INTRODUCTION: A CATALYST FOR ACTION

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The face of workplace violence continues to change in our troubled world, with a range of aggressive acts inflicted on workers by diverse perpetrators. While a uniform definition of what constitutes workplace violence remains elusive, most commentators include homicide, assault, threats, mobbing and bullying on the job as forms of violence at work. Even the definition of a "workplace" is elusive as an increasing number of people earn their living in mobile sites and home-based offices, and via telework. While homicide on the job has historically been identified as the most severe form of workplace aggression, this perception is shifting as in the opening decade of the twenty-first century workers across the globe have been exposed to an increasing risk of becoming the victims of acts of terror. Brutal and often random terrorist attacks have cut a swathe of death and destruction in many countries in both the developed and developing world, including in workplaces. This book examines all forms of workplace violence, beginning with terrorism (box 1).

Terrorism in the workplace

Box 1	Tuesday 11 September 2001 ¹
7:58 a.m.	United Airlines flight 175 to Los Angeles departs Boston, Massachusetts, with 56 passengers and nine crew on board.
7:59 a.m.	American Airlines flight 11 to Los Angeles leaves Logan Airport in Boston, with 81 passengers and 11 crew on board.
8:01 a.m.	United Airlines flight 93 to San Francisco takes off from Newark airport in New Jersey with 38 passengers and seven crew on board.
8:10 a.m.	American Airlines flight 77 to Los Angeles departs Washington DC's Dulles Airport with 58 passengers and six crew on board.

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8:51 a.m.	Plane crashes into north World Trade Center tower.		
9:06 a.m.	Second plane crashes into south World Trade Center tower.		
9:25 a.m.	New York Stock Exchange delays trading. US Federal Aviation Administration orders all planes grounded.		
9:27 a.m.	New York City airports closed.		
9:30 a.m.	President George W. Bush calls crashes "apparent terrorism attack" in television comments from Florida.		
9:41 a.m.	Plane crashes into the Pentagon in Arlington County, Virginia.		
9:44 a.m.	White House, Pentagon evacuated.		
9:48 a.m.	US Capitol evacuated.		
10:00 a.m.	South World Trade Center tower collapses.		
10:28 a.m.	North World Trade Center tower collapses.		
10:40 a.m.	United Airlines flight 93 crashes southeast of Pittsburgh.		
10:56 a.m.	Securities and Exchange Commission closes all US markets for the day.		
11:25 a.m.	American Airlines confirms flights 11 and 77 were lost.		
11:54 a.m.	United Airlines confirms two separate crashes of flights 93, 175.		
Noon 12:00	US-Mexican border sealed.		
1:04 p.m.	Bush, speaking from Barksdale Air Force Base in Louisiana, says that all appropriate security measures are being taken, including putting the US military on high alert worldwide. He asks for prayers for those killed or wounded in the attacks.		
1:44 p.m.	The Pentagon says five warships and two aircraft carriers will leave the US Naval Station in Norfolk, Virginia, to protect the East Coast from further attack.		
1:48 p.m.	Bush leaves Barksdale Air Force Base aboard Air Force One and flies to an Air Force base in Nebraska.		
2:30 p.m.	The FAA announces there will be no US commercial air traffic until noon Wednesday at the earliest.		
3:55 p.m.	Karen Hughes, a White House counsellor, says the President is at an undisclosed location, later revealed to be Offutt Air Force Base in Nebraska, and is conducting a National Security Council meeting by phone.		

4:30 p.m.	The President leaves Offutt aboard Air Force One to return to Washington, DC.		
5:20 p.m.	The 47-story Building 7 of the World Trade Center complex collapses.		
6:00 p.m.	Explosions are heard in Kabul, Afghanistan, hours after the terrorist attacks in the United States. Afghanistan is believed to be where Osama bin Laden, whom US officials say is possibly behind Tuesday's deadly attacks, is located.		
6:54 p.m.	Bush arrives back at the White House aboard Marine One. The President earlier landed at Andrews Air Force Base in Maryland with a three-fighter jet escort.		
8:30 p.m.	Bush addresses the nation, saying "thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil" and asks for prayers for the families and friends of Tuesday's victims.		
Source: Adapted from Delawareonline: <i>The News Journal</i> , no date (see: http://www.delawareonline.com/newsjournal/local/2001/09/11terrortimeline400.html, accessed 27 Sep. 2005).			

According to official statistics, 2001 saw an average of 20 workplace homicides weekly in the United States (US), one of the lowest figures recorded in the last 20 years.² However, these statistics do not take account of the victims of 11 September 2001. The total dead and missing numbered 2,996: 2,752 in New York City, 184 at the Pentagon, 40 in Pennsylvania, and 19 hijackers.³ Many of the dead and missing were people at work: 319 firefighters, 50 police officers, 35 plane crew and 36 civilian employees at the Pentagon, as well as hundreds of people working for the many financial and commercial companies operating within the World Trade Center. If these figures are taken into account, 11 September appears as the most deadly act of violence at work ever, and 2001 the record year for the number of workplace homicides.

The following year in Indonesia, 202 people were killed and 309 injured on 12 October 2002, when two terrorist bombs ripped through the Sari nightclub and Paddy's Bar at Kuta Beach in Bali.⁴ Those victimized in Bali came from 22 countries; hence the victims – and the subsequent investigative team – were a broad international mix of people from industrialized and developing countries. Subsequently, on 11 March 2004, a series of bomb blasts on the commuter rail network in the Spanish capital of Madrid left 191 dead and more than 1,800 wounded.⁵ Again, the victims were an international mix, coming from 14 different countries. More recently, on 7 July 2005, 56 people were killed and 700 injured in London in a series of four bomb attacks at peak commuting time in the underground and on a bus.⁶ In each of these tragedies,

many of the casualties were workers, including transport workers, those travelling to work, and others working in the tourist trade.⁷

In some instances, terrorists have deliberately targeted specific groups of workers. In contemporary Iraq for example, members of that nation's new and fledgling police and military forces have been the victims of a rash of lethal bombings and shootings. Foreign workers, including journalists and those involved in assisting with the reconstruction of Iraq, have also been the subject of widely publicized kidnappings and murders. Horrific pictures of those captured by ruthless terrorist groups have been beamed into the living-rooms of countless millions through satellite television and the Internet. 10

It must now be acknowledged that acts of terrorism are on many occasions also acts of workplace violence. While recognizing this linkage, a conscious decision has been taken in this new edition of *Violence at work*, as was the case with the two earlier editions, to focus attention upon the less extreme forms of this phenomenon. The roots of terrorism are usually deeply entwined with socio-political struggles that require separate and continued analysis beyond the scope of this book.¹¹ Where, however, certain occupational groups appear to be at greater risk of becoming victimized by terrorists, as in the case of aid workers, law enforcement officers or journalists, consideration will be given to this vulnerability in succeeding chapters.

Workplace tragedies

While terrorism is becoming an ever-increasing occupational risk for workers around the globe, other dramatic episodes of murderous violence continue to plague the workplace. These episodes differ from terrorism where the perpetrator is in most cases an expert in delivering violence and a complete stranger to the victims, and to the environments where most workplace violence is perpetrated. In "normal" workplace violence the perpetrator frequently appears as a person whom nobody would expect to commit homicide, and who may be a stranger to the working environment where violence is perpetrated and workers victimized. While the casualty lists for these episodes of violence may be smaller than those of the terrorist attacks described above, they generate great and long-lasting distress not only among the victims but also throughout the workplace and the community involved.

A murderous attack upon a school is an example of the intrusion of this type of violence into one workplace which most would have believed to be entirely safe and secure (box 2).

The damage inflicted by one lone individual, armed with powerful modern weapons, upon the young pupils and their teachers at this Scottish

Box 2 The shootings at Dunblane Primary School on 13 March 1996

The school day had started at 9 a.m. for all primary classes. The school had 640 pupils, making it one of the largest primary schools in Scotland. On 13 March all primary 1, 2 and 3 classes had attended assembly from 9.10 a.m. to 9.30 a.m. They consisted of a total of about 250 pupils, together with their teachers and the school chaplain. They included Primary 1/13, which was a class of 28 pupils, along with their teacher Mrs. [M]. This class had already changed for their gym lesson before attending assembly. 25 members of the class were 5 years of age and three were 6 years of age. Mrs. [M] was 47 years of age.

At the conclusion of assembly all those present had dispersed to their respective classrooms, with the exception of Primary 1/13 who with Mrs. [M] had made their way to the gymnasium. [Thomas Hamilton] entered the gym. He was wearing a dark jacket, black corduroy trousers and a woolly hat with ear defenders. He had a pistol in his hand. He advanced a couple of steps into the gym and fired indiscriminately and in rapid succession ...

Mrs.[M] and 15 children lay dead in the gym and one further child was close to death. They had sustained a total of 58 gunshot wounds; 26 of these wounds were of such a nature that individually they would have proved fatal. While it is not possible to be precise as to the times at which the shootings took place, it is likely that they occurred within a period of 3-4 minutes, starting between 9.35 a.m. and 9.40 a.m.

The survivors of the incident were taken to Stirling Royal Infirmary. They consisted of the remaining 12 members of the class; two pupils aged 11 who were elsewhere than in the gym when they were injured; and [three teachers] Mrs. [H], Mrs. [B] and Mrs. [T]. Thirteen of them had sustained gunshot wounds, 4 being serious, 6 very serious and 3 minor.

Source: This edited description of the events which took place at the Dunblane Primary School in Scotland has been taken from the official inquiry into the shootings by the Hon. Lord W. Douglas Cullen. The results of the inquiry were presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for Scotland in October 1996. See Cullen, 1996—*The Public Inquiry into the Shootings at Dunblane Primary School on 13 March 1996* (hereafter the Cullen Report), Ch. 3, pp. 11–13. This excerpt is crown copyright, reproduced with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

school came as a profound shock to the British nation. The shootings prompted an official inquiry, conducted by Lord Cullen.

The Cullen Report, as it has become known, was published in October 1996. Among the recommendations made by Lord Cullen were a number relating to the possession and use of firearms, as well as measures to enhance the security and safety of British schools. The firearms recommendations led, ultimately, to a decision by the British Government to place a ban on the possession and use of handguns in the United Kingdom. In regard to the health and safety of teaching staff and pupils, the British Government also acknowledged the need to prepare a safety strategy for the protection of the school population against violence, and to provide more comprehensive guidance to the school population as a whole about hazards arising in workplaces in the education sector. In

A tragedy like that occurring at Dunblane can on occasions act as a powerful catalyst for social action and reform. The ripples of anxiety and fear about the lethal reach of violence in this primary school have also spread far beyond the borders of Scotland and the United Kingdom. France had already been deeply affected by an incident in Neuilly-sur-Seine (Paris) in 1993, when a number of schoolchildren and their teachers were held hostage for several days by an armed man.¹⁵

More recently, schools have again been the scene of some of the most tragic episodes of violence. In the United States, in particular, shootings at Thurston High School, Oregon, in May 1998 and at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado, in April 1999 shocked Americans. ¹⁶ The Thurston High School incident, in which two pupils were killed and more than 20 injured in a shooting spree by an expelled student, prompted immediate action by the then United States President Bill Clinton. The United States Departments of Education and Justice were directed to develop a guide to help school personnel, parents, community members and others to identify early indicators of troubling and potentially dangerous student behaviour. Three months after the Thurston High School shooting, they jointly published A guide to safe school – see under "Published guidelines on violence: A selection", in Chapter 6.

It is not only United States and European schools which have experienced such tragedies. In Japan an attack by a deranged man at an elementary school in June 2001 caused widespread alarm in a society known for its low rates of violent crime (box 3).

Box 3 Japan executes man who killed eight schoolchildren

On 14 September 2004 a man convicted of stabbing to death eight elementary school children in a rampage that shocked the Japanese was hanged. Mamoru Takuma, 40, was executed less than a year after his death sentence was finalized for an attack at a school in western Japan in 2001.

Takuma, an unemployed man who had previously received treatment for mental illness, pleaded guilty to the killings and to injuring 13 other children and two teachers at Ikeda elementary school near Osaka.

Seven girls and a boy were killed when he burst into a classroom and began slashing at random with a long knife. One of the dead children was aged 6 and the rest were 7-year-olds.

Takuma, who at one point told a court hearing he wanted to pay for the crime with his life, had withdrawn an appeal filed by defense lawyers.

Source: ABC Radio Australia, 14 Sep. 2002. (See also People's Daily Online: http://english.people.com.cn/, accessed 16 June 2005.)

The school shootings at Neuilly, Dunblane, Thurston and Columbine had already been preceded by a number of other highly publicized workplace homicides in the United States dating from the mid-1980s onwards. Workplace mass murders apparently started with an attack by a lone gunman on an Oklahoma Post Office in 1986, which resulted in the deaths of 14 people and the wounding of six. The gunman, Patrick Henry Sherrill, had been suspended from work at the Edmond Post Office. Following this suspension, he returned to his place of employment to engage in a killing rampage before taking his own life. The incident, one of the worst mass murders committed by a single gunman in American history, has since become synonymous with the term "going postal", used to describe workplace homicides by disgruntled workers. To Since that time a series of further murderous attacks, mainly by disgruntled employees, has taken place in the United States (box 4), and elsewhere in the world.

Box 4 Seven die in Chicago warehouse shooting

S.T. returned to the Windy City Core Supply warehouse where he had been fired six months ago and killed six of his former co-workers, police said Wednesday. Tapia, 36, was then shot and killed in the last of three gun battles with police, said acting police superintendent Phil Cline.

"It appears he went throughout the supply warehouse shooting them. They weren't all in one section, they were in different sections of the warehouse", Cline said.

Most of the victims were in an office near the front door. Police tried to enter the building but Tapia came out and fired three shots at police, Cline said. Fire was returned. One minute later, Tapia came back outside the building and shot at police again. Finally, after considering the injured victims inside, the Hostage Barricade and Terrorist team was "ordered to make an assault on the building".

Tapia was found with a Walther PP .380-caliber semiautomatic pistol and at least one extra clip of ammunition.

Tapia was fired for being "a poor employee", Cline said. He was late to work and often missed entire days. Cline said Tapia had at least a few telephone conversations with his former boss after he was fired. It's unclear whether he had returned to the job site since his termination or met with his boss in person. Tapia has been arrested 12 times, Cline said. He has an arrest record dating back to 1989, including counts of domestic battery, gun violations, aggravated assault and driving while intoxicated.

"The problem here is easy access to a firearm", Cline told reporters. "Here is someone who never should have had a gun that had a gun."

Source: CNN.com/US, Wed. 27 Aug. 2003 (see: http://www.cnn.com/2003/US/Midwest/08/27/chicago.shooting/, accessed 27 Sep. 2005). Courtesy of CNN.

Thus far examples have been provided of mass murders through terrorist attacks and homicides perpetrated by armed individuals from outside the organization and former employees. However, workplace violence events are not always fatal and, indeed, do not always result in a *physical* injury.

Violence in the everyday life of workplaces around the world

There is no doubt that a series of tragedies like those described above have helped to focus international attention on violence at work as an issue of significant concern. The question of just what does constitute violence at work remains a matter of some conjecture, and will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 2. Suffice it to note that debate continues to evolve about what is, and is not, appropriately included within definitional terms for workplace violence.

The ILO recently developed a definition that was subsequently included within its code of practice Workplace violence in services sectors and measures to combat this phenomenon (box 5).

The ILO definition shown below emphasizes the physical aspects of this type of behaviour. A somewhat broader definition, encompassing verbal abuse, threats, bullying and other forms of non-physical behaviour, is more typically adopted in many jurisdictions. In Australia, for example, the National Occupational Health and Safety Commission (NOHSC) describes such violence in the following way: "Occupational violence is the attempted or actual exercise by a person of any force so as to cause injury to a worker, including any threatening statement or behaviour which gives a worker reasonable cause to believe he or she is at risk." 18

Box 5 Definition of workplace violence

Any action, incident or behaviour that departs from reasonable conduct in which a person is assaulted, threatened, harmed, injured in the course of, or as a direct result of,¹ his or her work:

- Internal workplace violence is that which takes place between workers, including managers and supervisors.
- External workplace violence is that which takes place between workers (and managers and supervisors) and any other person present at the workplace.

Source: ILO, 2004b, p. 4.

¹ The reference to "direct result" is understood to mean that there is a clear link with work, and that the action, incident or behaviour occurred within a reasonable period afterwards.

Historically most workplaces were viewed as relatively benign and violence-free environments where dialogue and debate form a part of the normal operating milieu. Yet workers and managers are confronted on a daily basis with their personal and work-related problems, possibly including the anxieties and frustration of co-workers, organizational and production difficulties, personality clashes, diminished resources, increasing production/output demands, aggressive intruders from outside, and problematic relations with clients and the public. Despite this, dialogue usually prevails over confrontation and people manage to organize efficient and productive activities within the workplace. There are cases, however, where this course of events fails to develop in a positive way, when relationships between workers, managers, clients or the public deteriorate, and the objectives of working efficiently and achieving productive results are negatively affected. When this situation occurs, and it would seem to be occurring with increasing frequency, violence may enter the workplace and transform it into a hostile and hazardous setting.

Some brief examples can assist at this stage in illustrating the scope, dimension and type of violence associated with workplaces in various parts of the world.

Australia

In Australia, a series of empirical studies have been conducted in different industry sectors, using representative samples of working populations. During a one-to-one face-to-face interview, each respondent in each separate survey was requested to detail their experiences of workplace aggression in the previous 12-month period. In table 1, the different types of aggression at work are shown as a percentage of all interviewees in each industry sector study. The row totals sometimes exceed 100 per cent because some randomly selected interviewees had experienced more than one violent event over the 12-month period, and sometimes more than one form of aggression was used by a perpetrator; for example, both verbal abuse and assaults could occur simultaneously.

The data shown in table 1 indicate that:

- There are marked differences in patterns of occupational violence across different occupations and industry sectors.
- While verbal abuse and threats were common experiences in many jobs, the vast majority of aggressive events involved no physical attack on a worker. Assaults on the job were most commonly experienced by juvenile detention and health workers.
- Jobs that involved close face-to-face contact with clients/customers (for example, taxi drivers) appear to be at increased risk.

Table 1 Workplace violence experiences over a 12-month period by industry sector, Australia (percentage of interviewees)

Industry sector Juvenile justice (n=50)		Verbal abuse	Threats	Assault	Bullying 12	Other	Total
				17			
Tertiary education	(n=100)	50	39	1	65	25	80
Health care	(n=400)	67	33	12	10.5	11	67
Seafaring	(n=108)	19	5.5	1	_	1	27
Long-haul transport	(n=300)	33	8	1	_	21	_
Fast-food	(n=304)	48	8	1	_	2	_
Taxi	(n=100)	81	17	10	_	_	_

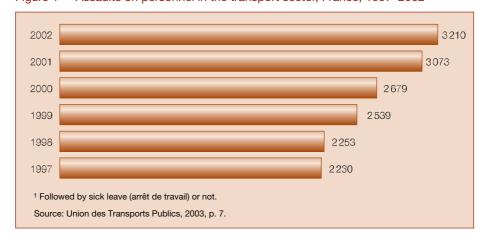
Note: Each of the studies summarized in table 1 (except tertiary education) were based on randomly selected representative samples of the working population in that industry sector. The tertiary education workers had previously taken part in an electronic survey of all staff members of a multi-campus university. The responses of those who also volunteered to take part in a face-to-face interview appear in table 1; thus they are likely to over-represent workers victimized by bullying,

Source: Mayhew, 2005b, p. 387.

France

The available evidence for different occupational groups working in the transport sector indicates that acts of violence have been on the rise, including for public transport workers and taxicab drivers. One study indicated that the total number of acts of aggression towards urban transport staff had increased from 3,051 in 2001 to 3,185 in 2002.¹⁹ The steadily increasing incidence over the longer time-period 1997–2002 can be clearly seen in figure 1.

Figure 1 Assaults on personnel in the transport sector, France, 1997–20021



Germany

A 2002 representative study on the phenomenon of mobbing (bullying) in western Germany showed that more than 800,000 workers were victims of this form of violence.²⁰ Similarly, a 2002 survey conducted across the then 15 EU Member States cited a range of forms of workplace violence during the previous 12-month period: harassment (7 per cent); physical violence (2 per cent from colleagues and 4 per cent from people external to the organization); sexual harassment (2 per cent); and intimidation and bullying (9 per cent).²¹ In other words, bullying, harassment and intimidation (forms of aggression that frequently overlap) are widespread in the EU Member States.

Japan

In Japan more and more disputes concerning violence at work are brought to the courts for conciliation or decision. The number of cases brought before court counsellors totalled 625,572 in the period from April 2002 to March 2003. Of these, 5.1 per cent, or almost 32,000, were related to harassment and bullying.²² Between April and September 2003 a total of 51,444 consultation requests were made, of which 9.6 per cent concerned bullying and harassment.²³ In other words, the number of these disputes appears to be growing over time, resulting in the Tokyo Labor Bureau setting up labour consultation centres at 21 locations in Tokyo to provide information on methods of resolving disputes and on how to contact dispute-settlement institutions. These non-physical forms of workplace violence appear to have significant negative emotional/psychological consequences (box 6).

Box 6 Bullying categorized as *rosai* (industrial injury): Employees suffer clinical depression after being denied work

According to a Kyodo News Agency report, two male individuals, aged 35 and 36, working at a health food manufacturing/sales company based in Yokohama City, applied for the categorization of having suffered *rosai*, or "industrial injury", claiming that they became clinically depressed after being intentionally given no work to do. The West Yokohama Labour Standards Inspection Office determined in August that the cases had indeed corresponded to *rosai*.

The majority of clinical depression cases which are categorized as *rosai* are caused by overwork. The lawyer who assisted these two employees' application for *rosai* approval hailed the ruling as a major breakthrough, since *rosai* has never been approved because of "not being given any work to do". The two employees were ordered to transfer to a subsidiary in April 2001, but refused to comply. The following month, they were

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transferred to the Personnel Department but given absolutely no work to do. Several months later, they were ordered to sit at a desk that was physically separated from the rest of the office by a partition and to do nothing all day long.

Both men complained of headache, nausea and other symptoms, and were diagnosed with clinical depression. In July 2001, they applied for *rosai* categorization, alleging that the depression was caused by the company's work environment that included in-house bullying. In January 2002, they demanded compensation for damage from the company and filed a lawsuit to the Yokohama District Court.

Source: Japan Labor Flash, 2003.

South Africa

In South Africa, a study was undertaken as part of an ILO/ICN/WHO/PSI consultative programme.²⁴ Workers in the health sector were found to be subject to all kinds of workplace violence. Over a 12-month period, 9 per cent of those employed in the private health sector and up to 17 per cent of those in the public sector experienced physical violence; 52 per cent in the private sector (60.1 per cent in the public sector) suffered verbal abuse; and 20.6 per cent, bullying/mobbing in the combined private and the public sectors.²⁵

The public sector appears particularly vulnerable to violence with more crime-related incidents such as robberies, criminals hiding in big hospitals, gang wars being continued in the hospitals, patients with firearms and convicted criminals attacking the staff. At the same time it also has the highest levels of overcrowding, staff shortages plus long waiting times, less resources for training and human resources development, shortage of beds and resources, budget cuts and inadequate or old equipment. It comes as no surprise, then, that almost a third of all respondents in the public sector indicated that they are "very worried" about this situation.²⁶

Spain

A recent study on mobbing in the Spanish public administration indicated that 22 per cent of officials had been subjected to this form of violence and that 9.5 per cent suffered burnout.²⁷ By contrast, a 2002 Spanish study reported a bullying prevalence ratio of 16 per cent.²⁸ Similarly, 5 per cent were subjected to "intimidation".²⁹ Nevertheless, the proportion of Spanish workers experiencing physical violence appears to have fallen from 2 per cent in 1995 to 1 per cent in 2000.³⁰ There are also a few studies that separate out victimization ratios in particular industry sectors, for example, public administration.³¹

United Kingdom

The British Crime Survey (BCS) estimated that there were 849,000 workplace violence events in England and Wales in 2002/03, comprising 431,000 physical assaults and 418,000 threats. In total, 378,000 workers had experienced at least one incident of violence at work (figure 2).³² The incidence appears to have declined markedly since the 1999/2000 survey which cited 1,288,000 workplace violence events (comprising 634,000 assaults and 654,000 threats) reported by 604,000 workers.³³

Number of victims

Number of incidents

Assaults

Threats

All violence at work

Based on adults of working age in employment.

Source: Upson, 2004, p. 5.

Figure 2 Number of victims and incidents of violence at work, 2002/03 BCS interviews (in thousands)¹

United States

Homicide is the most dramatic and serious aspect of workplace violence. In the United States, official statistics show that homicide, despite a recent decline, is still the third leading cause of occupational death overall.³⁴(These statistics are reviewed in more detail in Chapter 2.)

Data and vignettes from particular events of workplace violence occurring in different countries around the globe suggest that this issue truly transcends the boundaries of particular countries, industry sectors and occupational groups. No country, work setting or occupation can claim realistically to be entirely free of any form of workplace violence although some countries, like some workplaces and occupations, are undoubtedly at higher risk than others.

The changing profile of violence at work

The variety of behaviours which may be covered under the general rubric of violence at work is so large, the borderline with acceptable behaviours is often so vague, and the perception in different contexts and cultures of what constitutes violence is so diverse, that defining the workplace violence phenomenon is a significant challenge. In practice, violence in the workplace may include a wide range of behaviours, often continuing or overlapping, as exemplified in box 7.

The state of our knowledge about current patterns and trends in violence at work is reviewed in the following chapters. However, there does appear to be evidence that both the incidence and severity of workplace violence are

Box 7 Examples of violent behaviours at work				
_	homicide	_	bullying	
_	rape	_	mobbing	
_	robbery	_	victimizing	
_	wounding	_	intimidation	
_	battering	_	threats	
_	physical attacks	_	ostracism	
_	kicking	_	leaving offensive messages	
_	biting	_	aggressive posturing	
_	punching	_	rude gestures	
_	spitting	_	interfering with work tools and equipment	
_	scratching	_	hostile behaviour	
_	 squeezing, pinching and related actions 			
_	swearing	_	shouting	
_	stalking	_	name-calling	
_	 harassment, including sexual and racial abuse 			
_	innuendo	_	deliberate silence	

increasing in many jurisdictions. This trend may well reflect a growing community awareness and condemnation leading to increased reporting of incidents, as well as an actual rise in the total number of workplace violence events being committed in certain jurisdictions.

A similar trend has been observed in recent years in the arena of family and domestic violence, where a "hidden issue" has rapidly become a very public one, and the subject of extensive attention and action. As a result, the real magnitude of domestic violence is only now being disclosed, as is its potential to have a negative "spillover" impact on the workplace through the transfer of family conflicts to a work setting. It is also becoming clear that violence has a disproportionate impact on women, children and young people, as well as socially and economically deprived groups, both in developing and industrialized countries. The vulnerability to job loss and insecurity of a growing number of precariously employed workers seems also to be mirrored by an increase in their victimization through workplace violence.³⁵ Even in those countries and workplaces where violence still appears to be a "hidden issue", it is likely to reveal itself immediately upon closer analysis and investigation. Nevertheless, non-fatal events remain largely under-reported.

From physical to psychological

Attention has traditionally been focused on physical violence, and the typical profile of violence at work which has emerged has been largely one of isolated, major incidents of the kind referred to at the start of this chapter. In more recent years, however, new evidence has been emerging of the impact and harm caused by non-physical violence, often referred to as **psychological violence**. "Psychological" violence can include diverse aggressive tactics, all of which have the potential to cause significant emotional injury among those victimized. It is often considered to include bullying, mobbing, coercion, verbal abuse and sexual harassment. Many of these forms of workplace violence are **repeated** by the perpetrators and while one-off events may be relatively minor, the cumulative impact on the recipients results in very serious consequences³⁶ (often with a greater impact than that from physical violence), for example following repeated acts of **sexual harassment**, **bullying** or **mobbing**. Some of the different forms of psychological violence are briefly reviewed below.

Sexual harassment

Although a single incident can constitute sexual harassment, it often consists of repeated unwelcome, unreciprocated and imposed action which may have a devastating effect on the victim. Because the perpetrators in workplaces are

Box 8 Forms of sexual harassment

Physical

- deliberate and unsolicited physical contact;
- unnecessarily close physical proximity; and
- stalking, for example, repeatedly following in an insistent but often unobtrusive way.

Verbal

- repeated sexually oriented comments or gestures about a person's body, appearance or life-style;
- offensive phone calls;
- questions or insinuations about a person's private life;
- sexually explicit jokes or propositions;
- persistent invitations to social activities after a person has made it clear they are not welcome;
- unwanted compliments with sexual content;
- sexually coloured remarks, bantering or innuendo;
- name-calling;
- · playing games with a person's name; and
- reference to sexual orientation.

Gestures

- repeated sexually oriented gestures about a person's body, appearance or life-style;
- nods, winks, gestures with the hands, fingers, legs or arms, signs and other offensive behaviour which is sexually suggestive; and
- persistent leering at the person or at part of his/her body.

Written

Offensive, letters or e-mail messages.

Coercive behaviour

- overt or covert behaviour used to control, influence or affect a person's job, career or status;
- explicit/implicit promise of career advancement in exchange of sexual favours;
- explicit/implicit promise of recruitment in exchange of sexual favours;
- · threatening of dismissal if sexual favours are not granted; and
- making work difficult if sexual favours are not granted.

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Hostile environment

- showing or displaying sexually explicit graphics, cartoons, pictures, photographs or Internet images;
- offensive jokes of a sexual nature;
- display of pornographic material, graffiti, pin-ups etc;
- exposure of intimate parts of the body; and
- use of obscene language.

Source: Di Martino, 2002a.

frequently in a supervisory or more powerful work role than the recipient of sexual harassment, victims may be frightened to object or formally lodge complaints.

The following extract from European Directive 2002/73/EC provides a definition of sexual harassment: "Where any form of unwanted verbal, nonverbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature occurs, with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of a person, in particular when creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment." ³⁷

Sexual harassment can take many forms and the terms used to describe these behaviours, as well as the situations involved, may overlap, as they often do in real life (box 8).

The findings of a survey on violence at work carried out by the European Union are presented in box 9.

Box 9 Survey on violence at work in the European Union

The findings from the questionnaire suggested the following situation:

- There is a considerable difference in awareness of the issue of violence in the context of health and safety between countries.
- The legislative position, with the exception of the Netherlands, is that violence at work is generally covered by both framework type health and safety legislation and by the civil and criminal codes.
- Research into the issue of violence appears to be a relatively recent phenomenon where it occurs. Research seems to be concentrated in the more developed countries in Europe.
- The implementation of legislation was generally reported to take place, both within the general implementation of the requirements of health and safety legislation, and to some extent, using the criminal and civil codes.

/cont'd

 Significant barriers to the implementation in many countries include lack of awareness, difficulties in implementing legislation in SMEs [small and medium-sized enterprises], and limited resources for enforcement of legislation.

The overall impression from the data supplied by the respondents to the survey is that there is limited awareness of the issue of violence at work in many countries, but that legislative provisions appear to exist in general terms and are generally implemented. However, there are grounds for questioning this impression.

Firstly, a major finding from reviewing the literature is that the extent of the problem is usually underestimated. In the absence of specific and comprehensive research on the prevalence and extent of workplace violence, it is difficult to believe that the problem is being adequately dealt with.

Secondly, the existence of guidelines to deal with violence is not uniform across the EU. In their absence, it is unlikely that consistent and comprehensive management of the issue actually takes place.

Thirdly, the situation with regard to the implementation of legislation must be questioned. While the respondents to the survey generally reported good levels of implementation, the precise nature of implementation is, at best, unclear. While there is no doubt that the appropriate agencies dealing with health and safety carry out their duties with regard to the range of health and safety issues, they do so only in the context of the resources provided to them. In practice, this often means that they have limited resources available to them for enforcement, and that SMEs in particular tend not to be subject to high levels of enforcement. Furthermore, in the context of limited awareness of the problem, the extent of actual management activity within enterprises must be questioned.

For these reasons, it is likely that the operation of legislation in the area is somewhat less than optimal.

A final issue of concern is that despite the apparently positive situation in many countries, some countries reported low levels of concern and activity with regard to violence at work. Without wishing to single out specific countries, it is evident both by some of the comments made, and by the absence of response from some countries that there is considerable room for improvement in the management of this issue at all levels.

Source: Wynne et al., 1997, pp. 28-29.

Bullying

Workplace bullying constitutes **repeated** offensive behaviour through vindictive, cruel, malicious or humiliating attempts to undermine an individual or group of employees. Bullying is frequently **covert** and occurs out of sight of potential witnesses. However, the behaviours usually **escalate** in intensity over time.³⁸ These persistently negative attacks on the personal and professional performance of victims are typically unpredictable, irrational and unfair.

Bullying can occur in a number of different ways, as illustrated below. Some are obvious and easy to identify, while others are subtle and difficult to unequivocally distinguish.

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.³⁹

Bullying behaviours may include:

- making life difficult for those who have the potential to do the bully's job better than the bully;
- punishing others for being too competent by constant criticism or by removing their responsibilities, often giving them trivial tasks to do instead;
- refusing to delegate because bullies feel they can't trust anyone else;
- shouting at staff to get things done;
- persistently picking on people in front of others or in private;
- insisting that a way of doing things is always right;
- keeping individuals in their place by blocking their promotion;
- if someone challenges a bully's authority, overloading them with work and reducing the deadlines, hoping that they will fail at what they do; and
- feeling envious of another's professional or social ability, so setting out to make them appear incompetent, or make their lives miserable, in the hope of getting them dismissed or making them resign.⁴⁰

Mobbing

In recent years, another form of systematic collective violence has been reported to be on the increase in countries such as Australia, Austria, Denmark, Germany, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States. In Europe this collective violence has often been referred to as "mobbing". Even in countries with their own terms (such as harcèlement moral in France, acoso or maltrato psicológico in Spain, coacção moral in Portugal or molestie psicologiche in Italy), mobbing is becoming increasingly recognized.

Box 10 Mobbing in a Norwegian factory

Leif worked in a large Norwegian factory. His job, as a repairman, was to keep the machine park running. He was a skilled worker, earning a high salary. He came originally from Denmark and his workmates often made fun of him as he spoke Norwegian with a Danish accent. This happened so often that his personal relations became seriously disturbed – he became isolated. On one occasion he became so irritated that he thumped the table with his fist and demanded an end to all further jokes about his accent. From that point, things became worse. His workmates intensified and widened the range of "jokes", one being to send him to machines which did not need repairing. In this way Leif gradually gained the reputation of being "The Mad Dane".

At the beginning, many workers and foremen did not know that his sudden appearances were the results of "jokes". His social contact network broke down, and more and more workmates joined in the hunt. Wherever he appeared, jokes and taunts flew around. His feeling of aggression grew and this drew the attention of management. It was their impression that Leif was at fault and that, in general, he was a low-performance worker (which he gradually became). He was admonished. His anxiety increased and he developed psychosomatic problems and began to take sick leave. His employers reassigned him to less skilled work without discussing his problems; this Leif felt as unjust. He considered himself blameless.

The situation gradually brought about serious psychosomatic disorders and longer periods of sick leave. Leif lost his job and could not find another, as his medical history was indicated in his job applications. There was nowhere in society where he could turn for help. He became totally unemployable – an outcast.

Source: Leymann, 1990, p. 119. Used by permission from Springer Publishing Company, Inc., New York, 10012.

Mobbing typically involves a group of workers ganging up on a target employee and subjecting that person to psychological harassment (box 10). Mobbing includes behaviours such as making continuous negative remarks about a person or criticizing them constantly; isolating a person by leaving them without social contacts; gossiping or spreading false information about a person; or ridiculing a person constantly. The impact upon a person of what might appear on the surface to be minor single actions of this type can be devastating. It has been estimated, for instance, that about 10–15 per cent of the total number of suicides in Sweden each year have this type of background.⁴¹

The original conceptual distinction between bullying (primarily referring to situations of individual harassment) and mobbing (primarily covering situations of collective harassment) is now giving way to a conceptual assimilation of these two terms. Most researchers now make no distinction between bullying and mobbing with regard to the number of perpetrators or targets involved. One may argue that, even if a distinction was accepted, the psychological processes – and the considerable impact on the recipient involved – appear to be the same.

The new profile of violence at work that emerges is one which gives equal emphasis to inappropriate physical and psychological behaviour, and full recognition to the significance of non-physical workplace violence. It is also a profile that recognizes that violence at work is not limited to a specified workplace, like an office, factory or retail establishment. There is a risk of violence during commuting and in non-traditional workplaces such as homes, satellite centres and mobile locations that are being used increasingly as a result of the spread of new information technologies.⁴²

Given the rising levels of awareness and increased reporting, it is not surprising that increasing concern is now being expressed by workers, trade unions, employers, public bodies and experts on a broad international front about the extent of violence at work. This concern is being matched by calls for action to prevent such violence and/or, when it occurs, to deal with it in a way which alleviates the enormous social, economic and allied costs to the victims, their families, employers and the community at large. However, questions remain as to the nature and direction of the action that should be taken, and the identity of those who should be held responsible for the implementation of preventive interventions.

From awareness to action

With consensus emerging on a broad definition of violence at work that includes both physical and psychological elements, there would also seem to be widespread awareness that this form of violence is:

- a major although still under-recognized problem;
- not limited to individual instances of mass homicide, but extends to a much wider range of apparently minor but often devastating behaviours;
- an extremely costly burden for the worker, the enterprise and the community;
- not just an episodic, individual problem but a structural, strategic problem rooted in wider social, economic, organizational, gender role and cultural factors;
- detrimental to the functionality of the workplace, and any action taken against such violence is an integral part of the organizational development of a sound enterprise; and
- a problem which has to be tackled, and tackled now.

In responding to the problem of workplace violence, it is now realized to an increasing degree that violence in any form can no longer be accepted as a normal part of any job, even where it would seem to be an occupational hazard, such as in law enforcement. As in the case of hazardous manufacturing and allied occupations, where risk management strategies are put in place to reduce the level of uncertainty and possibility of injury, so too should these strategies be adopted to minimize the possibility of assault, harassment and abuse to employees in the workplace.

There is also a growing recognition that in confronting violence it is important to think comprehensively. This means that instead of searching for the simplistic "single solution" for any problem or situation, the full range of causes that generate violence should be identified and analysed, and a variety of intervention strategies applied. These strategies should seek to implant a broad preventive approach to the problem, which addresses the organizational, managerial and interpersonal roots of violence at the workplace. Preventive interventions should also increase the security of workers through worksite redesign and organizational interventions, and provide rehabilitation and psychological counselling, when necessary, to help victims to cope with the aftermath of violence.

The scope of this book

This book is intended to constitute a stimulus for future action in this area. It is centred around the analysis of scientific literature, data and information. While not claiming to be exhaustive in this regard, the authors have deliberately avoided the more "sensational" presentations of violent events (although vignettes of some of these are provided) to concentrate on the objective data, experiences and scientific publications which best help to explain and interpret the roots of violence at work, and to promote proactive initiatives in this field.

The book has a worldwide coverage because workplace violence is to be found in both developing and industrialized countries. Although the information from developing countries about this violence is frequently limited, episodic and ill-defined, it is becoming increasingly relevant and better documented. Improved data from a broad range of nation States has made it possible to include a special section in Chapter 2 devoted to violence in developing countries.

As already suggested, the underlying causes of violence at work are rooted in much wider social, cultural, economic, gender role and related areas. There is a vast literature available on the causes of violence at large. However, this material is so extensive and far-reaching that, for the purpose of this book, it cannot be treated in detail. Instead, Chapter 4 reviews the principal explanations of violence found in the literature as they relate to the specific issue of violence at work.

In order to avoid duplication of effort, only limited attention is paid in this book to issues already covered by extensive and specific ILO action, such as those to address occupational stress, alcohol and drug abuse, as well as others such as child labour⁴³ and migrant workers. Certain technical issues, such as violence associated with military action, are also excluded from the scope of this report, as is any detailed review of the issues associated with the overreaching problem of international terrorism referred to at the beginning of this chapter.

The book is intended to provide a basis for understanding the nature of violence at work, and to suggest ways of preventing this in the future. The discussions therefore highlight best-practice successful methods of prevention, illustrating the positive lessons to be drawn from such experience. The book is directed towards all those engaged in combating violence at work: policy makers in government agencies; employers' and workers' organizations; health and safety professionals; consultants; trainers; and management and workers' representatives.

The book is structured in three parts:

Part I is devoted to the understanding of violence at work. It covers the growing body of scientific evidence regarding this phenomenon and the changing profile of violence (Chapter 1). Part I also includes an analysis of data patterns and trends in both industrialized and developing countries (Chapter 2) and of the situations at special risk (Chapter 3). It concludes with an examination of the various causal explanations for violence at work, and of the social and economic costs for individuals, the enterprise and the community (Chapter 4).

Part II examines different types of response to violence at work and identifies the best solutions. Included in this part is an analysis of legislative and regulatory interventions and the emergence of specific legislation; growing attention to prevention strategies; and new collective agreements to combat workplace violence (Chapter 5). Part II also includes an analysis of policies and guidelines; their main messages about how to tackle violence at work effectively; and guidance for specific occupations and for particular types of violence (Chapter 6). Best-practice interventions are dealt with in Chapter 7. Finally, the growing international concern about violence at work and the initiatives undertaken in this area are considered (Chapter 8).

Part III (Chapter 9) considers the key lessons to be drawn from the preceding analysis, highlights the main messages to be delivered and suggests specific and practical action based on successful experience.

Notes

- ¹ For a detailed description and analysis of the above events, see *The 9/11 Commission Report*, Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, 22 July 2004. The Commission closed on 21 August 2004 (see: http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report.pdf, accessed 27 Sep. 2005).
- ² Loomis et al., 2001, pp. 410-417.
- ³ Infoplease. No date. "Terrorist attacks (within the United States or against Americans abroad): September 11, 2001 victims".
- ⁴ Australian Federal Police, no date.
- ⁵ Wikipedia, 11 Mar. 2004, "Madrid train bombings".
- 6 Ibid., 4 Oct. 2005, "West London bombings".
- ⁷ Iraq Body Count. "A dossier of civilian casualties", 2003–2005.
- 8 Ibid
- 9 Regular updates on media casualties are produced by the International Federation of Journalists, for example, "Journalists and media staff killed in 2003" (see: www.ifj.org/pdfs/killreport2003.pdf, accessed 27 Sep. 2005).
- 10 CBS News Online. 2005. "Indepth: Iraq: Foreign hostages in Iraq", 15 May.
- ¹¹ See, for example, A. O'Neill, 2005, pp. 377–391. See also electronic publications on possible health effects from bioterrorism: Schwid et al., 2002.
- ¹² These recommendations are summarized in Ch. 12 of the Cullen Report. An official Government Response to each of the recommendations was provided at the time of the publication of the Report. See Scottish Office, 1996 *The Public Inquiry into the Shootings at Dunblane Primary School on 13 March 1996: The Government Response.*
- ¹³ See Cullen Report (Cullen, 1996), Ch. 9, and the Government Response (Scottish Office, 1996, pp. 5-6). In 1997 a new law banned handguns over 22-calibre. In 1998, the ban was further extended to include smaller calibre handguns (see: "Gun Law Campaign", http://www.crimelibrary.com/notorious%Sfmurders/mass/dunblane%Sfmassacre, accessed 27 Sep. 2005).
- ¹⁴ Government Response (Edinburgh, Scottish Office, 1996, pp. 6–7). In 1997 the British Health and Safety Executive (HSE) via its Education Service Advisory Committee issued Violence in the education sector (London, HMSO, 1997c), which provides advice to managers and staff in the education service on identifying potential risks of violence; formulating an action plan and statement of intent; recording incidents; elaborating preventive strategies; supporting staff who are victims of violence; and the role of the police.
- ¹⁵ This incident prompted a major review of the security and safety of French schools. See: "Les dix-neuf mesures arrêtés. Le plan de prévention de la violence à l'école se présente en trois grands axes et dix-neuf mesures", in *Le Figaro*, 21 Mar. 1996, p. 9.
- 16 Liberty Internet Magazine, "Courage at Columbine High School", July 1999 (see: http://www.doctor liberty.com/columbine.html). This incident has also been the subject of an award-winning documentary film "Bowling for Columbine" (2000), directed by Michael Moore, which received widespread screening in the United States and elsewhere.
- ¹⁷ The US Postal Service, stung by criticism of its failure to prevent this and later homicides at postal premises, commissioned a study to examine the prevalence of this type of workplace violence within the service. The study indicated that, contrary to popular belief, the incidence of workplace assaults and homicides in the Postal Service was far below the national average. According to the United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Statistics, "postal work is one of the safest occupations in the job pool. Postal workers are not even a blip on the Department of Labor's scale of occupational fatalities, no matter how the statistics are compiled, by job related accident or homicide", in US Postal Service, 1998, p. 2 (see: "Going Postal", http://www.crimelibrary.com/notorious murders/mass/work homicide/4.html?sect=8, accessed 27 Sep. 2005). See also: MMR Weekly, 1994).
- ¹⁸ National Occupational Health and Safety Committee (NOHSC), 1999.
- ¹⁹ Union des Transports Publics, France, 2003, p. 7.
- ²⁰ Meschkutat, Stackelbeck and Langenhoff, 2002.
- ²¹ Paoli and Parent-Thirion, 2003, p. 63.
- ²² Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, Japan, 2003.
- ²³ Japan Labor Flash, 2003.
- ²⁴ Di Martino, 2002b.
- ²⁵ Ibid., p. 25. It is important to recognize that while the results reported are based upon standardized quantitative and qualitative methodologies and instruments, they are only case studies relating to a specific geographic area and should therefore be interpreted with some caution. See also ibid., p. ix.
- 26 Ibid.

Introduction: A catalyst for action

- ²⁷ CISNEROS V, "Mobbing in Spanish public administrations" report. Courtesy of Iñaki Piñuel to the authors, 18 Sep. 2004.
- ²⁸ Piñuel and Zabala, 2002.
- ²⁹ Di Martino, Hoel, and Cooper, 2003, p. 42.
- 30 Ibid, p. 39.
- ³¹ For public administration see Scialpi, 2004.
- 32 Upson, 2004.
- 33 Budd, 2001, p. 3.
- ³⁴ Santana and Fisher, 2002, pp. 90–113. See also Fisher et al., 1998, pp. 65–82.
- ³⁵ Mayhew and Quinlan, 1999, pp. 183–205. See also Mayhew, 2003, pp. 203–219.
- ³⁶ See, for example, Mayhew et al., 2004, pp. 117-134.
- 37 European Parliament, 2002a.
- 38 McCarthy and Mayhew, 2004. See also Mayhew, 2000a.
- ³⁹ Einarsen et al., 2003b, p. 15.
- 40 UNISON, 1996.
- ⁴¹ Leymann, 1990, p. 122. Used by permission from Springer Publishing Company, Inc., New York, 10012. See also Einarsen and Mikkelsen, 2003a, pp. 127–144.
- ⁴² On the spreading of telework, and associated risks of violence, see Di Martino, 2001. See also idem, 2005.
- ⁴³ In June 1999, the International Labour Conference adopted the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182), and Recommendation (No. 190), by which ratifying member States must "take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency". These comprises "(a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties; and (d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children".