

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES: A PRECURSOR OF BULLYING AT WORK?

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ABSTRACT. In the present paper direct as well as indirect relationships between organizational changes and exposure to bullying at work are investigated. Interpersonal conflicts are hypothesized to mediate changes on bullying. Data from a sample of 2408 Norwegian employees confirmed that different organizational changes were moderately associated with task-related bullying at work, and that exposure to more changes increased the likelihood of being bullied. Structural equation modelling supported the assumption that changes were directly related to bullying. However, the hypothesis that changes were mediated on bullying through interpersonal conflicts was not supported. Results indicate that organizational changes and interpersonal conflicts are separate, and mainly independent, precursors of bullying at work.

INTRODUCTION

Contemporary working life is characterized by frequent organizational changes (Fay & Lührman, 2004; McKinley, Mone & Barker, 1998; Worrall, Parkes & Cooper, 2004) with a variety of documented negative outcomes for employees; such as lack of control, increased work loads, role conflict, strained interpersonal relationships and job insecurity (Burke & Nelson, 1998; Kets de Vries & Balazs, 1997, Marks & De Meuse, 2005, Seo & Hill, 2005). Such findings also indicate that characteristics of organizational changes may indeed have severe consequences such as an increase in harassment and bullying at work, as has been proposed by several

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researchers (e.g., McCarthy, Sheehan & Kearns, 1995; Sheehan, 1999). Ironside and Seifert (2003) even claim that the very nature of the today's changes, at least as seen in the public sector, may easily lead to increased bullying by managers in order to meet targets and enforce discipline. In this way, bullying may be used as a means to change the behaviors of subordinates. Bullying may also evolve as a consequence of severely increased pressure on all members of the organization that leads to frustration and aggression (cf. frustration-aggression hypothesis, see e.g., Berkowitz, 1989). Furthermore, the imposed changes may in themselves change the tasks or working conditions in a way that is intended to harm or at least are perceived as unfair, hostile, intimidating and degrading (see also Liefoghe & Davey, 2003). Furthermore, Lewis and Rayner (2003) argues that some of the observed changes in management and HR practices seen in contemporary working life coincide with the increased focus on bullying in the workplace, strongly indicating a link between the two. However, few empirical investigations have been conducted on this proposed relationship between organizational changes and bullying in the workplace. The aim of the present paper is therefore to investigate the relationships between organizational changes, interpersonal conflicts and exposure to bullying at work.

The Nature and Causes of Bullying at Work

During the 1990s, the concept of bullying at work established itself in the academic community as a suitable description for an important and serious social stressor in contemporary working life (Hoel, Rayner & Cooper, 1999). Since mistreatment and systematic aggression may always have been an integrated part of management and social interaction in organizational life (Ironside & Seifert, 2003), the concept of bullying at work soon found resonance among the working population, as well as in the media and the popular press (see also Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf & Cooper, 2003 for an overview of the field). Although a wide variety of other concepts, such as 'mobbing' (Leymann, 1996; Zapf, Knorz & Kulla, 1996), 'harassment' (Bjorkqvist, Osterman & Hjelt-Back, 1994), 'victimization' (Einarsen & Raknes, 1997) 'psychological terror' (Leymann, 1990), and "emotional abuse (Keashly, 1998) have been in use, the underlying phenomenon is the same: the systematic mistreatment of an employee by other organizational members over a period of time,

which in turn may cause severe social, psychological, occupational or physical impairment in the target as well as among observers.

In an early work, Brodsky (1976) described bullying as repeated and persistent attempts by a person to torment, wear down, frustrate, or get a reaction from another person and as treatment that persistently provokes, pressures, frightens, intimidates or otherwise causes discomfort to another person at work. Hence, the core dimension in the bullying concept is exposure to repeated and enduring negative acts from co-workers, superiors or subordinates leading to the victimisation of the target (Einarsen, 2000). Although not a clear-cut criterion, a duration of six months and a frequency of weekly exposure has been used as an operational definition of workplace bullying in order to differentiate between severe cases of victimization from workplace bullying and exposure to less intense bullying as a kind of social stress at work (Einarsen et al., 2003). However, bullying is clearly a gradually evolving process, which may start with aggressive behavior that may be difficult to pin down, and end with situations where psychological means of violence and even physical abuse may be used (Zapf & Gross, 2001). Bullying behaviors may also come as direct actions, such as accusations, verbal abuse and public humiliation, or may be indirect acts of aggression such as rumors, gossiping and social isolation, which may be directed at the target or at the target's work and tasks (Einarsen et al., 2003). Others also pinpoint the target's difficulties in defending himself during the actual situation (Einarsen, 2000). Again, Brodsky (1976) points out that many targets are teased, badgered and insulted while seeing little recourse to retaliate in kind. One reason for this may be that the behaviors involved directly address inadequacies in the target's personality or social standing. Consequently, targets are found on all organizational levels (Hoel, Cooper & Faragher, 2001). Although bullying most often involves co-worker or subordinate/superior relationships, it may also happen that a superior is bullied by subordinates.

Most scholars pinpoint the subjective perception made by the target that the repeated actions are hostile, humiliating and intimidating and that they are directed at him/her (Niedl, 1995). However, the alleged perpetrator's intent to cause harm is not a prerequisite in most definitions of workplace bullying (e.g., Einarsen et al., 2003). Arguably, all interpretations of intent are complex and

disputable and normally impossible to verify (see also Hoel et al., 1999). Hence, bullying at work has been described and defined as follows:

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

Prevalence rates of bullying vary between countries, industries and means of measurement. However, many surveys report prevalence rates between eight to ten per cent (Zapf, Einarsen, Hoel & Vartia, 2003). When respondents are given a precise and strict definition of bullying as the one presented above, and asked to self-label themselves as victims of such severe bullying, prevalence rates seem to be in the area of one to four per cent (Zapf et al., 2003). Targets of bullying are found among young and old employees, both male and female, and within all kinds of industries and on all organizational levels, with one main and clear cut conclusion to be drawn from the conducted studies: exposure to bullying is a severe source of social stress with devastating effects on the target’s health and well being (for a review see Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2002).

Precursors of Bullying in the Workplace

A variety of factors has been presented as precursors of bullying at work (Einarsen 1999; 2000; Hoel, Zapf & Cooper, 2002; Zapf, 1999). Yet, the proposed causal models may be categorized into three groups of factors, the personality of the perpetrator and of the target (Coyne, Seigne & Randall, 2000; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2001; Zapf & Einarsen, 2003), characteristics of social interaction and conflict (Neuman & Baron, 1998, Neuman & Baron, 2003), and organizational factors relating to the work environment and working conditions (Hoel & Salin, 2003). Zapf and Einarsen (2003; 2005) stated that although personal characteristics do not adequately

explain bullying, certain individual characteristics may, in some cases, act as antecedents of or at least as risk factors for being bullied at work.

Individual antecedents of bullying behavior may be a high but unstable self-esteem, lack of social competencies, and micropolitical behavior at work used to protect and enhance one's own interests and position at work (Zapf & Einarsen, 2003). Predisposing factors in targets include lack of social competence and self-assertiveness, elevated levels of neuroticism, as well as excessive conscientiousness and tendencies towards overachievement (Brodsky, 1976). Neuman and Baron (2003), on the other hand, state that experiences of unfair treatment in social interactions may be important antecedents of workplace violence and aggression. Likewise, many cases of bullying at work start with some type of escalating interpersonal conflict in the workplace, whereby one of the parties, either a priori or as a consequence of the conflict, acquires a power deficit, gradually turning the situation into a case of bullying where the target feels unable to defend against ever more frequent and severe attacks (Leymann, 1990; Zapf & Gross, 2001). In other cases, one of the conflicting parties exploits their power on defenseless organizational members, again turning an existing interpersonal conflict into bullying. Einarsen (1999) proposed to label this "dispute-related" bullying to pinpoint how the parties in a conflict may deny the opponent's human value and need for respect, justifying the portrayal of systematic aggressive behavior towards a defenseless co-worker. An aspect of this may also be highly distressed employees who annoy and frustrate others, leading to frustration and aggressive reactions from co-workers or superiors.

A variety of organizational factors such as role conflicts, work pressures, lack of control, job insecurity and a competitive and critical climate have been documented as precursors of bullying at work on an organizational level (Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004; Einarsen, Raknes & Matthiesen, 1994; Hoel & Cooper 2000; Hoel & Salin, 2003; Hoel et al., 2002; O'Moore, Lynch & Daéid, 2003; O'Moore, Seigne, McGuire & Smith, 1998; Salin, 2001; Vartia, 1996). Destructive leadership behaviors such as an autocratic or forced leadership style as well as a laissez-faire leadership style, have also been proposed as organizational antecedents of bullying at work (Hoel & Salin, 2003).

In his early and highly influential works on bullying, Leymann (1990; 1993) argued strongly for a situational perspective on bullying, where structural and psychosocial factors relating to inadequacy in leadership practices and work design were seen as major precursors of workplace bullying, often in combination with a lack of adequate measures to manage interpersonal conflicts in the workplace. For instance, a study by Vartia (1996) in Finland showed that both targets and observers of bullying portrayed their work unit to be characterized by poor information flow, an authoritarian way of settling differences of opinions, a lack of discussion of common goals and tasks, and a lack of influence on one's own work situation. In an interview study among 30 Irish targets of bullying, the work unit was again described as a stressful and competitive environment plagued with interpersonal conflict and managed in an authoritarian manner (O'Moore et al., 1998). However, these targets also pinpointed the role of ongoing organizational changes as a possible root cause of their bullying. A possible relationship between organisational change and subsequent bullying is also strongly put forward by Hoel and Salin (2003), although acknowledging that few empirical studies have investigated this relationship.

Bullying and Organizational Change

Organizational changes have been shown to be associated with a variety of negative emotions including feelings of disbelief, uncertainty, threat, denial, personal loss, vulnerability, distrust, threats to self-esteem, powerlessness, helplessness, anger, rage, guilt, resistance, blaming, cynicism, alienation, mourning, and depression (Agocs, 1997; Kets de Vries & Balazs, 1997; Elrod II & Tippett, 2002; Gilmore, Shea & Useem, 1997; Marks & De Meuse, 2005; Mirvis, 1985; Vakola & Nikolaou, 2005). Hence, organizational change may foster a variety of negative emotions, which may lead to aggressive outbursts and severe interpersonal conflicts that may be related closely to experienced victimization and feelings of violation, especially if attributed to hostile behaviors of others. In a study of 178 full-time employees, significant correlations were found between a variety of perceived organizational changes and experienced aggression in the workplace (Baron & Neuman, 1996). Furthermore, significant but moderate interconnections were found between experienced aggression and use of part-time employees, pay cuts or freezes, changes in management, increased

diversity, and the increased monitoring of employees. Baron and Neuman (1996, 1998) also found a positive relationship between the extent to which several changes had occurred recently in the organization and incidents of aggression. In a national survey in Great Britain (N=5288), significant differences were revealed between those who reported being bullied and those who did not report being bullied regarding the reporting of organizational changes that had taken place during the last six months (Hoel & Cooper, 2000). Targets of bullying reported a higher prevalence of organizational changes such as budget cuts, change in management, major organizational change, and major internal restructuring. A national survey in Ireland carried out in 1999 (N=1057) showed that among those bullied, 27 per cent reported that a change of manager and 14 per cent a change in senior line management coincided with the onset of bullying (O'Moore et al., 2003). Changes in the nature of their job coincided for 21 per cent of the victims, while changes on the operational side (e.g., privatisation or merger) coincided with the onset of bullying for 17 per cent of those bullied.

These findings indicate that a variety of organizational changes, as well as the number of such changes, may have severe consequences on interpersonal relations in organizations. Some of the imposed changes may by themselves be perceived as workplace bullying. For example, downsizing with personnel reductions may be experienced as an exclusion and expulsion from the organization, especially if experienced as unfair. Furthermore, changes in work tasks and the reduction of responsibilities may be used as or at least interpreted as a type of intentional humiliation. However, the studies may also reflect indirect relationships between organizational changes and bullying at work, where changes cause interpersonal problems and conflicts that escalate over time into bullying. For instance, Vinokur, Price and Caplan (1996) found that layoffs resulted in the withdrawal of social support and increased critical and insulting behavior. Cameron, Whetten and Kim (1987) stated that competition and in-fighting for control predominate in organizations where resources are scarce, while Robinson and Griffiths (2005) found that dramatic changes, being strategic, trans-organizational and requiring new business systems, resulted in interpersonal disruption, in which many were related to interpersonal conflicts. When competing for future positions and resources there will likely be conflicts of interest between superiors and subordinates (Kets de

Vries & Balazs, 1997) as well as between co-workers (Marks & De Meuse, 2005) and even between groups and departments (Mirvis, 1985; Seo & Hill, 2005), which may evolve into bullying.

Even though few studies have focused explicitly on the systematic relationships between organizational change and interpersonal conflict between superiors and subordinates, some studies indicate such a relationship. The power distance between superiors and subordinates, leading to distrust and resistance during change processes, may constitute an inherent source of conflict (Agocs, 1997). Being responsible for the implementation of change, superiors may resort to an authoritarian leadership style resulting in interpersonal conflicts with subordinates. McCarthy et al. (1995) document a variety of coercive leadership behaviors in organizations undergoing restructuring. McCarthy and colleagues reported that 77 per cent of 373 participants in their study claimed that managers have maltreated organizational members, 59 per cent responded that managers had 'blamed someone's personality', 51 per cent responded that managers had 'constantly checked up on someone', 46 per cent responded that managers had 'used existing disciplinary/inefficiency procedures unfairly', 37 per cent responded that managers had 'threatened to sack someone or to make them redundant', and 32 per cent responded that managers had 'used verbal abuse against someone'. Kets de Vries and Balazs (1997) also reported how managers in charge of implementing change, regress to dysfunctional behavior patterns that are characterized by aggression directed toward subordinates.

Frustration and aggression associated with organizational change may result in interpersonal conflicts between co-workers as well as between subordinates and superiors. According to Neuman and Baron (2003), individuals who reported that they had been treated unfairly by their supervisors were significantly more likely than those who were satisfied with their treatment to indicate that they engaged in some form of workplace aggression. Employees may engage in micro-political activities to put down their colleagues in an effort to look better in the eyes of their superiors (Marks & De Meuse, 2005). Perceived norm violations by co-workers and perceived injustice, for example, in the treatment of team members, may create frustration and workplace aggression (Neuman & Baron, 2003) which may be directed toward co-workers. Aggression due to frustration with a

superior may also be displaced or redirected toward a less threatening and more acceptable target (Marcus-Newhall, Pedersen, Carlson & Miller, 2000) such as a less powerful colleague. Thus, there is reason to believe that organizational changes may result in interpersonal conflicts between superiors and subordinates, as well as between co-workers. Interpersonal conflicts, if they are not resolved, may escalate and result in bullying behavior (Zapf & Einarsen, 2005; Zapf & Gross, 2001) where the more powerful party most probably will be the bully, which in many cases would be the superior.

Hypotheses

In the present study the following hypotheses will be tested:

Hypothesis 1: There will be positive associations between experiences of different organizational changes and exposure to bullying at work.

Hypothesis 2: The number of organizational changes taking place during the last 12 months will be positively associated with exposure to bullying at work.

Hypothesis 3: Organizational changes have direct as well as indirect effects on exposure to bullying at work, with interpersonal conflicts with the immediate superior and with co-workers as mediating factors.

Hypothesis 4: Interpersonal conflicts with one's immediate superior are a stronger mediator than are interpersonal conflicts with co-workers.

METHODOLOGY

Design and Procedure

The analyses were conducted on a representative sample of the Norwegian working force. A random sample of 4500 employees was drawn from The Norwegian Central Employee Register by Statistics Norway (SSB), which is the official register of all Norwegian employees as reported by employers. The sampling criteria were adults aged between 18 years and 67 years who had been employed for more than 15 hours a week during the last six months in a Norwegian enterprise with a staff of five or more persons.

Questionnaires were distributed through the Norwegian postal service during the spring and summer of 2005, with a response rate of 57 per cent. A total of 2539 questionnaires were completed. In the present study participants reporting being disabled pensioners, unemployed or retired were not included, resulting in a final sample of 2408. The Regional Committee for Medical Research Ethics approved the survey.

Sample

The mean age of the sample was 43.76 years (s.d. = 11.33) with a range from 19 years to 66 years. The sample consisted of slightly more women (52 %) than men (48 %). The majority (74.8 %) of the sample were full-time employees. About four per cent were on a sick leave or occupational rehabilitation. Two per cent were on leave of absence with pay. Mean seniority was 11.0 (s.d. = 9.66). Mean working hours per week were 37.5 (s.d. = 10.33). Mean number of employees in enterprise were 281 (s.d. = 837.72). Fifty-nine per cent of participants were employed in departments with less than 20 employees, 24 per cent were employed in departments with 20 to 49 employees, and 17 per cent were employed in departments with 50 employees or more. Among the respondents in the present sample 20 per cent had personnel responsibilities.

Instruments

Data were collected by means of anonymous self-report questionnaires measuring demographic variables, bullying, leadership behavior of the immediate superior, organizational changes, different aspects of the psychosocial work environment, and subjective health complaints. Only demographic variables, organizational changes, interpersonal conflicts, and exposure to bullying behaviors are included in the present study.

Organizational changes were measured with a modified and culturally anchored version of a scale by Baron and Neuman (1996, 1998). Respondents were asked to assess the degree to which 13 forms of organizational changes, such as technological changes, staff reductions, and cuts in wages, had occurred in their organizations during the last 12 months. Response categories were “never”, “to a small degree”, “to some degree” and “to a high degree”. The 13 variables were added to make a composite variable representing the

total exposure to organizational changes. Internal consistency as measured by Cronbach's alpha was .84. Furthermore, based on a factor analysis (Oblimin with Kaiser normalization, Eigenvalue=1) three categories of changes were used in the present paper: i) Work Environment Changes, comprising four items that measured technological change (e.g., changes in equipment, tools, or methods to conduct business), change in management (i.e. new managers in important positions), changes in the composition of the work force (part-time workers, hired help), and changes concerning who is executing which work tasks (Cronbach's alpha=.65); ii) Personnel and Salary Reductions, comprising four items measuring personnel reductions (downsizing), layoffs, budget cuts, and pay cuts or freezes on salary increases (Cronbach's alpha=.68); and iii) Restructuring, comprising three items measuring changes concerning ownership (e.g., new owners, larger acquisitions of shares), fissions or fusions, and restructuring (combining or division of departments or divisions (Cronbach's alpha=.70).

Interpersonal conflicts were measured with four questions measuring task-oriented conflicts, person-oriented conflicts, and conflicts with the immediate superior and with co-workers. With the introduction "To what degree are you nowadays in the following situations", four questions were presented: i) a task-related conflict with your immediate superior? ii) a task-related conflict with your co-workers or other personnel in your worksite? iii) a person-related conflict with your immediate superior? and iv) a person-related conflict with your co-workers or other personnel in your worksite? Response categories were "to a high degree in conflict", "to some degree in conflict", "to a small degree in conflict", and "not in conflict". The following definition of conflict was presented in the questionnaire: "A conflict is the experience of being obstructed or frustrated by another person or group, ranging from task-related disagreements to personal incompatibilities, or experiencing someone's performance to have a negative influence on the well-being of others or oneself. There is a distinction between conflicts which mainly reflect disagreements concerning tasks (task-related conflicts) and conflicts that mainly reflect the personal relationship between people (person-related conflicts)". In the present study two conflict indicators were employed, one consisting of reports on task- and person-related conflicts with the immediate superior, and the

other consisting of reports on task- and person-related conflicts with coworkers.

Exposure to bullying at the workplace was measured by using the Negative Acts Questionnaire – Revised (Einarsen & Hoel, 2001; Einarsen & Raknes, 1997; Hoel, Cooper, & Faragher, 2001). The NAQ-R consists of 22 items (Cronbach's alpha = .90) describing different kinds of behavior which may be perceived as bullying if they occur on a regular basis. All items are formulated in behavioral terms, with no reference to the term 'bullying'. For each item, the respondents were asked how often they had been exposed to the behavior at their present worksite during the last six months. Response categories were "never", "now and then", "about monthly", "about weekly" and "about daily".

The NAQ-R contains items referring to both personal and work-related forms of bullying. According to Einarsen and Raknes (1997), the NAQ may be divided into two parts measuring two forms of bullying: task-related and person-related bullying. Using Principal component factor analysis (Varimax rotation) an exploratory analysis was carried out. Two separate NAQ factors could be distinguished. These two forms of bullying were labelled person-related bullying (14 items, Cronbach's alpha=.89), and task-related bullying (8 items, Cronbach's alpha=.77), which is in line with earlier research. The items with the highest factor loadings on each factors were respectively "Being the subject of excessive teasing and sarcasm" and "Practical jokes carried out by people you don't get on with" (person-related bullying), and "Being given tasks with unreasonable or impossible targets or deadlines" and "Being exposed to an unmanageable workload" (task-related bullying).

Statistical analyses

Statistical analyses were conducted with the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), version 13.0. Frequencies analyses, descriptive statistics, reliability analyses, correlation analyses, ANOVA, exploratory factor analysis and regression analysis were conducted. In addition, Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) was applied, using the Amos 6.0 program.

RESULTS

Associations between Organizational Changes and Exposure to Bullying

Pearson's product-moment correlations were computed in order to test the hypothesis that positive associations exist between exposure to bullying and organizational changes. A two-tailed test of significance was used for all correlations. Table 1 shows the means, the standard deviations and the correlations for all of the scales used in the study. Correlations between exposure to bullying and the three factors of experienced changes were moderate to weak. The strongest correlation was found between task-related bullying and Work Environment Changes ($r = .30, p < .01$). Correlations between the three change factors and conflicts with the immediate superior and with co-workers, respectively, were modest to small yet significant (if r is between $.11$ and $.17, p < .01$). However, correlations between the two types of conflicts and both task-related and person-related bullying were high (if r is between $.44$ and $.49, p < .01$).

Correlation analysis also showed significant relationships between the number of organizational changes and task-oriented bullying ($r = .26, p < .01$). A small, but significant, correlation was also found between the number of organizational changes and task-related bullying ($r = .14, p < .01$). An inspection of the Appendix shows that task-oriented bullying correlated significantly with changes concerning who is executing work tasks ($r = .28, p < .01$), pay cuts or freezes on salary increases ($r = .22, p < .01$), and changes in the organization's goals and strategies ($r = .21, p < .01$), and changes in the composition of the workforce (part-time workers, hired help) ($r = .21, p < .01$).

The association between the total reported exposure to organizational changes and person-related bullying was also significant, but weak ($r = .14, p < .01$). The correlation matrix (see Appendix) showed that the strongest correlations as regards person-related bullying were with changes in the composition of the workforce ($r = .13, p < .01$), changes concerning who is executing which work tasks ($r = .13, p < .01$), and pay cuts or freezes on salary increases ($r = .13, p < .01$).

Additive Effects of Different Organizational Changes

To test for additive effects, stepwise regression analyses were conducted (Hill & Lewicki, 2006). The chosen criteria for the regression analyses carried out was to enter the predictor variables in four subsequent steps, in which demographic variables constitute Step 1 and the initial model, and letting the underlying factors found in the organizational change inventory (Work Environment Changes, Personnel and Salary Reductions and Restructuring) constitute Steps 2, 3 and 4 respectively.

TABLE 1
Means, Standard Deviations and Pearson's Correlations between the Study Variables

	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Work environment changes	2.10	.68						
2. Personnel and salary reductions	1.70	.64	.49**					
3. Restructuring	1.67	.78	.50**	.47**				
4. Conflicts with immediate superior	1.27	.58	.17**	.13**	.08**			
5. Conflicts with co-workers	1.32	.49	.15**	.11**	.06**	.76**		
6. Person-related bullying	1.14	.29	.14**	.13**	.05*	.44**	.45**	
7. Task-related bullying	1.38	.44	.30**	.24**	.15**	.49**	.42**	.68**

Notes: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; one-tailed test

It should be noted that only demographic variables with significant bivariate correlations were entered into the equations. The nominal scale demographic variables were re-defined as dummy variables also, a procedure allowing use of them in regression models; as predictor variables in regression models should be at least on the ordinal scale level, with the exception of the dummy variables. The results of the regression analyses for task related bullying are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2
Hierarchical Regression Analyses testing the effects of Demographic Variables, Work Environment Changes, Personnel and Salary Reductions, and Restructuring on Exposure to Task-related Bullying

Variables	B	SEB	β	R ²	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Age	-.003	.001	-.085**		
Gender (0=Male, 1=Female)	-.018	.019	-.021		
Seniority	.000	.001	-.008		
Employees in organization	1.61E-005	.000	.032		
Department size (1≤3, 2=other)	.044	.031	.031		
Department size (1=4-19, 2=other)					
Department size (1=20-49, 2=other)	-.022	.022	-.022		
Department size (1≥50, 2=other)	-.037	.025	-.033		
Full time (1=Full time, 2=other)	-.033	.028	-.033		
Part time (1=Part time, 2=other)					
Sick leave, payed leave, rehabilitation leave (1= leave, 2= other)	-.136	.046	-.070**		
Mean working hours per week	.003	.001	.071**		
Superior (1=with personnel responsibilities, 2= other employees)	.014	.023	.013	.027	
Step 2					
Work Environment Changes (WEC)	.192	.013	.310**	.118	.091**
Step 3					
Personnel & Salary Reductions (PWR)	.098	.015	.148**	.134	.016**
Step 4					
Restructuring	-.016	.013	-.030	.134	.001

Notes: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

The regression analysis (Table 2) with task-related bullying as the dependent variable found age, mean working hours per week, and being on either sick leave, paid leave or rehabilitation to be significant predictors. Younger respondents reported systematically higher levels of task-related bullying. Likewise, a high number of mean working hours per week corresponded with higher levels of work-related bullying. Altogether, the demographic variables accounted for 2.7 per cent of the variance in task-related bullying.

The regression analysis also showed that Work Environment Changes and Personnel and Salary Reductions significantly predicted task-related bullying. Restructuring was not a significant predictor. Work Environment Changes ($\beta = .31$) accounted for nine per cent of the variance in task-related bullying and was a stronger predictor than Personnel and Salary Reductions ($\beta = .15$), which accounted for 1.6 per cent of the variance in task-related bullying.

The demographic factors and the three indices of organizational change together accounted for 13.4 per cent of the variance in task-related bullying. The findings in the regression analysis support the hypothesis that the number of different organizational changes taking place during the last 12 months is positively associated with exposure to task-related bullying. That is, more organizational changes are associated with higher levels of exposure to task-related bullying.

Correspondingly, a step-wise regression analysis was conducted to test the strength of the relationships with person-related bullying. Systematic associations between demographic variables and the three indices of organizational change, and the outcome were found. However, the associations were relatively small (Table 3). The regression analysis showed that age was significantly related to person-related bullying at work. Younger respondents reported systematically higher levels of person-related bullying. Altogether the demographic variables accounted for 2.1 per cent of the variance in person-related bullying.

Furthermore, the regression analysis showed that Work Environment Changes, as well as Personnel and Salary Reductions significantly predicted person-related bullying at work. However, the β weights of .14 and .10, indicated relatively weak associations, and the two factors accounted for only 2.2 per cent and 0.6 per cent of the variance in task-related bullying, respectively. A non-significant association was found between Restructuring ($\beta = -.06$) and person-related bullying. All together, demographical factors and the three categories of organizational changes accounted for 5.2 per cent of the variance in person-related bullying, indicating a much weaker relationships than those found with task-related bullying. Nevertheless, the results in the regression analysis provide some

TABLE 3
Hierarchical Regression Analyses testing the effects of Demographic Variables, Work Environment Changes, Personnel and Salary Reductions, and Restructuring on Exposure to Person-related Bullying

Variables	B	SEB	β	R ²	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Age	-.003	.001	-.117**		
Gender (0=Male, 1=Female)	-.021	.013	-.038		
Seniority	.000	.001	.007		
Employees in organization	.000	.000	-.017		
Department size (1≤3, 2=other)	-.013	.020	-.014		
Department size (1=4-19, 2=other)					
Department size (1=20-49, 2=other)	-.007	.014	-.012		
Department size (1≥50, 2=other)	-.034	.017	-.047		
Full time (1=Full time, 2=other)	-.020	.019	-.031		
Part time (1=Part time, 2=other)					
Sick leave, payed leave, rehabilitation leave (1= leave, 2= other)	-.080	.030	-.063		
Mean working hours per week	.001	.001	.021		
Superior (1=with personnel responsibilities, 2= other employees)	-.008	.015	-.011	.021**	
Step 2					
Work Environment Changes (WEC)	.058	.009	.144**	.043**	0.22**
Step 3					
Personnel & Salary Reductions (PWR)	.041	.010	.10**	.049**	.006**
Step 4					
Restructuring	-.022	.009	-.063*	.052*	.003*

Notes: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

support for the notion that the number of organizational changes taking place during the last 12 months is correlated positively to exposure to person-related bullying.

To conclude thus far, the correlation and regression analyses support the hypotheses that different organizational changes are positively associated with exposure to task-related and person-related workplace bullying, and that being exposed to more organizational changes increases the likelihood of being exposed to bullying. The

relationships are strongest between organizational changes and task-related bullying.

Testing for Mediating Effects of Interpersonal Conflicts

Structural equation modeling (SEM) was conducted to investigate relationships between organizational change, interpersonal conflicts and exposure to bullying at work. The advantage with SEM is that it estimates a series of separate, but interdependent, multiple regression equations simultaneously by specifying a structural model (Hair, Black, Babin, Anderson & Tatham, 2006). SEM conveys two important aspects of the procedure: a) the "causal" processes under study are represented by a series of structural equations, and b) these structural relations can be modeled pictorially to enable a clearer conceptualization of the theory under study (Byrne, 2001). Four nested structural models were compared in the present study. These models had in common that organizational change was defined as a latent construct, with 3 manifest subscale variables identified by the use of explanatory factor analysis (see table in Appendix) applied as indicator variables. Leadership conflicts and co-worker conflicts were also defined as latent variables, with four items measuring task-related and person oriented bullying from respectively leaders and co-workers used as indicator variables. Bullying was also established as a latent construct, and regarded as the dependent variable in all four models, with the two NAQ subscales "work content bullying" and "relationship bullying" used as indicator variables.

The first of the structural models (the null model, that is, the model hypothesized to be the simplest model that can be theoretically justified) tested the direct effects between the latent variables organizational change and bullying, with bullying as the dependent variable. Model 1 adds a mediator effect between organizational changes and bullying, with conflicts with co-workers as the mediator variable. The same procedure was followed for Model 2, in which conflicts with the immediate superior is the mediator variable. The last model, Model 3, consists of the direct effect between organizational change and bullying, as well as both mediator effects.

Table 4 gives an overview of the fit statistics for each of the SEM models and shows that the full model (i.e., Model 3) provides the best representation of the data. The χ^2 differences between the full model

and the three other models are significant ($p < 0.001$). Ideally, the overall χ^2 statistics should not reach a p-value higher than 0.05, indicating that there is no difference between the measurement model and the structural model. This criterion is difficult to obtain with large samples as in the present study (cf. Byrne, 2001). However, all of the presented models showed an acceptable fit, with RMSEA values about 0.08, and with 0.07 as best fit (Model 3). According to Browne and Cudeck (1993), a root mean square error of approximation less than 0.08 reflects a reasonable good model fit. Regarding the comparative fit index (CFI), a value higher than 0.90 was originally considered representative of a well-fitting model (Bentler, 1992). This cutoff threshold has later been advised to CFI values close to 0.95 (Hu & Bentler, 1999), a criterion that is obtained in the present study.

TABLE 4
Goodness of Fit Indices of the Four Models

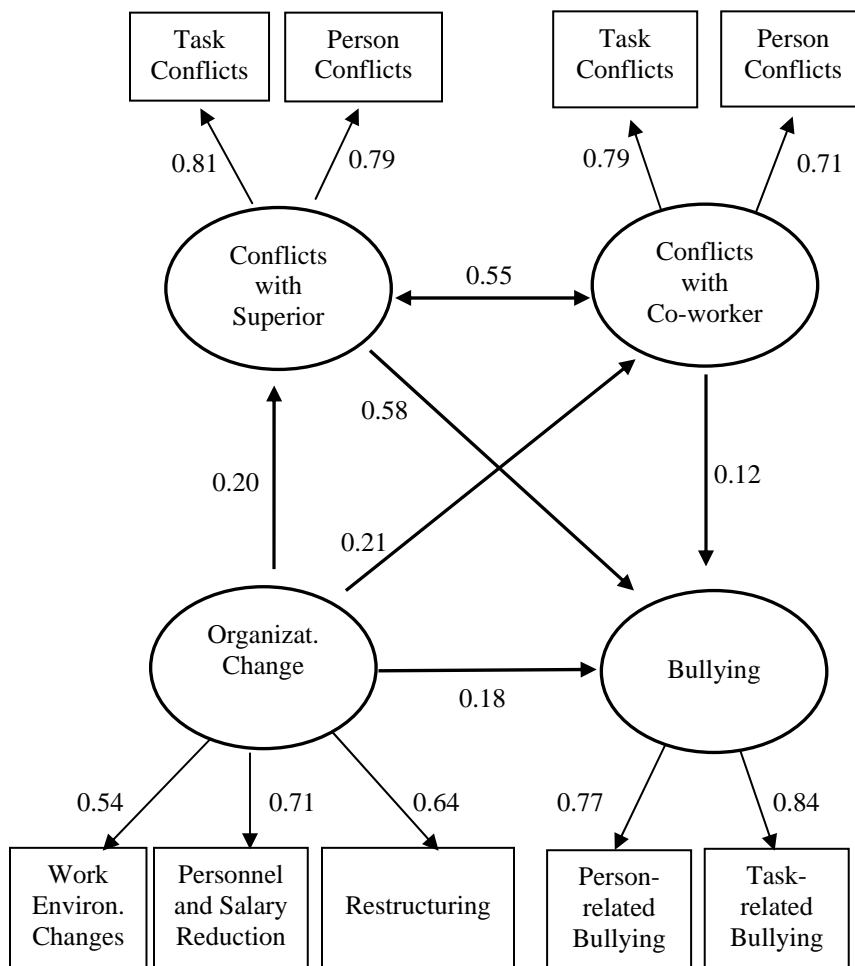
Models	df	χ^2	χ^2/df	CFI	AGFI	RMSEA
Null model: Direct effects only	23	356.03*	15.48	0.95	0.94	0.08
Model 1: Co-worker mediator effect added	22	336.51*	15.29	0.95	0.95	0.08
Model 2: Leader mediator effect added	22	333.23*	15.15	0.95	0.94	0.08
Model 3: Full model	21	283.22*	13.49	0.96	0.94	0.07

Note: CFI = Comparative fit index; AGFI = Adjusted goodness of fit index; RMSEA = Root mean square error of approximation. * $p < 0.001$.

Figure 1 gives an overview of the full structural model. As can be seen, there is a direct association between organizational change and bullying, with a β weight of .18 ($p < 0.001$ for all relationships). This direct effect did not change substantially when the mediating effects of conflicts with co-workers and conflicts with the immediate superior were added to the model (the direct effects

between organizational change and bullying was 0.20 in the null model, and respectively 0.21 and 0.19 in Models 1 and 2). Thus, the hypotheses addressing mediating effects of conflicts with co-workers and conflicts with the immediate superior on the relationship

FIGURE 1
The Relationships between Organizational Change, Interpersonal Conflicts and Bullying



Note: Error terms are omitted from the figure.

between organizational changes and bullying were not supported. Figure 1 also shows that the direct link between conflicts with the immediate superior and bullying is stronger than the link between conflicts with co-workers and bullying (β weights of 0.58 and 0.12, respectively).

DISCUSSION

The present paper focuses on organizational change as a precursor of exposure to bullying at work, a relationship that has been proposed by Hoel and Salin (2003) among others. Few studies have analyzed direct, let alone, indirect relationships between organizational change and exposure to bullying. Based on earlier studies supporting the notion that organizational change is associated with frustration and interpersonal conflicts, it was hypothesized that conflicts with the immediate superior, as well as conflicts with co-workers, may mediate the relationship between organizational changes and bullying. The correlation and regression analyses supported the notion that different organizational changes were positively correlated to reports of exposure to bullying at work, and that being exposed to more organizational changes increased the likelihood of being exposed to both task-related bullying and person-related bullying. However, the relationships between changes and person-related bullying were modest.

Structural equation modelling (SEM) supported the hypothesis that organizational changes would be related directly to bullying at work. Interpersonal conflicts with the immediate superior were also found to be strongly associated with exposure to bullying. However, the hypothesis that the effects of organizational changes on bullying would be mediated by conflicts with the immediate superior was only to a very limited extent supported. Likewise, almost no mediation effect was found for conflicts with co-workers. Results indicate that organizational changes and interpersonal conflicts are independent precursors of bullying at work. Still, organizational changes significantly predict both bullying and interpersonal conflicts.

The present study showed relatively high correlations and beta-coefficients between the measured organizational changes and task-related bullying. The differences in associations between change indicators and the two separate bullying measures may be explained by the fact that most organizational changes are in essence related to

changes in organizational structures, including issues related to individuals' job content, tasks and roles. Worrall and Cooper (1998) and Lapido and Wilkinson (2002) describe task fragmentation, a sharpened sense of accountability, reduced role clarity and increased work pressures as typical characteristics of organizational changes. Hence, negative acts associated with bullying in organizations characterized by change may primarily be related to task-oriented issues.

The stronger associations between organizational changes and task-oriented bullying may also be explained by the effect/danger ratio (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994) which states that aggressors want to maximize the effect of their negative behavior combined with a low risk for their own negative consequences. In times of change organizational members may more easily employ task-oriented negative acts, which may imply less risk for detrimental consequences for themselves, than would more direct verbal or physical acts directed on a more personal level. Task-related bullying may be more subtle and indirect than personal attacks, with less risk of exposure and negative consequences for the aggressor.

Regression analysis showed that the factor Work Environment Changes, concerning who is executing which work tasks, changes in the composition of the workforce, changes in management and technological changes, was clearly the strongest predictor of task-related bullying. This result supports those of Baron and Neuman (1996, 1998) where aggression was predicted by organizational changes such as the use of part-timers, change in management, and increased diversity in the workforce. Our findings are also comparable with the results from a nation-wide work environment study in the UK in 70 different organizations (Hoel & Cooper, 2000) where significant differences in mean scores were found between those currently being bullied and those not being bullied regarding change in management and major internal restructuring.

As shown in the Appendix, the single item concerning who is executing which work tasks had the highest correlation with task-related bullying, which may be explained by the fact that such changes may have dramatic personal consequences for the majority of employees involved in change operations. To cope with the insecurity resulting from task and role changes (cf. Lapido & Wilkinson, 2002; Worrall & Cooper, 1998), employees may engage in

organizational politics, which is a social-influence process whereby behavior is designed strategically to maximize short-term and long-term self-interest (Ferris, Fedor, Chachere & Pondy, 1989), to secure their own positions in the organization. Such instrumental acts may lead to frustration and aggression among co-workers (Neuman & Baron, 2003), ultimately resulting in bullying (Salin, 2003).

Worrall et al. (2004) state that redundancy is probably the most evocative and fear-inducing form of organizational change, and, in general, studies on downsizing report the most dramatic consequences for organizational members when personnel reductions are carried out (Kets de Vries & Balazs, 1997; Worrall et al., 2004). However, in the present study, relationships between the composite predictor Personnel and Salary Reductions and exposure to task-oriented and person-oriented bullying were relatively low. For example, as shown in the Appendix, the single item "layoffs" correlated only weakly with task-oriented bullying. Baron and Neuman (1998) also reported weak correlations between layoffs and witnessed aggression, as well as with experienced aggression. Hoel and Cooper (2000) reported non-significant differences between bullied and non-bullied respondents on organizational changes concerning redundancies. The findings may therefore indicate that personnel reductions and layoffs, by themselves, are not strong predictors of aggression and bullying, at least among survivors. One possible explanation for the observed low associations may be the high degree of protection from dismissal provided by the Norwegian work environment act (Directorate of Labour Inspection, 2005). Strong protection against dismissal may reduce the negative effects of layoffs and personnel reductions. However, the corresponding findings by Baron and Neuman (1996) and Hoel and Cooper (2000) indicate alternative explanations. One interpretation may be that layoffs and personnel reductions are not necessarily associated with strong negative emotions for those remaining in the organization, a conclusion supported by Sahdev (2004) who found that downsizing was not followed by negative reactions from survivors when managers on a personal basis engaged in helping survivors to acquire new skills. It may therefore be that only those redundancies and layoffs experienced as a personal threat are associated with negative outcomes such as aggression, interpersonal conflicts and bullying.

The organizational change item “pay cuts or freezes on salary increases”, however, showed a somewhat stronger correlation with task-related bullying (cf. Appendix), a finding which also corresponds with Baron and Neuman’s (1996) findings where, out of 13 organizational changes, pay cuts or freezes on salary increase showed the highest correlation with experienced aggression. Likewise, Hoel and Cooper’s study (2000) revealed that budget cuts was the change topic reported by targets with the highest mean scores on bullying, supporting the notion that economic restrictions are related to aggression and bullying outcomes. Hence, as a single item, “pay cuts or freezes on salary increases” shows a stronger effect on bullying than personnel reductions and layoffs, which may be explained by the fact that organizational changes involving pay cuts and freezes have personal consequences for all, or mostly all, employees involved in the change operations. Such changes may also be easier to dispute than layoffs. Cuts or freezes in wages may trigger frustrations and insecurity for one’s future personal economy and one’s family life in general. According to Holmes and Rahe (1967) and their Social Readjustment Rating Scale, a change in financial state is reported to be a very stressful life-event (weighted score of 38), as compared to being fired (weighted score of 47). Insecurity, as regards future economic resources, has been described as a central dimension of job insecurity (Burchell, 2002). In general, job insecurity and unemployment have been found to have a host of detrimental effects on victims of layoffs with regards to their physical and psychological health and well-being, as well as their satisfaction with family life (Probst, 2005; Wichert, 2002). To cope with economy-related insecurity, employees may engage in organizational politics to secure their own positions in the organization. Organizational politics have been shown to be associated with negligent behavior, antagonistic work behavior and interpersonal distrust (Vigoda, 2002). Hence, pay cuts and freezes on salary increase may instigate anti-social behavior leading to aggression and, ultimately, bullying.

The results of the present study also support the assumption that the reported number of experienced organizational changes was significantly related to exposure to bullying at work. The total exposure to 13 organizational changes correlated moderately with task-related bullying. In addition, the factors Work Environment Changes and Personnel and Salary Reductions, together with some demographical variables, contributed in explaining exposure to task-

related bullying. These results are in line with Baron and Neuman's (1996) study, which showed that different types of changes contribute to explaining witnessed and experienced aggression. However, the results from this study, and those from Baron and Neuman's (1996) study, indicate that the number of changes is not necessarily a stronger predictor than a specific type of change, such as changes in proxy work conditions. Likewise, regression analyses in both studies support the notion that a limited number of changes accounted for a majority of the variance in bullying. Maybe a limited number of changes have the strongest effect on negative outcomes such as bullying.

Structural equation modeling showed that organizational changes were related directly to both bullying at work and to interpersonal conflicts. However, the strongest association in the full SEM model was found between interpersonal conflicts with the immediate superior and exposure to bullying at work (direct effect). Conflicts with the immediate superior and with co-workers did not mediate the relationship between organizational changes and exposure to bullying at work, as were expected. The findings, showing that conflicts with superiors strongly predict bullying at work, supporting the notion that relationships between leader-subordinate conflicts and bullying are strong. According to Leymann (1990) and Zapf and Gross (2001), many cases of bullying at work start with some kind of escalating interpersonal conflict, gradually turning the situation into a case of bullying where the target feels unable to defend against ever more frequent and severe attacks. The finding that conflicts with the immediate superior were by far a stronger predictor of bullying than conflicts with co-workers may be explained by a power distance between superiors and subordinates (see e.g., Dale, Gupta & Javidan, 2004), a distance that seems to increase in Western working life (Worrall & Cooper, 1998). A high power distance may be used by superiors to exploit and victimize their subordinates, a notion supported by the fact that the majority of bullies have formal authority over their victims (Zapf et al., 2003).

More studies report superiors to be negative, destructive and counterproductive during organizational changes (Kets de Vries & Balasz, 1997; Gilmore et al., 1997; Vinokur et al., 1996). McCarthy et al. (1995) reported a variety of destructive leader behaviors during organizational restructuring such as constantly checking up on

someone, blaming someone's personality, threatening to sack someone or to render them redundant, among others. Although these findings may imply that organizational changes instigate destructive leadership behavior, followed by interpersonal conflicts, resulting in subordinates' experiences of bullying, the findings in McCarthy et al.'s (1995) study may also be interpreted as showing a direct relationship between organizational changes and bullying behaviors by leaders. That is, organizational change is a precursor of leaders' bullying behavior independently of any a priori conflict as perceived by subordinates.

Krantz (2006) states that organizational changes confront leaders with enormously complex challenges, such as the introduction of new structures and practices that create dislocation, disruption, and even turmoil. Leaders may be forced to use their formal power to attain higher organization driven purposes by means which lead to conflicts with subordinates that may be perceived by subordinates as betrayal. Ironside and Seifert (2003) state that managers may even engage in bullying behaviors to change subordinates' behaviors in order to meet targets and enforce discipline, while Kets de Vries and Balazs (1997) describe how superiors may regress to dysfunctional and destructive behavior during the process of downsizing. Such statements are in line with McCarthy et al.'s (1995) descriptions of negative behaviors as expressions of bullying behavior. Hence, autocratic and forcing leadership behavior in the process of change may be experienced more as bullying behaviors per se, than as a behavioral aspect of interpersonal conflict. For example, decisions and actions taken to implement change in the organization may not be open for discussion (cf. Ironside & Seifert, 2003), or even linked to any conflicting interests between the superior and his subordinates in the first place. The superior is, first and foremost, a representative of the top management and is therefore obliged to implement change (Krantz, 2006), which may involve demanding tasks that many middle managers are reluctant to undertake (Balogun, 2003). According to the findings in the present study, interpersonal conflicts with the immediate superior are a strong precursor of bullying at work, however, the findings suggest that these conflicts are experienced as rooted mainly elsewhere than in the measured organizational changes.

The present study has analyzed the relationships between organizational changes, interpersonal conflicts and exposure to bullying at work in a sample of Norwegian employees, yielding important information about relationships between organizational changes and bullying employing a more advanced statistical design than has been used in such studies so far. The study also used reliable and valid scales for the measurement of both bullying and organizational change. Hence the present study has many strengths. However, some important limitations should also be mentioned. Although the tested models suggest theoretical causal relationships, it is important to stress that the cross-sectional design provides a weak design for making such causal inference. Cross-sectional relationships typically represent a variety of reciprocal relationships that can only be fully investigated with a longitudinal study design.

Although in an early phase of model building, the present study provides an important contribution to a topic that needed to be further examined. The use of a representative sample increases the robustness of the findings. However, the study utilizes a cross-sectional design with single informants from the Norwegian work force on all variables, representing themselves and not any organization. The relationships between the variables may have been different if respondents were selected from only a few organizations that were undergoing dramatic changes during data collection. Furthermore, participants were asked to report on organizational changes that took place within the last 12 months. Therefore, many participants may have been aware of negative as well as positive consequences of those changes which, in turn, may have influenced their responses.

CONCLUSION

The findings of the present study indicate that organizational changes are directly related to exposure to bullying, and that changes in work tasks and the composition of the work force especially influence bullying. The number of organizational changes taking place during the last 12 months was positively related to exposure to bullying; especially task-related bullying. The study supports earlier findings that conflict between superiors and subordinates is an important antecedent of bullying, and more so than organizational changes. However, the hypothesis that the effect of organizational

changes on bullying will be mediated through interpersonal conflicts was not supported, indicating that organizational change and interpersonal conflicts may be independent antecedents of workplace bullying.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present project is a collaborative project between the University of Bergen and Statistics Norway (Statistisk Sentralbyrå), who collected the data. The project was made possible by joint grants from two Norwegian employers associations (Næringslivets Hovedorganisasjon and Kommunenes Sentralforbud), the Norwegian government (Rikstrygdeverket). Thanks to Bengt Oscar Lagerstrøm and Maria Høstmark in Statistics Norway, and Marin Lange Wold and Morten B. Nielsen at the Department of Psychosocial Science at the University of Bergen.

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APPENDIX 1
Summary of Items and Factor Loadings

Items		Factor loadings			Communality
		1	2	3	
	Organizational changes				
1	Changes concerning who is executing which work tasks	.79	.21	.33	.62
2	Technological change	.71	.10	.14	.52
3	Change in management	.63	.46	.40	.49
4	Changes in the organization's goals and strategies	.59	.56	.49	.54
5	Changes in the composition of the work force	.52	.27	.38	.31
6	New pay and reward systems	.49	.36	.37	.31
7	Changes concerning owners	.12	.80	.24	.65
8	Fissions or fusions	.36	.79	.33	.64
9	Restructuring	.59	.64	.52	.63
10	Personnel reductions (downsizing)	.44	.27	.81	.68
11	Budget cuts	.45	.12	.74	.63
12	Layoffs	.05	.32	.68	.52
13	Pay cuts or freezes on salary increases	.26	.35	.58	.36

Notes: Summary of items and factor loadings for Oblimin, with Kaiser normalization, non-orthogonal three-factor solution (Eigenvalue>1) for the 13 organizational change variables (N=2202). Work Environment Changes: items number 1, 2, 3 and 5. Restructuring: items number 7, 8 and 9. Personnel and Salary reductions: items number 10, 11, 12 and 13. Italics indicates highest factor loadings.

APPENDIX 2
Means, Standard Deviations and Pearson's Correlations between the
Organization Change Variables

	Mean	S.D.	N	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Personnel reductions (downsizing)	1.96	1.04	2336														
2. Layoffs	1.29	.66	2326	.39**													
3. Budget cuts	2.27	1.08	2322	.57**	.24**												
4. Technological change	2.21	.97	2320	.22**	.11**	.21**											
5. Changes concerning who is executing which work tasks	2.16	.87	2330	.37**	.16**	.30**	.41**										
6. New pay and reward systems	1.75	.92	2325	.28**	.18**	.28**	.25**	.32**									
7. Change in management	2.09	1.08	2330	.37**	.21**	.30**	.24**	.44**	.34**								
8. Changes concerning owners	1.43	.87	2299	.19**	.23**	.09**	.11**	.16**	.23**	.27**							
9. Restructuring	2.00	1.12	2320	.47**	.22**	.41**	.27**	.41**	.32**	.51**	.32**						
10. Fissions or fusions	1.56	.94	2326	.30**	.18**	.24**	.19**	.24**	.24**	.33**	.39**	.58**					
11. Changes in the organization's goals and strategies	1.85	.93	2327	.38**	.23**	.39**	.30**	.38**	.33**	.42**	.29**	.55**	.46**				
12. Pay cuts or freezes on salary increases	1.30	.69	2319	.33**	.26**	.29**	.16**	.23**	.28**	.25**	.20**	.30**	.25**	.33**			
13. Changes in the composition of the work force	1.93	.95	2328	.31**	.19**	.27**	.21**	.34**	.23**	.32**	.17**	.33**	.27**	.33**	.23**		
14. Person-related bullying	1.14	.29	2346	.08**	.09**	.09**	.07**	.13**	.07**	.07**	.03	.04*	.04*	.11**	.13**	.13**	
15. Task-related bullying	1.38	.44	2363	.17**	.12**	.19**	.18**	.28**	.15**	.20**	.07**	.17**	.11**	.21**	.22**	.21**	.68**

Notes: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; one-tailed test