WORKPLACE BULLYING AND VICTIMIZATION: THE INFLUENCE OF ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT, SHAME AND PRIDE

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ABSTRACT

This cross-sectional study examines relationships of work practices to how employees manage their shame and pride at work, and how such management strategies are connected to workplace bullying and victimization. Survey data were from 824 employees of Dhaka, Bangladesh. Employees involved in bullying had lower scores on shame acknowledgment (feeling shame/guilt, taking responsibility, making amends) and humble pride (respecting self and others), and higher scores on shame displacement (hitting out at others, blaming others) and narcissistic pride (feeling dominant and arrogant). Those who were victims of bullying had higher scores on all pride and shame measures. Path analysis showed bullies had higher income, while victims had lower income. Bullying was less likely when there was high respect for others in workplaces. Shame and pride management mediates between respect for others and bullying as predicted by the theory, but this was not the case in relation to transparency of organizational procedures.

Keywords: Workplace bullying; victimisation; shame

INTRODUCTION

Bullying involves persistent, offensive, abusive, or intimidating behaviour that makes the target feel threatened, humiliated, stressed, or unsafe at work (Di Martino, Hoel & Cooper 2003). It can result in a variety of adjustment difficulties for employees, including anxiety, depression, low self-esteem, post-traumatic stress and suicide (Mikkelsen & Einarsen 2002; Nielsen, Matthiesen & Einarsen 2004; Quine 1999). Organizational costs are also significant (WorkCover Corporation 2004). Sickness, absence from work, high turnover, complaints resulting in lawsuits, impaired job performance, low commitment and job satisfaction have been reported in the literature (Glendinning, 2001; Kivimaki, Elovainio & Vahtera, 2000; Kivimaki, Virtanen, Vartia & Elovainio 2003; McCarthy, Sheehan, Wilkie & Wilkie 1998; McCormack, Casimir, Djurkovic & Yang 2006; Voss, Floderus & Diderichsen 2001).

In a bid to explain workplace bullying, researchers have examined the characteristics of individual bullies (Sheehan 1999; Zaft & Einrasen 2003), the characteristics of their targets (Coyne, Seigne & Randall 2000; Matthiesen & Einarsen 2001), workplace relationships (Einarsen 1999), and workplace culture (Agervold & Mikkelsen 2004; Einarsen 2000; Leymann 1996). As empirical findings accumulate, researchers are turning their attention to integrating results into coherent theoretical accounts of how bullying and victimization come about (for example, see Bowling and Beehr 2006; Heames and Harvey 2006; Salin 2003).

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Research that has attempted to profile those who engage in bullying has identified impulsivity, emotional reactivity, cynicism, low tolerance for ambiguity and aggressiveness as qualities that predispose people to bullying others (Matthiesen & Einarsen 2007). Victims on the other hand are more likely to have low self-esteem, poor social competence, and to exhibit negative affectivity more commonly than most (Glaso, Matthiesen, Nielsen & Einarsen 2007; Matthiesen & Einarsen 2007). The likelihood that bullying episodes will flare up is increased if the workplace is characterised by role ambiguity, high work demands, interpersonal conflict, and tyrannical or laissez-faire leadership (Hauge, Skogstad & Einarsen 2007; Skogstad, Einarsen, Torsheim, Aasland & Hetland 2007). Communication openness, a supportive work environment and providing bullied employees with recourse within the workplace have been found to reduce bullying and the problems it poses for targets (Bilgel, Aytac & Bayram 2006; Daniel 2004; Oluremi 2007).

The degree to which workplaces encourage bullying or keep it in check is being regarded increasingly as a reflection of management policy, not simply management neglect (Agervoid & Mikkelsen 2004; Ferris 2004). Ferris (2004) has postulated a "see no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil" typology of workplaces based on organizational responses to bullying allegations. Workplaces that are achievement oriented, have high workloads and place pressure on their employees to perform, are more likely to accept negative behaviour such as bullying, normalizing it as part of how the workplace functions. This is a "see no evil" approach to bullying. Organizations that are bureaucratic and rule oriented are more likely to attribute blame for the problem to both parties, seeing it as a personality conflict rather than as a conflict that reflects organizational practices and philosophy. This is a "hear no evil" approach to bullying. The third approach, "speak no evil", has effective anti-bullying policies that are enacted through managers walking the talk and calling to account behaviour that is persistently disrespectful of work colleagues, be they in senior or subordinate positions.

The key to the timing and strategy for successful intervention in bullying cases is not well understood or implemented (Djurkovic, McCormack & Casimir 2005; Gregory 2005). Literature on coping responses suggests that those who are bullied are initially quite versatile in their responses to managing the phenomenon, tend not to draw attention to the situation they find themselves in, but gradually get ground down to the point where avoidance or exit are the most effective options (Djurkovic et al. 2005; Olafsson & Johannsdottir 2004). Some become victims of their experience, others appear to be less adversely affected (Dawn, Cowie & Anandiadou 2003; Glaso et al. 2007).

The perpetrators of bullying are a puzzle when it comes to designing interventions because it is not clear whether they have poorly tuned moral emotions, or whether they have adopted a mindset that tells them that the moral emotions can be left outside the door as they enter the workplace. Debate continues in the literature over whether individuals who bully are socially incompetent, not recognizing the harm they do; or are just machiavellian, using power to advantage themselves and achieve their personal objectives (Arsenio & Lemerise 2001; Salin 2003; Seigne, Coyne, Randall & Parker 2007). The degree to which an organization tolerates bullying clearly affects the options of the machiavellian perpetrator of bullying. Organizational practices, on the other hand, are less certain to impact on the behaviour of the bully who is socially

incompetent – sanctions of either a positive or negative kind may not be discerned without directly confronting the perpetrator.

In many areas of rule or norm breaking, the psychological states of "not knowing" what is expected and "deliberately exploiting" opportunity are intertwined (Braithwaite, Braithwaite, Gibson & Makkai 1994). "Not knowing" becomes the rationalization of those who bully while deliberate exploitation is the narrative of the person who is targeted; bullies and victims alike need a narrative that enables them to keep going and think well of themselves, though not necessarily of each other (Harris 2007). The moral emotions are implicated in persistent bullying (Menesini, Sanchez, Fonzi, Ortega, Costabile & Lo Feudo 2003).

One line of argument is that bullies are deficient in moral emotions. A second, and the one pursued here, is that for organizational and/or personal reasons, moral emotions are not engaged in the self-regulatory repertoire of those who engage in bullying. This paper examines the role of two moral emotions – shame and pride in the persistence of bullying and victimization behaviour. Shame and pride are conceptualised as responses to how one's ethical identity is travelling in a particular social setting (Harris 2007). In the literature on workplace bullying, shame and pride have been implicated in the experiences of victims and perpetrators (Lewis 2004), although to date theoretical explanations have tended to be more psychoanalytic than psycho-social.

Why should shame and bullying be related?
Reintegrative shaming theory (Braithwaite 1989) differentiates two forms of social shaming, stigmatization and reintegrative shaming. It is commonly accepted that shame is an instigator of anti-social behaviour of all kinds (including bullying) (Lewis 1971; Scheff & Retzinger 1991) because it produces anger and a desire to hit out and blame others. Braithwaite argues that this happens when individuals experience stigmatizing shaming, not when they experience reintegrative shaming. Stigmatization occurs when an individual is labelled as being a "bad," "unworthy" or "useless" person, labels that go to the core of that person's ethical identity to communicate rejection by others. The alternative to stigmatization is reintegrative shaming where behavioural acts are labelled as inappropriate or unacceptable, but the person who committed them is regarded as a person who is basically good, able to mend their ways and make amends for the harm that has been done. Different cultures practice stigmatization and reintegrative shaming to different degrees. Western legal tradition explicitly propagates stigmatization. The restorative justice movement which is gaining momentum within legal systems internationally advocates processes that promote the value of reintegration, that is, disapproval of the harmful act without condemnation or rejection of the person.

The process of reintegrative shaming requires a special kind of institutional context where individuals feel the support of those close to them in spite of the fact that their behaviour has fallen short of others' expectations (Ahmed, Harris, Braithwaite & Braithwaite 2001). When individuals feel that support, they are more likely to acknowledge shame and move forward to make amends (Ahmed et al. 2001). When they do not, shame displacement or avoidance is a more likely response (Ahmed et al. 2001). Shame acknowledgment and displacement are not restricted to restorative justice settings: They are a daily part of how we manage our failures, just as pride is part of how we manage our successes.

Shame and pride management theory
Shame management theory (for details, see Ahmed et al. 2001) explains how individuals respond when they feel shame over something they have done. Shame is defined as a threat to a person's ethical identity, the identity that defines what a person sees in the self that is admirable and valued highly (Harris 2001, 2007). Ethical identity has elements of task, interpersonal and moral competency (see Harris 2001, 2007 for a detailed discussion). Shame is most likely to be felt when a person's ethical identity attracts disapproval of others, and is particularly likely to be strong when disapproval comes from an authority or significant other. If a person responds to a threat to ethical identity through acknowledging the possibility of failure and seeking to remedy any mistakes that have been made, that person is said to have acknowledged shame. If a person responds to the same threat through blaming others, expressing anger and taking their frustrations out on the world, that person is said to have displaced shame. High shame acknowledgment and low shame displacement is identified by Ahmed (2001) as a socially adaptive shame management style because it has maximum chance of repairing relationships with others and reducing interpersonal conflict. In contrast, low shame acknowledgement and high shame displacement will exacerbate conflict and damage relationships further.

In a series of papers on school bullying, Ahmed and her colleagues (Ahmed 2006; Ahmed & Braithwaite 2004a, 2006) were able to show that those who bullied others had lower scores on shame acknowledgment and higher scores on shame displacement. Victims on the other hand were relatively high scorers on acknowledgment when they were asked to imagine how they would feel if they bullied someone. They were also somewhat less inclined to displace shame. Schools provide many of the same triggers for bullying and for eliciting shame (and the denial of shame) that are found in workplaces. Meeting performance standards, being rewarded, social inclusion and being part of high status networks are as much part of success in one's working life as they are part of school life. Ethical identity is in play in both contexts – with many occasions when one's instrumental and moral competence are challenged. Shame management theory is an attractive lens for examining workplace bullying for this reason.

Shame management theory has been extended recently by Ahmed and Braithwaite (2009) to incorporate pride management. If shame signifies the emotion of personal failure or disappointment, of not living up to the person we think we are, pride represents the emotion of achievement, of finding affirmation for our ethical identity at its best. Shame and pride are complementary moral emotions (Scheff & Retzinger 1991). The emotion of pride, like shame, has two faces (Webb 2003). Pride can be embraced to the point of self-aggrandizement and lead individuals to feel that they are better than others. Or pride can be more circumspect, linked with personal and internal satisfaction of having mastered a challenge central to one's identity, while being aware of one's limitations and of the importance of collaborative relationships to one's achievements.

Just as shame is rife in workplaces, so is pride. Expressions of pride that take a narcissistic form are likely to be associated with different social relationships within work or school groups than expressions of humble pride. Narcissistic pride is associated with social dominance, assigning oneself superior status to others. Unless others accept a person's self-appointed superior status, social relationships are likely

to be strained and conflict is likely to ensue. In contrast, humble pride is likely to be associated with social relations that are more collegial, with each person valuing their own contributions along with the contributions of others. Thus, depending on the context and the individuals involved, pride can be managed in a socially harmonious way as a personal accomplishment that sits alongside the accomplishments of others, or in a socially divisive way as something to be lauded over others. When pride is manifested as individuals lauding their accomplishments over others, bullying is more likely to be found. Displays of narcissistic pride can make others feel inadequate and humiliated. Humble pride is likely to communicate respect for self and others and reduce bullying. Little is known of how pride is related to victimization. Possibly those who practice humble pride may be easy targets for bullying by narcissistic employees who wish to enhance their profile within an organization.

Individuals may be predisposed to manage shame and pride in socially adaptive or non-adaptive ways, but workplace practices and culture are also likely to play a role, sanctioning forms of shame and pride management both positively and negatively. Shin (2006) examined shame management styles in Korean and Australian teachers and concluded that shame management is a product of individual, interpersonal and organizational characteristics. Values of collectivism as opposed to individualism tipped the scales in favour of shame acknowledgement and away from displacement. Belongingness and inclusive work practices were also important, improving the likelihood of individuals feeling sufficiently "safe" to manage their shame in a socially adaptive way. Ahmed and Braithwaite (2006) have shown how forgiveness and reconciliation can be powerful forces for bullying reduction in schools by promoting adaptive shame management (high acknowledgment, low displacement).

Present study
The present study examines the relationships between organizational characteristics, shame and pride management and bullying/victimization. Organizations that fail to create a workplace that is respectful of employees and that has clear and transparent procedures for decision making are hypothesized as creating an environment in which bullying is likely to be tolerated. Moreover, in such an environment, individuals are unlikely to feel safe enough to face their failures and be generous in sharing their successes. Such an organization risks having a workforce that manages both shame and pride in a socially damaging way – that is, low shame acknowledgment, high shame displacement, high narcissistic pride and low humble pride. Low shame acknowledgment, high shame displacement, high narcissistic pride and low humble pride are expected to be associated with bullying behaviours.

Expectations for how these variables are related for targets of bullying are less clear. It is likely that not all targets are selected for their "victim" qualities (Dawn, Cowie & Ananiadou 2003), so there may be considerable variability in the shame and pride management capacities of those who are bullied. Evidence suggests that victims show greater acknowledgment of shame when they are asked to put themselves in the shoes of the bully. The likelihood that they will displace shame, express narcissistic pride or humble pride is difficult to predict. On the one hand, it seems plausible that humble pride and a refusal to displace shame might leave some people open to being taken advantage of by bullies. On the other hand, victims of bullying with low self-esteem and high negative affectivity may be prone to narcissistic pride and shame displacement to compensate for feelings of inadequacy (Baumeister 2001), aggravating those who are prone to bully in response.

The third set of factors included in the data analyses are control variables, such as gender and age and structural characteristics that reflect the hierarchical nature of the work environment and its background culture (income, job status and government/semi-government/private sector).

METHOD

Participants and procedure
A total of 1500 full-time employees residing in the large metropolis of Dhaka, Bangladesh, were distributed a survey questionnaire on organizational culture in 2002. After a month following three reminders, 824 completed responses were obtained with an overall response rate of 55%.

The average age of the respondents was 34.4 years, with the majority being male (63%) reflecting the disproportionate representation of men in the formal organizational economy of Bangladesh. As is common in surveys, university-educated people were highly over-represented in the sample (68%) compared to the general population.

In terms of specific sectors, the survey sample is broadly representative of the formal Dhaka economy (24% from the government sector[1], 20% the semi-government sector[2], and 56% the private sector[3]). Thirty-five percent of the respondents were classified as belonging to lower socio-economic status occupations (e.g., garment employees, clerical employees), 33% to middle socio-economic status occupations (e.g., school teachers, public servants who do not hold supervisory roles, support staff), and 32% to higher socio-economic status occupations (e.g., employees who hold supervisory and professional positions). The average organizational tenure of respondents was 5.5 years. The average monthly salary of the respondents was 19,576 taka (USD 285) ranging from 400 taka (USD 6) to 280,000 taka (USD 4,071). Such a wide range in income reflects the social and economic inequality in Bangladesh.

Measures

Control variables
Previous studies of workplace bullying point to gender, age, personal income, type of organization, and job status as relevant background characteristics (for a review, see Rayner & Hoel 1997). Respondents' *gender* was scored 1 for males and 2 for females. Their *age* was measured in years, and *personal income* was measured in taka per month. Both these variables were used as continuous variables.

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[1] This comprises departments and agencies fully controlled by the Bangladesh Government, for example, National Board of Revenue, Bangladesh Bank, Bangladesh Post Office, Power Development Board.

[2] Operated by a Board of Directors appointed by the Bangladesh Government and in receipt of funding from the government. Conditions of employment are decided by the employer, not the government. Examples include the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and Rural Electrification Board.

[3] Non-government entity where conditions of employment may be influenced by local laws; but where the entity involves foreign investment, the standards of the foreign entity may prevail. Examples include Grameen Cybernet, Southeast Bank Limited, Bangladesh Centre for Advanced Studies, and most garment industries.

Job status was represented by classifying respondents into five categories: high (5), high-medium (4), medium (3), medium-low (2) and low (1) in response to the question: "What kind of work do you do?" The mean of this variable, which was treated as a quasi-interval variable, was 1.98, standard deviation .82.

The *type of organization* was self-selected from the categories: (a) government sector, (b) semi-government sector and (c) private sector. Semi-government and private sector employees had similar profiles which differed from that of government employees. For purposes of analysis, the data were collapsed into government sector employees versus other. 24% fell into the government sector category.

Workplace bullying

Quine's (1999) 20 item workplace bullying measure was used covering the five categories of bullying identified by Rayner and Hoel (1997): threat to professional status (e.g., belittling opinion); threat to personal standing (e.g., insults); isolation (e.g., withholding information); overwork (e.g., undue pressure to produce work); and destabilization (e.g., shifting of goalposts). Participants used a 1-5 rating scale (never, on occasion, sometimes, mostly, and almost always) to indicate the extent to which they had treated others in any of these ways in the past year.

Alpha reliability coefficients for four of the subscales were high: .93 for "threat to professional status"[4] ($M = 1.91$; $SD = 1.20$); .78 for "threat to personal standing" ($M = 1.82$; $SD = .91$); .94 for "isolation" ($M = 1.77$; $SD = 1.24$); and .79 for "destabilization" ($M = 1.73$; $SD = 1.11$). The exception was the "overwork" subscale with an unacceptable alpha coefficient of .26 ($M = 2.25$; $SD = 1.13$). The "overwork" subscale was therefore dropped from the study.

Given that the remaining subscales were strongly positively and significantly correlated (r coefficients ranged from .47 to .81), and given that there were no hypotheses specific to any one bullying form, an aggregated measure of workplace bullying was formed by taking the average of the subscale scores. A higher score indicates continuing involvement in *bullying* over the past year ($M = 1.81$; $SD = .94$).

Workplace victimization

To assess workplace victimization, participants were asked about being the target of bullying in the workplace. Quine's (1999) measure was again used, but this time participants indicated how often others in the workplace treated them in these ways in the past year.

As was the case previously, the subscale representing "overwork" had an unacceptably low reliability of .44 ($M = 2.74$; $SD = 1.39$). The remaining four subscales had satisfactory alpha reliability coefficients: .92 for "threat to professional status" (M = 2.65; $SD = 1.43$); .96 for "threat to personal standing" ($M = 2.40$; $SD = 1.39$); .95 for "isolation" ($M = 2.70$; $SD = 1.45$); and .95 for "destabilization" ($M = 2.38$; $SD = 1.50$). The remaining four subscales were positively and significantly

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[4]   One item (intimidatory use of discipline or competence procedures) was dropped to increase the alpha reliability of the scale from .82 to .93.

correlated (r coefficients ranged from .70 to .90), and therefore, subscale scores were averaged to produce an aggregated measure of workplace *victimization*. A higher score indicates continuing experiences of being the target of bullying over the past year ($M = 2.53$; $SD = 1.35$).

The scales measuring regularity of bullying others and regularity of being the victim of bullying were independent ($r = -.03$).

Workplace practices

Six items were selected from a list of workplace practices compiled through a review of the organizational justice literature (e.g., Brockner, Heuer, Siegel, Wiesenfeld, Martin, Grover, Reed & Bjorgvinsson 1998; Colquitt 2001; Greenberger 1993; Siegrist 1996). The 6 items formed two scales; the first measuring the degree to which the workplace treated employees with respect and the second, the degree to which the workplace failed to follow formal and transparent procedures. Respectful treatment and non-transparent procedures were workplace characteristics that were expected to affect bullying as well as individuals' shame and pride management strategies.

The items in the *respect for others* scale were: (a) In this organization, employees are given explanations when a decision is made; (b) In this organization, employees are treated with respect; (c) In this organization, employees' concerns are listened to; and (d) In this organization, sincere efforts are made to understand feelings of employees. The items in the *arbitrary and non-transparent procedures* scale were: (a) In this organization, policies and procedures are not justified; and (b) In this organization, decisions are not made following standards. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they experienced respectful treatment and arbitrary and non-transparent procedures in their workplace using a 1-5 rating scale (never, on occasion, sometimes, mostly, and almost always). A higher score on the respectful treatment scale indicates employees' perceptions that their workplace treats employees with respect ($M = 3.19$; $SD = .98$). A higher score on arbitrary and non-transparent procedures indicates that employees are unaware of transparent, standard procedures for decision-making ($M = 2.41$; $SD = 1.07$).

The correlation between the scales, *respect for others* and *arbitrary and non-transparent procedures* was .05. This was surprising since respectful treatment and standardized procedures are both part of what is known as procedural justice in western psychology (Tyler 1990). For purposes of construct validation, these scales were correlated with two other measures included in the survey, one of commitment to the workplace, the other of job satisfaction.[5] Those who believed the workplace offered respectful treatment to others were neither more nor less committed to the workplace than anyone else and had slightly lower scores on job satisfaction ($r = -.02$, NS; $r = -.16$, $p < .001$ respectively). Those who were concerned about arbitrary and

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[5]   The items in the workplace commitment scale were: (a) I am proud to belong to this organization; (b) It was a great mistake to accept the offer of a job here (reverse); (c) There is no point being in this organization – it has no future direction (reverse); (d) My decisions are not valued at this workplace (reverse) (alpha reliability coefficient = .74). The items in the job satisfaction scale were: (a) This organization supports a balance between work and personal life; (b) My skills are valued at this organization; (c) I have the resources I need to do my job effectively; (d) My salary is competitive with similar jobs I might find somewhere else; (e) I have adequate opportunity for professional development and promotion in this organization (alpha reliability coefficient = .80).

non-transparent procedures had low work commitment and low job satisfaction ($r = -.61$, $p < .001$; $r = -.57$, $p < .001$ respectively).

Shame management

Shame management was measured through the Management Of Shame State – Shame Acknowledgment and Shame Displacement (MOSS-SASD). Originally, the MOSS-SASD was developed in the context of school bullying. Since then, the instrument has proved to be psychometrically valid and reliable (for details on psychometric properties of the MOSS-SASD, see Ahmed 2001), and provided the foundation for further research on rule violation.[6]

While adapting the MOSS-SASD to the workplace bullying context, the wording of some of the items measuring Shame Acknowledgment and Shame Displacement was modified to suit adult respondents and the workplace context. In addition, some items were taken from Harris (2001) to extend the measure of Shame Acknowledgment. To obtain a comparable Bengali translation of the MOSS-SASD, the items which have previously been used in our studies were translated and back-translated by a bilingual scholar who was native to the region of Bangladesh where the study was conducted. The translations were then reviewed for accuracy and cultural appropriateness by another bilingual scholar who is also native to the region. Both these scholars had excellent English knowledge and experience with psychological terminology.

MOSS-SASD is a scenario based self-report measure. In the current study, the items were contextualized by using one of the most common incidents (threat to professional status) that occurs in the workplace. Respondents were instructed to "Suppose you voiced a 'criticism of work and undervalued the efforts' of a co-worker in front of other staff, including subordinates of the co-worker. How likely is it that you would feel the following ..." Respondents were then presented with a list of 12 shame related reactions each of which they rated from 1-5 (definitely not, unlikely, unsure, probably, definitely). The six items selected to measure shame acknowledgment and the four items for shame displacement are listed in the Appendix.

The shame acknowledgment and shame displacement scales were tested for their factorial validity using Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA). At first, two separate one-factor congeneric modelling procedures (one for shame acknowledgment, the other for shame displacement) were conducted using the AMOS (Analysis of Moment Structures) 4.0 program (Arbuckle & Wothke 1999) with a maximum likelihood estimation procedure. The six shame acknowledgment items and the four shame displacement items that fitted these models were retained for the next step in which 10 items were included in a confirmatory factor analysis to test for two distinct concepts representing shame acknowledgment and shame displacement. Consistent with the earlier findings, the CFA suggested two conceptually meaningful factors in the final model of shame management.

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[6]   See Ahmed and Braithwaite (2004a) and Morrison (2006) for support for the relationships between shame management and school bullying; see Braithwaite, Ahmed, Morrison and Reinhart (2003) for support of the longitudinal relationships; see Ahmed and Braithwaite (2006) and Ttofi and Farrington (2008) for a replication in a different cultural context; see Ahmed and Braithwaite (2004b, 2005) for a replication in the context of tax evasion.

Items loading on the first factor represented owning shame/guilt, whereby an individual acknowledges wrongdoing and seeks to put matters right (sample item: "concerned to put matters right and put it behind you"). These items were averaged to produce the *shame acknowledgment* scale where a high score indicates greater shame acknowledgment (M = 2.28; SD = .83). The items loading on the second factor represented disowning shame/guilt by displacing it and blaming others (sample item: "placing the blame somewhere else for what you said"). These items were averaged to produce the *shame displacement* scale where a high score indicates greater shame displacement (M = 2.29; SD = 1.13).

The goodness of fit statistics for the 10 item model were satisfactory. The chi-square of 75.65 (df = 12; p < .001) was significant unfortunately; but other indices were strongly supportive of the model (the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) = .98; the Goodness-of-Fit Index (GFI) = .98; the Incremental Fit Index (IFI) = .98; the Tucker–Lewis Fit Index (TLI) = .93; and Steiger's (1989) Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) = .08). Hu and Bentler (1999) suggest that if the CFI of a model is greater than .96 and the RMSEA is less than .10, the data adequately fit the model. It appears, then, that the current data empirically support the validity of the two-factor structure of the Bengali version of the MOSS-SASD.

Pride management

Like shame management, pride management was assessed through a scenario based self-report measure—the Management Of Pride State (MOPS). The MOPS was developed following a thorough review of the relevant literature (e.g., Cherney http://www.teambuildinginc.com/article_ai.htm; Fischer, Manstead & Rodriguez Mosquera 1999; Raskin & Terry 1988; Webb 2003). The 22 items reflecting narcissistic and humble pride were contextualized by using one of the most common incidents that occurs in the workplace. Respondents were asked to imagine that they had been successful in achieving an important task: "Suppose that you were required (asked) to solve an old and difficult problem at your workplace. You solved it successfully. How likely is it that you would feel the following ..." Respondents were then presented with 22 pride related reactions. Participants responded to each on a 1-5 rating scale (definitely not, unlikely, unsure, probably, definitely). The 9 items used to measure narcissistic pride and the 7 items for humble pride are listed in the Appendix.

The strategy for testing for factorial validity of the pride management scales followed that used for shame management. First, two separate one-factor congeneric models were tested to identify the best measures of narcissistic pride and humble pride. Subsequently, confirmatory factor analysis was used to test whether this set of 16 items adequately represented two conceptually meaningful factors, one capturing narcissistic pride or hubris without humility, and the other capturing humble pride or satisfaction with an achievement without having a sense of superiority over co-workers. Based on the final model, 9 items (sample item: "feel superior over your co-workers") were averaged to construct the *narcissistic pride* scale (M = 2.32; SD = 1.12), and 7 items (sample item: "respect the contribution of others to solving the problem") were averaged to construct the *humble pride* scale (M = 3.05; SD = 1.02).

The goodness of fit statistics for the two-factor model were satisfactory. Although the chi-square was significant (chi square = 192.40 (df = 55, p < .001), the additional

indices revealed that the final structural model was an excellent fit to the data (CFI = .98, GFI = .97, IFI = .98, TLI = .96, and RMSEA = .05).

RESULTS
The results are reported in three parts. First the control variables are correlated with workplace bullying and victimization. Second, the correlations are reported between work practices, shame management, pride management and bullying. Third, path models are constructed to test whether the shame and pride management variables mediate the relationship between work practices and bullying/victimization.

Correlating the control variables with workplace bullying and victimization
Perpetrators of bullying were more likely to be men ($r = -.19$, $p < .001$), to be older ($r = .11$, $p < .01$), to have relatively higher incomes ($r = .20$, $p < .001$), high status jobs ($r = .18$, $p < .001$), and to be working in the private or semi-government sectors ($r = -.16$, $p < .001$). Those who were the targets of bullying were also more likely to be men ($r = -.11$, $p < .01$), to be younger ($r = -.25$, $p < .001$), to have lower incomes ($r = -.46$, $p < .001$), low/middle status jobs ($r = -.29$, $p < .001$), and to be working in the government sector ($r = .07$, $p < .05$). Of these control variables, income and age were highly correlated ($r = .53$, $p < .001$) as were income and job status ($r = .69$, $p < .001$).

The result of more bullying occurring in the private sector and more victimization in the government sector is a paradox. Comparisons of the three groups – private, government and semi-government sectors using an analysis of variance confirmed that bullying was significantly highest in the private sector followed by the semi-government sector. The analysis of variance for victimization did not show a significant different between the groups. Nevertheless, one expects to find most victims where there are most bullies. Possibly bullying is more accepted as normal behaviour in the private sector, with greater preparedness for admitting to engaging in bullying behaviour as well as greater resilience against interpreting such behaviour is victimizing.

Correlating work practices, shame management and pride management with workplace bullying and victimization
Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were used to find out if workplace bullying and victimization were linked with perceived work practices, shame management and pride management.

In terms of perceived work practices, those who bullied co-workers were less likely to perceive that their organization treated employees with respect ($r = -.48$, $p < .001$), but were more likely to have a positive view of the level of procedural transparency at work ($r = -.19$, $p < .001$).

In terms of shame management, those who bullied others displayed low acknowledgment, that is, refused to accept that they were doing harm through bullying ($r = -.22$, $p < .001$) and high displacement, that is, showed anger or directed blame to others ($r = .67$, $p < .001$). Narcissistic pride was positively related to bullying ($r = .62$, $p < .001$) meaning that pride that was vaunting and associated with a feeling of dominance over others was correlated with higher levels of workplace bullying. Humble pride was strongly and negatively related to bullying ($r = -.47$, $p < .001$), suggesting that employees who took pride in their achievements with humility

and a sense of respect for the capabilities of others were less likely to engage in bullying.

These findings show that in organizations where respectful treatment of employees is not a priority, workplace bullying is likely to occur. Furthermore, individuals who do not manage shame or pride well (that is, they displace shame and express narcissistic pride and are unable to acknowledge shame and experience humble pride) are more likely to be engaged in bullying. Interestingly, those who bully others are not aware of deficits in procedural transparency in their organization. This may be explained by the earlier finding that those who bully earn high incomes and hold senior positions in their organizations; from a privileged position, they believe their procedures are standardized and clear.

When attention is turned to those who were the targets of bullying, only one work practice variable was significant, arbitrary and non-transparent procedures. Victims of bullying were critical of their workplace for its arbitrariness and lack of transparency in decision-making ($r = .37$, $p < .001$). When victimization was related to shame management, it was found that targets of bullying scored more highly on both acknowledgment ($r = .45$, $p < .001$) and displacement ($r = .14$, $p < .001$). They were also slightly more likely to display narcissistic pride ($r = .08$, $p < .05$) as well as humble pride ($r = .11$, $p < .01$). Taken together, these findings suggest that victims of bullying try all sorts of things to protect their ethical identity from those who bully, and do so in an environment that they perceive as being deficient in proper procedures. Earlier we saw that victims of bullying were younger, low income-earners, with low/middle status jobs, and were more likely to come from the government sector.

The above analyses have established links between work practices, shame and pride management and bullying/victimization, but they have not answered the question of whether work practices are influential in shaping bullying/victimization because of their effect on the individual's shame management and pride management strategies. At the bivariate level, work practices of showing respect were positively related to shame acknowledgment ($r = .17$, $p < .001$) and humble pride ($r = .47$, $p < .001$), and negatively to shame displacement ($r = -.61$, $p < .001$) and narcissistic pride ($r = -.67$, $p < .001$). Perceptions of arbitrary and non-transparent procedures were positively related to shame acknowledgment ($r = .32$, $p < .001$) and humble pride ($r = .31$, $p < .001$), and negatively to shame displacement ($r = -.17$, $p < .001$) and narcissistic pride ($r = -.12$, $p < .001$). The pattern of correlations for perceiving non-transparent processes was the same as the pattern of correlations for perceiving a respectful work environment. These findings require further investigation.

The mediation hypotheses that shame and pride management would explain how work practices relate to bullying and victimization were tested using path analysis. For these analyses, only two control variables were used, gender and income (income correlated very highly with job status and age; therefore job status and age were not included). Both gender and income were considered important in this context, not only because of their relatively strong relationships with bullying and victimization, but also because they were expected to be related to an individual's perception of work practices, and their shame and pride management strategies.

Path analysis to predict workplace bullying

Figure 1 shows the diagrammatic representation of the results of the path analysis for the bullying model, using AMOS version 7.0 (Arbuckle 2006) with maximum likelihood estimation. Of note is the absence of humble pride in this diagram. While work practices were related to humble pride, humble pride was not significantly related to bullying. In other words, humble pride neither had a mediating role nor a direct link to bullying when the other shame and pride management variables were taken into account. Humble pride was therefore dropped from the final mediation model. Gender was also omitted because while it had a significant standardized regression weight, it did not contribute notably to the overall explanatory value of the model.

Figure 1: Path model with standardized regression coefficients for income, work practices, and shame and pride management in the prediction of bullying
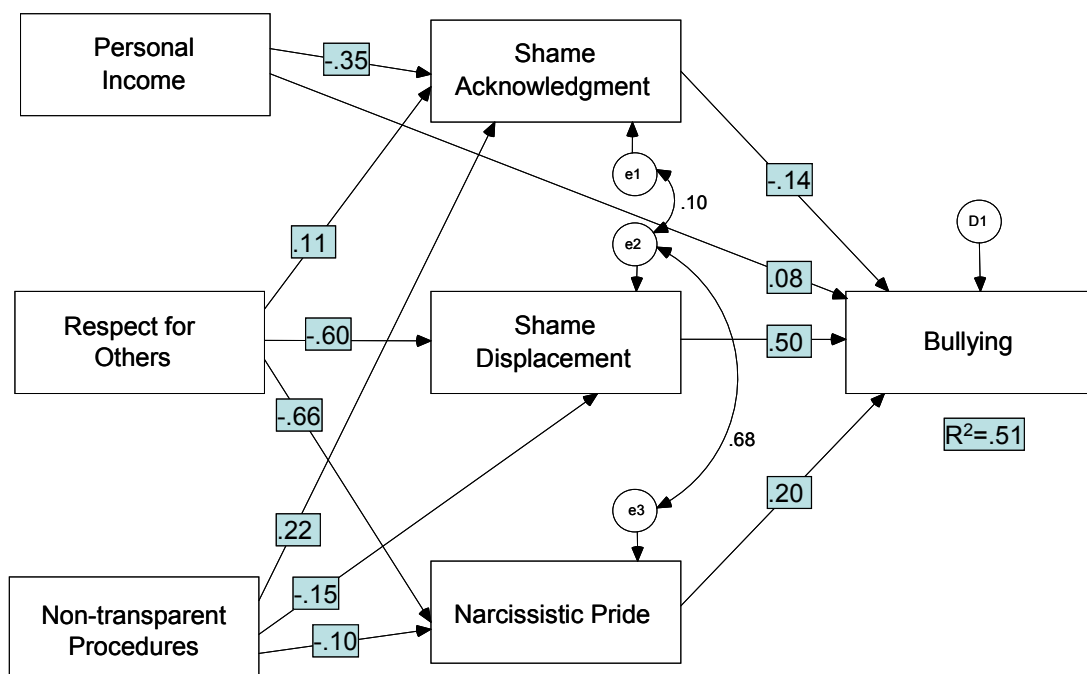
Table 1:   Goodness of fit indices for the path model predicting bullying from organizational, shame and pride management variables

	Indices
Chi-square (*df* 5, *p*<.354)	5.532
GFI (Goodness of Fit Index)	.998
AGFI (Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index)	.989
RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error of Approximation)	.012

The paths of the model and their standardized regression weights appear in Figure 1 with goodness of fit statistics for the model given in Table 1.

Personal income had a significant direct path to bullying; the higher the income, the greater the engagement in bullying activity. Personal income was also part of a pathway to bullying via shame acknowledgment. Those with high personal income were less likely to acknowledge shame in a hypothetical bullying scenario, and this, in turn, was associated with increased bullying.

Perceptions of work practices that show respect toward others were associated with high shame acknowledgment, low shame displacement and low narcissistic pride. High acknowledgment, low displacement and low narcissistic pride were predictive of less bullying. Shame acknowledgment, shame displacement and narcissistic pride fully mediated the relationship between work practices of showing respect to others and bullying.

Where workplace procedures were perceived to be arbitrary and non-transparent, shame acknowledgment in a hypothetical bullying scenario was high and shame displacement was low as was narcissistic pride. In turn, bullying was low. The early part of this pathway is counterintuitive in that the safe space created by more transparent procedures should make shame acknowledgment easier not less likely. Moreover, non-transparent procedures are usually associated with laissez-faire management and more bullying.

In interpreting this finding, it is useful to remember that individuals bring to the workplace their own values and standards that they are required to "mesh" with workplace standards and values. Those who observed arbitrary and non-transparent decision-making showed low commitment to their work and low job satisfaction. Possibly they are the voice of defiance in the organization and are resisting the pattern of bullying associated with those more senior in high paying, supervisory roles. It would make sense that such individuals would resist emulating the shame and pride management approaches of their bullying supervisors, expressing disapproval of bullying through high shame acknowledgment and low displacement, and through the avoidance of narcissistic pride. This shame and pride management pattern insulates those who are disgruntled about procedures from being perpetrators of bullying – depending on the organizational context, they are more likely to be victims of bosses who want to pull them into line.

The final model provided an excellent fit to the empirical data as evidenced by the goodness-of-fit indices in Table 1. The model explained 51% of the variance in workplace bullying.

Path analysis to predict workplace victimization
In the victimization model (Figure 2), neither humble pride nor narcissistic pride played a mediating role. Work practices predicted both humble pride and narcissistic pride, but neither had a significant link to victimization. Consequently, both pride management variables were taken out of the final model, as was gender. The paths and standardized regression weights are interpreted below, with model statistics provided in Table 2.

Figure 2: Path model with standardized regression coefficients for income, work practices, and shame and pride management in the prediction of victimization
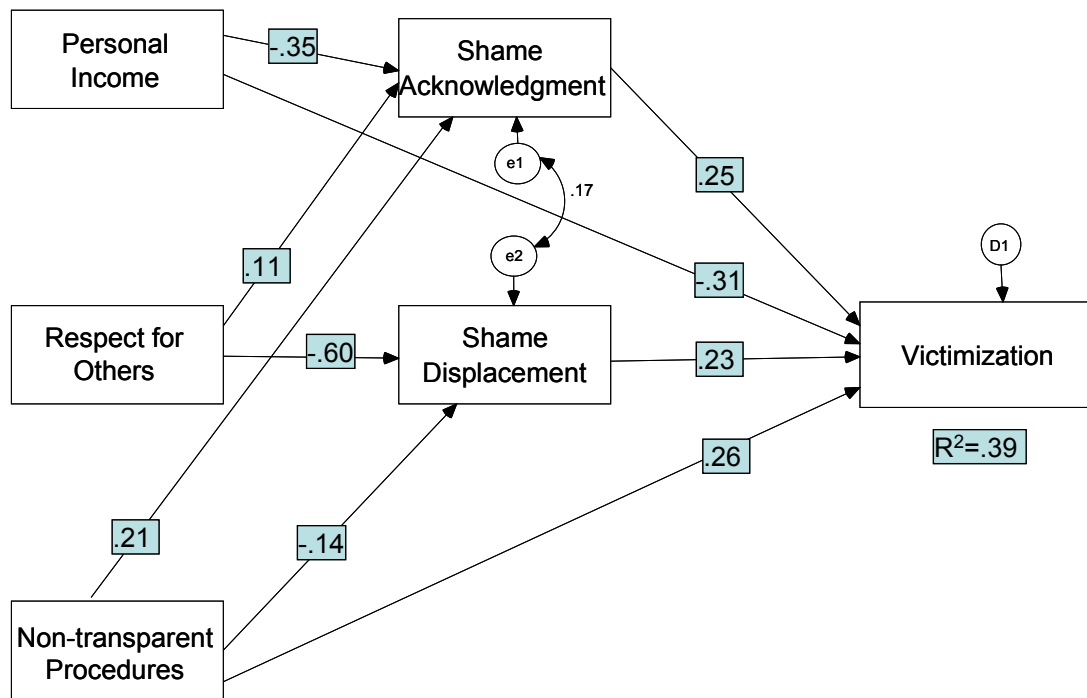
Table 2: Goodness of fit indices for the path model predicting victimization from organizational, shame and pride management

	Indices
Chi-square (*df* 2, *p*<.1112)	4.373
GFI (Goodness of Fit Index)	.998
AGFI (Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index)	.981
RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error of Approximation)	.039

Those with a high personal income were less likely to be high on shame acknowledgment; this, in turn, meant they were less likely to be subject to victimization. Personal income also had a direct link to victimization; the higher the income, the lower the victimization.

Perceiving respect for others in the workplace was positively related to shame acknowledgment. This increased prospects of victimization in the workplace. By the same token, perceiving respectful treatment of others at work decreased shame displacement, in turn, decreasing victimization.

Believing that procedures were non-transparent and arbitrary directly increased prospects of victimization. In addition, believing that procedures were non-transparent increased shame acknowledgment, which then was shown to increase

levels of victimization further. Non-transparent procedural concerns were found to lower shame displacement. Low shame displacement proved advantageous for avoiding victimization.

The victimization model reveals how social context and psychological strategies for shame management combine to reduce the chances of victimization for some through one pathway and increase it for others through other pathways. Keeping shame displacement low is likely to reduce levels of victimization. As was the case in the path model for bullying, low shame displacement in response to a bullying hypothetical scenario is associated with perceptions of respectful treatment in the workplace and also perceptions of arbitrary and non-transparent procedures, a measure we are interpreting as defiance.

In contrast, acknowledgment of shame leaves people vulnerable to victimization through two pathways. Figure 2 shows how those who believe that people are treated respectfully are more likely to acknowledge shame over a hypothetical bullying incident and fall victim to bullying. It also shows how those who believe that procedures are non-transparent and arbitrary are more likely to acknowledge shame and fall victim to bullying.

The final model of victimization generated excellent fit indices (Table 2) explaining 39% of the variance in victimization.

DISCUSSION
Recent developments in our understanding of workplace bullying have embraced the importance of considering the ways in which organizational context and psycho-social factors work together to fuel bullying. Analysing data from 824 Bangladeshi employees provides insights into the ways in which characteristics and perceptions of the workplace shape how individuals manage their shame and pride and "normalise," at least in their own minds, practices of bullying others. Both the social environment of the organization and the psychology of the individual are important in understanding bullying and victimization.

As personal income (highly correlated with supervisory status) increased, shame acknowledgment over a bullying scenario decreased, that is, those with high status were less likely to see anything wrong with bullying others. Having high status and seeing nothing wrong with bullying was a precursor of acting in a bullying way to others, while not being a victim. To the extent that senior managers can be regarded as role models of up and coming younger employees, it seems reasonable to conclude that bullying has a normalcy about it in this sample as people climb the occupational ladder.

While the income differential provided evidence of how structural factors contribute to bullying cultures, there was at the same time evidence of how work culture could lessen the likelihood of bullying. Where individuals saw their workplace as engaging in respectful treatment of others, their shame and pride management styles reflected their active participation in a culture of respect. Managing shame in a way that is respectful of one's social group means engagement in shame acknowledgment and humble pride, and rejection of shame displacement and narcissistic pride. The findings supported these predictions from shame management theory. The challenge, however, comes with the finding that while this is a path that reduces prospects of

being a bully, it is also a path that leads to victimization. It is not a surprising finding. Acknowledging shame over bullying means one is disapproving of the act of bullying. Those who bully are unlikely to respond warmly to the disapproval; and the risks of victimization are likely to increase in bullying tolerant environments.

The idea that senior management can engage in bullying while workplaces predominantly operate with respect provides a useful backdrop for making sense of the unanticipated finding in this research, that high shame acknowledgment, low shame displacement and low narcissistic pride were associated with perceptions that the workplace used procedures that were arbitrary and non-transparent. We would have expected workplaces where formal processes were in place to be more conducive to high shame acknowledgment, low shame displacement and low narcissism. This may not be the case, however, if senior staff with supervisory responsibilities are "estranged" or seen as not trustworthy by more junior employees.

Correlations revealed that high status employees were more satisfied with their jobs ($r = .36$, $p < .001$), more committed to the organization ($r = .32$, $p < .001$), more rejecting of the idea that procedures were arbitrary and non-transparent ($r = -.24$, $p < .001$), were more likely to bully others ($r = .21$, $p < .001$), and were less likely to be victims ($r = -.29$, $p < .001$). Those in positions of power, therefore, are unlikely to institutionalise procedures that outlaw bullying; and any procedures they do institutionalise may be less concerned with looking after the welfare of employees and more concerned with furthering the interests of management. If this is so, the pathways to bullying and victimization that start with a perception of lack of procedure may be the voice of defiance among employees who oppose bullying and think management should do something formally to prevent it. Perceptions of non-transparent procedures, job dissatisfaction and low organizational commitment form a base for hypothesizing a sub-culture of defiance. It is likely that such a sub-culture would consider bullying wrong openly (acknowledge shame) and be victimized for it. Equally likely is the hypothesis that victims of bullying will be disgruntled about lack of formal procedures and be disenchanted with their job and the organization. Further work is needed to explore the direction of the pathways from grievance about procedures to defending non-bullying shame and pride management practice to being a victim of bullying. Possibly grievance makes individuals targets for victimization and victimization increases resentments over lack of formal procedures. There may be a cyclical relationship among these variables that places individuals increasingly at odds with senior management.

A further finding that warrants discussion involves pride management. Humble pride and narcissistic pride were associated with bullying and victimization at the bivariate level. In the case of bullying, those who bullied were more prone to narcissistic pride and less to humble pride; quite compatible with displacing shame and not acknowledging it. In the case of victimization, those who were targets of bullying displayed both humble and narcissistic pride, just as they both displaced and acknowledged shame. The question of why the pride variables did not have a role to play in the multivariate path model is one that needs further investigation. Possibly the answer lies in the specificity of the connection between the emotion management scenario and the behavioural outcome: Shame over bullying may best predict bullying activity, while vaunting pride over an accomplishment may best predict claiming undue credit for an accomplishment.

While this is one area that requires further work, there are also others. The major limitation of the study is that the survey data were collected at one point in time, creating inherent dangers for theory testing that assumes causal directions. The present study should be regarded as one small step in assembling an evidence-based explanatory model of workplace bullying. The assumption was made in this research, on theoretical grounds, that perceptions of work practices would lead to shame and pride management responses that would, in turn, affect the likelihood of engaging in bullying or being the target of bullying. Longitudinal data are now required to test this hypothesis more rigorously. Other limitations of the study are associated with our decision to use the whole sample with all of its inherent heterogeneity. While supplementary analyses assured us that the model presented here is robust across sectors, there are questions comparing the processes in government versus private sector organizations that are worthy of further investigation.

Associated with this line of research for the future is gaining a more fine-grained appreciation of structural factors associated with different organizations and how these factors influence perceptions of the workplace and shame management strategies. There may also be a concern among readers that the data used in this study all came from the same source – individual employees. Future research could seek to supplement self-reports with secondary data sources, particularly in relation to the incidence of bullying and victimization.

This study has opened up the possibility of using shame and pride management theory to better understand workplace bullying and victimization. Shame and pride management are important interpretive processes for reconciling a personal ethical identity with a workplace identity that may be positively or negatively valued by management. What this study tells us is that it matters what organizations choose to reward and how they communicate their rationale for doing so. It also matters what senior management does because this is likely to set standards that others notice. But workplace management practices and tools are likely to meet with some unexpected and counterproductive consequences if the moral emotions of individuals are not taken into account. Individuals have their own views about how and when they express pride and shame acquired in the broader culture. Pressures may be felt to change expectations for how individuals should relate to each other, particularly pressures to embrace more competitive styles of interaction, but while cultures of mutual respect prevail, the moral emotions are unlikely to be abandoned or forgotten in the workplace.

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APPENDIX

MOSS-SASD scenario and items used to measure shame acknowledgment and shame displacement

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Scenario

Suppose you just had voiced a criticism of work and undervalued the efforts of a co-worker in front of other staff, including subordinates of the co-worker. How likely is it that you would feel the following ...

Shame acknowledgment

1. ashamed of yourself

2. you had let down your co-workers

3. regretting what you have said

4. concerned to put matters right and put it behind you

5. you have harmed your professional reputation

6. feel hesitant to come at the office

Shame displacement

1. angry with your co-workers

2. unable to decide, in your mind, whether or not you had done the wrong thing;

3. placing the blame somewhere else for what you said

4. you wanted to get even with someone else

MOPS scenario and items used to measure narcissistic pride and humble pride

Scenario

Suppose that you were required (asked) to solve an old and difficult problem at your workplace. You solved it successfully. How likely is it that you would feel the following ...

Narcissistic pride

1.   good about yourself

2.   superior over your co-workers

3.   dominant over your co-workers

4.   admiration from your co-workers

5.   you are a very talented person

6.   an increased sense of self-confidence

7.   you had authority over your co-workers

8.   putting down your co-workers

9.   Putting your needs over your co-workers' needs

Humble pride

1.   show humility in all respects

2.   respect the contribution of others to solving the problem

3.   your co-workers could have solved the problem as well

4.   proud of yourself without being arrogant

5.   respect all co-workers irrespective of their status

6.   considerate to your co-workers' comments on this solution

7.   a sense of achievement without being arrogant