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Seeing through a Bourdieusian Lens: A Field-level Perspective of Anti-Bullying Interventions in a UK Police Force.

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Abstract

This thesis contributes to our understanding of anti-bullying intervention (ABI) strategies. Situated in a UK police force, the study focused on the voices of three key agent groups that hold important yet different relationships with the ABIs in the participant police force. The research extends current understanding of how different groups with different constructs of bullying engage with the mechanisms in place to manage and control it. These three groups are referred to throughout the thesis as Creators, Disseminators and Users. Creators are primarily responsible for the ownership of ABIs, while Disseminators provide advice and guidance on the ABIs to the workforce, and the Users represent those targeted or accused of workplace bullying. This multi-agent perspective is important given that extant literature has focused predominantly on single-agent type groups.

The study uses Bourdieu's theory of practice as a framework to reconcile the structure versus agency challenge and provides opportunity to understand the factors that shape attitudes and responses to bullying and the ABIs that are in place to manage and control it. Given that workplace bullying is complex, the Bourdieusian lens extends the opportunity to explore how these complexities are understood through individual, multi-level and socio-historical organisational contexts.

Using an interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) methodology, semi-structured interviews were used to investigate the deep-level responses from this multi-agent perspective.

The findings hold important implications for research and practice and extend current discussions in the workplace (anti)bullying field. Firstly, they suggest that contemporary ABI strategies may no longer fit the requirements of a modern police force. New recruits holding deinstitutionalised and individualistic career trajectories reject informal approaches to dealing with bullying at work that are favoured by those with longstanding careers in policing, in favour of more formalised ABI strategies. Secondly, the findings indicate that, beyond formal ownership of the anti-bullying strategies, the hidden organisational network predicated upon social alliances is a powerful mediator in shaping how the ABI strategy is understood and enacted. This extends current understanding of how bullying is maintained and moves discussions to the networked level of organisation. Thirdly, the use of gendered language applied at the individual and organisational levels of organisation were found to be influential in diminishing the value and role of the ABI. The findings further suggest self-seeking system abuse of the ABIs, particularly by those seeking promotion or whose work performance is negatively brought in to question. Finally, and importantly, the study also offers new theoretical insights in to the reported gap between ABI policy/strategy construction and implementation. Drawing on the concept of habitus, the study utilises habitus as a new way of understanding how different workplace demographics and policy/ strategy developers create their own understanding of bullying at work and the mechanisms in place to manage it.

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Abbreviations

Acronym	Description
ABI/ ABIs	Anti-bullying intervention(s)
ACAS	Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service
CIPD	Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development
HRM	Human Resource Management
HRP	Human Resource Practitioner
IPA	Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis
PCSO	Police Community Support Officer
PFEW	Police Federation of England and Wales (Polfed)
PM	Personnel Management
PSO	Police Support Officer (civilian)

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And finally, to my amazing children, Tom, Grace and Phoebe words on a piece of paper cannot capture how much I love you. Thank you for putting up with me, you missed out on things when you deserved the world and never doubted that I could do this. How lucky I am to have you.

Dissemination

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Callaghan, D. (2010, September) *Anti-Bullying Interventions: Abusive or Supportive Systems?* Paper presented at Edge Hill University Graduate School Research Symposium, Edge Hill University, Ormskirk, UK.

Callaghan, D. (2012, June) *Seeing through a Bourdieusian lens: Interpreting and Enacting Anti-Bullying Interventions in a UK police force.* Edge Hill University, Ormskirk, UK.

Callaghan, D. (2015 May) *Reflexive Journeys and co-construction of knowledge: the significance of self in the PhD process.* Public Administration Committee Doctoral Symposium, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, UK.

Callaghan, D. (2015, June) *Anti-Bullying Implementation: An Analysis of a UK Police Force,* Poster presented at the University of Liverpool Management School, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, UK.

Callaghan, D. (2016, June) *An Autoethnographic Reflection of Studying Workplace Bullying.* Public Administration Committee Doctoral Symposium, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, UK.

Callaghan, D. (2017 July) *The Aftermath of Destructive leadership: Five Years on.* Critical Management Studies, Edge Hill University, Liverpool, UK.

Dedication

…they broke in to his locker and put glass in his sandwiches and when he didn't come home, I was really worried. He turned up the next day; they had buried him in the park. His workmates and his employer said it's just banter. He was never the same again. It impacted on the whole family…..

This thesis is dedicated to those silenced; disregarded and quiet voices whose experiences have inspire me to understand the importance of researching the phenomenon of workplace bullying.

Deborah Callaghan

Prologue to the Thesis: The Beginning

In my early thirties, I reached a turning point in my life. I realised that I was no longer challenged in my career and decided to return to study as a mature student. In order to do this, I left my job, re-mortgaged my home and juggled my studies with three children and three part-time jobs. It was at this point that non-related strands of experiences and examples of workplace bullying came together, sparking an academic interest in the topic.

In my early career I had been the target, bystander and manager having to deal with cases of workplace bullying that had predominantly arisen as a consequence of a competitive workplace culture and inadequate framing of acceptable behaviours at work. I could never see the value in allowing this sort of practice to go on. I understood some of the reasons why some people bullied and why some organisations turned a blind eye or engaged in those forms of practices. Bullying offers an increased sense of power and can be purposely used to encourage particular employees into leaving their jobs in situations where organisations are unable to use legitimate methods to let them go. But for me, the negative consequences of workplace bullying in terms of high labour turnover, decreased productivity and low morale far outweighed any benefits that it offered.

My academic interest in bullying at work began as an undergraduate student. I explored the impact of workplace bullying from a financial and legal perspective, while my undergraduate dissertation examined organisational inaction as a consequence of the definitional complexities of workplace bullying. As I studied bullying from an academic perspective this coincided with a change in my employment.

My new employer self-identified as having an exemplary anti-bullying agenda. However, I realised quite quickly that this simply was not the case from the employee perspective, and that there was an evident gap between employee reality and policy rhetoric. In my new workplace, I witnessed what I believed to be ageist bullying, as older members of staff nearing retirement, with limited career opportunities available to them, were exposed to top-down managerial

bullying by the department director. Taking full exploitative opportunity of the power dimension that existed between the director and the ageing workforce, the director publicly singled them out from the rest of the workforce and made their last days with an employer that they had served for forty years, unnecessarily miserable and confidence destroying.

I myself was a target of peer bullying in my early 20s. As I watched my older colleagues' ordeal from the side lines, it reminded me of my own experience of bullying and quite how devastating it can be. As I reflected upon my past experience, I was also reminded of one of my closest friends who had found herself the target of workplace bullying by her line manager. My friend is strong in character, is well educated, has travelled the world alone, speaks five languages, has nursed both of her parents through cancer while holding down her job, yet she was so devastated by her experience of being bullied by her line manager that she resigned without a job to go to.

My friend and I both took different courses of action. My friend, despite receiving union advice that she had experienced a clear case of bullying, decided not to fight her case for fear that future employers might perceive her as a troublemaker. In contrast, I took my case to the union and human resources department and fought my position, only to be ostracised and sent to some obscure outpost of the organisation as punishment for complaining about being bullied.

Despite almost twenty years apart, increased public awareness, a growing body of research and increased understanding into the subject, the experience of my friend, my colleagues and I as the targets of bullying, remained unchanged.

Drawing on these experiences it would be fair to assume that my interest would lie with targets of workplace bullying. However, literature to date has heavily invested in this area and there is less said about the other parties involved in these situations, including the bully, other organisational actors such as bystanders and even less commentary concerning the organisational strategies that are in place to manage and control bullying at work. To date very little is understood about the strategies that are in place to prevent bullying

in the workplace and even less about how people use and make sense of these preventative strategies. Thus, my passion lies here; in understanding how people make sense of workplace anti-bullying interventions so that people like my colleagues, my friend and I can feel hopeful that there is an increased awareness of the role and purpose of interventions in managing, controlling and preventing bullying at work. [1]

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[1] The fieldwork for this study was completed prior to transfer to the University of Liverpool. As a condition of transfer, I was required to undertake MRes research training modules at the University of Liverpool. The module assignments assumed that my research was in its infancy, when in fact my study was well-developed. Small amounts of the material in the thesis has been submitted as part of the module assessments, however no academic award has been given for this research training.

Chapter One: The Purpose of the Study

Prompted by my personal experience of the damaging effects of workplace bullying, this study seeks to broaden the workplace bullying field's understanding of anti-bullying intervention (ABI) strategies that are operationalised as preventative and restorative measures in the workplace.

The research study is situated in a UK police force which is referred to throughout the thesis by its pseudonym, Greendale police force. Greendale police force has a longstanding history with workplace bullying and has responded by engaging a range of ABIs to deal with the problem of bullying (discussed in greater depth in Chapter six). Given that current research into ABIs offers limited insight into what happens to them once they are operationalised in the workplace (Einarsen, *et al.,* 2019), the research seeks to understand how context shapes how ABIs are practiced. In doing so, the research explores the role of structure and agency and considers whether organisational agents are able to act freely in how they practice and engage with the ABIs, or whether social structures serve or prohibit or enable organisational agents (Fowler, 1997; Walther, 2014) to develop their own ways of understanding and engaging with them. The study offers a field-level, multi-agent interpretation of the ABI strategy and draws from the interview responses of key organisational agents that have different job roles and different relationships with the ABIs. The inclusion of these voices is important given that practitioner and academic fields recognise that the most progressive organisations understand that bullying holds collective responsibility (Bowen and Ostroff, 2004; Ferris, 2004; Vartia and Leke, 2011), yet the collective voices of those that engage with ABIs in their workplace are missing from ABI literature. This study includes the collective voices of key agents that have been categorised throughout the thesis into three groups that are identified as Creators, Disseminators and Users. The abstract introduced Creators as those responsible for the day-to-day ownership of the ABIs; Disseminators as those that provide advice and guidance on the ABIs and Users of the ABIs are those that are targeted by, or accused of, bullying at work. The thesis seeks to

investigate two questions. The first is concerned with understanding practice and asks,

> ***How do key organisational agents interpret and enact the anti-bullying intervention strategies in a UK police force?***

The second question is concerned with understanding the role that structure and agency holds in shaping how the ABIs are understood and enacted in the policing context and asks,

> ***Who and what factors have a hand in controlling bullying at work and the anti-bullying intervention measures in place to manage this workplace practice?***

To investigate these two central questions, the thesis uses an interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) methodology and employs semi-structured interviews to capture the responses of the participants from the Creator, Disseminator and User groups. The use of both IPA and semi-structured interviews are discussed in later in this chapter and in greater depth in Chapter four. The interview responses were analysed using Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice which acts as the theoretical framework in the thesis. Theory of practice considers whether people are able to act freely and so determine their own practice, or whether the social structures in their environment dictate how they should engage in their practice. Chapter five explores theory of practice in greater detail.

Thesis Rationale

The underpinning rationale for the study is offered in the following section of the chapter. The section concludes by outlining how the thesis addresses gaps in the current ABI research field.

From the 1980s onward research in the workplace bullying field has witnessed an exponential growth in investigations (McKeown, *et al.,* 2009: Beale and Hoel, 2011; Einarsen *et al.,* 2011; Salin *et al.*, 2018). Much of the workplace

bullying research has focused on the prevalence rates of bullying (Hoel, *et al.*, 2001; Rayner and McIvor, 2008; Einarsen *et al.*, 2011), understanding the impact on the recipients of bullying (Aquino, *et al.,* 1999; Barclay, *et al.,* 2005; Bartlett and Bartlett, 2011; Balakrishnan, 2018), recognising its impact on workplaces (Nielsen and Einarsen, 2012; Beale and Hoel, 2011; Rayner and Lewis, 2011) and what constitutes bullying (Adams, 1992; Agervold, 2007; Einarsen *et al.*, 2011). Yet despite these advances, the complex nature of bullying means that our understanding of it remains somewhat blurred (Burnes and Pope, 2007; Rayner and Lewis, 2011). Defined as 'harassing, offending, socially excluding someone or negatively affecting someone's work tasks' (Einarsen *et al.*, 2011: 22) bullying is recognised to be socially constructed and subjectively interpreted, representing a form of systematic mistreatment, that is widely acknowledged to have significant and negative impact across workforces (Jennifer *et al.,* 2003; Namie and Lutgen-Sandvik, 2010; Einarsen *et al.*, 2011; Branch *et al.*, 2013). The consequences of such actions are reported to impact on job satisfaction, employee commitment, mental and physical wellbeing, absenteeism and labour turnover (Nielsen and Einarsen, 2012; Salin *et al.,* 2018). The cost of such actions is further magnified by decreased levels of productivity, motivation and creativity, lengthy internal investigations, litigation claims and associated negative publicity (Hoel *et al.*, 2001; Einarsen *et al.*, 2011).

In an effort to curtail the negative impact of this workplace behaviour, employers and advisory bodies have responded with a series of measures. Professional and voluntary organisations have focused their attention on providing advice and guidance to organisations and practitioners with responsibilities for managing bullying at work, on appropriate organisational strategies and best practice initiatives (CIPD, 2018). While under increasing pressures through fear of litigation, demand for organisational accountability and the quest for positive organisational image, many organisations have responded by developing ABI strategies aimed at risk prevention and restoration through a range of ABI measures (Di Martino *et al.*, 2003; Vartia and Leke, 2011; Einarsen, *et al.,* 2019). Despite such positive steps, empirical research evidences a weak correlation between the growth in ABI initiatives

and a reduction in bullying behaviours at work (McKeown *et al.,* 2009; Beale and Hoel, 2011).

In response, the workplace bullying field has long acknowledged the need for greater investigation into anti-bullying prevention and intervention strategies (Hodgins *et al.,* 2014; Mikkelsen *et al.,* 2011; Salin *et al.*, 2018; Einarsen *et al.,* 2019). Current debates have focused on the role of interventions. Particular focus has been paid to the content and structure of interventions (Saam, 2010; Hodgins *et al.,* 2014; Kemp, 2014; Hutchinson and Jackson, 2015), and acknowledges that interventions are most effective when they take account of the social context and work environment in which bullying takes place (Lamontagne *et al.*, 2007). Yet given this, current research has little to say on how social context and work environment influences our understanding of bullying and the intervention measures in place to manage it (Einarsen *et al.,* 2019). Consequently, very few studies with the exceptions of Pate and Beaumont's (2010) study with a local authority, Salin's, (2008) study with Finnish public-sector workers, Harrington (2010) and Salin *et al.,* (2018) with HR practitioners and Hutchinson and Jackson*,* (2015) study with nurses, contributes to our understanding of how ABI strategies are used in practice. Furthermore, existing studies have focused their research with particular workplace groups (Salin, 2008; Hutchinson and Jackson, 2015) rather than considering other relevant organisational voices, and others have not considered environmental factors (Harrington, 2010). Situated in a police force, this study considers environment, social context and multi-agent voices to address the gaps in the current workplace (anti)bullying literature.

To give insight into the work environment at Greendale police force, the following section of the chapter considers the longstanding challenges that the police force in general and Greendale as the participant policing organisation has faced regarding bullying at work.

Giving Contextual understanding: Anti-Bullying Interventions in the Police Force

The issue of bullying and harassment has been recognised as longstanding problem for the police service (Unison, 2016). Between 2001 and 2016 [2]the Police Federation of England and Wales (PFEW), the Independent Police Commission and Unison representing police support staff, carried out surveys examining workplace bullying in the police force. The findings identified that bullying was highly prevalent across the force with Unison (2016) identifying that women were 28% more likely to experience bullying than their male colleagues.

Between 2000 and 2007 Greendale force carried out a series of internal workforce surveys to identify prevalence rates of bullying. Despite claiming to hold a zero-tolerance approach to bullying, the survey findings identified higher than the national average levels of bullying within their workforce. The specific details of these surveys are discussed in Chapter six. In response, Greendale engaged a series of ABI measures to control occurrences of bullying at work. These intervention measures are discussed in further depth in Chapters two, six and seven. These intervention measures were largely held in the custodianship of the human resources (HR) department but were formulated in discussions with senior policing personnel, representative bodies including the PFEW and Unison along with representatives from the force's support network groups, who each held their own expectations of how ABIs should be used and what they were there to achieve (discussed in further detail in Chapters three and six). Despite the introduction of such positive initiatives, Greendale continues to have a complex relationship with workplace bullying which is discussed in further in Chapter six.

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[2] The 2001 study was commissioned by the Police Federation of England and Wales and was carried out by the British Occupational Health Research Foundation. The 2002, 2008 and 2016 studies were commissioned and carried out by Unison and the 2013 report were commissioned by the Independent Police Commission, chaired by Sir John Stevens.

Thesis Structure

The following section of the chapter outlines the structure of the thesis and provides an overview of the content of each chapter beginning with Chapter two and the first of the study's literature reviews.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Chapter two presents the workplace (anti)bullying literature review which is positioned around three central issues. The first considers how the workplace-bullying field has developed within an international context. The second focuses on the complex nature of bullying and the challenges associated with understanding what constitutes bullying before progressing to the third aspect of the chapter that examines current ABI research. ABI research has achieved less academic interest than other areas in the workplace bullying field. Current ABI research has focused largely on the content and structure of ABIs but has paid less attention to understanding how they are utilised in given contexts. The thesis addresses that gap and makes new contribution in this area.

Chapter Three: The Policing Field

Chapter three extends the literature review into the policing field. Initial discussions focus on the impact of the performance agenda of the 1980s-1990s to the current austerity led agenda. The chapter progresses to consider workplace bullying in the police service and the relationship between bullying and organisational culture and structure.

Chapter Four: Methodology

Chapter four introduces the IPA methodology which is again referenced at Chapters five and seven, the findings and analysis chapter and concluding chapter in the thesis. IPA is a qualitative research approach with a phenomenological, idiographic and hermeneutic focus (Smith, 1996). This methodological approach attempts to offer insights into how a given person, in a given context, makes sense of a given phenomenon (Willig, 2008b). The chapter explains the relevance of the interpretivist epistemology and the dually hermeneutic influence that the subject and researcher role hold within the study. The researcher enters the social world of the research participant in

order to interpret how they understand their lived experiences (Frost *et al.*, 2010; Johnson and Christensen, 2012; Saunders *et al.,* 2016) of the ABI strategy in the policing context. IPA is concerned with deep-level investigations with smaller populations. Thus, the study does not seek to make generalisations across a broad study sample but instead seeks to enter the world of significant and central voices with key relationships with ABIs in Greendale police force to understand how knowledge is constructed and shared to influence practice. Using semi-structured interviews, the thesis captures the responses of twenty-one participants across three Creator, Disseminator and User sample groups. The responses have been iteratively analysed using IPA to understand how the sociocultural and historic processes are central to lived experiences of key agents that share their insights into how ABIs are understood and used in practice.

Chapter Five: Theoretical Framework

Chapter five introduces Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice as the study's theoretical framework. Bourdieu's work offers sociological insight into understanding knowledge production in a social setting. It can be used to understand who the producers of knowledge are and how knowledge influences practice in a given social space (Costa, 2006); in this case Greendale police force. Bourdieu (1977) refers to a social space as a field. He argues that the field is a tool that allows the relationships between people in a social space to be understood (Costa, 2006). The field in Bourdieu's terms does not represent a geographically bound space but is instead empirically defined (Iellatchitch *et al.,* 2003) to represent an arena in which people use their respective capitals for self-seeking purposes. The term field can be used to represent a professional arena, an organisation or an institution (Swartz, 2016). According to Bourdieu, what identifies a field from another is the degree of autonomy that the arena holds over another (ibid). In acknowledgement of this, the thesis recognises the field to represent the wider police force. Greendale police force is part of the wider police force but is also separate and different from other police forces in it its location, its demographics and the different challenges it may face. As it does not hold complete autonomy in its decision-making but does have some freedom to make localised decisions,

reference to Greendale throughout the thesis follows Bourdieu (1977) and recognises it as a sub-field of the wider policing field. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) position that each field, or sub-field values particular sorts of resources that are identified as capital. Capital acts as currency to access fields and achieve or subvert social mobility in the fields (Bourdieu, 1986; Walther, 2014). Bourdieu argues that capital is in itself distinct, yet it closely linked and exists in four forms that include economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital (Walther, 2014). Examples of the various capitals can be found in Greendale to represent the salary that one earns representing economic capital; the degree of education or skills that one holds representing cultural capital; status and network connections representing social capital and honour, prestige and recognition, representing symbolic capital. Bourdieu argues that people use their various capitals to advance their positions in their social arena. Bourdieu utilises the analogy of the game to identify the rules of play and the way in which organisational actors perceive they should behave within the field (Bourdieu, 1977). He positions that people draw from their ingrained understanding, habits, perceptions, ways in which they have been socialised through family, friends, education and just who they are, to shape how they interpret the game and use their capitals in the field for self-seeking purposes. Bourdieu (1977) refers to these ingrained ways of behaving, thinking and perceiving as habitus. Thus, theory of practice positions that one's habitus, capitals and understanding of the field shapes their practice. Bourdieu considers practice to evolve because of the two influences; firstly, the social structures on a particular field (structure; macro) where certain rules apply and secondly, of one's habitus (agency; micro) a term that draws together embodied history that manifests through our thinking, feeling, perceiving and behaving (Walter, 2014). Chapter five explores these concepts in greater detail and informs Chapter six, which uses theory of practice to understand key agents in the policing context.

Chapter Six: Findings and Analysis

The findings and analysis are presented in Chapter six. The central focus of this chapter is to respond to the two research questions: -

1. How do key organisational agents interpret and enact the anti-bullying interventions in a UK police force?

2. Who and what factors have a hand in controlling bullying at work and the anti-bullying intervention measures in place to manage this workplace practice?

The findings are analysed using a Bourdieusian lens and the contributions to knowledge that are discussed in the findings and analysis chapter are presented in Chapter seven.

Chapter Seven: Concluding Discussion

Chapter seven is the concluding chapter of the thesis and makes particular reference to study's contributions to research and practice. The chapter places particular emphasis on understanding how the role of structure and agency shapes the interpretation and enactment of strategies aimed at managing and controlling bullying at work. Given that the current research has little to say about how organisational actors make sense and use ABI strategies and given that empirical research evidences a weak correlation between the rise of such strategies and a reduction in bullying at work, the field cannot be sure of the value that current ABIs hold. Thus, this study addresses this gap and is of particular interest to the police force as the participant organisation in which the research is situated and in a wider context, the study is of interest to HR practitioners, unions and other supporting bodies as policy/strategy makers.

Contribution to Knowledge

The thesis presents four new contributions to knowledge to the workplace (anti)bullying field. The first of these contributions focuses on how the language of the field (in this case Greendale sub-field) can promote or negate the value of ABIs once operationalised. In Greendale's case, language is used in gendered and non-gendered ways and is used as an extension of ABI management. Bourdieu (1991) argues that language is a sensitive indicator of a field in that it reflects socio-historically influenced relationships within a given context. Language becomes legitimised as part of the organisation's doxa, or taken-for-granted ways of interacting, so that the small every day taken-for-

granted interactions are influenced by bigger issues such culture, history and social structures (Blommaert, 2015). Bourdieu (1991) argues that recognition or misrecognition of the hidden meanings in language, can be used as symbolic violence and represents an exertion of power in a given social setting. Historically, policing has been recognised as male dominant (Chan and Marel, 2010) and as such, language with masculine and strong connotations has become the dominant legitimised language of Greendale's sub-field. However, language used to describe bullying has taken on a more feminine feel representing the weak victim, while neutral or grey language, demonstrated through words such as mediation is used to convey misunderstood or ineffective messages. Bourdieu's insights are further supported through Acker's (1990, 1992) work on the gendered organisation who argues that organisations are not gender neutral but instead behave in ways that reflect the organisations majority population. The thesis extends Finnborg *et al.,* (2017), Hearn *et al.*, (2015), Salin and Hoel (2013), and Lee's (2002) work on gendered bullying in the police force by considering the role of language in gender discussions. The use of gendered and non-gendered language in ABI management represents a new contribution to the workplace (anti)bullying research field.

The second contribution from the study explores the role of networks in the ABI system. Again, this represents a new contribution to the field and extends current discussions in the workplace bullying literature beyond the group, to the network, as an influential force in maintaining attitudes towards bullying and the ABIs. Of significance is the contribution regarding the role of the hidden network which is predicated upon social relationships and connections and is perceived to hold the most influential power in moderating and maintaining bullying. Thus, the findings suggest that beyond formal mechanisms of control largely positioned in the hands of HR, union and senior policing representatives, the social network is found to be an informal extension of the bullying management system and extends understanding of how knowledge concerning opaque and ambiguously strategies are used and abused in practice.

The third contribution to the workplace (anti)bullying field focuses on two aspects of the current (re)-recruitment strategies in the policing organisation and the impact of this on the ABIs. The findings indicate generational distinctions in a changing workforce demographic that hold a two-fold impact. The first indicates the acceptance of bullying and the negation of the ABIs by a retiring workforce demographic who are re-recruited from police officer roles back into what were traditionally regarded as civilian roles. The second finding focuses on the new generation of worker who rejects the acceptance of bullying and demonstrates a willingness to challenge negative behaviour through formal mechanisms. This indicates generation disparity in attitude towards the ABI strategies and raises questions around the fit of current ABIs with the workforce demographic.

Finally, and importantly, the study also offers new theoretical insights in to the reported gap between ABI policy/strategy construction and implementation. Drawing on the concept of habitus, the study utilises habitus as a new way of understanding how different workplace demographics and policy/ strategy developers create their own understanding of bullying at work and the mechanisms in place to manage it. Bourdieu's (1977) underpinning premise in theory of practice is that organisational agents act in line with their own self-interested agendas. It was from this self-interested position that the study reports that organisational agents placed ABI strategies through a process of construction, deconstruction and reconstruction as they moved from formal written format as documents, policies and strategies to being operationalised in the field. Habitus was found to be an influential force in shaping the behaviours, thoughts and feelings of the organisational community and their understanding of bullying at work and their relationship with the ABI framework. As the workplace (anti)bullying field reports to know very little of what happens to ABIs in given contexts, the concept of habitus offers new theoretical insights in to understanding how ABIs are interpreted and shaped in practice.

Chapter Summary

This thesis seeks to extend current understanding of ABIs. The central focus of this introductory chapter was to present the purpose, research questions and unique aspects of the study. The thesis connects the methodological and theoretical frames to understand lived experience and the limits of it within a policing context, thus attempting to reconcile how structure and agency influences practice. Drawing from a multi-agent perspective, the study gives voice to those that remain quiet in the workplace-bullying field. In doing so, it extends current discussion. To begin these discussions, Chapter two reviews current workplace bullying and ABI literature to understand the limits of the current field, before moving on to Chapter three to situate the discussions within a policing context.

Chapter Two: Introduction to the workplace bullying literature

Current research into workplace bullying intervention strategies has dominantly provided descriptive focus on the role of interventions and what those interventions should look like (Rayner and Lewis, 2011; Sheehan *et al.,* 2018). As discussed in Chapter one, little is currently understood of how organisational actors use and make sense of such interventions. Given that bullying holds complex and subjective traits, understanding and interpreting what constitutes bullying and thus how to deal with it, is problematic. This chapter in conjunction with Chapter three gives insight in to this complex phenomenon. Beginning with the definitional complexities of bullying the chapter progresses to explore the intervention strategy field and further provides perspective to the contextual factors that impact on interpretation and enactment of such practices. The focus in Chapter two provides an overview of the current workplace bullying literature and the intervention strategies developed to manage and control it, while Chapter three situates discussions within a policing context. 'Scholars have argued that in order for bullying to take place, the context must allow bullying to occur' (Escartin, 2016: 157), thus, insight in to the work environment presents the opportunity to understand how the policing environment shapes agents' understanding of bullying and ABI strategies. This is important to both the thesis and the wider field of study, as to date there is limited insight into the role that work environment and human agency has on the impact and use of ABIs and thus, as a field there is a gap in our understanding of whether current interventions are representative of effective or progressive practice.

Bullying at Work

During the past thirty years, an interest in workplace bullying has risen up the public and academic agenda and is now considered an unfortunate and increasing reality in today's organisation (ACAS, 2016; Lee, 2000; Lewis, 2006; Rayner, 1999; Salin, 2003a, Einarsen *et al.*, 2011; Glaso and Notelars, 2012; Nielsen *et al.,* 2010; Salin *et al.,* 2018). Progressing from the playground to the workplace, bullying now is recognised as a wider societal problem that

occurs in a variety of forms and situations and crossing age, gender and race (Porteous, 2002; Salin, 2003b, Salin and Hoel, 2013; Ángeles López-Cabarcos *et al.,* 2017). The impact of such negative behaviour is reported to affect employee job-satisfaction, stress, anger and health (Hershcovis and Barling, 2009; Nielsen *et al.,* 2010; Einarsen, 2010; Salin *et al.,* 2018). From an organisational perspective, workplace bullying is also reported to impact on labour turnover, productivity levels (Salin, *et al.,* 2018) and affect an organisations image and name (Escartin, 2016).

As a consequence of increased competition, outsourcing, downsizing, economic uncertainty and the need to deliver more with less, the workplace and the nature of work has changed (Personnel Today, 2018).   The employer/employee relationship has shifted away from the more traditional collective relationship towards more individualistic forms (Beale and Hoel, 2011). This shift has more clearly evidenced the negative consequences of bullying as lines between tough management and bullying have become blurred (Agervold, 2007). This shift is most strongly evidenced in times of economic uncertainty (Legge, 2008) and in response to these economic constraints, organisations have been accused of using bullying as an additional form of management control (Legge, 2008; Corney, 2008; Hutchinson *et al.,* 2010a; D'Cruz *et al.,* 2010b; Beale and Hoel, 2011) and 'sacrificing, postponing or cancelling…formal systems' to deal with workplace bullying such as 'policy and training programmes' initiatives, at times when their financial resources may be reduced (Einarsen *et al.,* 2019).

Academic Interest in Workplace Bullying
From an academic perspective, international empirical investigations have done much to highlight the scale and complexities of workplace bullying (Coyne *et al.,* 2004; D'Cruz *et al.,* 2018) with scholarship focusing on a number of specific areas of investigation. These areas include the negative consequences of bullying at the organisational and personal levels, (Bjorkqvist *et al.,* 1994; Leymann and Gustafsson, 1996; Mikkelsen and Einarsen, 2002; Niedl, 1996; Nielsen *et al.,* 2010) organisational factors such as the impact of culture and leadership (Einarsen, 2000; Einarsen *et al.,* 2005; Seigne, 1998;

Vartia, 1996) dispositional factors, such as personality traits, and status of the bully and bullied (Coyne *et al.*, 2000, 2004; Matthiesen and Einarsen, 2001; Zapf, 1999) antecedents focusing on precipitating structures in the workplace (Salin, 2003a) and prevalence rates of bullying at work (Einarsen and Skogstad, 1996; Hoel *et al.*, 2001; Leymann, 1996; Salin, 2001; Nielsen *et al.,* 2010; Hogh *et al.,* 2017; Keashley, 2018).

Although acknowledging the workplace bullying field's recognition of the inconsistencies across international research studies into prevalence rates of workplace bullying as a consequence of moderator variables including methodological, cultural and societal differences (Nielsen *et al.,* 2009), studies suggest that between 51% (Bilgel *et al.,* 2006) and 3% (Agervold, 2007) of people report having experienced workplace bullying.

In the UK, figures from the Health and Safety Executive and wider literature suggests that approximately one-fifth of all employees have been targeted by bullying and harassment at work (Goodwin, 2008). Giga *et al's*., (2008) much cited study into bullying notes that during 2007, the cost of bullying to UK industry totalled £13.75 billion, representing 1.5% of the gross domestic product. However, what is universally acknowledge is that all of these figures are mere estimates as many cases of bullying continue to go unreported, often through the fear of reprisal, further attack, or the ordeal of convincing others of the truthfulness of the experience (Farrell, 1997; Luzio-Lockett, 1995; MacCurtain *et al.,* 2017).

Academic Constructs of Workplace Bullying: The Historical Foundations

Despite the changing nature of work and the increased profile, that bullying holds on workplace agendas, bullying and harassment is not a modern-day phenomenon. Empirical studies of workplaces have long evidenced unfair working practices and negative behaviours at work (Brodsky, 1976; Ackroyd, 2000, Einarsen *et al.*, 2011, Beale and Hoel, 2011; Einarsen *et al.,* 2019). The practices themselves, although not uncontested, had no specifically established language for individuals to provide accounts of their experiences.

As such, these experiences have often been presented as an integral part of the social relations at work, collectively contested in well-organised environments, but less so in disorganised environments, where victimisation has been viewed as inevitable and not easily contested (Lee, 2000; Beale and Hoel, 2011). To extend this discussion further, the next section of the chapter considers the underpinning pillars of the workplace bullying field and begins with Carroll Brodsky's seminal work that discusses the relationship between oppressive work environments and workplace bullying.

The Pillars of the Workplace Bullying Field

Brodsky's (1976) seminal book, *The Harassed Worker*, explored the hard-lived experiences of the simple worker situated in a socio-political climate of 1960s/1970s America (Leymann, 1996) and described the abusive experiences from employees at all levels of organisation who felt they had been systematically mistreated by their employers and or, fellow co-workers. The study, dominantly of a psychological nature, explored mistreatment often as subtle actions that had traumatic effect on the health and well-being of those individuals who recalled their powerlessness, limitations or inability to retaliate (Einarsen *et al.,* 2011). Brodsky defined five main forms of harassment at work that included sexual, scapegoating, name-calling, physical abuse and work pressure (ibid) that some forty years later have a wealth of literature that focus on each of these particular categories of what we now recognise as forms of bullying. At the time when it was written, Brodsky's work received limited attention and as such had little influence over the negative work experiences that he wrote about (Leymann, 1996). It was some twenty years later through Heinz Leymann's work into bullying, that Brodsky's work was rediscovered and acknowledged within the bullying field as being ahead of its time in terms of discussing the impact of an oppressive workplace culture that precipitated bullying at work.

During the same period, Spector's (1975) work on workplace aggression also served to shape the foundations of the workplace-bullying field. His work focused on counterproductive workplace behaviours as an emotion-based response to stressful organisational behaviour (Spector, 1975; Keashley and

Harvey, 2005). Emotion has long held a central focus in research and theory into human aggression and violence (Fox *et al.,* 2001:29).   Two parallel positions exist within the field. The first, drawing from experimental and social psychology positions that negative behaviour occurs 'in response to' frustrations arising through 'experienced injustice' (Fox *et al.,* 2001:292) from situational or environmental conditions (Dollard *et al.,* 1939; Greenberg, 1990; Starlicki *et al.,* 1999; Anderson and Bushman, 2002). While the second perspective presented in organisational research positions 'emotion central to counterproductive behaviour' (Spector *et al.,* 2005:29). Extending this position, Neuman and Baron (1997, 2005) suggest that there is a distinction in how we understand aggression as either affective or instrumental and these perspectives have been influential in shaping the bullying fields' understanding of the intentional/unintentional dimension to the act of bullying. Einarsen *et al.,* (2003) position that bullying may occur through a deliberate act of intentional harm doing, or unintentional reckless disregard while pursuing other goals. Affective aggression is linked to negative emotion while this link is absent with instrumental aggression (Neuman and Baron, 1997). Affective aggression is negatively responsive and the result of provocation with the central aim to cause physical or psychological injury to the recipient (Spector *et al.,* 2005) While, instrumental aggression, although negative for the recipient of such actions, is positive for the perpetrator as it provides a pathway to 'power, perks, assignments, bonuses, promotion and reputation' (ibid:29).

Allport's (1954) *Nature of Prejudice*, although not directly discussing bullying per se, has helped to understand the link between group behaviour and bullying. His work explores the concepts of in-group and out-group behaviour and highlights the significance of group loyalty and affiliation to those that share similar beliefs and life experiences through macro-examples such as religion, family, race, education and at the micro-level within an organisational context. His work is significant in the sense that it helps to underpin and understand later work into workplace bullying through a cultural and behavioural perspective that explores group affiliation for reasons of self-enhancement, self-protection and social identity (ibid).

By the 1980s the work of these early pioneers had done much to ignite academic interest in to workplace bullying. Scholarly investigation had spread into the Nordic countries dominantly through the works of Leymann, (1990) and by the mid-1990s it had progressed into other European countries (Zapf and Einarsen, 2003) including the UK through the work of Andrea Adams (Rayner and Cooper, 1997) to become a hot 'research topic of the 1990s' and onwards (Hoel *et al.*, 1999:4 cited in Einarsen *et al.,* 2011). Despite advancing the field, the different theoretical backgrounds and paradigms used by researchers from different countries and traditions has presented the current field with a challenge, given that there is uncertainty that the same construct of workplace bullying has been used in studies thus presenting difficulty in drawing research findings together (Liefooghe and MacKenzie Davey, 2001; Salin, 2001).

Constructing an identity: Bullying in the Workplace

To go some way to respond to this challenge, much of the work of the current workplace-bullying field has grappled with developing an understanding of bullying, challenged by the complexities of the opaque and subjective nature of the phenomenon. Today, what do we mean by bullying is central to many of the field discussions (Crawford, 1997; Nielsen *et al.,* 2010). The most commonly cited definition in the academic literature is that from Einarsen *et al.*, (2001:15) which suggests that,

> *"Bullying at work means 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."*

Definitional Issues

In relation to the definition provided here, there are numerous issues that should not be ignored. Firstly, it is important to note that the reference to 'period of time' suggests a persistent pattern of behaviour (Branch *et al.,* 2013) and places a 'one-off clash' outside the boundaries of bullying (Hoel and Cooper 2001; Saunders *et al.*, 2007). Yet, significant one-off events, and or, single incidents carried out by the same parties to one or multiple recipients, equally present an on-going threat, leaving such examples the subject of ongoing debate within the workplace bullying field (Caponecchia and Wayatt, 2009; Branch *et al.,* 2013). Secondly, Einarsen *et al.*, (2011) refer to negative treatment which is largely assumed to be significant and unreasonable, as opposed to trivial behaviour (Saunders *et al.,* 2007) yet who identifies what is significant and trivial as each recipient has their own perception of their experience, which equally remains unclarified in the definition. The final, commonly agreed definitional element refers to targets who have difficulty defending themselves in the bullying situation largely due to an imbalance of power between the parties involved. The definition holds that bullying between parties who have equal power cannot be labelled as such (Einarsen *et al.*, 2011; Hoel and Cooper 2001; Rayner *et al.*, 2002). What is not considered here is that a target's power may be diminished as a result of formal or informal power structures at work (Branch *et al.,* 2007) and/or as a consequence of being worn down by a perpetrator's continued negative actions, making it difficult for the target to defend themselves (Einarsen, 2000). Furthermore, the perception of what constitutes bullying can vary substantially and continues to be challenged given the evolving nature of bullying through new forms of delivery such as cyberbullying (Agervold, 2007; Privitera and Campbell, 2009).

Yet despite acknowledging Einarsen *et al.*,'s attempt to label and identify what bullying is, Fevre *et al.*, (2010:75) and Rayner (1997) note the 'constant tension' in establishing a definition that appropriately reflects the complex nature of the phenomenon across numerous cultural and behavioural contexts yet retains acknowledgement of the original academic work in the area. To exemplify this challenge, Crawshaw's (2009) work examining the definitional complexities of bullying details the multiple terms used to describe it and in

doing so gives insight into the expansive nature of the research being undertaken in the field. The use of terms used by the field to broadly describe what is generally the same phenomenon include,

> 'abuse, abusiveness, aggression, bullying, bullying/mobbing, counterproductive workplace behavior, emotional abuse, emotional harassment, employee emotional abuse, generalized workplace abuse, harassment, hostile workplace behavior, maltreatment, mistreatment, mobbing, nonphysical aggression, nonsexual harassment, non–status-based harassment, psychological abuse, psychological aggression, psychological harassment, psychological terror, scapegoating, status-blind bullying, status-conscious bullying, unlawful bullying, vexatious behavior, workplace abuse, workplace aggression, workplace harassment, workplace hostility, workplace incivility, workplace psychological violence' (Crawshaw, 2009:264).

Fox and Stallworth (2009) and Yamada *et al.,* (2018) regard this proliferation of definitions as a major barrier with the absence of a shared descriptive language impeding any collaboration between researchers, practitioners, legislators and those that seek positive solutions to bullying. The field is split here. Those that share sympathy with Fox and Stallworth (2009) and Yamada *et al.,* (2018) see the field's longstanding fascination with the definitional complexities unnecessarily stifling to the progression of field, while others consider that the small, yet distinct differences as significant in progressing our understanding of bullying and how to respond to it.

To exemplify this latter and important perspective, the term 'mobbing' is preferred, particularly amongst European studies to distinguish a form of group behaviour, instead of the preferred UK term, 'bullying' that implies 'individual acts' of physical aggression (Davenport *et al.,* 2002:27). Workplace mobbing is understood as a malicious attempt to force a person out of the workplace through psychological terror, unjustified accusations, humiliation, general harassment and emotional abuse (Davenport *et al.,* 2002; Leymann, 1996; Westhues, 2002). Those targeted include co-workers and managers or

supervisors as well as subordinates (Davenport *et al*., 2002; Einarsen *et al*., 2003; Lewis, 2003; Einarsen, *et al.,* 2019). Use of the term 'mobbing' was shaped from the English word mob and was originally used to define aggressive animal behaviour (Munthe and Roland, 1989). Borrowed from the Swedish translation of Lorenz's1968 book titled, *On Aggression*, Heinmann (1972 cited in Einarsen *et al.,* 2011) further used the term mobbing to explain how a group of school children victimised individuals within their peer group. This was further adopted by Leymann and Gustaffson (1996) to explain the experience of organisational members who experienced continuous negative treatment at work and attributed such behaviour to the experience of schoolyard bullying (Einarsen *et al.,* 2011). Their use of the term described behaviours that included 'harassing, ganging up on someone or psychologically terrorizing others' (Leymann, 1986:165). Leymann (1990) saw mobbing as distinctively different from other terms that were used to describe destructive behaviours at work. In his eyes, mobbing represented 'hostile and unethical communications, which were directed in a systematic way by one or more individuals mainly towards one individual who' was then 'pushed into a helpless and defenceless position' (Leymann, 1996: 168). Furthermore, he saw it as reflecting extreme and frequent conflict over significant periods of time, (minimum of once per week and occurring over a six-month period or even longer), with the rate of persistence being significant, as this acted as a mechanism to reduce the targets ability to cope (Leymann, 1990). Leymann saw workplace mobbing as a process that began as an initial incident (Leymann, 1990, 1996), that was facilitated by poor working environments and heightened by disinterested mangers who often adopted a passive stance. In addition, managers often heightened the experience of mobbing as they often attributed blame to the target, rather than considering environmental factors which Leymann (1990:121) perceived as a further 'violation of justice' and 'administrative punishment' (Leymann, 1996:172) with the target being considered as the party at fault.

Leymann's (1996) work evidenced in, *The Content and Development of Mobbing at Work*, presents bullying as descriptively limited and closely associated with overtly aggressive behaviours that are evidenced amongst children (Einarsen *et al.*, 2003). In contrast, Leymann recognised mobbing as

a term that reflected sophisticated, subtle, non-physical actions that often resulted in the target experiencing systematic abuse that presented socio-psychosomatic impact on the target (Einarsen *et al.*, 2003; Einarsen *et al.,* 2011).

Target or Victim of Bullying at Work?

To add to the complexities that surrounds bullying, how those on the receiving end of bullying are also understood through two labels. The terms victim and target are both used to describe individuals who have experienced bullying at work. Earlier works have focused on the term victim, while latterly, the workplace bullying field has acknowledged the limitation of such term and have instead utilised the term target. This shift in the term towards the more positively perceived 'target' can perhaps be understood by labelling theory through the work of Mead (1934); Becker (1963). With its origins in Durkheim's (1897) book; *Suicide*, labelling theory posits that labels that are often attributed to individuals as a result of the behaviours and actions that they portray (Sennett, 2006). Mead (1934) argues that one builds a subjective interpretation of the self it is socially constructed and reconstructed through the social relationships that individual hold with their communities. However, self is influenced by how others see the individual and if certain actions are deemed to fail to conform to the norm then the actor demonstrating these unacceptable actions are labelled as deviant (Mitchell and Ambrose, 2007). Deviance from the sociological perspective is not concerned with moral wrongs but is instead concerned with labelling the behaviour that is condemned by the society in which the deviant behaviour it is demonstrated (Rainwater, 2011). The label in this sense serves as a form of social stigma (Yang *et al.,* 2007).

The Complexities of Understanding Workplace Bullying

Translating this multi-construed understanding of bullying from theoretic discussion into the practical world, employers and employees are also challenged by their understanding of bullying, thus making the distinction between what constitutes bullying from tough forms of management somewhat blurred (Crawshaw, 2009). From a research and practitioner perspective no simple, nationally or internationally agreed definition of bullying exists. In the

UK, there is also no legal definition of workplace bullying. Despite this absence, employers have a duty of care for all their employees. Those experiencing physical or emotional abuse at the hands of workplace bullies fall under this duty of care. Legal attempts to provide support through the Dignity at Work Act has repeatedly failed to pass through British Parliament, despite this, employers still hold welfare responsibilities under the Health and Safety at Work Act 174 and through the Equality Act 2010 (ACAS, 2018). Although the Health and Safety Act presents a more obvious guide to employee welfare, the Equality Act provides legal recourse for employees and employers to deal with harassment, particularly for those with protected characteristics such as race, sexual orientation, disability, gender, age, disability, gender reassignment, religion or belief, marriage and civil partnership and pregnancy and maternity. Those seeking recourse for harassment outside of equality reasons may do so through the Protection from Harassment Act 1997 (ACAS, 2018). However, it is more complicated for employers and employees seeking recourse on grounds of bullying, as currently no specific legislation that particularly focuses on bullying exists in the UK.

However, in response organisations often develop some form of organisational and people protection policy or strategy, and often incorporate their own definitions of bullying and, or, harassment into their own organisational policies or strategies (Rayner and Lewis, 2011; Einarsen, *et al.*, 2019). Many utilise common reference points such as ACAS (2016:5) who identify bullying as,

> 'offensive, intimidating, malicious or insulting behaviour, an abuse or misuse of power through means that undermine, humiliate, denigrate or injure the person being bullied. The Health and Safety Executive emphasises this is a pattern of behaviour, rather than isolated instances, happening 'repeatedly and persistently over time.'

Or, as formal policies are often labelled as bullying and harassment policies, workplaces rely on using a definition of harassment that holds different definitional constituents and refers to such behaviour as,

> 'unwanted conduct relating to a protected characteristic that has
> the purpose of violating a person's dignity or creating an

intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment for that person. The relevant protected characteristics are: age, disability, gender reassignment, race, religion or belief, sex and sexual orientation. A one-off incident can amount to harassment' (ACAS, 2018:1).

The definition differences here are that those with protected characteristics as cited in ACAS (2018:1), are specifically identified and one-off incidents are regarded as a sufficient call for action. However, for those seeking recourse for their negative experience of bullying it is far more complicated; by the specific act itself and the frequency, or effect that it has on the individual (Beswick *et al.,* 2004; Einarsen and Raknes, 1997; Einarsen and Skogstad, 1996; Leymann, 1996; Magely *et al.,* 1999; Neuberger, 1999; Rayner, 1999; Sheehan *et al.*, 1999; Vartia, 1996; Zapf, 1999). Workplace bullying further represents a power imbalance and is contextual, reflecting individual, group or organisational dynamics (Beswick *et al.*, 2004; Heames and Harvey, 2006; Magely *et al.*, 1999; Rayner, 1999; Salin, 2003a).

Impact of Workplace Bullying

Despite the complexities of workplace bullying, failure to effectively manage the problem has serious consequences. There is much documented of the physical, emotional, social and psychological impact that bullying has on those exposed to it, whether directly as a target, or as a bystander working within a climate of fear, or those falsely accused of the act (Einarsen and Mikkelsen, 2003). Often driven by economic or legal factors, many organisations have introduced ABIs and intervention procedures in an attempt to manage the issue (Salin, 2009; Einarsen, *et al.,* 2019). There is a business case to be made for effective ABIs (Samnanai *et al.,* 2014). The associated organisational costs of bullying through loss of productivity (Mathiesen *et al.,* 2008), high levels of employee turnover (Houshmand *et al.,* 2012), absenteeism/ presenteeism (Rodriguez-Munoz *et al.,* 2009), workers compensation, disability insurance claims and legal liability, positions that the logical employer response is to prevent bullying at work (Hoel *et al.,* 2009).

Anti-Bullying Intervention Strategies: Policy

Most obvious forms of organisational interventions usually begin with a policy. The CIPD (2005a) and CMI (2008) notes that approximately 80% of organisations own anti-bullying policies. Their ownership often establishes two things; 'the first is as a guiding statement of intent' (Baron and Kreps, 1999; Tehrani, 2001; Rayner and Lewis, 2011:327; Einarsen, *et al.,* 2019) that establishes stakeholder boundaries by describing and identifying the behaviours that the organisation recognises as bullying. The second purpose provides informal and formal roadmaps for organisational agents to follow if they are involved in a case of bullying at work (Richards and Daley, 2003; Rayner and Lewis, 2008). Richards and Davey (2003) offer that these roadmaps should include the organisational position on dealing with bullying; include a definition of bullying, guidance on the complaints process and contact details for those responsible with dealing with concerns or complaints on behalf of the organisation. Their work stops short in suggesting that organisations should enact or take heed of their advice. Salin's (2008) work is significant to that end as it provides insight into anti-bullying policies and is the first to investigate policy content. Workplace bullying literature that discusses effective policy implementation is sparse. Although the research field can evidence some advances into successful initiatives[3] current research has less to say about the challenges involved in managing improvement programmes of this nature. Hence, they offer limited insights into the difficulties associated with securing progressive practices in respect of workplace bullying (Beirne and Hunter, 2013). Salin's (2008) research captures the views of 400 Finnish public administrators on anti-bullying policies and further interventions used by their employers and presents the results of a content analysis of policies used by the respondents' organisations. Salin's findings suggested that organisational policies often lack detail with policy content often copied and

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[3] Pate and Beaumont's (2010) public sector case study analysis; Heames and Harvey's (2006) cross-level analysis approach to managing bullying; Rayner and McIvor's, (2008) call for the shift away from reactive and compliance driven initiatives towards more positive working environments; Schwickerath and Zapf's (2011) improvement to quality of life of bullying victims; Stagg, Sheridan, Jones and Speroni's (2011) study exploring resilience and confidence in dealing with bullying situations; Meloni and Austin (2011) empowerment and confidence in dealing with cases of bullying and Vartia and Tehrani (2012) decrease in bullying and a raising of awareness of unacceptable behaviours.

pasted from other organisations, rather than being specifically crafted to fit organisational objectives, while processes for dealing with bullying were reactive and demonstrated a low commitment to dealing with the problem. HR practitioners, often identified as the custodians of such policies, were also found to adopt counterproductive measures in sending the targets of bullying back to managers to deal with, when managers were often the perpetrators in the first place (Hoel *et al.,* 2002; Einarsen *et al.,* 2019).

The problems here are three-fold. Those with knowledge of policy formulation and implementation are all too familiar with its shortcomings even if the highest level of consideration has gone in to the formulation and strategisation of the policy and implementation process itself (Ferris, 2004). What connects the fields of strategy and policy implementation is a consensus agreement that strategies or policy formulation are reconstructed and reshaped in action (Hill, 2013; 2014) presenting an implementation gap achieved through a 'social, contextual, political and economic' frame (Birkland, 2014:4). Hood's (1976) work on problematisation of the implementation administrative process is predicated upon control and compliance strategies that hold normative assumptions concerning the implementation gap. Posited within those assumptions are that policy should be clear and should equally hold clearly constructed boundaries that identify when actions have resulted in non-compliance (Hill and Varone, 2014; Hill, 1997). The problems here is that policies are often unique to the organisation in which they are situated and given that policy itself can be periodically re-evaluated and rewritten this presents no systematic way, or consistent comparison either within singular or multiple contexts to rate their effectiveness (Rayner and McIvor, 2008; Rayner and Lewis, 2011; Salin, 2009). Organisations often mimic or take a half-hearted approach to adopting and implementing initiatives with primary concerns driven by fear of litigation and or to seek organisational legitimacy by serving an external audience, by adopting structures and processes that serve this aim (Daft, 2010; Walker *et al.,* 2010). This leads the field to question the genuineness of employers' actions which appear self-serving and divorced from any genuine promotion of dignity at work (Beale and Hoel, 2011) and further raises concerns over any meaningful progression towards initiatives

that addresses what creates, fosters and perpetuates workplace bullying (Ragins and Dutton, 2007; Graves, 2002).

What is the Problem with Policy?

Academic interest in anti-bullying strategy identifies a lack of organisational engagement with policy and a resulting gap in knowledge regarding policy and policy implementation (Rayner and McIvor, 2008; Sheehan *et al.,* 2018). Despite broad claims of a greater use of policy to help to tackle this workplace issue, research identifies an increasing level of bullying cases being reported (Pate and Beaumont, 2010; Woodrow and Guest, 2017; ACAS, 2018). What is currently unclear is whether greater use of policy has encouraged wider reporting of bullying, or whether policy implementation is having limited impact in reducing levels of bullying at work. The current workplace bullying field is unable to provide any clarification on this point.

Taking a Holistic Approach

Beyond the formal use of organisational policies, effective anti-bullying ownership calls for a more holistic and cohesive strategy requiring multiple interventions to work together (Saam, 2010). These interventions are identified as 'the efforts of agents acting independently of the disputants (bully or target) who influence the development of the interaction' (Saam, 2010:53). In support of this multi-level approach, Bowen and Ostroff (2004) and Einarsen *et al.,* (2019) position that although policy plays a necessary role, in isolation they regard it as insufficient to prevent or reduce workplace bullying. In agreement, Ferris (2004:39) suggests that the most progressive of organisations see bullying as a collective responsibility and see the resolution to such a problem achieved through a series of processes that include' coaching for the bully, counselling, performance management and representative training.' However, in contradiction to this approach, the longstanding and well-populated HR performance literature indicates that well-managed interventions are more effective than the presence of multiple strategies or processes to deal with workplace issues (Salin, *et al.,* 2018). Yet Sheehan *et al.,* (2018) point out that studies investigating such issues are sparse with the exception of Guest and Conway, (2011); Khilji and Wang, (2006) and Wright and Nishii, (2013). In

many respects, this identifies a problem with ABI management; those tasked with implementing such strategies are not always sure of what constitutes bullying and remain unclear about what methods and processes are best used to manage it (Sheehan *et al.,* 2018). A dominant and recurring theme within the workplace bullying literature, is that initiatives in general are often 'imposed' from above in order to meet legislative objectives (Rayner and McIvor, 2008; Salin, 2003), or as a symbolic demonstration of fair treatment of an organisations human resources (Beale and Hoel, 2011), instead of considering the organisational perspective of how and why bullying occurs (McKeown *et al.,* 2009) and matching strategies to respond to this.

Scholars with an interest in ABI strategies have predominantly focused their attention in two areas. The first approach takes an interest in reviewing the role, purpose and value of policy as an intervention strategy (Salin, 2008; Rayner and Lewis, 2011 cited in Einarsen *et al.,* 2011; Branch, *et al.,* 2013) and the second focuses on describing or classifying the forms that interventions take (Saam, 2010; Cowan, 2011; Hodgkins and MacCurtain, 2014). As part of this classification approach, Vartia and Leke (2011) locate workplace ABI strategies into three categories.

The first category are primary interventions. These are usually in policy form and are proactive measures that focus on limiting the risk of bullying occurring in the first place (Rayner and Lewis, 2008; Einarsen, *et al.,* 2019). The next category are secondary interventions that contain both reactive and proactive elements and include initiatives such as mediation and anti-bullying training awareness programmes. The purpose of this level of ABIs is to promote positive work environments by changing attitudes and behaviours. The third category is reactive and is restorative in nature aiming to reduce further damaging consequences from the impact of bullying and exist in such forms as employee well-being programmes, including back to work initiatives (Vartia and Leke, 2011). Engagement with the full three-level range of ABI strategies assumes that managers are upskilled to identify and deal with inappropriate behaviour; leaders can act as positive role models, people are aware of what good behaviour looks like and organisational cultures are conductive to

promote the 'happy and productive workplace' (ACAS, 2016:8). However, this assumption is influenced by gender. Although research acknowledges that targets and perpetrators are evident across gender groups, those responsible for managing such conflict are reported to prefer different courses of reparative action. To explain further, Saam (2010) based on her experience of fieldwork and clinical practice, notes that the gender of the person responsible for dealing with a case of bullying influences case outcomes. The findings from her work report that females case managers are most likely to favour reconciliatory intervention measures, whereas males case managers are more likely to adopt avoidance tactics to deal with workplace bullying.

Secondary Interventions

Vartia and Leke's (2011) secondary category of ABIs include both reactive and proactive measures. They include mediation which is regarded as a reactive process that comes into effect once bullying has occurred and anti-bullying training awareness programmes, which are proactive with the purpose of raising awareness and preventing episodes of bullying occurring in the first place (Saam, 2010). The purpose of secondary level ABIs is to promote positive work environments by changing attitudes and behaviours (Vartia and Leke, 2011).

Mediation as an Intervention Strategy

Much of the underpinning work in intervention research derives from conflict escalation research. As bullying is conceived as an escalated form of conflict (Zapf and Gross, 2001) different interventions strategies are deemed to be effective at different points in the escalation process (Saam, 2010). Drawing from models of conflict escalation,[4] appropriate interventions are recommended at various stages of what is regarded as discrete, yet related stages in the escalation process (Glasl, 1982; Saam, 2010). What connects each of the conflict escalation models is the use of mediation as a recommended course of action (Saam, 2010). Recommended strategies for mediation include the use of a supervisor, an occupational welfare worker, or

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[4] Glasl (1982) model of conflict escalation, Fisher and Keashley (1990) four stage conflict resolution model,Hubert (2003) five stage conflict model.

an external mediator (Hubert, 2003). Despite these recommendations, the appropriateness of mediation as an appropriate intervention strategy has been brought into question.

What is the Problem with Mediation as an Anti-Bullying Intervention?

Criticisms of the mediation process have focused on a number of issues. The first is that the process of mediation is shrouded in confidentiality, thus keeping the negative acts and wrongdoings of the perpetrator(s) free from public scrutiny. Keashly and Nowell, (2011) and Rayner, (1999) suggest that confidentiality works against public interest as it allows systematic patterns of negative behaviour associated with individuals, departments or organisations to remain hidden. Furthermore, as mediation is focused on what happened next, so is present and future focused, it fails to address past behaviours leaving the target dissatisfied that their negative experience remains unpunished with justice unserved (Saam, 2010). Mediation assumes that the parties involved in the process are capable of negotiating with each. Hubert (2003) and Ferris (2004) note that positive progress may be prohibited by an inexperienced mediator and, or a power differential between the target and perpetrator. While the process itself is open to failure if it is applied at too late in the bullying process, or if there is no follow up stage included in the intervention, while focusing too much on a reconciliatory strategy, leaves perpetrators free to act again and targets of such negative action easy prey for further mistreatment (Aquino,2000). Thus, Keashly and Nowell (2003) posit that given that conflict is very different from workplace bullying and that the models that underpin intervention strategies are derivatives of conflict research, the use of mediation as a workplace bullying strategy may not only be inappropriate but may actually lead to more harm than good.

Training Programmes as a Secondary Intervention Strategy

Taking a more proactive approach, anti-bullying awareness training programmes are also used as a secondary level intervention strategy (Sheehan *et al.,* 2018). These interventions have emerged with two-way delivery method; face to face and through computerised training programmes.

The intended aim of such initiatives is to 'expose potential targets and bystanders to the knowledge and skills that will assist them to respond, manage and de-escalate situations involving bullying' (Branch *et al.,* 2012:290). The underpinning theory behind this strategy is drawn from positive psychology, the premise of which suggests that 'the application of positive oriented human resource strengths and psychological capacities…can be measured, developed, and effectively managed for performance improvement in today's workplace' (Luthans *et al.,* 2008:209). The aim behind such an approach is to develop an organisations human resource so that they might become psychologically robust to deal with bullying at work. To do this, the human resource is encouraged to develop its psychological capital (Youssef and Luthans, 2007) and training is considered to be one of the mechanisms through which this can be achieved (Bonnano, 2005). As Namie (2008) found that co-workers were often as unhelpful as employers in bullying scenarios, training should focus on changing the social architecture of bullying by influencing the participant roles beyond victim and perpetrator to include the broader social structures through which bullying is permitted (Salmivalli, *et al*., 1996). Thus, the aim of this approach is to address two central issues. It first attempts to change the environment in which bullying is permitted and accepted. Furthermore, it aims to address the negative memory of the individual and the wider organisational membership that in a time of need, no-one cared (Terasahjo and Salmivalli, 2003).

The Positive Outcomes: Training Awareness Intervention Programmes

Sheehan *et al.,* (2018:29) have found that the 'incidence of training, rather than the resourcing of, or, time spent on training was a strong moderator' of bullying behaviour and anti-bullying awareness. They note that this was most effective if focused in stages that include prevention, identification and recommended practice within the organisational context.

What is wrong with Training Awareness Programmes?

Given the sparse nature of ABI research in the workplace bullying field, (Sheehan *et al.,* 2018) the more developed research field of school bullying is

able to provide some insights into the limitations of training-based interventions. Ttofi and Farrington (2011) are critical of such strategies for numerous reasons. They posit that training only works if, it encompasses the whole environmental demographic and is used in conjunction with other measures that actually deliver what they intend to do. Furthermore, they suggest that those responsible for the delivery of training are best supported by expert practitioners such as psychologists, who are able to offer behavioural insights into the process (Ttofi and Farrington, 2011). The school approach appears to reflect a multi-level strategy discussed earlier in the chapter and findings suggest that in isolation training has limited impact on the reduction of bullying behaviours.

Tertiary Interventions

The third category identified by Vartia and Leke, (2011) is the tertiary level. Tertiary level interventions are reactive and restorative focused with the central aim of reducing further damage. Tertiary interventions exist in multiple forms and include back to work initiatives (ibid) often offered through occupational health or HR teams. Much of the underpinning theory supporting such interventions is once again supported by positive psychology. The aim is to develop the human resources resilience capacity in line with the earlier discussed psychological capital theories but are also influenced by economic drivers. However, Personnel Today (2018) reference some challenges here for building workforce resilience. They reference the First Care Report (2017) which reflects a changing society. The report shows an increase in employee absenteeism that currently costs the UK economy around £18 billion pounds per year. The report cites a number of contributory factors. The first is an increase in employee mental health problems. The second is related to an ageing workforce who have a greater health associated issues. The third relates to an increasing number of part-time workers who present a challenge to monitor and manage absence and finally, the report cites the attitude of Millennials who are reported to place greater emphasis on independence and flexibility, which leads to an increase in labour turnover after one year of employment.

However, what is missing from all of the recommended organisational ABI strategies is the recognition that not all bullied individuals need or want to raise a formal complaint (Saam, 2010). Furthermore, Lutgen-Sandvik *et al.*, (2007) note that the targets of such negative attention do not always consider that they are the recipients of bullying even when their experience meets the operational definition criteria of being bullied. Therefore, she suggests that organisations should strive to develop an individual's sensemaking so that they may be more aware of what constitutes bullying at work (Lutgen-Sandvik, 2008).

In their exploration of current ABIs, Vartia and Leke (2011) raise questions regarding the method and implementation of initiatives and ask are the measurements wrong, or have we failed to implement them effectively? The reality may lie to some degree with neither of these factors but may be more to do with how organisations and individuals that work within them interpret and enact these initiatives in response to other organisational influences. The root causes of bullying are multiple and are reported to be found in the organisational attributes such as, performance expectations, hierarchical structure, reciprocity of trust and loyalty. It can further be attributed to a lack of role clarity, collaborative, responsive, transparent and equitable decision-making and reporting processes, timeliness in responding to employee concerns and personal accountability for destructive interpersonal conduct (Matthiesen and Einarsen, 2015). To consider how workplace bullying is understood in a policing context, Chapter three extends discussions into this area.

Chapter Three: Bullying and the Policing Environment

Chapter two discusses organisational responses to workplace bullying. Responses have included ignoring the problem, disbelieving the target, siding with the bully and punishing those for speaking out against such negative behaviour, towards more formal intervention strategies such as the use of policies and mediation as an anti-bullying management strategy (Vartia and Leke, 2011). Studies exploring ABIs in the UK police force are currently absent from the workplace bullying literature. Instead studies investigating workplace bullying in UK (see Rayner, 1999; Hoel and Cooper, 2001; Lynch, 2002; Miller and Rayner, 2012; Hesketh, *et al.,* 2015) and international police forces (see Nuutinen *et al.,* 1999; Tuckey *et al.,* 2009; Bond *et al.,* 2010) have focused on the phenomenon of bullying, paying much less attention to organisational responses to bullying through intervention strategies. Much like studies across a broad spectrum of industries, the public sector, of which the police force is part, has largely focused on the role of policy and the strengths and weaknesses of such an approach (Chappelle and Di Martino, 2006; Neuman and Baron, 2003; Di Martino *et al.,* 2003; Salin, 2009; Hutchinson and Eveline, 2010).

Although there is limited insight of ABIs in the policing context, research has identified the need for such interventions given that policing organisations have the potential to incur high levels of workplace bullying which in turn may negatively impact on the delivery of policing services to the community (Lynch, 2002). Police officers have high risk jobs from a physical and psychological perspective (Mayhew and Chappelle, 2007) and with the increasing demands of a new policing landscape (Millie, 2014) find themselves with increasing levels of stress (Gershon *et al.,* 2009; Robertson and Cooper, 2011) and higher than average levels of workplace bullying (Hesketh *et al.,* 2015). These factors along with cultural constraints make police organisations susceptible to bullying at work. Environmental factors such as restructuring, organisational change, role insecurity and work intensification all contribute to a negative

workplace climate that is more susceptible to workplace bullying. Strategies aimed at managing and controlling such negative practices are reported to work if the workplace culture promotes a sense of shared responsibility and egalitarian practices, something which is reported to be lacking in a largely male dominant police force.

The discussions in this chapter in conjunction with Chapter two focus on presenting an overview of the major debates that have emerged in the workplace bullying field over the past four decades. Of particular interest are ABI strategies used to control and manage the negative practice. The significance of the chapters is that they present the scope of the current literature field which largely leaves discussions on understanding how ABI strategies are used and understood in organisational settings and more importantly how they are utilised and enacted in the policing environment, under explored. The chapter begins by considering existing studies regarding bullying in the policing context. As the chapter progresses it considers the impact of policing culture, austerity and target-orientated frameworks and workplace bullying. The concluding sections of the chapter explores personality traits and gender and the relationship between these traits and bullying at work.

Bullying and The Police Force

A number of studies investigating bullying in the police force have done so within UK Hoel and Cooper, (2001); Lynch (2002); Miller and Rayner (2012); Rayner, (1999) and international contexts Nuutinen *et al.,* (1999); Bond and Tuckey, (2010); Tuckey *et al.,* (2009). The common themes that have emerged from these studies are that bullying is predominantly experienced as part of policing culture (Lynch, 2002; Miller and Rayner, 2012; Tuckey *et al.,* 2012; McKay, 2014; Beckley, 2014; Workman-Stark, 2017) most regularly evidenced through the supervisor and subordinate relationship (Hoel and Cooper, 2001; Hodson *et al.,* 2006; Roscigno, *et al.,* 2009; Lutgen-Sandvik, and McDermott, 2011; Zapf *et al.,* 2011; Mardanov and Cherry, 2018). Policing organisations are identified as having distinctive hierarchical structures, strict codes of discipline, authoritarian management styles and a strong emphasis on role and

rank (Tuckey *et al.,* 2009). Mikkelsen and Einarsen (2001) and Salin (2003b) note that it is these distinctive characteristics of policing that identify it as a high-risk occupation for exposure to bullying at work.

Policing is largely male dominant, valuing power and status (Tuckey *et al.,* 2009). This is evidenced through rank and file which has held a longstanding association with the shaping of everyday decisions and practice (Loftus, 2010; Johnson and Vaughn, 2016; Davis, 2018; Davis and Bailey, 2018). Thus, the hierarchical nature of policing creates a pecking order through which bullying can be perpetrated and serves a social purpose through which social order and power can be maintained (Phillips, 2003; Paice *et al.,* 2004; Islam and Zyphur, 2009). Tuckey *et al.,* (2009) suggest that when bullying holds a social purpose within an organisational context, the reported prevalence rates of bullying are assumed to be lower than in other organisations were bullying is not so readily accepted as a form of discipline or norm. However, the assumption that bullying with social purpose results in lower prevalence rates is challenged once translated within the policing context. Exemplifying this position is Hoel and Cooper's (2000) study that engages 5288 respondents to explore the prevalence rates of bullying across 70 organisations. Although somewhat dated, their study is one of the largest undertaken. Hoel and Cooper found that policing reported higher rates of bullying (12.1%) than the average rates (10.6%) evidenced in the study. Furthermore, they found that 81% of reported cases of bullying in the police force cited those with supervisory and managerial responsibilities as the perpetrators of bullying at work, which is again higher than the 74.7% rate reported across the rest of the sample group. Rayner's (2000) survey of UK police support staff also sheds light on this issue. Her study found that managers or police officers were the most likely perpetrators in 88% of the reported cases of bullying with 91% of the respondents reporting that they thought bullies could get away with it and, with 30% reporting that bullying had lasted for over three years or more (Lynch, 2002). Of further concern, was that 85% of those declaring that they were currently experiencing bullying, with 30% of the sample indicating that they had been the target of bullying for over three years (Rayner, 2000). Worryingly, 80% of those that had experienced bullying claimed that management were

aware of previous bullying behaviour by their perpetrator, suggesting that bullying may have become part of accepted culture in UK police organisations (Lynch, 2002). Biggs and Brough (2018) argue that it is this strong organisational culture that permits bullying behaviour to go on largely unchallenged.

For those entering the police service, finding themselves potential targets of supervisory bullying potentially challenges their role schema of policing. To explain role schema further, Neale and Griffin (2006) explain that individuals often enter the workplace with a preconceived understanding of how they should typically behave in their role and in broader society. In policing, role assumptions may be focused around external danger, linked to crime fighting and a hostile public (Heidensohn, 1992; Newburn and Reiner, 2012).

> 'In reality the exact nature and scope of policing may be beyond the cops and robbers model depicted through policing culture and popular imagination and for most part is unrelated to law enforcement and criminal detection but is instead more accurately depicted as a mix of crime control, social service and order maintenance functions' (Millie, 2014:52).

Noting the realities and complex nature of policing it is not unexpected for serving police officers to encounter difficult and harassing situations as part of duties and responsibilities. What is perhaps unexpected and challenges the often-unwritten rule of group solidarity in policing (Brough *et al.,* 2016), is to realise that this form of negative and hostile behaviour may come from supervisors and co-workers (Heidensohn, 1992; Hoel and Cooper, 2001; Phillips, 2003; Paice *et al.,* 2004; Lopez *et al.,* 2006; Islam and Zyphur, 2009; Roscigno *et al.,* 2009; Lutgen-Sandvik, and McDermott, 2011; Zapf, Einarsen and Escartin, 2011; Mardanov and Cherry, 2018). Box (2008) argues that the correlation between violent surroundings, from both the internal and external environment promotes a workplace culture that is accepting of bullying as an organisational norm.

Mainstream Depictions of Police Culture

Described as holding two important tenets; 'don't trust someone new and don't share more information than is required' (Workman-Stark, 2017:21), policing has traditionally been described as a closed and secretive culture (Crank, 2010) that of late has made strides to be more open and transparent in its relationship with the public (Barton, 2004; Jackson, 2015). Known to hold both negative and positive influences on the behaviour and interactions of police officers with fellow workers and the public (Brough *et al.,* 2016), Chan (1996), Brough *et al.,* (2016) and Brown (1992) note the negative aspects of policing culture. Their work cites it as the obstacle to police reform and reports that it is responsible for encouraging loyalty over integrity to the point of permitting corruption and unethical behaviour, encompassing such practices as bullying, harassment and discrimination along with misuse of authority and force (Brown, 1992; Miller and Rayner, 2012; Brough *et al.*, 2016; Westmarland and Rowe, 2018). Yet in a positive light, policing culture is identified as the glue that bonds and protects, encouraging loyalty and solidarity to officers and the force and acts as a buffer for the occupational stressors that the police face as part of their everyday role (Chan, 2007; Biggs *et al.,* 2014). The changing nature of policing as a consequence of new models of management, accountability measures and a changing demography has brought in to question how these changes have impacted upon traditional interpretations of culture in the policing context (Brough *et al.,* 2016). Yet Loftus, (2010) notes that many of the longstanding cultural attributes have largely transcended change and thus, the common cultural facets of policing have remained steadfast despite a changing policing landscape. One such steadfast attribute is loyalty.

Policing culture demands a competing set of loyalties that include a strong affinity to colleagues (Westmarland and Rowe, 2018). The extent of such competing loyalties extends to the adherence of a strong 'blue code' of silence regardless of whether criminality, rule violation or unethical behaviour is involved (Skolnick, 2002:7), along with suspiciousness, conservatism (Reiner, 2015) and the fostering of a 'no-snitch' attitude (Westmarland and Rowe, 2018: 856). The impact of cultural socialisation that reinforces loyalty as a core tenet

of policing has resulted in a reluctance for targets of bullying to break the 'blue code' (Skolnick, 2002:7) and an unwillingness to utilise formal sanction or punishment towards perpetrators. Instead, Hoel and Cooper (2001) note that when confronted with bullying most targets engage colleagues and family for informal support rather than taking a more formal stance and reporting the issue to the union, HR department or through formal grievance procedure. To explore this issue, Roscigno *et al.,* (2009:1567) challenge the current field perspective that is commonly referenced in the workplace bullying literature. Bullying is often discussed as dichotomic relationship, involving a target and perpetrator. However, Roscigno *et al.,* maintain that bullying is often a tripartite relationship that includes target, perpetrator and guardian. Their understanding of guardians is that they are capable others who provide support for targets of bullying and can exist in a multitude of forms in the organisational context, including union or HR members, along with less formal representations through friends, family members and bystanders. Hoel and Cooper's (2001) study found that the preferred guardian for targets of bullying in the policing context were less formally evidenced as colleagues, friends or family.

The use of guardians is essentially a coping strategy used by those targeted by bullies. Policing culture enforces and reinforces a 'no snitch' (Westmarland and Rowe, 2018: 856) attitude and as such permits the perpetuation of bullying to go on largely unpunished and to be dealt with through informal means rather than through formal measures (Salin, 2008). Discussions regarding what represents formal/informal measures to deal with bullying at Greendale are discussed in Chapter six.

In a more general sense, cultural influences in the police force are reported to begin as early as the training stage for new recruits (Islam and Zyphur, 2009). Research into workplace culture (see Deal and Kennedy, 2008; Schein, 2010; Pilch and Turska, 2015; Elsmore, 2017) explores the observable events and forces that operate at three levels within organisations. 'These include the visible surface level artefacts such as physical environment, dress, language, stories, rituals and ceremonies; the publicly espoused beliefs and values; and

the basic underlying assumptions' (Workman-Stark, 2017:19). New recruits are welcomed into the policing family through the wearing of the police uniform, the sharing of police stories and are rewarded by ritual and ceremony at the end of the training process as they graduate as fully trained officers. Belief and value systems and the assumptions of police work are reinforced as officers undertake their duties and work as part of the policing community to achieve the common goal of fighting the good fight against criminality (Waddington, 1999; Reiner, 2000; Wolfe *et al.,* 2016). In this sense, role assumptions, duties and expectations of policing act to clarify meanings, provide a sense of identity and values and serve to guide members of the community in how to respond to the actions of others (Langton *et al.,* 2016).

However, as policing culture does not exist in isolation but is understood in terms of the institutional, social and political pressures (Loftus, 2010; Westmarland and Rowe, 2018), it is important to understand how history has served to shape the policing landscape of today. It is equally important to understand how the consequences of the changing landscape have helped to precipitate and motivate bullying in the policing environment (Salin, 2003; Biggs and Brough, 2016).

The Changing Police Environment: New Public Management and Times of Austerity

The UK policing landscape has undergone a period of unprecedented structural and administrative change set against a backdrop of financial constraint (Millie, 2014). Of relevance to the policing/workplace bullying discussions are two significant points of change that have shifted the policing landscape to one of today that links the stressful working environment evidenced in policing in the UK (Hesketh *et al.,* 2015; Biggs and Brough, 2016) and an increase in rates of bullying at work (Hoel and Cooper, 2000). The first points of significant change follow the Sheehy inquiry in 1993 (Curtis, 2015) and the introduction of new public-sector management (NPM) bringing with it new structures and role responsibilities under a performance driven agenda (den Heyer, 2011; Curtis, 2015). The second notable point is that of austerity bringing forth new working challenges to provide the same level of service with

a much-reduced resource, placing additional stressors on the workforce (Millie, 2014). The implications of these issues are discussed in the following section of the chapter.

The Introduction of New Public-Sector Management (NPM)

In the early 1980s, the British police force enjoyed both the confidence of the first Thatcher administration (Morris, 1994) and heavy investment from the public purse. However, during the 1990s retrospective examination of police performance over the previous decade identified that despite high levels of financial investment and governmental support, rising crime rates were being reported, resulting in police performance being firmly placed upon the government and public agendas (Collier, 2006). The result of this re-examination brought forth the emergence of new public management (NPM) measures, or new police management, (Leishman *et al.,* 1995; den Heyer, 2011) placing emphasis on the delivery of cost-effective policing services through the restructuring of service and administration systems. The focus of this shift essentially called for greater accountability, transparency and audit (Van Thiel and Leeuw, 2002) and resulted in the then Conservative Government instigating a reform of British policing that was hailed as the most significant reform in thirty years, largely based upon these new managerial objectives (Cope *et al.,* 1997; Diefenbach, 2009). Although the adoption of this managerial model cannot be attributed to a single factor but through multiple pressures being placed upon the sector and government at that time (Leishman *et al.,* 1995), the basis of the reform was designed to remove the disparity between public and private sector by shifting business methods away from compliance and procedure towards "getting results" (Hood, 1994:129). The political, managerial and public agendas called for the sector to do more with less; deliver better services; be more accountable of their use of public funds and critique structures and processes (den Heyer, 2011; Gillespie, 2006; Loveday, 1995).

The Impact of NMP on People

One of the key aspects of NPM was the opportunity to implement a performance management system (den Heyer, 2011). Performance management is a general term used to identify a number of human resource functions that is concerned with managing the performance of the workforce through a systematic and cyclical process involving planning; expectation setting; monitoring; developing the capacity to perform; appraisal and reward (Armstrong and Baron, 2005). Today, many police organisations now operate within this management context and are firmly positioned within target-orientated frameworks (MacKenzie and Hamilton-Smith, 2011; Curtis, 2015). Butterfield *et al.*, (2004) note that the introduction of the performance agenda into police organisations has created a dysfunctional environment in which bureaucratic practise such as distorted communication, abnegation of responsibility, ritualistic rule-bounded behaviour has flourished. Critics of the practice (see Dunleavy and Hood, 1994; Smith, 1995) suggest that this management approach reduces the ability to deal with major issues or problems and creates organisational paralysis through a lack of innovation. Instead, as with any social or technical system operating within an organisational environment, people quickly learn to play the game; individually or collectively they become adept at manipulation through impression management (Goffman, 1959; Leary and Bolino, 2017) and couching information in a format that meets objectives, deadlines and indicators (Diefenbach, 2009). Confusion may exist between what is actually being measured and for what purpose; focus may be short-term rather than considering broader objectives, with symbolic behaviour providing the impression that measurement is taking place when the reality may be somewhat different (Smith, 1995). Van Thiel and Leeuw (2002) identify the gap between performance indicators and the reported performance itself as the performance paradox. Their work is not concerned with performance per se but examines how performance is *reported* and how initiatives impact upon this. They begin by suggesting that, overtime, initiatives lose their value consequentially making it difficult to distinguish between good and bad performance. Meyer and Gupta (1994) go further to suggest the deterioration of the value of the indicators can be understood through a four-step process

that includes positive learning; perverse learning; selection; and suppression. Positive learning occurs when performance improves to the point that everybody is considered to be performing well and the sensitivity to detect poor performance is lost making the indicator obsolete. Perverse learning follows Smith's (1995) argument and is associated with the learnt behaviour of individuals or organisations regarding which performance initiatives are/are not measured and adjusting behaviour and action accordingly to adjust outcomes to their advantage. This draws distinction with Bandura's (1962) social learning theory that posits that behaviour and cognition are re-elicited through the stimulus of others. Through observation of response patterns and environmental cues, organisational actors interpret how to behave in given circumstances and situations. In this context, behaviour is adapted in line with the accepted societal model of the community to which they belong. Through selection; essentially a process of social evolution (McAdam and Bannister, 2001), poor performers may be replaced overtime with better performers, thus resulting in a higher overall improvement in the indicators reporting the process. Finally, suppression occurs if the indicators are ignored. Here individual behaviours are explained in relation to the risk or threat that they feel in certain situations. In this context, initiatives to improve performance are suppressed and therefore ignored due to uncomfortable pressure to change their practice or increase work agendas. Although these practices are essentially subversively interpreted; people behave within the boundaries set by the system; exactly what the initiators and implementers of the systems want it to achieve (Diefenbach, 2009).

NPM and the Managerial Role

The second and significant consequence of NPM in policing is re-thinking manager responsibilities. Major structural and operational changes to the policing service, including responsibility, pay and conditions were introduced following the Sheehy inquiry (1993). Such change called for the delayering, decentralisation and devolution of operational responsibilities throughout the policing line management system from Chief Inspectors to sergeants (Butterfield *et al.*, 2005; Curtis, 2015). The impact of NPM and its associated performance measures are reported to be of salience to the police force as

restructuring and re-engineering of organisations is associated with increased levels of stress and lower threshold levels of aggression that can precipitates bullying (Hoel and Copper, 2000).

Butterfield *et al.,* (2005), Davies and Thomas, (2003) and Metcalfe, (2004) report some of the earliest studies into the impact of NMP on the managerial role in policing. Their work in particular notes the expansion of the middle-manger position with increased levels of responsibility for the management of people and performance underpinned by a culture of service and customer focus (Butterfield *et al.*, 2005). Purcell and Kinnie's (2007) work in to the role of line managers' notes that line managers are essentially enacting agents of HR practice. They aid the transmission of cultural practices and are recognised as significant variables in the human resource management-performance chain in influencing employee attitudes and behaviour (Purcell *et al.,* 2009; Knies and Leisink, 2014). How well a manger carries out the role is seen as an antecedent to how the workforce feels they and their well-being is valued by their organisation (Knies and Leisink, 2014). Pearson *et al.,* (2000) note that managers can act as role models particularly in respect to fostering an organisational environment that is accepting of workplace bullying. This is particularly evident in environments where there is an emphasised power imbalance such as the police or fire service (Archer, 1999). In large bureaucratic organisations such as these, bullying is often tolerated as a means of getting things done and often has a low risk of adverse consequences for the perpetrator (Salin, 2003a). Beck and Wilson (2000: 132) note that these managerial practices build an 'inventory of bad experiences' as more senior officers serve to perpetuate practice through what Van Maanen (1975:207) describes as the 'powerful character of the police socialisation process.' Poor supervisor subordinate relationships can lead to stress and can lower the threshold for abusive supervision and bullying (Hoel and Cooper, 2000). Quick and Quick (1984) note that abusive and poor supervision are stressors that are associated with workplace bullying. Hesketh *et al's.,* (2015) work presents an interesting perspective here. Their work, although not specifically focused on the stress/bullying relationship, focuses on the well-being of police given the connection between the well-being of a workforce and

the associated organisational benefits linked to job satisfaction, reduced labour turnover and absenteeism and high productivity. Their work follows Robertson and Cooper's (2011:3) premise that 'work can make you sick – work can make you happy' and draws upon the findings of what they cite as 'a recent freedom of information enquiry uncovering the extent of sickness through mental health problems in the UK police' (Hesketh *et al.,* 2015:221). Bruce (2013) notes the World Health Organisation's claim that stress is the health epidemic of the 21st century and is one of the major health threats to the economy. Employers and the state pay £9 billion and £13 billion a year respectively on health-related benefits (Black and Frost, 2011). Although not specifically referencing the stress/bullying connection, Hesketh *et al.,* (2015) work notes the extent of mental health related problems such as stress, anxiety and depression and the associated absenteeism linked to this in the UK police force. The force reported that in 2014, 600,000 sickness days a year were lost to stress, anxiety or depression, with 78 police officers reported to be away from the workplace for an entire year due to such forms of illness (Dorman, 2015). To add to this, the Metropolitan Police Service also reports a 43% rise in stress-related sickness over the last five years (Hesketh *et al.,* 2015:221). What is important here is to note that these figures represent reported incidents. Issues such as presenteeism and leavism further mask the extent of the problem and once included as part of the discussion present a more realistic picture of the policing landscape (Hesketh and Cooper, 2014). Johns (2010) and Robertson and Cooper (2011) discuss the increasing problem of presenteeism which is a label used to describe the practice of working while ill. Driven by fear, employees are reluctant to take time away from their work as workplaces and job contracts become less secure due to economic downturn (Robertson and Cooper, 2011). Leavism adds to this problem. Leavism represents the practice of working during annual leave (Hesketh *et al.,* 2015). Robertson and Cooper (2011) stress the importance of taking time away from the workplace so that the workforce can remain well and productive once back at work. To put this into a broader context, an absence management survey carried out in 2014 by the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD) involving two million people employed across 592 organisations in the UK reported average employee absence to be 6.6 days per year (falling from 7.7 in 2013) (Hesketh,

et al., 2015). In comparison, 'public sector workers in the UK reported an average of 7.9 days per employee per year (2013: 8.7days, 2012: 7.9 days), with 60% of public sector organisations citing an increase in stress-related absence' (ibid:226). Clews (2016) on behalf of ACAS notes that the demands being placed across the public sector underpinned by fiscal constraints are creating fertile ground for absenteeism, stress and workplace bullying to breed. To add to this, role ambiguity and a lack of clear goals associated with the changing role of the manager in a new policing landscape are also associated with higher prevalence rates of workplace bullying (Einarsen *et al.,* 1994; Vartia 1996).

The public sector is 'known for its constraints on managerial autonomy due to the strength of government directives, detailed personnel policy regulations, and the heritage of traditional HR roles' (Van Wart, 2011; Knies and Leisink, 2014:109; Rainey, 2014). Although a greater level of responsibility was in theory devolved to line managers, the reality was that a high degree of control and accountability was maintained through NPM techniques. These included the use of 'key performance indicators in such areas as call management, crime management, traffic management, public order management, community policing and resource and cost management' (Butterfield, 2001:70–71). Thus, the expectations of NPM was challenged by what the strategic human resource management field identifies as the gap between the delivery of intended practice, actual practice and perceived practice (Boxall and Purcell, 2008; Nishii *et al.,* 2008; Wright and Nishii, 2013; Knies and Leisink, 2014) leaving NPM as a constraining measure influencing how managers should perform and behave. Diefenbach (2009) discusses how in any environment where performance indicators are present, people become adept at playing the game and responding to only what is measured. Performance management and measurement systems often lead to additional workload and a decline in efficiency and effectiveness, while at the same time provide a different or false impression at the abstract level of generated and aggregated data (Diefenbach, 2009). Therefore, the performance measurement of line-manager outputs and the impact of leaders on their teams cannot be accurately assessed through key performance measures.

The redefinition of policing roles due to the devolution of responsibilities and the resulting job-enlargement is noted to have resulted in greater levels of goal ambiguity and conflict making it more difficult to train people for roles where these characteristics exist (Chun and Rainey, 2005; Rainey, 2014).

To add to this, the lasting impact of NMP measures in policing and the consequential restructuring and redefining of role responsibilities have been further impacted by the government's austerity measures across the public sector.

Austerity and the Police Force

Against a backdrop of global financial crisis and a record budget deficit, the Coalition government of 2010 introduced austerity measures that have had an unprecedented impact on the policing landscape (Millie, 2014). Major public spending cuts translated into a reduction in the policing budget leaving the force to re-think the form, function and delivery of policing services (Loveday, 2017). The new policing landscape of today holds fewer resources and leaves much uncertainty about the future of policing amongst serving officers (Millie, 2014). Alongside these changes, governance structures have changed with the introduction of Police and Crime Commissioners in 2012 (Rogers and Burn-Murdoch, 2012) and the use of volunteers across many aspects of policing have attempted to bridge the operational gaps as they arise (Millie, 2014). Today's police force is leaner, or much-depleted and changed in form firstly, as a consequence of pluralist policing in which profit-making organisations complement the state and secondly, due to the reduction of front-line and back office police personnel (Brogden and Ellison, 2011; Millie, 2014). Furthermore, policing responsibilities have become more complex due to the blurred boundaries of a financially challenged public sector (Loveday, 2017; den Heyer and Porter, 2018). Yet, the longstanding impact of NPM and austerity measures across all levels of police officers and support staff in the new managerial environment has been reported to have been largely ignored in the context of organisational scholarship (Dick, 2008). Yet Hoel and Cooper's (2001) study demonstrates the impact of some of these change

measures on this particular group of people and the relationship between this and the prevalence of workplace bullying.

Table 1. Antecedent factors of bullying at work: indicates major organisational change, budget cuts, and change management as antecedent factors of bullying at work (adapted from Hoel and Cooper 2001:21)

Item	Currently bullied (CB)	Previously Bullied (PB)	Witness bullying (WB)	Neither WB nor CB/PB (NWBCBPB)	P
Major organisational change	0.51	0.48	0.48	0.40	<0.001
Redundancies	0.18	0.18	0.18	0.16	NS
Budget cuts	0.54	0.47	0.49	0.40	<0.001
Major technological change	0.26	0.22	0.22	0.20	<0.001
Major internal restructuring	0.50	0.47	0.45	0.38	<0.001
Change of management	0.53	0.47	0.45	0.38	<0.001

Table 1 reports the findings from Hoel and Cooper's (2001) survey of seventy organisations including 483 respondents from the police force and explores antecedents of workplace bullying. The study categorised the sample population in to four groups; those reported to currently experience bullying (CB), those reporting to have previously been bullied (PB), witnesses of bullying (WB) and finally those that have neither witnessed, or are currently, or have previously, experienced bullying (NWBCBPB). The sample groups each reported that issues commonly associated with the introduction of NPM and austerity measures such as budget cuts; major organisational change, internal restructuring and change of management were the most significant factors to

negatively affect the workforce and to lead to higher prevalence rates of bullying at work.

Figure 1. A multi-level representation of workplace bullying. Source: Samnani and Singh, (2016:539) shows the multi-level factors that lead to workplace bullying
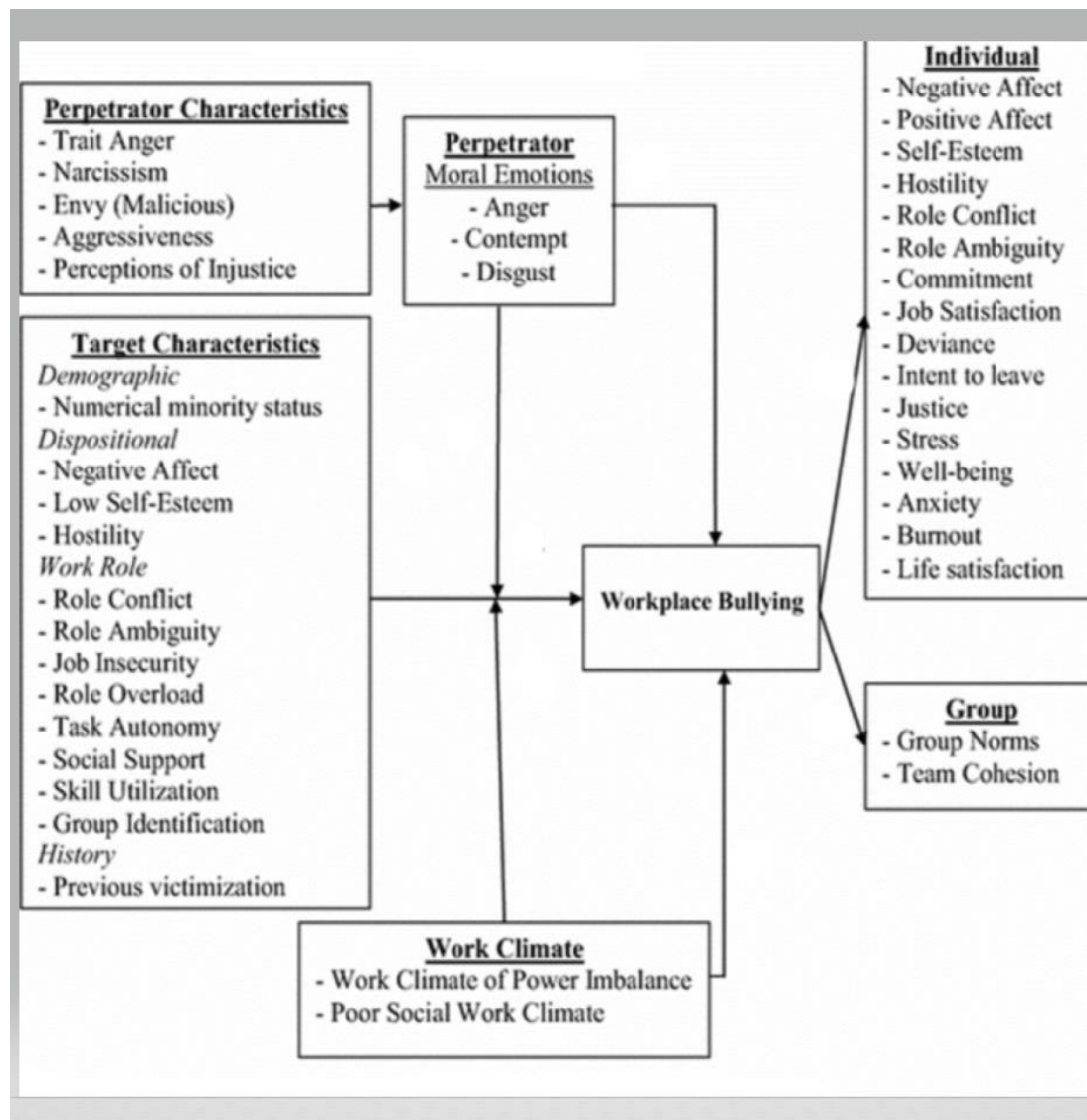
Figure 1. details the multi-level factors that can lead to bullying behaviours at work. Research has long acknowledged the link between bi-directional influence of situational and individual factors and workplace bullying (O'Leary-Kelly *et al.,* 1996; Aquino *et al.,* 1999; Zapf, 1999). Thus, the relationship between the work environment, the nature of human interaction and the prevalence of workplace bullying cannot be ignored (Lynch, 2002).

Discussions thus far have considered the situational factors such as organisational restructuring and change and individual factors through the supervisor subordinate relationship. As part of discussions into individual factors, the characteristics of target and perpetrator of bullying should also be considered.

Research suggests that certain personality traits can be attributed to individuals that are identified as perpetrators and targets (Shallcross *et al.,* 2008; Zapf and Einarsen, 2003). Targets are regarded as those that tend to be identified as trusting, co-operative, conscientious, high achievers, and often loyal to the organisation, yet are perceived as 'weak' and 'helpless victims' (Coyne *et al.,* 2000; Davenport *et al.,* 2002; Namie and Namie, 2000; Neuman and Baron, 2005:18). This is somewhat challenged by studies that suggest that some targeting of unwanted negative behaviour is not personality influenced. Instead, these studies identify that negative behaviour is attributed to the positions or roles that individuals' hold within an organisation and suggest that whoever holds this status may be the subject of such negative attention (Einarsen *et al.,* 2003; Leymann and Gustaffson, 1996). In contrast, some studies (Davenport *et al.,* 2002: 59; McCarthy, 2003; Neuman and Baron, 2005), examining perpetrators indicate that they possess personality traits that make them manipulative, lacking in people skills, are insensitive, 'and at worst are evil', sadistic and authoritarian psychopaths.

Perpetrators of Bullying

However, Randall (1997) argues that perpetrators of workplace bullying are the product of complex social processes that begin in early childhood. His work suggests that through social interactions bullies learn that aggressive behaviour can lead to pay-offs and they continue to use these strategies, as they become adults. Namie and Namie's (2000) work suggests that there are three perpetrator typologies: Chronic, Opportunist and Accidental bullies. Their work defines the Chronic Bully as a derivative of personality development that hold malicious and manipulative traits and use opportunities to dominate and denigrate in social situations. The Opportunist bully draws from social cues in their environment and uses bullying to capitalise and seek advantage using

their competitive and aggressive traits to thrive in political environments. In contrast to the previous typologies, Namie and Namie (2000) define the Accidental bully as one that uses inappropriate comments and actions that may accidentally hurt others in the process while they remain unaware of the impact of such actions. What is important to note here is the issue of choice. Bullies are not forced to bully; thus, they do not always fit in to neat definitional boxes but are instead free to be influenced by environment, situation and position of power (Lynch, 2002). Studies (see Rayner, 1997; Hoel and Cooper, 2001; Salin, 2003) report that the most commonly cited perpetrators are often managers. Studies into bullying and policing (see Rayner, 2000 and Hoel and Cooper, 2001) make similar observations. Underpinned through a prolific literature field regarding middle management practices (see Aherne *et al.*, 2014; Burgelman, 1983; Dutton *et al.*, 1997; Floyd and Wooldridge, 1992, 1997, 1999; Huy, 2001, 2002; Kanter, 1983, 1988; Sum *et al.,* 2015; Westley, 1990). Huy (2001) argues that middle managers are close enough to see the day-to-day interactions on the ground and are close enough to senior managers to understand the bigger picture. Despite achieving an understanding from these two perspectives, Aherne *et al.,* (2014) and Wooldridge *et al.*, (2008) note that middle managers have the capacity to negatively impact on their organisation's implementation and enactment strategies and call for further research to be undertaken in this area to support their claims. Chapter six responds to this call.

Targets of Bullying

As Randall (1997) previously noted the most likely characteristics of perpetrators of bullying, he too has examined traits closely associated with those targeted by such actions. He positions that victim personality traits may attract perpetrator attention. The premise of Randall's argument is that these are learnt behaviours from childhood that carry over in to adult life and are based upon confrontation avoidance leading to submissive tendencies that bullies pick up on. Rather than the weak-victim image that is traditionally associated with targets of workplace bullying, Namie and Namie (2000) offer that victims traits are often more closely associated with those with a strong sense of justice, integrity, are intelligent, independent and highly skilled and

positive individuals. They argued that victims with these traits have often been burned by a previous experience of bullying and are more likely to find themselves in that position time and time again. Contra perspectives on the personality-victim thesis suggests that people do not hold special victim traits, they have merely lost the ability to cope in conflict situations (Leymann, 1996). Leymann argues against the personality/victim hypothesis by examining the consequences of bullying on mental health. Leymann's work notes that targets may go on to experience mental health conditions that include depression and even post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) as a consequence of experiencing bullying. PTSD is a trauma disorder caused by a stressful or traumatic event (NHS, UK, 2018), it is not an ongoing condition that individuals bring with them into an organisation. Thus, it is not as associated personality disorder of a weak already troubled individual but instead the mental response to a traumatically negative incident or experience of bullying at work (Mikkelsen and Einarsen, 2002). Personality related references to the bully and target of bullying in the policing context are discussed in the findings and analysis in Chapter six.

Bullying or Just Doing Gender?

Discussions on bullying or responses to bullying in the police force would not be complete without considering the issue of gender. Hutchinson and Eveline's (2010) work in the public-sector positions that organisations and the associated actors regard workplace bullying as a gender-neutral problem and as such develop policies that suggest as much; indeed, they argue that 'the survival and viability of some form of successful workplace bullying policy is seen to depend on denying gender effects (ibid:58).' Yet Steinþorsdottir, and Petursdottir, (2017) stress the significance of context here. The police force is not recognised as a gender-neutral organisation. Indeed, there is insufficient evidence to present the police as a completely gender integrated organisation (Van Ewijk, 2012; BAWP, 2014) given that figures note that the representation of women in the force stands at 29% (Hargreaves *et al.,* 2017). Gender inequalities provide space for power to be exercised by the most dominant group; in this case men who hold the most positions of power across all levels of the force (Silvestri, 2017). Connell's (1987) theory of hegemonic masculinity

provides a broad sociological framework for understanding harassment, gender, and power in the police force. Her work positions that society privileges a single normative ideal of male behaviour and recognises women, or men that are perceived as feminine, as holding subordinate positions in the gender system (DeSouza and Solberg 2004; Waldo *et al.,* 1998). Policing culture and hierarchy emphasise the superiority of men over women and therefore any form of organisational violence is most likely to take on a male gendered manifestation (Lee, 2002). Gendered bullying is as a form of oppression that reflects the gender relations that are evident within the organisational setting in which it is situated (Lee, 2002). Thus, in this sense bullying acts as a form of gender control penalising those that do not comply with the gendered norms of the organisational setting (West and Zimmerman, 1987). Loftus' (2008:756) account of policing as an 'impervious white, heterosexist, male culture' gives insight into the policing environment. Policing has long been criticised as a 'cult of masculinity' being blamed for the 'lack of progression' and repression of women in the force (Silvestri, 2017:289). To understand how gender is enacted in organisational contexts Acker's (1990, 1992) lens offers a new way of considering the influence of central processes and practices within a given society. Acker (cited in Silvestri, 2017:292) positions that organisations are essentially forums in which 'cultural images of gender, beliefs, symbols, accepted routines, and ways of working are produced and then reproduced by individuals and organizational structures.' In this sense, she offers that beyond our initial understanding of gender as an individual characteristic; determined by birth and representative of nature, she contests that gender is also a contextually situated process that is enacted through behaviour, gender biased processes and structures, so is thus, representative of nurture (Acker, 1992). Acker's (1990) work argues that organisations position themselves as gender neutral. However, Kanter (1977:46) argues that "while organizations are defined as sex-neutral machines, masculine principles are dominating their authority structure." As the socially constructed interpretation of the police force is one that is white, macho male dominant and it is through this image that one can come to understand the 'ideal worker within policing' (Silvestri, 2017:290). Thus, those do not conform to the ideal norm of the policing community and are kept outside of the community through what Scott (1986)

refers to as a five-stage process of gendering. The first stage is to segregate the workers through division of labour, in the physical spaces and in the division of power. The second stage is seen in the symbols and practices of organisation that are demonstrated through language and culture. The third stage focuses on sustaining social structures including all patterns that indicate dominance and submission such as men are strong, and women are weak (Hochschild, 2003). The fourth stage focuses on identity which includes all of the three previous aspects of gender, including division of work, language use and the presentation of oneself as a gendered member of an organisation (Reskin and Roos, 1987) which in the case of the participant police force is identified as a male organisation (Silvestri, 2017). While the final stage of gender is fostered in the underlying, taken-for-granted assumptions and practices that pervade all organisations (Clegg and Dunkerley, 1980).

This way of recognising gender disparity in the policing context opens up a space to understand how bullying is understood and dealt with within the policing context and suggests a flaw in how current ABIs in the form of policies are developed, written and understood; dominantly from a male, exclusive perspective.

This chapter in conjunction with Chapter two has reviewed current literature in the workplace bullying field and in the policing context. Existing workplace bullying studies in policing have focused on the prevalence rates of bullying (Hoel and Cooper, 2000; Rayner, 2000) and organisational culture (Reiner, 2006; Tuckey *et al.,* 2009; Miller and Rayner, 2012), yet limited studies have focused on responses to bullying in policing contexts. In order to address this gap, this thesis focuses on ABIs at Greendale police force and the following chapter, provides an account of the study's methodological approach and research design.

Chapter Four: Introduction to the Research Methodology

Chapter one discussed how interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) offers the opportunity to investigate the idiographic experiences of small sample populations to understand the distinct differences between how each member of that population makes sense of their world. As a methodology, it is 'useful for examining topics which are complex, ambiguous and emotionally laden' (Smith and Osborn, 2015). Workplace bullying and the ABI mechanisms that are in place to manage it, are examples of such phenomenon. As the thesis is interested in investigating ABIs in Greendale police force, this methodological approach serves as a mechanism to investigate how key agents with different roles and responsibilities make sense of and use them. This chapter extends the discussions from Chapter one to explore (IPA) in greater depth. The chapter is in three sections. The first section presents the philosophical assumptions that underpin IPA. The second section focuses on the research strategy and empirical techniques used within the study and the third and final section of the chapter focuses on the data collection and the challenges associated with data management and analysis.

Philosophical Assumptions. Points of Origin: Understanding Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis

IPA is a qualitative research approach that is concerned with lived experience and is interested in understanding how people make sense of and draw significance from their life experiences (Frost *et al.*, 2010; Smith *et al.,* 2012; Smith and Osborn, 2015). This methodology has two points of origin. The first is through its phenomenological and hermeneutic roots (Smith, 1996; Howitt, 2010), discussed later in the chapter, and the second and more recent, is through 'its articulation as a specific approach to qualitative research' (Eatough and Smith, 2019:164) through the work of psychologist Jonathan Smith. Rather than importing a qualitative approach from other disciplines, Smith first utilised an IPA methodology in his seminal 1996 paper, '*Beyond the divide between cognition and discourse'* (Smith *et al.,* 2012). He outlined the benefits

of IPA as a mechanism that could be used to explore the idiographic, subjective experiences of his participants while capturing experiential and qualitative data that could still dialogue with mainstream psychology (Smith, 2009 cited in Howitt, 2010). Typically, IPA, research is undertaken to gather qualitative data in such forms as diaries, focus groups or, as with this study, in interview situations (Smith *et al.*, 2012). Today IPA has gained popularity within the psychology field but has also received attention in social sciences (Eatough and Smith, 2019) and in the workplace bullying field through the work of Farrell *at el.,* (2014), De Vos and Kirsten, (2015) and Ahmad and Sheehan, (2017).

What is Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis?

Smith (2010) describes IPA as having three distinctive elements. The first is that it is phenomenological as it is concerned with the lived experience of participants (Howitt, 2010). The second is that it is dually hermeneutic as it involves a process of interpretation from both participant and researcher (Smith *et al.,* 2012) and the third is that it is idiographic in that it is committed to an in-depth analysis of each participant's experience (Smith, 2011a). Although not identified as a central element, IPA has nomothetic qualities as it allows the shared aspect of an experience to be recognised through the research process (Howitt, 2010).

Frost (2011) suggests that IPA shares common ground with other qualitative research approaches that include: grounded theory, due to the focus on content and systematic engagement with text to identify themes and categories; narrative analysis, due to the concern with meaning-making; and Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA), as it explores how individual world views are discursively constructed and how these experiences are influential in the worldview of the individual. However, what differentiates IPA from other qualitative approaches is that IPA is concerned with the 'sustained engagement with text and the process of interpretation' (Smith, 1996 cited in Coleman, 2001:208). IPA acknowledges the constructivist perspective that social reality is constructed through language, and knowledge is developed through dialogue (Biggerstaff, 2012). Smith (1996) highlights the duality of IPA

in that it is concerned with exploring participant's world views to gain an insider perspective of the phenomena being studied, while at the same time recognising that the research process is dynamic with the researcher attempting to gain insight into the participants' world. Smith (1996) goes further and suggests that this process is bounded as the researcher cannot directly or completely access the participants' worlds. 'Access is both dependent upon, and complicated by, the researcher's own conceptions which are required to make sense of that other personal world through a process of interpretative activity' (ibid:264). The researcher's ability to make sense of that personal experience is an important element in the interpretative process (Howitt, 2010). 'The nature and meaning of an individual's experience are not isomorphic with the researcher's account of that experience' (Altheide and Johnson, 2011: 588) as the participant's experience is in itself an interpretation of particular phenomena and represents the first level of cognition and interpretation. Through this interpretative process or hermeneutic tradition, individual's experience phenomena. As they reflect upon their experience, they make sense of it, apply meaning to it and articulate this meaning through language. Brocki and Wearden (2006) acknowledge that interpretations are bounded by the ability of the participant to articulate views and experiences in such a manner that their central interpretation of their experience is understood by the researcher. This then represents the second level of interpretation as the researcher attempts to sense-make and understand the participant's observations and commentary on the phenomena that they have experienced (Altheide and Johnson, 2011). Again, the final narrative is also bounded by the researcher's ability to interpret and articulate the world view of others (Brocki and Wearden, 2006). Thus, the researcher is essentially actively engaged in the research process as a co-producer of knowledge and therefore needs to be both reflexive and critically aware of the significance and meanings portrayed within the narratives (Biggerstaff, 2012).

Thus, the focus of IPA is to adopt an insider's view of the world and to engage in a detailed process of sense-making (Smith, 1996; Smith *et al.,* 1997; Chapman and Smith, 2002). Process in this context includes self-reflection and refers to the way in which IPA assumes that participants seek to interpret and understand their experiences into a form that makes sense to them (Coleman,

2001). 'IPA endorses a social constructivist view that sociocultural and historical processes are central to how we experience and understand our lives, including the stories we tell about these lives' (Eatough and Smith, 2008: 184). Thus, as human beings we are not passive bystanders or perceivers of an objective reality but instead are interpreters of our own realities and we come to understand our worlds through biographical stories that help us to make sense of our experiences in the worlds we inhabit (Brocki and Wearden, 2006).

Points of Origin: The Philosophical Assumptions of IPA

The roots of IPA are found in three areas of the philosophy of knowledge: phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography (Howitt, 2010; Smith *et al.*, 2012).

Phenomenology and IPA

Phenomenology is interested in the components of everyday life and involves the study of consciousness as experienced from a first-person perspective and is concerned with how actors make sense of their experiences, feelings, emotions and interactions with each other (Smith, 1996; Inglis and Thorpe, 2012; Woodruff Smith, 2017). Originating from the Greek terms 'phenomenon', which translates into English as 'an observable occurrence'; and 'logos' which means 'study' or 'analysis' of something, phenomenology translates as the study of observable occurrences and is interested in the ordinary and mundane components of everyday life that are often carried out in semi-aware states and can become second nature to us (Inglis and Thorpe, 2012:86). Phenomenological research allows for these taken for granted actions and behaviours that occur in everyday life to be explored at a deeper level and sense to be made of these actions and behaviours. Major contributors to the field of phenomenology include Husserl, Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty and Sartre (Smith *et al.,* 2012) and their phenomenological influence is discussed in the next section of the chapter.

Husserl's contribution to phenomenology was to stress the importance of descriptive, intricate and reflexive investigation of experience in physical or imaginary form from a first-person perspective (Howitt, 2010; Shinebourne,

2011). He considered that a single experience could help us to understand the experience of the many and stressed the importance of going back to the 'things themselves' as he believed that in search of sense and order we often miss the importance of each and every particular aspect of experience in its own right (Smith *et al.*, 2012:13). Husserl emphasised the distinction between understanding what is experienced, referred to as the noema, and the manner or method of experience, referred to as the noesis (Rassi and Shahabi, 2015). He suggested 'to reveal an essence in its objective form', a 'phenomenological method' should be used to 'bracket out any pre-judgements' to gain an understanding of experience as objectively as possible (Bluff *et al.,* 2012:953). 'Bracketing or epoché' (Howitt, 2010: 279) is an important aspect of phenomenological research as rather than attempting to make the taken-for-granted or preconceived elements disappear, this process aims to reduce the significance of these elements 'through a series of reductions, which in turn allows for different ways of thinking at each phenomenological level.' Thus, Husserl's phenomenological influence is to emphasise objective, detailed, descriptive investigation of experience from a first-person perspective.

Heidegger (1927), in debate of Husserl's work, suggested that it was not possible to objectively view and describe the experience of another due to our connection with the world around us. Breaking away from Husserl's approach, Heidegger (1927 cited in Wheeler 2018) argues that phenomena requires interpretation not just description and thus his contribution was to introduce interpretative methods in phenomenology. Heidegger's influence saw a shift towards hermeneutics and existential emphasis in phenomenology to consider the significance of interpretation (Smith *et al.*, 2012).

Sharing Husserl and Heidegger's pursuit for understanding, Merleau-Ponty's interest was in a more conceptualised approach to phenomenology (Smith *et al.,* 2012). His contribution to the phenomenological field was to stress the importance of perception. He argued that although perception is not science, it is the background from which all acts stand out and is the process through which meaning and understanding of the world is sought (Merleau-Ponty, 1945, 1964).

Rather than concentrating on life-world, Sartre was concerned with understanding human existence (Tuffour, 2017). He believed that existence precedes essence; in a simplistic fashion, our being precedes our nature (ibid). We are born without identity or worth and through our own consciousness and deliberate actions we create our own identities and worth (Flynn, 2013). To relate Sartre's belief to the context of this study, one is not born a bully or a target of bullying. Instead, it is our actions that identifies us as such. Scholars that study bullying at work may regard this as a simplistic interpretation of what is a complex issue, but Sartre's work offers those engaged with IPA research the opportunity to examine personal and social relationships (Tuffour, 2017) and in the context of this study, to understand workplace bullying and responses to it through the personal and social relationships in Greendale.

As phenomenology remains just one of the foundations on which IPA is constructed, hermeneutics offers the second of its theoretical foundations.

Hermeneutics Contribution to IPA: The Theory of Interpretation

Hermeneutics is the theory of interpretation of both 'linguistic and non-linguistic expressions' (Ramberg and Gjesdal, 2013:1). The hermeneutic influence has its origins in Greek philosophy with the exegesis of religious texts and latterly of historical and literary works (Howitt, 2010; Eatough and Smith, 2019). The etymology of hermeneutics originates 'from the Greek verb, *hermeneuein*, meaning to interpret and the noun *hermeneia*, meaning translate' (Grondin, 1994:20; Klein, 2000). In Greek mythology hermeneutics is said to have derived from Hermes, the deity that was the mediator between Gods and men (Hoy, 1981). Hermes was regarded as the inventor of language but also the purveyor of lies, deceit and translation who was able to conceal the truth (ibid). Hermes as a character is seen to represent the characteristics of hermeneutics; to look beyond words and interpret hidden meanings with the non-verbal, spoken and written word (ibid). Our understanding of hermeneutics has been shaped by its philosophical underpinning through the influence of Gadamer, Schleiermacher and Heidegger (Smith *et al.,* 1996).

Gadamer's contribution to hermeneutics was through his exploration of language, arguing that through language we come to know our worlds (Malpas, 2013). Our relationship with the past is not the same as those that were part of that past as we continually and contextually interpret and understand in the current timeframe and as such we cannot fully understand how our predecessors understood their pasts and thus reinterpret their world in our own contexts (Eatough and Smith, 2019). He argues that this is a tacit capacity and we learn to do this by following the example of others (Malpas, 2013).

Schleiermacher's influence can be found in the push towards a more coherent universal conception of hermeneutics that also acknowledges the hidden meaning in written, spoken and non-verbal forms of communication (Forster, 2008). He notes that as human beings we share commonality and diversity with language and intellect particularly if considered between different cultures, periods of time and even between individuals within a single period and culture. We are the same yet different (Brocki and Wearden, 2006). It is through this commonality that Schleiermacher recognises the duality of hermeneutics and the impact of hermeneutic prejudices in order to understand others (ibid). The dually interpretive nature of IPA argues that bracketing out or eliminating prior knowledge essentially negates the basic understanding of direct personal, lived experience (Hirschman, 1986). Participants may offer a biased interpretation of their worlds that has been shaped by their experiences and their capability to recall their experiences with the researcher. It is then the researcher's own lived experiences and their ability to re-tell those stories that in turn impacts upon how those research findings are uniquely presented. Thus, instead of regarding the researcher's own cultural, personal self as problematic in the knowledge construction process, as with Husserl's phenomenological perspective, it instead regards it as a 'resource that enables the researcher to become as close to the phenomenon under investigation as far as it humanly possible and to draw on prior knowledge, empathy and intuition in order to interpret the data' (Olesson, 1994: 229). In this sense, Smith and Osborn (2007) suggest that good science is conducted through personal and emotional human connection. Following Smith and

Osborn's suggestion that the inclusion of the researcher's voice is representative of good science and given that Smith is himself one of the founding scholars in IPA, the thesis responds to this and does not seek to bracket-out the researcher voice and instead acknowledges it as a co-constructor in the knowledge creation process.

However, Heidegger challenges that hermeneutics are not a case of linguistic understanding, nor methodological basis through which human science could be understood but is instead simply ontology; the most basic 'conditions of man's being in the world' (Wheeler, 2013). He believed that to understand the relationship between the taken-for-granted actions of our world we need to understand how the part relates to the whole and the whole to the part, giving rise to what Heidegger regards as a hermeneutic circle (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009). In the context of the study the participants' voices represent the singular voice that can reflect the many. In the context of the study the voices represented in the thesis not only convey their own experiences of the ABIs but also represent the voices of the many and as such, allow insight into how the part can represent the whole. Thus, the hermeneutic aspect of IPA notes the significance of interpretation, particularly the dual nature of it. It promotes the understanding of communication and language and the co-constructive nature of knowledge creation between participant and researcher that are engaged in the research process.

Idiography and IPA; study of the particular

The third theoretical pillar of IPA is the idiographic element (Shinebourne, 2011; Smith, 2011a). Idiography is concerned with the particular (Smith *et al.*, 2012; Eatough and Smith, 2019). Deriving from the Greek word idios, which means own or private, idiographic research is concerned with studying what is particular to us, our life world and what makes us unique (McLeod, 2007). In contrast to this is nomothetics, which translates from the Greek word, nomos, meaning law, and is concerned with studying what we share with others (ibid). IPA is dominantly concerned with detailed in-depth analysis that is not possible in nomothetic studies which place greater emphasis on aggregated data (Smith, 2010). However, IPA supports the social constructionist view that

social reality is constructed through language and dialogue (Biggerstaff, 2012). Language and dialogue are often shared at national cultural levels but also at organisational levels where shared language often binds individuals together and also establishes power bases that influence behaviour and action (Smith, 1996). The nomothetic element of IPA relates the language of the single voice to the larger population (Howitt, 2010). Thus, sense can be made through the way in which the one, through their use of written, spoken, non-verbal language, can also be applied to the many (Shinebourne, 2011). Smith *et al.,* (2009) offers that individuals can provide unique perspectives as they recall their engagement with phenomena which help to shed light on the shared commonalities of their worlds. IPA therefore maintains a committed focus to the examination of detail and engages in an analytical process that begins with detailed analysis of each case in search of the small similarities and differences as well as shared meaning and experience (Shinebourne, 2011).

As a methodological choice, IPA offers the opportunity to engage in qualitative experiential research that is underpinned by three areas of the philosophy of knowledge that include phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography. In its own right, IPA presents a distinctive epistemological framework and research methodology (Smith *et al.*, 2012: Frost, 2011; Shinebourne, 2011) that places individual deep-level investigation of people's life-world as its central focus.

The Research Strategy: Qualitative Inquiry

'IPA is a qualitative methodology' (Smith and Osborn, 2015:41). Qualitative inquiry is useful when investigating populations that are not easily accessible or whose voices are not openly heard (Frost, 2011). In the qualitative paradigm, the researcher is an engaged and integral component in the research process, as researcher and participant are linked as co-constructors of knowledge (Cresswell, 2013). The researcher's role in the process is not detached and neutral as they are influenced by their own experiences, which impacts upon how they interpret and make sense of the contextual worldview of others (Smith *et al.*, 2012). The epistemological and ontological premise that underpins this qualitative study is that reality is socially constructed (Crotty, 1989; Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2011; Bryman, 2012). In the interpretivist, or

social constructivist paradigm, knowledge is concerned with understanding the people's lifeworld (Bryman, 2012). Researchers attach subjective interpretation of this lifeworld to understand and interpret the experiences of other (Howitt, 2010). Ontology is concerned with the nature of reality (Bryman, 2012), while epistemology is concerned with the theory of knowledge and is interested with how and what can we know (Willig, 2013). The study's ontological perspective acknowledges that the social world is continually being constructed and interpreted through human action and ritual (Crotty, 1989; Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2011; Bryman, 2012). Epistemologically, qualitative research means embracing multiple realities (Cresswell, 2013). 'Meanings are varied and multiple' and the researcher seeks to 'look for complexity rather than narrowing meanings in to a few categories or ideas' (Creswell, 2007:8). In this study, the research is underpinned with an interpretivist epistemology that acknowledges that realities are multiple and are constructed within socio-historic contexts (Bryman, 2012). As workplace bullying is complex and as human beings are not rational actors, a qualitative method of inquiry allows complex and sensitive issues to be explored at the personal level. Qualitative research from both an ontological and epistemological perspective does not seek to measure itself against standards that are favoured in the quantitative research traditions (Yilmaz, 2013). Reference to measurement standards in this case refers to bias, reliability, validity, transferability and ultimately trustworthiness in qualitative research.

The management of bias is challenging for those conducting qualitative research and raises questions regarding the trustworthiness of the research (Chenail, 2011). As this research project has concerned itself with viewing the world through the lenses of the organisational community, the issue of bias was of interest to the research study. IPA research acknowledges the inevitability of bias and aims to productively engage with it for the purpose of understanding (Eatough and Smith, 2019). Each participant has provided an account of reality as they see it and their accounts, therefore, cannot be considered as truly objective in a scientific sense which is in direct contrast to quantitative methods where scientific objectivity is valued (Morrow, 2005). This multi-voiced research has served to provide a window through which the

interpretation and enactment of ABIs at individual levels can be observed in an organisational context. However, bias within the research study is not solely limited to the participants but also pertains to the researcher. One of the significant questions of qualitative research is how can rigour be built into the research process and how can rigour be evidenced (Morrow, 2005)? The central mechanism for gathering the qualitative research is through the researcher, as a research instrument, responsible for extracting the data from participants (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). It is through the interactive process that participants share their experiences, and this is facilitated through the flow of conversation initiated by the researcher (Chenail, 2011). However, the instrumental role of the researcher in the interview process is potentially the greatest threat to the trustworthiness of the research. Poppengoel and Myburgh (2003) highlight numerous areas where this may impact. They postulate that qualitative research requires the researcher to: reflect on their actions; evaluate their questioning techniques during the interview itself; question whether they have conducted inappropriate interviews (Mehra, 2002); reflect upon their affiliation, opinion and understanding of the field in which they operate; and consider whether poor preparation has taken place which may result in the application of the interview as a weak instrument to gather information.

Irrespective of the qualitative orientation, Yardley (2000) proposes that there are four dimensions for assessing the validity and quality in qualitative research that include sensitivity to context, commitment and rigour, transparency and coherence and, finally, impact and importance. Shinebourne (2011) posits that sensitivity in IPA studies can be demonstrated in numerous ways, including sensitivity to the socio-cultural context, the way in which the participants are selected and treated, along with the rationale for the choice of method. Care should be taken to giving the participants a voice through their accounts (Smith *et al.,* 2012). Commitment and rigour can be demonstrated through committed engagement with the data, text and the process of IPA (Shinebourne, 2011). Smith *et al.,* (2012) argue that rigour in IPA studies are found in the stages that include the appropriateness of the sample, the choice of research questions along with the quality of analysis. This is also referenced in Yardley's (2000) third dimension, transparency and coherence. Evidence

of transparency can be found in such things as the conduct of the interview, being honest and open with participants and researcher conduct (Shinebourne, 2011). Coherence is found in the quality of the arguments that are presented in the research findings (ibid). Yardley's (2000:223) 'fourth dimension is impact and importance'. This dimension is concerned with the importance and significance that is placed on the research and represents the 'criterion' on which the research may be judged. This has two dimensions; the quality of the research process and the value of the outcome of study (Shinebourne, 2011).

Within the IPA community there is a lively debate about the inclusion of evaluative frameworks, such as Yardley's (2000) and Elliott *et al.*, (1999) as mechanisms to aid and support quality and validity (Smith, 2011b). Criticisms of existing qualitative evaluative frameworks used in IPA studies are that they are too general and not specific enough for IPA research projects (Smith *et al.,* 2012). Instead Smith (2011b) suggests the use of an IPA specific framework that can act as a quality check in the research process. Smith suggests that researchers should consider a series of questions that act as a research process guide. The questions concern whether the research has clear focus, has delivered strong data, is rigorous, evidences convergence and divergence across the sample and time and care has been applied throughout the construction of the research project. As a doctoral study, time and care has been invested in the construction of the thesis. Evidence of convergence and divergence is found in the findings and analysis chapter where convergence and divergence between participant groups and individuals are recorded. Research focus is identified through a sustained engagement with the academic literature where gaps in the current field have been identified and the data has been analysed in line with the Smith's (2011b) recommended approach. As a supportive tool, Smith's self-check has helped to shape the thesis at many points during the construction process. However, in evidencing the use of the self-check process, the pilot study in particular provides evidence of checking for clear research focus and care in construction of the study.

Self-Check Moments in the Research Journey: The Pilot Study

To elaborate on the use of a self-checking process, attention is drawn to the pilot study. Prior to engaging with the primary study, a small pilot study with five participants representing a cross-section from the sample groups was undertaken. The purpose of pilot studies is that they can check for bias and quality and can allow the questions and questioning techniques that are intended to be used in interviews with the participants and researcher to be tested (Chenail, 2011; Kim, 20 11). It was following the pilot study that the practice of member checking was included in the interview process. Member checking is a two-stage confirmation process (Cole and Harper, 2012). The first stage involves the researcher checking for accuracy and understanding of the comments made by the participant. This is done by the researcher summarising the comments made by the participant and establishing qualification of accuracy through a checking process (Harper and Cole, 2012). The checking process in this instance involves comments such as 'so am I right in my understanding here, you are saying….' The second stage involves confirmation or amendment by the participant and gives the participant the opportunity to seek their own clarification of the questions being asked of them. Despite sending the participants a copy of the questions so that if they wished, they could seek clarification of the questions prior to the interview, they did not seek clarification at that point but did so in the interviews. Three of the five participants asked me to clarify what I meant, and I found that I needed to explain what the question was asking of them. I realised that the questions were too complex. The interview questions were originally written in simple language. Breakwell (2006) notes how the selection of the correct questions are paramount to any study. However, I adjusted the wording of the questions prior to the ethical approval process as I reflected that they appeared a little too simplistic for the academic audience that would consider the study for ethical review. Although the themes and order of the questions were not changed during the process, the language used within the questions became more formal and less simplified in format. In applying those more complexly worded questions in practice, the pilot study highlighted a problem. The issue was not with the questions or the order in which they were presented but there was an issue with the way in which the questions were worded. Consequently,

my learning from the pilot study was that the wording of the questions was too complex and needed adjusting to aid the participants' understanding. Therefore, the use of the pilot study as a self-check instrument allowed Smith's (2011b) calls for clear focus to be brought to the study at a point when it ran the risk of divergence caused through poor question construction.

The Research Approach: Significant steps along the way.

Before discussing the data collection methods used in this study, it is important to note that there were numerous important steps involved in the research process that are worthy of discussion. To acknowledge these chronologically the study considers the essential steps that are needed before entering a field of study. The next section acknowledges these points and begins with access to the participant organisation.

Access

Access to Greendale police force began as a gradual process which covered a three-year timescale. Initial contact was with the Chief Constable and then continued with the head of HR. Access involved two stages. The first involved a series of meetings with Greendale for them to establish what the study was about and whether they would wish to be involved. The second involved review and permission from Greendale force's legal department giving me permission to carry out my study with the following conditions. The specific force should not be identified by name. To address this the participant force has been given the pseudonym, Greendale police force. No reference should be made to the area or region in which the force is based. There is no reference to either of these points throughout the thesis. Furthermore, specific staff numbers should not be included in the thesis. Each force is identifiable through this process so to avoid this no reference to specific workforce numbers have been included in the thesis.

The Ethical Process

The application for ethical approval was submitted to the university's ethics committee on 11th July 2013 and approved and accepted on 23rd August

2013. The committee were advised that the study was to be conducted with adults engaged in full-time work at Greendale police force. Participation in the study was of a voluntary nature and participants could contact me through their union representatives based at Greendale. Potential participants were to have the research objectives clearly explained prior to their participation and would need to give signed consent to take part in the study. Those willing to participate in the research study would be given the opportunity to withdraw from the research project at any time up until their information was formally recorded in the final thesis. Participants would be presented with the opportunity to review a copy of their interview transcript to ensure the maintenance of accuracy and quality standards. Prior to the beginning the study I had taken the care to seek the details of internal and external help from Greendale's Welfare Officer and Greendale's external counselling providers, so that post-interview support could be provided if needed. My own safety as a lone worker was also considered and I complied with the university's lone worker policy. It is important to note at this point that the study has complied with all ethical requirements and no participant as far as I am aware utilised any post-interview help through either internal or external support channels.

Identification of Research Participants

Purposive sampling was used to identify three typological groups within Greendale. The selected individuals within the groups have been able to give individual perspectives but also to give insight into a more holistic view of organisational practice as they are representative of the organisational population (Neuman, 2000). Throughout the thesis, the three groups are identified as Creators, Disseminators and Users and are describes throughout the study as follows:

- The Creators comprise of those that have direct involvement and responsibility for the creation of the organisational ABI strategy and the dissemination of policy information to the workforce. This group primarily consisted of senior managers, union officials, representatives from the support networks and those involved in the consultation process.

- The Disseminators, are representatives of specific groups, including minority groups, or who hold positions within support networks and union representatives. The support networks represent minority groups within the force that include female, gay and lesbian and BAME support groups. This group mainly comprises middle managers and senior personnel that offer advice to other staff members regarding the organisational initiatives and can give advice on the application of policy. The Disseminator group also includes representatives from two of the police unions, the Police Federation and Unison, as representatives of the broader majority groups who provide support to officers and support functions of the organisation.

- The Users are those that have knowledge or experience of workplace bullying, either as a perpetrator, target, confidant or bystander.

The inclusion of three contrasting groups has attempted to assist with data triangulation and to ensure a more comprehensive reflection (Fusch and Ness, 2015) of the organisational environment.

To determine the construction of the groups I asked three questions:

▪ Who is responsible for the creation and development of organisational ABIs at Greendale?

▪ Who is responsible for providing information and support to those who are concerned about bullying at work, either as a bystander, a target or those accused of bullying? And,

▪ Who uses the policies and ABIs as a consequence of finding themselves targeted by, accused of, or a witness to bullying at work (essentially, who needs support and help)?

Although appearing to be obvious questions to ask, these groups were also created as a consequence of access meetings with the organisation and in establishing the construction and dynamics of the workplace in which the research study has been set.

Justification of the sample

Traditionally IPA research favours smaller samples due to the challenges associated with the idiographic aspect of IPA. Larger samples have the

potential to lose the intricate and subtle meaning that the methodology seeks (Brocki and Wearden, 2006). However, what constitutes a small sample in IPA is subjective. IPA is committed to the in-depth examination of relatively small samples in order to reveal something of the experience of those individuals and to examine in detail convergence and divergence within the sample (Smith *et al.*, 2012). Some scholars (Smith, 2004; Eatough and Smith, 2008; 2004; Yin, 2009) have put forward a case for just one participant to be considered as a reasonable sample size due to the in-depth nature of enquiry needed for IPA. However, others have suggested that there is a need for participant numbers to be greater and despite the existence of larger studies (Smith and Osborn, 2007). Clare *et al.,* (2008) make reference to 304 participants in an IPA study. An emerging consensus from the fields is that studies should include approximately six to ten participants (Breakwell, *et al.*, 2006; Smith and Eatough, 2006; Howitt, 2010; Smith *et al.,* 2012). As previously stated, this study has twenty-one participants, which in relation to other studies and from different academic perspectives may be considered at the larger end of the IPA sample size spectrum (Heffron and Gil-Rodriguez, 2011). For the purpose of this study the sample is deemed small in relation to the wider organisational demographic yet was large enough to capture the experience from cross sections of the organisational workforce.

At the upper end, another issue to consider is that of saturation. Brocki and Wearden (2006) provide commentary on the problematic nature of saturation in IPA studies. In a general sense qualitative research does not seek to use power analysis n, to determine statistical significance of the study but instead often refers to saturation, the point at which no new themes or information appear to be emerging from the data (Elliott and Timulak, 2005). Technically IPA research involves a continual iterative process and therefore saturation may never be achieved (Ibid). In other forms of qualitative research, the possibility exists that the researcher may find the interview that produces the confounding evidence that they seek. As researchers, there is a need to 'acknowledge limits to the representational nature of their data' (Brocki and Wearden, 2006: 95). According to Elliott *et al.*, (1999), analysis may be considered as complete when the researcher believes that their research

findings are able to convey a persuasive story. This is the point when analysis could be considered to be as complete as can possibly be achieved within given timescales. Therefore, in the case of this research, a sample of twenty-one have satisfied a number of criteria. The sample is large enough to illuminate behaviour amongst actors in Greendale policing sub-field regarding the interpretation and enactment of the operationalised ABIs. The sample is not too big within the organisational context to become too difficult to manage the idiographic element of IPA. The sample is not too small to be regarded of insufficient size to demonstrate a relevant story or point.

In summary, a larger sample size is appropriate in this case to demonstrate individual perspectives across three sample groups. Small samples from each participant group have taken part in the research and collectively they present a wider representation of individual action within this organisational context. This sample size provides the opportunity for both a detailed exploration of the convergence and divergence between each case and a move towards more general claims after the potential of the case has been realised (Smith *et al.*, 2012). Twenty-one participants came forward to participate in the research study and I felt a sense of duty and responsibility to listen to their stories and not disregard them on the basis that I had sufficient data. This draws me back to my sense of respect for others. The participants are people and are far more important than data on a page.

Participation

Participation in the research has been entirely voluntary. However, prior to the study thought was given to the possibility that lack of participation could have had major impact upon the study. There was a risk, particularly from those in the User category, that participation would be low or non-existent as members of this group may have feared that their involvement in the study may cause them psychological harm or may lead to retribution. To further complicate matters, policing is identified as having a highly integrated and defensive culture which is characterised by a sense of workforce solidarity, often viewing those outside of the workforce as working against them (Loftus, 2010; Masters, 2019). This lack of trust of me as the outsider and fear of reprisal in some form

could have jeopardised this research study. In acknowledgement of these issues, I worked very hard to build rapport with the organisation. As part of access negotiations, I was invited to a number of staff meetings. It was through this medium that I was invited to present my research project, not to individuals as part of a recruitment drive, but as more of an introduction to me and the study. I learnt quickly that as a collective they were suspicious of me. I adapted my dress sense to offer a less formal self. Drawing from Harrington's (2010) work with HR practitioners and workplace bullying, she reported that her formal sense of dress has acted as a barrier in her study and that only when she dressed as a student did the participants respond with a willingness to get involved in her study. In an attempt to remove any professional barriers (Thompson, 1995) I also explained that I had worked for many years in industry, was engaged in doctoral research, recognised the importance of their work and hoped that they would be willing to get involved in the study. My concerns, although worthy of consideration, were not an issue as participants came forward following union involvement in the study. The importance of union involvement was twofold. Firstly, it was an issue of ethics. The underpinning reasoning was that the union potentially would know its members and would not allow any vulnerable employee to take part in the study. The unions would act as a protective shield. I had met with the union leaders and had stressed that I did not wish to cause any distress and would prefer not to talk to participants that were currently involved in any case that involved bullying at work, nor those that had had issues in the last six months. The union did not serve to vet participants but were included as gatekeepers to protect the individual. This was particularly useful for those categorised in the study as Users. Users may see themselves as a high-risk group in the sense that they may have feared the potential for them to be further exposed to negative actions as a result of their involvement with the project. Therefore, to protect a potentially vulnerable yet data rich group of people union involvement in the sampling appeared to be the most appropriate sampling method and was supported by university ethics committee. The second importance of union involvement was that participants may have felt more comfortable getting involved in the study if they were aware that the study was not only supported by the management but also by the unions.

Informed Consent

The ethical principles recommend that as far as possible participation in any form of research based around human subjects should centre on informed consent (Bryman, 2012). Informed consent involves the researcher advising the participant about all relevant aspects of the study that may concern or impact upon them, so that they can make an informed decision about whether they wish to get involved in the study (Breakwell *et al.,* 2006). Homan (1991, cited in Bryman, 2012) states that although the principle of informed consent seems logical, it is not always possible to present all the information to prospective participants. Minor transgressions may occur, such as how long an interview may take, but the process is concerned with being transparent as far as possible about the study. The participants involved in this study have provided signed consent to partake in the study and have been given the opportunity to ask questions prior to and during the interview process. They have had the right of withdrawal, confidentiality and anonymity and right to see a copy of their transcription also explained to them.

The Interview Schedule: The Rationale for the Research Questions

As identified at the beginning of this chapter the thesis sets out to investigate the following:

How do key organisational agents interpret and enact the anti-bullying intervention strategies in a UK police force?

Who and what else has a hand in controlling bullying at work and the anti-bullying intervention measures in place to manage this workplace practice?

To respond to the central investigation of the thesis, a series of questions were developed for use in the semi-structured interviews that attempted to elicit participant views on the ABIs deployed by Greendale. Immersion in the literature of workplace bullying and Bourdieu's theory of practice (discussed in Chapter 5), representing the theoretical framework, have allowed me to ask appropriate and informed questions of the participants (Morrow, 2005). The

following table details the questions that were used in the semi-structured interviews. The table links the questions and theoretical underpinning that have led to the question construction. The red sections identify potential researcher prompts and were not included as part of the formal question. The questions used in the study are identified in table 2.

Table 2. Interview questions

Theory	Bourdieu Theoretical Framework	Question Anti-bullying initiatives	Rationale for Question
●N/A concerned with establishing the sample.	Establishes which field(s) the participant belongs to and capital within the field(s).	What has been the nature of your contact with the anti-bullying initiatives in your organisation? For example: - ● were you involved in the development of the initiatives ● do provide support or advice upon about the initiatives ● or have had call to use the initiatives yourself? My prompts.	Identifies the sample Allows the participant to consider 'how' the role that they do supports / uses the anti-bullying initiatives in the organisation
● NPM suggested greater external pressure has impacted upon accountability and influences pm). Example – exploration of drivers -Diefenbach, (2009); Haque, (1999); Butterfield (2004) Question establishes perception of internal influences. Provides insight into organisational practice.	Explores habitus	What are the drivers that influence how the anti-bullying initiatives are used? My prompts – What are the current initiatives? How have previous initiatives translated into current initiatives?	Considers perceived influential drivers at individual level
●The research field currently demonstrates limited evidence of successful anti-bullying initiatives in organisations (see Beirne & Hunter 2013). Successful example inc: - Pate & Beaumont's (2010) public sector case study analysis; Heames and Harvey's (2006) cross-level analysis approach to managing bullying; Rayner and McIvor's, (2006) call for the shift			

away from reactive and compliance driven initiatives towards more positive working environments. **●Looks at functionality of the initiatives.**			
●PSM model = concerned with improving service. Are the motivators service driven?	**Evidence of social practice in fields / habitus exploring perception of success**	**Can you give me an example of how anti-bullying initiatives have been successfully applied within the organisation?** **My prompts** **Please describe: -** **● what happened,** **● what caused it to happen,** **● how those involved felt or perceived the example you are describing,** **● what actions were taken** **● and if future actions or behaviours were influenced by the example you are describing.**	**used to evidence specific examples to contribute to the research field that considers successful initiatives.**
●PSM model = concerned with improving service. Are the motivators service driven?	**Explores social practice**	**Can you give me an example how anti-bullying initiatives have been unsuccessfully applied within the organisation?** **Prompts as above question**	**Behavioural – seeks how practices are utilised throughout the organisation.**
●PSM model = concerned with improving service. Are the motivators service driven?	**Explores habitus**	**Why do you think that there is a need for anti-bullying initiatives in your organisation?**	**Seeks personal habitus about the anti-bullying initiatives.**
●Contributes to a gap in the literature looking at how information is used in the organisation	**Explores capital / power within the fields**	**Who measures your how well the anti-bullying initiatives are working?**	**Seeks to establish who uses the information / power associated with this information.**
●Contributes to how data is used.	**Explores social practice / capital**	**How is this information about how well these initiatives being used?**	**Looks to establish the practices that influence the field(s)**
●Seeks to contribute further to the literature that explores 'how' anti-bullying initiatives are used.	**Interpretation of the game / habitus**	**Does this information influence how people behave?**	**Explores enactment and the influential factors**
●Literature positively and negatively connects performance management and anti-bullying initiatives. Example – positive connection and influence – Delaney & Huselid (1996);	**Demonstrates habitus**	**Have you adjusted how you respond / behave towards the anti-bullying initiatives?**	**Seeks to establish intentionality of (in)action**

Moynihan and Pandey (2010) an negative connection between initiatives - (Butterfield, *et al.*, 2004; Collier, 2006; den Heyer, 2011; Diefenbach, 2009; Gillespie, 2006; Heames and Harvey, 2006; Mackenzie and Hamilton-Smith, 2011; Smith, 1995).			
Performance management has two sets of competing arguments – performance management has a positive impact on other initiatives so is a positive influence / performance management has a dysfunctional and therefore negative impact on other initiatives. As detailed in previous question.	**Demonstrates game within the field(s)**	**Can you identify any relationship between the anti-bullying initiatives and performance management objectives?** **My prompts** **Please describe: -** **● what you believe this relationship to be (is it a positive/ negative or neutral relationship),** **● what caused it to happen,** **● how those involved felt or perceived the example you are describing,** **● what actions were taken** **● and if future actions or behaviours were influenced by the example you are describing.**	**Looks to establish perception at individual level of whether relationships between the two initiatives exist. Uses CIT**
●N/A dependant on response.	**Explores social influence in the field**	**How do you think performance management initiatives compete with anti-bullying initiatives?**	**Explores competing agendas in the organisation and the perception of this from an individual perspective**
	N/A dependant on response	**Do you have any other comments that you would like to make?**	**Provides participant to add anything that they believe will be of value to the study.**

These questions were relayed through semi-structured interviews. The semi-structured interviews are valued as they are both 'flexible in format and function' (Breakwell *et al.*, 2006: 234) and allow for greater emphasis to be placed on the participant's views. The method provides participant freedom to move off into tangents or areas that they regarded as important or significant to them. These new areas could then be further probed and explored with the

researcher if appropriate to the study (Corbin and Morse, 2003: Bryman, 2012). A distinctive feature of this method is that it involves direct interaction and exchange between researcher and participant (Breakwell *et al.,* 2006) allowing rapport to develop between interviewer and interviewee through 'symbolic exchanges' (Chapple, 1990:90) such as polite conversation prior to the interview and the partaking of tea or coffee.

Reflecting on the question construction

The questions were formulated with the intention of eliciting the subjective views of interviewees who engaged with cases of workplace bullying at Greendale police force. Table 2 presents the rationale for the questions used in the study and notes how they were designed following a review of the literature and how they linked to the theoretical framework. McGrath *et al.,* (2018) and Kallio *et al.,* (2016) refer to the importance of constructing questions that are underpinned by knowledge of relevant and supporting literature. The supporting literature in the thesis includes workplace bullying interventions, policing and Bourdieu's theory of practice. There is an important point to note here. The process of question development begins relatively early in the research process. The questions in this study were in the development stage at the same time as ethical approval for the study was sought. Although extensive reading of literature in to workplace bullying interventions and policing were well developed, reading in to theory of practice was underway but was at a lesser-stage of development when the connection was made between theory and the interview questions. Table 2 reflects the impact of this. The table notes the relationship between some of the questions and habitus, one of the elements of Bourdieu's theory of practice. Chapter five discusses how Bourdieu defines habitus as the most cited yet most misunderstood element of his theory (Yang, 2014). Yang's clarification of misunderstood is positioned from two perspectives. The first offers that habitus holds an ambiguous position in the academic fields, while linked to this, the second notes how Bourdieu himself has over time, adapted his own interpretation of it. Table 2 notes how in the early stages of question construction, I had linked question two in the table to habitus, which, although still of value to the study, did not, on reflection evidence that link.

Confidentiality

The information provided in the participant interviews was treated as confidential information and was not disclosed to a third party. Issues of confidentiality in qualitative research presents researchers with unique challenges of how to maintain respondent confidentiality while capturing the rich intricacies of social life (Kaiser, 2009). Baez (2002) argues that in qualitative research confidentiality raises a series of dilemmas: can researchers truly protect respondents if they accurately present findings; can they withhold information to protect an identity if exposure would cause harm or risk; and can the researcher balance their responsibilities as researcher/protector or activist/exposer? In consideration of these issues the following steps were taken.

As previously mentioned, the force has been referred to by its pseudonym and no reference to the location or size of the force to avoid deductive disclosure (Ellis, 1986; Tolich, 2004). The data has been sanitised to avoid identification of individuals or specific groups during the analysis process. Participants have not been identified by name, gender or race but, wherever possible, have been categorised through the sample groups: Creators; Disseminators; and Users. These groups were introduced in Chapter one but will be addressed again later in this chapter. Instead of being personally named, participants sit within broader categories of employees to further protect identities. Some roles within the organisation are filled by a small number of employees that are easily identifiable through the research process, for example in the support network groups. Use of these typologies has provided protection for individuals within these groups from being personally identified. However, in broader groups such as HR or the union representatives, the words HR and union, or federation representatives, Unison and PWEF are used in the thesis. However, as a range of representatives in these groups have contributed to the study the participants are not identifiable through their commentaries.

Data was audio recorded (with permission from the participant). The audio is identifiable by a set of numbers. The recordings were transcribed, and the participant was given the opportunity to have a copy of the transcription to

comment on the accuracy of the interview transcription. Prior to transcription the audio recorder was stored in a locked safe. Data protection guidelines have been adhered to in line with university regulations.

The next section of the chapter provides an example of a symbolic exchange that occurred before participants would agree to talk in the interviews.

The Realities of the Research Field: Who was interviewing who?

Thibaut (2017) stresses the significance of symbolic exchange, and it was in the first interview that symbolic exchange was found to be important in building rapport with the participants. As the interviews progressed a reoccurring pattern emerged amongst the participants. Following the usual verbal and written introduction to the study, the participants had further requirements before they were willing to participate. Saam (2010) offers that the defensive culture in policing can influence police behaviour. Perhaps it was occupational habit that resulted in the participants asking a series of personal questions of me, almost holding an interview themselves, at the start of proceedings. It seemed to be the information that I had over twenty years of industrial experience that appeared to influence their acceptance of me. Very quickly it became apparent that if the participants were to open up in the interviews, then I needed to open up to them. Thompson (1995) states that researchers often attempt to reduce status barriers that may exist between researcher and researched, by sharing personal information about their lives or discussing their research interests in order to precipitate knowledge exchange. Corbin and Morse (2003) suggest that this is the pre-interview stage when researcher and researched assess each other in order to establish a level of comfort and trust and is significant as it prepares the grounds for reciprocity and forges the beginning of a temporary but important human connection. In recognition of this, the interviews began with an overview of my history and interest in the workplace bullying field from target, bystander and manager perspectives, having to deal with cases of bullying at work. My commentary attempted to remove emotional and professional distance between myself and the participants and to shift the power (Thompson, 1995) in the interview to get

them to feel comfortable to talk to me. My opening comments were intentionally positioned in line with the IPA ethos: to make all participants feel at ease and to recognise even what some may regard as small or insignificant in story terms, as important and valuable. It was following this verbal interaction that the participant signalled their willingness to participate in the research by gesturing their acceptance with the offer of coffee.

The weaknesses of the semi-structured interview

As with any other research methods, semi-structured interviews possess areas of weakness. Often, they are lengthy to transcribe and are time consuming. As previously mentioned, participants may say what they think you wish to hear or may be selective in what they are prepared to tell you thus skewing 'reality' in the field and leading to data contamination (Yardley, 2000). Issues of bias, validity, replication and quality have already been highlighted as areas of concern that stretch beyond the semi-structured interview process (ibid). Perhaps the biggest challenge as a novice researcher is in saying too much and leading the participant, or saying too little, thus failing to strike a relationship with the participant that leaves them comfortable enough to engage in open dialogue during the interview process (Corbin and Morse, 2003). Furthermore, the flexible aspect of this method opens space for participants to transgress into areas that were not always appropriate to the study. As a novice researcher, knowing when to let participants speak (King and Horrocks, 2010) when they move beyond the core issues being discussed in the interview presented a challenge. Interviews are shared experiences between researcher and participant where the participant should feel comfortable telling their story (Clark, 2010). Although interviews provide the opportunity to collect data, Hutchinson *et al*., (1994) identify seven interviewee benefits that can be gained from the qualitative interview. They suggest that interviews serve as '(a) a catharsis, (b) provide self-acknowledgement and validation, (c) contribute to a sense of purpose, (d) increase self-awareness, (e) grant a sense of empowerment, (f) promote healing, and (g) give voice to the voiceless and disenfranchised' (Corbin and Morse, 2003:346).

In an early interview, one of the participants from the Creator group was eager to tell their story as they began to talk before I had barely sat down. The participant was unique in the sense that they moved quickly from what Corbin and Morse (2003) describe as the pre-interview stage when there is often a reciprocal sharing of researcher and interviewee information and even moved from the tentative and often cautious initial stages of the interview to the immersion phase (Corbin and Morse, 2003:347) where deep level and emotional conversation took place. As the participant went off on tangents, I considered whether to draw them back to the core issues under investigation but in that moment decided to let the participant feel empowered to speak (Clark, 2010). There were occasions when I repositioned the discussions back to the central issues of the study and did so from the perspective of interested listener (Warren, 2012). Although the resulting outcome of the interview led to an interview transcription that was thirty-nine pages long and contained irrelevant material that was not always of central use in the thesis, the decision to let the participant speak was influenced by the importance that IPA places on linguistics (Smith *et al.*, 2009). In listening to what the participant said and noting how they engaged in conversation, respect seemed to be of central importance to the participant. Corbin and Morse (2003) argue that an interview is essentially an exchange. In agreeing to take part in a study, a participant may share very personal information but in return may want something from that interview, even if they might not consciously be certain what that is. It is the task of a conscientious researcher to try to understand what the participant is seeking and to provide it either during the interview or once it is over (ibid).

The participant stated,

> '*I am a firm believer in respect, it must be earned. People have a lot of respect for me. I treat everyone with the same respect*'.

The participant referred to respect during the interview on eleven occasions. Therefore, the decision to let the participant speak and at times move off in to tangents was underpinned by my interpretation that the participant was seeking respect. The participant had given their time willingly and freely to share their story and it was as a respectful listener that I gave the participant

freedom to talk. Drawing from Goffman's (1959:36) presentation of self, Goffman states,

'information about the individual helps to define the situation, enabling others to know in advance what he will expect of them……informed in these ways, others will know how best to act in order to call forth a desired response from him.'

Much of the literature that explores human communication is positioned from a sociological perspective and posits that people mutually adapt behaviour and actions to accommodate each other (Thibaut, 2017). In this sense, the participant provided verbal clues that respect was important to them and in that moment, I was able to pick up on those verbal clues and respond. Lindquist *et al.*, (2015) suggest that it is through the lenses of language and emotion that individuals make sense of their worlds. Fahie (2014) offers that participants may consider engaging in research for cathartic purpose in that it may present them with the opportunity to recall experience and tell their stories. In acknowledging this signal for considerate, respectful understanding of the participant, this had positive impact on progression of the research study. As the interview drew to a close the participant invited me to join them at lunch. As we sat and chatted in the informal surroundings of the police cafeteria, we both identified that we had family members that shared things in common. The following morning, I received two telephone calls from new potential research participants that stated '(name omitted) said you were alright, so I am happy to take part in your research study'. The decision to let the participant speak was significant for the research study as they had acted unbeknown to me, as gatekeeper in influencing whether others would get involved in the study. Singh and Wassenaar, (2016) identify gatekeepers as those whose permission is needed to access resources, documents and people. In this particular case, access was limited to people as the participant provided the 'opportunity to interact with others in the chosen research site' (Kearns, 2000:11). In general terms, literature notes two typologies of gatekeepers (Campbell *et al.,* 2006). The first are gatekeepers that occupy the traditional position as the power holders when trying to gain access to those that are of central interest in

research investigations and provide access into organisations (Flick, 2018). I was aware who my first level gatekeepers were and had successfully negotiated my way through this first level doorway to access organisational actors. However, I was not aware who my second level gatekeepers were. Mandel (2003) notes that once invited in to that organisation it is this second group, the lower level gatekeepers that should be treated with respect as they are influential in increasing the researcher's legitimacy within the organisation and are significant authority figures in manipulating how researchers are perceived. It is these second level or more informal gatekeepers that can help to promote acceptance amongst research subjects, and it was in this momentary sense-making and respectful symbolic exchange that informal access to further secondary level gatekeepers was provided and the unintended consequence of empowering the participant to speak proved more beneficial to the research than I could have imagined.

Post Interview Challenges: The Analysis Phase

As the interpretation of the interview data stage of the process began, emphasis was placed on what Braun and Clarke, (2006) refer to as data familiarisation. During this process I immersed myself in the data and engaged in reading, re-reading text, re-listening to audio and noting initial analytical observations of each verbatim transcription to gain an understanding of each participant's account (Willig, 2008). At this point, the participants were categorised as either Creators, Disseminators or Users depending upon their relationship and responsibilities with the ABIs. The participants were then randomly allocated an identifying initial to identify one commentary from another. The initials do not represent any of the participants names and, in some responses, the initial has been dually allocated to represent different members in different category groups, for example, Disseminator X, User, X. In practical terms, the data management presented a huge challenge. The transcriptions resulted in what seemed like an overwhelming amount of data to organise. Consensus amongst IPA practitioners is that if research studies have too many in their sample then this may negatively impact on the researcher's ability to deal with large amounts of data (Brocki and Wearden,

2006; Willig, 2008) in an idiographic way that seeks to apply critical meaning and depth to the participant accounts (Smith *et al.*, 2012). As a novice researcher I lacked confidence in my own ability to organise and make sense of the data. Furthermore, I over complicated the process by reading and re-reading the IPA literature in a quest to find the 'one best way' to analyse the data and read and re-read the data essentially because I lacked confidence in the credibility and defensibility of the emerging findings. However, the excessive amount of time dedicated to reading about how IPA had been utilised in the field was not wasted. I was brought back to Smith's (2011b) self-check and this helped to instil confidence in organising, seeing and understanding the data. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) argue that transcription itself is a social, interpretative, political act. The interpretation of each participant's story begins in the interview and in the dialogical relationship that exists between interviewee and interviewer (MacKay and Gass, 2005) and continues with transcription of the text as the researcher makes decisions concerning how much to transcribe; whether to include pauses, non-verbal clues and intonation (Bryman, 2012). These decisions impact up on the accuracy and authenticity of the participant voice in the research (Given, 2008). Frost (2011) suggests that any decisions should be commensurate with the theoretical and methodological approach adopted by the researcher in the study. Smith (1996) recommends that researchers dealing with large samples of IPA data should first begin by reading the first interview at an in-depth level before moving on to the other interview transcriptions. Following Smith's recommendation this process was used to explore each interview on a case by case approach and was consistent with the idiographic aspect of the IPA process, to begin with one participant's representation of their experiences and gradually build towards more general representations as transcriptions of each participants story were exposed (Smith *et al.,*1995; Smith and Osborn, 2007; Eatough and Smith, 2019). In the continuing spirit of IPA, the transcriptions included every pause, intonation and non-verbal elements in an attempt to capture not only the participants' stories but also the essence of those stories (Smith, 1996). Accepting that even the most accurately transcribed interaction between interviewer and interviewee cannot ever fully capture a uniquely true voice (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011), the aim here was to produce as authentic a

representation as possible and to present the person as a 'social whole' (Bourdieu, 1991:54).

From Familiarisation to Coding

Once a sense of the participant's story had been achieved, the second stage of the analysis process focused on a further reading of the text to which I added initial thoughts and observations to the transcriptions as page notes (Braun and Clarke, 2006). These initial annotations formed the very early stages of the coding process. Coding is essentially a transitional period between data collection and extensive data analysis whereby words or short phrases capture the essence of 'a portion of language-based or visual data' (Saldana, 2009:3). Taken from the Greek language to mean discovery, the act of coding is deemed to be cyclical (Saldana, 2009) in that it is not solely attributed to a single act throughout the analysis stage. A cycle of theme generation and refinement took place through a series of repetitive processes that explored the transcriptions. Each time the process moved from labelling (Braun and Clarke, 2006) towards linking as data generated ideas and all of the data that pertained to that idea were attributed to it (Richards and Morse, 2007). The aim of data coding was to move beyond just a surface level reading and understanding of the text towards a deeper level of sense-making of that text. Braun and Clarke (2006) refer to this sense-making part of the analysis process as transitioning from a decoding or labelling stage towards an encoding or data deciphering stage. This part of the research process was not seen as 'objective science but was instead viewed as an interpretative act' in which I gained a sense of the participants' stories and attributed meaning to them (ibid, 1998:4).

Strauss (1987:27) states that 'any researcher who wishes to become proficient at doing qualitative analysis must learn to code well and easily'. He continues that 'the excellence of the research rests in large part on the excellence of the coding'. Yet the literature discussing coding is diverse and offers a number of ways in which to code (Saldana, 2009). The act of coding essentially requires the researcher to wear an analytical lens, yet the filters that researchers place over the lens are influenced by how the researcher and participant see the

world (Adler and Adler, 1987). Essentially, analysis and interpretation of the research findings reflect those influential factors that have helped to shape the study in the first place and as such have an influential effect on the coding decisions (Creswell, 2013). Examples of such issues include the constructs, language, models and theories and the ontological, epistemological and methodological decisions that have been made throughout the research process (Merriam, 1998). Thus, in pursuit of a rigorous and comprehensive interpretation of the data, I engaged in what Miles and Huberman (1994:6) refer to as a two staged 'open coding' approach. During this stage, single words or short phrases were used as annotations next to the written text to help me to make sense of what the participants had said. However, acknowledging the dually interpretive position that this thesis has adopted, the first stage used annotated comments that reflected my experience of carrying out the interviews. The initial notes were mainly recorded as single words or sentences which were essentially reflexive. The annotated notes were recorded in the right-hand margin of the transcripts. Further annotations relating directly to what the participants had said were recorded in the left-hand margins of the interview transcripts and included comments such as symbolism, language, judgement, interpretation, relationship, networks and austerity. As Smith *et al.,* (2012) stress the importance of applying critical meaning to the participant accounts, these initial eight annotations were drawn from participant commentaries. Symbolism as an example represented the participants reference to coffee as an access symbol that signified their willingness to take part in the interview. However, equally it represented the participants reference to what was later understood as important, relevant capital in Greendale. The participants mentioned these symbols in their interviews and included their reference to educational qualifications, the promotion process, the policing hierarchy and impression led behaviour (Goffman, 1959) regarding bullying and the organisational responses to managing it. Language represented the taken-for-granted everyday language of the sub-field and the shifting language through use of the words I, we, them and us. The everyday language included the terms victim when referring to those that were targeted by bullies, robust to represent managerialist strategies used to blur the lines between bullying and managing the workforce

and culture used in a more general sense to excuse and justify bullying or abusive practices as just the way things are done around here (Deal and Kennedy, 1982). The use of language occupies a pivotal position in the interpretive process as it helps people make sense of their environment (Bourdieu, 1991). It has a tacit capacity that helps shape knowledge and understanding (Malpas, 2013). At the cultural levels of organisation, shared language often binds individuals together and establishes power bases that influence behaviour and action (Smith, 1996). As the organisational population share a language that is particular to them, IPA allows nomothetic connection which relates the language of one to the larger population (Howitt, 2010). When reviewing the transcriptions, a common theme emerged; the participants' choice and use of language. During the interviews all participants moved between an I, them, their or we position as they discussed the influences that shaped how they and those around them behaved. At times, their choice of language demonstrated a shifting interpretation of responsibility. An example of this was evidenced by a member of the Creator group who exposed their differing personal and work perspectives on how an organisational performance initiative was used. In the first statement they showed their professional self and stated how supportive the organisation is, particularly in relation to how it treats people who have been absent from work.

*'**We** are a performance driven organisation, but **they** are very supportive particularly with back to work initiatives when **you** have been off sick is really supportive.'*

As a review of the transcription progressed, the researcher noted that they made reference to their own experience of returning to work following an absence and so were on the receiving end of the performance initiatives that they are responsible for creating and promoting in the organisation.

*'**I** came back to work, and **I** had an attendance support plan and **I** was absolutely appalled because **I** hadn't been off for years and **I** got this support plan which at the time was called an attendance improvement plan. **I** told my manager, **I** was **really** insulted.'*

In both of these examples, role responsibility appeared to be at odds with the personal selves that these participants presented. Drawing from Husserl's notion of phenomenology, an underpinning element of IPA, he makes the distinction between what is experienced, referred to as the noema, and the nature, manner or method of experience, referred to as the noesis (Launer, 1965). Drawing reference with the Creator and Husserl's distinction between experience and the nature of that experience, the noema is experience of the performance orientated return to work initiative that is used by Greendale police force, and the noesis is the way in which it has been experienced. The Creator gains a sense of what it feels like to create initiatives and be on the receiving end of them as a user of those initiatives and expresses a very different experience and interpretation of the same initiative. To review these shifting references at the abstract or conceptual level, the researcher was drawn to the work of McAdams (1993) and human identity theory. McAdams (1993:11) posits that 'we are the tellers of tales.' Although not attempting to lie to ourselves, consciously and unconsciously we compose a heroic narrative of ourselves. In the Creator example, their 'heroic selves' (ibid:11) was represented through their role as Creator of the policy and process that they in theory identified as supportive. As their 'moral self' (Stets and Carter, 2011:193) they shifted their interpretation of the same policy and process to be unfair in practice. When individuals experience life through the lens of their moral self, they see a version of their real self as viewed through this moral lens (Stets and Carter, 2011). This moral self inspires moral action through responsibility (Blasi, 1984). However, if actions are influenced by the heroic version of themselves, this may impact on how they engage with the world and may influence their actions in a different way. In this case, the Creator as one responsible for the development of the ABIs in Greendale demonstrated how they were able to espouse the value of organisational processes as supportive when, in practice, that may not be the case. People engage in partially overlapping processes in which they construct 'realities' and then retrospectively make sense of them in a continuing dialogue of discovery and invention in which identities and social worlds are concomitantly referenced and fabricated (Brown *et al.,* 2015). Therefore, how individuals separate their personal self from their professional self may prove insightful in understanding

the factors that influence organisational actors' behaviour and may offer insight in to how the ABIs at Greendale are understood.

Returning back to the initial terms used to understand the participant commentaries, the term judgement was initially used to represent the divergence attitudes and behaviours of individuals and groups to initially be grouped together. Examples included inconsistencies between HR advice, HR's understanding of ABIs in theory and in practice and differing attitudes amongst the participant groups regarding the purpose of ABIs operationalised in Greendale police force. Interpretation represented how each participant and participant groups made sense of the ABIs while relationships represented the changing nature of the workforce relationships at Greendale police force. Networks was used to represent the organisational groups evidenced in Greendale. These groups provided advice and guidance of the ABIs and were involved in cases of workplace bullying. Networks was also used to represent the social connections between individuals at Greendale. Chapter six discusses how these social connections are important in the management of ABIs, while austerity was noted as an important factor that had shaped the policing landscape, changing job roles and placing increased pressure on the workforce. Table 3 outlines the data analysis process adopted in the study.

Table 3 Stages of Analysis

Stage one	Data familiarisation achieved by reading and re-reading the interview texts.	Following Smith (1996) reading begins with one interview case before moving on to the next	General sense of each participant's story achieved and summarised.	Participants categorised as Creators, Disseminators and Users.	Each participant allocated an identifying initial

Stage two	Re-reading of each interview text to move beyond the general sense to the more specific.	Early stages of coding to make sense of the text and gain a deeper-level meaning. Recorded as a summary of key issues specific to each case.	Two-stage open coding (Miles and Huberman, 1994) begins	Stage one of open coding notes researcher observations of the interview transcriptions	Stage two of open-coding notes participant comments
Stage three	Commensurate with the methodological approach each transcript was re-read to look for examples of participant's lived experience of their engagement with the ABIs	Evidence of similar experience was reviewed throughout all transcripts	Commensurate with the theoretical framework participant examples were considered through the theoretical lens	Presented as themes for discussion in the thesis	

Emerging Themes

As Smith *et al.,* (2009) stresses the importance of understanding the setting and context in which the phenomenon is experienced, the final element in the analysis process allows the stories that have emerged from the interviews to be understood through the theoretical framework. This is in line with Frost (2011) who suggests that any decisions a researcher should make should be commensurate with the theoretical and methodological approach adopted in the study. Chapter one discusses how Bourdieu's work could be utilised to understand,

'multi-level issues in organisations; allows the relationship between people and organisations to be understood, while situating the organization and organizational culture within the context of society and history and further serves to overcome the dualist challenge of structure versus agency' (Nord, 2005:855).

Thus, in order to consider the theoretical approach used in the study, Bourdieu's theory of practice served as the final lens through which the interview data was organised and separated and represented in Chapter six very broadly as field-related influences and secondly, practice. The final themes that emerges through the analysis stage grouped discussions in to these two areas. These emerging themes from this final stage helped to form the structure of Chapter six, the findings and analysis chapter. This final stage in the process was important given that current research in to ABIs knows very little about the role that context plays in how ABIs are used and understood and as the participants recalled their stories of their involvement of cases of workplace bullying and the ABIs that are in place to respond to them. To understand context, attention was paid to the changing policing sub-field at Greendale police force. Topics in this section include the impact of austerity and how this impacted on key agents' roles at Greendale. It examines the historic relationship with bullying at Greendale and the influence of senior management on this issue. This allows field-level issues to be understood and the role that these field-issues play in understanding bullying at work and the mechanisms in place to manage it. To understand the influence of agency, the latter sections of Chapter six, explored workforce behaviour. This included discussions relating to how the organisation and the workforce use language, the changing nature of work and how ABIs were informally managed and controlled through network alliances. Thus, in summary, the analysis process was data led yet organised in to themes in Chapter six influenced by the respondents recalled their deep-level lived experiences of engaging and making sense of the ABIs at Greendale, which was commensurate with the IPA methodology. Taking this a stage further, the theoretical frame worked added a further lens. This assisted in the final structure of Chapter six as it broadly allowed discussions to be centred around field-level influences, which

helped to shape part one and two of the findings and analysis chapter. Behavioural or agency issues were influential in shaping parts three and four of Chapter six and explored what happened to the ABIs in practice.

Concluding Summary

Thus, in summary, this chapter has set out to discuss IPA as the methodological approach chosen for this research study. IPA is a qualitative approach that has a strong emphasis on rich understanding of phenomena through sustained engagement with text and is interest in the process of on sense-making from a first-person perspective (Smith *et al.*, 2012; Smith and Osborn, 2015). Sharing a long and complex relationship with phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography as the theoretical pillars that support it, IPA was chosen to explore what a given experience is like amongst actors within an organisational setting, representing the phenomenological element; how each makes sense of that experience, representing the hermeneutic element; and the idiographic element, represented by the researcher's commitment to an in-depth analysis of each participants' experience (Willig, 2008b; Smith, 2010). IPA advocates the importance of an interpretivist epistemology and the hermeneutic duality of subject and researcher as co-constructors of knowledge (Eatough and Smith, 2019). It is concerned with small samples and with deep-level investigations that are not possible in nomothetic studies that favour larger aggregated data forms (Smith, 2010) nor in less intricate qualitative investigations that lack idiographic depth (Heffron and Gil-Rodriguez, 2011). Instead the methodology has been chosen to offer insight into the world of significant and central voices that hold key relationships with ABIs in the policing sub-field. Twenty-one participants across three sample groups took part in the research study. Their semi-structured interview transcripts have been iteratively analysed using IPA to offer insight in to how sociocultural-historic processes are influential in shaping experience, insight and practice. The research findings are discussed and presented in Chapters six and seven and interpreted through an IPA and Bourdieusian lens.

Chapter Five: Bourdieu's Theory of Practice

This chapter introduces Bourdieu's theory of practice as the study's supporting theoretical framework. The chapter begins by discussing the key components of the theory including habitus, field and capital and further presents a rationale for the use of the framework as a suitable lens through which the policing environment and ABIs discussed within this study have been analysed.

Introduction to a Theory of Practice

Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) has been identified as leaving an 'indelible mark on the field of cultural sociology' (Özbilgin and Tatli, 2005:855). His major work; *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1972) was developed over several decades (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) and represents an 'elaborate proposition of a post-structuralist methodology through which sense could be made of human agency' (Nord, 2005:856). Representing a theoretical 'multi-layered framework' that draws upon the concepts to field, habitus and capital (discussed later in the chapter), the theory of practice 'conceptualises individuals as producers of social practices who follow specific logics of practice in a social space, otherwise referred to as a field. These individuals use their respective capitals – economic, cultural, and social – that are acknowledged as symbolic capital in the respective fields for their own self-interested purposes' (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011:22). Bourdieu's work is recognised to hold four-fold strength in that it allows: -

> 'multi-level issues in organisations to be understood; presents an epistemological and methodological framework for tackling issues of reflexivity; considers the relationship between people and organisations while situating the organization and organizational culture within the context of society and history and serves to overcome the dualist challenge of structure versus agency' (Nord, 2005:855).

In extension of this last point, Bourdieu (1977) explains that the challenge of structure versus agency can be explained by considering whether individuals act as free agents or whether their actions are governed by social structures.

The long-established philosophical and academic debate on structure and agency has drawn more widely, on the man and world relationship (Lacroix, 2012). Structures can act as rule providing entities that can control and condition human behaviour and action (Walther, 2014). Structuralism dismisses the view that individual actors hold the capacity to impact on societal structures and instead presents a rational argument that people behave as if programmed to do so and follow structured patterns of behaviour and norms (Rafiee *et al.,* 2014). The agency position argues that people are individualistic in thought and action and are free to make a range of choices that impacts on how they think, act and behave (Hays, 1994). In contrast those positioned within the interactionist, interpretive or hermeneutic paradigm, interpret society not as a structure or antecedent of individual agency, but instead as an interactive relationship between the two elements (King, 2004).

Theory of practice attempts to reconcile these positions and offers that external social structures and the subjective experiences of organisational actors are dually influential in shaping behaviour and action (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011) and can act as a tool kit through which the interpretation of social action at the individual, situational and wider socio-historic levels can be understood (Bourdieu, 1977; Dobbin, 2008). This tool kit contains the complex interrelated constructs of the theory, which include field, habitus and capital, that are considered to shape human strategy, action, thought and behaviour, in other words, their practice (Bourdieu, 1984:101). Bourdieu regards theory of practice not as a 'cohesive theory within itself' but instead as a 'flexible theoretical approach whose main elements must never be considered detached from each other' (Walther, 2014:8). To understand each of these elements, the next section of the chapter discusses them in turn. Beginning with an exploration of habitus, the section progresses to the elements of field and capital.

Interpreting the Tools of Practice: Understanding Habitus

In simple terms, Bourdieu's habitus refers to one's own disposition, ingrained habits, skills and the physical embodiment of one's cultural capital (Maton, 2008; Grenfell, 2014). Despite Bourdieu's elaboration on the subject, habitus is regarded as the most cited, yet often misused, misunderstood and

challenged element of his theory (Yang, 2014). The reason surrounding the ambiguous use of habitus is offered from two differing perspectives in the literature; the first offers that habitus has largely achieved scholarly neglect and as such holds a confused position in academic fields and the second positions that over time, Bourdieu himself has adapted and changed his interpretation of habitus.

The Origins of Habitus: Scholarly neglect and the Ambiguous use of Habitus

Following translation from French to English, Anglo American scholars have used his work in different ways resulting in different interpretations of habitus (ibid). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) argue that scholars have moulded habitus to suit theoretical and epistemological preferences and as such have largely contributed to the ambiguous tag that habitus has attracted. Instead of exploring habitus in great depth in their work, American scholars have focused their activities on developing and understanding the concept of capital, while British scholars have focused on the concept of field; the unintended consequence of which has resulted in scholarly neglect of habitus (Lizardo, 2004). In some instances, it has come to mean little more than habit (Grenfell, 2014).

The Origins of Habitus: Bourdieu's Ambiguous use of the term

The second reference to the ambiguity of habitus returns its gaze back to Bourdieu himself. Throughout his work Bourdieu himself adapts and changes his interpretation of habitus, leaving it difficult for scholars following in his wake to begin with a solid foundation from which habitus can be understood (ibid). Habitus, taken from Latin, translates as a habitual appearance, condition or state (Nash, 2010). Bourdieu's reference to habitus has been made in varying ways throughout his work and he has been criticised for attributing too many meanings to it (Nash, 2010; Yang, 2014). It was Bourdieu after all who argued 'for thinking with the thinker against that thinker' (Bourdieu, 1990:49) and in doing so introduces the concept of hybridisation or at the very least a reflexive and flexible approach to his work (Yang, 2014, Walther, 2014). Bourdieu argues that one's life choices are guided by one's internal disposition, or

habitus and is constrained by an acceptance of the norms and values that the social field(s) dictates (Bourdieu, 1977). This too can apply to the academic fields where semantic adjustment (Turney and Pantel, 2010) has led to the multiplicity of use and interpretation. Therefore, the lack of a universally accepted understanding of habitus does not restrict the use of it as a tool through which,

 'an ensemble of schemata of perception, thinking, feeling, evaluating, speaking, and acting that pre-formats all the expressive, verbal, and practical manifestations and utterances of an actor'

(Krais and Gebauer, 2002:169) can be understood. Habitus seeks to explain repeated patterns of action that are contextually adjusted, further modified by experience and are not solely attributable to external structures or subjective intention (Chudowski and Mayrhofer, 2011).

The Collectivist and Individualist Nature of Habitus

Habitus has both a collectivist and individualistic quality (Lizardo, 2004). Habitus begins from an individualist position and represents the internal disposition and cognitive schemas that give rise to the taken-for-granted ways in which an actor perceives and behaves in the world in which they operate (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). This internal understanding is brought about early in life through a process of socialisation that begins in childhood and transitions through to adulthood exposing individuals to relationships and experiences through arenas such as school, peer group and family (Bourdieu, 1991). It is through this socialisation process that individuals come to understand their social worlds, the social structures and practices that are dominant within it and adjust and respond to that social world, shifting their habitus in response to the social arena, or field in which they are currently positioned (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Habitus and field are linked in a circular relationship. To understand the arena or field in which one is positioned, the game and the rules of the game at play, organisational actors need to establish the location, disposition and competency levels of the key players operating within that field (Chudowski and Mayrhofer, 2011). It is by

observing and engaging with these key players that individual actors learn the logic of the game and the accepted behaviours within the field; it is through this process of observation and learning that an actor's own internal habitus is adjusted and aligned to reflect a collectivist or shared habitus which in turn leads to a reproduction and perpetuation of the field (Crossley, 2001). However, if one's habitus is not adjusted in line with the 'changing regularities' and 'rules of the field' this can result in what Bourdieu refers to as a cultural lag or a mismatch between habitus which can lead to hysteresis (McDonough and Polzer, 2012:359).

Evidencing Hysteresis

Hysteresis involves a period of reflection and adjustment in response to change that causes individuals to re-evaluate the field and re-position their actions and behaviours from a self-interested perspective in response to their new understanding of the field (Bourdieu, 2005). A structural gap develops when a field undergoes change (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). High levels of hysteresis can occur if individuals are faced with an unpredictable future (Yang, 2014). This study is situated in a changing setting: policing as a profession is in flux through governmental restructure in the wake of austerity measures. Furthermore, the data has been collected during a period of organisational change and what the participants referred to as hopeful new beginnings with the arrival of a new Chief Constable. Amidst a period of change, Bourdieu argues that some actors may experience loss of position and power while others may accumulate greater levels of capital and thus, greater social standing in the field (Yang, 2014).

Conditions and Impact of Hysteresis

Bourdieu (2000) argues that the relationship between hysteresis and change is dependent on three conditions. The first is the rate at which change occurs and the inability to move in line with the change results in non-adaptive behaviour referred to as hysteresis. Within organisations, there is often a co-existence of crisis and stability. There is no definite point of crisis, no defining line that separates the two, but as change steadily occurs, from the stable to a position of crisis, the habitus shifts to a point that it no longer fits with the new

environment leading to a structural gap that results in hysteresis (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977).

Secondly, Bourdieu argues that, when a structural gap develops, it is unclear what causes some organisational actors to accept and become resigned to that change while others resist (Swartz, 2016). And thirdly, when in crisis there is uncertainty of whether any rational calculation takes place (Yang, 2014). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) assert that rational choice may happen among organisational actors who are able to behave rationally. Bourdieu does not clarify what is meant by rational, only that when hysteresis takes effect, the habitus is dysfunctional and has the capacity to drag other organisational actors in to the same state (Bourdieu, 2000). Thus, the hysteresis effect characterises the confused state that social agents experience when the field changes. However, Bourdieu does not go on to explain how rational choice can supersede habitus and can serve to protect or seek individuals' positions in such an unstable environment (Yang, 2014).

Understanding and Interpreting the Field

What constitutes a field and where the boundaries of that field lie have provided food for thought in the construction of the thesis. Fligstein and McAdams (2012:394) argue that

> 'fields emerge when an individual, or collective groups of actors construct and share meaning around four central issues; a common understanding of what is at stake to struggle for and over; who other relevant players are; the rules of the game; and a broad interpretive frame of what is going on in the field.'

In explaining the field, Bourdieu contends that it is a social space in which conformity, rules and roles are played out through a re-occurring set of practices by the individuals that operate within it (Bourdieu, 1977). Bourdieu sees the field as a society, a 'playground or battlefield in which actors, endowed with a certain field-relevant capital, try to advance their position' (Chudowski and Mayrhofer, 2011:23). The field represents a networked and

dynamic space where actors play out their individual self-interested strategies and subsequently re-shape the field in which they are positioned (Bourdieu, 2005a). Underpinning Bourdieu's (1991) interpretation of the field is that those operating within it do so from a position of self-interest. This leads to a replication of behaviour within the field as actors anticipate self-seeking outcomes (ibid). The rules operating within the field are moderated by those holding the greatest symbolic capital (discussed later in the chapter) and serve to maintain and reproduce order within the field (Bourdieu, 1977; 1986).

Developed later than capital and habitus, the 'field' remains a central pillar of theory of practice (Yang, 2014). The field conceptualises the social world as a series of connected interactions whereby different types of resource (capital), connects the action of habitus to the stratifying structures of power (ibid). A field is a social arena in which struggles take place; but beyond this battleground, it represents a structured system that holds a specific logic of social positions that are held by individuals and or institutions (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Those entering the field must also accept the tacit rules that apply to it (Bourdieu, 1972).

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) note that questions regarding where field boundaries lie come up time and time again. Bourdieu (1987: 174) posits that any effort to establish precise lines around boundaries derive from a 'positivist vision.' Bourdieu's concept of the field is not one concerned with defining a precise area of activity but instead seeks to explore the broad range of factors that shape behaviour (Swartz, 2016:121). The field has been applied to arenas that are often considered to be institutions; they can be inter or intra-institutional in scope and can span institutions (ibid: 120). Swartz (2016) states that the organisation is best seen as a subfield, or as embedded in a field, as enclosed in a social universe with its own laws of functioning. The organisation, like a field is a space in which a game takes place, it is a field of relations between individuals who are competing for personal advantage (ibid). This thesis has acknowledged the position that fields are empirically rather than geographically defined (Iellatchitch *et al.*, 2003) and as such refers to Greendale as a sub-field positioned within the broader policing field. The distinction between fields and sub-fields lies with the degree of autonomy that

one holds (ibid). The police, as an institution, is positioned as a field while Greendale is a sub-field within the broader policing field that has a degree of autonomy in its decision-making particularly in respect of its ABIs.

Understanding and Interpreting the Game

Bourdieu's analogy of the 'game' defines the social action and practice that operates within the field (Bourdieu, 1977). The 'field' is the situation or setting in which organisational actors may be placed or belong and represents the domain in which the 'game' takes place (Jenkins, 2002). Bourdieu positions that over time people come to understand the game; learn how to react to it and detect other like-minded players that broadly, if not definitively understand the rules of play (King, 2000). The game is understood as 'a field of struggles whereby individuals strategically improvise to maximise their positions within the field' (Grenfell, 2014:52). To understand the connectivity of the game to the collective whole, Bourdieu (1984) discusses the game as a series of rule-binding activities through which rule or regulation abiding 'obeys certain regularities' (Grenfell, 2014:53). Bourdieu, (1984: 63) positions that,

> 'to understand practice, then, one must relate these regularities of social fields to the practical logic of actors; their feel for the game is a feel for these regularities. The source of this practical logic is the habitus. The habitus as the feel for the game is the social game embodied and turned in to second nature.'

Structural gap versus mismatch of habitus and field

In developing Bourdieu's work, Yang (2014) discusses the difference between structural gap and what he refers to as mismatch. Mismatch occurs when social agents move beyond their fields and experience a social movement that would be deemed outside of their usual their trajectory. An example in the policing field could be represented by police community support officers (PCSO) moving in to a police officer role. Bourdieu (1996) explains that the broader the gap between the actor's habitus and the new expectations of the field, the more strategically aware the social actor would need to be to develop a conscious or strategic awareness of their surroundings to ultimately shift their

own habitus. Yang (2014) notes that those in such situations would need to correct and adjust their behaviours through a process of self-watching to ultimately fit in their new field. Yang goes further to suggest that the greater the distance between habitus and field, the easier it is for the actor to detect the mismatch, but the longer it would take to adjust and they may even continue to practice behaviours appropriate in their previous field but not yet in line with the expectations of their new field, leaving the actor to experience a sense of isolation. In critique of Yang, it is important to note that organisational actors may have varying abilities to reflect and adjust (Smith *et al.,* 2012). In support of this critique, Schubert (1999) comments that to understand the relationship between field and habitus is not just an exercise in understanding field and self but one in which there is a recognition that actors are part of a process that connects the past with the present and the future.

Presentations of Capital

'Capital', or the power that individuals possess, is the mechanism through which individuals seek advantage and reward in the fields (Bourdieu, 1977). The level of capital individuals possess determines their position in the field and can be used to negotiate them through a process identified as position-taking (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu argues that capital forms part of the central social foundations in organisations (Walther, 2014). In, *The Forms of Capital* (1986) Bourdieu extends the Marxist interpretations of capital as an economic entity and presents three more distinctive categories of capital that he identifies as social, culture and symbolic. Archer *et al.,* (2015:923) note the 'proliferation of work that have extended Bourdieusian notions of capital' in to areas such as Reay's (2000) emotional capital, Becker's (1993) human capital and Cote's (2002) identity capital. Indeed, Bourdieu himself has later developed capital in scientific and linguistic form (Yang, 2014). As the value of each form of capital is dependent on the particular field in which they operate (Archer *et al.*, 2015), the study extends Bourdieu's toolkit to include linguistic capital as the findings evidenced a field dependent relationship with it which are discussed in Chapter six, the findings and analysis chapter.

Economic Capital

One such capital utilised in the field is economic capital. Bourdieu (1986) argues that money or economic capital as the dominant societal discourse underpins all forms of other capital which represent disguised forms of economic capital having gone through a transformational process referred to as euphemisation. Although money was not regularly referenced, the findings and analysis chapter evidenced the economic injustices that operated in the policing field. The perceived injustice related to the difference in pay levels of police staff versus support staff noted as a consequence of austerity measures and organisational restructuring.

Cultural Capital

The second capital is cultural capital and is represented by the artefacts that are recognised as important or significant within the society in which individuals live and can be evidenced through such things as knowledge and qualifications (Schwartz, 2016). Bourdieu (1986) posits that some manifestations of cultural capital are regarded as more valuable than others and as such have the capacity to advance or prohibit an individual's social mobility as significantly as income or wealth. Walther (2014) notes that cultural capital exists in three forms—embodied, objectified, and institutionalised. Examples of each form of cultural capital include accent as a representation of embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1997). In the embodied form, which shares similarity with habitus, capital becomes of central significance for individuals as it involves an ability to decipher the 'cultural codes' at play (Yang, 2014). Material objects such as a large office or high-end car represent cultural capital in objective form, while institutionalised capital can be evidenced through qualifications as a symbol of one's competence and authority and was referenced throughout the participant commentaries in the findings and analysis chapter.

Social Capital

Bourdieu's (1986) social capital represents social power evidenced through an individual's networks or social connections. It is through this form of capital that access to information is made available and power in this form requires effort

on behalf of the individual to create, maintain and reciprocate invitations to others (Walther, 2014).

Symbolic Capital

However, what is recognised as the most valuable form of capital at play in the social field is symbolic capital, which reflects what is deemed or recognised as the most valuable within a particular field (Bourdieu, 1977; Yang, 2014). This legitimises an actors' economic success, or economic capital; cultural capital exemplified through professional success and the network, or social capital that actors hold through their social networks (Bourdieu, 1977). Bourdieu argues that symbolic capital is 'a relationship of knowledge, or more precisely, of misrecognition and recognition' (Bourdieu, 1986: 252). Grenfell and James (1998:23) explain that as recognition is to recognise and understand,

> 'misrecognition relates to the ways … (that) underlying processes and generating structures of the fields are not consciously acknowledged in terms of the social differentiation they perpetuate, often in the name of democracy and equality.'

Bourdieu, (2000) regards misrecognition as an everyday social process that is not identified for what it truly represents by the person confronting it.

The most powerful and dominant within their fields are those that hold the most symbolic capital (Yang, 2014). It is this perceived symbolic power that serves to shape the field and determines the taken for granted rules of the game (doxa) (Bourdieu, 1977). Bourdieu (1986) notes that those inherently disadvantaged in a field would adjust their own habitus, particularly in respect of their aspirations for success, and would shift towards unconscious self-elimination of any chances of success. Bourdieu refers to this as 'subjective expectation of the objective probability' (Moore, 2008:49).

Linguistic Capital: The Significance of Language

Earlier in the chapter, reference was made to the influential use of language in shaping behaviour within fields or sub-fields. Bourdieu (1991) refers to the use

of language as symbolic violence, a process whereby those regarded as the most powerful assert their power through their voices. It is this assertion of voice that results in the maintenance of a division of power between those perceived as powerful and the powerless. Those with legitimate social capital exert their power by expressing their world-views. It is this world-view that helps to shape practice and behaviour in the field and helps to shape those that are unfamiliar with the field to come to understand what is expected of them, thus maintaining the field in the image of the powerful. Thus, both the powerful and powerless are complicit in maintaining power relations in the field. This in turn shapes the doxa or, taken-for-granted assumptions about those that hold the most social capital and how one should respond in this world order, thus shaping a collective habitus in which symbolic violence, or language, has played a central and significant part (Bourdieu, 1987).

Individual Linguistic Capital

Bourdieu (1987) notes that it is through the mastery of language that individuals are able to exert their power and maintain dominance throughout the fields. At the individual level of habitus, each actor possesses a certain level of linguistic capital which Bourdieu (1991) identifies as a form of cultural capital. Linguistic habitus is composed of two elements; firstly, language proficiency, essentially the ability to use language correctly, and secondly, linguistic discourse, representing the ability to use the discourse within the fields to achieve specific purposes (Bourdieu, 2005). This discourse forms part of the doxa operating in the fields and organisational actors employ their linguistic capital to advance their own interests within the fields in which they are positioned (Bourdieu, 1987).

Wittgenstein (1965), Rayner (2014) and Walther (2014) note that communities have their own language conventions and as such use this accepted language to play games. This language is often euphemised through management discourses to present language that is sanctioned or censored (Bourdieu, 1991). However, Bourdieu (2001) posits that the process of symbolic violence is often opaque to the less powerful members of the fields, often as a consequence of the blurring of euphemisms which are then central in the

organisational doxa. It is dependent on the individual actor's own linguistic mastery whether they hold the ability to use language to advance their own interests (Bourdieu, 1991).

Language is an integral structural component of the organisational and social world yet is fluidly bound up in the everyday practices of those worlds. To know language means that you can participate in the games at play in these worlds (Walther, 2014). Therefore, the language used within the fields and the associated discourses on which the language is based, are centrally significant in creating and maintaining power dynamics within the fields and it is through the mastery of language demonstrated by symbolic capital and symbolic violence that organisational members are able to uphold the power dimensions within the fields.

Power and Position Taking

One way in which individuals may advance their position within the field is through a process which Bourdieu (1991) refers to as position-taking. Positions usually are achieved through equilibrium of capital and habitus (Bourdieu, 2005). However, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) explain that although both habitus and capital shape an individual's position within the field, individuals can advance their positions by engaging in practices and using language associated with an advanced field position that they would like to occupy. Yang (2014) states that when new entrants or those attempting to advance within the field interrupt it and overtake those that hold the traditional power within it, the field experiences an interruption. When the interrupters are no longer the exception or minority group, then they provide a trajectory for others wishing to enter the field in the same way (ibid).

Facing the critics: In review of a Theory of Practice

In accepting the flexible opportunities that theory of practice brings with it, Bourdieu faces criticism of this work which largely positions it as being 'too materialistic, structuralist or determinist' (Yang, 2014:1522). Much of the criticism is positioned around Bourdieu's concept of habitus versus his representation of practice; the resulting behaviour that organisational actors

embody as a consequence of the collective influence of habitus, capital and field (King, 2000a). Although Bourdieu's work refutes an objective stance, his representations of habitus have received mixed scholarly reception for 'shifting back' to the objective position that his work so refutes (Walther, 2014:7). Furthermore, in review of practical theory, critics (e.g., Garnham and Williams, 1980; Brubaker, 2004; King, 2004b) argue that his presentation lacks both rationality and the ability to anticipate change and is thus constrained by these limitations (Yang, 2014). However, it is through Bourdieu's contribution in *Pascilian Meditations* (2000) that he addresses some of his critics of his interpretation of practice and offers that change and conscious strategy are possible (Yang, 2014). In a broader response to criticism of his work Bourdieu (un)convincingly, depending on the trajectory of the literature that one follows, simply dismisses his critics by arguing that they have an unfamiliarity with his work and have taken a very superficial interpretation of it (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

Framework Matching

Although there is an existing precedent for the use of Bourdieu's theory of practice in organisational studies through the work of Friedman *et al*., (2014), De Clercq and Voronov (2009), Golsorkhi *et al., (*2009), Kerr and Robinson (2009, 2011) and Özbilgin and Tatli (2005), with the exceptions of Harrington (2010), Petit-dit-Dariel *et al*., (2014), Gonzales (2014), Bjerregaard and Klitmøller (2016) and, more recently, through the work of Harrington (2010) in workplace bullying, Chan (1996) on police culture and Hess (2017), the corpus of studies has utilised elements of the theory rather than the full framework approach, (e.g. Corsun and Costen, 2001; Everett and Jamal, 2004; Hallett, 2003; Maman, 2000; Mutch, 2003; Oakes *et al*., 1998; Pinxten, and Lievens, 2014; Bathmaker, 2015). Such selective application has been open to criticism for diminishing the value of Bourdieu's tools (Swartz, 2008). In order to make full use of the tools presented through a theory of practice, this thesis has engaged all of the elements that theory of practice provides as a holistic and unified way of framing the findings that also provides the capacity to think with and beyond Bourdieu's framework.

To understand the suitability of theory of practice in relation to this study, the following section of the chapter offers justification for its appropriateness as a theoretical frame.

During access meetings at Greendale, gatekeepers discussed the isolationist nature of policing and how the force held a self-imposed boundary that separated them from the public. In presenting the idea of a self-imposed boundary or social space, the idea of the field initially suggested Bourdieu's theory of practice as a potential theoretical framework through which the thesis could be explored. Bourdieu (1984) presents the field as a spatial metaphor in which familiar divisions of action, in this case the policing, are played out as in the bounded self-contained realm of endeavour.

Beyond theory of practice, the thesis could have been explored through a number of alternative frameworks. The focus of the study centres on organisational actors' responses to and engagement with the ABIs used within the force. Although many studies have focused on AB policy (e.g. Rayner and Lewis, 2011; Harrington *et al.,* 2012: Cowan, 2011; Johnson, 2015) and the form that interventions have taken (e.g. Saam, 2010; Hodgins *et al.,* 2014; Kemp, 2014; Hutchinson and Jackson, 2015), very few studies, the exceptions being, Salin (2008), Harrington *et al., (*2011), Beirne and Hunter (2013) and Harrington, *et al.,* (2015) have explored how actors make sense of and enact these intervention measures. Those that have researched in this area have done so with particular groups, such as nurses (Hutchinson and Jackson, 2015), managers (Salin, 2008) and HR practitioners (Harrington *et al.*, 2015). This study explores sense making and enactment across a broader sample of organisational actors that include managers, police and support officers, union representatives and HR practitioners. As the research field has only fairly recently turned its attention to understanding how human action and context influences ABIs, the study could have been explored, for example from an information management position, to examine how people use both tacit and explicit information to make sense of and subsequently enact intervention measures. Or, it could have focused on the community aspect by using social identity theories as a lens to examine how community membership and identity

moderate behaviour and thus shapes how organisational actors make sense of the initiatives. However, it was the complex nature of policing, its closeness of community and particular culture, that influenced the selection of theory of practice as a suitable framework.

Theory of Practice in the Policing Arena

In a policing arena, officers and support staff belong to multiple communities or fields; the police as an institution, the area force to which they belong, the social group that they identify with, the professional position that they occupy to name but a few. Within these arenas, membership of these communities or fields may influence and shape practice and establishes the 'game'; the rules of play and the way in which organisational actors perceive they should behave. The capital, or perceived value, worth or power that each actor perceives they have, legitimately, perhaps through rank or otherwise, through the social capital that they hold, may vary between fields. Capital may be gained by organisational position such as rank or reputation, with each actor having an internal habitus; or disposition, that is shaped by life experience, beliefs and values (Bourdieu, 1991). This in turn shapes how each actor interprets the game at play and further interprets the taken-for-granted rules, referred to as the doxa that are employed within this domain.

Symbolic violence resonates throughout the force. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:167) explain symbolic violence as 'the violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity'. Examples of symbolic violence can be explored through gender by defining one sex over another as less intelligent, weaker or in any other negative sense (Lawler, 2012). Examples of symbolic violence in policing operate from both vertical and horizontal dimensions; vertically from the hierarchical system that operates in policing and horizontally from the most powerful amongst the groups to which social actors belong.

Bourdieu refers to that adaptive quality of habitus; although constrained through one's history it is capable of adapting to new situations and using past experiences to help shape how organisational actors make sense of the

organisational world to which they belong (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011). As police work is reactive and the organisation in which the study is positioned is in a constant state of flux due to constantly shifting political agendas, theory of practice has qualities through which these factors can be explored. Equally, workplace bullying and understanding how people interpret bullying and the initiatives that are there to prevent and manage it is complex. Bullying is recognised as a multi-layered construct and is not easily understood from a one-dimensional perspective. Thus, this framework provides an appropriate and comprehensive structure through which the complexities of human behaviour, policing and bullying and the complexities that surround ABIs can be understood.

In summary of a Theory of Practice

The thesis explores how organisational actors interpret and enact the anti-bullying mechanisms at play in the participant police force. Theory of practice has been applied as a lens through which the findings have been analysed and a framework through which sense and order has been brought to the vast and overwhelming data that was captured through the participant interviews. In summary, Bourdieu's (1991) central assumption in theory of practice is that behaviour is driven by self-interest. In establishing social practice and behaviour that assures self-interest, organisational actors interact in a social arena, referred to as the field, which is structured around various forms of capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Competition is highly prevalent in the field as organisational actors compete for the same limited resources such as power, promotion; respect and salary (Bourdieu, 1986). Thus, behaviour is 'organized around that competition' (Dobbin, 2008:55) and the field is constantly in conflict as actors seek to maximise their positions and capital within that field, (Bourdieu, 1986). Largely outside of conscious reflection, it is an individual's habitus, or internal disposition that shapes how actors interpret the field in which capital, rules and rewards have been legitimised as significant and important to that field, thus positioning that capital, rules and reward are field dependent (Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Therefore, Bourdieu positions organisations as competitive arenas in which people engage in a form of battle to acquire symbolic capital to advance their position

within it and use symbolic violence or voice to shape the field and discourse to obtain dominance and influence on other members within it (Emirayer and Johnson, 2008). The findings discussed in Chapter six applies Bourdieu's theory to examine social practice. Specifically, the thesis examines individual actor's interpretation and enactment of the anti-bullying mechanisms at play within the participant force. Bourdieu's framework allows that interpretation and enactment might be influenced through the individual, or collective habitus of policing; by the capital or perceived capital that an actor(s) may hold; by the organisational doxa and historical and social context in which attitudes to bullying rooted. Thus, Bourdieu's framework provides the means to examine the individual, organisational, interpersonal, professional and social factors that may determine how police officers, support staff, senior and middle managers, unions and human resource practitioners make sense of, interpret and enact the ABIs adopted within the policing context.

Progressing the Study

As Bourdieu's (1977) presentation of theory of practice is done so through the constructs of field, habitus, capital, game, doxa and symbolic violence, these constructs have provided a lens that has served to frame the research findings. Chapter six begins by presenting the reader with an overview of the sub-field from the various actor perspectives. Each group of actors, such as HR practitiners and union representatives, police officers and police support staff have their own competing and complimentary agendas and have specific taken for granted rules and assumptions (doxa) that operate within the sub-field. These competing agendas serve to shape practice and the enactment of ABIs which represent the central focus of the research study.

Chapter Six: The Antecedents of Bullying and Anti-bullying interventions from a sub-field perspective

Chapter one explained that the thesis is concerned with understanding how people make sense of and enact anti-bullying initiatives (ABIs) that are operationalised as preventative or restorative measures in the workplace. This chapter draws upon the experiences of twenty-one individuals who are actively engaged with the anti-bullying framework at Greendale police force, to consider the antecedents that shape attitudes towards bullying and the ABI measures that are in place to manage it. Some of the antecedents identified in the chapter are prevalent in many workplaces. However, some are unique to the policing environment and, as such; the findings hold two-fold significance.

In the first instance, they serve to provide insight from key voices from three specific perspectives that collectively contribute to our understanding of how different organisational actors with differing responsibilities and agendas make sense of ABIs. As a multi-voiced collective, these differing perspectives have thus far have received limited attention in the anti-bullying literature yet are important contributors to discussions concerning ABIs as they hold responsibility for their development, dissemination and use. As discussed in the introductory and methodology chapters, the first of those contributory voices include the Creators; those tasked with the responsibility of developing and managing ABI measures. The second voice is that of Disseminators; those tasked with providing guidance and support to those using the ABI measures and the third and final voice are end Users of the ABI framework. Collectively these voices give insight into how ABI measures are interpreted and enacted in a policing context. The significance of the inclusion of these voices is that they are not only able to draw on their own experiences and provide their insights into the ABIs at Greendale, the Creator and Disseminator groups in particular are also representative voices of the many, as their job roles required that they act for, or deal with many claims of workplace bullying at Greendale police force. They are therefore able to offer broader insight beyond their own personal perspectives regarding what shapes attitudes towards bullying, and importantly, the preventative measures that are in place to manage it.

The findings are analysed through Bourdieu's theory of practice which serves as the theoretical lens throughout the chapter. As set out in Chapter five, the use of a Bourdieusian lens poses the opportunity to consider beyond formal strategies of ownership, often in the form of policies and processes that largely remain in the custodianship of HR departments, who and what factors are influential in controlling the management of ABIs. In doing so, the chapter deliberates whether people act freely or whether social structures set limits or provide opportunity for individuals to use their own strategies (Fowler, 1997) to interpret the purpose of the ABI framework and how it should be used.

Chapter Structure: The First Perspective, Setting the Scene

The chapter is presented in four parts. The first section of the chapter is entitled, Setting the Scene and draws from Bourdieu's field theory (1972) to explore changes that have disrupted the sub-field at Greendale police force. Given that the central focus of the thesis is to investigate how organisational actors make sense of and enact ABIs in Greendale and given that the academic field's understanding of the role that context plays in shaping our understanding of ABIs is limited, part one and part two of the chapter provides important insight in to how field-level influences have helped to shape how organisational agents understand and practice the ABIs in the policing context. As IPA methodology used in the study has dually heuristic foundations, this section of the chapter offers a descriptive analysis of the sub-field narrated by the researcher and interspersed with supporting participant commentary. Parts one and two present the field-forces that have helped to shape how the different actors engaged in the study make sense of the ABIs. This section of the chapter considers the changing policing landscape from the general workforce perspective before concentrating discussions from the Creator position, as the group with primary responsibility for the ABIs. The value of the IPA methodology is that it has allowed the nuances of practice to be understood and shaped through Greendale's sub-field. Some of these influences are subtle yet remain important pieces of the jigsaw concerned with understanding how ABIs are practiced in the policing context. Importantly, the study is situated at two points of notable change in Greendale. The first is the

arrival of a new Chief Constable that brings with him a new way of doing policing which is discussed in the section of the chapter entitled, Positioning the Study. The second point of change recognises the impact of a new policing landscape as a consequence of the Government's austerity agenda and the reduction of investment in to policing services which has led to a change in organisational structure in Greendale. The impact of these change measures has impacted upon the way in which the ABIs are managed, particularly from an HR practitioner perspective, and has also led to a greater acceptance of bullying practices in the sub-field. This part of the chapter concludes by examining the historical relationship that Greendale has with workplace bullying and the management responses to it. As the chapter transitions it considers the impact of austerity across the broader policing field paying particular attention to the members of the Creator group including HR practitioners and the Police Federation of England and Wales (PFEW) representing police officers up to the rank of chief inspector and Unison, representing PCSO's and police staff or civilians[5] (Alderden and Skogen, 2014). As members of the Creator group they largely assume ownership of the ABIs, and this section of the chapter explores the impact of austerity measures across the broader policing field and the changing responsibilities of ABI management. Their commentaries provide insight as representative bodies of the majority of sub-field's workforce and in doing so, highlights discrepancies between their representative social capital and the resulting challenges that they face in having a voice as part of those collectively responsible for managing and advising on workplace bullying intervention initiatives.

Part One: Understanding the Sub-Field

Greendale police force is identified as a highly performing policing organisation that has gone through a series of internal changes, the impact of which is discussed later in this chapter. The first of these changes is the downsizing

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[5] The Police Association of Superintendents of England and Wales (PASEW) representing senior police officers in the rank of Superintendent and Chief Superintendent, and the National Police Chiefs' Council Chief serving the interests of chief officers (Gov.UK, 2018) have not contributed to the study.

and restructuring of the workforce due to an austerity led decrease in the policing budget which is discussed in greater detail in Chapter three. The second and third point of change is the departure of a previous and arrival of a new Chief Constable. The previous Chief Constable, along with his senior management team, is reported to have set the bullying tone at Greendale through the promotion of a 'bullying culture' as reported in the following extracts.

> *'The previous Chief was a bully who promoted and permitted a bullying culture. He was clever, a politician really. He was liked by the lower ranks as he was nice to them, but he bullied higher ranked officers.'* User M.

> *'The Chief was a politician that courted the attention and favour of the lower ranked police officers yet humiliated and bullied their bosses.'* Disseminator C.

> *'The previous Chief was a real bully. He encouraged a bullying culture here and was the first real time we had seen overt bullying.'* Creator F.

> *'When he got the job, many took retirement or went to other forces because he was coming and because of the impact that he would have on the culture. He perpetuated and encouraged a bullying culture. His leadership style was in your face. He would shout at you in public and humiliate and embarrass you and would say, it's my way and I am not bothered what you think.'* Disseminator X.

> *'The previous Chief just ran the place with a bullying culture. People were held accountable for their performance and I can remember incidents where they wanted to bring inspectors to meetings and just berate the poorest performers in front of everybody else. It was a different world that used a style of policing that was originally used in America. It was like a bear pit really. It was basically humiliation that broke people. There is a*

hangover from the previous Chief. When we interrogated our people, they say there is still a legacy from him.' Disseminator H.

'The meetings were terrible. you needed to pluck up the courage to go. The Chief and his team would just destroy you.' Disseminator E.

'People have been bullied to achieve and bullied if they haven't achieved it. That has happened in the past. In the bad old days bullying was accepted, it was seen as part of bringing people up and making them tougher. Over time it has proved that it is wrong it degrades people.' Creator Q.

'Everyone is battered and bruised. People have developed a fear of giving an opinion. This was the culture under the previous Chief.' User M.

These extracts provide insight in to the bullying culture that was promoted during the previous Chief Constable's five-year reign at Greendale police force. The long-lasting impact of this style of management is discussed later in the chapter from a middle ranking officers' perspective who are reported to be part of the current bullying problem at Greendale.

However, as the study is situated at a third point of change instigated by the arrival of the new Chief Constable, he is reported as a positive influence who was attempting to reform behaviours and bullying practices that had become ingrained and accepted as the norm.

'The previous Chief was all about humiliation that broke people. We don't have that with the current Chief. He is supportive of people. I think the Chief here is trying very hard to change that, but these things are quite ingrained. He has got to deal with a hangover from the previous Chief. The new Chief was the old Chief's deputy for quite some time, so some people see him as part of the same regime although his personal style is very different. The current Chief believes that he was brought in to be the ex-Chief's Rottweiler until he realised that he didn't have a

> *job because the ex- Chief was his own Rottweiler. The new Chief is a good leader. He is enlightened in his management style. He is supportive of change and won't tolerate bullying.'* Disseminator H.

> *'The new Chief Constable is a good leader, is down to earth, has been in Greendale all of his life. He's from the area so he will get respect and he's not a bully. He won't support it either.'* Disseminator M.

> *'Since the previous Chief has gone a sea change is happening, a positive move towards empowerment. I am cautiously optimistic. You have come at a good time. Under the previous Chief, you would have been a good for his image, but people wouldn't have taken your research seriously believing nothing would have been done with it. We deal with constant rhetoric and I want an outcome.'* Disseminator E

> *'The new Chief he has a softer edge and a more personal focus He's not a bully and he won't tolerate it.'* Creator Q.

Implementing New Initiatives: The Challenge of Resistance

These extracts provide insight in to how the two Chief Constables have been received at Greendale police force. Reportedly, the first promoted the bullying culture at Greendale, while the second rejected such practices. Despite this shift in leadership style, the consequential hope of change and positive reform, the research participants reported that the hangover from the previous Chief's management style was that some middle ranking officers in particular had not bought in to the new Chief Constable's reforms. Many of the research respondent interviews repeatedly discussed a problem with middle ranking managers and their unwillingness to adapt to the new way of doing policing, regarding bullying as the way to manage.

> *'The Chief has a challenge ahead of him. Change takes time and some people don't necessarily buy-in to the changes. Some of the middle managers have worked under the previous Chief. It is*

what they know. For them bullying is how you achieve results.' Creator M.

'There is a bit of an issue with the middle managers now. They started as new recruits under the previous Chief and that is how he behaved. They have seen results with this type of behaviour. It is what they know.' Creator F.

'In my role I act in a professional capacity and represent others. I hear of the impact of those same individuals and their same style of management and how it is devastating people in other parts of the country. The danger is with a lot of younger managers is that they don't know anything different. The only way they have ever known to manage is to hit the people beneath you. It takes a long time to change culture because if that is the way that it has always been done around here then it is like learnt behaviour and people operate like that because that is how they have been treated on the way up.' Disseminator X.

This resistance to the new change initiatives evidenced in the extracts was perhaps to be expected. Chapter two discussed the associated problems with the how-to aspect of new initiative implementation process. Greendale has a longstanding history of workplace bullying the lasting impact of which is that middle managers have become accustomed to this form of behaviour. However, as Chapter three, notes that if those in the lower levels of organisation do not subscribe to the programmes that senior managers seek to introduce then this may continue to hinder reform.

Understanding Middle Manager Resistance as Hysteresis

To understand the behaviour of middle ranking police officers' behaviour and their reluctance to accept the new Chief Constable's change agenda, attention is directed to Bourdieu's notion of a contested habitus. Chapter five discusses how a contested collective habitus can emerge as a result of structural gap

due to changes to the organisational field whereby some agents are unable or unwilling to adapt to field change, resulting in hysteresis, or disconnection from their field. The examples provided in the previous excerpts suggests that the change resistant middle managers referenced in the participant interviews arguably effectuated a dysfunctional yet collective habitus that had been shaped through their longstanding careers in Greendale. Chapter two in its discussions concerning middle management practices make relevant comment here. They are noted as close enough to the field to see the day-to-day interactions and to senior managers to understand the bigger picture yet have the capacity to negatively impact on their organisation's implementation and enactment strategies. It is through this close connection to senior managers that they have been able to understand how to gain advantage in the field through bullying behaviours euphemised by what Creator M, Creator F, Creator Q and Disseminator E, Disseminator Z and User H and User X all referred to in their interviews as '*robust management*' in the policing sub-field. The impact of the term robust management is discussed in depth in part four of the chapter.

As chapter five notes that the underpinning premise of theory of practice is that organisational agents re-evaluate the field from a self-interested perspective. It also notes that the field or sub-field in this case, represents an arena organised around different forms of capital where individuals compete for resources and engage in self-serving behaviour. As part of this self-serving competitive strategy, managers in Greendale were reported to have observed permitted bullying through the use of symbolic violence and the cloaking of bullying under the guise of 'robust management' strategies. In doing so they have been able to observe others rise through the ranks, or position-take to more senior positions within the organisation through the use of this practice. Thus, the change strategies instigated by the new Chief challenged how they understood how one advances their career and gets the job done.

As the study is interested in understanding the role of context, Chapter five notes how this sociological lens offers insight in to how and why practice occurs, including understanding how knowledge is produced and who the

producers of such knowledge are in a given field. Drawing reference from field and habitus it is necessary to understand the relationship between the position of these producers of knowledge and practice, their disposition or relation to other and how one can take a position within Greendale's organisational sub-field. The participants in this study identify that bullying plays a significant part in gaining symbolic capital in this position taking process. This point is explored further later in, The Game of Interpretation: Abusing the System section of the chapter, which focuses on the use of bullying as a career progression tool.

Thus, two observations are made. The first is that this particular group of change resistant police officers have risen through the ranks and now occupy mid-ranking positions of authority within the force and secondly these mid-ranking managers have vicariously experienced career success through the display of bullying or aggressive behaviour linguistically framed as robust management; a form of managerialist symbolic violence. Despite the hope of sea change, participants report that many of the problems lie with this particular group of individuals who are reported to have limited buy-in to the Chief Constable's new reforms and are unwilling to change or adapt their own robust management style thus perpetuating behaviour that is regarded by some as bullying. Chapter five contends that for the games of the field to function effectively all of the players need to understand the rules. Consensus on what represents the game is achieved through as sense of shared habitus that allows the field to function in a 'collective way' (Bourdieu, 2000:156). Shared habitus allows group think to take hold as practices are enacted as predictable and expected taken-for-granted ways of behaving in particular circumstances. In this context middle ranking police officers demonstrate an understanding of the game influenced through their shared understanding of field determinants and organisational doxa. However, due to disruptions in the field through austerity measures and senior management change, the new way of practicing policing has led to cognitive dissonance or hysteresis amongst this group of individuals that have shared similar socialisation experiences in the police force. They have, through their career, witnessed bullying to lead to promotion and reward through the previous Chief's behaviour, therefore, their understanding of the game is challenged due to a

mismatched understanding of the game between players with different forms of capital who interpret the game for their own ends as a consequence of their socialisation process.

Bulling in the Workplace: Acknowledging the Bullying Problem

To examine the historical roots of bullying at Greendale in 2007 and 2009 the force commissioned workforce surveys and asked specific questions regarding the workforces' experiences of bullying at work.

The responses from those surveys are identified in table 4 below.

Table 4 Greendale Internal Workplace bullying reports 2007, 2009

Question	Date of Survey: 2007	Date of survey: 2009	Change
Have you ever been bullied whilst employed by x Police?	Yes:34.7% (n=1109)	Yes: 27.8% (n=903)	6.9% improvement
If Yes, was it within the last 6 months?	Yes: 32%	Yes: 27%	5% improvement
What was the source of bullying?	Manager/Supervisor: 80% Peer/Colleague:30% Subordinate:3% Other: 3%	1st line manager:48% 2nd line manager:19%; Senior manager:28%; Peer/Colleague:30%; Subordinate: 3%;	Similar pattern between surveys, with more detail in 2009 survey.
Have you ever witnessed bullying at work whilst employed by x Police?	Yes: 35.8% (n=1145)	Yes: 28.2%	7.6% improvement

If Yes, was it within the last 6 months?	Yes: 43% of above respondents	Yes: 38% of above respondents	5% improvement
What was the source of bullying witnessed?	Manager/Supervisor: 71% Peer/Colleague: 42% Subordinate: 6% Other: 4%	1st line manager: 39% 2nd line manager: 15% Senior manager: 23% Peer/Colleague: 44% Subordinate: 4% Other: 7%	Similar pattern between surveys, with more detail in 2009 survey

The findings from Greendale's survey suggested that 34.7% of those surveyed (n=1109) reported to have been bullied at work, with mangers being identified as the main perpetrators (Police Internal Report, 2007). Discussions in Chapter two allows the prevalence rates of bullying at Greendale to be compared against a broad range of UK and international workplaces and finds Greendale to be in excess of the highest rates reported in other studies.

Disbelieving of the levels of reported bullying, an early interview with HR outlined that after reviewing the findings of the 2007 report, they had sent out their own internal survey to establish the position. They stated,

> '*we sent the survey out again. This time we took out the questions regarding bullying as we didn't believe that they things that were raised were bullying and the new report identified no cases of bullying and we published the findings.*' Creator W.

Evidence of HR's actions were also reported by other members of the Creator group.

> '*HR didn't accept the position. They sent their own survey out after the initial one. They changed the questions. That's what they do, they bury things.*' Creator J.

> *'HR did their own survey. They just wouldn't accept the original one.'* Creator F.

With the bullying related questions removed from the survey this undoubtedly presented a much rosier picture of organisational life within the force and begs the question, why commission a report that you do not intend to take note of? Perhaps the performance management policing agenda that was heavily operationalised in the participant force around the time that the surveys were undertaken may provide insight in to HR's position.

Making Sense of HR Action

To make sense of HR's actions within Greendale sub-field Chapter three draws discussions to the policing the landscape of the early 2000 onwards and the rise of the performance culture which is reported to have resulted in dysfunctional forms of behaviour. However, to offer an alternative position Collier (2006:165) suggests that performance measurement offers 'legitimisation' of purpose and provides opportunity to quantifiably record, in this case through the staff survey, a job well done. HR is primarily responsible for people related issues in organisations so responsibility for the management and measurement of bullying related issues falls to them. HR's removal of the bullying related questions from the staff survey after the 2007 report provides the opportunity to record a positive reflection of workplace bullying in the policing landscape. HR's re-sending of an internal survey following the external report in 2007 serves three purposes. The first offers the opportunity to formally reflect a happy bullying free work environment. Chapter two drawing from theories of worker motivation notes how a happy workforce is both productive and cost effective as happy workers are less likely to be absent from work or leave to seek alternative employment (Berengueras *et al.*, 2017). The internal survey therefore sends a positive message to an internal and external audience that Greendale's environment is harmonious and therefore cost effective in its delivery of policing services. Secondly, at the individual level the production of a document that presents the workforce as a happy one serves to dispel dissenting voices as singular and misrepresentative of the policing community. And thirdly, the report reinforces that stance that the lack of

reported workplace bullying issues must reflect HR own effectiveness in its delivery of service and as such legitimises HR's own worth in Greendale force. Therefore, the practice of distorting communication and abnegation of responsibility reported in Chapter three rather than actively dealing with the reported problem of bullying, is reflective of wider dysfunctional policing practice encouraged through a performance driven agenda. Although today's policing organisation has made steps to move away from dysfunctional practices that were evidenced throughout an era of performance management, this study, situated over a decade later still evidences dysfunctional practice amongst the HR community and is discussed in greater detail in, The changing Expectation of HR Professionals, later in this chapter.

In justification of Action

In justification of the need to send out the further internal survey in 2007, the HR practitioners interviewed revealed the thinking behind their actions.

> '*When we dug deeper in to the* [2007] *first set of results we didn't believe what was being reported in the survey really constituted bullying.'*

This identifies further questions reading the legitimacy that the force places on wanting to deal with bullying in the workplace and throws in to the mix, what constitutes bullying from the force's perspective?

Chapter two debates the complexities of understanding what constitutes bullying at work and the rebranding of it through a managerialist narrative. Evidence of this practice was evidenced at Greendale through HR's use and acceptance of euphemistic language used as symbolic violence to dismiss User interpretations of bullying. To position this, the force places emphasis on what all participants referred to as '*robust management*' and reports suggest that they quite easily '*blur the lines between bullying and robust management*' (Disseminator Q); a practice that is commonly identified in workplace bullying literature in other organisational communities. However, the external reports should have presented no surprises. In 2000, an internal staff survey indicated

significant levels of workplace bullying. The then Chief Constable was cited as '*promising to publish the results no matter what they said*' (User X). However, the results were never published, and the workforce was said to have '*lost faith in him* [the Chief] *as a consequence of this'* (Creator F, further supported through the commentaries from Creator M and User X).

The 2007 survey indicated that the bullying problem had not just gone away and although the subsequent 2009 survey indicated a reduction in the levels of bullying, the survey still reported high levels of workplace bullying in Greendale. The main perpetrator was identified as a senior colleague who was believed to be influential in maintaining an aggressive workplace and that colleague went on to become the Chief Constable in the participant force which self-identifies as a highly performing policing organisation.

Understanding Behaviour through a Bourdieusian Lens

To analyse the Chief Constable's actions through a Bourdieusian lens provides the opportunity to consider the impact on the Chief's actions on his own symbolic capital. Discussed in detail in Chapter five, symbolic capital refers to a 'degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity or honour and is founded on a dialectic of knowledge (connaissance) and recognition (reconnaissance)' (Bourdieu, 1993:7). His position of power as head of Greendale force represented his objectified cultural capital affording him legalistic authority and responsibility of the sub-field's workforce. However, his efforts demonstrate an attempt to gain symbolic capital through his endeavour to manage bullying behaviour across Greendale. His actions initially sent signals that he intended to take note of the workforce and find reparative solutions to address the bullying behaviour. The sending of the survey plausibly could do much to gain favour and respect from those in lower levels of authority following the genuineness of his actions and support. As symbolic capital is concerned with reputation, competence, image, respectability and honour, the subsequent reneging of promises and inaction damaged how lower level officers perceived the Chief and resulted in long-term lasting damage to the Chief's image and symbolic capital in Greendale.

The Creators: Understanding the Force's Human Resource Practitioner Group

To offer further examples of the previously evidenced dysfunctional HR, behaviour as part of the access process I was asked to attend a meeting at police headquarters to introduce myself and the research study to the HR manager and a group of senior and middle ranking officers. My 'slot' was a bolt-on to a regular quarterly meeting that discussed strategic policing issues. Part way through proceedings the HR manager stood up to give her quarterly account of human resource related issues.

> '*There have been no accounts of bullying received in the last three months,*' she stated and promptly sat down. With that a hand at the table was raised,

> '*I passed a case on to you last month.*' Before she could respond, a further hand was raised and then another,

> '*I passed a case to you only last week*' and '*I passed one to you two months ago.*'

> The response was quick, '*I will need to look in to this and get back to you,*' she said.

As the meeting drew to a close, two of the attending mangers walked passed where I was sitting and threw their business cards on to my lap.

> '*People are too bloody scared to come forward [to report bullying] and when they do that's HR's response to everything; they will have to look in to it, but they never do. It all goes in to a black hole and you never hear of it again. HR has the information on many occasions but there is no desire to learn and no desire to help.*' Disseminator X.

This early insight in to a mismatch between the police responses to cases of reported bullying and the responses of the force's HR practitioners was further reported in the study by Disseminator E and Disseminator D.

> '*HR say we have no grievance cases regarding bullying. They have stood up in meetings and said that. What they really mean to say is that people are too scared to come forward to report anything.*' Disseminator E.

> '*There is no desire to learn. They don't believe that what people are reporting really constitutes bullying.*' Disseminator D.

Although current research discussed in depth in Chapter two identifies workplace bullying as a wider organisational problem, it largely owned by HR departments and dealt with through ABIs that are often developed and situated within the HR function. The consequences of the reported misalignment of what HR and the workforce recognises as bullying, is therefore problematic given the historical acceptance of a bullying culture at Greendale and leaving any positive initiatives created by HR to respond to bullying, seen as empty gestures by the workforce. Traditional measures aimed at managing bullying at work are both proactive and reactive in nature and have previously been noted to be most effective when they set out to positively influence organisational attitudes and behaviours taking account of the social context and work environment in which bullying takes place.

The Problem with HR's Intervention Strategy

HR's adoption of a multi-level approach is referred to in the participant interviews.

> '*There are loads of options. We have highly experienced policy writer and our policies are often plagiarised by other forces. Beyond policies we have mediation, support through*

occupational health. Then there's the networks, they can offer support and offer advice.' Creator M.

'There are no issues with policies here. We have an exemplary anti-bullying policy and there is a zero-tolerance approach to bullying here at Greendale.' Disseminator Q.

'We have very highly experienced policy-writers at Greendale. The issue is nothing to do with policy.' Disseminator Z.

'Actually, it is nothing to do with policy. We have good policy writers and all of the relevant policies here.' User X.

'I know policy exists.' Creator F (this view was further echoed by Creator Q; Disseminator H).

The above excerpts acknowledge that the issue with bullying is nothing to do with the policies that are deployed at Greendale. However, the extracts below further insight regarding issues of implementation.

'The issues here are not to do with policy. I know it exists. The issue is that I don't know much about it. They don't really train you on this kind of thing. I know about it because I have experienced bullying and I have gone through formal process. We have training for operational stuff but not to do with training around what is and what isn't acceptable with regards to bullying.' User L.

'The issue here is that the policies and processes exist, but no-one knows where to find them or much about them. It's a problem really.' Disseminator E.

'People need to be made more aware of bullying. People need to know that you don't have to suffer in silence. There is lots of

stuff about other issues, gay, lesbian etc but nothing really about the anti-bullying stuff.' Disseminator Q.

To explore the points raised in the extracts, Richards and Daley (2003) note that if policies, and initiatives such as those implemented through the HR function are done so without any effective promotional strategies, including any training around expectations this effectively fails to convey any seriousness associated with the organisation's intent to deal with the issue. Beyond HR's blurred understanding of bullying, the participants collectively reported that many of the problems that they experienced or saw occurred as a consequence of a broader misrecognition of bullying and a complex system of reporting.

'*The issue is that some line managers don't consider what is reported to really be bullying.'* Creator F

'*Actually, some line managers see issues of bullying as being well, not quite bullying you know a bit lower level, so it is not necessarily hitting the parameters of what 'they' consider to be bullying and they don't want to go through the whole process of dealing with bullying at a lower level. As an example, they offer to the person that it being bullied to work from a different location whereas the policy would say well really if there is an issue of bullying and you are going to be moving someone it should be the bully, but they use this as a kind of quick fix. From observation and experience their approach doesn't actually solve the issues as the person on the receiving end of the bullying reports that they never feel like the issue was resolved. I think people struggle to find the forms on the intranet anyway but technically the process exists. The question is how often it is used.'* Disseminator E.

'*To some extent I think people do look at the process and think that it is something that is stressful to go through, that is*

> *cumbersome, that can take a long time and can potentially affect relationships with colleagues and line managers and think to be honest ok the bullying in stressful but it wouldn't be quite as stressful as going through the anti-bullying process.'*
> Disseminator Q.

> '*The process of reporting can be both stressful and lengthy. It is off-putting really. Mostly people just want the bullying to stop.*'
> User L.

The punitory nature of some ABI processes as noted above, are discussed in Chapter two and recognised as a barrier to positive ABI engagement. As the above commentary similarly echoes many examples already discussed in the workforce (anti)bullying literature field, discussions at this point add no further contribution to the workplace bullying literature field, so this issue is not reviewed in any further depth. However, what the thesis does review is how this particular group of individuals enact and interpret intervention systems given the individuals own subjective understanding of what is meant by bullying and further framed through the policing organisations explicit definition of bullying in the formal processes. A Bourdieusian perspective is helpful here as it is able to provide new insight in to the complexities that can impact on policy/initiative implementation.

In earlier examples from the middle manager and Chief Constable's perspectives, habitus was used as a lens to understand how their behaviour has been influenced through their contextual, historical and self-interested perspectives. The HR practitioners are also examined from this perspective. Chapter five notes how habitus seeks to explain repeated patterns of action that are contextually adjusted, further modified by experience and are not solely attributable to external structures or subjective intention. The following excerpts add to this discussion. In one of the early meetings between researcher and HR. HR reported how they owned a broad repertoire of ABIs that were constantly reviewed and developed by the HR function. Creator M explains,

> '*We do much to help people. There are loads of support options. We have a process. It includes formal reporting, or we have options such as mediation. That really works. We also have support if people have been off with issues to do with this and we can support people with back-to-work initiatives working with occupational health.*'

> '*We have all of the policies and processes. That's not the issue. Many people don't know much about them or where to find them, but we have them.*' User L.

> '*Our policy writers are experienced policy writers. We have all of the policies and processes that are necessary to deal with bullying.*' Creator F.

The examples above describe how HR positively understand their array of interventions through their claims that they do much to help people. However, as the excerpts continue, they note how the issue is less concerned with the policies and initiatives per se, but more to do with knowing very little about them or where to find them, suggesting the issue is more about the educating the workforce about the initiatives and about raising the profile of the initiatives themselves. In Chapter two, HR's approach to ABI management is understood as a multi-level process that is focused on target, perpetrator and wider organisational population. This approach calls for a continuous improvement and extension strategy to the ABI arsenal which places emphasis on changing behaviours of perpetrators and those bullied through resilience strategies or bullying awareness training programmes. However, HR's actions appear to be at odds here. They are continuously developing an arsenal of policies and strategies aimed at building resilience and changing behaviours yet appeared to have underdeveloped the profile of these initiatives, thus losing the impact of what they were intended to do. To make sense of this action gaze is cast beyond chapters two and three in to a different field of literature to understand their behaviours. Participants identified as Creators M, F and O all noted in their interviews that HR staffing levels had reduced *'from 42 to 12.*' Drawing

from strategic HRM literature, the HR field notes that organisational pursuit of competitive advantage has resulted in the outsourcing or sharing of some HR functions (Brown and Hale, 2007; Macbeth, 2008; Fergusson, 2010) and this has had two-fold implications for HR practitioners. The public sector in which the police force is positioned has felt the impact of outsourcing and sharing practice. The first impact has resulted in a reduction in career opportunities in the conventional HR sense and the second has led to the need to constantly justify the worth of the HR role often through creative application of new initiatives that re-enforce the value of the practitioner role and the value that they bring to their organisations (Zegelmeyer and Gollan, 2012; Glaister, 2014). In an ever-changing policing environment, participants discussed the potential threat of losing their job through organisational restructure. Although austerity is not linked to competitive advantage in some respects the outcome is the same. Measures are survival focused and jobs may be lost. Greendale is reported to have been '*significantly impacted*' (Creator F) by the cuts with HR being '*dramatically impacted*' (Creator F, a view reiterated by Creator M) through restructure. The strategy of building a portfolio of ABIs in this unstable environment raises questions concerning whether interventions have been developed in response to an organisational need, or whether they have been developed to justify the role of the HR department and the practitioners that work within this arena? In many respects HR practice is self-seeking here. As middle managers were earlier found to have been influenced by previous management bullying strategies, attention is drawn to the dysfunctional behaviours of the performance management era to be understood HR behaviour through an impression management lens.

Understanding Protectionist Strategies

Erving Goffman in his work, *Presentation of Self* (1959) introduced the concept of presenting oneself in a particular way to influenced how others might see them. Goffman used the imagery of theatre to demonstrate the importance of human interaction to present a sense of one's place within their field. It is within this social space that 'social power' (Bourdieu, 1989:16) is exercised through certain behaviours to gain or preserve the symbolic power within their occupational field. HR's job is to manage ABIs. Their collective actions that

dismiss cases of bullying, present positive workforce surveys and create and continuously add to the ABI arsenal, offers a reality / imagery of effective and necessary HR practitioners, thus legitimising the need for HR as strategic contributors in tough economic times in an environment where restructure can have direct impact on the capitals held by HR practitioners in Greendale. This provides new understanding of how HR enact ABIs. Given that the thesis is concerned with understanding the role that context plays in the enactment of ABIs, HRP's show how they have adjusted their behaviours in response to field-forces and engage with ABIs from a self-interested perspective and influenced by dated practices that encouraged the abnegation of responsibility.

The Changing Expectation of HR professionals

To understand HR's behaviours, other sub-field changes need to be considered to fully understood their actions. To cope with the reduction of the HR workforce, HR has needed to respond and this has resulted in two issues; on a purely practical level, some of the HR tasks have been devolved to managers in the wider workforce who have less HR knowledge of dealing with people related issues than the practitioners themselves, thus changing the practitioner role away from a hands on role towards a more knowledge sharing orientation. HR practitioners are called upon to share their knowledge of HR policy and practice with police officers and support staff that occupy managerial roles and on a day-to-day basis are responsible for managing staff within their departments. In this new world the HR practitioner role has increasingly moved towards a mediation role rather than a front-line contact role within the organisation. This mediation takes two forms; the first is concerned with mediation of policy. As practitioners HR are using their knowledge to provide navigational support to line managers who are not sufficiently familiar with policy and process and do not have the underpinning HR management knowledge to deal proficiently with people related issues. In this sense HR share their knowledge of their field with line managers as they deal with staffing related issues. Creator F explains,

> *'Managers and supervisors consulting with HR for advice and*
> *support now that HR is decimated. We have some managers and*

> *supervisors that have a track record of not following HR advice about what you can or should be doing. To be honest managers and supervisors are under a massive amount of pressure to deliver you know what I mean so to deal with bullying issues it can be time consuming. To support that individual that is subject to bullying is also time consuming that is the problem that they have. A lot of our managers and supervisors do not have the training, they do not have, I am going to be a bit rue here, some don't have the intellectual capacity to deal with human emotion; they don't have that at all.'*

The second is one of mediation of the psychological contract. Beyond the formal and legal contact of employment, the psychological contract represents the taken-for-granted positive and negative expectations and perceptions that exist between employer and employee (CIPD, 2018). The psychological contract is regarded as one of the most important ways in which employee attitudes and performance can be understood (*ibid*). Once line managers have dealt with their staff, disgruntled or confused officers and support staff on the receiving end of sometimes inconsistent or poorly delivered HR advice, guidance or instruction. Creator M explained,

> '*Our roles have changed. We provide advice and guidance to line managers who then have to give the advice we have given them to those in their teams. We get loads of calls following this. They want confirmation that what their line managers have just told them is true.'*

> '*HR's role has changed. My managers have to ring them now for advice.'* Disseminator X.

Here the aim of the HR practitioner is to positively navigate the psychological contract between line manager and worker and is also to act as mediator or broker between the two parties concerned. In doing so, the HR practitioner provides further guidance to either party where needed with the objective of

managing a potentially challenging situation as sensitively as possible. Using Bourdieu's capital lens, this plausibly gives insight into the power dimensions of HR practitioners in policing. HR's ownership of the ABIs place them in the position as strategic drivers of these initiatives. Yet the reality is that HR is reported to hold a long-term association as a supportive rather than strategic role in organisations (Ulrich *et al.,* 2008). To add to this HR as practicing professionals charged with people related issues have has long faced criticism that their role that is just founded upon common sense so therefore could be fulfilled by any non-expert (Cowan and Fox, 2015). HR although identified as the custodian of the ABI framework is still situated within the broader frame of civilianship in the policing organisation. Civilians are recognised within the policing field as holding less economic, social and symbolic capital than their policing counterparts thus the devolution of some of HR responsibilities to police officers, although in response to a structural need, identifies a further loss of symbolic capital in the policing sub-field. This raises two points; have HR led as change masters of their own fate in managing the devolution of some of their responsibilities to police line managers in an effort to manage the pressures of job enlargement as a consequence of the restructuring process, or, has this been managed for them, with the restructuring process providing space for responsibilities to be taken away from them, thus increasing the capital of the police officers holding HR responsibilities.

Thus, the HR field exemplifies a shift in form and structure. The HR department has significantly felt the impact of cost saving measures in the police force and the consequent restructuring and downsizing of the HR department. This seismic shift has resulted in a new form of HR where practitioners are less front-line in their delivery of services and now engage in a greater sharing of their knowledge and expertise with others that now hold responsibility for the delivery of HR services through the guidance and support of the HR practitioner. The reduction in formally trained and qualified HR professionals has meant that they have needed to work smarter. This smart new world of the HR practitioner has left them vulnerable; they are still subject to further potential downsizing, outsourcing or sharing of HR services and because of this threat, are under more pressure to prove their worth in as many ways as

they can. Thus, this new world presents HR with opportunity and challenge. Opportunities and challenges are interdependent with two central aims; the first is to do everything in their power to maintain jobs and prevent any further reduction of the HR department and secondly as far as bullying is concerned, is to '*minimise any potential litigation cases that might be brought against the force as a consequence of bullying at work.'* Creator M.

The Significance of Habitus in ABI Management

To return to the theoretical framework through which the study is understood, the impact of change and the resulting behavioural change of HR practitioners represents a shifting habitus. As habitus seeks to explain repeated patterns of action that are modified and adjusted in response to experience that is bounded by external structures and subjective intent, HR's actions similar to those reported earlier with middle managers, are shown to have adjusted in response to changes in the sub-field. This has encouraged them to use self-seeking behaviour that Storey's (1992) typologies of HR workers would identify as regulators, who adopt a safeguarding position, rather than as strategic agents acting as change agents. In this case, the safeguarding moves beyond policy and process of the ABI strategy, to safeguarding their own position and professional standing in the organisational community as they seek to protect further job reduction in tough economic times where outsourcing and downsizing have become more common place. Habitus offers a new way of understanding ABI enactment and the impact of habitus is shown to be significant amongst other workforce groups further in the chapter.

Representative Bodies

Discussions this far have focused on understanding the changes to Greendale's sub-field from a historic perspective, and from a position of change. As previous discussions have considered the impact of this on middle managers and HR practitioners, this part of the chapter extends discussions to the other stakeholders of the ABI process; the police support union (Unison) representing civilian staff and the Police Federation (PFEW) representing police constables, sergeants, inspectors and chief inspectors. These groups have made contribution to the research study as representative bodies of their

membership from Greendale force and have helped to provide data on their interaction with the ABIs on two levels. Firstly, as members of the Creator group as they have primary decision-making influence on the ABIs at Greendale and, secondly as Disseminators providing advice, support and guidance to their members regarding how to deal with bullying at work.

The Police Support Staff Union

The police support staff union self-report to represent '*between 65- 75% of the support staff*' (Creator F) at Greendale. Following the Government's decision to cut policing numbers the union have engaged in representing police support staff that have been negatively impacted by the restructuring process. The restructuring had resulted in two outcomes; a changing organisational demographic and a change in the relationship between the Police Support Staff union and the PWEF representing police officers.

The Changing Organisational Demographic

The union report to the fact that,

'*the current Chief Constable has made an executive decision to maintain police officer numbers at a particular level, something that the police authority would not support. However, with the arrival of a new Police Commissioner they have agreed to support the Chief's decision*. *The issue we have as a representative body is, where these officers would be positioned within the organisation and what impact this would have on the people that we represent.*' Creator F.

'*The Chief wants to maintain policing numbers as much as he can. The issue with that is that the cuts have to come from somewhere, so where does he plan to cut? Who will be impacted by his decision?*' Creator U.

The union reports that the response from the Chief Constable has been to reduce police support staff numbers through redundancy and natural wastage, resulting in a greater workload for the remaining support staff. As well as

support staff numbers reducing, retiring police officers were reported to be regularly recruited back in to support staff roles when they became available. Furthermore, existing management roles that were held by police support officers were subject to restructure with police support officers being made redundant as a cost cutting and restructuring and replaced by police officers who were engaged to manage teams that they had limited experience and knowledge of. Creator F commented,

> *'Just to give you an example, when the cuts hit, they got rid of the head of HR. They had years and years of experience in HR and they replaced them with a police officer. HR is now headed up by a police officer with no knowledge of HR.'*

> *'The cuts and restructure hit us hard. We have situations where police officers now manage departments that would have previously been managed by police support staff. It has happened in HR as just one example.'* Creator M.

> *'This approach may as well have signed the death warrant of lots of police support staff to make savings.'* Creator U.

To add to this, Creator F explained how this strategy of civilian reduction had impacted in Greendale,

> *'I know of many cases of a steady filtration of police officers back in to roles that were previously civilianised. The officers still have a job, but it is not as part of the 'force' it's part of the policing staff. Their high level of wage remains the same, they don't drop to those of police staff. As an example, there is a case where there is an ex- police officer on £40K sitting next to and doing the same job as a grade C clerk on £18K. There can't be any justification for this. The police staff part is just seen as an add-on really. Basically, they are not regarded as important, although 40% of police forces are civilians. Some forces are up to 60%. Civilians*

are an important element of that police forces, but it is difficult to
change police officer mentality.'

The changing organisational landscape has served to damage the union's social and symbolic capital within Greendale. New members' transitioning in to civilianship from the police side of the organisation has demonstrated a reluctance to join the union.

'The previous Chief held little faith in the police support union.
He'd say, they are idiots. They can't be taken seriously really.'
Creator Q.

'Well, we get a lot of the ex-officers not wanting to join the union.
I think It comes from how they were viewed by senior managers.'
Disseminator H.

'The previous Chief held little faith in the union.' Disseminator E.

In contrast, the following commentary gives an indication of how the PWEF is understood at Greendale.

'The union isn't held in good regard on the police side, it's not taken
seriously. There's a bit of a hangover really from the previous Chief.
The PWEF is respected and valued by its members.' Creator Y.
'In contrast, on the police side it [PWEF] is well respected.' Creator O.

'I know that the PWEF are in a strong position. Senior officers listen to
them. We know that there have been lots of cuts on the civilian side of
things, but times are tough, so the force has to cut the dead wood out.
It's unfortunately that's it has fell harder on the civilian side.' Creator U.

What is of interest to note here is the different level of capital that is afforded to both of the workforce representative bodies. Unison is reported to hold less capital than the PWEF. This view has been encouraged through the previous

Chief Constables interpretation of the representative bodies. His views as served as symbolic violence and have shaped opinion and membership of the Unison. The of this has been felt by a reluctance by the changing workforce to join the support union, particularly by new members of police officers transitioning in to civilianship. This raises concerns about the union's position and power within Greendale as their respective capital is reduced to fight for those accused of, or targets of workplace bullying, due to the changing workforce demographic and reducing membership numbers. From the workforce demographic perspective, the police support staff field had also experienced a disruption to their field as a consequence of workforce change. As middle managers were noted earlier to have experienced hysteresis as a consequence of change, the collective habitus of police support staff have also experienced hysteresis as the new collective body were no longer one homogenous collective but were instead a collective that held distinct differences. Re-recruited police officers into civilian roles were reported to hold more economic capital than longstanding civilians as their policing salaries remained protected. Furthermore, the new civilian recruits held a shared and connected habitus to police officers who held more social capital in the policing sub-field rather than civilian staff, who shared a different habitus to police officers and held less economic and social capital in the policing organisation. The resulting impact of workforce change on the ABIs has left the support union with less power to fight against negative workplace behaviour. The impact on the membership demographic is addressed in part two of the chapter where the experiences of participants from the Disseminator group in Greendale sub-field is explored.

Part Two: Disseminators, Users and Groups: Challenges and Perspectives

This second part of the chapter focuses on the Disseminator and Users of the ABIs at Greendale. This section includes contribution from those directly working as police officers and police support staff along with those that have direct connection with the interventions through the formally recognised support networks, which were discussed in part one of this chapter, and who act as representatives of minority groups in Greendale. As Bourdieu (1987:174) himself calls upon researchers to 'think relationally' and as IPA call for even the small similarities and differences between individuals and within groups to be explored, this section of the chapter explores the relational interaction between Creators, Disseminator and User groups. The chapter introduces the notion of networked connections amongst the three participant groups and examines the impact of habitus, capital and practice within the groups. As part of this discussion, the chapter examines the changing policing landscape on two fronts. The first is discussed in the section of the chapter entitled, Understanding the New Policing Environment, were the relationship between middle ranking police officers and bullying is discussed. The second notable point is evidenced in the section entitled, Disrespect and Disconnection New Entrants into the Policing Family, where discussions focused on the impact of a new generation of police recruits and how these new generation of worker hold different relationships with the ABIs than their previous counterparts and how this has overturned established behavioural patterns of behaviour, resulting in a change in the power dimension between the bully and the bullied in Greendale force.

At the chapter develops it discusses the impact of a changing civilian demographic at Greendale police force. The impact of change is discussed from two positions. The first is that civilianship, recognised as traditionally female (Schwartz, *et al.,* 1975; Chan *et al.,* 2010; Matusiak and Matusiak, 2018) has witnessed an increasing male demographic which has brought with it a greater acceptance of a bullying culture as just part of the game. The second point of discussion relates to a declining civilian union membership

discussed in part one of the chapter, whereby the decreasing support union's powers have impacting on their ability to negotiate and influence the ABI agenda due to the curtailment of authority afforded to them through its membership.

In continuing the theme of power disparity, the formally recognised, Support Networks discussed in part one is explored. Disharmony amongst the network groups are reported at this juncture. This disharmony is reported to be as a consequence of interference of Greendale police force in network matters where Greendale, as mangers of such interventions have limited jurisdiction, and as a consequence a perceived power imbalance between one network group and other network members.

Disseminators and Users: Understanding the Networked Groups

Beyond senior policing managers, HR practitioners, union and federation representatives, the organisation has a number of formal and informal groups or networks as they are internally referred to, that police and support staff belong to that are operationalised in Greendale. These groups act as a series of sometimes separate and sometimes interconnecting networks that each in turn have different games at play and have their own doxa or taken-for-granted rules and assumptions regarding bullying at work and the ABIs that are operationalised to manage it.

The formally recognised groups include police officers, police support staff that are core personnel in Greendale but are separated by salary and conditions of employment. At the next level are the unions and federation networks that achieve formal recognition to represent the police officer and police support officers in the force. At the level below this are the support networks that provide support, advice and guidance to particular groups in Greendale force. These groups are identified in the table 5.

Table 5 Network Groups

Network Group	Network type	Power
Police officers	Primary organisational network. Formally recognised by the policing organisation. Core workforce group essential for the force to effectively function	Considered as key members of the policing organisation with recognised power and authority
Police support officers (civilian staff)	Primary organisational network. Formally recognised by the policing organisation. Core workforce group essential for the force to effectively function.	Considered as key members of the policing organisation with less power and authority than police officers
Unions and Federation	Secondary organisational network. Formally recognised by the policing organisation. Non-essential group for the force to effectively function.	Organisational power of the Unions and Federation is permitted by the force. Power is gained through membership to the Union or Federation body. The Federation perceived to have greater social capital.
Network support groups (include Black, Minority Ethnic, Christian, part-time, women's' and LGBT networks)	Third level organisational networks. Formally recognised by the force. Non-essential groups for the force to effectively function.	The force permits these network groups to exist. Limited organisational power. Varied power exists amongst the networks themselves. BAME group perceived to have the strongest power amongst this network group.
Informal/hidden network	Informal / social level organisational network. Not formally recognised by the policing organisation. Often hidden with unclear membership boundaries.	Low formal power. High informal power amongst the networked communities. Influential in shaping behaviour amongst its membership.

Table 5 demonstrates that although members of Greendale community were collectively concerned with policing, they are not necessarily a homogenous community. This is important given that Chapter six discusses the field influences on the different network groups, the various capitals that each group are perceived to hold within Greendale's community, their various responses to workplace bullying and the ABIs in place to manage this negative workplace issue.

The first column in the table details the network groups that exist at Greendale police force. This includes police officers, civilian or police support staff as they are also known; representative bodies, including the union and Police Federation and the support networks (including the Black Police Association network, the Men's' Christian network, the Women's, part-time and LGBT networks). The final network represents the informal network. This network is different from other networks detailed in the table as it is predicated upon social connections and relationships yet is still an important network group at Greendale force. The significance of this network group is discussed in chapters six and seven.

The second column in the table notes the type of network that is detailed in column one. Police officers represent a core and significant primary group as the police force needs police officers to be able to function. Police support officers are also a primary organisational group but are reported to hold lesser status than their policing counterparts (Alderden and Skogan, 2014). The unions and Police Federation are important network groups. The purpose of this network is to act as an intermediary between the workforce and are recognised as important for good industrial relations at work but are not of primary importance for the police force to function. The support networks have been created internally created within Greendale the police force and represent particular groups within Greendale police force. Their presence in Greendale is not essential for the police force to function. Nevertheless, they provide a voice for the minority groups that they represent. The hidden or social network exists as an informal group that holds no official voice within Greendale police force, yet is important influence in the management of ABIs, which will be discussed in detail in chapter six and seven.

The final column in the table notes the degree of organisational power that each group holds in relation to their organisational roles. Police officers fulfil a significant function in the police service, while at the other end of the scale, the informal or hidden network hold very little formal organisational power.

The first two primary networks identified in Table 5 include police officers and police support staff. These two groups of individuals work towards collective goals yet are separated by roles and responsibilities, terms of employment, salary, culture and accepted norms and behaviours. The findings identify police officers as the dominant network in the relationship. This dominance is achieved through a series of practices and circumstances, the first of which is the employment status of police officers.

Police Officer Network Group

Police officers have a unique employment status; they are not classed as employees but instead hold office and have different employee rights than support staff who hold contracts of employment with the police force (Gov.UK, 2017). The structural changes at Greendale discussed in part one of this chapter has resulted in reducing policing numbers leading to staffing shifts seeing police officers managing departments previously managed by support staff who were often specialists in their areas and paid less than police officers who now manage their departments.

Understanding the New Policing Environment

This resulting change in the demography at Greendale force has not only resulted in a structural shift but has also made a small, yet significant dent in the cultural feel of the sub-field; something that is not easily achieved given that policing organisations are reported to have a deep-rooted culture that is difficult to change. Chapter five offers a way to understand organisational culture through a set of unconscious, habit-forming forces that provide the basis of understanding an interiorised set of perceptions, appreciations and actions which Bourdieu refers to as habitus. At the beginning of the chapter the new Chief Constable's change initiative were discussed as a positive influence at Greendale. As part of this positive change programme, the Chief Constable has encouraged police officers to move away from the constraints

of performance in policing and to feel empowered to use their professional knowledge to underpin the delivery of policing services. In doing so, the Chief Constable has encouraged his officers to move towards a normative decision-making mode (Vroom, 2003) that uses policing knowledge, experience and know-how to shape policing behaviour. As part of Vroom's five stage approach it is suggested that through a process of consultation, facilitation and delegation organisational members are free to make decisions. The issues reported by many of the study's participants was that although they understood that they had been given the freedom to make decisions in the course of carrying out their duties, they were at times, unsure of what was expected of them which, on occasions, stifled the decision-making process amongst officers. This is important given than middle managers were previously reported as being part of the bullying problem at Greendale and HR responsibilities for managing and dealing with cases of bullying have been devolved to line managers who already have a blurred understanding of what constitutes bullying and managing. Participants report that,

'there is an expectation that we just know what we have to do but senior managers recognise that it will take some time for that cultural shift to happen.' User T.

'The Chief's new changes have been focused on decision led policing. It's taking us back to policing before we got caught up in performance indicators. Even though it is a shift back change takes time. In many ways his approach assumes that officers just know what to do just because they are officers when in reality, this isn't always the case.' User H.

'under the new Chief we are expected to know just what to do when that isn't always the case. Sometimes a bit of training is needed. We have different ideas about what is right.' User X.

However, other participants indicate a disconnect between senior management's recognition that change takes time and lower levels in the

organisation who demonstrate an uncertainty towards how change may be enacted. Disseminator Z commented,

> '*there is insufficient training at lower levels and at supervisory levels in the organisation for people to actually know how to behave.'*

> '*We know that there is insufficient training on some issues across the force. We used to have an awful lot of training, that seems to have gone by the by. I feel that managers are put in a position particularly when you are newly promoted, that you have just got to get on with it. The training has been reduced due to the cuts.'* Creator M.

> '*Senior officers are not always in line with the rest of the force. Change doesn't always happen quickly. There's an assumption that as officers, you just know what to do when there are times when training is needed.'* Disseminator Q.

To understand the impact of the lack of training and guidance over the decision-making process in Greendale, reference is drawn back to the ABIs. Confusion as to what constitutes bullying at Greendale has already been established, so expecting that organisational actors just know how to behave and what to do in response to bullying is further complicate by the Chief Constables agenda that affords officers freedom in the decision-making process. Further impact of the challenges associated with this are discussed later in the chapter.

Confusion through a Bourdieusian Looking Glass

To understand the confused position that the Chief's new agenda has placed the workforce in, gaze is once again returned to theory of practice and the reoccurring position of habitus in the ABI process. Chapter five notes that from a practical rather than conscious adjustment, habitus is capable of changing to shift internal understanding, expectation and assessment of actions needed

to deliver success or failure. In particular circumstances, the 'structural lag' or 'hysteresis effect' that can occur between aspirations and changing circumstances can lead to a disconnected understanding of situations or events, the result of which can lead to a confused collective hysteresis as the result of the newly implemented top-down initiatives. Minimal training and guidance were offered to officers to address how to behave in the new world of policing. Bourdieu 'locates the role of objective structures in setting limits to agents' choice of goals as well as blinkering their perceptions of reality' (Fowler, 1997: 17). In this example the freedom of human agency that is usually governed by the structural constraints of a command orientated policing environment is challenged by a lack of bounded guidance from the Chief Constable downwards to understand the limitations and boundaries of agency leaving police officers in a position were change strategies were being affected more quickly than officers were able to adjust to. This was not as a consequence of resistance to change as assumed by senior officers or some of the participant commentaries, but through lack of understanding of what that change should look like in practice. Senior officers demonstrate a disconnected assumption that being part of the policing family meant that the doxa or taken-for-granted assumptions of doing policing was evident to all, leaving the game. easily understood by officers under their command, who should just know how this change strategy should be enacted. Due to this assumption, no support strategies were put in place to support the transition, meaning that policing sometimes operated in grey areas of practice. Although other parties such as HR and the union and PWEF recognised that '*training was not always provided*' and that there was '*sometimes an uncertainty about things*' (Creator M; views echoed by Creator U Creator F, Creator O, Creator Y, and Disseminator Z) this message did not translate upwards to bridge that transitional gap.

Along with this, police officers as newly appointed managers are reported to have a lack of knowledge of the different terms and conditions that exist amongst staff in their departments. Civilian staff may sit next to police officers in departments where they were all managed by a police officer. Police as managers were reported to have a lack of knowledge of civilian terms and

conditions of employment which was reported to be problematic in practice. Police operate in a command and do environment and as such are obliged to follow a lawful order when ordered to do so from a senior officer (Gov.UK, 2017) while civilian staff are not bound by such conditions.

> '*Police officers must follow a lawful order, but support staff are not bound to follow lawful orders, and this often resulted in the perception and practice of bullying in departments.'* Creator F.

> '*We deal with cases of this all the time. Officers have to follow lawful order when civilian staff don't. It poses a problem at times. Civilians challenge when they are ordered to do things. The officers are not used to disrespect.'* Creator M.

> '*Police officers follow lawful orders and police support staff don't have to follow an order. It leads to problems sometimes when officers order their staff around and are then confused when the officers are challenged.'* Disseminator X.

> '*the vast majority of managers are police officers and they follow a lawful order. They can be told what to do so there is no bullying and they transfer that ethos to the management of the staff. They don't think that they are bullying. Very often ranks will close. I have got a bullying case coming up soon coming with a very senior ranking police officer. There is not much higher I can go with it. Now all that will happen is that this will be brushed under the table. Nothing will happen to the bully.'* Disseminator Q.

The impact of how this lack of familiarity and understanding of civilian terms and conditions is enacted has impact on both civilians and the supervising police officers. Civilians are reported to *challenge* (Creator M) the orders that are often considered to '*blur the lines of bullying'* (Creator F also referenced by Disseminator Q). The supervising officers are also reported to '*experience disrespect'* (Creator F a view echoed by Creator M and Disseminator X) as

having their orders challenged places them in unfamiliar territory. Again, these points identify a misunderstanding of the rules of the sub-field from two perspectives. Police officers responsible for managing civilian staff in management positions demonstrate at the simplest of levels, a lack of formal understanding of procedure and the Chief Constable's assumption that police officers just know how to deliver policing services when this was not necessarily the case. The consequence of these top-down changes instigated through the Chief Constable has led to a hysteresis effect and a disconnected understanding of expectations of job roles at Greendale. This changing sub-field thus has direct impact on the habitus, doxa, shifting capital and practice of agents within Greendale. In this confused state many taken-for-granted assumptions are contested. Civilians disrupt the doxa as they challenge those with greater levels of economic, social and symbolic capital than themselves, while those who are challenged, experience further hysteresis as traditional understanding of power are reconstructed in the new organisational environment. Further evidence of the challenge of power is demonstrated in the following section of the chapter that looks specifically at new entrants in to the policing family.

Disrespect and disconnection: New Entrants into the Policing Family

This notion of disrespect of hierarchical and thus more powerful members of the policing community is further evidenced from new recruits entering in to the police force. Disseminator X shared their experiences of how this disrespect is enacted in Greendale force. The first example demonstrates a collective disrespect while the second example gives insight of this practice at the personal level of interaction.

> *'The Chief Constable has these meetings with staff to get their views. The audience were fairly new in the force. They were given a question for example what would make you happy? The question comes up electronically and each table gets to answer; those answers appear on the electronic board, but you don't know who has said it. The Chief was appalled; he got responses*

like 'blondes would make me happy' and communication could be improved by 'carrier pigeon'. It's easy though it's electronic and they associate no attachment to what they have said.'

'We are very rank conscious here. If people, see me in uniform they acknowledge me and nod their head. If I am in my own clothes they don't engage, they put their heads down and walk past me. I could be a member of the public and they have just ignored me.' Disseminator X.

'Our Chief has a thing about standards and values, and he has instigated some compulsory training which sets out what he wants from you. It is all about communication, talking to people, manners, appearance everything like that. The reason behind it was that he wanted everybody to talk to each other because he felt that people weren't actually talking. You know you are in the office next to somebody and you will e mail them. You see people in the street and there is no eye contact there is a lot of that going on. I see it myself.' Creator M.

'That is why the Chief has brought in these initiatives. In the early days I thought, why do we need to tell professional police officers this' but now I can see why he is doing it.' Creator U.

In these examples the commentary highlights the changing demographic in the force and their attitude towards senior officers demonstrating a lack of fear and respect for senior or higher-ranking officers. The comments indicate a changing police culture,

'we are starting to notice change. Jobs were for life and that's not what we are seeing amongst the newer recruits. They are moving on. We are not used to this'. Creator M.

> *'Jobs here were considered to be generally for life. We are finding things are changing. New recruits are working their probation period and moving on. We've never had that before,'* Disseminator X.

> *'Recruits are moving on quicker than we expected. This is not what we are used to seeing.'* Creator F.

Understanding the Impact of Demographic Change

This reported movement away from lifelong jobs traditionally recognised in policing, suggests a lack of human connection to colleagues. Relationships are more transient as people move on quickly in to other jobs or professions meaning that lifelong careers traditionally characterised through a sense of commitment and mutual loyalty is an expectation of the past (CIPD, 2005; Sennett, 2006). This point in noted in Chapman's (2017) work which adds interesting insight here. After one year of service, just under a quarter of newly recruited police officers felt disillusionment and disconnect with the policing role. Furthermore, newer recruited officers placed increasing propensity in their own self-interests before that of the team, a trait which appeared to be a stronger and more prevailing influence than the unqualified solidarity that has been previously assumed of police officers. Importantly, Chapman's work reports a disparity in how the younger generation of officers saw themselves versus the older generation of officers. This disconnection to the role and fellow officers has the potential to negatively impact on team bonding, shared experience, beliefs as connections are attenuated with younger or newer members of Greendale being less likely to buy in to organisational norms and behaviours that are often established through tenure (Tsui and Wu, 2005). This transience of tenure indicates an underlying disregard for authority as a consequence of transient culturing within Greendale. Furthermore, the changing demographic; the new generation of police are reflective of society in the sense that they are more technologically focused and less personally interactive face-to-face (Espinoza *et al.,* 2016). This technological engagement has also had negative impact on behaviour as the following statement

identifies. In discussions the representative from the Disseminator group recalled their experiences of engaging with new recruits at Greendale.

> *'The issue with the newer recruits is that they can't interact socially. The older less technology focused are more sociable and able to communicate. It is an issue. Some people can't interact with each other.'* Disseminator X.

> *'I see it myself outside of the force. I work voluntarily with older children and I see them, heads down on their phones, they don't talk to each other and I see it in here with the younger ones. We are seeing the younger ones move on more than we ever have before.'* Creator M.

The consequence of such behaviour, particularly in respect of invoking the ABIs, is indicated below by a representative from the group. In these examples the Creator discussed the impact of a changing Greendale as a whole, while the Disseminators recalled the changing behaviours that they had evidenced in different police departments at Greendale.

> *'If there was a problem in the past people would sort it out over a coffee. That doesn't happen anymore. The younger ones can't socially interact the same.'* Creator F.

> *'If they have a* [bullying] *problem instead of talking about it between say for example constable to constable, one will take a grievance against each other.'* Disseminator X.

> *'Traditionally people wanted to just sort things out at the informal level. Now we are seeing our newer people take a more formal route to sorting things out.'* Creator M.

> *'People used to just want to get things off their chest. We have gone from one extreme to another now. I frequently have*

> *complaints of bullying against me. I am not bothered anymore.*
> *There was this occasion when I held a meeting and one officer*
> *was disrespectful towards me. I warned him three times and*
> *when I eventually pulled him about it, he raised a grievance*
> *against me saying that I was bullying him. The issue is that*
> *people just don't talk about things anymore. They raise a formal*
> *complaint. It's easier to get others to sort things out for you than*
> *dealing with it yourself.* Disseminator U.

Here the consequence of less connected workforce and a preference for more formalised approaches to dealing with bullying at work supports the body of intergenerational research in to workplaces that identify the newer generation more accepting of technological interaction rather than the face-to-face strategies enjoyed by the older generation of employee (Starks, 2013).

Bourdieusian Insight into Generational Change

To add a Bourdieusian voice here, attention is drawn to social reproduction theory (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu, 1987). The core assumption of social reproduction theory is that cultural capital, discussed in greater depth in Chapter five, besides playing a significant part in transferring economic capital, also plays an increasingly significant role in status acquisition. Drawing on the connecting link between cultural capital and economic capital the issue here is that new generation of police officers have assumed what Kohli (1991) positions as a deinstitutionalised and individualistic career trajectory and as such do not seek to conform to historical dimensions of dominance and subordination evidenced in the policing context and do not seek the economic advantages of continuous career progression within a single workplace.

Looking outside of the ABI and policing literature fields, research into intergenerational workplaces identify that both younger and older generations recognise a shift in the meaning of work (Roodin and Mendelson, 2013). The older generation identifies work from an organisational context seeing their focus as helping to achieve organisational goals, while the younger generation

of worker recognises work in relationship to the attainment of their own personal goals (*ibid*). Instead the new generation of worker seeks to follow a less long-term approach to their careers and in doing so, does not go through a process of socialisation into policing that encourages new officers to adapt their own habitus towards the collective habitus shared by long term serving officers.

Challenging Assumptions: The Impact of Generational Change

To understand the impact of generational change at Greendale discussions are drawn from Van Maanen's (1973, 1975) and Van Maanen and Schein (1976) heavily cited work of rites in organisations; reference can be made to a four-stage process of socialisation as police officers become integrated and immersed in the policing family that include entry, introduction, encounter and metamorphosis stages of socialisation. In Van Maanen's observations he noted that the lengthy and rigorous process of entry into policing served to encourage only those committed to policing were accepted. As those recruited moved to the introductory stage of policing, the attitude of the recruited officer, already in a stressed and weakened state following the impact of the entry stage, quickly shifted to the cultural norms of the policing family. As the recruit transitioned to the encounter stage his working experiences served to orient him towards policing culture or a collective habitus and the notion of the game, where priorities, rewards and punishment became evident. In the final stage of Van Maanen's observations the recruits went through a metamorphosis stage whereby they became fully integrated in to the values of the policing domain. However, Van Mannen's observations are challenged against the backdrop of a new workforce demographic that brings with it a new experience in policing which results in a lack of intergenerational transmission of practice (Roodin and Mendelson, 2013). Police officers can opt to take retirement after thirty years of service (Gov.UK, 2015). This means that potential age demographic in the policing field spans from 18 to 67 years across the police officer and police staff demographic. Cekada's (2012) work of generational personality classifies the workforce in table 6 below:

Table 6 Employee Classification

Classification of Employee	Date Born	Personality Characteristic
The silent generation	born prior to 1942	Adaptive
baby boomers	born between 1946 and 1964	Idealist
Generation X	born between 1965 and 1980	Reactive
Generation Y or the millennials	born after 1980	civic minded.
Generation Z	Born after 1995	Independent

Minnotte (2012) and Ho (2012), drawing from multigenerational research into workplace conflict, identify that the characteristics identified in the table above along with generational differences demonstrated through the differing behaviours, perceptions, values, and attitudes as contributory factors in the perpetuation of such conflict. Georg (2016) reports that those engaged in career research have noted the changing nature of employment relationship, career progression patterns, and career expectations (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996; Alcover *et al.,* 2017), of a newer demographic of workers which have direct implications for employers and HR practitioners. Understanding the labour market has significant impact on creating effective recruitment, utilisation, and career development programmes for a new generation of worker (Lyon *et al.,* 2014). Three key employment trends have impacted upon the modern career. The first notable point if that is no logical recognition of what constitutes a normal career. Modern patterns of employment identify the death of long-term employment relationships in favour of short-term career perspectives, while less predictable forms of career progression that encompass lateral or downward progression of duties and status over time have overtaken the hierarchical progression of one's career (Hammond and O'Shea, 2017).

From a policing perspective there has been recent gaze directed towards the impact of the new demographic of worker on the policing field (see Cox *et al.,*

2015; Applebaum and Lichtenstein, 2016; Chapman, 2017), citing the need for a more interactive relationship to engage the new generation of worker. However, understanding how the new workforce demographic interpret and interact with an anti-bullying agenda has yet to be considered to any depth through an academic frame.

The New Generation from a Bourdieusian Perspective

Thus, to begin discussions on this point, a Bourdieusian lens is cast back to discuss cultural capital. Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital discussed in Chapter five refers to the collection of symbolic elements representing the acquisition of qualities or material goods that are acquired through membership of a particular social groups or class. He suggests that the sharing of congruent forms of cultural capital with others facilitates a collective sense of identity. However, cultural capital can also represent a major source of social inequality as particular forms of cultural capital may be valued over others. However, it is those within the policing context that come to understand through a process of socialisation into policing, what forms of cultural capital hold power over others. The findings indicate provide new insights here in to understanding how ABIs are enacted. The thesis shows that new members of the policing family do not conform to the collective identity of police officers, but instead conform to the cultural capital of their generation. In the participants excerpts the entrance process in to the police service no longer fits with Van Maanen's experience of socialisation through rites of passage in to policing. Thus, through a pedagogic process, the dominant cultural systems and meanings are imposed and internalised, thus shaping the habitus of the next generation in line with the dominant cultural systems of those that have gone before them. The new members of the society are not cognitively aware of the imposition and take on the imposed culture as their own, so in this sense, misrecognises the pedagogic influence of the process (Lin, 1999).

However, the findings suggest that the latter two stages of Van Maanen's four stage process do not have the same impact on the new generation of worker resulting in a lack of collective identity and shared habitus as police officers. Thus, new officers understanding of the game in Greendale is of little interest

as the new generation of officers pursue self-serving individualistic career goals not ones that are policing centric as previous generations have demonstrated.

What is evident from the commentary is that longstanding police officers, senior police officers and HR practitioners have not responded to the demands of the new worker. Instead they demonstrate 'misrecognition' (Bourdieu, 1984:387) of the needs of the new worker as their own collective habitus and understanding of the policing field has influenced their understanding of the ideal worker (Silvestri, 2017) which draws from their own generational references. Although Chapter five notes how habitus holds the possibility to cope with change, this has not been enacted by HR as custodians of the ABI strategy. As each field has its own set of positions, practices and struggles people use their capital to stake claims within their social domains and as such each generation of worker attempt to overturn the positions and established patterns of behaviour of those who came before them. This new generational behaviour challenges existing interpretations of what represents collective habitus and perhaps raises questions concerning what is meant by collective habitus in an intergenerational workforce. The consequence of such action described in this example on the ABI strategy is that there is a lack of intergenerational transmission of current practice plausibly suggesting that existing initiatives may no longer fit with the workforce demographic. This is particularly relevant in relation to the secondary interventions that are operationalised in Greendale sub-field. Current strategy includes mediation. The newer generations' lack of willingness to engage in face-to-face interactions further diminishes the value of mediation process that is already identified as holding limited organisational value and is discussed in further depth in part four of the chapter in the section entitled, Grey Language where mediation is deemed to have ambiguous and powerless traits.

The issue of tenure and the associated connection or disconnection to organisational actors understanding of the ABI strategy is further evidenced later in the chapter the consequences of making a claim of bullying is identified by organisational actors with longer standing tenure. Amongst this group the

act of 'grassing' on colleagues and the subsequent punishment for doing so is identified as significant in shaping action. However, the fear of grassing and punishment is not identified as a barrier to curtailing the reporting of bullying amongst newer entrants in to the force as the shift in understanding the rules of the game are demonstrated within the intergenerational workforce. Perhaps what has not been considered from the organisational perspective is whether the new recruits in policing see any value in the illusio, or game at play within the policing field. Here the illusion, the benefits it offers, and the tendency of participants to engage in it, is challenged from this intergenerational perspective. Perhaps this disconnection lies somewhere in the habitus of these different agents.

Support Officers

In this section of the chapter, focus shifts towards police support officers or civilian staff as they are also known. Historically the police service has treated civilian staff as second-class citizens and has offered limited career structures (Loveday, 1993) with the term civilian regularly used with disparaging intent. More recently this has been replaced with the terms 'non-sworn, non-warranted, or most commonly, police staff or police support staff' (Alderden and Skogan, 2014: 237). Today civilians, or support staff as they are formally identified, have their own career paths in policing and occupy a range of ancillary and clerical posts in the force (Taylor Griffiths *et al.,* 2015).

Gender Transition into Civilianship

Earlier discussions, see, Setting the Scene, discussed retiring police officers had moved in to civilian roles and the impact of this transition on union membership and power within the organisational context. In this section of the chapter, this transition is considered from a gendered perspective.

> *'It's not as bad as it used to be, but we are still quite a male dominant organisation on the police side and mainly female dominated on the support side. The cuts have meant we have seen a bit of a shift though. We are seeing more ex-police officers move in to civilian roles. Traditionally most of the police support*

roles were female and most of the officers moving in to the civilian roles are men.' Creator M.

'Traditionally we were used to seeing civilian roles largely carried out by women and police officer roles by men. This is changing of course. Actually, we are starting to see a filtration of male officers back in to civilian roles.' Creator F.

'*Yes traditionally, civilian roles were carried out by women. We are seeing that changing of course. Lots of retiring police officers, mainly men, are moving into civilian roles. It causes problems sometimes. We work for the same place but culturally we are different. I mainly get complaints about officers not understanding what they can and can't do. Civilians aren't duty bound to carry out a lawful order and it causes problems. Equally officers are not used to being challenged. It's a shock to them and not how they work. If they are ordered to do something, they do it.'* Creator R.

Although there has been some gender adjustment in policing personnel, the impact of a male gender shift on the police support side of the force at Greendale has three-fold impact.

Understanding the Impact of Gender Shift

The shift of largely male police officers into civilian roles usually undertaken by female workers is reported to have had further impact in a less humanised workplace. The gender shift consequently changes the culture of civilianisation even further towards the macho male culture associated with policing which was previously discussed in Chapter three. Police officers are reported to behave in a more courteous way in the presence of female civilians (Schwartz *et al.*, 1975). However, the consequence of male deployment into traditional female civilian roles, reduces the impetus towards courteous behaviour and more readily facilitates the acceptance and normalising of bullying, or aggressive behaviour, which is more readily accepted in policing culture.

Chapter three in its discussion of workplace bullying and the police force notes that civilians experience high levels of it. Gender offers plausible explanation of this. Chapter three notes how women make up a high percentage of the civilian workforce and are generally regarded as 'outsiders' having lesser status than their policing counterparts making it difficult for them to be accepted or regarded as equal and frequently resulting in them having to earn their place amongst the organisational community. Participant commentary provides insight here.

> *'Things have improved but women are still not equal in many respects. It used to be like that series Life on Mars, I could recognise some of the characters in that in here.'* Creator M.

> *'You were always given the softer, women's jobs etc, not real policing jobs, like CID etc. You had to earn your place.'* User L.

> *'Female officers used to have to earn their place. You would be given the worst jobs, told to make the tea and would have many sexualised jokes made at your expense. Male police officers would often label you as bikes, dykes or one of the boys.'* Creator U.

> *'Female staff were often referred to as bikes, dykes or one of the boys. It was awful really, but that's how we were referred to.'* User L.

The examples above offer insight in to what Bourdieu identifies as linguistic symbolic violence. Westmarland 's (2001:13) work on gender in policing notes how female police officers are 'structurally constrained' by the gendered nuances of policing culture. As part of these cultural constraints' women are subjected to different deployment practices in to areas that often sit outside of 'proper policing' (2001:1) roles that are fulfilled by men. Traditionally the civilian role consisted of a dominantly female demographic through activities such as support and administration. The impact of the changing demography

of the civilian field has had impact on bullying is understood and in turn how the ABIs are enacted. The movement of male police officers in to traditionally female civilianised roles has resulted in a blurring between the two workforce groups where bullying is more readily accepted through a more homogenised masculine culture. The reluctance of these officers to join the union representing civilians also narrows the bargaining power of the union to challenge bullying due to a decreasing demographic who hold greater acceptance of bullying at work.

Support Networks

The third group level evident in the force is those formally recognised by their title as an organisational network support group. The network support groups discussed in part one of the chapter. The network groups are formally recognised and permitted by the police force in which they are situated but are independent of police control. However, the freedom of the networks to act independently without police force interference is challenged by commentary provided by the network groups,

> *'They like to control you through a train of command. Even to the point of saying how many people can be on the committee. We are democratically elected, we have a constitution it is not for them [the police force] to manage us. They try to throw fishing nets over the support networks, and it has been handled badly. They don't negotiate they do battle, they don't ask they tell.'* Disseminator X.

> *'They handle things badly. We are democratically elected and yet the police try to get involved in things they shouldn't be involved in.'* Disseminator U

> *'Really the police should have nothing to do with the networks, but they do. They try and tell them what to do.'* User L.

This commentary begins to identify layers of disharmony at the network levels of organisation. The above statement reveals how control that is devolved at

the network level is challenged by the police organisation that has no formal authority in managing how the network groups are structured or managed. The terms 'battle' and 'control through a chain of command' in the first extract gives insight in to how, what is referenced as a poorly handled relationship, is enacted through a demonstration of top-down power and control through habitually ingrained and culturally permitted practice. This demonstration of hierarchical dominance by the police authority over smaller elements within their society clearly serves to send a message to factional elements within the community.

This demonstration of hierarchical dominance is also evident amongst the network groups themselves. Using a micro-organisational lens, conflict and resentment is identified between the networks groups themselves. Commentary from the network members reported that one network group in particular considered themselves as 'the most important.' To avoid specific disclosure the name of the particular group is not identified at this point in the discussions. The respondents from the singularly referenced group reported that,

> '*As a group [the name omitted] we are the most envied; we are tolerated and there is a negative and cynical view of us'* Disseminator C.

This disharmonious insight at the micro-network level is a precursor to understanding macro-level attitudes and behaviours enacted throughout the organisation towards the [name omitted] network group.   The networks represent minority groups and report that they were told by senior officers to '*represent the mass views of the public and officers.'* The network responses were that they were there to represent '*the minority, not majority view'* and if change in attitude was to happen this needed to be led by senior officers.

> '*Senior officers are some of the worst transgressors and needed to lead by example'* Disseminator C.

Some of these negative attitudes related to gender, and race. The network groups reported how the attitudes of the senior police officers were evidenced across the workforce.

> *'People perceive being part of a minority in the force helps you. The truth is that there is a glass ceiling in the force means that you have to work twice as hard. Some of my members have told me that trying to get promoted in here is like trying to catch something invisible. The faster you run, you still can't catch it. We have examples of people who clearly should have been promoted but time and time again they were held back only to see others move ahead of them.'* Disseminator C.

> *'We represent a minority in the force. Some think it is an advantage to be part of a minority. That's not the reality for my members.'* Disseminator E.

The networks gave examples of discriminatory bullying and commented that if they complained,

> *'I know of many, many examples. There was an incident when racist and sexist insults were used. It segregates, humiliates and belittles people but they don't see that as bullying.'* Disseminator Q.

> *'It was just dismissed by those in authority as a joke.'* Disseminator M.

> *'They just took no notice of it. They dismissed it as nothing and to get on with it.'* Disseminators U

> *'My members tell me that they have experienced this many, times but it is never taken seriously be those in authority. They're often the worse perpetrators. There have been some serious*

cases, but nothing ever happens. Bosses are perpetuating wrong doing through their inaction.' Disseminator C.

'The bosses are the worst perpetrators of bullying in Greendale.' Disseminator U.

Even in serious cases when humour cannot be used as an excuse for behaviour inaction continues to be linked back to senior level attitudes. The networks discussed how the wider workforce were often unwilling to challenge bad behaviour. They reported that many people,

'didn't get involved in the networks believing it not to be politically the correct thing to do.' Disseminator C

'Often people privately think it's wrong but think it is the wrong thing for their career to speak out. You hope that when people get to a place in authority that they will try to make change, but the reality is that they don't. They often do the opposite and distance themselves from the argument.' Disseminator U.

In these examples provided by Disseminator C and U this shows how even at lower levels of the organisation, speaking out or standing up to bullying or inappropriate behaviour was not seen as the right thing to do for career progression. From a Bourdieusian perspective, this preference for inaction is linked to the underpinning premise of theory of practice; that individuals act from self-interested perspectives. Those seeking, or those already achieved higher levels of capital in the sub-field through promotion demonstrate a shifting habitus whereby the higher up the organisation they go, the further away they move from taking ownership of the inequalities that they experience as part of their gender or colour.

Presenting All Groups

To summarise the nuances of these workforce groups, the study meets Greendale police force at a point of hopeful transition. The participants report

feeling '*battered and bruised*' (Creator F; views echoed by Disseminator H; User M; User X) following a five-year reign of the previous Chief Constable. Although the new Chief has been presented as bringing positive change initiatives and was positioned as well respected and informed, resistance to his change strategy was reported to be evident at middle manager level. This resistance was evidenced through the middle managers' management style that still reflected the previous Chief Constables approach to managing; through the delivery of robust management which often transgressed in to bullying.

The union and police federation that have contributed to the study again hold different social and symbolic capital in the organisation. They represent two different groups of people; police officers and civilian staff that hold different social and economic capital within the police force. The Policing Support union has been dominantly occupied firefighting the organisational cuts that have had significant impact on their membership. They have previously faced top-down criticism from the senior management team which has influenced how they are perceived by some members of the organisational community.

In contrast, the federation demonstrate greater social and symbolic capital as they represented the majority of the workforce and reported to be '*listened to, included*' and supportive of cutting out the '*dead wood*' fortunately for the Policing union the Chief Constable's decision to protect police officers at the expense of civilian staff has meant that the 'dead wood' has come from civilian side of the police force, leaving the police union membership, with the exception of natural wastage, largely intact.

 Although not as severely impacted by the policing cuts than their civilian counterparts, police officers have also experienced change. The new generation of officers are reported to challenge the traditional power of senior officers and hold a higher disrespect and lack of fear of the consequences of such challenge. Mannheim (1928;1952), Ryder (1965), Strauss and Howe (1991) and Rudolph and Zacher, 2015 provide sociological insight in to the discord between different generations. Mannheim argues that new generations challenge previous generations' values and attitudes and develop new

linguistic dynamics which often results in confusion between the generations. Not all new recruits recognise policing as a lifelong career; again, something that is regarded as new in the policing world but is recognised as a common trait amongst this generational group.

As part of the policing cuts, the force has experienced a restructure that has witnessed a decline in the civilian side of the force and a resulting shift in organisational structure. Apart from the obvious expectation of having to do more with less, the civilian field has experienced a change in its DNA as what were historically regarded and staffed as female roles in the organisation have shifted to include the redeployment of male police officers in to civilian positions. Historically civilian roles were regarded as of lesser importance than police officer roles and women are regarded as of lesser importance than men (Silvestri, 2017). This demographic shift has resulted in a brain drain of expertise in some parts of the field and a cultural shift in other areas as the male macho culture prevalent amongst police officers has injected a less courteous element in to civilian culture (Alderden and Skogen, 2014).

The power that civilians hold through the terms and conditions of their employment has also been lessened as redeployed police officers share the collective habitus of police officer and remain absent from the support union membership thus reducing the power of the union in negotiating a fair, courteous and bully free work environment.

As part of that civilian network, the HR department has also gone through significant restructure. The consequence of the restructure has changed the way in which HR work. Instead of the front-line role that they previously occupied, the new role is a combination of front-line duties along with a back-office focus as some HR functions have been devolved to line managers and HR experts now act as knowledge workers and provide advice and guidance to others. This has impacted on the way in which bullying is dealt with; the key objective from the HR practitioners' perspective is to prevent any litigation claims against the police force as a consequence of bullying which sits in contrast to that of the union who view their part hold a people-centric position in trying to protect members. Their views on the ABIs are that they exist

because of '*fair play*' (Disseminator, G) and not as HR insist that it is '*predominantly to prevent litigation claims against the police*' suggesting that two key players who would be involved in investigating workplace bullying have two very different agendas and expectations of the ABI strategy.

Greendale's support networks are also influential in the organisation. They provide an outlet for organisational actors when seeking advice and guidance about how to deal with bullying and what to do if you are affected by it. The networks themselves discuss a perceived power disparity amongst themselves with one group considering themselves more important than the rest. Therefore, these competing and complimentary operational policing fields hold their own complex set of antecedents that are influential in shaping organisational attitudes towards workplace bullying and how to deal with it.

Part Three: Anti-Bullying Interventions: Expectations and Interpretation.

Part three of the chapter explores the operationalised ABIs Greendale police force. In, Multi-Level Interpretation and Multi-Agent Perspective: Bullying, Interventions and the Role and Value of Policy, Greendale's Dignity at Work policy is interrogated. This is important to the study as Chapter two notes that much of the current work on policy is limited. Situated within a broader frame of Dignity at Work, it is unclear whether Greendale's engagement with the ABI strategy is symbolic, as positioned in the section entitled, Bullying in the Workplace: Acknowledging the Problem, or whether the limitations of the element of the ABI strategy is as a result of misrecognised field influences. In, Why Have Anti-Bullying Intervention Strategies in the First Place, the disconnection between the Creator, Disseminator and User groups regarding the primary purpose of ABIs are identified. While, Making Sense of the Policy and Intervention Process, asks the three organisational groups their perceptions of the consultative nature of Greendale police force to consider how consultative is the consultative process involved in the ABI strategy? The focus is mainly concerned with the consultative process surrounding the primary intervention of policy. Moving beyond the policy to a broader intervention perspective, Understanding the Game and Doxa of the Organisational Groups, introduces discussions that centre on how organisational actors come to understand their world and the taken for granted assumptions about those worlds. This section of the chapter begins with the HR perspective. In doing so it questions what is meant by support for those that have been affected by bullying. In particular, the findings explore return to work strategies following a period of absence where supposed strategies positioned by HR as supportive, are reported to be received as punitive by those on the receiving end of such interventions, thus finding the system itself to be punitive in nature. As the chapter progresses, The Game of Interpretation: Abusing the System, shows how the opacity of the ABI strategy provides space for organisational actors to abuse the system for self-seeking purposes and how as a consequence in, Falsely Accused of Bullying, the

process does not fully close the loop leaving even further capacity for the existing intervention system to be exploited. This section of the chapter focuses on the impact of false claims of bullying; from the perspectives of the accused and target. In, Emotional Response of the Accused, the uniqueness of the policing context highlights a normative response to those accused of bullying. While in, Abusing the System for Promotion Purposes, the narrative shifts back to show how the power of a collective habitus shapes individual behaviour at times of promotion. Here the ABI systems are abused for self-seeking purposes; a discussion that has received limited investigation in the workplace bullying field. To begin discussions, attention is drawn to policy document itself.

Multi-level Interpretation and multi-agent perspectives: Bullying, interventions and the role and value of policy

Greendale's workplace bullying and harassment policy is situated in the broader Dignity at Work policy. Bolton (2007) discusses how dignity as a word is used to describe much broader aspects of work such as, fair pay, mis-management and secure working conditions and are not always linked to or associated with bullying at work. Evidence of this has previously been reported earlier in part one of the chapter in, The Problem with HR's Intervention Strategy, where the participants excerpts described how they were aware that policy existed but were less confident in articulating how to use it or what was included in it. Reflecting on all of the interviews, I am drawn in particular to, Creator B and Disseminator L and Disseminator, G's interviews. They were keen to presents the policy content during their interviews and in attempting to do so, proved to be unfamiliar with the content and were unable to find the policy on the force's internal website, yet this was important given that their job roles require that they manage and give advice about such policies. Chapter two notes the riskiness of this strategy, as the opportunity to establish a code of acceptable practice and mechanisms for dealing with bullying may become lost in a wider dignity at work framework, diluting an important message and losing opportunity to establish acceptable standards of behaviour were bullying is concerned. Although earlier discussions noted this point, the way in which bullying at work is described and the language used to describe it was not

discussed at that earlier parts of the chapter. As Chapter five notes, language is a mechanism through which people come to understand their worlds and how to behave in it. To begin discussions on the use and impact of the organisational language concerning bullying, attention is drawn to the bullying at work policy itself. Included in Greendale's definition of bullying is the statement that:

> 'Bullying may arise from misuse of managerial status or as a result of certain physical / mental characteristics on the part of the individual being bullied.'

As the policy document continues, it refers to those on the receiving end of bullying as 'victims.' (Greendale Dignity at Work Policy, 2012).

Two points of interest are noted here, the reference to psychological / physical trait of the victim, perhaps introducing the idea that those on the receiving end of bullying may be part of the problem themselves, and the use of the victim term.

In part one of the chapter, HR were described as excellent policy writers and that there no issue with the organisational policies. However, the document wording raises some areas of both concern and interest. Reference to those on the receiving end of bullying as characteristically susceptible to bullying as a consequence of their own physical or psychological attributes suggests that the taken-for-granted assumption in the sub-field is that the fault may lie to some degree with the targets of bullying themselves. If so, this raises questions concerning how willing the force is to position blame with the perpetrators of bullying and whether it promotes confidence for those targeted by bullies to come forward to report their experiences, given that the premise may be that, using their language, victims are physically or psychologically impaired? Evidence of this as practiced doxa is found in part four of this chapter in, Giving Rise to the Power of the Networks, where User H recalls how he was encouraged to see a psychiatrist for standing up to inappropriate bullying behaviour.

Sustaining a Victim Narrative

The second issue drawn from the policy document is the reference to the victim term. Chapter two discussed the problematic nature of the term victim and how the academic field with an interest in bullying, has for quite considerable time shifted attention away from this term with its connotations of weakness, towards the use of the word target as a more fitting identifiable label. Greendale's use of the term victim perhaps represents the taken-for-granted terminology used by members of the force to describe those that claim to have been violated often through some form of physical attack, violation or harm. As discussed in the Chapter two, the word victim has school playground connotations portraying a weak individual. The use of the term victim coupled with the previously discussed reference to the weak psychological make-up of the individual is not conducive of a supportive environment in which targets can feel safe to come forward to report bullying. In part one of this chapter, HR practitioners referred to the supportive nature of organisational strategies. This supportive reference is made again by HR in response to the absence management policy. Yet this claim is challenged when labels such as these are used as symbolic violence in the sub-field, potentially moderating the behaviour so that those on the receiving end of bullying at work ignore, accept or fail to instigate any formal sanction against it, believing in some way that they are at fault themselves. As Chapter two discusses that labels used in this way position those for whom the label is intended as socially deviant to the majority social group. Perhaps this clever or inappropriate use of language depending on one's position, is the unintended consequence of an organisational doxa that accepts this use of language as wholly appropriate, or, is it perhaps evidence of the symbolic violence used by HR to discourage claims of bullying, and thus helps to fulfil their objective of no litigation claims. Perhaps it takes a strong person in a difficult position to be willing to report bullying only to find the consequences are that you are identified as a weak victim with psychological and or physical traits that has invited such behaviour in the first place.

Why Have Anti-Bullying Intervention Strategies in the First Place?

Understanding why organisations have ABIs in the first place is important for our understanding of provides the grounding for our expectation of what the interventions are there to do. Although Greendale's Dignity at Work Policy (2013) is very clear in its instruction of what its obligations are in terms of managing ABIs and sets out its objectives as aiming to: -

> a) Increase staff confidence and professionalism b) Comply with legislation c) Reduce workplace grievances d) Reduce Employment Tribunal claims e) Maintain consistent acceptable behaviour (2013:1).

Those responsible for the Creation of primary, or policy level ABIs have been asked why they believe that there is a need for ABIs in their organisation. Rather than drawing from Greendale's Dignity and Work statement, the participants have been given free rein to identify the primary reason why they believe ABIs have been created within the participant force. This is useful in the sense that it illuminates understanding of the primary value that organisational actors across all levels of organisation place on the role of policy or the interventions operational within Greendale police force. Although it is inevitable that multi-perspectives and interpretations will exist in organisations, if views are so opposed then the policy itself may never live up to the expectations of some organisational actors and may be deemed worthless by some and valued by others. Therefore, any good intent to engage in effective strategies may be lost. As part of the Creator group, the HR perspective took a very legislative view.

> '*Legislation is the reason that we have anti-bullying initiatives. If we get to employment tribunals for bullying and we have been there in the past, it has failed hasn't it. Our role is to ensure that we don't get to tribunal. It's about protecting the organisation.*' Creator M.

> *'Well it's all about the organisation really. Our aim is to protect the force from any litigation claims. If they are forthcoming, then we haven't done our job really.'* Creator W.

Commentary here is protection focused; identifying that policy intervention is in place to protect the organisation from financial/reputational damage. If this is the primary objective of having a policy from an HR perspective then the excerpt that identifies *no cases of bullying in the past three months* (Creator, W) as noted earlier in the chapter, shows the policy to be successful from HR's perspective. Again, chapter two outlines that studies on what constitutes successful ABIs is very sparse and does not discuss the interpretive nature of success from a multiple actor perspective. To this end, the commentary in this thesis adds to this conversation in that it considers the idea of successful or purposeful intervention strategies from a multi-perspective. As the unions are also positioned within the Creator group, their view shows a broader interpretation of why they believe policy or intervention measures exist.

Representative Responses

> '*The drivers of the initiatives are legislation. I would also like to think that the organisation wanted to bring in those guidelines as well. You know that comes from the MacPherson report and Stephen Lawrence. I think that probably gave them a bit of a kick in the backside to get stuff done and I think the organisation as a response has put an awful lot of effort into anti-bullying and other linked policies. I think it is a mix of being told to do it but also a bit of a view that we really need to do this through drivers such as health and safety.*' Creator Q.

> '*I don't think the organisation wants to discourage bullying; I think they are quite happy as things are. They have said many; many times, that we don't have bullying we just have robust management.*' Creator U.

> *'I think more so now there is a culture these days that they pay lip service to protecting the individual employee however, I think the policies, and we have hundreds of them, also protect the organisation and that is what erm.....undermines my confidence in these policies. The culture calls for some kind of support to be put in to place. We breed bullies and that's why I believe that we have anti-bullying initiatives. It is a constant battle. I think bullying is endemic in this organisation. I will tell you that. It is quite sophisticated because we have got quite a lot of sophisticated, cruel people in this organisation. Bullying can be very insidious.'* Creator F.

> *'The anti-bullying initiatives are here because it is about fairness and dignity and making sure that people's rights are being looked after. 'I think the drivers of the anti-bullying initiatives are people centred.'* Creator Z.

Noting the commentary above, the broader Creator perspective, their views range from acknowledging the legal requirements of protecting an organisation from employment tribunal claims as a consequence of workplace bullying towards a welfare orientation, people-centred approach. However, this commentary is slighted by cynicism as comments give insight in to the perceived value that the organisation places on its policies. These lenses further offer insight in to the darker side of why policy may exist and in particular refers to the subtle and insidious nature of bullying and an organisational culture that breeds and permits bullying. Of notable interest is the perception that the organisation does not really want to deal with bullying, believing that bullying is merely robust management in operation; something that is warranted within a command and do orientated environment such as policing. However, if HR's objective is to purposely prevent cases of bullying reaching the litigation stage, then their practice of ignoring such cases as suggested in, Setting the Scene and defining bullying merely as robust management in the same section of the chapter, serves to both enflame and extinguish any intent to raise claims of bullying. Claimants that perceive that

the force has ignored their claim may escalate their case further. However, if the next stage is to define and make sense of the claimants' experience through a robust management lens then this may prevent the claimant progressing with their case further believing that the organisation is dismissive of their experience. Each stage of the intervention strategy can be interpreted as further supportive measure that deals with bullying, or another barrier that prevents the claimant reaching the litigation stage. If this is the case, then union perception that the ABIs are driven by people-centred objectives is lost. In this sense HR can frame the ABI strategy as a success, while the union may perceive the strategy to be flawed and ineffective.

The Disseminator Response

Although the Creator group are tasked with constructing the ABIs, both the Disseminator and User groups have interpreted the ABI framework and as such this interpretation shapes their views on whether the initiatives have any such value to those that it is intended to benefit. The commentary ranges from duty orientated perspectives from an organisational and workforce perspective.

> '*It's the done thing to have an anti-bullying policy and the government expects you to have one. It's a precursor to any employment tribunal, so is influenced by legislation and is primarily about protecting the organisation. The drivers of the anti-bullying initiatives are fair play, to protect the individual and to make work safer for people.*' Disseminator H*.*

> '*We are expected to have a policy. It's about protection, primarily for the organisation.*' Disseminator L.

> '*Policies are there because the force wants to protect itself from employment tribunals and bad publicity.* Disseminator E.

> '*Well protection of the police force. It should be about people but essentially, it's about protecting the force.*' Disseminator Z.

'We need the anti-bullying framework because we are a disciplined organisation and you find yourself in a position where you need to tell people what to do. You give orders and it is sometimes difficult to switch off when you are dealing with people, when you are dealing with staff.' Disseminator D.

Towards a darker perspective that highlights a potential underlying culture of bullying present in the organisation.

'If we didn't have any interventions then everyone would be bullying. If you go through our history, there is no smoke without fire. We have had situations where people have attempted suicide due because of bullying so the organisation looks after itself before it looks after its staff. In one particular case the Chief promised that things would change. Nothing did. I thought then, what has to happen to make them change behaviour.' Disseminator D.

'We know of situations that have got out of hand and people have attempted to take their life. Even then the response from the force was to look after itself so they have them to look after themselves.' Disseminator X.

'We need policies and processes. This is a strict organisation and lines get blurred.' Disseminator H.

'This place is full of bullies that's why we have policies in the first place.' Disseminator Z.

'Because of the strict nature of the organisation, we breed bullies and that is why we need anti-bullying interventions. The culture here calls for that kind of support to be put in place.' Disseminator U.

The Disseminator group voiced similar opinions already presented by the Creator group. What differentiated both groups were the people-centred focus introduced by participants in the Creator group. The Disseminators held a more cynical interpretation that was limited to legislative and protective perspective.

The User Group Response
The most cynical of the voices were those from the User group.

> '*We have the policies because there is lots of bullying here and if you don't quite fit in then you can feel quite bullied. There is a pandemic of bullying in the police force. It has always been here in one form or another.*' User Q.

> '*That's the way things are here. It's full of bullies.*' User U.

> '*We have them so they can say, look we have a policy but it's just words.*' User X.

> '*I don't think it is very effective but it's about setting standards and providing support and advice. It's a big organisation and you are expected to have one. You can give some people satisfaction from it but it's also a precursor to any employment tribunal or anything.*' User H.

> '*The policies all say the right thing, but it is all rhetoric. Its tick box really. In some ways they are covering themselves and saying well a policy or whatever is in place. If we are victims of bullying, they can at least say, oh look we have this policy.*' User Q.

> '*We have an anti-bullying strategy in some ways to protect the police force. Things are on the intranet if you can find it. They say bullying is a common-sense thing and don't do it. They cover themselves so can say, we have this policy in place so don't do*

>*it and you should know about it. You have got to have a strategy,*
>*haven't you? So, you know the goals and what you can do.*
>*Primarily it's for the organisation but I guess for us too. If we are*
>*bullied, we can say well we have a policy.'* User L.

Interesting to note here. The further away from the policy / intervention creation the participants were, the less positive the participants felt about the intervention initiatives. Here as end users of the interventions, the User group discussed how documents were difficult to find, that limited training was offered and that the primary purpose of having these interventions was to protect Greendale, rather than having any people centred purpose as discussed by HR and the police support union. This broad interpretation across the three participants groups adds to our understanding of how organisational actors make sense of the purpose that interventions serve.

The Cross-Commentary Perspective

The commentary across the three participant groups demonstrates a degree of connectivity with the responses. What is evident across all three levels is the need for protection. The HR practitioners indicate a legislative need to protect the organisation. This is not unreasonable given that all organisations need safety nets for many different operational reasons. Greendale recognises that it has a continued history with bullying; a position echoed through many empirical studies across many different forms of organisation and workplace so steps to ensure some form of organisational protection is both reasonable and practical. The broader Creator perspective did recognise the legislative need but also offered a broader interpretation that took a human perspective that the interventions were people centred and offered further protection for the workforce. However, their responses evidenced a degree of cynicism regarding the value that they placed on the intervention commenting that there was a lack of '*confidence in the policies'* and measures were needed due to bullying being '*endemic'* in the organisation. The Disseminator group drew from the organisational to expose the darker side of organisation. Commentary here talked about a previous case of bullying that had resulted in the target attempting to take their life and formed part of the force's history. In this

example respondents made sense of the incident from a no smoke without fire perspective, yet recognised policing as a self-protectionist, command orientated environment that sometimes led to a blurring of lines between giving orders and bullying.

Commentary at the lower level of organisation provided through the User group demonstrated the need for protection of the individual with commentary such as, *'there is a pandemic of bullying'*. Yet there appeared to be less buy-in to the value of the ABI with comments such as '*it's tick box really*' and '*it's all rhetoric'* suggests that despite this groups perceive need for the intervention they provided limited evidence that they held any faith in the policy itself. This was further evidence through commentary regarding the intervention consultation exercise. Thus, in evidencing how successful the ABIs are perceived in Greendale, the HR department evidenced the most positive attitude towards the operational initiatives. The broader Creator group acknowledged the practical and legislative need for such initiates but held a less positive perception of the interventions while the User group; those as the direct users of the intervention measures had the least positive attitude to how well the intervention measures were operationalised. They had the most cynical attitude towards the ABI strategy believing largely that such processes were dominantly tick box exercises that held limited value to those most in need of help.

Constructing Primary interventions: The Consultative Exercise

In order to understand further the attitudes of the three participant groups; Creators, Disseminators and Users and their contribution and involvement in the development of the ABIs, the following gives insight in to the role that each party plays in the consultative exercise that takes place around policy and strategy implementation.

Making sense of the Policy and Intervention Process

In, HR's Multi-level Approach to Anti-Bullying Management, the intervention process. The following extracts provide insight in to the consultation process from three perspectives; firstly, with key personnel involved in the creation of

policy, secondly with the Disseminators who are required to provide feedback on policy before its implementation and thirdly from intervention Users. Although broader responses acknowledged the wider consultative exercise taken by HR their commentaries introduce a degree of scepticism regarding the truly consultative nature of the process.

'*Well really the whole force is in some way responsible for policy.*' Creator M.

'*Technically they say that they consult with everyone. However, they don't really give sufficient time for it truly to be consultative.*' Creator W.

'*Obviously we have our misgivings. There is no onus on the organisation to take on board and our views and actually incorporate them into the policy. They will sort of include our views.*' Creator U.

'*Consultation with the police means that they take time to put it together and will tell you that you have to give feedback within, for example, two weeks. That's not really consultation it doesn't give you time to truly consult. We used to have a consultation group and we used to discuss and consult properly but they decided it was taking too long to implement policy. Now they tell you what to do and still call it consultation. There is a 'tell you' culture here with the illusion of inclusion.*' Creator F.

'*Well they tell you it's consultation but in reality, they don't give you sufficient time to really consult. It ticks a box. They can say they are inclusive.*' Disseminator Q.

'*As far as the anti-bullying stuff is concerned, I would struggle to find anyone else in the organisation certainly at my grade that knows about it. It is not something that is publicised, or people*

> *are aware of, to be honest I think people struggle to find the forms*
> *on the intranet anyway but technically the process exists.'* User
> Q.

> *'Well technically we have one, but no-one really knows much*
> *about it or where it is.'* User L.

This indicates the level of consultation that is applied throughout the organisation during policy formulation and consultee attitudes towards the consultative process. The Creator and Disseminator group commentary introduced doubt in to the discussion regarding the truly consultative and inclusive nature of the consultation process. The Disseminator perspective goes further to offer a more sceptical interpretation of the consultative process citing an '*illusion of inclusion'* through top down short timescales imposed on those invited to provide feedback on the interventions. The commentary from personnel involved in policy formulation process thus presents a picture of top-down policy construction, that on paper, demonstrates consultative and inclusive application but in practice is limited in the engagement and act of consultation with the wider workforce. Critics of HR as owners of this consultative process point to the empty nature of some of their strategies. Negative reference is made of the limits of the consultative process often employed by HR with organisational stakeholders often noting HR's strategic position and ideological differences between the stakeholder groups as significant factors (Delbridge and Lowe, 1997; Ogilive and Stork, 2003; Edgar and Geare, 2005; Bratton and Gold, 2017). Context is known to play a part here. In organisations such as policing were HR practitioners are recognised less as strategic-partners and more as engaging in functional and operational practices, ideological and strategic differences are reported to be higher (Malik, 2013). The findings note the ideological separation between the stakeholders engaged in the anti-bullying consultation process. HR have followed what Storey (1992) describes as a passive, legislative regulator focused approach in their engagement and interaction with the anti-bullying agenda seeing their focus as limiting the impact of any litigation claims. In contrast, the wider Creator group identified their role in the process as advisors and change makers and identified as 'proactive champions of change' (Malik,

2013: 200). To understand the disparity between the wider Creator group, attention is brought back to Bourdieu. In, Understanding the Force's Human Resource Practitioner Group, HR is examined in the context of the changing sub-field and their position within that field. HR is situated within the broader civilian framework. Although attempting to gain symbolic capital they do so at the risk of damaging it. Empty attempts at dealing with bullying at work have been identified by the participants contributing to the thesis. Fingers have been directed at HR as custodians and therefore key perpetrators of empty acts of management. Rather than gaining symbolic capital through the ownership of a human centred initiative such as the ABIs, the loss of symbolic capital is achieved similarly to that of the Chief Constable discussed earlier in the part one of the chapter in, In justification of Action. As previously iterated; symbolic capital is concerned with 'the reputation acquisition and to gain 'image of respectability and honourability' (Bourdieu, 1984:291). However, the subsequent reneging of action has damaged how HR is perceived having the reverse response than expected. To explore HR's strategy from a wider perspective attention is drawn to the connecting fields of strategy and policy implementation discussed in chapter two. Policy formulation are reconstructed and reshaped in action through a 'social, contextual, political and economic' frame (Birkland, 2014:4). The problem with this discussion is that the problematisation associated with the process of policy implementation and consultation is that it is predicated upon control and compliance strategies that hold normative assumptions concerning the implementation gap. Posited within those assumptions are that policy should be clear and should equally hold clearly constructed boundaries that identify when actions have resulted in non-compliance. The limitation of this perspective is that it positions a simplistic understanding of policy implementation governed by a managerialist top-down compliance and control interpretation of policy strategy. In doing so, it contends that all problems with policy occur as it travels downwards towards frontline implementation and enactment and does not take in to account context, conflict, relationships, change and agency to present a more complexly framed understanding as represented in this study.

In continuation of a more complex understanding of the interventions the findings from the study presents that the location of the agent to the initiative is also shown to have impact on how the initiative is enacted. As the distance to the interventions changed; the Creators had direct, active responsibility for intervention development; the Disseminators used it professionally in an advisory capacity; while the User group had personal interaction with it as end users, the buy-in and value attributed to the intervention and the intervention process declined. The further removed from the HR policy/ intervention designers, the groups were the less communication and involvement there was with the policy/intervention itself. Communication and involvement with the intervention with those down the ranks were as end users only and not as engaged, involved or listened to organisational members. From and HR perspectives this positions the question who and what are interventions for? Chapter two positions that ownership sits primarily with HR practitioners. The interviews with Greendale's HR practitioners suggest that interventions are firstly designed to protect the purse and reputation of the organisation in which they are situated. Given that it may be almost impossible to eradicate workplace bullying it is not unreasonable to assume that the primary objective of the intervention is not concerned with preventing bullying but attempts to act as an organisational shield to protect from the consequences of bullying? In presenting that view, why would the organisation need to include others in the design and development of this intervention? However, if interventions are primarily about and for people does the buy-in and involvement of others become significant in the intervention process? Perhaps the involvement of the union and federation honours organisational rhetoric and merely adds to the theatre of an inclusive organisation in theoretical form. The commentary provided by the three groups suggests that each group fundamentally assigned different objectives and purpose to the primary intervention making it very difficult for the intervention to be all things to all men.

The HR Game: Bullied Back to Health: Tertiary Interventions and the (un)intended consequence of the sickness policy

The following section examines the games at play in the organisational fields. Bourdieu's depiction of games is discussed in Chapter five. Each field has its own taken for granted rules and assumptions and games at play.

Earlier commentary in the section entitled, The Changing Expectations of the HR Professional, the shifting and conflicted space in which the role of the HR professional is challenged to fulfil competing organisational and professional agendas was discussed. In response, HR professionals have adjusting their interpretations and re-establishing new games at play in the new emergent policing environment. The central focus of one such emergent game is HR's management of the organisational sickness policy.

Bullying can result in absenteeism. Those that are off ill or are returning to work following an experience of bullying and a period of absence are introduced to tertiary level intervention strategies. These tertiary level interventions include a series of well-being initiatives offered through the participant force's occupational health department and in addition to this, back to work schemes are managed and supported through HR. Participant commentary across the Creator sample identified occupational health as '*quite slow'* Creator M but beyond this there is a lack of participant data offering insight in to the full range of effectiveness of occupational health related tertiary interventions.

Instead participants have focused on their experiences of interacting with HR following incidents of bullying and much of the responses have focused on HR back to work initiatives that are operationalised following periods of absence. Although HR interpret the return to work initiatives as '*supportive*' (Creator M, a view shared by Creators U and W) participants that have experience of the initiatives describe them as punitive. Management of the workforce absenteeism is regarded as a '*robust system that just kicks in and moves the supervisor / manager level in to the hands of HR for them to deal with*' (Creator M, echoed by Creators, F and O).

In discussions with the participants Disseminator O and Creators M and F all discussed sickness and the sickness monitoring process.

> '*Sickness is monitored and if you go over that sickness level then you are subject to a remedial action plan. The plan is triggered by three periods of absence or over an eight-day block period of absence in a three-year period. If you breech the action plan it can be escalated further and can lead to you eventually exiting the organisation.*' Creator M.

Disseminator O goes further and explains that,

> '*If applied correctly this process can be supportive. The concern is that sometimes it is not applied as it should be interpreted. The first stages of the process should be that you get a supportive action plan….the difficulty is that how can an action plan say, don't ever get sick again, or don't be absent from work again? So, while this is about, putting measures in place the reality is that they are about keeping you at work and if you can't stay in work, it gets escalated, so the application process then becomes punitive not supportive.*'

Disseminator Q also discussed managing sickness as a performance objective.

> '*This is one of those performance measures that is not being used well. More emphasis is placed on dealing with sickness than ever before. Instead of addressing the issue of bullying they just tackle the sickness.*'

These commentaries indicate a level of dissatisfaction with the current tertiary HR initiative. Disseminator T comments that what should be used as a supportive mechanism is not always applied that way and other commentators echoed their concerns that what is in place has a punitive feel.

If the bullies don't break you the system will: The Punitive Nature of the System

Chapter two discussed the punitive nature of ABIs. In the policing context the punitive rather than supportive nature of the return to work initiatives is further evidenced through commentary from the HR practitioners. In the following excerpt bullying is extended beyond the typical negative human relationship to conceptualise HR process as bullying.

> *'Sometimes people see our practices as bullying. Austerity brings with it re-organisation and with that comes re-deployment and redundancies. The response to all of that is stress, depression and lots of absence. If a person goes off with stress within seven days of their absence, we give them a stress questionnaire. We give managers four weeks to get people back to work.'* Creator M.

The commentary indicates that the resulting consequence of workforce re-organisation has resulted in a rise in stress related absence. Commentary that highlights the difficulty that the participants faced in admitting to feeling stressed at work is evidenced below, they state that organisational members

> '*would rather admit to something like having a heart condition than admitting that they were suffering from stress as a consequence of their workplace experiences such as being bullied.*' Disseminator E.

> *'We are starting to see a rise in people feeling stressed, but no-one wants to admit that if they feel that their jobs are could be at risk.'* Creator M.

These two commentaries demonstrate a disconnected relationship between the workforce and HR. At a time when the greatest degree of sensitivity is needed to deal with the already challenging process of redundancy and re-organisation, were the loss of a jobs has direct impact on one's economic and

social capital, HR's response was not to re-assess their own actions and adjust practice in an effort to reduce staff absenteeism, but was to instead invoke a further process, by sending out a stress survey questionnaire to an already stressed workforce that confess to struggling to admit to their problem. Further to this, the first commentary highlights a shift in social and knowledge capital as the power shifts from HR as support officers to those with the power to give police officers orders to carry out people related actions. HR instructs their police officer line managers to get their staff back to work within a four-week timescale. The pressure placed on those off sick back to work is tempered with the prospect that, '*people can come back on a phased return to work with reduced hours'* Creator M. However, the commentary goes further to state,

> '*we will do whatever it takes to get them back. We ask the person's doctor to sign them back to this phased return. It works, it really works. We have got quite short time lines with regards to home contacts you know where you go out to people or go out to them over the phone and for some people that can be perceived as bullying, but it is part of our attendance charter and it is what we sign up to. We speak to their GP to find out exactly what is going on with that person. Permission to do this is covered in the attendance management policy and we all sign up to this as it is part of our conditions of service. The absentee will be asked for certain information and if they are not happy to give it, we have a duty of care towards people, so we tell them that we will be writing to their GP. People are not generally comfortable in coming forward to admit that they are suffering with stress, particularly men. We are all suffering from the cuts* [on the force] *and nobody wants to be seen as not coping.'* Creator M.

This excerpt provides insight into the strict time orientated agenda that Greendale applies to personnel that are absent from work. The excerpt highlights a number of issues that give insight in to the organisational climate. The Creator commentary indicates that the climate is one of fear precipitated

by the austerity measures that have resulted in stress related absences. The earlier excerpt from Disseminator E gave an indication of how hard it is for some individuals to identify with being stressed or feeling weak through bullying. The individual was male, and the above excerpt indicates the perceived difficulty for males to come forward and admit to feeling stressed or bullied at work.

The participant stated,

> '*I would rather admit to having a heart condition than admit to being stressed as a consequence of bullying.*' They went on to say, '*my doctor said, how can* [omitted] *police force let you get in to this state? I asked the doctor to put something else on my sick note as I didn't want the force to know.*' Disseminator E.

The above extract shows the thorough nature of the back to work process that leaves the individual with nowhere to hide. The Disseminator expressly indicated that they did not wish to share details of how stressed they were with their organisation. Chapter three discusses the masculine orientated police culture. The process described above does much to maintain that culture as it leaves no stone unturned for the fearful to hide under. The terms and conditions of Greendale's attendance management policy (2014:15) states that attendance management is 'a strategic issue for the force and stakeholders' and that the objectives of the policy are to: -

•Develop a culture of good attendance; promote well-being of all; support absentees during sickness or injury; provide clear expectations regarding roles and responsibilities in absentee management; assist an individual to return to work at the earliest opportunity; provide guidance and information on attendance management.

The policy document goes on to state that in particular for stress / anxiety related issues, line mangers were required to have face to face contact with

absentees within five calendar days of the reported absence and every fourteen calendar days thereafter.

Addressing policies and management styles to name just two, are reported to have significant impact on stress reduction at work (LaMontagne *et al.,* 2007). In this case, the policies rather than aiming to reduce stress, appear to promote it through a rigid application process. To use the participant organisation's own language, current application of process is 'robust' and the direct access to employee medical records leaves employees exposed at a time when they are likely to seek sanctuary away from the pressures of the workplace.

The underpinning rationale for this intrusive insight into employee medical backgrounds is cited as financially driven due to a reduction in the policing budget (Greendale Attendance Management Policy, 2014). Although the Creator participants made claim to massive improvements in the reduction of absenteeism and, the consequential positive impact on the policing budget, the wider findings suggest that the new policy brings with it a potentially unintended negative human consequence.

Chapter two discussed the fear associated with disclosing that you are a target of bullying. However, given that the participants are situated within a male dominated macho culture and bullying has connotations of weakness, the introduction of a more stringent sickness policy situated within the tertiary level stage of the anti-bullying process, serves to make disclosure potentially even more difficult for organisational participants.

How this is enacted across the organisation means that the nowhere to hide approach of accessing medical records leads to two outcomes; the first is that organisational actors struggle on and become 'presentees' working long and extended hours to follow policing norms until as Disseminator E explains they just '*fall down'.* In the long-term, this course of action has the potential to lead to further and prolonged stress, greater periods of absenteeism and higher levels of trauma for the target of bullying. From an organisational perspective, Cooper (2015) suggests that rather than absenteeism it is presenteeism that

presents the biggest threat to UK workplace productivity, costing the UK economy twice that of absenteeism. UK workers have the longest working hours across Europe and are the second longest working employees behind the USA. However, as American workers average ten days more holidays per annum than the average UK worker, the whole the UK workforce work longer (ibid). Presenteeism is discussed in the following extracts.

'I think that there are a lot of other people in the organisation who have got different types of managers and they have got issues with presenteeism. The managers have got to see that staff are here. You might not necessarily be doing a lot of work but as long as you are sitting on your seat and not off sick then you know you are perceived to be doing your job even though you may not be.' Creator M.

'There are lots of different types of managers in this organisation and unfortunately not all of them are supportive. Some think, the longer you are at your desk, the more committed you are.' Creator F.

'One of my members told me about when they applied for promotion. The Chief kept them waiting around forever. He would tell them he wanted to meet them and then leave them sitting around for hours. He knew what he was doing. He was making a point. The Chief though commitment to the job meant that you are here at your desk at all times.' Creator W.

Cooper's (2015) work indicates that the as long as you are at your desk approach is counterproductive and even more dangerous for the productivity of an organisation than the cost of absenteeism suggesting that in the longer term it results in illness. The fear factor experienced as a consequence of the policy strategy is demonstrated by the following excerpt: -

> *'People may be scared to admit that they might be stressed within a department with presenteeism. Less and less people are going off sick and you can be in the office and are managing. Recently somebody had the most horrendous cough. It was awful no-one could concentrate in the office because this person was just coughing all of the time. The person wouldn't go home because we are facing more job cuts and they were worried that anything that goes against you get marks taken off you. You get so many marks taken off for example if you have had any periods of sickness.'* Creator M.

Here the fear of further job cuts further places pressure on individuals to stay in work. Implicit and explicit demonstration of symbolic violence played out through actions and language combine to perpetuate the fear factor; explicit action deducts marks against an individual for being off sick while an implicit understanding of organisational practice and norms is perpetuated through shared language and action.

> *'We have what I call presenteeism or long hour culture. At my rank you should manage your own hours but often because of the demands of the job I'm not able to take my leave or any owed time and it just gets written off. You can get in trouble for it as you are supposed to manage it. The Home Office are carrying out a project looking at the long hour culture. People just won't stand up for themselves. I am clear about it I say I can't do it. My colleagues have stay at home partners. They leave for work before the kids are up and return home when they have gone to bed, they don't see their families, but they feel they can't go home early as others will say why are they leaving they have a partner at home to look after the kids? Police culture is that to be effective you need to work long hours. Absence and going home early is viewed as a weakness.'* User X.

Here the excerpt shows the use of 'culture' as an abstract collective yet grey term that manages to maintain behaviour and action. Here culture normalises counterproductive behaviour. There is no research to support the view that longer working hours equates to more productive people; in fact, the reality is more likely that people will get ill (Cooper, 2015).

Thus, the policy in this sense is having the desired effect. The way in which the policy is used both in explicit and implicit terms results in organisational actors fearing absences from work and fearing the intrusion in to medical records to get people back to work.

The second potential outcome of the return to work strategy following leave of absence through bullying/stress relate conditions may be that there is the chance that third parties may become complicit in the deception process. The earlier excerpt describes how a GP had become complicit in the deception process putting an alternative medical condition down on medical records to protect their patient from further stress at work at a time of vulnerability. This raises the issue of duty of care. Organisations place faith and trust in professions to provide an honest appraisal. In this case the GP, according to the participant's representation of events, falsified records in order to protect a patient during a period of absence in which they felt uncomfortable declaring the real reason why they were absent from work and in this sense placed a duty of care to the patient above other expectations.

Greendale has to consider a more complex interpretation of duty of care. Undoubtedly, there is a call for duty of care to extend to the organisation and all organisational members were absenteeism is concerned. From an organisational position, absenteeism presents an inevitable financial cost. Likewise, colleagues left to hold the fort are placed under further unnecessary strain given that policing numbers are already reduced because of austerity measures. Thus, a process that is built up on managing the speedy return to work of its personnel following a period of absence in theory is a reasonable and just action. However, the organisation's position of a duty of care from the absentee's perspective is less clear. If the organisation was deemed truly supportive by its members, then the threat of disclosure would surely not pose

a problem. Indeed, it is likely that the need for such an intrusive practice would be minimal. Staff may feel able to disclose that they had been bullied in the first place and the resulting action may not have been absence if handled in a less assertive way. Thus, the HR game at play is multidimensional and complex.

Multiple Shades of Grey: The Creator Interpretations

Chapter two positioned the difficulty associated with identifying what constitutes bullying. What is of lesser discussion is how organisational actors interpret ABIs against the confused backdrop of what we mean by bullying in the first place. To understand and make sense of the factors that shape actors' interpretations, the Creator, Disseminator and User groups have provided insight in to how they make sense and interpret ABIs active in Greendale force. As previously discussed, the anti-bullying field is not heavily populated with research in this area, yet this aids our understanding of the core value of ABIs from individual perspectives. The following statements illuminate the factors that help to shape the interpretive process at play amongst organisational actors.

> '*HR are responsible for interpretation, advising, creating and disseminating policy. There is a degree of interpretation and it is very broad amongst those responsible for policy and advising. There are a lot of grey areas. In the job you have to have guts because you are telling people things that they sometimes don't want to hear, especially if it isn't written down. We have to look at things and say, well there is no right answer, but our interpretation is as follows…..*'*Sometimes managers may not want to take our advice but the advice we suggest is written down and recorded. We record when we advise people and what we tell them. We don't advise individuals we give factual information. The manager then interprets what the HR practitioner has said, and they may take the advice on board if they decide whether to action or not.'* Creator M.

The hierarchical attitude of the organisation is shown in the following quotation. In the previous quote Creator M discussed how HR practitioners provide advice to managers. In the next excerpts an inconsistency is identified as participants describe the lack of direct discussion between HR practitioners and employees seeking help and advice. Here, participants discussed how HR are willing to provide advice to line managers yet when staff seek help, they are advised to ask their line managers to contact HR on their behalf. This raises a privacy issue for employees that may not wish to discuss issues with their line managers.

> *'If I have to speak to them, I call* [HR] *I ask advice and they find out for you and will call you back; they help. If a more junior staff member phones them to ask the same question they say they can't help, and the staff member needs to speak to a relevant person. What they mean by relevant person is ask your line manager to contact us. This happens a lot and it is getting my staff members annoyed.'* Disseminator X.

As IPA recognises the significant in the small and insignificant, the three statements give small but revealing presentation of the factors that influence how interpretation has been shaped. The comments made in the first and second statements by Creator M, '*we give factual information, we don't advise individuals*' indicates the personal challenge that HR practitioner's sometimes face in providing factual information in an interpretive area of HR. The first of those challenges is identified to be amongst HR practitioners themselves. The findings indicate that multiple interpretations of the anti-bullying policy exist amongst those in within the force's own HRM community. This greyness of policy suggests that this may lead to inconsistency of advice and further lack of clarity for mangers trying to interpret and apply advice given by the HR practitioners. This position is further complicated by a reduction in HR practitioner staffing levels and the devolution of HR practices and procedures through the employee ranks. The comments,

> 'we *record when we advise people and what we tell them. We*
> *don't advise individuals we give factual information. The*
> *manager then interprets what the HR practitioner has said, and*
> *they may take the advice on board if they decide whether to*
> *action or not'*,

suggests two issues; the first is that duality of interpretation is further placed an already interpretive situation as the staff manager is left to interpret the HR practitioner's interpretation of policy, creating shades of grey through which the manager is then left to navigate or '*decide whether to action of not.*' This is a further complicated by the choice open to managers of whether action is required or not. The choice to action may be further clouded by the issue of whether there is a case of bullying or not when bullying is recognised as subjective; is enhanced by a lack of manager training and confidence in dealing with issues that were previously situated within HR hands; and presents a 'cumbersome' process through which a manager is then left to navigate. The following quotes provide further insight in to this issue.

> '*If you look at the guidance for management and supervisors,*
> *consulting with HR for advice and support for a fact HR is*
> *decimated now. We have some managers and supervisors that*
> *have a track record of not following HR advice about what you*
> *can or should be doing. To be honest managers and supervisors*
> *are under a massive amount of pressure to deliver you know*
> *what I mean so to deal with bullying issues it can be time*
> *consuming. To support that individual that is subject to bullying*
> *is also time consuming that is the problem that they have. A lot*
> *of our managers and supervisors do not have the training. In my*
> *opinion some don't have the intellectual capacity to deal with*
> *human emotion; they don't have that at all.'* Creator F.

This quotation highlights that beyond the much-needed training in developing knowledge and capability, intellectual capacity to deal with emotional issues is

called in to question. The following quotation explains that there is a skills gap and a lack of rigidity in following process.

> '*HR now have been chopped to pieces. This is the problem that we have got is that ex officers come into positions that have previously been occupied by civvies and they don't have the skills you know. You need really good skills to handle this stuff and need to be incredibly sensitive. I think the framework isn't as adhered to as it should be.'* Creator F.

> '*We have seen a reduction in HR personnel and responsibilities have been devolved to line managers. The issue is that timescales and frameworks aren't really adhered to. People just want to sort things at the lowest level which isn't ideal really.'* Disseminator Q.

In the next quotation, the extent to which the anti-bullying frameworks are not adhered to within the organisation is shown from the top-down perspective.

> '*When I am representing people and attending management meetings, chief officer meetings etc, business meetings, they reiterate that policy is in place for this. However, whether they adhere to it is another thing. I actually quote policies to them. I have had situations where I am actually quoting policies which they, **which they,** have put forward and they are not sticking to them. It is just unbelievable. That's what makes me a cynic I am afraid.'* Creator F.

Factors which may influence why policies are not adhered to discussed in the following commentary. The Creator discussed a lack of confidence in how organisational actors deal with bullying. Explanation is provided through the organisations focus on robust management which serves to re-identify and normalise bullying behaviour as disciplined action. The Creator comments how discipline can be misconstrued or interpreted.

'I do have to tell you though that I have no confidence at all in the way it is dealt with in this organisation. There is a hesitancy to deal with it. There are all sorts of ways that they can address stuff. But there is hesitancy because of the nature of this organisation is robust management because we deal with the law. We are a disciplined organisation and that disciplined organisation is sort of well, it can be misconstrued.' Creator F.

'There have been a number of members that we have represented that when they have formally raised things, they have been told it is not bullying. Some people resist it all the way. Robust management they call it. Robust management can be abused as bullying and those managers that act like that will dig their heels in all the way. In a way this disciplined organisation sort of encourages it. In the end it is down to the individual to interpret it.' Disseminator U.

The participant commentary, dominantly from the Creator perspective, builds a picture of the complexities of and facing anti-bullying interventions and the factors that help to shape how these are interpreted by the people that are engaged with them.

The organisation has a diminished HR team; onus is being placed on line mangers when they lack training, confidence and allegedly ability to deal with sensitive people issues that were previously undertaken by HR practitioners. Process is described as cumbersome; advice and interpretation of the interventions is inconsistent, and frameworks are not applied as they should be. To add to this, even when dealing with sensitive issues such as bullying, hierarchy is at play. HR is reported to interact differently with managers than staff when advice is sought from the HR team. This indicates a lack of privacy afforded to lower level personnel when dealing with sensitive areas and has the potential to force lower level personnel to be exposed when seeking personal advice or places them in a position where they may feel they cannot seek the help they need as they do not wish to disclose information to their line

managers. Furthermore, lines are blurred between robust management and bullying. The use of the term robust management allows bullying to be re-categorised or normalised and thus provides a get out clause for those accused of bullying; they are simply engaging in robust management. This makes it more complicated for those having to interpret the ABIs in an environment where there is a lack of understanding of what is meant by the term bullying and thus presents a grey landscape in which organisational actors to make their own sense of the ABIs and create their own interpretations and use of them.

The Game of Interpretation: Abusing the System

A system that lacks clarity essentially opens the door for organisational actors to create their own sense of what the system can mean to and for them. The workplace bullying literature is populated by discussions on abuse. Bullying is an abusive practice; oppressive workplaces that blur the lines between bullying as tough management practice is abusive; processes and procedures may seem harsh and thus abusive when perhaps sensitive handling is needed, yet there is limited discussion of how organisational actors can turn the tables and use ABIs to their own advantage in essence abusing a system to work in their own favour and perhaps not in the way in which it was designed. Drawing from Ackroyd and Thompson (1999); Richards (2008) and Warhurst's, (2015) notions of organisational misbehaviour the following excerpts and quotations show how organisational actors use the ABIs for their own ends. It is not a new revelation to find that some organisational members may make false claims of bullying. Indeed, some of the discussions in this area centre on the issue or perception. If I perceive that I have been bullied, is it bullying if the perpetrator had no intent to bully and is oblivious that their actions and behaviour may have caused harm? Chapter three discusses how the academic field is split here. If I intend to bully, then it is bullying and if there is no intent, I did not bully. In the no intent camp, the claim of bullying is therefore upheld as a false claim of bullying. Drawing from a similar underlying argument, the following commentary introduces intentional use or misuse of the ABI framework for organisational actor's own ends, something that has received limited attention in the academic literature. The commentary sheds light on how people may

raise the bullying card in response to organisational conditions or personal conflict reasons.

'*You know they say there are no targets, no performance indicator culture here but they are kidding themselves of course there is. Pressure is placed on people to perform and this pressure could be perceived as bullying. However, you could use this avenue to claim that you are being bullied to buy yourself a bit of space away from the pressures.*' Creator F.

This commentary shares commonality with earlier organisational misbehaviour discussion. There is longstanding empirical evidence of workers across a myriad of industries finding space away from the pressures of work. However, despite undertaking a broad search of the academic and practitioner focused literature this aspect remained underexplored. The above quotation highlights how staff feeling under pressure to perform may 'claim' to have been bullied to distract attention away from pressurised situations in the workplace. Existing literature acknowledges that there is a blurring of lines when organisational actors feel that they have been bullied. Worker claims of bullying in this sense are often redefined and repackaged by the workplace not as bullying but simply the consequences of feeling the pressure of performance measures. However, in the cases reported in the study participants described the intent to deliberately mislead and to make false claims of bullying when there was no case of bullying to claim or report. In the following excerpt Creator U describes how people deliberately abuse the anti-bullying policy knowing full well that they are making false claims.

'*There is the capacity in the anti-bullying process to abuse the system so to speak. You could claim that you were bullied to buy yourself time, when it could be a performance issue and not one of actual bullying. You are accusing someone of bullying you that actually isn't. If some people are challenged about underperformance then they could say, I am being bullied. They could use the process to raise issues and try to hide behind that process.*' Disseminator U.

'People do abuse the system though. Some people who are due to be disciplined for poor sick records will say that they have been bullied.' Creator L.

'If staff members get poor reviews and they are affected financially say through a performance review then nearly every time they put in a grievance of bullying. It's easy to say you have been bullied. It is much harder to say you have been racially or sexually discriminated against so it's easier to say you have been bullied. It's easier to gather 'specific' evidence about race or gender but it's harder to gather specifics for bullying, but you don't have to as bullying is so broad. It always gets investigated.' Disseminator X

'There are examples when people say I am being bullied when they know that really they aren't being bullied. We do have vexatious allegations basically something has got personal, they have been told to do something and they are not doing or if they don't get their own way, they throw their teddy out of the pram. I have been very, very firm on that, I will not support sort of stuff like that. However, it will always get investigated.' Creator F.

The last two quotations indicate the organisational position; it always gets investigated. The process here provides the key for organisational actors to achieve space away from situations in which they feel aggrieved or stressed by individuals in the workplace or the pressures of work. This is further supported by the following commentary,

'The official figures don't really represent what is going on. The policy and procedures are set up in such a way that you could abuse them. If someone puts in an official complaint, then it all kicks in and HR gets involved. They act independently. It's robust and it works from victim to perpetrator. People don't want to go

through the formal pressure of making a claim of bullying. They don't want to be interviewed. All they want is the bullying to stop. Not retribution but often the person doing it knows they are being watched and often the bullying stops.' User Z.

'It was awful for me. I got called in to make a statement which wasn't the most pleasant of experiences. I just wanted an informal chat, but my supervisor escalated it and the next thing I know it's gone formal. It was an absolute nightmare for me.' User L.

Here the excerpt indicates that the system is set up to take claims of bullying seriously and to investigate all cases that are formally identified. However, the excerpt indicates that in genuine cases people do not want to go through formal claims that follow a pressurised process at a time when they are already vulnerable. The comment '*they just want the bullying to stop, not retribution',* indicates that in genuine cases retribution is not the main driving force behind formal claims of workplace bullying.

Falsely Accused of Bullying

For those that are on the receiving end of false accusations of bullying the following quotations show that from their perspectives the system is not sufficiently supportive,

'In terms of those that have been falsely accused of bullying and then have been pulled through the system I don't think that the system is particularly supportive of them and I think there should be more support mechanisms for those people. I was accused of bullying. I didn't know what I had done. It got investigated but no-one came back to me and said there is no case to answer. I worried all that time. I don't think the system is supportive of people who have been falsely accused.' Creator F.

'Our members tell us that they are not supported by the system. If they are accused of bullying, they often don't hear anything, and they are worried sick.' Creator M.

'I spoke out. Some of us were under pressure and others were standing around chatting. I said it was wrong. The following day I was called in by the inspector and he said that there had been an accusation of bullying made against me. He told me I needed to bring someone in to his office with me and when we sat down, he accused me of bullying. I couldn't believe it. I spoke out that some people were not pulling their weight. I said, yes, I made my point, but I wasn't bullying anyone. My boss was going to escalate it. I didn't follow what the policy said I should do. Instead I wrote a two-page letter explaining that I was extremely insulted and wasn't impressed with how this had been handled. I wasn't versed in procedure, but I knew something was wrong. I found out later from HR that he was on a sticky wicket as he might be looking at serious allegations about him, so he dropped it. I was advised by the union to go after him, but I dropped it as I had to work with him. He was my best mate after that.' User F.

Here those found with no case of bullying to answer had themselves been through an ordeal that was not recognised by Greendale force. The HR process of dealing with all reported cases of bullying did not close the loop at the end stage of the process to provide feedback and therefore closure to those falsely accused of bullying. Duty of care here is exercised from one core objective; protection from any potential ensuing litigation claims brought by the **target** if the claim was upheld and was not reported to be inclusive of individuals found innocent of bullying. In Chapter two, legal duty of case is discussed. Yet empirical evidence of those accused of workplace bullying repeatedly reports a lack of duty of care of those in this position who are left feeling isolated, treated as outcasts and unable to talk to anyone often due to confidentiality restrictions imposed by their employers. Among the provision of the Human Rights Act (1988) equality and justice for all offers the right to fair

trial with no punishment unless proven guilty (ibid). Yet again, many of the reported cases of alleged bullying cite unsupportive employers at the onset of the formal investigative process that assumes the guilt of the alleged bully. Furthermore, many workplaces are cited to instigate formal investigations that kick in with ease once a case of bullying has been alleged with bullying often found to be used to detract attention away from underlying issues such as redundancy and poor performance (McGregor, 2015). Quigg *et al.,* (2012) suggests that the technique of detracting attention away from the core issue is often used by domestic violence abusers on their targets. In the case of the participant force current HR strategy is target focused only and is not currently recognised as a two-way conflict process. This has three potential consequences. Those alleged as bullies have no option other than to act defensively as the current system does not treat them the same way as it treats the targets. The alleged perpetrator in this scenario is themselves the one on the receiving end of inappropriate behaviour. And finally, drawing from the 1988 Human Rights Act the potential litigation implications of those accused of bullying be the claim false or not, has not been fully considered and therefore indicates further evidence of a less progressive approach to managing the problem of workplace bullying in the participant force.

Emotional Responses of the Accused

McGregor (2015) argues that the emotional response of those falsely accused of bullying echoes those of the reactions of targets of bullying. Her work describes how those accused are often reluctant to seek or accept help for fear of impugnment of their personal records. This shares similarity with the section entitled, If the bullies don't break you the system will: The Punitive Nature of the System, when participants shared that they were often unwilling to claim that they were the targets of bullying for fear of how this would impact on how they were perceived within the participant force. What is not discussed through McGregor's insightful work and yet is demonstrated through the participant force is that beyond the formal HR systems the role of other organisational members plays a significant part is shaping the emotional responses of those falsely accused of bullying.

What is contextually unique in policing is the response of other agents surrounding the alleged perpetrator of bullying. Symbolic violence is understood through a managerialist frame. As part of this process, bullying behaviour is accepted as normative and integrated in to habitus through the structural constraints of systems, exercised as symbolic violence through language until it is assumed as doxa; all of which informs practice in the social domain. of the policing sub-field. The assumption in policing is that lines are blurred, and bullying is exercised under the guise of robust management practices and that this is just part of the game. Drawing from earlier discussions in, Falsely Accused of Bullying, the discussion introduced the idea that there was a need for HR systems to follow a closed loop strategy. The idea behind this is that by continually adopting and improving initiatives emphasis could be placed on changing behaviour before bullying occurs and in providing support post bullying experience. As far as the perpetrator is concerned existing initiatives are 'victim' focused and assumes the guilt of the perpetrator. In the commentaries provided as part of this continued discussion, the current HR initiatives are falling short in two fronts were the 'perpetrator' is concerned. The first is that current anti-bullying repertoires operational in the policing sub-field are not working according to the responses of the participants on this issue. The assumption of guilt on the part of the accused means that current HR systems fail in their duty of care for those falsely accused as they too are 'victims' in this sense. Here it would seem plausible to introduce a post case meeting with the individuals involved to explore sanction or support when needed. Current initiatives in Greendale do not do this. The second is that current initiatives do not address normative bullying behaviours.

The excerpt below shows the response from fellow colleagues. In this example the person accused of bullying demonstrates how his colleagues were dismissive and unsupportive of his experience. In discussion of this issue in the interview the participant was clearly angry and upset by their experience. The participant referred to the fact that they believed themselves to be a respected and honest individual that took umbrage to being accused of an act that they felt so negatively about.

> *'I have NEVER bullied anyone. To be accused* [of bullying] *was terrible but there was no support, absolutely none at all. But the views were, oh forget it, forget it. That is the way the culture is you see. You have been accused of bullying, but nothing has come of it, so you are ok, off the hook. You almost get away with it.'* User F.

In this example, the participant commentary suggests that if you bully someone colleagues are dismissive and un-phased by your behaviour and, similarly to HR assumes that you have bullied demonstrating the doxic relationship between workplace bullying and policing. Colleagues' assumption here is that the accused is guilty and has been fortunate to get away with it thus recognising the outcome as a positive one for the perceived guilty accused. This example and the previous example from Disseminator U shows the responses of organisational members that were unused to receiving regular complaints of bullying against them thus were negatively impacted by the experience. In contrast, the following example recalls the comments of an organisational member that reported to have received many claims of bullying against them and showed a contrast in the emotional response experienced by them,

> *'To be honest if I get accused of bullying by someone formally through a complaint etc, I'm not bothered anymore. We get so many it means nothing as it's regularly abused.'* User X.

Here the potential overly used claims of bullying demonstrate how they no longer hold credibility amongst the organisational community. Regular claims of bullying, false or not seems to have resulted in a conditioning of behaviour amongst organisational members almost to the point that they initiated a dismissive response. Increasing levels of bullying are given potential explanations through the next two quotations. The first quotation highlights the effect of the Equality Act (2010) at play within the organisation particularly amongst those identified as holding protected characteristics.

> *'There may be occasions when some raise the bullying card when it is just managing. I think people feel more confident to come forward because there is a lot of information in the press about high profile cases of bullying especially around protected characteristics. There are times when people claim they are being bullied and it is just actually it's just a performance issue'*
> User X.

In this instance the extract suggests that it is easier to claim that you have been bullied if your claim focuses on bullying that is a consequence of your age, gender, religious belief or sexual orientation, while the second example points to austerity measures to offer explanation for an increase in confidence in claiming bullying.

> *'Well they say bullying is dealt with, but it is not ever resolved properly. I am really surprised that they don't have more bullying complaints I really am. I am a firm believer that bullying is endemic in this organisation. That has also increased because of the cuts agenda because people are saying you are lucky to have a job you know.'* Creator F.

Collectively the participants' commentary offers several explanations why people claim to have been bullied. Over use or abuse of the system here is explained through a series of issues. The first is those that feel pressured or unfairly treated are using the ABIs to buy them space away from the pressures that are being placed on them from other areas of the organisation. The organisations response to investigate and invoke a process provides time and space away from day to day pressures while the claim is investigated. If the claim is upheld, then the claimant has won. If the case is not upheld the organisational environment is such that regular claims of reported bullying have resulted in a form of conditioning whereby actors assume there is no issue whether you have or have not bullied anyway. Thus, in this sense the actor that makes a false claim of bullying positions themselves in a win-win situation; time taken investigating the issue whether they win their case or not

provides the much-needed space for the actor to distract attention away from themselves over the real issues that may require investigation such as poor performance or attendance.

Furthermore, certain protected characteristics such as age, race, gender, sexual orientation, pregnancy, disability and religion place particular organisational members in a perceived position of strength. Those regularly accused of bullying showed a relaxed interpretation of the situation while those that experienced accusations of bullying less frequently showed the system to be unsupportive of their experiences.

Further explanation of how the organisational environment shapes how organisational actors use the ABIs if provided through an austerity narrative. In the new policing environment, the sense of fortune to still hold a job can be discussed through a survivor syndrome framework (Baruch and Hind, 1999; Tonks and Nelson, 2008) that sits outside of the workplace bullying and policing literature fields. The move away from the paternalistic, benevolent job for life employment of policing has meant that those left in the wake of redundancy and restructure and fearing further change experience symptoms referred to as survivor syndrome. Scholars have for some time reported the negative symptoms experienced as a consequence of redundancy and restructure include anger, anxiety, cynicism, resentment, retribution (O' Neill and Lenn, 1995; Baruch and Hind, 1999; Appelbaum and Donia, 2000; Baumol *et al.*, 2003; López Bohle, 2018), low morale (Barclay *et al.,* 2005; Bernhard-Oettel, 2011; Campbell and Campbell, 2012) dysfunctional attitude towards loyalty and performance (Brockner *et al,*. 1990; Piccoli and De Witte, 2015) inefficiency and organisational conflict. To respond to this Tonks and Nelson suggest that the handling of this negative impact no longer calls for old paradigms of HR but instead new approaches that serve to overcome some of the negative consequences of organisational restructure. In this case Creator F indicates that HR has not achieved to manage such activities with positive effect on those remaining in the post restructure in the participant force. The consequence of this is that austerity measures have resulted in shaping the way ABIs are used by some organisational actor in the force. Restructure and

downsizing have promoted a climate of fear in which space has opened up for anti-bullying systems to be used and abused for self-seeking advantage.

Further evidence of abuse of the ABIs for self-seeking purposes is reported in the next section of the chapter that explores the promotion process.

Abusing the System for promotion purposes

Earlier discussions in part one of the chapter have described how historical practices have shaped middle manager attitude towards bullying. In the following extracts the participants across all three of the groups identify a positive connection between bullying and promotion and job progression. In the first two extracts, the participants outline how bullying in the form of excessive target pressure placed on others had helped some managers to progress their careers.

> '*We are hierarchical, and you have to be a constable, then a sergeant, then, inspector and chief inspector in other words there is no short cut, and you are measured at each stage. Once you become an inspector it is based purely on your ability to do the job. To get to inspector you are tested and sergeants or constables that want to be sergeants will use performance to enhance their own career. For example, you may have a neighbourhood constable who wants to become a sergeant. He will be in charge of a number of support staff and he may encourage them to do more fixed penalties or more of anything really so that when it comes to his* [promotion] *portfolio he can say, under his management there was a greater reduction of something or an improvement in something. Those managing need to be seen as successful and it reflects badly on them and hinders their opportunity for promotion if their team isn't performing.'* User Z.

In the next excerpts the commentators discussed how career conscious officers wishing to climb the career ladder do so through a process of what

Bourdieu refers to as position taking, make deliberate and intentional decisions to target support staff rather than fellow officers given that there is a possibility that there could be potential future rebounding repercussions.

> '*One of the sad parts of all of this is our promotion system that you have to achieve certain things before becoming a sergeant, inspector etc or even higher ranks. You have to evidence that you have dealt with or are able to deal with a disciplinary. We are hierarchical and two people that join as a constable may end up in very different places in their careers twenty years later. For example, one of them may be a sergeant and one of them may be a chief inspector. As both of them will go through promotion progression they will both need to at some point in their career development carry out and evidence that they have disciplined someone. They may be reluctant to discipline a fellow officer as you never know if a fellow officer will outrank you in the future so the safest thing to do is to pick on a support staff member as they will never outrank them. So, they can get away with, if you like, exercising their disciplines on people that can't defend themselves. in this sense it is deliberate. I think it is a minority that would do it, but a small minority do and that taints the majority*.' Creator F.

> '*Police officers who want to escalate their careers are put under pressure to perform and they will often come down on their staff and then staff feel like they have been bullied.*' Disseminator, Q.

> '*They are more likely to pick on those in lower levels of the force. I have asked time and time again, 'how come it is always the constables that are always subject to poor performance? As they transition from lower levels to more senior positions, they move from unprotected to protected and so gain the opportunity to abuse their power.*' Disseminator, U.

> *'Lower level managers have to go through a disciplinary and have to evidence that they have carried out one to be able to progress their career. They can sometimes be a bit robust in how they go about things. It is all evidenced for their career advancement and in normal circumstances they wouldn't have touched it. They have to do it at some point and show in their portfolio that you have done it. Some people love doing it while others feel uncomfortable but have to do it. There is always an incident or issue in the first place but it can be nothing and to demonstrate that they have dealt with an issue and progress in their career, they over-elaborated, exaggerated or blow things out of proportion and take the person through a disciplinary just so that they can tick off that they have done one and that's another thing ticked off when they apply for promotion.'*
> Disseminator Z.

> *'Because the organisation is getting smaller and the job is getting harder, you have to justify your position. This has made people adjust their behaviour and we have evidence of this.'*
> Disseminator U.

The excerpts describe how managers wishing to progress their careers have to evidence that they have experience of carrying out disciplinary procedures against a staff member and more readily need to justify their work as a consequence of restructure. The Disseminators explain how actions that may have usually been ignored or dealt with through lower level means are escalated through the disciplinary process to expedite the promotion process. Earlier commentary identifies symbolic violence exercised through an overzealous use of performance targets and exerted pressure on individuals is enacted and perceived as bullying behaviour. The latter excerpt indicates that due to the fear of repercussions further down ones' career pathway officers wishing to climb the career ladder invoke disciplinary procedures against support staff largely to evidence that the officer has experience of carrying out such actions when applying for promotion evidencing strategic

intent on behalf of the officers during the lead up to promotion. In doing so, those seeking promotion minimise any future repercussions by exercising symbolic violence against those with lesser social capital in Greendale sub-field. Furthermore, the taken-for-granted or doxic nature of policing shares longstanding history with bullying at work. It is part of the habitus and is now doxic in nature recognised as just part of the sub-field game. Although the commentary indicates that incidents of poor behaviour may be genuine, they further suggest that the crimes were often undeserving of the punishment and could have been dealt with a lower level and less formal sanctions. This demonstrates an abuse of power by those with more social capital over those who are deemed to have less social capital in the organisational field.

Drawing from Greendale's own Dignity at Work policy (2015:1) this example goes against the force guidelines; bullying is described 'as any abuse of power through means intended to undermine or denigrate the recipient'. The commentary indicates an abuse of power as the resulting actions are for self-serving reasons rather than enacted to address a team member's inappropriate behaviour.

In, Setting the Scene, middle ranking managers were shown to have vicariously experienced career success through robust management; a term used to cloak bullying behaviour. A further demonstration of covert bullying is identified amongst those seeking promotion. The significance of such actions has multiple impacts on the normalisation of bullying in Greendale and has a knock-on effect on the   diminishment of value of people centred policies, processes and strategies such as the promotion process. If bullying behaviours are a means to an end for organisational actors then why would such actors support any kind of intervention strategy, such as the ABIs that aims to prohibit bullying and sets out to sanction those that enact it? Thus, an organisational acceptance of bullying and a re-interpretation and enactment of formal processes to achieve self-seeking objectives across the force in various forms serves to negate any positive impact that the anti-bullying measures aim to achieve.

Chapter two recognises workplace bullying as an abuse of power. Evidence of such use/ abuse of power through the social capital gained from membership of a given field is evidenced in the following section of the chapter. Here the dominant networks in Greendale are discussed as important players in shaping and maintaining organisational attitude and behaviour towards bullying and the ABIs in place to restrain it.

Part Four: Giving Rise to the Power of the Networks

In the fourth and final section of the findings and analysis chapter attention is drawn to the social networks that exist within Greendale police force and examines the role of the networks and their relationship with the ABIs. This raise questions concerning who and what controls the ABIs which are often opaquely operationalised leaving space for others with sufficient levels of capital to fill that void. Again, this conversation has thus far achieved limited attention in the anti-bullying literature. The findings introduce the significance of the informal or hidden network; one built upon social relationship that holds hidden capital amongst the wider organisational membership. As part of this discussion the role that language plays as part of this control mechanism is considered as part of this demonstration. In, Symbolic Violence: Language as a Behavioural Moderator, the significance of linguistic exchange is identified as a demonstration of power and in doing so, the discussions focus on how language is used to accumulate symbolic capital. In congruence with this idea of exclusion or inclusion through the use of symbolic power, gender, firstly discussed in, Police Support Officers, emerges again. The legitimised language recognised as the norm in Greendale force is explored through a socio-historical gendered lens. Language use reflects the largely male population in Greendale and the thesis discusses how gendered language is used to shape practice in the organisational sub-field. To extend Bourdieu's insights into language use in organisations as symbolic violence, the discussion brings forth Acker's (1990) seminal work on the gendered organisation to provide further insight to the Greendale's practices and the impact this has on the ABI agenda operationalised within Greendale police force.

In part two of this chapter the discussions focused on the differences between Greendale's formal and informal networks. Table 5 explores these groups further. Part four of the chapter now considers how network power can serve to perpetuate and control bullying behaviours within the participant force. The

significance of this is that the thesis positions that networked power presents as an effective moderator of behaviour where bullying is concerned, far more than the ABIs have thus far reported to achieved. This is important in the findings as the significance of the networks as behavioural moderator's in scholarly discussions regarding bullying or ABIs is sparse. In 2004 Coyne *et al.,* identified the lack of academic engagement at investigating bullying at the group level. Miller and Rayner (2012) argue that group level bullying is maintained as part of the organisational culture. However, this study extends that bullying goes beyond the group to a network of individuals. The network sometimes identifies overt, connected relationships between individuals while other networks remain covert, hidden and opaque with membership obscured from view.

The data from this study has found that the force's organisational networks are part of the problem and solution to containing and managing bullying at work. The networks are independent of the force's formal ABI strategy but nevertheless act as a form of management of bullying as they act as informal intervenors of unacceptable behaviour and are also part of the problem as they are also a breeding ground for perpetuating and controlling inappropriate organisational behaviour. Attention at this part of the chapter focuses on the hidden network as a powerful behavioural moderator.

Informal Networks: Hidden Power and Invisible connections

Identified through the participant commentary as holding the most social capital or power amongst the network groups, the informal or hidden networks were reported to be predicated upon relationships that crossed the hierarchical boundaries within the force. Some networked connections were overt and transparent. Relationships between actors were open and acknowledged amongst the organisational community, while others remained hidden from the formal every day relations and existed beyond conventional boundaries crossing rank, gender, sexuality and race; in this sense barriers were broken down and lines between actors were blurred. Creator F and Disseminator M discussed how '*the golf course had helped to forge relationships that crossed rank*'. However other relationships were noted to be obscured from the

organisational domain as actors abstained from revealing the personal connection or relationship between each other in favour of acknowledging the formal and often hierarchical relationship of rank in line with the cultural expectations of policing. In this obscured space, uncertainty concerning organisational membership, powerful connections and allies can remain hidden while less powerful members could intimate membership to the network in order to boost confidence, raise their own social and symbolic capital and use their alleged connections to shield themselves from any negative behaviour that could be directed towards them. Organisational actors could never be entirely sure who is part of each other's network, creating a climate of uncertainty and fear.

To place a theoretical lens on such behaviour, Chapter five notes how particular forms of capital as contributory to this process, referred to as transmission. Capital in its various forms contributes towards the reproduction of inequalities in systems of social strata. Cultural capital encapsulates aesthetic codes, practices and dispositions transmitted to individuals through a process of contextualised socialisation (family, school, the workplace), which is referred to as habitus. 'Habitus is an important form of cultural inheritance that reflects the location or position of an individual in particular fields and is geared to the perpetuation of structures of dominance' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 204-205). It holds a pedagogic quality as it becomes legitimised and along 'with economic, social and human capitals, actively reproduces social inequalities.

The experiences discussed in the participant commentaries suggest that bullying activity was moderated through the hidden network. Chapter five introduces the disciplinary nature of such forms of behaviour. Rather than being exerted as a military form of obvious discipline that calls to be obeyed, through the mechanism of symbolic violence a softer subtler form of domination results providing a more effective and more brutal means of oppression. In the following examples the network is shown to permit and punish acts of bullying. In the first example an overt hierarchical network is shown to permit bullying while a covert hierarchical network connection punishes bullying behaviour.

> *'There was an old boy's network. I didn't want to get involved. When I told them, I wasn't interested they looked for ways to bully me; they singled me out. They had many allies in the force. Things got so bad that I eventually put a complaint in against them. The perpetrators boss tried to defend them and covered things up.'* Disseminator X.

As the interview continued the participant explained that many years later in their career, they found themselves working for the same senior officer. Disseminator X said,

> *'I put a complaint in against my boss for bullying me and against his boss for covering things up and trying to protect him. Both of them were found guilty of abusing their authority and were punished for it. However, he became my boss again many years later. At first his bullying wasn't obvious, but it was obvious that he bore a grudge against me for making a complaint against him. He used this against me and made claims that I was a liar and that my work needed investigating and that I should be demoted. He made the mistake of putting this in writing and someone; I don't know who, sent me a copy of what he had written.*

Here an unidentified individual gifted the participant with evidence that confirmed that they were being unfairly treated by their senior officer again. Disseminator X explained that although the force supported their previous claim of bullying, they had been the one that suffered for it.

> *When I put in a complaint it was eight weeks of hell. I was seen as a grass and I suffered much more than my bosses did.*

Here the participant demonstrates that challenge of speaking out against bullying behaviour. In this example, known and previously unknown members of the senior officer's network made life difficult for Disseminator X. The resulting experience was so difficult that when faced with another situation of bullying the participant explained that they did not wish to go down the route

of making a formal complaint again but instead used her own hidden network to deal with the situation.

> *'I took what my boss had written about me to a more senior manager that I had known for a long time. He had a reputation for being a Rottweiler and a bully, but I had his back many years ago and he had never bullied me as I had been a good friend to him. I asked him for advice, and he said professionally and privately he would advise different things. Professionally he would protect the organisation and tell me to do nothing about it but privately he said that my boss' actions were equivalent to writing me a blank cheque if I chose to take this to a tribunal. He asked me if I trusted him to sort things informally and I did. My friend called my boss in and told him that if he didn't have his resignation on his desk by the end of the day for what he was doing to me he would move him to count paper clips for the rest of his career. My boss resigned. I just wanted the outcome to be that he couldn't do it to me or anyone else ever again. When this happened, people were ok with me. I hadn't complained through formal routes. There were probably a few cronies that hated me, but they never came near.'* Disseminator X.

This example indicates that the network serves to sanction those that step out of line. Bullying is permitted as acceptable behaviour by those within the network particularly amongst senior managers. Disseminator H explains,

> *'Senior leaders are the worst. It's devastating, and the danger is that some young managers have never known any other way of managing their staff other than to replicate their bosses' behaviours and then go on to bully their staff.'*

> *'There is this kind of, well if I knock this individual, am I going to get this from above? Who is he in league with? Am I going to get him on my case? So, it is all about someone looking after your*

shoulder you know. The problem is that it is so insular and narrow you know.' Disseminator U.

However, if bullying goes beyond the boundaries of what is deemed to be an acceptable level or form of bullying then the bully is sanctioned to limit their behaviour and is pulled back in to line to follow the acceptable norms of the network community.

Behaviour is evidenced to be mediated through power connections. Those of greater power set and maintain standards of behaviour. In the example cited above, the use of formal organisational anti-bullying channels is identified as stepping outside of the expected norms and as such the action deserved to be punished. The punishing experience serves to draw individuals back in to line so that they do not act beyond the boundary of the network again. This was evidenced by Disseminator, X who once having used the formal system chose not to use it again. The issue was not with the system but the consequences of peer punishment for daring to use the system. If the misdemeanour is considered too great as in the case of Disseminator X's manager, then sanctions go beyond uncomfortable peer pressure and are severe. The option presented to Disseminator X's manager was to resign or live the rest of their career in purgatory. Disseminator X's line manager compliantly accepted the punishment. However, the consequences of not responding as is expected to the network sanctions are identified below as User H discussed their own punishment as a result of acting beyond the network norms.

'I spoke out …..it did me no good. They just punished me and banished me. I was a [omitted] and they took me off [omitted] as a punishment. They told me I must be mad and to go and see a psychiatrist. They are the kind of sanctions that are applied to people who don't play the game, which is probably why I am here, in this department rather than [omitted] where I would have to play the game more. But I have always felt very uncomfortable with it. It is a game. I don't see my job here as being a punishment, but I had to go and be punished for a while and be

reprogrammed. I had to wait for a certain person whom I had upset to leave the force because they didn't like what I did and felt I had jeopardised their position.'

'I applied for promotion to take my mind off what was going on in my personal life and after I had reported my case of bullying. I was told, I was too emotional and in the HR advisors, words, I had rocked the boat, so they wouldn't be supporting my application for promotion. I stood up and told them, stick it up your arse. I got told off for that, but I didn't care. Not only that, they moved me from the office where I was based and where I was happy to another office for eighteen months, much further away without any consultation. It was soul destroying. They found loads of evidence of what my bully was doing to me and I paid the price, not them. My new boss was quite supportive in my new place of work. He said why don't you look at reduced hours? I couldn't eat or sleep while all of this was going on. He asked the Chief and the Chief's response was, well f-them, if they are that stressed tell them to go off sick.' User L.

Trice and Beyer (1984, 1985, 1993) discuss degradation rituals that are used in organisational contexts. Their work discusses how through a three-stage process of separation, discrediting and removal, certain forms of ritual or degradation are used to strip individuals of their social roles and move them to roles associated with lower status. These actions are often predicated upon allegations of wrongdoing or failure and justified through a rational process that positions the target as responsible for the alleged offenses and therefore warrants the subsequent removal through a public ceremony of the individual to a lower status (Gephart, 1978). These enactments are expressions of culture often displayed by managers to manipulate social order (Gluckman, 1962;1965; Lukes, 1975; Trice, *et al.,* 1969; Van Gennep, 1960).

The significance of rituals is often highlighted in periods of transition as they can be used to move an organisation into a new phase shifting group values

away from previous norms without subverting social order (Harris and Sutton, 1986).

In the previous example the individual did not conform to the pressures placed on them by the network to moderate their behaviour. The use of language in the excerpt is telling of the depth and slant of the punishment that was bestowed upon User H as a consequence of speaking out. The comments, they sanctioned, banished, punished, suggested I was mad and needed treating through a psychiatrist, needed reprogramming because I had upset or jeopardised another, had to wait in the wings and was in the wilderness, provided insight in to how User H's punishment was enacted through those more powerful in the network. User H's example shares a similarity with Disseminator X's experience of speaking out. Disseminator X did not comply appropriately when they initially used formal anti-bullying mechanisms to stop a bully and was subsequently labelled as '*a grass'* and was punished through '*eight weeks of hell.*' However, their second experience of bullying was dealt with differently. The use of the informal network as a punishment mechanism left Disseminator X in a shielded position. Unlike their previous experience, Disseminator X was not outed as '*a grass'* and although those close to the bully were potentially aware of the circumstances surrounding the bully's resignation, Disseminator X's actions were not challenged as they used their own informal network where their more powerful ally had sanctioned Disseminator X's actions and established appropriate punishment for Disseminator X's bully. Disseminator X interpreted that their elevated position in the force gave them greater power and reiterated,

> *It's easier to complain if you are higher up the ranks. It's more difficult the lower down the ranks you are to complain about a senior officer.'*

This comment sits juxtaposed to comments made by Disseminator X when they discussed the changing nature of the workforce. Earlier comments refer to the attitude adopted by younger recruits to the police force. Contrary to previous generations, many do not stay in policing and thus have limited connection to colleagues and will readily invoke policy and formal process if

they feel that have been unfairly or unduly treated. Longer serving officers or younger officers that wish to follow a career in policing are less likely to invoke formal ABI process recognising the importance and significance of rank and appear more likely to follow the tacit and explicit rules that govern behaviour and norms. Disseminator X iterates the link between rank, power and action in the organisation network. Rank and therefore the associated power that rank brings with it, is recognised as a behavioural moderator only to those whom regard policing as a career. However, for those without career aspirations and a transitory attitude to their work seeing policing not as the perfect job but the perfect job right now, the power of rank and adherence to behavioural norms and practices becomes of less value and therefore impacts on how lower level organisational actors behave. This particular group of individuals do not desire group membership and therefore do not need buy–in to respectful compliance to rank or behavioural practice. In short, they do not desire group membership or powerful network connections that those seeking acceptance in to the policing family to progress their career do. However, the challenge of being accepted in to the network for those of lower rank and therefore with lower levels of organisational power who do wish to progress their career are identified through the following narratives.

Network Acceptance

In the following excerpts the two commentators noted their experiences when trying to be part of or accepted by the network.

> *'There is a golden circle here. If you're not in it, you get the scraps off the table. I don't know what you have to do to join or what golf you have to belong to.'* User X.

> *'If you applied for promotion and were not part of the network, pressure would be put on you to withdraw your application.'* Disseminator X.

In the next excerpt, Disseminator O discusses how the network plays a more significant role as officers' progress in their career.

> *'At the lower level of policing promotion is linked to exams. From inspector onwards, it is all about being sponsored by people, being in the right groups and going to the right pubs. It is all nepotism.'*

> *'I don't know anyone who has ever failed at sergeant, Inspector, or whatever rank as no-one has failed that process to my knowledge. Is that because they are all top draw and are promoting the right people, or, are they going put that person through? We can't send them back because that makes senior management look bad. It all depends on who is writing your reference. Talk about nepotism. If you get on well with the inspector and he is your mate and you go drinking with him then you are in the same club as him he is going to write your reference.'* Disseminator U*.*

This commentary gives insight in to the hidden network community; membership is stronger at mid to upper levels of the organisational community as the network becomes more significant in the promotion process. Lower level organisational actors might seek membership of the network, but membership may not be given as indicated in the first two extracts from User M and Disseminator X as there is no direct benefit to more powerful members of the network community. However, personal connections created outside of the formal role of rank opens up a space for the less powerful low-level organisational actors to join the community. Bourdieu identifies that within any field there sits a field of power located where the most powerful members with the highest levels of symbolic capital are situated. Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) suggest the cyclical nature of this power by suggesting that in a broader organisational context the field of power is usually occupied by the most senior managers as holders of legitimate organisational power. The cycle of power is maintained as a consequence of the agent's ability to read and interpret the field, understand the rules of the game resulting in them gaining symbolic power which ultimately translates to legitimised forms of power as they achieve senior positions within the organisation. As holders of legitimate power, they

are able to influence the rules of the game and shape the field. However, the hidden network evidenced in the commentaries in the participant policing organisation identify the network span of the field of power is blurred as the holders of power were not always easily identifiable. Membership of the network as built through social connections.

Earlier in the chapter at, Informal Networks: Hidden Power and Invisible connections, discussions in to social reproduction theory provided a plausible explanation of such reproductive behaviour whereby societies include and exclude to reproduce in their own image. However, the findings present counterevidence at this point that challenges this exclusive reproductive perspective. Application of the theory in the service sector challenges the limitations of the hermeneutically informed nature of the theory and positions that certain rewards and opportunities are afforded to certain individuals providing them with the opportunity for upward mobility. The commentary provided by Disseminator O support this perspective. Rather than acting solely as social excluders, the networks in the example provided the opportunity for 'social levelling' (Georg, 2016:107) by the acceptance of the individual in to the wider network group as the social capital that the individual was deemed to hold within their social circle was recognised as relevant and significant for group membership to be granted. The payoff for the new member may rely entirely on what they bring to the wider network. Beyond a sense of belonging to a particular community and access to information, benefits of network membership may be subject to their perceived relative importance to bridging any gaps in the existing network (Goyal and Vega-Redondo, 2007). This bridging is central to Raider and Burt's (1996) concept of structural holes in social network research. Structural holes represent gaps between social actors in networks. Mehra *et al's.,* (2001) work exploring promotion and performance evaluation posits that the structural location of an individual and whether the individual bridges a gap in a network impacts on their rate of promotion. Lin (1999) offers three explanations why access to a network enhances individual outcomes. The first relates to flow of information. Placing oneself in a strategically beneficial location in relation to those in greater hierarchical positions than oneself presents opportunities and choices that might not

otherwise be on offer. From an organisational perspective, acceptance by the network might also identify the individual as a hidden talent and thus would reduce any potential organisational transaction costs associated with recruitment of an appropriate person for the role. Given the potential payoff it is logical that organisational actors will attempt to form connections or will 'circumvent an attempt' to become structurally important in the given network community (Goyal and Vega; Redondo, 2007: 461).

Drawing on the dually hermeneutic nature of IPA inquiry, the underlying strand that connects the commentaries here and in earlier discussions in, Informal Networks: Hidden Power and Invisible connections, is the hidden and unknown network elements. Examples provided by the participants indicate the opacity in the current network membership with certain individuals shrouded from view and those less powerful, gaining entry, or claiming to be part of the groups to gain vicarious power and structural strength for career advancement. Those with limited understanding of the network and membership criteria demonstrate misrecognition of their social world on two fronts; as the powerless or having otherness. The first, powerless misrecognition is concerned with the significance of social capital and how perceived social capital is used to plug structural holes in the existing network. This presents a plausible explanation of why some actors and not others are invited in to the network and is particularly relevant when lower level actors leap frog over higher level actors and gain membership advantage. The second, otherness misrecognition is concerned with the inclusive and exclusive nature of the social world of the policing sub-field. Social reproduction theory again offers a lens to illuminate not only those accepted as similar and therefore worthy of belonging to the community but also provides insight into those others that misrecognise that they are regarded as others thus keeping them of the outside of the network, particularly when those others seek promotion.

The Influences of Experience and Language

The previous commentary discussed in, Network Acceptance, draws upon social reproduction theory. Criticism raised through the participatory commentary is that that those in senior levels of organisation promote in their

image and as such perpetuate a collective habitus and further maintain the doxa regarding attitudes towards bullying in the workplace. In the following excerpts the commentary identifies how those taken-for-granted assumptions of organisational life are established drawing reference from those of senior authority in the policing sub-field. The following examples recall how these taken-for-granted assumptions regular meetings where individuals were called to account for their performance and were humiliated as part of that process.

> *'You had the chief and his officers at one end of the table while everyone else sat at the other and we were all called to account. It was like a bear pit really. It was basically humiliation that broke people. What happened was that the superintendent and the chief superintendents were all bullied by the Chief and his officers and they in turn went back to their area or department and basically dished it out in exactly the same way that they have been treated. They pushed it downhill right the way down to constables on the front lines that were held accountable by individual performance indicators. Even though there is this change at the top here, there are still remnants of that bullying behaviour and practice in the organisation and we are still asked to account for our performance. There are still traces of the previous regime right through the organisation and a huge cultural change is required to make a difference.'* Disseminator X.
>
> *'They don't necessarily promote the best people. You have to display some attributes to be promoted. Each chief will promote in their own image and that has a knock-on impact throughout the police.'* Creator O.

Despite the change in senior personnel the examples here identify that changing well established behaviours has proved to be problematic. Robust management carried out in an aggressive manner has resulted in the target of such action feeling humiliated or fearful. These behaviours are reported to have been replicated and enacted by top down interactions with more junior

level officers until the same pattern of behaviour reaches officers on the front line and eventually becomes normalised practice. The final comments from Creator O indicate that promotion is not connected to the most talented or suited to the role but is predicated upon the promotions of those demonstrating similar characteristics and behaviours to the existing holders of the highest levels of capital in Greendale sub-field.

Again, the above commentary provides a link between discussions in, Informal Networks: Hidden Power and Invisible connections and Network Acceptance. The commentary supports discussions on symbolic capital and symbolic violence were symbolic capital is identified as representative of any form of capital that is not perceived as such but is instead perceived through socially inculcated classificatory schemes. His work suggests that if the owner of such symbolic capital exerts their power against an individual of lesser power this alters their actions to an exercise of symbolic violence and as such acts as a form of constraint upon organisational actors.

Thus, symbolic violence is axiomatically the enactment of categories of thought and perception upon dominated social agents that become incorporated and perpetuated through unconscious structures to impose legitimacy upon the social order. Therefore, the commentary identifies established ways of enacting and interpreting modes of action and in this particular case shapes how bullying is embedded within the social structures of organisation.

As bullying becomes the norm it becomes part of the doxa for those for those that understand the game recognising it for what it is; a game of strategy they may use this action to position take to gain greater levels of capital within the policing sub-field.

Symbolic Violence: Language as a behavioural mediator

Beyond overt demonstrable aggressive action as given in the previous example whereby an aggressive management style demonstrated by senior officers is rolled down hill and eventually replicated by lower level ranking officers, the use of language has been also shown to play a role in shaping attitudes towards bullying and the anti-bullying mechanisms within the

organisation. In his introduction to *Language and Symbolic Power,* Bourdieu stresses the significance of linguistic exchange as a demonstration of power between orator(s) and their respective groups. His work suggests that language is couched in a broad historical frame where 'social interaction articulates socio-historically configured "positions" from whence people speak; these positions are defined by a "market" of symbolic capital in which resources are circulated and unevenly distributed' (Blommaert, 2015:6). Within this policing context the examples provided in, The Influence of Experience (and Language), introduce those from positions of authority use language in such a way that it legitimises it as part of the sub-field's doxa. Blommaert (2015:6) positions that symbolic violence represents.

> 'misrecognition / recognition of language not because of the linguistic features but of the sociohistorical load they carry within a given social field. Thus, in any social field, distinctions will emerge between legitimate language (the "norm", one could say) and deviant forms of language.'

The study has identified a distinction between legitimate and deviant organisational language that is used in three particular ways within the participant force. Legitimate forms of language replicated within Greendale appeared harsh, fearless and macho with a male focus and was used to demonstrate the tough police perspective on the way things are done within the force. Deviant examples were demonstrated through emic or language softer in nature, was used to demonstrate weakness while neutral language, which could either fit in to the legitimate or deviant categories was used to give life to the undefinable grey areas within the organisational community. In this sense language adopted a gendered and non-gendered stance. Much is written on the gendered feel of bullying in the police force. Chapter three discuss how male dominance, in the policing context is maintained through gendered bullying and harassment. However, current discussions have paid limited attention to the role that language plays as part of the bullying and anti-bullying discourse. Examples of such forms of which are demonstrated in the participants' commentaries that follow along with an analysis of the Dignity at

Work Policy which provides guidance on workplace bullying and harassment in the policing context.

The Dignity at Work Policy

Earlier in the chapter in the introduction of language as symbolic violence, the word '*victim*' is introduced to show the organisational perception of those targeted by bullies as weak individuals. During a periodic review of the Dignity at Work policy, Greendale removed the term '*victim*' from the document along with the section that negatively noted the characteristics of a target of bullying as psychologically weaker and therefore more likely to experience or claim to have experienced bullying. In its place, the current document shifts attention from the target of bulling to the perpetrator of bullying and instead provides a definition of what constitutes bullying; setting out acceptable standards of behaviour (Dignity at Work Policy, 2015). This small language shift represents a more significant focus shift and is a healthy addition to the existing Dignity at Work document. However, although the upgraded policy offers a new definition which states,

> Bullying may be characterised as offensive, intimidating, malicious or insulting behaviour, or any abuse of power through means intended to undermine, humiliate, denigrate or injure the **recipient** (2013:1).

other institutional cues that set the tone with regards to bullying at work remain largely unchallenged and as a consequence collectively help to shape attitude, opinion and behaviour surrounding bullying and the processes is in place to deal with it.

In the following extracts organisational actors engaged in the study refer to the word victim as an accepted, taken-for-granted term in every day organisational life.

> *'I don't regard myself as a victim. I did when I first went through the bullying case, but I don't anymore. I hate the word victim.*

When I go to work, we have to call them victims. I prefer to be called the aggrieved but that is the terminology here.' User H.

'[Process] is there to support victims of bullying.
Creator M.

'We focus on victims. Our policies forget about the accused of bullying. I know from my own experience and of others that have spoken to me about it. You get forgotten about.' Disseminator H.

'I hate victim of…… We use victim on all sorts of things, and I don't think they should. You are aggrieved or target of, but we shouldn't be using victim. I have never been particularly fond of the tag victim. When I go to work, we have to call them victims in work.' User M.

'The place is full of victims. Open the cupboard and we all fall out.' User X.

You are the victim of bullying. It makes you feel like a little kid in the school ground, just get over it. Yes, I don't like that.' Creator F.

'People say, you are the victim of.... and I say no, you have got a choice you can be a victim of or a survivor of. So, do you want to be a victim or a survivor of and come past it and never go through it again and you know how to protect yourself a bit more. I hate the word victim now I really, really do. Victim of this, victim of that it's like you are not a victim of things happen to you and it can't be helped. It is how you have dealt with it whether you have come past it that makes you a survivor of, not a victim of.' User L.

'Victim, I don't like that word. It makes you feel weak. I don't regard myself as weak. There were loads of times when I was

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> *going through stuff, they said oh you are a victim here. We use it in our jobs, but I wasn't a victim of bullying. They went out to get me purposely. I was targeted.'* Disseminator J.

> *'One of my members came to us about an issue she was having. She was having some challenging personal stuff going on and she was struggling. Her boss was great with her, but they moved on and her new boss was less supportive. He would say to her, you've got loads going on and you are a victim here. He saw her as the weak woman and not able to just get on with stuff like the men in the department. He made her feel like what was going on was her fault and referred to her as the victim all of the time. He was using this term all of the time.'* Disseminator U.

What separates the above commentary is the context in which the term victim is discussed. The first comment focuses on process and in particular refers to the anti-bullying process and the use of the term in that context. The further four comments position focus at the personal level. User L discusses interactions with the public with the dislike of the having to use the term. Interestingly and despite being so opposed to the term, User L did not challenge the use of the word victim or adopted what they considered to be a more appropriate term in their interactions with the public. User X through their commentary offered insight in to the extent to which those working inside Greendale considered themselves to be hidden victims while Creator F refers to the humiliation associated through the use of the term. The comments were presented as part of the discussions in to the bullying climate that exists in policing. The contrast between comments three and five are that User M speaks from the position of one that has not complained or stood up to bad behaviour but has instead hidden their experiences and the impact that it has had one them away from the world. In User L's comments they demonstrate having gone through a process of bullying they identified as strong in character, a survivor or not a victim of their own experience. The final comments how the term victim was used almost as a bullying term itself against a female member of the workforce.

What connects the explicit and implicit reference to the word victim is a sense of weakness. Beginning with the Dignity at Work policy, although amended in some parts, it merely exemplifies organisational attitude to those experiencing forms of violence. The word victim is applied in policing to members of the public that have suffered physical or sexual assault. In that sense the assault, acknowledging that there are exceptions, is largely the physical dominance of one party over another. Bullying is a form of violence and thus the use of the word in that context is not unreasonable. However, the victim label is more than just a taken for granted term. Its use positions blame partially at the very least, back to the target. If you are referred to as the victim, then you have acted beyond network norms. You were bullied because you were not strong enough to exist in this environment where you are expected to be tough enough to survive nor compliant enough not to complain. User L's position that those having come through the experience of bullying are in fact strong in character is contrary to the position within the force. Even if many dislikes the term as identified by User L and Creator F there is no-one really challenging it's taken-for-granted use as it is so regularly used. Labelling targets of bullying as victims has a purpose. The weak connotations that are readily acknowledged through use of the term victim in the force help to maintain power and dominance. Used in a deliberate, purposeful or taken for granted way, it serves to influence behaviour. I must not complain, for if I do, I am weak. I must hide my experiences from view because if I expose them, I am weak. And, even if I consider myself justified to complain and feel that I am strong in doing so the rest of my field will not side with me. Even if they quietly agree with me, they will not change using the term victim as it is just taken for granted practice around here.

Victim Language: Offering Bourdieusian Insight

Earlier in, Symbolic Violence: Language as a behavioural mediator, reference was made to the feminine discourse associated with the ABIs in Greendale. The victim terminology used in Greendale in everyday discussions and in the Dignity at Work policy represents misrecognition of language use which occurs as socialised humanity. Through this process communities that are built upon and informed through their historical and social environments develop social

structures that influence their habitus; ways of thinking and behaving. Such actions and behaviours are reinforced with language as part of that socialisation process and are recognised as the norm. Therefore, any critical evaluation of inappropriate language is not deemed necessary or relevant as those using the language show no recognition of its inappropriateness. It is for the observer that sits outside of the community to re-evaluate the use of the word victim as holding inappropriate connotations, or recognition. The police themselves refer to Black's law dictionary to give definition to a victim as 'a person harmed by a crime, tort or other wrong' (College of Policing, 2019). In Chapter two, largely driven by Scandinavian scholarship, discussions focused on the transitional shift from the term neurotic victim towards the term target. Chapter two, drawing from labelling theory notes how the labels attributed to those on the receiving end of bullying, acts as a form of social stigma that are often attributed to individuals as a result of the behaviours and actions that they portray within the communities in which they are positioned. Self-image is influenced by how others see oneself and if one's actions are deemed to fail to conform to the organisational norm then the actor demonstrating these unacceptable actions are labelled as deviant. Deviance from the sociological perspective is not concerned with moral wrongs but is instead concerned with labelling the behaviour that is condemned by the society in which the deviant behaviour it is demonstrated (Rainwater, 2011). Deviance in this context is to be weak enough to be the target or weak victim of bullying. Thus, to bring discussion back to the central investigation of the thesis, labelling one as the victim in the Dignity at Work policy and in the participant examples, essentially stigmatises the victim through a form or legitimised language. The removal of the term in the main policy evidences recognition that the term may be representative of deviant language and is therefore an inappropriate term in a policy document. What the term does evidence is the power that legitimised taken-for-granted language has in the collective habitus of the participant force in negatively shaping the perception of bullying and the anti-bullying measures in place to manage it.

Grey Language

Alongside the legitimised and misrecognised language used to express weakness sits a subtle form of language that is opaque in form. The symbolic use of what could be described as grey language throughout the organisation represents that which can be taken for granted, ignored as insignificant or lacking in importance so is representative of legitimised language by the many that use it. The application of such language serves to portray messages that go beyond the words themselves. In the following excerpt, the term mediation is identified as part of the organisation's grey language. In this context mediation is dismissed as an excuse for inaction. Identified as a buzz word, mediation is the empty vessel through which cases of bullying can be dealt with but with no real emphasis placed on delivering positive long-term outcomes. Creator F describes mediation as a less than independent action.

> '*The way things are at the moment; the climate can lead to abuse of the anti-bullying policies. There is opportunity for people to go I don't like you, so I am being bullied. A member of staff may wish to consider mediation as a means of trying to resolve a bullying problem. We have recognised mediators and I doubt the ability of some of those recognised mediators I really do. The mediators are internal. We have asked on a number of occasions for the involvement of ACAS for instance to resolve employment matters you know which would be independent and binding, but they would never agree to that. Even with mediation you should be able to have a mediator from outside of your department, it should have nothing to do with the department you work in. This would make the mediation independent and secondly the decision should be binding. Mediation is a buzz word here, mediation, for me is like a cop out.'* Creator H.

> '*They say mediation works. For me it's a nothing sorts of word. As far as I am concerned, it means nothing and represents something that doesn't work.'* Creator F.

Further examples of grey language are demonstrated through the use of the term culture. Much of the new regime's expectations of officers are positioned in a normative way. Officers are expected to be able to interpret and instinctively know what is meant by the Chief Constables' verbal instruction to just get on with the job in hand. However, the following excerpts identify an uncertainty around expectations positioned as cultural practice.

> *'What happens in this organisation as a culture seems to be that what is known at the top of the organisation isn't disseminated down through the lower levels of supervision. So, through lack of experience or lack of guidance that line managers of people like myself at the lower levels of the organisation behave in the way they do. It is like that for lots and lots of things. There is no consistency and you can be treated differently. They will interpret policies and procedures differently. At the lower levels of the organisation some responsible for supervision are expected to know policies and procedures and they don't. If you are confident enough, or not seeking promotion you can challenge them, and they can get quite embarrassed. They are expected to know, and they may have misinterpreted the policy.'* Disseminator Z.

The use of certain words or terms are regularly used within Greendale. Much of these used can be described as grey language; ambiguous in nature consisting of multiple interpretations within the general spectrum of understanding. The word culture as an example has been regularly used in interactions with officers and support staff that have contributed to the research study yet understanding of what is meant by the term is broad. Collectively discussed but individually interpreted, in many of the interviews culture provided a term through which confusing or ambiguous instruction as identified in the excerpt above, or poor, aggressive, intimidating and bullying behaviour could be made sense of and could further protect, accept and sanction actors enacting those behaviours.

In the extract that follows the participants comments on how bullying behaviour can be understood through the term culture. Culture is shown in the commentary to shape behaviour and the use of warlike language and reference to the military indicates a command and action environment that is unaccepting of criticism and is caveated with a lack of transparency for those that operate within it.

'People are beaten to perform through fear, and it is the culture that forces you to be like this. There is a very strong culture in the police. Police are akin to the military in that we are a disciplined organisation. We use harsh fighting language and use war analysis. The police make you battle weary and they distinguish the fire in your belly. We have what we call big wing days like the air force and it is built on a culture that goes back many, many decades of being told what to do. It's basically, if I criticise you, I am criticising the whole structure. It isn't transparent.' User E.

'Police culture is masculine and strong. We are a disciplined organisation and the culture binds us together.' Disseminator Z.

'As far as bullying goes, we say oh that's just the culture, so I guess we are saying well that's the reason. I guess it could be the excuse for it though.' Disseminator X.

'People say, oh that's just the culture here, that's how it is. That's how they get away with bullying. They use culture the as an excuse.' Creator F.

'The culture in policing permits bullying. It gets blurred with getting things done.' Creator U.

'Our culture permits bullying. Sometimes it seems like an excuse to get away with it.' Disseminator C.

As a term, culture can be understood through our own experiences and by observing how others interpret and make sense of it too. The challenge that surrounds those trying to instigate cultural change is that this broad-based interpretation that serves so to condone so many actions also serves to prevent change as no-one fully understands it. Associated experiences that exemplify the challenge of change are indicated by the following participant commentaries.

> *'Huge cultural change is needed but it takes a long time to change. We have spent so long having targets and practices drilled in to us that it's hard to change. That is how things have always been done around here. It is learnt behaviour and people operate the way they do because they have been treated this way on their way up and it has achieved results particularly regarding progression. They have seen how this way of managing has brought success for others. Target pressures are being placed on individuals when they are not supposed to have them, it is quite scary. Policing is male and macho and if you don't fit in with it then you can feel quite bullied by it.'* User H.

> *'Our culture is such that there is s blurred line really. It's how things are done and if you don't really fit, you can feel bullied.'* Creator M.

Although the literature field of organisational culture has done much to illuminate how culture is used to explain the behaviour, organisation and practice within the organisational boundaries, the examples provided by the excerpts suggest that culture provides the excuse to bully, as it recognises bullying through a managerialist frame and just the way things are done within the sub-field. As a term culture allows the bully, the target of bullying and organisational bystanders to excuse negative, aggressive and unwanted behaviours. Culture used in this way permits inaction. Organisational actors are not permitted to challenge bullying behaviour as the use of the term culture mediates behaviour and introduces passivity into

organisational domain. For those seeking to maintain organisational power the use of the word culture maintains the status quo and makes change in organisational practice very difficult to achieve.

The Language of the Tough

Meaning of sturdy construction, resilient, durable and tough (English Oxford Living Dictionary, 2019) the word robust introduces a new dimension to regularly used organisational language. Rather than having weak connotations such as the term victim, or ambiguous and opaque such as the word culture, robust portrays a strong masculine reference in its use. Used regularly by the participants in the interviews the term was again used to establish organisational practice and was used as an alternative interpretation for practices and action that would otherwise to identified as bullying.

> *'With bullying issues, they will try to resolve it locally at the earliest stage. They always tell you, it's not really bullying, they would say that it is just robust management.'* Creator F.

> *'We use harsh that is likened to the air force, we wage war and use war analysis. It is fighting language, culturally that's what we do. We perform through fear. They call it robust management.'* Disseminator U.

> *'Robust management can be abused as bullying. Managers will dig their heels in and go all the way with it. The system allows it.'* Creator W.

> *'They always tell you, it's not really bullying they would say that it is robust management. Robust management, the favourite saying. In other words, it means what can you do about it? It makes it difficult to differentiate between when it is legitimate for a manager to say look you are not doing your job, or they are singling somebody out to bully them.'* Creator F

'Most bullying will be between direct line managers and subordinates. Then robust management can be seen as bullying.' Disseminator E.

'There is this term knocking round, robust management. We have cases were people have gone off with mental health issues and their line managers just thought they were being robust. I have worked with some that have been more robust than others and sometimes I have had to tell people to take their foot off the gas.' Creator J

In this sense, a robust reframed understanding and classification of bullying making it difficult for those on the receiving end of negative actions to complain and also justifies the same negative actions simply as robust management for those that execute those behaviours.

Although used as everyday language by the participants, the strongest critics of the term were those in the Creator or Disseminator group that were tasked in representing or providing guidance on workplace bullying. Commentary focused on the excusing nature of its use. Observations were particularly critical of senior management and of HR practitioners that wrote off bullying behaviour and replaced their interpretation of the act or situation with the word robust management.

'It's management's favourite saying. Sometimes there is some confusion over the delivery of robust management, and it can be perceived as bullying but it's not really bullying. Most [bullying] issues are concerned with robust management.' Creator M.

'Well they use that horrible word, robust management. They mean they will bully you to do what they want you to do. They then say, we haven't bullied you, we are just managing. It is a horrible word. I think robust is great. Robust is well, a robust vehicle. That's ok. When you are talking about human

relationships robust to me, means do as you are told, and we are going to make you do this. It always makes me feel very uncomfortable. Also, that phrase robust also I think gives management a bit too much leeway.' Creator F.

'The favourite word around here is robust. It's just another word for bullying really.' Disseminator Z.

'The line gets blurred. That term robust management sometimes moves beyond just managing and it becomes about bullying then.' Disseminator E.

'It's difficult. Some people see robust managing as bullying.' Creator U.

'Lots of my members tell us that this term is used all of the time to justify bullying. It's a tough word isn't it.' Disseminator D.

In the excerpts the word robust is described a management tool that offers the leeway to justify the do and tell command orientated practice that exists in policing. In its use it permits and sanctions bullying by blurring the lines between tough management and bullying behaviour. The blurring or crossing of such boundaries is reported as common practices across many workplaces and industries, yet what is significant in this study is the linguistic influence of certain words or terms that shape behaviour and action. The consequences of ignoring or misinterpreting linguistic clues that help to set the organisational tone are identified in through the fear responses that participants in the study have reported.

The Fear Response: The Operational Power of Language

Organisational actors have responded both positively and negatively to the use of particular action and language aimed at controlling the behaviour of those operating within the force. The positive outcome positioned from the perspective of those wishing to discipline the behaviour of organisational

actors into a cohesive and controlled manner is that they achieve that end. The negative consequences not complying or recognising the behavioural and linguistic messages that are played out throughout the organisation are that fear behaviour is evidenced through the participant commentaries. Those contributing to the study discussed the consequences of pushing against such conditioning moderators.

'The staff member challenged the comments and was systematically taken apart in front of others. He wasn't supported, and he came back in tears. He is a great big bloke with a skin head and subsequently went of sick with stress it really affected him. However, the doctor didn't put stress on the sick form as it's considered weak in the police. There is this particular meeting were people would lie their way out of things. You would hope that you wouldn't be asked anything. I was off ill, and the memory of these meetings was like being eaten. I had to take someone with me to get through it.' User M.

'*People live with the view here if you report or challenge something you have to live with the consequences. No-one is prepared to stand up. The reality is if you have the nerves to stand up you will be ostracised. It takes a brave person to do it.*' User X.

'*You have to be brave to stand up for yourself. Things can gather momentum and it is taken out of your hands. The police force sees this as a duty of care.*' Disseminator C.

'*If you go down the formal route it is sort of seen as your duty to report it. Once the ball starts rolling you can't stop it. There is that burnt experience that shapes how you behave.*' Disseminator H.

'*The entire framework is there, the policies and procedures. The timescales aren't always kept to, but the problem is that it creates*

a stain on your character. It is thoroughly unpleasant, and it becomes an investigation of you, often with the other person trying to dig the dirt on you. Once you have done it you wouldn't do it again.' User X.

'I know as I advise on many cases that are brought to me. The formal system is there, it is fine. Everything is in place, but it takes a lot of guts and confidence to use it' Disseminator Q.

'*There was this very serious case of bullying which in the end got turned back on the staff member and the staff member was dismissed. The supervisor was alleging poor performance and the staff member felt they were being bullying and they were saying it was poor performance to hide behind the fact that they were bullying. The supervisor in turn alleged that the staff member was lying. The problem was that the staff member didn't record all of the alleged incidents of bullying even in their notebook as they were frightened that the supervisor would see what they had written about them as they noted the incidents and gathered evidence. Most people don't gather evidence because they are scared. Also, they don't always know what to do in the beginning, so they don't always record as they don't know they have to, and they may not initially see it as bullying. There were five witnesses that gave evidence on behalf of the supervisor and said that they were not a bully. However, three of them were lying because they were not even in the room when the alleged incidents took place, and this was proven. They got away with it by saying they forgot or must have been confused.'* Disseminator E.

These participant extracts highlight a number of issues regarding reporting claims of bullying. Commentary indicates that those that speak out do so in the knowledge that there will be potential repercussions at the personal or career level. The power of the repercussions was evidenced through each

commentary with the final extract indicating the degree to which the power of the network is willing to step in to protect those more powerful in the network. In the final extract Disseminator E explains how other junior officers were willing to lie to protect the more senior and more powerful in the organisation. In this example the tables were turned on the junior officer that reported the case of bullying and they were dismissed for not following formal procedure and for falsifying a claim of bullying as they were unable to provide evidence to support their case.

Workplace Bullying, Language and the Gendered Link

In chapter one Bourdieu's language insights were discussed as sensitive indicators that reflects the socio-historical and cultural influences of a field and are legitimised within an organisation's doxa or taken-for-granted ways of interacting. Chapter five notes how meanings can be hidden, and language can act as an extension of power in given contexts. To extend Bourdieu's discussions, attention is drawn back to Chapter three where Acker's (1990, 1992) work on how language is influenced by gender in organisations was initially positioned. Her lens offers a new way of considering the influence of central processes and practices within a given society and further explores how these are then produced and reproduced by individuals and organisational structures. In this sense, Acker offers that beyond our initial understanding of gender as an individual characteristic; determined by birth and representative of nature, she contests that gender is also a contextually situated process that is enacted through behaviour, gender biased processes and structures, so is thus representative of nurture. Despite organisational positioning as gender neutral, police organisations are dominantly male and through this male image one can understand the 'ideal worker within policing' (Silvestri, 2017:290). Thus, those that claim to be bullied do not conform to the ideal norm of the policing community and are kept outside of the community through what Scott (1986) refers to as a five-stage process of gendering. These stages discussed in Chapter three constructs how gender influences through overt and also taken-for-granted ways in the policing context that assumes men are strong, and women are weak (Hochschild, 2003) and labour is divided accordingly. Thus, to make sense of gender through a Bourdieusian

lens, language used in Greendale's sub-field is an enactment of symbolic violence is demonstrated as a taken-for-granted gendered practice that is sustained through the structural constraints of the organisation where the use of deviant language is misrecognised as legitimate language use that holds sociohistorical roots and largely remains unchallenged.

Perceptions of Reality: Making Sense of Anti-Bullying Measures

To understand how far the taken-for-granted assumptions exist in the organisation the study moves beyond language to explore this issue to examine perceptions of reality to understand how organisational actors make sense of the ABIs as a whole. The following commentaries focus on the force's use of the information that is available to them to determine how well existing initiatives are working and to review how they could potentially improve them.

'The official figures don't really represent what is going on. The force doesn't really want to measure whether the anti-bullying intervention measures are working or not.' Creator Q.

'That's not their focus; they think everything is good and pay lip service to the anti-bullying interventions with senior managers being the worst perpetrators of bullying in the first place.' Creator F.

'In reality there are very few formal complaints of bullying the majority of issues are dealt with at local level and not really resolved to full satisfaction. The policies are all there but in reality, I don't know anyone that knows anything about them or where to find them.' Disseminator Z.

'I am not sure if anyone is really measuring how well the anti-bullying measures are working. HR don't always recognise cases of bullying. They write things off as just managing. We have lots of initiatives to deal with things, but people don't know much about them or where to find them really. I am surprised that we

don't have many more cases. We breed bullies.' Disseminator Q.

'The issue is that people are confused by what constitutes bullying and it suits the police that there is no consensus. This organisation does not prioritise dealing with bullying and in the end one thing is sure, if you complain you will be punished,' Disseminator H.

'There's a real blurred line regarding what is bullying. Senior managers don't recognise many cases of bullying as bullying. They think that dealing with things at lower levels sorts everything but often that's not the case. The issue is though, if you complain you have to have guts because you will be punished for it. It takes a brave person to do it.' User X.

'Once the ball starts rolling you can't stop it. You have to be a brave person to claim that you have been bullied. People get punished for it.' User L.

The commentary above presents an interpretation of organisational reality from the representatives of the three participant group perspectives. Similarly, much of the examples provided by the participants groups identify that theatre exists in current practices within the policing sub-field. Commentaries repeat similar issues. Bullying at Greendale is not always recognised as it is reframed through a managerial narrative. Cases are poorly dealt with, with many being unsure of what really constitutes bullying and those cases that are dealt with through formal process have consequences for the claimant. Much earlier in part one of this chapter HR were reported to have many ABIs the way in which bullying and ABIs are enacted and understood in this policing context can be framed through an impression management lens which acts as a form of tactical mimicry.

Chapter three discussed how police forces operate within target-orientated frameworks, the impact of which has resulted in dysfunctional behaviour through which people lose focus regarding the purpose of the target-indicator

and what should be measured. The commentaries suggest that those responsible for assessing the effectiveness of current ABI strategies in Greendale police force are subjected to the organisational influences of the performance paradox were over time the focus on measuring the value of an initiative is lost. To explain, why this occurs the relationship between behaviour and risk is explored. When individuals feel threatened by a change in work practices or by increased workloads they may respond to the target-driven, performance indicators by ignoring them. Although this is a subversive response to the indicators, these behaviours are only permitted because the boundaries set by the system permit such practices. The consequences of such actions are reported through the extracts.

Chapter Summary

Thus, thinking with and beyond Bourdieu's theory of practice the findings and analysis chapter has served to present a multi-agent narrative of how key organisational actors from the Creator, Disseminator and User groups in Greendale's sub-field interpret and enact their ABI strategy. These key agents have a direct relationship with the ABIs. HR practitioners, as members of the Creator group, are the key owners of the intervention strategy. However high levels of engagement are also evidenced from senior representation from the police federation and police staff union who are key voices in the construction, guidance and management of the interventions that are operationalised in the policing organisation. Beyond this senior level of ownership, the Disseminator group provide advisory support across Greendale police force. With the exclusion of very senior Chief Officers, this group touches the whole of the workforce demographic, so their voices echo their own experience of working with the intervention measures on behalf of the many that they represent. The final contribution is from Users; those that have first-hand experience of the intervention measures either as a consequence of being bullied or being accused of bullying. In order to understand how their practice is influenced by how they interpret and enact the anti-bullying framework chapter takes four perspectives.

The opening two perspectives are presented to provide contextual understanding of the sub-field that has been impacted by significant points of

change largely influenced by an austerity agenda. The latter two perspectives apply a closer lens to examine how field influences and the various capitals are recognised within the sub-field impacts on habitus from an individual and collective positions and in turn how this influences the taken-for-granted assumptions (doxa), and games at play within the sub-field. This interpretation is generated against an organisational backdrop that is reported to have a longstanding problematic relationship with bullying in the workplace. The long-term impact of the findings for the workplace bullying literature field is discussed in Chapter seven, the final chapter of the thesis.

Chapter Seven: Summary of the Research

Understanding ABIs

The central focus of this research study was to understand how organisational actors make sense of and enact ABIs that are operationalised to manage and control bullying at work. In an attempt to curtail the negative fallout from bullying (Hodgins *et al.*, 2014; Mikkelsen *et al.*, 2011; Rayner and Lewis, 2011; Crimp, 2017; Salin *et al.*, 2018), workplaces have responded by implementing ABIs aimed at managing and controlling the problem (Di Martino *et al.*, 2003). The impetus for such initiatives is recognised to be primarily driven by the increasing threat of litigation (Rayner and Cooper, 1997; Martin and La Van, 2010) organisational accountability (Crimp, 2017) and to uphold an organisations good name (Vartia and Leke, 2011). Despite these steps, empirical evidence suggests that the growth in ABIs has not led to a reduction in the prevalence of bullying at work (Beale and Hoel, 2011; McKeown, Bryant, Raedar, 2009).

The workplace bullying field's understanding of the value of ABIs is extremely limited. Despite the growth of scholarly interest in workplace bullying over the past forty years, much of the focus has been on understanding bullying, its impact, bystanders, targets (Bartlett and Bartlett, 2011; Cooper-Thomas *et al.*, 2013) and perpetrators (Spector and Fox, 2005; Hauge *et al.,* 2009) of bullying. Much less attention has been paid to understanding the mechanisms to control and manage bullying at work. Thus, the field has long acknowledged that there is a need to engage in research that enhances understanding of bullying prevention and intervention strategies (Hodgins *et al.,* 2014; Mikkelsen *et al.,* 2011; Crimp, 2017; Salin *et al.*, 2018). Those that have engaged in such investigations have done so with an emphasis on the structure and content of ABI strategies (see Saam, 2010; Rayner and Lewis, 2011; Harrington *et al.,* 2012: Cowan, 2011; Hodgins *et al.,* 2014; Kemp, 2014; Hutchinson and Jackson, 2015). However, very few studies (Daley, 2003; Salin, 2008; Harrington, 2011; Beirne and Hunter, 2013; Harrington *et al.*, 2015; Salin *et al.*, 2018) have considered how ABIs are used in practice. Thus, the current

workplace bullying field has little evidence of whether current ABI strategies hold value once translated into organisational settings. Despite acknowledging that interventions are most effective if they take account of the environment and social context in which bullying occurs (La Montagne *et al.*, 2007), current research has largely ignored environmental context, so this thesis addresses that gap. The research broadens the discipline's understanding of ABI strategies and in particular considers the role that context and environment play in shaping understanding of ABIs once operationalised in an organisational setting. There are a number of unique aspects to the study.

Understanding the Significance of Context

The study is situated in a UK police organisation which is referred to throughout the thesis by its pseudonym, Greendale police force. Chapter six does much to set the scene at Greendale. They claim to have taken a proactive stance against bullying and hold a full complement of ABI strategies, including a primary intervention in policy form which acts to serve a number of purposes. The first includes the force's definition of workplace bullying, outlining acceptable and unacceptable behaviour at work. The second is that it acts as a statement of intent to engage in action following the formal reporting of a case of bullying. Finally, it acts as a process guide that identifies how to respond to reported cases of bullying. Secondary and tertiary levels of support, such as mediation and back-to-work initiatives that respond once bullying has occurred (Vartia and Leke, 2011), were also included in Greendale's arsenal of responses.

Greendale presents itself as a unique case example in that it self-identifies as a highly performing police organisation with limited labour turnover and reportedly high levels of workplace bullying (Hoel and Cooper, 2000). Research highlights that high-levels of bullying are more likely to correlate with high levels of labour turnover (Escartin, 2016), yet Greendale's divergent response to bullying and labour turnover presents the opportunity to consider the role that that the policing environment holds in shaping that response. While the individualistic nature of public sector organisations are reportedly

overstated by some (Boyne, 2002), there is a general recognition that the distinctiveness of the public sector (see Lavigna, 2015; Buelens and Van den Broeck, 2007), that operates in complex and challenging times, calls for responsive HRM (Boon and Verhoest, 2016) that can develop insights and strategies to deal with bullying at work. Although Chapter two notes that there are number of studies that have investigated bullying in the police force (Rayner, 1999; Hoel and Cooper, 2001; Lynch, 2002; Miller and Rayner, 2012; Workman-Stark, 2017) those that have mentioned strategies to deal with bullying have done so only fleetingly. Therefore, the research not only contributes to our understanding of operationalised ABIs but also adds new insights in to how these are understood in a distinctive policing environment.

Presenting a Holistic Understanding of Intervention Strategies

Much of the current workplace bullying studies have engaged the voice of the target (Adams, 1992; Cowan, 2011; Einarsen *et al.,* 2011; Hutchinson and Jackson, 2015). Although more recent studies have begun to acknowledge other voices, such as HR professionals and union officials (Harrington *et al.,* 2015), many of the voices of those integral actors that are often involved in cases of workplace bullying are missing from the literature. Chapter one discusses how those that have engaged in this ABI research have done so with particular homogeneous groups, such as nurses (Hutchinson and Jackson, 2015), managers (Salin, 2008) and, more recently, human resource practitioners (Harrington *et al.*, 2015; Salin *et al.*, 2018). Attempts to include the HR voice represent an important step in understanding ABIs. When developing intervention strategies, academic and practitioner guidance has achieved a consensus that multiple voices should all be active participants in the development of ABIs (Vartia and Leke, 2008). Yet studies that include these relevant voices are missing in the workplace bullying literature. Such voices include front-line advisors, line managers, confidantes, lower and senior level managers, minority group representatives, targets and alleged perpetrators of workplace bullying. As workplace bullying is complex in nature, gaining insight from a range of stakeholder perspectives may help in

developing effective prevention and management strategies. To this end, this thesis has set out to include these quiet yet important voices that are missing in the literature and, in doing so, presents a holistic field-level perspective of integral actors from the policing environment. These voices include Creators, Disseminators and Users of the ABI strategy. Chapter one explains that this sample population is inclusive of those responsible for the creation of the ABI strategy in Greendale. This select group consists of HR practitioners, senior union officials and senior managers. The sample extends to include commentary from the Disseminator group. This group behaves in an advisory capacity and includes representatives of the minority groups in policing that include representation from the Black Police Association, Christian Men, LGBT, Part-timers and Women's groups. The Disseminator group represents the largest group in the sample as it also includes the voices of police and civilian low and mid-level line managers, shop-floor level union representatives and those that have responded outside of the formal ABI process to act as informal advisors or 'guardians' (Roscigno *et al.*, 2009:1567) to those accused of, or those experiencing workplace bullying. The final sample are identified as the User group and includes those that have used the intervention strategies either as a target or alleged perpetrator of bullying. Given the opacity of bullying, the study considers how ABIs are understood within an organisational setting by different organisational agents, with different expectations of these measures, and essentially explores how multiple translations of polices and processes are put into practice.

Opaque Interpretations and Unique Translations: The Challenge of Structure versus Agency

Researchers and practitioners have long agreed that the effective prevention and management of bullying at work presents a significant challenge for organisations. Attempts to manage the problem may be impeded for a number of reasons, particularly given the subjective character of workplace bullying and the often poorly defined (D'Cruz and Noronha, 2010; Lutgen-Sandvik, 2008), inconsistent nature of preventative strategies (Salin, 2008a; Woodrow and Guest, 2014) that are utilised to deal with it. What represents bullying and

understanding how to deal with it is complex. Chapter six discusses how, once policies and interventions are operationalised, they appear to go through a process of construction, deconstruction and reconstruction as individuals make their own sense of what the ABIs are there to do and how to use them. This is a new way of understanding how interventions are absorbed into the field and operationalised. Thus, beyond formal measures aimed at managing and controlling bullying at work, individuals create their own interpretation of these measures. As part of this process, Chapters five and six consider how structure and agency serve to shape the individual and collective interpretations of bullying at work and the responses to deal with it. The challenge of structure versus agency can be explained by considering whether individuals act freely or whether their actions are governed by social structures (Bourdieu, 1977). Walther (2014) explains that structures serve as rule providing entities that can shape human behaviour and action. The structuralist perspective considers that people are influenced by, and accepting of, structured patterns of behaviour and follow these patterns as if programmed to do so (Rafiee *et al.*, 2014). In contrast, the agency position identifies people as free to make their own choices concerning how they think, act and behave (Hays, 1994). Chapter five introduces Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice as the study's theoretical framework, which acknowledges the interactionist, interpretive and hermeneutic paradigms. Theory of practice considers that society can be understood as an interactive relationship between structure and agency and recognises both elements as dually influential in shaping practice (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011). To understand practice and the factors that shape it, the thesis has two overarching research questions. The first question is concerned with practice and asks,

> *How do organisational actors interpret and enact the anti-bullying intervention measures in a UK police force?*

The second question focuses on the factors that shape practice and asks,

Who and what factors have a hand in controlling bullying at work and the anti-bullying intervention measures in place to manage this workplace practice?

Responding to the Challenge

To respond to the research questions, the thesis has engaged an IPA methodology. Chapter four positions IPA as a qualitative research approach concerned with exploring how people make sense of and draw significance from their life experiences (Frost *et al.,* 2010; Smith *et al.*, 2012). Chapters one and four describe how IPA is underpinned by three fundamental principles that include phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography (Pietkiewicz and Smith, 2014). The phenomenological element of IPA presents the opportunity to consider the lived experience of the participants from Greendale police force, while the idiographic nature of the study provided scope for deep-level investigation and analysis of these lived experiences through the dually hermeneutic lens of participant and researcher. As we each engaged in a process of interpretation, the participants recalled their experiences and presented a narrative of their sense-making in the stories that they retold. In turn, as the researcher, I engaged in the interpretative process. Although I have no prior in-depth knowledge of policing, either through previously working for or researching with the police force, the prologue at the beginning of the thesis outlines the personal relationship that I have with workplace bullying. This deeper-level understanding of being the target, bystander, confidante and manager having to deal with cases of workplace bullying allowed me to enter the research participants' world more easily and to adopt an insider's view of their world which IPA calls for (Smith, 1996) as they make sense of what is a complex and potentially devastating workplace practice.

As IPA utilises small sample populations to engage in deep-level investigations, 21 participants across the sample groups offered insights of their close-range relationship with the ABI strategy. Semi-structured interviews were employed to provide the opportunity to capture the socio-historic accounts from participants at Greendale police force. Engagement with their

verbatim responses allowed me not only to draw sense from the detailed transcripts (Howitt, 2010) but also allowed me to consider the nomothetic shared aspect of the research process (ibid). Coleman (2001) argues that process in this sense requires self-reflection. Thus, 'IPA endorses a social constructivist view that sociocultural and historical processes are central to how we experience and understand our lives, including the stories we tell about these lives' (Eatough and Smith, 2008: 184), not as passive bystanders but as interpreters of our realities through the biographical stories that we tell that help us to understand our experiences and the worlds we inhabit (Brocki and Wearden, 2006).

Theoretical Framework

The study has engaged Bourdieu's (1972) theory of practice as the theoretical lens through which the findings from the study could be analysed. The IPA methodology and theoretical framework have dovetailed in that IPA has afforded the opportunity for Greendale's participants, as self-interpreting beings, to present their lived experiences of using and engaging with the ABI strategy, while Bourdieu's insights considered the limits of these insights given the role that structure, and agency holds in shaping attitudes to and engagement with ABIs within the policing context.

Bourdieu's work offers a sociological lens into knowledge production and considers how this knowledge then influences practice (Costa, 2006). Bourdieu (1972) uses the concept of the field to describe a structured social space in which actions, behaviours and knowledge-making occur. The impact of the field on such actions and processes are far-reaching and not always obvious to those that operate within them (Swartz, 2016). As Bourdieu's concept of the field is of a social space that is empirically rather than geographically defined (Iellatchitch *et al.*, 2003), the field in the context of the study is the policing field, meaning the police force as a public-sector body. What differentiates one field from another is the degree of autonomy that a field holds in its decision-making processes (Bourdieu, 1977). Although it cannot be argued that Greendale police force can be categorised as a separate field that operates independently from the wider policing field, it does

have a degree of autonomy in its localised decision-making processes and, therefore, following Bourdieu (1972), was introduced in the thesis as a sub-field of the wider policing field. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) argue that different fields and sub-fields value particular resources that Bourdieu identifies as capital. These capitals exist in four forms, including economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. Although these different capitals appear as distinct, they are more closely linked to serve as currency to access, achieve or subvert social mobility within the field (Bourdieu, 1986; Walther, 2014). In order to use their respective capitals, organisational actors come to understand how they perceive they should behave to achieve their self-interested objectives. Bourdieu (1977) analogises such actions as the game of the field in which organisational actors come to identify the rules of play and how they should respond. The final tool from Bourdieu's toolbox is practice. Bourdieu (1972) positions that practice is dually influenced through the social structures of the field, where certain rules apply, and also as a consequence of one's history, thoughts, feelings and behaviour, what Bourdieu describes as habitus (Walter, 2014).

Contributions to the field: How are the anti-bullying interventions interpreted and enacted?

The thesis has focused on the responses of three participant groups in Greendale. The key responses from each of these groups are summarised in the following section of the chapter.

Outcome One: The Creators

The study concludes that, as custodians, HR practitioners, Union officials and Federation representatives have differing expectations of the ABI strategy. The use of an IPA methodology was important in understanding these distinctions as the gaze of IPA is not just on the largely obvious differences but is also concerned with the small distinctions (Smith, 1996) that separate individuals from their sample groups and the sample groups from one another.

HR practitioners at Greendale practitioners interpret that their key objective is to prevent litigious impact on the organisation. As a collective professional body, the HR practitioners evidenced multiple interpretations of what

constitutes bullying and how to respond to it. In support of this finding, Harrington's (2010) study with HR professionals across a broad range of industries found that they reported only one genuine case of bullying over their collective 255 years of HR experience, which suggests that HR practitioners struggle with defining, understanding or acknowledging what they recognise as genuine constructs of bullying at work. This continues to be problematic in the management of ABIs as interventions sit under their custodianship and highlights the managerialist agendas that underpin HR as a function in organisations. To understand HR practitioners' relationship with the ABIs post litigious prevention, the study looks to the field impact of austerity on the police service with a focus on the localised impact at sub-field level at Greendale. This contextual influence extends Harrington's (2010) work which considers field influences at practitioner level.

Chapter six examines the changing landscape of the field with reference to the members of the participant groups in the study. In doing so, it explores how an austerity influenced restructure had decimated job opportunities and the staffing levels in HR. To alleviate the risk of further reductions of services through resource sharing or outsourcing, the findings indicate that HR practitioners employed protectionist and legitimisation strategies in an attempt to maintain jobs and social capital within the force. The sharing of their expert knowledge acted to legitimise the importance of their unique policing knowledge that outsourced or shared-resource HR provisions may not be as familiar with. To this end, the findings indicate that they employed survival strategies, such as extending the arsenal of interventions that legitimised the need for their expertise in dealing with a workplace problem that was perceived to need constant revision due to the challenging nature of workplace bullying. However, the HR practitioners' actions were impression led (Goffman, 1959) as the HR practitioners were unsure whether interventions worked and failed to gather any dependable data to evidence success or failure of the initiatives. Cases that were brought to their attention were not recognised through any formal mechanisms. Their practice demonstrated performance driven strategies that drew from a habitus influenced by a hangover from the post 1980s new public management agenda that favoured the practice of 'distorting

communication [and] abnegation of responsibility' (Diefienbach, 2009) rather than actively dealing with reported cases of bullying. This practice coupled with HR practitioners differing perspectives of what constitutes bullying acted to defuse any value that existing ABIs hold at Greendale.

The Police Support Union and Police Federation held differing interpretations of the ABIs. Operating in an environment that exercised symbolic violence that dismissed their significance and authority, the Police Support Union represented a reducing membership that already held less symbolic, social and economic capital than their policing counterparts. Despite this, they held on to a people-centred interpretation of what the anti-bullying framework was there to achieve. However, their ideals appeared to be out of sync with other members of the Creator group in which they were categorised throughout the thesis. As HR identified their focus as legislative, the Police Federation were self-aware that they were held in higher regard in the policing sub-field than their union counterparts and the associated social and symbolic capital that this afforded them. Their interpretation of the anti-bullying framework was a symbolic response for those that were exposed to bullying that held limited value in the organisational context given the authoritative management strategies that were evidenced in policing.

The policing union held on to the belief that Greendale police force engaged in such measures for people-centred reasons. In contrast, the Police Federation enacted an influential role in shaping content and application of the intervention strategy but understood the limits of the existing framework.

Outcome Two: The Disseminators

The Disseminator group, which touched a broad demographic across the police and support staff fields, interpreted the anti-bullying framework as operating with dual standards and providing tick box application. This group, although having a close relationship with it, represented perhaps the most cynical voice recognising the punitive nature of the anti-bullying process. Processes were enacted as bullying to control bullying. This group report contrasting evidence of what the strategy should do and the reality of its shortcomings often through a top-down exertion of power.

Outcome Three: The Users

The Users of the ABIs echoed the cynical views of the Disseminators. This group report how the interventions are enacted for personal gain, particularly around times of promotion or to distract attention from poor performance. This perspective was also supported by the Disseminator group. Here, the formal system of investigation is reported to be used to buy individuals space away from other forms of punishment. In short, individuals claim that management sanctions imposed due to poor performance are simply bullying. This group identify middle ranking managers to be the main perpetrators of such behaviour.

This final response makes an interesting contribution to the field. Although the work of Hutchinson *et al.*, (2009) acknowledged similar behaviour in their study of bullying practices amongst nurses, this study offers a new layer to this discussion. Hutchinson *et al.*, (2009) argue that unethical behaviour is enacted at certain times to provide personal gain. In this sense, they position unethical behaviour to mean bullying for personal gain. Chapter six presents unethical abuse of the ABI systems. Managers in line for promotion that need to evidence that they are familiar with the grievance process and have grievance case handling experience follow Hutchinson *et al.,* (2009) in that they formalise and sanction others to demonstrate that they have experience of certain HR practices and thus are using the process to bully. However, Chapter six also notes how organisational agents make false claims that they have been bullied to strategically enforce ABI processes against their employers which then provides space and time away from any formal sanctions that individuals may face. Underpinned with malicious intent, agents were also reported to falsely accuse others of bullying to thereby invoke a lengthy ABI process that is reported to leave those accused of such behaviours feeling exposed and vulnerable during the period of investigation. With the outcome of the case concluding that there is no case to answer, the impact of such actions on the intended target is reported as a devastating experience that does not fully support falsely accused targets. This exposes current HR practice around target support as inadequate as current interventions in policing do not consider falsely accused targets in the ABI process.

Workplace bullying and ABI literature on such issues is sparse. Indeed, evidence of such is under reported in academic literature, yet practitioner evidence has begun to emerge with this focus. Byrnes (2017:311), cites the Australian case, Bayly v Fair Work Commission 2014 and explains how 'this new employee strategy could throw a spanner in the works through innovative use of anti-bullying jurisdiction.' This action halted the employer from taking the claim of bullying against the individual any further. The thesis findings add here. Byrnes' article cites employees are abusing the system to save themselves from negative consequences. Although evidence of this was reported in Chapter six, there was further evidence that individuals use the ABI system sometimes with malicious and strategic intent not for personal gain, through career or social enhancement, but for the personal gratification of temporarily hurting another. This presents evidence of ABI reconstruction from a self-interested perspective moving the focus of the ABI strategy from one underpinned with the intention of helping people dealing with challenging and difficult circumstances to one that helps to cause problems and challenges to organisations and people alike.

The responses from each of the Creator group participants have offered insight into their particular interpretations of ABIs and the problematic nature of policy and intervention implementation that is discussed in much greater depth in Chapter six.   Even the Creators, with direct responsibility for the developments and creation of such initiatives, engage in a process of intervention absorption, deconstruction and reconstruction as they recreate understanding and enact ABIs with their own self-interested agendas once the ABIs are operationalised. This leaves the sub-field with different interpretations of the ABIs. The complex and opaque nature of workplace bullying helps with this as what constitutes bullying is subjective and thus open to debate and abuse.

Who and what factors have a hand in controlling bullying at work and the anti-bullying intervention measures in place to manage this workplace practice?

Outcome One: Language

The findings have focused on a gendered organisational doxa making reference to Ackers (1980,1992) work on the gendered organisation. Bourdieu's (2005) interpretation of doxa lies in the taken-for-granted assumptions of the field. In doing so, the study examines the impact of a masculine discourse as part of Greendale's doxa. The findings identify that language is used as symbolic violence to influence organisational doxa concerning the ABIs. This practice evolves through a top-down strategy and is evidenced through formal policy through to everyday organisational use and serves to negatively promote attitudes towards bullying and the ABI mechanisms in place to support and manage it. HR practitioners, as those tasked with the formal ownership of policies and interventions, along with union representatives through either recognition or misrecognition used victim language as a form of symbolic violence to deter any purposeful engagement with the ABI strategy. In doing so, recognition of such action identifies the possibility of strategic intent on behalf of those tasked with managing bullying at work, given that they identify their primary remit is to limit any potential litigation claims.

Chapter six, notes how the language in a given context can support or repeal the value and importance of ABIs. In Greendale's police force, the respondents reported how gendered and non-gendered language is used as an extension of ABI systems. Language acts as a beacon that reflects the social structures, culture and historically constructed influences in a particular environment and assimilates into the taken-for-granted interactions of the everyday (Bourdieu, 1991; Bommaert, 2015). The taken-for-granted and hidden meanings in language may be recognised or misrecognised as representations of power, or symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1991) in the sub-field. Policing has longstanding associations as a male dominant workplace and as such, language with masculine association has become legitimised as the taken-for-

granted language in Greendale's police force. Masculine language is used to show strength, power through words such as robust management. However, a language shift was noted regarding bullying and ABIs towards a softer, more feminine use of language. Particular reference to this point centred on the victim discourse that existed in the force as the weak individual. Moving beyond workplace bullying and policing literature, gendered discourse identifies women as the weaker sex, as victims and men as the stronger sex, as perpetrators in discussions relating to gendered violence (e.g. Campbell, 2005). In addition to this, neutral language was reported to reflect misunderstood or ineffective messages. The chapter draws upon Acker's (1990, 1992) work on the gendered organisation to offer further insights to Bourdieu's understanding of language. Acker notes how organisations are not gender neutral but instead act in ways that reflect and behave in line with that majority population. The chapter extends current research in to gendered bullying (Finnborg *et al.*, 2017; Hearn *et al.*, 2015; Salin and Hoel 2013), and gendered bullying in the police force (Lee, 2002) to include language as part of these gendered discussions.

Although the workplace bullying field has acknowledged concerns about the victim term and has considered whether bullying is more prevalent in one gender than another, the field has not considered how gendered language is used in explicit forms, such as policy documents to field-level use. Such use acts as symbolic violence and does much to shape how organisational agents at Greendale interpret and enact bullying and the mechanisms in place to manage and control it. Organisational language influences action and behaviour. Learning occurs not just through our own experiences but also vicariously through the experience of others (Bandura, 1963). Language helps to shape learning and the subsequent behaviours that occur because of it. Gendered language is used to convey covert and overt messages in the field through both implicit and explicit practice. Masculine language is overtly used to discuss policing, yet feminine related language is used to discuss bullying and the ABIs, particularly those in policy form. This shows how the field influences of gender that are much evidenced in policing infiltrates into everyday practice. These subtle references, whether intended or not, are

symbolic in that they identify the bullied as weak. Chapter six notes how the ABI policy specifically references those targeted by bullies to have a weaker personality type than those who remain untouched by it. This reinforces the dominantly masculine culture of policing and the expected behaviour of the sub-field. Masculine language is the dominant language of the sub-field and represents the majority workforce. This reinforces that the bullied sit outside of the representative group and in turn shapes attitudes towards those targeted by bullies, negating any support or hope that an effective person-centred ABI system exists in Greendale. Words such as culture are representative of words in that, although many have a general understanding of it, culture is individually interpreted, taken-for- granted and internally constructed to mean different things to different agents. Understanding is taken from external cues such as the action and behaviour of others from which the individual then constructs their own interpretation of culture. This opaque interpretation of 'culture' provides an excuse for bullying behaviour or attitudes towards ABIs as bullying is recognised as accepted practice in policing. Here language and culture are connected. The language of the field becomes taken-for-granted and thus forms part of the culture of policing, reinforcing that those that are bullied are weak and sit outside what Ackers (1980, 1992) refers to as what becomes accepted as the ideal worker of the particular organisation. The use of the word culture is understood through a multiplicity of lenses but is used as a shield that protects and explains inappropriate practice or behaviour as just part of the culture around here. The terms permits and accepts bullying and the weak associations that are linked to it through the language of the sub-field. The use of language as symbolic violence in various forms has been identified as having a negative impact on the anti-bullying agenda. The use of gendered language to this end has been shown to have driven a corrosive campaign undermining any positive change strategies. The use of gendered and non-gendered language offers new insights into ABI management and offers a new contribution to the workplace bullying research field.

This offers a new perspective on the way language is used in organisations, in the formal explicit ABI forms such as policies and in how the language of the

field acts as symbolic violence to dismiss and encourage bullying at work and the consequential response to it through ABI strategies.

Outcome Two: Networks

Beyond the police force's formal systems of managing bullying, the hidden organisational networks founded upon social relationships are found to be influential in moderating and maintaining attitudes to workplace bullying and the processes in place to manage it. Beyond formal mechanisms of control, the social network is found to be an informal extension of the bullying management system and extends understanding of how knowledge concerning opaque and ambiguous strategies are generated. The significance of networks, in particular the hidden network built on social relationships, are identified as holding significant symbolic power and influence in the behavioural moderation of bullying and the ABI systems.

This is new to the literature as current discussions in the workplace bullying and in particular anti-bullying literature focuses on understanding the perspective of particular groups. Miller and Rayner's (2012) work with police teams explores this and Hutchinson *et al.*, (2009) extends this further. Hutchinson *et al.,'s* work notes the impacts of networked alliances. However, as this was not the central focus of their work, they concluded by calling for more research to consider 'hidden processes of power' (Hutchinson *et al.*, 2009: 123). The findings of this study respond to these calls and addresses that gap. The thesis has been able to establish not only reported evidence of networks but of a hidden network across the policing sub-field that reconstructs the ABIs to serve their own needs, thus supporting Bourdieu's (1977) underpinning premise in theory of practice that organisational agents act in line with their own self-interested agendas which may be different in different fields. In Greendale, overriding power sits with the networks that cross the organisational domains and hierarchical dimensions. This hidden dimension is important here. This hidden network was reported to hold the most social power in the sub-field. Members of the network or those wishing to become accepted into the network were never fully sure who was part of it. This uncertainty served to control the behaviour in the sub-field. If one acted outside of the permitted boundaries, one could be punished. Thus, the network

permitted bullying and in fact engaged in it itself through its punishment strategies but also served as a protective mechanism for its network membership from the bullying of others outside of the network. Thus, using particular language and exertions of power, the hidden network in particular acted as a moderator of both good and bad behaviour and practice and was essentially an extension of formal mechanisms of control and power where bullying and anti-bullying systems were concerned. This evidences how, once operationalised, the formal ABIs that sit within HR's custodianship are lost to more powerful players in the sub-field and as such take informal control of bullying and ABI systems at work to serve their own purposes.

Outcome Three: Power Shift through worker demographics

In addition to this, the new generation of worker with a deinstitutionalised and self-driven career trajectory is identified as shifting power from the bully to the bullied through the way in which they do not conform to demonstrations of symbolic violence and respond in new ways that has led to hysteresis amongst longstanding police officers.

Greendale police force is reported to have a longstanding problematic relationship with workplace bullying and has responded with a series of intervention strategies that are reported to have had limited impact on changing behavioural practice that has been assimilated in to the organisational doxa that cloaks bullying practice through a robust management agenda. The implementation of top-down change strategies attempting to change ingrained ways of doing policing have challenged how collective habitus is understood in a workplace with an intergenerational demographic. In doing so, it has had dual impact.

The first is through a gender shift in the policing versus civilian demographic where a masculine agenda recognises bullying as a normative practice and in doing so has led to the diminished power of the police support staff union in presenting any responding challenge. The second sees the introduction of a new generation of police officers who have shifted the power dimensions away from the bully to the bullied by invoking the anti-bullying intervention strategy when targeted by inappropriate bullying behaviour.

Broader Implications

The findings have significant implications for research and practice and extend current discussions in the workplace bullying field. The thesis presents some broader and more challenging questions concerning who is really managing bullying at work. Despite creative application and revision of ABI strategies that sit in the custodianship of HR practitioners, once operationalised, field forces were found to influence how bullying and ABI systems are understood and enacted in the workplace. The opaque nature of bullying opens a space for other more powerful players in the field to engage in their own self-interested revision of processes, while the use of language in deliberate and taken-for-granted ways can serve to negate any value that current interventions hold. Therefore, current strategies adopted by organisations when constructing ABIs is flawed. Greendale took a two-stage approach to ABI development. They used academics with no knowledge of the field-influences to help develop their strategies. This is good practice that is echoed by many large organisations, but it is limited in that these advisors can help with structure and content but cannot assist with the adaptation of interventions without knowledge of the inner behaviours and practices of the organisation. Secondly, Greendale followed with the common practice of a staff consultative exercise with the intent of reviewing the ABIs. This is again flawed. Consultation is flawed as a process in that insufficient time is often given to gathering and responding to the workforce insights and, secondly, the workforce shares the same language and field influences as those that develop the strategies, so they may not be best placed to see the strengths, limitations and weaknesses of the proposed initiatives. This suggests that, as ABIs enter the field, their effectiveness is already limited due to the way in which they have been constructed and implemented in the first place.

To add to this, existing ABIs may no longer fit with the changing workforce demographic. Millennial workers are reported to favour individualistic and, in the case of policing, deinstitutionalised career trajectories more than their previous counterparts who, with some exceptions, have favoured longstanding careers in policing. These new workers are reported to have limited intention to stay in long-term employment and, as such, may be unfamiliar with expected

cultural and behavioural practice. There is a potential implication for organisations here. Individuals that favour formal, rather than informal methods could represent a potential cost to organisations. This strategy heightens the possibility of litigation costs, a cost that HR recognise that is within remit to control. In this study, the power of the bullies was seen to shift to the bullied as they failed to follow the unspoken rule of not grassing on colleagues, leading to a rise in a new power group who were more comfortable than previous personnel in using and dealing with the consequences of reporting bullying at work. This may undermine the foundations of power networks in organisations.

This study highlighted the significance of organisational networks and, in particular, the hidden networks that are predicated upon social alliances and their relationship with the ABI strategy. Greendale represents a police force that claims to lead the way in policing with many of its processes, practices and policies plagiarised by other forces in the UK. Formal organisational strategies in policing are open to abuse on a number of levels. The network acting in its own self-interest has been identified as a more powerful player in controlling bullying at work and the responses for dealing with it than formally organised measures that sit within the HR function. This was particularly evident around times of promotion. This has implications for organisations as individuals backed by the power of the networks, or those on individualistic career pathways can halt or instigate ABI processes to buy themselves space away from organisational punishment which could result in lengthy, complicated and costly implications for employers.

Thus, to avoid potential increasing and costly claims, higher labour turnover and employee abuse, organisations may need to consider major revisions to current ABI process from conception, to implementation and operation. To do this, the importance of listening to a broader workplace demographic needs to be considered to ensure that, as far as possible, policies and processes are fit for the contemporary workforce.

Finally, and importantly, the study also offers new theoretical insights regarding the reported gap between ABI policy/strategy construction and

implementation. Chapter three offered consensus agreement between the strategy and policy implementation fields, that strategies and policies are reconstructed and reshaped in action (Hill, 2013; 2014) presenting an implementation gap achieved through a 'social, contextual, political and economic' frame (Birkland, 2014:4). Hood's (1976) work on the problematisation of policy/ strategy implementation cited in chapter three notes the limitations of the normative assumptions surrounding this issue that are largely governed by a managerialist top-down compliance and control interpretation of policy/strategy. In doing so, this understanding of these issues contends that all problems with policy/ strategy occur as it travels downwards towards frontline implementation and enactment and does not take in to account context, conflict, relationships, change and agency to present a more complexly framed understanding as represented in this study. The findings from the study at Greendale police force have been able to offer interesting insight. Greendale self-reports as a highly performing organisation whose policies and strategies are often plagiarised by other forces. Indeed, participants in the study reported that the ABI framework was constructed and governed by highly experienced experts in this area, yet the policies and strategies used at Greendale did not necessarily translate in to a reduction of bullying at work once operationalised in to practice, evidencing a gap between what the policy in theory was intended to do and how it was understood and enacted in practice. To shed light here attention is drawn to the concept of habitus representing one's history, thoughts, feelings and behaviour (Walter, 2014). Bourdieu's (1977) underpinning premise in theory of practice that organisational agents act in line with their own self-interested agendas that may be different in different fields. It was from this self-interested position that the study reports that organisational agents placed ABI strategies through a process of construction, deconstruction and reconstruction as they moved from formal written format as documents, policies and strategies to being operationalised in the field. Within Greendale police force, habitus was found to be influential force in shaping the behaviours, thoughts and feelings of the organisational community and their understanding of bullying at work and their relationship with the ABI framework. Habitus seeks to explain repeated patterns of action that are contextually adjusted, further modified by

experience and are not solely attributable to external structures or subjective intention (Chudowski and Mayrhofer, 2011). Chapter five notes how habitus holds both collectivist and individualistic qualities (Lizardo, 2004) and represents the internal disposition and cognitive schemas that give rise to the taken-for-granted ways in which actors perceive they should behave in their social field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). It is through a process of socialisation within their social worlds that individuals come to understand the social structures and practices that are dominant within it and respond by adjusting their habitus in line with the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Habitus and field are linked in a circular relationship. To understand the arena or field in which one is positioned, the game and the rules of the game at play, organisational actors need to establish the location, disposition and competency levels of the key players operating within that field (Chudowski and Mayrhofer, 2011). It is by observing and engaging with these key players that individual actors learn the logic of the game and the accepted behaviours within the field; it is through this process of observation and learning that an actor's own internal habitus is adjusted and aligned to reflect a collectivist or shared habitus which in turn leads to a reproduction and perpetuation of the field (Crossley, 2001). Evidence of this was found across the different workforce demographic including HR practitioners, middle ranking police officers, new recruits, the hidden network and end users of the ABI framework. The utilisation of the concept of habitus offers a new way of understanding how different workplace demographics and policy/ strategy developers create their own understanding of bullying at work and the mechanisms in place to manage it. As the workplace (anti)bullying field reports to know very little of what happens to ABIs in given contexts the concept of habitus offers new theoretical insights in to understanding how ABIs are interpreted and shaped in practice.

Limitations of the Study

This study has explored ABIs in a policing context in one UK police force. Whilst the study has offered new insights in to what is recognised as an area of the workplace bullying field that has achieved limited scholarly attention, the potential limitations must be acknowledged.

It is important to note that there may be many organisational and individual factors that have influenced the study that have not been addressed within the scope of the thesis. The study has included the voices of those that have to date been collectively missing from the ABI literature. Whilst it can be argued that the research findings offer new insights in the ABI field, the study is situated in one UK police force. Thus, no generalisations may be drawn from the study due to the singular sample population. In response to this, it is relevant to acknowledge that the study was never concerned with making generalisations. Instead, it engaged a methodology that favoured small samples and gained idiographic insight in to the phenomenological experiences of key agents from Greendale force. All potential members of the Creator group (7), all bar one potential contributor from the Disseminator group (9) and a small sample from the User group (5) contributed to the study. The sample, therefore, had greater representation from the first two sample groups than the latter. Thus, the study acknowledges the potential bias of the sample population. However, as bullies and targets are the end users of such strategies, the workplace bullying literature is familiar with their voices yet less familiar with contributions from the voices evidenced in the Disseminator and Creator groups. Therefore, the bias presented through the sample is to be welcomed as it offers the contribution of new voices to the ABI field.

Chapter six does much to set the scene for the reader and in doing so it outlined the top-level management changes that Greendale have faced over the last five years. As further management changes have more recently happened in Greendale and given that the participants in this study talked of hopeful sea change, it would be interesting to extend the research study to a larger population to investigate if attitudes and practices towards ABIs have changed during the recently retired Chief Constable's reign. The study could also be widened to other police forces in the UK to understand how different sub-field of the same field interpret and enact the ABI strategy. The same sample model of Creators, Disseminators and Users in other contextual environments in other sectors to further enrich the fields understanding of the

impact of context has on the key agents that are central to the success or failure of the ABI strategy.

Final Thoughts

As I reach the end stage of the thesis, and in accordance with the self-reflexive nature of the methodology and theoretical framework, I am drawn back to the dedication at the very beginning of the study. This thesis was, and continues to be, dedicated to those silenced, disregarded and quiet voices whose experiences have inspired me to understand the importance of researching the phenomenon of workplace bullying. I continue to be inspired and continue to recognise the importance of engaging in such important research that, at the personal level, is linked to stress, depression and suicide (Nielsen *et al.*, 2015). My hope is that, as we come to understand more about how to effectively manage bullying at work, there may be more empowered, acknowledged and loud voices willing to stand up to bullying, safe in the knowledge that there are effective mechanisms in place to deal with it. I will always remain hopeful.

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