherough & Pick, 2002 p 91)

In the same way, it may be seen in the case study, *A Private Museum*, that the owner's aspirations in setting up a *watchdog* on the Board had little to do with improving the museum's quality and everything to do with controlling the curators. In this instance the watchdog was both a bully and the tool of an owner bullying at a remove. In *An Arts Centre*, the bullying Chair's intentions were far removed from improving the quality of the creative experience for Arts Centre patrons, and focused entirely on controlling the Director to gain personal power. In *A Collective Organisation* and *A Community Arts Service*, the founders and the incoming manager respectively were not interested in ensuring the merit and protecting the value of the services to be rendered to the beneficiaries: such considerations were secondary to the desire for domination.

It is a feature of the case studies that bullies *win*. In the wake of bullying, it is the targets and witnesses who tend to leave the organisation while management discreetly buries the experience. The authors of *Managing Britannia* note a similar pattern with *managerialists*, those who embrace the managerial ideology, and suggest that they perpetuate their own myth. Is it the same with workplace bullies in the arts? Do they admire and pay court to each other for being "strong" managers? Where problems are perceived, are bullies invariably attributing these to poor performance from the workforce, which is why they favour and subscribe to Douglas McGregor's Theory X rather than Theory Y (as reported in Protherough & Pick (2002) p 130, note 17)? Managerialism seems to be founded on the notion of a relationship with employees comprising:

> low trust + high control = managerialism

This is not far removed from bullying, and we might represent that equation as:

Figure 7.2: Formula for bullying behaviour

(perpetrator inadequacy x perceived threat) = mistrust
mistrust + desire for control = bullying behaviour

In the pilot studies, it was apparent that managers had virtually no training (formal or informal) in *managing people*. It seems that even where management education is gained formally and at degree level, however, it is possible that managers are given training that is ultimately irrelevant to them:

> ...dissatisfaction with most of what passes for management education has led a number of scholars, from quite different theoretical positions within the field, to unite

> in expressing grave concern about its ineffectiveness. They claim that there is too little attention to teaching students how to learn and think, and too much indoctrination and examining out-of-date business anecdotes... some now argue that the attempts to establish management as a separate field have been misguided. (Protherough & Pick, 2002 p75)

Do bullies, like managerialists, fail to understand as well as to value people? In considering the lessons learned from the case studies, do *arts managerial-bullies* subscribe to the myths outlined by McKeown and Whiteley (2002) in their plea for organisations to reconsider their operational ethos and *Unshrink* (McKeown & Whiteley, 2002)?

Common Myths	***Case Study examples***
You are what you do	[being Chair is the most important job: *An Arts Centre*]
Work comes first	[CEO sacrifices personal and professional integrity: *A Visual Arts Organisation*]
The boss is superhuman	[domineering consultant in *A Creative Industry*]
The plan must be secret	[withholding information in *A Visual Arts Organisation*]
People obey orders	[MacGregor's Theory X (ibid)]
Organisations are machines	[new manager in *A Community Arts Service*]
All change is good	[restructuring for its own sake: *A Community Arts Service*]

The key message about managerialism from Protherough and Pick is that: "in the health, education, social services and the arts modern management *was not working*" (p 196). They assert that belief in managerialism is so widespread that failures are always explained in terms of *outside* influences, rather than any fault in the initial belief. In Chapter 4, a perspective on attribution theory (Baron, 1990 as reported in Rayner,1999, p 29) was considered whereby, like targets of bullying over time, the arts managers who were in denial about workplace bullying *consistently attribute reasons for negative events externally to themselves* (Rayner, 1999). Here attribution theory applies to perpetrators of bullying behaviour – where *outside* simply means outside of the perpetrator, and often connected with the target. Hence bullies often counter-accuse targets of bullying, as with the Development Director in *A Visual Arts Organisation,* the clients in *A Collective Organisation* and the pair bullies in *An Arts Centre.*

Protherough and Pick offer a description of the differences between the characteristics of *modern managerialists* and what they term *proper, old-fashioned management.*

* old-fashioned management: likely to be ...*gentle, amateur, scholarly, patriotic, modest, unambitious, dutiful, charitable or sportsmanlike...*

* modern managerialist: likely to be ...*ambitious, entrepreneurial, hard-nosed, interventionist, focused, driven, work-centred...committed to modern managerialism*

Whilst these do not correlate exactly with the attributes of a target and a bully respectively, there are some similarities. Rayner has noted that school studies demonstrate that targets of bullying do tend to be *generally quieter* people (Rayner, 1999 p 29). They may be deemed to be *amateur* in the sense that they enjoy their work and are greatly interested in it, for reasons beyond its financial return, and not in the sense that they lack skill. As *quieter* people, they may be unambitious in the sense that they are not *thrusting* – although in the context of the arts they may still be *driven by passion* for what they do. Perpetrators of bullying behaviour, on the other hand, pursue power and examples of all the attributes of the modern managerialist may be found in the wider psychological profile assembled during the arts research.

Ultimately, managerialism is about control, and control is the object of the bully: so that managerialism and bullying are both forms of tyranny. Managerialism is so-called *management* by bullying. In the last twelve years among employers, trades unions and employees there has been increased

a. identification and recognition of bullying behaviour as undesirable
b. awareness of the negative impact on the health and happiness of victims
c. acceptance that it is a problem affecting a large section of the workforce
d. provision for practical and personal support to targets
e. instances of legal redress being sought
f. attention paid to the economic impact of bullying

However despite this the behaviour continues, criticism of the perpetrator remains the exception rather than the rule and, as with "fat cat" managerialism as outlined in *Managing Britannia*, bullying is in fact often rewarded. Einarsen states: *the prejudices against the victim produced by the bullying seem to cause the organisation to treat the victim as the problem* (Einarsen, 1999 p 19). In so doing management is condoning bullying behaviour and becoming an *accessory* after the fact.

The rise in awareness of bullying behaviour generally would be consistent with a move towards Protherough and Pick's description of *managerialism* in the UK, and the high incidence in performing arts organisations may have reflected particular tensions within a sector whose managers patently would not have been comfortable with the concept of arts

organisations as machines, or with expressing creative work in terms of quantifiable outputs. This would have put pressure on the arts infrastructure generally:

Pressure on

* individuals to perform well, sometimes in difficult circumstances

* supervisors to be exemplary role models, extracting maximum results from those they line manage

And due to competition for resources, pressure on

* departments to pull their weight internally

* organisations to compete with same-sector rivals

* individual sectors to lobby for resources nationally

* nations to compete, for example within Europe

* continents to vie for global positioning

The Employee Relations Team at the London School of Economics has published a paper entitled *Guidance on Managing Pressure at Work* and cites the following examples of pressure:

* prolonged conflict with others, harassment or bullying

* under or over-promotion and overloading or little to do

* torn loyalties between work and home

* a high degree of uncertainty about jobs and career prospects

* uncomfortable working conditions and inflexible/over-demanding work schedules

It is evident that, if *managerialism* is at the root of workplace bullying in arts organisations, then the pressures experienced by performing arts organisations are also experienced in other employment sectors. In that sense, the arts are not *different*. Further insight can be gained from the extent of corporate involvement and intervention in bullying behaviour.

7.4 ORGANISATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

The negative effects of bullying, including stress and absenteeism, have been well documented (for example, Leymann 1996; Field 1999; Hoel & Cooper 2000). In the conclusion to a study report, bullying was described as

> an occupational hazard of considerable magnitude ... the primary onus for change should be on management. The fact that managers at all levels reported experience of bullying at the same level as those with no managerial position puts further pressure for management intervention on this issue. (Hoel & Cooper, 2000)

In the arts research, managers participating in the BECTU Study did report bullying at comparable levels to their colleagues in other work areas – 25.9% described bullying as occurring *commonly*, 37.0% said it occurred *not uncommonly*. In fact, the latter reflected a higher percentage than both the non-bullied group and the *bullied* group. One-third of managers felt bullying was *rare*, however only one manager had never encountered it.

Employers have a general duty of care to protect employees' health. In the UK, the Health and Safety at Work Act 1974 obliges every employer to ensure, so far as is reasonably practicable, the health, safety and welfare at work of their employees. Under the Management of Health and Safety Regulations 1992, employers are obliged to assess the nature and scale of risks to health in their workplace, and base control measures on that assessment. The Health & Safety Executive publishes the following guidelines, specifically in relation to bullying, within the pages giving information about stress on its website:

> Primarily an industrial relations issue and as such should be dealt with by employers' internal grievance and disciplinary procedures long before it becomes a risk to employees' health.
>
> However, HSC/E recognise that relationships at work (including negative relationships involving bullying and harassment) can be a source of work-related stress. As such, the management standards will address this issue. (Health & Safety Executive)

The arts research data did not reveal any particular set of circumstances that influenced the extent to which organisations or specific types of venues had succeeded or failed to manage the phenomenon of workplace bullying, although other researchers have cited a range of variables that may have an effect, for example a lack of ability for self-determination, the absence of constructive leadership or a high level of role conflict (for example, as reported in Einarsen et al, 1994).

The employers' general duty of care means that it falls to management to ensure the successful resolution of negative behaviours and conflict in the workplace. In 2004, most

performing arts organisations had policies and/or procedures to deal with disciplinary and grievance matters, sexual and racial harassment and gross misconduct. In the UK, few theatres or arts centres had yet devised separate *dignity at work* policies for dealing with workplace bullying, and this confusion was reflected in the responses from employees in performing arts organisations, many of whom did not know what policies were in place.

Lewis and Rayner comment that researchers need to take account of *the political and managerial ethos operating in the workplace* before citing the *work environment* or *leadership* as a cause of/reason for bullying (Lewis & Rayner, 2003 p 380). The creation of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport in 1997, and its impact on the work of the Arts Councils, may be seen as the end result of *managerialism* in the arts. Protherough & Pick (2003) express concern at the expansion of *the arts* to become creative industries, defined by DCMS as:

> ...those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property. This includes advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and computer games, television and radio. (DCMS website: creative industries pages)

Further, by 2006 government has developed the department's remit for what has become the *culture industry*:

> The DCMS is responsible for Government policy on the arts, sport, the National Lottery, tourism, libraries, museums and galleries, broadcasting, creative industries including film and the music industry, press freedom and regulation, licensing, gambling and the historic environment.
>
> We are also responsible for the listing of historic buildings and scheduling of ancient monuments, the export licensing of cultural goods, the management of the Government Art Collection and for the Royal Parks Agency.
>
> DCMS also has responsibility for the organisation of the **Annual Remembrance Day Ceremony** at the Cenotaph.
>
> In May 2005 we broadened our links to the creative industries by taking over responsibility for fashion design, advertising and the arts market from the Department for Trade & Industry (DTI). We now also work jointly with DTI on design issues (including sponsorship of the Design Council) and on relations with the computer games and publishing industries. (DCMS website: about pages)

As Protherough and Pick signalled, Government has indeed reorganised *the arts industry* under state-controlled management, systematically engineering an unwieldy, bureaucratic construct, which demands quantifiable analysis and regurgitates statistics at every level. In this way, apparently, the strategic importance of the *culture industry* is highlighted and

potential development areas identified. Certainly, the aims, purposes and functions of the arts have been redefined within managerial language: target setting and monitoring is de rigueur.

So in line with trickle-down theory, the *benefits* resulting from this construct are disseminated to grassroots level, and the new-style requirements for practitioners – such as those outlined by the Theatre's Artistic Director (7.2.2) – are to produce quantitative rather than qualitative assessments and evaluations of their organisation's arts work. This has resulted in a series of pressures across the whole of the arts sector, as indicated in the previous section. In light of this, the *political and managerial ethos* of arts workplaces has almost certainly changed too. The requirement to collect data on every facet of operational activity, and to deliver detailed reports and analyses, adds another stressor to *normal* workloads for those involved at governance, management and employee levels in the arts.

Stress can be positive or negative, and it is likely that the stress caused by the changing arts environment is negative. Negative stress is more likely to lead to conflict, and organisational and industrial relations theorists have identified two types of conflict: functional and dysfunctional or organised and unorganised, as outlined by Robbins (1991) and Hyman (1989) and reported in Bratton & Gold (1999 p 16). Planned positive action to change an unwanted situation enhances group cohesion, whereas discontent, manifested in absenteeism and *illness*, has negative connotations of sabotage. Bratton and Gold estimate that managers spend 20 per cent of their working time on conflict management activity and assert that:

> Ensuring that conflict does not hinder organisational performance is a central HRM Role. (Bratton & Gold, 1999 p 16)

Given the onerous requirements of line management, as noted by Story (1993), including procedures in company policies for dealing with workplace bullying may be particularly important for smaller arts organisations, where there is a high dependency on line management. Where specialist human resources or personnel staff often do not exist, there is often a void in terms of the employee's opportunity to have a *voice* (Lewis & Rayner, 2003). During the research a contributor commented [my parentheses, their emphasis]:

> The organisation has no policies that I'm aware of to deal with [bullying behaviour]. Moreover, it does not have a personnel officer, nor a nominated officer to whom a member of staff can turn if they are experiencing ANY sort of difficulty within the workplace. (*Pilot Study 2000,1R2)*

The arts research has delivered clear evidence of the prevalence of intimidation in the arts workplace, as is the case in other fields and disciplines, and testimony – not solely from bullied people – that arts management has failed satisfactorily to address it: 22.2% of arts managers felt that management handled complaints of bullying badly. The *self-help* theory of blame attribution, prevalent in the UK in the early 90s, does not satisfactorily address the complex issue of workplace bullying (Figures 1.1 and 1.2). Significantly Sweden, in framing its legislation, did not hesitate to identify employers as responsible for eliminating potential contributing factors within the work environment. Other countries have followed. New Zealand legislates under the Health & Safety in Employment Act 1992 (substantially amended 2002):

> The prevention of workplace bullying can be helped by an employer who establishes clear, formal anti-bullying policies and procedures and assigns resources in the form of training, management time and access to specialist advisers if these are required. It may be appropriate to include bullying in a workplace violence or harassment policy. The employer should appoint a contact person, encourage incident reporting, investigate all complaints and respond promptly where this is required, and provide education and training in the implementation of policies and procedures. Employers need to provide more than one contact person, to allow for any situation where there is bullying by someone in a managerial role. (Department of Labour, New Zealand, 2002)

In the UK, the House of Commons has recently debated the introduction of legislation to prevent workplace bullying, and many members of parliament seemed interested in the issue, although ultimately the government rejected the call for the introduction of the *Dignity At Work Act*. Brian Wilson MP, Department of Trade & Industry Minister for Energy and Construction replied for the Government at the end of the debate, which saw speakers from all parties participating. He apologised for the absence of Alan Johnson Employment Rights Minister who was engaged in other business. He said that the Government was *not presently in favour of legislation but was nonetheless completely opposed to bullying and was willing to support measures short of legislation that would help deal with the problem.* (Parliament Debates Workplace Bullying, 2006)

Legislation alone will not prevent or remove workplace bullying, however it may act as a catalyst, highlighting human resources issues in the workplace, and mending loopholes in existing laws. In the UK trades unions have played a significant part in raising the bullying issue, in researching strategies to address it (MSF 1995; Unison 1997, 1999; BECTU 2003)

and in lobbying to change UK law. (Dignity at Work Act, ibid). Many publish guidelines for members.[11]

The performing arts is a labour-intensive sector, and workplace bullying affects people who are targeted, people who witness it and, via a ripple effect, the organisation as a whole. Those governing and managing arts organisations must acknowledge it as a real issue and one that is increasingly litigious. Research in other areas demonstrates that employers will be made to pay in terms of staff turnover and quality, as well as in compensatory settlements, and some researchers have devised cost/benefit analyses that are germane to the performing arts climate (Rayner & Cooper, 1997, pp 211 – 214). In the UK parliamentary debate, Bill Tynan MP pointed out that the number of days lost through stress related illnesses is some 19 million a year.[12] Valerie Davey MP, who led the debate replied:

> The loss of working days, the cost to the company and the dysfunction are enormous problems. There is a cost in stress to the individual, but also a cost to the health service. That shows that this is a matter for clear cross-party and cross-Government action, to benefit individuals, companies and Government Departments, in particular the Department of Health. (Parliament Debates Workplace Bullying, 2006)

Brian Wilson MP said that despite the absence of support for legislation the government is completely opposed to bullying, which is uncannily like the assertion by 36.6% of BECTU respondents that, despite the absence of a policy or its consideration, arts management would not condone bullying behaviour. Whilst management and government may not be sanctioning bullying behaviour overtly, there is again a *permissibility* issue here – workplace bullying exists and if management/government is perceived as failing to deal with it effectively, it appears that it is actually being tolerated (Rayner, 1999). Valerie Davey MP was in no doubt about what effective government measures should entail:

> There is a strong business case for putting employees' dignity at the top of the company agenda, and the more employers who recognise that, the better. A partnership project could be an important means of working with employers to prevent bullying and we will certainly be taking this forward. In my view the underlying need for legislation is however likely to remain as long as there are employers who are unwilling to work seriously to eradicate bullying. (Parliament Debates Workplace Bullying, 2006)

Unison makes the point that dealing with the consequences of bullying behaviour alone is not a solution, and certainly this does not address permissibility, because it focuses attention on individuals rather than concentrating on the corporate culture that has allowed the bullying to

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[11] For example, *Bullying at work. Guidelines for UNISON branch, stewards and safety representatives* Unison, April 2003

[12] This is a significant increase on the 6.5 million lost working days annually reported by the CBI in June 2004. (see Chapter 1, 1.3.3)

occur in the first place (Unison 2003, ibid). During the research the arts managers alluded to management attitudes as *sympathetic, understanding and fair*, and performing arts organisations prefer to regard themselves as entities wherein staff and management share a creative vision, acting by consensus and participation, rather than via command and control. The evidence of widespread bullying in the performing arts, however, fails to support this interpretation.

In the case studies, organisational culture played a significant role in how bullying behaviour grew and developed, for example in *A Co-Operative Company, A Visual Arts Organisation,* and *A Private Museum*. In the final chapter, the conclusions reference the debate on victims and targets and an alternative model is proposed to those outlined in Figures 1.1 and 1.2 in Chapter 1. This outlines how the factors determining the status of the bully's quarry include the environment in which bullying happens, as well as the personal response of the target. The role of help and support groups is considered alongside trades unions' action on bullying.

Chapter 8 Conclusions

8.1. CONCLUSIONS: WORKPLACE BULLYING IN THE ARTS

At the outset of this research, the fundamental guiding question was whether bullying behaviour in arts workplaces represented isolated, rare occurrences in specific creative environments or whether, as was suspected, it was indicative of a more widespread problem in the arts and cultural sector. In 2000-2001 arts managers intentionally or unintentionally disregard the phenomenon whilst arts employees reveal that bullying in arts organisations is widespread and ignored by management. Seven individual case studies illuminate bullying by arts workers, arts managers, board members of arts organisations and a local authority education department in regard to its community arts service. In 2003-2004, BECTU employees in Scotland, Northern Ireland and England from theatres and arts centres of all sizes and scales report bullying behaviour as occurring *commonly* or *not uncommonly*, including 62.9% of participating arts managers. These employees clearly perceive that their working terms and conditions are often unfair and stressful, and believe this to be unnecessarily so, and thus tantamount to organisational or corporate bullying. Bullying is ubiquitous in arts workplaces.

The experience of working in arts environments with creative people is heralded by arts managers as *different* from working elsewhere, and this is used to explain the requirement for different workplace terms and conditions. However, the discussion in the previous chapter indicates that, patently, creativity is not the sole preserve of the cultural sector. Professor Teresa Amabile, head of the Entrepreneurial Management Unit at Harvard Business School, has devoted her entire research programme to the study of creativity and is one of the foremost explorers of business innovation in the USA:

> ... almost all of the research in this field shows that anyone with normal intelligence is capable of doing some degree of creative work. Creativity depends on a number of things: experience, including knowledge and technical skills; talent; an ability to think in new ways; and the capacity to push through uncreative dry spells. Intrinsic motivation -- people who are turned on by their work often work creatively -- is especially critical. Over the past five years, organizations have paid more attention to creativity and innovation than at any other time ... (Amabile, 2004)

She proposes six myths about creativity in the commercial world, and it is interesting to consider these in the context of the cultural sector, not least because they allow us to compare and contrast commercial and cultural values – ultimately supporting the argument that the arts are not so very *different* after all:

Myth 1. Creativity Comes From Creative Types: Amabile reports that business managers cherish this belief, identifying advertising, marketing and research & development people as *creatives* and, for example, accountants as not. Perhaps we in the arts hold similar views – our performers, set designers and make-up artists may be considered creative, but are the

box office staff, the technicians and the clerical workers? Do arts organisations treat differently those perceived as being less creative and, therefore, less *important*?

Myth 2. Money Is a Creativity Motivator: Business people want to feel they are being compensated fairly but Amabile finds that they *put far more value on a work environment where creativity is supported, valued, and recognized. People want the opportunity to deeply engage in their work and make real progress*. Many arts people regard counterparts in commercial organisations as financially-motivated but it seems there is little difference: arts people, too, want fair pay and reasonable hours of work, and they also want a supportive work environment.

Myth 3. Time Pressure Fuels Creativity: Amabile records that business people often thought they were most creative when they were working under severe deadline pressure:

> But the 12,000 aggregate days that we studied showed just the opposite: People were the least creative when they were fighting the clock. In fact, we found a kind of time-pressure hangover – when people were working under great pressure, their creativity went down not only on that day but the next two days as well. Time pressure stifles creativity because people can't deeply engage with the problem. Creativity requires an incubation period; people need time to soak in a problem and let the ideas bubble up. (Amabile, 2004).

This *time-pressure hangover* has implications for the longer hours of work reported in the arts, particularly where organisations are required to meet *first-night* and other deadlines, as it suggests that failing to ensure TOIL is taken will have a detrimental effect on the arts workforce. There are lessons, too, for how arts projects are planned and implemented – the way in which deadlines are tackled is at the core of the issue for strategic managers, rather than the deadlines themselves: this should teach us to work *smarter,* not *harder*.

Myth 4. Fear Forces Breakthroughs: The business research found that creativity *is positively associated with joy and love and negatively associated with anger, fear, and anxiety*. This does not support the psychological literature linking *creative genius* with depression and other mental health issues, as examined in the previous chapter, however the business research was correlating evidence of creativity contemporaneous with overt signs of happiness/unhappiness.[1] Business people were more likely to come up with an innovative idea if they had been happy *the day before*. In the arts, we also experience this *virtuous cycle*, and anecdotal evidence suggests that being enthused and excited about work improves our chances to make *a cognitive association that incubates overnight and shows up as a creative idea the next day*. As Amabile found: *One day's happiness often predicts the*

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[1] This has become a topical theme in the UK since the remarks by Leader of the Conservative Party, David Cameron at the Google Zeitgeist Europe Conference, 22 May 2006 [accessed May 2006 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/5003314.stm]

next day's creativity. Arts workers who are unhappy because they are bullied are not likely to sustain creativity or effectivity.

Myth 5. Competition Beats Collaboration: In finance and high-tech industries Amabile found that internal competition destroyed innovation, and that when people compete for recognition they stop sharing information: the most creative teams are the ones that are confident enough to share and debate ideas. This is also evident in the arts case studies – *A Co-Operative Theatre Company, An Arts Centre* – where personal status is an issue, teamwork declines and bullying results.

Myth 6. A Streamlined Organization Is a Creative Organization: Amabile finds that creativity suffers greatly during restructuring and downsizing, and the arts case studies support this, particularly *A Community Arts Service*. The following was written about Amabile's research in a 6,000-person division in a global electronics company during the entire course of a 25% downsizing, which took an *incredibly agonizing* 18 months. It could have been written about the arts case study instead:

> "Every single one of the stimulants to creativity in the work environment went down significantly. Anticipation of the downsizing was even worse than the downsizing itself -- people's fear of the unknown led them to basically disengage from the work."
> (Amabile, 2004)

There is insufficient evidence to sustain the claim that the arts are *different* on the basis implied by the arts managers in 2000 – that is, that they are sufficiently unique in all that they do, so that normal rules and procedures do not apply. Whilst it is true that many arts workers believe that they are among the hardest-pressed employees in any sector, and that they are often deprived of employment rights which apply elsewhere, this is not what managers intended to imply – they believe the necessarily different employment conditions within the performing arts *come with the territory*.

The percentage of respondents from theatres and arts centres who reported that they had been targets of bullying behaviour was higher than that previously recorded in any other discipline in the UK, and in this sense, the arts may be considered to be *different* – currently the market leaders in workplace bullying in the UK. This is not to deny the qualities and attributes of creative people and arts environments, as expressed, for example, by practitioners – it is simply that there is no justification for treating arts employees less well or less fairly than employees in any other sector.

8.1.1 Comparative Working Environments

The descriptors of bullying in the performing arts are the same as for other employment sectors: the definitions of mobbing, harassment and bullying are relevant to the arts experience and corporate bullying is a recognisable feature. The nature and circumstances of the behaviour in, for example, the health service and education, is replicated in arts organisations and has similar effects on individuals and organisations. The psychological profile of the arts bully, as far as this can be determined from the case studies and the reports of website respondents, concurs with those gained in other fields (for example, Einarsen et al (Eds), 2003 pp 168 –173).

The combined methodology for the research incorporated quantitative and qualitative analysis, and enabled the recording of perceptions as well as the collection of empirical evidence. The investigative procedures sought to ensure that the approach was objective and fair to all participants, including guaranteeing complete anonymity to participants. Arts workplaces share many of the characteristics of those of other professions – whether or not a nominal hierarchical structure exists, and in some format this is usually the case, there are both formal and informal interrelationships and communications constructs.

Arts bullies are found at every level and there is no significant variation from other professions in terms of reasons for bullying, with status/position, competence and popularity emerging as principal causes, as opposed to gender, age, disability, length of service, area of work, type of post, or geographical location. In the arts, more women than men reported experiences of being bullied, and said that it was increasing in frequency.

In considering factors in the performing arts environment that might contribute to corporate bullying behaviour, such as hours of work and rates of pay, it was evident that dissatisfaction levels were high. More than half of the BECTU sample (52.6%) said taking time off was either *not possible due to workload* or *not encouraged*. The same percentage was maintained among the *bullied group* (52.5%), significant because in this instance, bullied people were *not* reporting negative behaviour more than non-bullied people (Rayner, 1999). Given what Amabile has said about *time-pressure hangover*, this inability to adequately recuperate following longer working hours has the potential to be disastrous for arts workers and arts organisations alike, in terms of individual and organisational creativity and also in terms of workplace health and safety.

The research sought to determine if the arts working environment is particularly conducive to the encouragement and tolerance of bullying behaviour. As we have seen in Chapter 2, previous studies of workplace bullying have taken place in non-arts environments and

indicate that a number of constituents can be held to contribute towards circumstances in which bullying is likely to occur: Undoubtedly in the arts, for example, *emotional responses* play a part –in Chapter 5 arts practitioners comment freely on their perceptions of the emotional investment required when working in the arts. Hoel, Faragher and Cooper (2004) note the negative effects on witnesses to bullying and Lewis (2004) records feelings of shame and embarrassment experienced by targets of bullying in other, non-arts workplaces.

There is a requirement for team working in arts organisations or a *high demand for co-operation*, identified as an ingredient in the environment in which bullying occurs by Matthiesen & Einarsen (2001). Although arts organisations are not associated necessarily with *command and control* structures (as in, for example, prisons, armed forces, police forces), we have seen that *power imbalance* is a contributory factor in all the arts case studies: the arts perpetrator moves into a position of manipulating and dominating the arts target. Lewis (1999) identified *funding pressures* as a feature of the bullying environment – an undeniable aspect of the arts, evinced by practitioners' experience of *burdensome bureaucracy* as an outcome of *arts managerialism.* The case studies provide examples of the existence in the arts of *management as politics* (Watson, 1986; Bratton & Gold, 1999), *lack of constructive leadership* (Rayner, 1999) and *conflicting goals and priorities* (Einarsen, et al, 1994).

If these characteristics are supplemented by the concepts of *creative genius* and *artistic temperament*, bearing in mind the phenomenon of *Founder's Syndrome* as discussed in Chapter 5, the inevitable conclusion is that the arts workplace has all the hallmarks of a bullying-friendly environment, and that bullying behaviour is likely to grow and to flourish if arts management continues to pursue a policy characterised by acquiescence and inertia.

8.1.2 Management Action and Accountability

The majority of respondents in arts organisations felt management did not handle complaints of bullying behaviour well and, given the lack of training among Pilot Study managers in dealing with personnel or human resources issues, perhaps this is not surprising. If HRM ideologies are failing to be effective, with line managers who cannot or do not access relevant training at an adequate level, the workers' *loss of voice* signalled by Lewis and Rayner (2003) can only deteriorate further, compounding workplace issues that are already difficult. One important action management could take would be not to dismiss out of hand complaints of bullying from their staff. The arts research has shown that this indifference to complaints implies permissibility, which is positively correlated with bullying. Instead, management should focus on introducing accredited methods of investigating the issue in an

effort to resolve it – properly conducted *forensic interviews*[2] are legally sound in part because they ensure the interviewer's objectivity, employ non-leading techniques, and emphasise careful documentation of the interview.

Developing a policy to deal with bullying at work has climbed the agenda for arts managers, alongside policies for discrimination or abuse on the grounds of race, gender, disability and faith. Increasingly, there is information and guidance for employers' human resources and personnel officers and others (for example, the Chartered Management Institute's *Bullying in the Workplace: Guidance for Managers*, August 2005) and the reasons for policy development have been outlined by researchers and others seeking effective ways of dealing with the behaviour:

> "All sensible employers have a policy on harassment and discrimination. A policy protects both employees and the employer. The motivation is twofold: to provide an atmosphere in which employees can fulfil the duties and obligations of their contract free from harassment, discrimination, victimisation and scapegoating, and to comply with UK and European law, specifically, the Sex Discrimination Act (1975), the Race Relations Act (1976), and the Disability Discrimination Act (1996)." (Field, 2005)

In the absence of an effective policy, arts workers found they were isolated and at a loss as to sources of help. This research found that this was particularly true of smaller arts organisations and/or those where a designated human resources professional was not available. The effect of workplace bullying was all the more severe when the Chief Executive Officer was the perpetrator, and also the only conduit to higher authority [respondent emphases]:

> The organisation has no policies that I am aware of to deal with the above. Moreover, it does not have a personnel officer, nor a nominated officer to whom a member of staff can turn if they are experiencing ANY sort of difficulty within the workplace. The Board only ever get the version of events as presented by the Chief Executive. I am quite sure that the Board would not condone bullying if they perceived that it was happening. A feature of many bullies is that they have a very plausible manner, such that their superiors cannot believe them capable of unpleasant behaviour. This leaves the employees in impossible situations; it appears that THEY are the problem. *Pilot Study, 2000 R11*

> As far as I am aware we don't have a policy on bullying. We do have a mission statement which states that the company ethos is one of mutual respect and trust, but this is contradicted by the behaviour of the management. It is a very small organisation (8 employees) and the Executive Director is the bully. Recent attempts to address the issue through meetings with the trustees have culminated in the ED convincing the trustees that there is no problem. *Pilot Study 2000, R12*

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[2] See Section 3.3.3

Researchers in the field have made a number of recommendations that are Important and useful to the performing arts sector. Among these is the introduction of *effective, safe and fair policies* on bullying behaviour:

> No organisation is immune from bullying though the scale and intensity of the problem vary greatly between organisations. This suggests that all organisations should have in place policies and procedures which can deal with problems when they occur, and which may act as a deterrent to bullying in the first place. (Hoel & Cooper, 2000)

Salin (2003, p 42) warns of the bullying which results from *the ever-increasing struggle for efficiency, work intensification, and reliance of performance-related reward systems* and managers, in general, agree. In the 2005 Chartered Management Institute's study of workplace bullying among managers, conducted by Woodman and Cook, 76% of the managers where an anti-bullying policy was in place felt that their organisation was quite or very effective at deterring bullying, compared to 43% of those who had no policy and no plans to develop one. Similarly, more than three quarters of those with a formal policy on bullying felt that their organisation responded effectively to specific incidents, compared to less than half of those without. Hoel and Cooper recommend that an effective anti-bullying policy should provide targets of bullying with a *safe* reporting procedure...

> protecting them from possible retribution, whilst at the same time ensuring a fair hearing of the case. Severe or repeated breach of policy should be met with sanctions. However, in order to ensure their effectiveness, a monitoring system needs to be put in place. (Hoel & Cooper, 2000)

The sanctions noted by Woodman and Cook (2005) included both informal and formal processes, that is opportunities for employees to discuss bullying with management as well as access to disciplinary procedures. Other elements included clear definitions of bullying behaviour, guidelines on acceptable conduct, awareness training, defined responsibilities for trade union/employee representatives and for managers. To support targets of bullying behaviour, recommendations were to include a contact point for advice, internal confidential counselling and access to external counselling and mediation.

Some participants in the 2000 research also found policy development to be effective [my parentheses]:

> I have been involved in a couple of [bullying] incidents which happened some years ago whilst working for other organisations. The Trust have a policy called Challenging Harassment which covers all of the above. (*Pilot Study 2000 R4)*

The development of effective policy in the performing arts will also depend heavily on training and the ability of arts managers to both recognise their responsibilities and to sharpen their skills in the context of managing people and staff welfare. The research indicated that arts managers in the pilot study had had little appropriate training in human resources issues and also that attitudes to the need for such training tended to be dismissive. In 2006, the training requirement goes beyond merely raising awareness of bullying as an issue. Arts managers have an opportunity to work proactively on the issue of workplace bullying, embracing best practice rather than responding belatedly to a requirement to *catch up with* policy development in other sectors. Acknowledging accountability for employee conduct in arts workplaces will necessitate adequately equipping managers to deal with the issues germane to that role.

It cannot be assumed that an ability to manage people well is acquired as a routine consequence of working in the arts. In fact, it is more likely that what is achieved, as an employee progresses from one management post to another, often more senior, role is custom and practice in managing people *after a fashion*. There is no evidence to suggest that knowledge, expertise or skills in the effective management of human resources are gained in this way, and little indication of continuing professional development. In the BECTU study, information from those who managed other people revealed that 34 out of 135 line managers (25.2%) and 50 out of 143 supervisors of other line managers (34.9%) had not received **any** work-related training in the last three years. Five out of the nine people working directly to the Board of their organisations (55.6%) had not received training either.

Turney (2003) presents two case studies illustrating that *on the job* training can result in apprentices or trainees experiencing *learned helplessness*, whereby they passively accept inappropriate criticism from authoritarian *mentors* in hierarchical organisations. It is possible that *on the job* training can also result in arts managers acquiring the capacity for *learned dominance*, particularly if this is deemed, by them and their organisations, to be appropriate to a managerial/leadership role. Lack of accredited education and training opportunities may contribute to a misinterpretation of management and leadership as *control* and, whether as a result of poor access for, or neglect on the part of, arts managers, may be a significant contributory factor to the high incidence of bullying behaviour in the labour-intensive performing arts. It is not without significance that the emergence of the Clore Leadership Programme in 2004/5 *to help develop the skills and experience of potential leaders in the cultural sector* is described on the Foundation's website as having been ... *created in response to the difficulties many organisations have experienced in recruiting and retaining leaders at many different levels*. Similarly, research into an optimum leadership style for the

commercial world has led to the identification of *transformational leadership* as an aspirational model (Alimo-Metcalfe & Alban-Metcalfe, 2005).

8.1.3 Corporate Bullying

None of the elements cited by Woodman and Cook (2005), however, address the issue of corporate bullying. The research in performing arts organisations clearly identified a perception on the part of employees in theatres and arts centres that their working terms and conditions were often unfair and stressful, unnecessarily so, and thus tantamount to organisational or corporate bullying. In the pilot study there was a perception among arts managers that terms and conditions *come with the territory*. Yet the routes to prevent and/or to resolve bullying, as outlined by Hoel and Cooper, include reducing bullying by reducing stress-levels:

> Bullying is associated with a negative work-climate, high workload and unsatisfactory relationships. This suggest that organisations may be able to go some way towards resolving or at least minimising the problem of bullying by reducing and controlling stress at work. (It follows that any risk- assessment strategy focusing on psychosocial work-hazards should include bullying and victimisation). (Hoel & Cooper, 2000)

Management appears to be failing to accept responsibility for institutional bullying, despite the work of the trades unions and others in raising the profile of the issue. This contribution, for example, focuses on the difficulties experienced by a part-time fine arts lecturer, who felt terms and conditions were abusive:

> The organisational strategy of the organisation I worked for was *bullying* in that it used peoples' fear of losing their jobs and kept lecturers on one day contracts. Part time lecturers were given no staff meetings or professional support, had no formal process for finding out important information about students. We had no personal development opportunities or personal supervision. I left the college because my self-esteem was suffering. I am a good lecturer and contributed to the running of the fine art part of the foundation course at my local college for several years as one of a team of four (I never had a proper contract). (*Pilot Study, 2R17)*

It is clear that a high level of job insecurity created a *climate of fear* among employees in this instance. Researchers have urged organisations to establish *a culture free of bullying* (Hoel & Cooper, 2000) and this is especially pertinent to performing arts organisations in the context of their creative genius/artistic temperament environment. The issue of permissibility has a particular, statistically significant, resonance and there is an onus on performing arts management to examine objectively the standard organisational modus operandi, which can directly or indirectly endorse the existence of bullying as routine.

Now that arts managers acknowledge the existence of the problem, there is a need to help them to recognise, confront and challenge, aggressive and abusive management styles. The

predictable and familiar breeding ground for bullying behaviour, management by command and control, does not sit comfortably alongside the image of an empathetic and caring system of governance in the arts, cited by arts managers in the Pilot Study (2000). In a hierarchical management framework, evidently pressure imposed from above exhorts managers to exert pressure on those below, therefore governing bodies are also in the frame. Richard Eyre, Director of the Royal National Theatre, respected stage and screen director and a prolific writer on theatre, has lamented the haphazard style in which members are appointed to the Boards of Trustees governing the top end of management of many UK theatres and arts centres, recommending

> No Board should be able to appoint its own members or Chair independent of external consultation... all new Board members must be given appropriate training. (as reported in Lathan, 2001)

As the media continues to report that old-fashioned and incompetent management styles are failing the performing arts (for example, Higgins 2005), increasingly there is an emphasis on co-operative management styles and disdain for hardline management techniques. Notwithstanding the image of *successful* (that is, profit-making) management as aggressive and *macho*, as portrayed in television series such as *The Apprentice*,[3] it is increasingly likely that companies that refuse to change obsolete operating strategies will not survive in the rapidly changing world of work. This is true of creative organisations as much as any others.

Sally Bibb, Director of Group Sales Development for The Economist Group and author of several books about management issues, claims that the business hierarchy that seeks to monitor and control workers' methods and output is outmoded and must be changed, even at the risk of hurting those who have always benefited from hierarchical arrangements: the executives and managers (Bibb, 2005). Like Bibb, McKeown and Whiteley (2002) assert that current management techniques, the myth that *organisations are machines*, stifle the ability of people and organisations to grow. They make a strong case that companies must re-envision themselves or *unshrink* their thinking, in order to survive and to thrive in tomorrow's business landscape.

This makes sense for the performing arts. In Watson's (1986) human resources management model, he proposed that managing people can be viewed as an art – successful managers are born with appropriate traits; a science – successful managers have acquired appropriate knowledge or skills; politics – successful managers have worked out

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[3] In the series, a number of competitive business-oriented events are staged to eliminate inept candidates ultimately identifying a suitable 'apprentice' to a successful tycoon – airing on NBC (USA) featuring Donald Trump and BBC (UK) featuring Alan Sugar

the unwritten laws of life in the organisation; control – successful managers can exploit and control workers (as reported in Bratton & Gold, 1999). Salin (2003) found a clear relationship between bullying and organisational politics and it seems an appropriate time to denounce the last view also as an unacceptable option: not only are controlling styles unjust and unethical but, as with organisational politics, according to many research findings they are also linked to negative organisational outcomes (Health & Safety Executive, 1995; Field, 1996; Clifton & Serdar, 2000; Hoel & Cooper, 2000; Glendinning, 2001; Murray, 2004). In this context performing arts organisations have an important choice to make: they can continue current operating strategies until they are forced to make a change, as inevitably will be the case. Or, they can take the opportunity to revisit their roots as co-operative teams and opt for styles of management based on recognising personal and professional qualities, such as integrity and respect for the needs both of the individual and of the company as a whole – embracing a *transformational leadership* style. This offers the added chance to rotate the kaleidoscope of *creative genius*, and to acknowledge creativity inherent in every member of an arts organisation, irrespective of designation or role.

8.1.4 The Role of Trades Unions and the Law

High profile cases in the media undoubtedly serve to raise awareness generally about bullying behaviour, (for example, Rantzen, 2006) as do the increasing number of helplines and websites dedicated to the issue in the UK and beyond. Clearly, there is a growing public consciousness of adult bullying and its detrimental effects. In the UK trades unions have played a significant part in raising the bullying issue and in researching strategies to address it. The most active have been the Manufacturing, Science and Finance Sector Union (MSF) – which launched *The Campaign against Bullying at Work* with a conference (May 1994) – and UNISON – which conducted a survey in 1997 and has commissioned reports and studies (for example, Rayner, 1999) and a campaign in 1996 to change UK law (Dignity at Work Bill). In 1995 a survey showed that bullying was prevalent in the finance, health, sales professionals and voluntary sectors, and other trades unions such as the TUC have addressed the issue and created good practice guidelines. BECTU commissioned the performing arts survey in 2003/4.

The effects of the survey within BECTU have been to prompt the Union to take the following action:

> A request to the Society of London Theatre (SOLT), on behalf of members in the capital's West End, for a Revision of the equal opportunities, harassment & bullying and health & safety policy (July 2004).

From 2004 BECTU will offer all its representatives a three-part training programme that involves:

- A one-day induction for new reps
- An 'Essential Skills for BECTU Reps' programme (this will cover BBC branch officers, a three-part OFG, TUC reps or equivalent GFTU courses)
- A professional development programme (e.g. promoting diversity, negotiating, communication, stress and bullying).

A Report to the NEC Conference 2004

Policy development

Better complaints procedures

In November 2005 BECTU announced a new study by the University of Ulster to examine the extent of workplace bullying in the media industry.

In March 2006, BECTU is supporting a half-day seminar organised by The Institute of Employment Rights, on regulating the UK's long-hours working culture: *Work to the Bone*.

The importance of appropriate trades union involvement should be recognised: beyond raising awareness, here is an important mediator between employer and employee, and a conduit for employees who find themselves in difficulties and effectively *voiceless* (Lewis & Rayner, 2003). In this context, as noted in Chapter 3, BECTU membership in 2006 is circa 27,000 in total (that is, across Broadcasting, Cinematographic and Television sectors as well as Theatre), which is equivalent, at most, to 45% of those eligible to join. It is likely that the reality is that members represent a much smaller proportion than this, as the broadcasting, film, video and digital media sectors have grown enormously in the last decade due to constantly developing technology. Therefore, a minimum of 33,000 non-union members working in live and broadcast arts are unrepresented currently. As with arts managers, trades union representatives need to receive education and training opportunities appropriate to the task and their role in it.

Legislation alone will not remove the problem of bullying at work, however it has the potential to act as a catalyst, laying emphasis on human resources issues in the workplace, and mending loopholes in existing laws. In 2006, there is inadequate statutory provision to deal with bullying behaviour in the UK and the campaign to introduce the Dignity At Work Act continues to press the government on this issue. Amicus, Britain's largest union, is leading the Dignity at Work partnership and the anti-bullying charity, the Andrea Adams Trust, is providing specialist technical advice. Other launch partners include:

- Connect: the Union for Professionals in Communications

- Legal and General Insurance
- BAE Systems
- The Chemical Industries Association
- Remploy
- Royal Mail
- BT

Baroness Anne Gibson, who introduced the Dignity at Work Bill in Parliament, chairs the steering group comprising representatives from the Health and Safety Executive, ACAS, the TUC and the DTI. Leading academic and practitioner experts on bullying and related issues act as advisers to the group. The Dignity at Work partnership provides advice and guidance for anyone suffering from workplace bullying or harassment and is intent on advocating cultural change, to develop a code of conduct where respect for individuals is regarded as integral to the behaviour of employees and managers.

It is clear that adult bullying in the workplace is a global issue. Particularly in the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, France, Sweden and the United States, the profile of bullying behaviour in a number of sectors continues to be highlighted regularly, although not yet in performing arts organisations. Different strategies are being adopted to address workplace bullying in different parts of the world. The approaches tend to be external to the organisation, occurring at a socio-political level as well-meaning individuals or groups attempt to confront and deal with the problem. Some success has been achieved, notably in Sweden where specific legislation has been introduced. In particular, the approaches adopted in Australia and the UK have been collaborative processes between responsible employers, trades unions, politicians, University researchers and voluntary and community groups seeking the introduction of meaningful and effective legislation (Sheehan, Barker & Rayner 1999). Clearly, further collaboration is required and highlighting some of the legal and economic aspects of the problem may serve to promote additional change.

Promoting dignity at work is likely to reduce stress and related health problems, and also absenteeism, among those who are both suffering and close witnesses to bullying. According to advocates of the Dignity at Work Act, time spent on the promotion of dignity at work policies is often better in terms of outcomes than time spent on dealing with individual complaints of bullying and harassment (Dignity At Work Act website). Developing a proactive, integrated organisational approach to the problem is likely to be the most effective way forward (Leather et al, 1999).

8.2. CENTRAL RESEARCH THEMES

The initial chapter of this thesis outlines some of the issues highlighted in previous research into bullying in non-arts workplaces, including the debates about terminology – bullying/ mobbing/harassment and victim/target. In the English-speaking literature, the term *bullying* continues to be used alongside new appellations, such as *emotional abuse* (Einarsen et al, 2003). Increasingly, workplace bullying is being considered by researchers within a broader context – beyond that of health and safety at work, as outlined in Chapter 2. As the quest for understanding, the causes of, and ways to mitigate or prevent, bullying behaviour continues, organisational structures are being examined with a view to determining how bullying is positioned within paradigms for a range of operational activities, including *conflict escalation* and *conflict resolution* (Keashly & Nowell, 2003), *undesirable interaction* (Hubert, 2003), *risk management* (Spurgeon, 2003) and *human resources management* (Lewis & Rayner, 2003).

8.2.1 The morality of research into bullying

Another issue, which arose during the research journey, and was explored in Chapter 3, Methodology, was one of professional ethics when conducting research with humans. Eysenck (2004) emphasised the need to protect participants from stress, *however this might be created*. Inevitably targets and witnesses of bullying, in participating in interviews and in the construction of case studies, relived their negative experiences to a certain extent. The identification of appropriate interview techniques assisted with minimising distress, however some participants became emotionally upset or shaken as they recounted their personal histories and, as interviewer, it was impossible to be entirely unmoved by some of these accounts. On balance, the ability to establish a good understanding of the person being interviewed, to adopt a non-judgemental approach and to develop good listening skills (Coolican, 1994) assisted with the delicate process of gathering information that evoked unhappy experiences, and in every case the individuals were proactive in this process and exhibited a positive desire to impart their personal knowledge. In this respect, the careful and caring researcher will take steps to gain appropriate skills before embarking on evaluations through structured and semi-structured interviews. Researchers continue to seek other ways to examine the issue of bullying, apart from through evidence from targets and witnesses, and incidence studies dealing with both bullied and non-bullied people continue to offer useful opportunities for data comparison from a variety of sources (Rayner, 1999).

8.2.2 Victims, Targets and Survivors

The significance of the victim/target question has been a keen research interest in this study of bullying in the arts, particularly when considering the information contributed by the website respondents in the Pilot Study (2001), the case studies and the text submissions from the BECTU survey *bullied group*. The models in Chapter 1 (Figures 1.1 and 1.2) illustrate respectively the *self-help* model prevalent in the early 1990s and the *victimhood is temporary* variation suggested by Field (1996).

Indeed, in concert with both of these views, specialists working with children and young people demonstrate tendencies towards the notion that anyone is a potential target of bullying behaviour, and that the power to remain a target, rather than become a victim, lies with the target (Baumgartner, 2006).

> Although children probably have no control over being targets, they have the capacity to choose not to be victims. Victims capitulate to what bullies want. For example, they give bullies their lunch money, cry in shame when called names, run to adults to get help, or beg for mercy. Children become targets for who they are. They become victims for what they do. Targets have in their power to choose not to become victims. (Baumgartner, 2006)

Ishmael designates as victim – *someone who does not use their internal power or identifiable resources to prevent abuse* – and says that targets – *often have the resources to deal with abusive behaviour, but find it difficult to exercise them because of the external pressures placed on them* (Ishmael with Alemoru, 1999). The issue with these assumptions about an individual's capacity to determine their status (Field, 1996; Ishmael 1999; Baumgartner 2006) is the difficulty in aligning the concept of a target having *power* and a victim *not having power*, with the fundamental *imbalance of power* between perpetrator and bullied person – whether called target or victim – which characterises the behaviour. This imbalance has been cited by researchers (for example, Turney, 2003; Hoel et al, 2003 p 413) and is clearly demonstrated in the arts case studies: **Table 5.1: Attributes of the arts bullying case studies**, and in research in related areas, such as domestic abuse: **Table 1.1: The power and control wheel elements adapted for workplace bullying**. The assertion that a target has more power than a victim, but not as much as a perpetrator, results in a one-dimensional evaluation of the bullying actor-reactor relationship, which is reminiscent of the *self-help* models of the early 1990s:

Table: 8.1: The Victim as A Failed Target

Bully	Target	Victim
holds balance of power: abuses it	has some power: has internal resources, but is unable to use them	has no power: does not use internal resources

The argument that targets really do *have in their power to choose not to become victims* (Baumgartner, 2006) is not well made. Prior to his death earlier this year, Tim Field was actively engaged in considering the implications of vulnerability and further research is needed on aspects such as susceptibility and capitulation to investigate their role in determining bullying outcomes. After all, if a target *has internal resources but is unable to use them* (Ishmael, 1999), then this returns them to a state of *powerlessness.* The Ishmael (1999) perspective suggests that targets are *powerless/frustrated* whereas victims are either *powerless/weak* or *powerless/ignorant*. This latter is supported in *Managing Britannia*, where the authors' use of *Women in Love* as an example infers that the targets of Gerald's bullying (the workforce) become victims because they submit to it willingly – whether from weakness or ignorance is not explored (Protherough & Pick, 2002 p 176).

There is a parallel with this view among some researchers into childhood bullying, who suggest that there are two types of *victims* in relation to the school bully – submissive victims and provocative victims, both of whom give off covert *signals* which are likely to make them targets (Smith & Sprague, 2004). An adaptation of this would be that *adult victims* = submissive and *adult targets* = provocative. If the *submissive/provocative* model is applied to adult bullying in the workplace – even if it is accepted that the *covert signalling* is unwitting on the part of the *victims* – it introduces into the bullying debate an element causing acute discomfort amongst anti-bullying campaigners,[4] who tend to reject the notion of responsibility on the part of the target/victim unequivocally, and focus instead on achieving *justice*, and on the requirement for bullies, whether individuals, groups or whole organisations, to bear all responsibility for the behaviour.

The difficulty with the conclusions to be drawn from the concepts illustrated by theories built on *self-help*, *victimhood as temporary*, and *submissive/provocative victims*, however, is the inference that bullying occurs in a vacuum, somehow divorced from the workplace in which it is occurring. Also, the onus is on the distressed person, whether designated *victim* or *target*, to take action and to change their behaviour rather than the perpetrator. This is expressed as active pursuance of self-help, of a desire to learn, grow and evolve, or of working to actively resolve the situation.

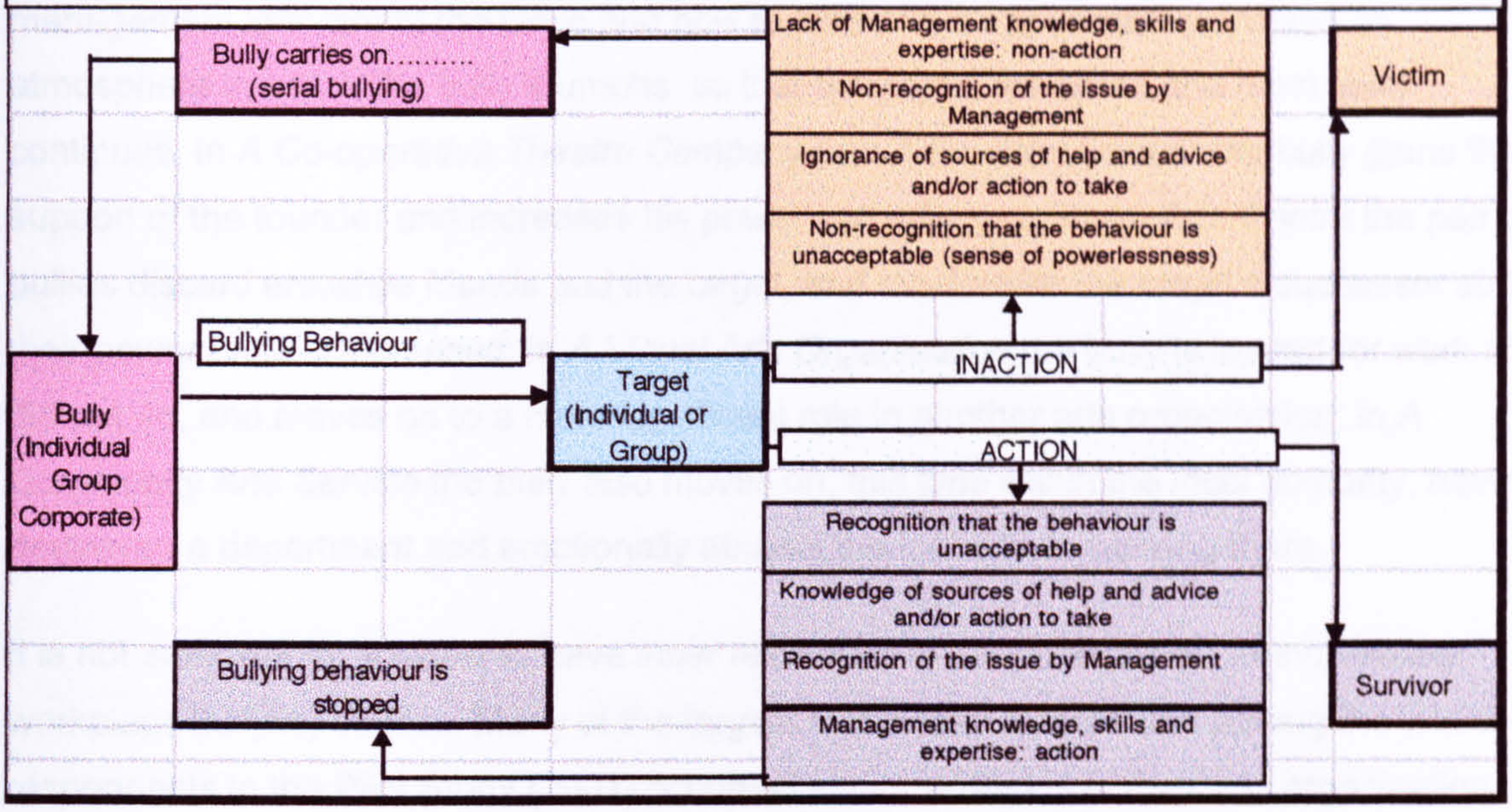
In the alternative model below, created in response to the arts case studies, I have incorporated the environment as well as the behaviour. All subjects of bullies are identified as targets, the designation used in the arts research, and the premise is that it is the *environment* in which bullying happens, as well as the *personal response* of the target, that

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[4] See Appendix 5

determines whether they become victims or survivors: a case of nurture as well as nature, with nurture very probably in the lead.

Figure 8-1: Survivors of bullying behaviour



The model should be interpreted as showing two extremes, with the potential for multiple variations in between, rather than as an either/or scenario. The perpetrator bullies the target and either *action* or *inaction* follows. For *action*, the target's ability to recognise that the behaviour is unacceptable occurs in an environment conducive to awareness of the issue by Management and support for the target – including knowledge, skills and expertise which enable Management to respond, intervene and identify solutions that will stop the bullying behaviour. Examples of this are visible in *A Collective* and *A Creative Industry*. In the former the target is removed from the bullying relationship by a senior manager in the consultancy company, and although the bully continues to target the company, the behaviour is depersonalised and relatively less damaging psychosocially. In the latter case, the companies involved in the consortium recognise collectively that the behaviour is undesirable and are mutually supportive, withdrawing from contact with the bully. The same bully does much more damage to staff within her own organisation, where the supportive environment is not in place, and *action* cannot be taken. In both cases, the targets re-exert control over the situation and re-balance the power. The bully *wins* in the sense that a crisis is precipitated, but also *loses* because the target has access to sufficient background help and support, and has become a *survivor*.

Chapter 2 explores that fact that, among the precursors of bullying identified by Hoel and Salin (2003) *organisational culture* features and Lewis (2004) suggests that several work-related factors may combine to cause workplace bullying, whilst Salin (2003) highlights how the levels of dissatisfaction in a workplace have an impact on the prevalence of bullying. The

arts working environment is no different. If the workplace environment lacks the elements of understanding, knowledge and support then the target is both helpless and hapless, and is a casualty of *inaction*. This is not merely an illustration of the target as *submissive victim:* a management ignorant of the issue and how to deal with it appropriately creates an atmosphere in which the bully triumphs, so that bullying is rewarded and most likely continues. In *A Co-operative Theatre Company* and *A Private Museum* the bully gains the support of the founder and increases his power and influence; in *An Arts Centre* the pair of bullies discard erstwhile friends and the target, and manipulate the target's successor so that their power base is increased; in *A Visual Arts Organisation* the bully is lauded for work she did not do, and moves on to a more significant role in another arts organisation; in *A Community Arts Service* the bully also moves on, this time within the local authority, having destroyed a department and emotionally abused the individuals working there.

It is not sufficient for a target to have *inner resources* to deal with the profound damage workplace bullying causes. Many of the targets in the case studies and among the website respondents in the Pilot Study (2001) occupied senior positions in their arts organisations, and were resilient and resourceful individuals who found themselves in a situation where they were prevented from exercising control – not as a result of their personal *(in)ability*, but rather because the environment in which the bullying behaviour happened was contaminated by *inaction*, through Management apathy and inertia. The fact that the majority of the BECTU survey group identified their organisation's reactions to complaints as *indifferent* is significant.

8.2.3 Permissibility and Prevention

As the arts research has grown, alongside the victim/target debate, the concept of *permissibility* – meaning *a belief among staff within organisations that bullying is permissible, as it is perceived to be permitted ... regardless of whether bullying is actually tolerated* Rayner (1999) – has taken on increasing significance and, as is evident from this thesis, *permissibility* has become a multidimensional reference, describing in addition to the original meaning according to Rayner (1999):

> *accessories to bullying*: onlookers/witnesses who are empowered to act, but fail to do so, thereby condoning the actions of the bully (Chapter 1)
>
> arts organisations in thrall to *creative genius*, whereby behaviour that is unfair to staff is excused in the name of the pursuit of creative excellence (Chapter 5)

arts workers who continue to tolerate poor terms and conditions, thereby condoning the arts corporate culture (Chapter 5)

the government refusal to introduce effective measures at national level to deal with workplace bullying, such as the Dignity At Work Act, thereby exhibiting tolerance (Chapter 5)

It is the sense that bullying is being *allowed* to happen in many different ways and at all levels, that has proved both a fascinating and a discouraging aspect of attempts to find routes towards a solution. Hoel et al (2003) consider a number of ways forward for researchers in Europe and the US and recommend that *academics and practitioners would benefit from shared insight into key aspects of the issues* as an alternative to allowing research to sub-divide into separate concepts covering what is virtually common ground (Hoel et al, 2003 pp 412–413). The call for further dialogue and co-operation across academic disciplines and among practitioners is well-made: there is much understanding to be gained from considering the bullying issue from a wide variety of perspectives.

Co-operation and collaboration within and between employment sectors will also assist progress. In the wake of this research, there is a need for arts organisations and arts managers to set aside the notion of *the arts as different* in this respect, and to acknowledge the existence of workplace bullying and its personal, organisational, legal and economic consequences for the arts. Further research is required to better understand the psychological profile of the arts bully, and those aspects particular to the variety of arts environments, which contribute to the climate in which bullying happens. The case studies and the quantitative research are a beginning – a signpost rather than a destination. People working in the arts need to have an input into the development of collaborative processes and methods for tackling bullying behaviour, including policy development and appropriate training for managers. They need to campaign and lobby alongside colleagues in other disciplines for appropriate legislation at national, and European, level. In this respect, the performing arts could lead the way in identifying routes to prevent and eradicate workplace bullying, rather than topping the league tables for its high prevalence.

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Appendix 1

Pilot Study 1, 2000/2001

(Postal Survey among Arts Managers)

Questionnaire and covering letter

This questionnaire is part of a pilot study to examine two potential stressors in the arts workplace, namely working hours and bullying. It is directed at larger arts organisations in the Greater North of England and at organisations covering specific geographical areas and is designed to be anonymous. Ideally, in the first instance, the company manager or person with most responsibility for personnel matters should complete it.

In which Regional Arts Board area are you located?

- ☐ Northern Arts
- ☐ North West Arts
- ☐ Yorkshire Arts

SECTION 1

Your organisation

1. Is your arts organisation
   - ☐ A Theatre Company
   - ☐ An Opera Company
   - ☐ A Dance Company
   - ☐ An Orchestra
   - ☐ A Museum / Art Gallery
   - ☐ Other (please specify)

   _____

2. How many employees, including part time and casual staff, work for your company?
   - ☐ less than 20 people
   - ☐ 20 – 40
   - ☐ 41 – 60
   - ☐ 61 – 80
   - ☐ 81 -100
   - ☐ 100 or more

You

3. Are you?
   - ☐ male
   - ☐ female

4. Please indicate your age range
   - ☐ Under 25
   - ☐ 26 – 35
   - ☐ 36 – 45
   - ☐ 46 – 55
   - ☐ 56 or over

5. What is your job title?

   _____

6. How was your people management training acquired?
   - ☐ Accredited qualification prior to this employment
   - ☐ Accredited qualification during this employment
   - ☐ Professional training course(s) undertaken (non-accredited)
   - ☐ Informal, hands-on training through the workplace
   - ☐ No training, either formal or informal
   - ☐ Other (Please be explicit)

   _____

   _____

7. Which of the following does your job involve? (please tick all that apply)

- ☐ Directly line managing one or more employees
- ☐ Supervising other line managers
- ☐ Working directly to the board of your organisation
- ☐ There are no direct management or supervisory responsibilities

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SECTION 2

Working hours

1. Do you, or other employees in your organisation, work longer than average weeks
   - ☐ commonly, once a month or more
   - ☐ occasionally, four – six times per year
   - ☐ rarely, once or twice a year
   - ☐ never *(Please go to Section 3)*

2. Do you, or do other employees, consider it possible to complete your work without working longer hours?
   - ☐ yes, we all do
   - ☐ opinion is divided, some do and some don't
   - ☐ no, the organisation couldn't function otherwise
   - ☐ don't know

3. Has anyone in your organisation ever objected to working longer hours?
   - ☐ yes (Q 4)
   - ☐ no (Q 5)
   - ☐ don't know

4 a. If yes, was their objection
   - ☐ formal, objection upheld by management
   - ☐ formal, objection dismissed by management
   - ☐ informal, objection never discussed with management? (Please go to Question 5)

4 b. Following the objection, did the employee(s) in question
   - ☐ remain within the organisation in the same capacity
   - ☐ remain within the organisation, but in a different capacity
   - ☐ leave the organisation

5. In your view, do you think that management looks upon objections to working hours with
   - ☐ sympathy and understanding
   - ☐ hostility
   - ☐ astonishment
   - ☐ indifference
   - ☐ other (please specify)

_____

_____

SECTION 3

Bullying in the Workplace

The definition of Bullying at Work, according to the Dignity at Work Bill 1997 is as follows:

- *Repeated behaviour which is offensive, abusive, malicious, insulting, or intimidating*
- *Repeated unjustified criticism*
- *Punishment imposed without reasonable justification*
- *Detrimental changes to an employee's duties or responsibilities without reasonable justification*

1. Are you aware of bullying, as described above, within your organisation?
   - ☐ Yes (please complete the rest of this section)
   - ☐ No

   If you have answered no, thank you for your help. Please leave the rest of the questionnaire blank and return as requested.

2. How often have you been aware of any of the above types of behaviour?
   - ☐ Very rarely, isolated examples only
   - ☐ Not uncommonly (*please indicate if this has related to specific employees* ☐)
   - ☐ Commonly
   - ☐ Never

3. During the previous five years, have you noticed a change in the frequency of bullying behaviour within your organisation?
   - ☐ Yes, it is more frequent
   - ☐ Yes, it is less frequent
   - ☐ No, there has been no change

4. During the previous twelve months, have you noticed a change in the frequency of bullying behaviour within your organisation?

- ◻ Yes, it is more frequent
- ◻ Yes, it is less frequent
- ◻ No, there has been no change

5. Have you personally been involved in a bullying incident?

- ◻ Yes, I was asked to intervene and/or assist someone who had a complaint of bullying
- ◻ Yes, I was asked to deal with such a complaint for the management of the organisation
- ◻ Informally only
- ◻ No
- ◻ Other (please state)

_____

_____

Support at work

6. In your experience, have complaints of bullying been dealt with satisfactorily by the management in your organisation?

- ◻ Yes
- ◻ No
- ◻ Don't Know

7. In your experience, have complaints of bullying been dealt with to the satisfaction of the complainant in your organisation?

- ◻ Yes
- ◻ No
- ◻ Don't Know

8. Does your organisation have a written policy towards any of the behaviour listed below? Please tick where this is the case.

- ◻ Direct insults in front of colleagues
- ◻ Shouting or abusive behaviour/ bad language
- ◻ Persistent/unjustified threats or sanctions
- ◻ Arbitrary withholding of arrangements
- ◻ Unwanted/persistent jokes
- ◻ Behaviour which is threatening to the person
- ◻ Physical assault, eg throwing objects
- ◻ Other (please state)

_____

_____

9. What do you think is your organisation's official attitude towards bullying at work?

- ☐ There is a policy which disapproves of bullying and internal rules and procedures to deal with it
- ☐ There is no policy on bullying, however the organisation would give consideration to a complaint and does not condone this type of behaviour
- ☐ The organisation does not condone bullying but has not given any direct consideration to policy
- ☐ The organisation is not persuaded there is a problem with bullying and has not addressed the issue
- ☐ Other (please state)

_____

_____

10. Would you be willing to discuss your experiences, in complete confidence, with the researcher?
    - ☐ Yes *(Please enclose your confidential contact details on a separate sheet of paper)*
    - ☐ No

Thank you for taking the time and trouble to complete this questionnaire.

Please return it in the envelope provided to:

Anne-Marie Quigg
26 Astral Avenue
Hipperholme
Halifax
West Yorkshire
HX3 8NN Tel 01422 204405 Fax 01422 200183 Email quiggam@aol.com

Website containing questionnaire on workplace bullying at
http://www.quiggam/index.html

For further advice on bullying at work:

Andrea Adams Trust Confidential helpline 01273 704900 10am – 4.00pm Monday–Friday
Information , advice and helpline via Bully OnLine at http://www.successunlimited.co.uk/bully.html

26 Astral Avenue
Hipperholme
Halifax
West Yorkshire
HX3 8NN

31 May 2000

Dear Colleague

Research for Pilot Study

I am conducting research in the field of human resources under the auspices of the Department of Arts Policy and Management, City University London and would be grateful for your assistance with a pilot study. The study is aimed at larger arts organisations in the Greater North of England and at those serving specific geographical areas, and is the first part of a more extensive survey later in the year.

In the context of potential causes of stress in the arts workplace, the attached questionnaire is designed to gather information in two specific areas – working hours and awareness of bullying. I would be very grateful if it was completed and returned to me in the envelope provided by Friday 16th June 2000, bearing in mind that the person best-placed to do so might be the company manager, administrator or equivalent member of staff who deals with personnel matters.

The nature of this work is delicate, and thus all responses from organisations are designed to be anonymous. For individuals, a separate study incorporating a website has been devised to gather information and details of this are given below, although the site will not be active until Monday 5th June 2000. It is expected that we will learn a great deal from the findings of the study which will contribute to continuing to improve our management styles in the arts. I very much hope you will be able to assist.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely

Anne-Marie Quigg
Enc. Pilot Study Questionnaire

website questionnaire at http://members.aol.com/quiggam/index.html

Appendix 2

Pilot Study 2, 2000/2001

(Online Survey among Arts Workers)

<u>Questions posted to the website for the online survey.</u>

Definition of Bullying at Work, according to the Dignity at Work Bill 1997:

- **Repeated behaviour which is offensive, abusive, malicious, insuting, or intimidating**
- **Repeated unjustified criticism**
- **Punishment imposed without reasonable justification**
- **Detrimental changes to an employee's duties or responsibilities without reasonable justification**

1. How often have you been aware of any of the above types of behaviour?
   - ◻ Very rarely, isolated examples only
   - ◻ Not uncommonly (*regularly, relating to specific employees?)*
   - ◻ Commonly *(one or more parts of the definition recognised as part of the mnagement style?)*
   - ◻ Never (*Need to give examples of frequency here?)*

2. During the previous five years, have you noticed a change in the frequency of bullying behaviour within your organisation?
   - ◻ Yes, it is more frequent
   - ◻ Yes, it is less frequent
   - ◻ No, there has been no change

3. During the previous twelve months, have you noticed a change in the frequency of bullying behaviour within your organisation?
   - ◻ Yes, it is more frequent
   - ◻ Yes, it is less frequent
   - ◻ No, there has been no change

4. Have you personally been involved in a bullying incident?
   - ◻ Yes, I was asked to intervene and/or assist someone who had a complaint of bullying
   - ◻ Yes, I was asked to deal with such a complaint for the management of the organisation
   - ◻ Informally only
   - ◻ No
   - ◻ Other (please state)

5. In your experience, have complaints of bullying been dealt with satsfactorily by the

management in your organisation?

- ◻ Yes
- ◻ No
- ◻ Don't Know

6. In your experience, have complaints of bullying been dealt with to the satsfaction of the complainant in your organisation?

- ◻ Yes
- ◻ No
- ◻ Don't Know

7. Does your organisation have a written policy towards any of the behaviour listed below? Please tick where this is the case.

- ◻ Direct insults in front of colleagues
- ◻ Shouting or abusive behaviour/ bad language
- ◻ Persistent/unjustified threats or sanctions
- ◻ Arbitrary witholding of arrangements
- ◻ Unwanted/persistent jokes
- ◻ Behaviour which is threatening to the person
- ◻ Physical assault, eg throwing objects
- ◻ Other (please state)

8. What do you think is your organisation's official attitude towards bullying at work?

- ◻ There is a policy which disapproves of bullying and internal rules and procedures to deal with it
- ◻ There is no policy on bullying, however the organisation would give consideration to a complaint and does not condone this type of behaviour
- ◻ The organisation does not ocndone bullying but has not given any direct consideration to policy
- ◻ The organisation is not persuaded there is a problem with bullying and has not addressed the issue
- ◻ Other (please state)

9. Would you be willing to discuss your experiences, in complete confidence, with the researcher?

- ◻ Yes
- ◻ No

- ◻ Contact details:_____

News Release

13 June 2000

ARE THERE BULLIES IN THE ARTS WORKPLACE?

New research is being undertaken into possible causes of stress for workers in arts organisations. Arts management consultant Anne-Marie Quigg, of Hipperholme, Halifax, West Yorkshire, has begun a pilot study under the auspices of the Department of Arts Policy and Management, City University, London.

Aimed at larger arts organisations in the Greater North of England and at those serving specific geographical areas, the study is the first part of a more extensive survey later in the year.

"In terms of stress in the arts workplace I am examining two specific areas – working hours and awareness of bullying," Ms Quigg explained. "As a first step I have devised a questionnaire for distribution to larger organisations in the Yorkshire Arts, Northern Arts and North West Arts regions. This is to get the views of senior managers and, as a pilot study, will provide useful information on levels of awareness of bullying. To gather data from individuals, I have also set up a questionnaire on a website which any arts workers can access and respond to, in complete confidence.

"Obviously the nature of this work is delicate and so all responses from organisations are designed to be anonymous, in the first instance. Specific case studies will follow at a later stage. I hope we will learn a great deal from the findings of the study which will contribute to continuing to improve our management styles in the arts. "

The website – Workplace Bullying in the Arts – can be found at **http://members.aol.com/quiggam/index.html .**

The form can be filled in and submitted to the research email address anonymously.

Anne-Marie Quigg is available for interviews about her research.

Please telephone **01422 204405** or Email **quiggam@aol.com**

Appendix 3

BECTU survey, 2004

Questionnaire *(half actual size)*

YOU

1 **What is your sex?**
- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

2 **How old are you?**
- ☐ Under 20 yrs
- ☐ 21 to 30 yrs
- ☐ 31 to 40 yrs
- ☐ 41 to 55 yrs
- ☐ over 55 years

3 **Are you a registered disabled person?**
- ☐ yes
- ☐ no

4 **How would you describe your ethnic origin or group?**
- ☐ Asian or Asian British (includes Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, other Asian background)
- ☐ Black or Black British (includes Caribbean, African, other Black background)
- ☐ White (includes British, Irish, other White background)
- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Other

5 **If 'Other', please specify:** _____

YOUR JOB

6 **What is your area of work?**
- ☐ administration/clerical
- ☐ box office
- ☐ catering
- ☐ cleaning
- ☐ front-of-house
- ☐ management
- ☐ production
- ☐ technical
- ☐ other
- ☐

7 **If 'other', please specify:** _____

8 **What type of post do you hold?**
- ☐ full-time
- ☐ part-time
- ☐ fixed-term
- ☐ casual
- ☐ freelance

9 **How long have you been working in your current job?**
- ☐ less than 12 months 1-2 years
- ☐
- ☐ 3-5 years
- ☐ 6-10 years
- ☐ more than 10 years

10 **Which of the following does your job involve?**
- ☐ directly line managing one or more employees
- ☐ supervising other line managers
- ☐ working directly to the board/governing body of your organisation
- ☐ there are no direct management or supervisory responsibilities

11 **What type of work-related training have you undertaken in the last three years? Please tick all that apply.**
- ☐ none
- ☐ on the job training
- ☐ day release course or similar
- ☐ evening classes
- ☐ residential course
- ☐ other

12 **If 'other', please specify:** _____

13 **Have you asked for, or been offered, additional training whilst in your current job?**
- ☐ no
- ☐ yes, have asked for training but no further action has been taken to date
- ☐ yes, was offered training but have declined
- ☐ yes, have asked for or been offered training and this is planned for the future

14 **Have you been a trades union shop steward/ representative?**
- ☐ yes, am at present
- ☐ yes, have been in the past
- ☐ no

YOUR EMPLOYER

15 **Where do you work?**
- ☐ London (West End)
- ☐ London (other)
- ☐ North-East England
- ☐ North-West England
- ☐ Southern England
- ☐ The Midlands
- ☐ Yorkshire and the Humber
- ☐ South-East England
- ☐ Northern Ireland
- ☐ Wales
- ☐ Scotland

16 **In which BECTU group does your employer belong?**
- ☐ TMA Theatre
- ☐ West End Theatre
- ☐ Royal Opera House
- ☐ English National Opera
- ☐ Royal National Theatre
- ☐ Royal Shakepeare Company
- ☐ Non-TMA Regional Theatre
- ☐ Arts Centre or other
- ☐ don't know

17 **Approximately how many employees, excluding performers but including part-time and casual staff, work in your organisation?**
- ☐ less than 20
- ☐ 21-30
- ☐ 31-40
- ☐ 41-50
- ☐ 50-100
- ☐ over 100

WORKING HOURS

18 **Do you, or do others in your organisation, work longer than a 40 hour week?**
- ☐ commonly, once a month or more
- ☐ occasionally, four to six times per year
- ☐ rarely, once or twice a year
- ☐ never

19 **If it is necessary to work longer than 40 hours in a week, how much advance warning is given to you normally?**
- ☐ less than a week
- ☐ one to two weeks
- ☐ three to four weeks
- ☐ minimum of six months
- ☐ don't work longer than 40 hours

20 **When you work longer hours during a period of 2 or 3 weeks, do you take time off in lieu afterwards?**
- ☐ yes, time off is taken immediately following a busy period
- ☐ yes, time off is added to holidays or taken later in the year
- ☐ no, the workload means it is not possible to take time off
- ☐ no, taking time off is not encouraged
- ☐ other (please state)

21 **Do you, or do other employees, consider it would be possible to work in such a way as to complete your work without working longer hours?**
- ☐ yes, we all do
- ☐ opinion is divided, some do and some don't
- ☐ no, the organisation couldn't function otherwise
- ☐ don't know

22 **During the last five years, has anyone in your organisation objected to the working hours?**
- ☐ yes
- ☐ no
- ☐ don't know

If your answer is no please go to Question 28, Rates of Pay.

23 **Was the objection**
- ☐ formal, with assistance from a trades union representative (BECTU or other)
- ☐ formal, without any official assistance
- ☐ informal, objection never discussed with management

24 **What was the result?**
- ☐ the objection was upheld by management
- ☐ the objection was dismissed by management
- ☐ don't know

25 **Following the objection, did the employee(s) in question**
- ☐ remain within the organisation in the same capacity
- ☐ remain within the organisation but in a different capacity
- ☐ leave the organisation
- ☐ don't know

26 **In your view, do you think that management looks upon objections to working hours with (please tick one only)**
- ☐ sympathy and understanding
- ☐ hostility and resentment
- ☐ astonishment
- ☐ indifference
- ☐ other (please specify)

27 **If 'other', please specify:** _____

RATES OF PAY

28 **In your view, is your average weekly pay (excluding any overtime and any bonus payments)**
- ☐ about right
- ☐ high
- ☐ low
- ☐ don't know

29 **During the last five years has anyone in your organisation objected to the rates of pay for the job they are doing?**
- ☐ yes
- ☐ no
- ☐ don't know

30 **Was the objection**
- ☐ formal, with assistance from a trades union representative (BECTU or other)
- ☐ formal, without any official assistance
- ☐ informal, objection never discussed with management

31 **What was the result?**
- ☐ the objection was upheld by management
- ☐ the objection was dismissed by management
- ☐ don't know

32 **Following the objection, did the employee(s) in question**
- ☐ remain within the organisation in the same capacity
- ☐ remain within the organisation but in a different capacity
- ☐ leave the organisation
- ☐ don't know

33 **In your view, do you think that management looks upon complaints about low pay with (please tick one answer only)**
- ☐ sympathy and understanding
- ☐ hostility and resentment
- ☐ astonishment
- ☐ indifference
- ☐ other

34 **If 'other', please specify:** _____

Below there are a number of statements about rates of pay in your profession. Please consider what you think of these and tick a circle to score each statement as indicated below:

1 *Never* **2** *Rarely* **3** *Sometimes* **4** *Often* **5** *Very often*

	1	2	3	4	5
35 **Other people doing the same job in different organisations earn less than you**	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
You receive other benefits which add value to your wages	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Management cannot afford to pay higher wages	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
No-one in your organisation would dare to complain about low pay	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Work is hard to come by and it makes sense to accept any wage that is offered	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
You prefer to work longer hours overtime is payable	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
With overtime, your average weekly pay is very generous	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
If wages were increased, you would prefer not to work overtime at all	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

BULLYING IN THE WORKPLACE

The definition of bullying, according to the Dignity At Work Bill 1997 is behaviour which is offensive, abusive, malicious, insulting or intimidating: repeated unjustified criticism: punishment imposed without reasonable justification: changes in the duties or responsibilities of the employee to the employee's detriment without reasonable justification.

43 **During your working life, how often have you witnessed or heard about any of the above types of behaviour?**
- ☐ never
- ☐ very rarely, isolated examples only
- ☐ not uncommonly
- ☐ commonly

44 **Where you have witnessed or heard about bullying behaviour, would you say that this was associated with any of the following (please tick all that apply)**
- ☐ competence
- ☐ disability (including learning difficulties)
- ☐ ethnic origin/race
- ☐ gender
- ☐ sexual orientation
- ☐ physical appearance
- ☐ popularity
- ☐ religion
- ☐ status/position within the organisation
- ☐ social class/wealth
- ☐ not sure or don't know
- ☐ other

45 **If 'other', please specify:** _____

46 **During the last 5 years, have you noticed a change in the frequency of reports of bullying behaviour generally in your workplace?**

- ☐ yes, it is more frequent
- ☐ yes, it is less frequent
- ☐ no, there has been no change

47 **During the last 12 months, have you noticed a change in the frequency of reports of bullying behaviour generally in your workplace?**

- ☐ yes, it is more frequent
- ☐ yes, it is less frequent
- ☐ no, there has been no change

48 **Please describe the nature of any personal involvement you have had in bullying incidents**

- ☐ I was involved as a trades union representative (BECTU or otherwise)
- ☐ I was asked to intervene and/or assist someone who had a complaint of bullying
- ☐ I witnessed one or more bullying incidents
- ☐ I was told of a bullying incident by a colleague
- ☐ I was asked to deal with a complaint for the management of an organisation
- ☐ I was the subject of a complaint about bullying by a colleague
- ☐ I was the target of a workplace bully
- ☐ I have had no personal involvement in bullying
- ☐ other

49 **If 'other', please specify:** _____

SUPPORT AT WORK

50 **In your experience, have complaints of bullying been dealt with satisfactorily by the management in organisations where you have encountered it?**

- ☐ yes
- ☐ no
- ☐ it varies- sometimes settled satisfactorily by management, sometimes not
- ☐ don't know

51 **In your experience, have complaints of bullying been dealt with to the satisfaction of the person making the complaint in organisations where you have encountered it?**

- ☐ yes
- ☐ no
- ☐ it varies - sometimes complainants have been satisfied, sometimes not
- ☐ don't know

52 **Does your current organisation have a written policy towards any of the behaviour listed below? Please tick all that apply.**

- ☐ direct insults in front of colleagues
- ☐ shouting or abusive behaviour/bad language
- ☐ persistent unjustified threats or sanctions
- ☐ arbitrary witholding of information, co-operation or arrangements
- ☐ unwanted/persistent jokes
- ☐ behaviour which is threatening to the person
- ☐ physical assault, eg throwing objects

other (please state)

53 **What do you think is your organisation's official attitude towards bullying at work? Please tick one answer only.**

- ☐ there is a policy which disapproves of bullying and internal rules and procedures to deal with it
- ☐ there is no policy on bullying, however the organisation would give consideration to a complaint and does not condone this type of behaviour
- ☐ the organisation does not condone bullying but has not given any direct consideration to policy
- ☐ the organisation is not persuaded there is a problem with bullying and has not addressed the issue
- ☐ the organisation does not recognise that some terms and conditions are detrimental to employees and are equivalent to 'corporate bullying'
- ☐ other

54 **If 'other', please specify:** _____

55 **Is there a role for BECTU in stamping out this behaviour in the workplace?**

☐ yes ☐ no ☐ don't know

56 **If yes, please indicate what you consider that role to be.**

- ☐ persuading employers to introduce written policies promoting Dignity at Work
- ☐ representing employees (formally and informally) who make complaints about bullying behaviour
- ☐ providing information, advice and assistance on the subject to all BECTU members
- ☐ other

More than one response can be selected.

57 **If 'other', please specify:** _____

BULLYING

End the nightmare

DON'T FORGET TO RETURN YOUR SURVEY FORM SENT TO YOU WITH THE MARCH ISSUE OF *STAGE SCREEN & RADIO*



BECTU
BROADCASTING ENTERTAINMENT CINEMATOGRAPH & THEATRE UNION

Appendix 4: Text submissions on the role of BECTU on stamping out bullying behaviour

Issues about BECTU and membership

- 'persuading employers to introduce written policies is fine, but to members only. The BECTU rep should only represent fully paid up members and also encourage [others] to join'
- '[BECTU should be] contributing to a written policy'
- 'one of our reps is the one who is bullying!!! There is a general feeling at this branch that we are not given enough support by head office. It seems we are unable to contact head office. What is the point of that? [contact details supplied]
- 'providing information leaflets for managers even if not BECTU themselves, they may have to deal with BECTU members issues'
- '[BECTU's role should be to encourage] preventative action: without waiting for a BECTU member to step forward as this action will receive sanctions or increased abuse'
- '[BECTU should] support workers not management'
- '[there are] very few BECTU members – we members get fed up of fellow employees asking BECTU for advice when they are not members. Personally I no longer "help" non-BECTU members. Sad but true!'

Issues about training

- '[BECTU should provide] training for stewards leading to them setting an example in the workplace – which some at present do not'
- 'arguing with the organisation to invest in training its managers NOT to be bullies themselves and HOW to deal with bullying in their departments'
- 'giving direction to management on how to talk to staff. I don't think that a lot of them are aware of what is right and wrong. Surveys of management by staff once a year may help.'
- 'educating the management about the fact that if we are patted on the back, our tails wag!'
- 'management need to have far better training in dealing with staff and show respect to all staff, no matter what their grade is'

Issues about awareness and understanding

- 'raising awareness of the subtle and degrading nature of bullying as this scheme seems to be doing'
- 'encouraging employees to approach management [about bullying problems] in confidence'
- 'usually it's the front of house managers who bully because they are "stressed" and we just cope'
- 'independent investigation into the cosy management'
- 'presentations, talks, discussions... so people have more information and can recognise when they are being bullied and what is and isn't acceptable behaviour from co-workers and management.'

Appendix 5: Bullying Help and Support Groups in the United Kingdom

DAWN - Dignity At Work Now is a bullying in the workplace support and campaign group in the West Midlands, England. Membership is open to anyone with experience of or interest in bullying including targets, their families, professionals, etc. Meetings are held on the first Wednesday of each month. For more information and membership details email DAWNINFORM@aol.com

OXBOW (for Oxfordshire employees Bullied Out of Work) is a support group for people who are being or have been bullied. Consisting mostly (but not exclusively) of teachers, ex-teachers and ex-social workers, the group meets in Oxford to pool knowledge and experience to help members gain justice. For details contact Jennie Chesterton, Tel 01367 710308. Like-minded public sector employees actively tackling bullying around the UK are welcome to make contact.

Berkshire and Surrey workplace bullying support group was founded in February 2000 as a self-help and support group for people who have experienced stress through bullying at work. Meetings are currently every other month. The group focus is on individuals moving forward and meetings are in a positive vein. Contact Jo Butcher, tel 01753 861706.

Mid-Wales: We're building up a party of interested people to start a new support group covering Builth Wells, Brecon, Llandrindod Wells - all in Powys, mid-Wales. Contact Vicky via email at bullied_at_work@hotmail.com

West Country Support Group: WCSG has been set up to help victims of workplace bullying from the West Country of England. WCSG aims to provide on-line and face to face mutual support to those who are suffering, or have suffered, from bullying in the past: http://uk.groups.yahoo.com/group/westcountrysupport/

SupportYou.org is a support group for targets of workplace bullying and/or harassment in East Anglia, England.

The Independent Police Support Group is a support group for all police staff in relation to bullying and whistleblowing. The group is currently seeking volunteers to form a core group with varying skills and experience. The group is also open to former members of police staff and would be keen to hear from staff who have left the service due to bullying or having been victimised for highlighting malpractice. Please write in confidence to: Independent Police Support Group, 27 Old Gloucester Street, London WC1N 3XX or email ipsg01@aol.com

BALM (Bullied & Abused Lives in Ministry) offers support to church ministers and their close family.

If you're a target of corporate bullying and macho management (sic) anywhere in the UK you might like to contact the support group HSG. They can assist you in identifying the bullying techniques used in public or large private sector corporations and help you put yourself back in control. They have particular experience in dealing with local authority bullying. Contact Heather Hogan BA Hons, M Inst, L Exec, tel 07788 571990.

Bully at Work - Support Group in the north and north east of England. Email

bullybully@fsmail.net to talk to others who have experienced what you are going through. Bully at Work is an independent group which aims to heighten the profile of workplace bullying, and to support those who have experienced or are experiencing bullying at work, eg with literature, training, support group meetings, editorials for the media, developing model policies, telephone help, online support, and networking.

Adult Bullying Clampdown - Northern Ireland: The ABC support group for adults who have been bullied at work meets from time to time and the venue and time will be announced in the local press or in Tim Field's newsletter Bullying Times. Many of our members feel it is important to keep in touch as

they have found the support invaluable to their situation. More info from abclampdown@btinternet.com

Freedom to Nurse is a group run by and for grassroots nurses with the aim of allowing qualified nurses the freedom to practise our skills at the bedside. We offer support to nurses who are bullied when they try and tackle problems at work such as: lack of staff; poor skill mix; inadequate patient care by support workers in nursing homes. We can be contacted by e-mail on freedomtonurse@yahoo.com or by post at Freedom to Nurse, PO Box 37, Worksop, Notts S80 1ZT. Write for a copy of our Survival Guide!

A support forum for UK Post Office, and in particular the Royal Mail, employees and ex-employees. To join see http://www.egroups.com/subscribe/Red_and_blues or subscribe via http://www.workplacebullying.com

All above courtesy of Tim Field's website: http://www.bullyonline.org/

Some anti-bullying movements elsewhere

Belgium: SASAM is the Belgian movement against bullying. The organization is focused on 4 points : battling bullying, prevention, sensibilizing the media and the public, political lobbying regarding laws to be improved.

Holland: Stop Mobbing stil verdriet op de werkvloer. See also www.pesten.net. and Psychische terreur op het werk: a Dutch web site on workplace bullying.

Ireland: Attempts to deal with workplace bullying in the Republic of Ireland are in their infancy. While some unions have raised awareness of the problem at conferences, research into the problem is limited. A small unit dealing with workplace bullying is established at Trinity College, Dublin. Known as the Anti-Bullying Centre, it is a research and resource unit dedicated to addressing the problem through counselling and research.