Independent in the heard:
Inclusion and exclusion as social processes

Proceedings from the 9th GRASP conference, Linköping University, May 2014

Robert Thornberg & Tomas Jungert (Editors)

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Preface

PREFACE

GRASP (Group and Social Psychology) is an interdisciplinary conference, which aims to provide a community around social psychological issues for researchers, practitioners, and graduate students from the Nordic countries within the fields of psychology, sociology, education, behavioural sciences and social work to share, exchange, learn, and develop preliminary results, new concepts, ideas, principles, and methodologies, as well as bridging the gaps between paradigms, encouraging interdisciplinary collaborations, and advancing our understanding of groups and social psychology.

GRASP 2014 was the ninth Nordic conference was held in Linköping and hosted by the Department of Behavioural Sciences and Learning at Linköping University. The theme of the conference this year was on inclusion and exclusion as social processes. Twenty-two papers were accepted and presented at the conference. Keynote speech was given by Dr Siân Jones from Oxford Brookes University and Dr Ken Mavor from University of St Andrews. In line with the main theme of the conference, Siân Jones talked about "Bullying and belonging: Experimental data, real-world data, tears, and tantrums". Ken Mavor talked about "Encapsulating the things that matter: Exploring identities for learning, social action and well-being".

The topics of the individual papers at GRASP 2014 were: (a) the role of categorization in personal change through participation in collective action, (b) students' perspectives on bullying incidents, (c) mindfulness in values education in schools, (d) team-training and the executive team's organizational influence, (e) using discursive psychology to show how students do 'being collaborative' in group work, (f) operational leadership and knowledge-transfer in high risk operations, (g) communication of risk in oil and gas megaprojects, (h) verbal expressions of "compassion" in an academic context, (i) a descriptive study of work groups in the Swedish and U.S. economy, (j) challenges and panaceas, as experienced by physicians, when introducing a patient centred and team based round, (k) leadership and communication in cross-cultural teams in a study of Korean/Scandinavian collaboration, (l) conscientiousness and agreeableness among prisoners, (m) 'dark values' – the dark triad hiding in Schwartz' value orientation, (n) gender and legitimacy in student project groups, (o) between Skylla and Karybdis within academia – peer leadership or management, (p) illusion of invulnerability, need for cognition and resisting persuasion, (q) the significance of management climate on the quality of elderly care, (r) benevolence towards men and women, and traditional views of upbringing – a backlash to gender equality, (s) the role of equality in the decision making process in small groups, (t) bullying and defender behaviour

amongst school children – the importance of moral emotions and moral disengagement, and (u) development of learning models through social experiments considering widening recruitment of university students.

These proceedings bring you seven of the 22 papers from the conference.

CONSTRUCTING COHESION THROUGH LAUGHTER

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Tony Anderson

Abstract

One of the most consistently studied constructs within group dynamics literature is that of cohesiveness; the extent to which individuals within a group feel connected. Members of strongly cohesive groups are more inclined to participate and stay with the group, and past research has reported that laughter has the ability to enhance cohesion between individuals, although there is limited work showing exactly *how* this happens. Twenty two students comprising eight groups from two UK universities were video-recorded as they partook in group work, with the resultant sixty four hours of video data being analysed using discursive psychology centring on episodes of laughter in interaction. As 'sticking together' is a defining feature of cohesiveness, the analysis focused on instances in which a group member did the opposite of this by group-deprecating; revealing a weakness about the group, with findings showing that cohesion is constructed through the acceptance of and expansion upon the disparagement.

Keywords: group work, discursive psychology, laughter, cohesion

As one of the most consistently studied constructs within group dynamics and small group literature, group cohesiveness research is vast. Historically, cohesion has been considered the most important variable in small groups (e.g. Lott & Lott, 1965), but it is also an extremely complex entity to evaluate, with ongoing controversy regarding not only how to define it, but also how to measure it (e.g. Budge, 1981; Keyton, 1992; Greer, 2012).

Group cohesion

Early literature on group cohesion was influenced by Festinger, Schachter & Back (1950) who interpreted cohesiveness as,

> the total field of forces (based on the attractiveness of the group and its members, and the degree to which the group satisfies individual goals) that act on members to remain in the group. (Festinger, Schachter & Back, 1950, pp. 274)

Although this model was influential for its time it has since received much criticism, and there is currently no single accepted definition, with descriptions of cohesiveness pertaining to feeling "strong ties" (Granovetter, 1973) and "connectedness" (O'Reilly & Roberts, 1977) within a group, having uniformity and mutual

support between members (Hogg & Vaughan, 2008) and "sticking together" (Mudrack, 1989). Cohesiveness, therefore, can be thought of as both a descriptive term but also a psychological term to describe the individual psychological processes underlying the cohesiveness of groups (Hogg & Vaughan, 2008).

Due to the inconsistencies and difficulties regarding definition and measurement, theorists have pleaded for more empirical attention to be paid to the dynamics by which cohesion evolves in groups (e.g. Chiocchio & Essiembre, 2009). In particular, there is little research that uses qualitative methodologies to analyse group cohesion, as historically, cohesiveness has been 'measured' through individuals' subjective opinions in order to draw conclusions about the group (Mudrack, 1989). This seems to present somewhat of a conundrum though, as individuals cannot be cohesive by themselves; the cohesiveness comes as a result of interaction with others and as such there is need to study groups in process. Group cohesion can therefore be thought of as a social accomplishment, and one way in which to investigate this is through research into group laughter.

Laughter research

Laughter is a natural phenomenon, universally shared by humans, with origins in non-human primate displays indicating evolutionary functions (e.g. Berlyne, 1969; Ross, Owren & Zimmerman, 2009). We have the ability to produce different types of laughter in different situations, and although we usually associate it with humour, this is only one of many triggers for laughter (Foot & Chapman, 1976). In fact, laughter has been so inconsistently associated with humour that, for many years now, experiments do not use it as a reliable indicator of something being funny (LaFrance, 1983).

Historically, research has focused on the individual *doing* the laughter, as opposed to those *receiving* it, therefore neglecting the important interactional properties of laughter. As stated by Provine (2004, pp.215), "the necessary stimulus for laughter is not a joke, but another person", which has garnered support from the likes of Holt (2011) who determined that research in the area should no longer focus on trying to explain *why* people laugh, but instead look at what actions are being performed when they do.

As it is a primarily social construct, it is important to consider the 'socialness' of laughter in interaction, as opposed to categorising the remarks, actions and situations in response to which people laugh, as has been the case historically (e.g. Pollio & Edgerly, 1976). Prominent factors influencing social laughter are whether others are laughing, what is going on between individuals, who is doing the laughing, what the laugh is about, and so on. Laughter is important in the social setting as it shows affiliation with others (Glenn, 2012), and various experimental studies have shown that people are more likely to laugh if others are laughing, even in

atypical populations (e.g. Young & Frye, 1966; Oliver, Demetriades & Hall, 2002). As detailed by Greatbatch & Clark (2003), empirical research into laughter has identified that it serves five primary functions; one of which being to create and maintain social cohesion and group solidarity, which is the focus of the current paper.

Research into laughter and cohesion covers a broad spectrum, with most studies classifying the 'type' of laughter under investigation. For instance, group cohesion has been reported as the result of shared humorous experiences and stories; enhancing a feeling of 'similar things happen to others too' (Richman, 1995; Hay, 2000; Kotthoff, 2006). Ziv (2010, pp. 12), for instance, demonstrated that laughter is important for a group as it is "a behavioural expression of something shared", therefore promoting a cohesive feeling of 'we-ness' as opposed to 'me-ness', and making the leap between personal identity and group identity (see Turner and Oakes (1986) for more detail).

Similarly, laughter resulting from teasing and joking has been reported to enhance cohesion in a group (e.g. Antonopoulou & Sifianou, 2003; Holmes, 2006; Nesi, 2012). As discussed by Norrick (1994), 'conversational joking' (word play, teasing and anecdotes designed to elicit laughter) raises interesting questions because it is associated with aggression but also with rapport, with disrupting conversation but also with facilitating cohesion (e.g. Attardo, 1993; Diallo, 2006). A 1997 publication by Boxer and Cortés-Conde demonstrated how joking can "bond", by analysing teasing and joking as instruments through which social control is exerted and social identity is displayed. The authors of the paper showed that through the joking about, and mocking of, an out-group, in-group status can be intensified. By jointly poking fun at others not present through techniques such as voicing and exaggeration, individuals co-construct the meaning of what it is to be different from the rest of the group, and cohesion develops from this.

There is still a need, however, for a closer look at how exactly cohesion is established. There is little research pertaining to the fine-grained detail of how laughter can facilitate cohesion, of the sequential organisation of talk in interaction that is inherent although often overlooked that allows cohesion through laughter to take place. It is useful, then, to exemplify what more detailed research has the potential to show.

As one of the founders of conversation analysis, Gail Jefferson is well known for her work documenting the systematic workings of laughter in a variety of interactions (e.g. Jefferson, 1979; 1984; 2004). In particular, Jefferson is credited for her development of notational conventions still used today when transcribing talk, allowing the reader to capture as closely as possible precisely what is said and how it is said. Jefferson's conversation analytic work demonstrated that, contrary to beliefs that it is spontaneous and involuntary, laughter is organised and precisely

placed, deployed to manage moments in interaction and to help achieve actions. For instance, stemming from Jefferson's (1984) word, Edwards (2005) investigated the phenomenon of complaining, and looked at how laughter can be identified as a way of establishing cohesion between the complainer and listener. He showed through close analysis of interactional features of conversation how laughter can create cohesion even though a real complaint is being made due to the manner in which it is delivered, demonstrating that it has the ability to achieve a goal; i.e., in this case, that 'this is something I would not usually moan about' (Edwards, 2005). Other research has looked at, for instance, the processes involved in orienting to laughter (Holt, 2010), silence where laughter is expected (Drew, 1987), and how interaction is impacted by laughter within words (Potter & Hepburn, 2010).

Research like this highlights the value of using in-depth analysis methods to understand how laughter is treated in interaction. As such, the current paper aims to progress research in the area, by using discursive psychology to closely examine incidences of laughter within group-work settings at university, aiming to expand on past conversation analytical work, and demonstrate that laughter is not random but is highly sequentially organised to perform certain functions within social inter-action, such as enhancing group cohesion. Since past research has shown that the overall effectiveness of group work can often rest on the quality of student interactions and that members of strongly cohesive groups are more inclined to participate readily and to stay with the group (Dyaram & Kamalanabhan, 2005), it is impera-tive to discover how individuals 'do' being cohesive. The research question for the current study therefore is, how does laughter demonstrate group cohesion?

Method

The data corpus

The data used for this study are taken from naturalistic video footage of student groups working in problem-based learning tutorials, a form of student-centred group work which encourages collaborative knowledge construction, independent learning and intrinsic motivation (e.g. Dolmans & Schmidt, 2006). The data was collected between October 2012 and December 2013, from twenty two students comprising eight groups across two UK universities, totalling sixty four hours of video-recorded interaction. Informed, written consent was gained from all partici-pants, and the study received full ethical approval at university level. Each group either set up the cameras themselves, or it was done in advance by the researcher. Data was collected on memory sticks, before being downloaded onto a password-protected computer within the University of Strathclyde, and kept in a locked office with only the named researchers having access to recordings. The video data was transcribed to words-only detail in the first instance, before a data corpus was com-

piled and those extracts chosen for further analysis subjected to Jeffersonian transcription notation (see appendix).

Analytical procedure

A discursive psychological approach was used to analyse the data (Wiggins & Potter, 2008). As advocated by Holt (2011), laughter is not simply a reaction to humour but an action in its own right, and as such discursive psychology is, one of the best methodologies for analysing laughter because it treats it as 'in the moment'. In addition, it is possible to analyse the interactivity of laughter, and discuss from a discursive psychological viewpoint the function it provides in relation to facilitating group cohesion by looking at such phenomena as, for instance, how group identities are constructed and negotiated. The approach draws on the ethnomethodology of Garfinkel (1967) and the conversation analysis of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), focusing on how psychological phenomena are constructed and understood in interaction.

Discursive psychology does not align with the more 'traditional' values of social psychology, in that individuals' speech reveals attitudes and behaviour regarding some construct; rather it assumes that talk has an action orientation and that language is used to perform particular social functions, achieved through a variety of rhetorical strategies (Wiggins & Potter, 2008). Discursive psychology has been used previously to analyse student tutorial talk (e.g. Koschmann, Glenn & Conlee, 1997; Attenborough & Stokoe, 2012), critiquing the way topics have been traditionally conceptualised in psychology by treating them as interactional entities, as opposed to individual ones.

As such, a data corpus was compiled of laughter extracts stemming from an in-depth transcription which identified laughter particles (Jefferson, 1984), which were broadly categorised in the first instance and included clusters such as 'sarcasm-', 'joking-' and 'exaggerating-laughter'. The researcher was particularly interested in those laughter instances stemming from group-deprecation (where an individual in the group portrayed their group in a negative manner somehow). As analysis developed, this was classified as instances of interaction where a student voiced a difficulty that the group was having, and how this was responded to by the rest of the group. Doing so is potentially problematic for a group, as it raises questions pertaining to who has the authority to speak on behalf of others, however, as we will see, it can also enhance cohesion.

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Analysis

The brief analyses below are centred on extracts of interaction in which a student 'group-deprecates' within the group setting, which simply refers to an instance of self-deprecation but instead of referring to themselves, the speaker refers to the group as a whole. Past research has demonstrated the intricacies of orienting to another person's self-deprecation, and the significance of how it is responded to. Pomerantz (1984) identified that if a recipient(s) is to agree with a critical statement, they are endorsing prior criticisms as their own, which is potentially problematic for group dynamics. For instance, if an individual was to make the assessment, "I'm an idiot", and someone in the group agreed, this could cause tension to arise between the self-deprecator and the respondent, and thus have the potential to create a divide within the group. Conversely, if group members disagree with an individual's self-deprecation they demonstrate support, in that they actively voice their opposition to the claim. However, this too is not always straightforward and is tied up with issues regarding ingratiation (Jones, 1964).

Agreements and disagreements of self-deprecating talk can be understood through non-verbal interaction too, such as laughter. The current analysis therefore aims to show not only how group members manage the somewhat sensitive nature of group-deprecation, but also how through doing so, social actions such as enhancing group cohesion may be achieved. In the first example below, three students are composing a joint assignment. Phillip is trying to connect his laptop to the main monitor but is struggling to work out how to do so.

Extract 1

```
1   Donald:   …well d'you wanna- >d'you wanna go on the Google doc and
2             jus' see< wh- (.) if I coul' jus' >read you what I've
3             done so far an' see if you guys agree with it< SO we know
4             we're goin' in the same direction at least
5   Phillip:  .hh
6             (1.0)
7   Phillip:  °um jus' be a minute°
8             (1.0)
9   Phillip:  we are scientists we can do this
10  Rachel:   ((turns to look at Phillip)) (1.0)
11  Donald:   £he[h
12  Rachel:      [heh heh this is (.) the rea:l problem based
13            [l(h)earnin'
14  Donald:   [heh heh
15  Rachel:   heh
```

The extract begins with Donald's suggestion of opening the group's document so the group can read through the work so far (lines 1-4), but is resisted by Phillip

since he has not yet managed to link his laptop to the monitor. Phillip responds with a dispreffered answer (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), indicating that there is a problem. It would have been much smoother for the interaction if Phillip could have simply responded, "yes" to Donald's request, but his actual response that he will "jus' be a minute" (line 7) disrupts the normal flow of the conversation. There is therefore then a lapse in the interaction; a perfect point for someone else to take over talking (Sacks et al., 1974), however, no one else does as Phillip has not yet revealed why the group cannot follow the course of action put forward by Donald.

This is the point at which Phillip disparages the group, although it is somewhat concealed. Instead of directly stating, for instance, "we cannot work out how to do this", he constructs his assessment of the situation in a positive way; emphasising that being scientists, they *should* be able to do it. This is an interesting labelling of the group; past research has shown that students can be reluctant to identify as such (e.g. Benwell & Stokoe, 2002), and how identifying as a professional in a discipline is inherently beneficial (e.g. MacLeod, 2011). However, in this situation, categorising the group in this way intensifies the severity of the problem they are facing due to the fact that "as scientists", what they are trying to do should be doable. Had he, for instance, classed the group "as students", they would not be held in the same way accountable for not being able to accomplish the task. An intriguing point also, is Phillip's involvement of everyone in the group through stating, "*we* can do this" (line 9), thus holding everyone equally responsible for the problem, when actually it is only him trying to connect the laptop. This is potentially problematic for the group, depending on how Donald and Rachel treat being categorised not only "as scientists" (and thus expected to know how to solve this problem), but also that they are equally responsible for it in the first place.
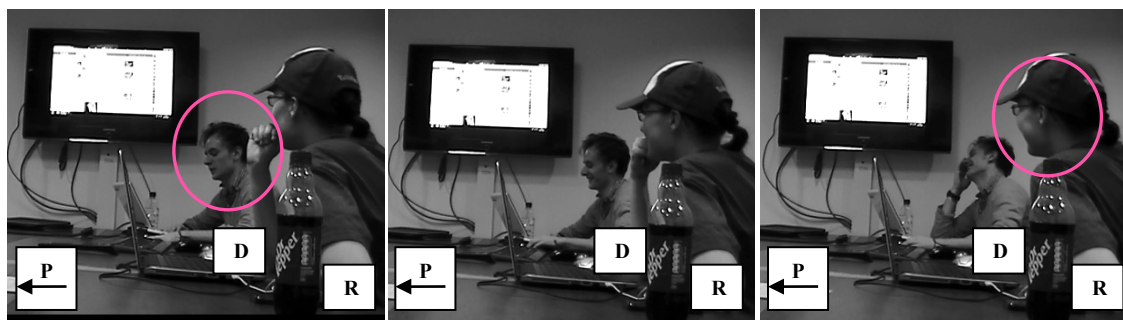
(Lines 1-4) Donald asks Phillip to open the group's document...   *(Lines 5-9) ...Phillip orients to the difficulties the group is facing...*   *(Lines 12-13) ... before Rachel makes a joke based on this.*

There is a gap in conversation before Phillip's utterance is oriented to, during which time Rachel noticeably shifts her gaze from the monitor to Phillip. Goodwin (2000) shows how being a hearer in face-to-face interaction requires the situated use of the body – particularly gaze – as a way of visibly displaying the focus of one's attention. Donald and Rachel both laugh, supporting Pomerantz's (1984)

work regarding responding to self-deprecation, and to more recent work showing that laughter may represent agreement (Holt, 2011). Had either Donald or Rachel taken issue with Phillip's assessment – i.e., the group insult that as scientists they should be able to connect the laptop, but as they cannot, there is something wrong – she would be unlikely to expand on Phillip's utterance, as she does in line 12.

By stating, "this is the real problem based learning" (line 12), Rachel is accepting that the group is currently encountering a problem, and as such is implicitly agreeing with Phillip's assessment that the situation they currently face (i.e. being unable to connect the laptop) is not as it should be. The formulation of Rachel's utterance is similar in structure to a 'second story', in that she responds in a way that shows she understood Phillip, using his event and character structure in her own offering (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Sacks, 1992). This, arguably, is evidence of constructing cohesion within the group.

Let us consider another example, taken from a different group of students. In the following extract, we see group member Jackie explaining to the class facilitator ("Facil") the group's initial reaction to the class.

Extract 2

```
16    Facil:        …but it's good to hear tha'at least (.) some
17                  things are startin to make more sense [(inaudible)
18    Jackie:                                            [£yeah (.)
19                  °£yeah° 'cause the first week=
20    Ally:         ((smiles))
21    Jackie:       =when we started
22                  looking a'it we were all like (.) 'w(h)hy are we
23                  d(h)oing
24    Nadia:        ((smiles))
25    Jackie:       this class [what does this
26    Facil:                   [yeah, 'oh my God'
27    Jackie:       [even mea(h)n'
28    Ally:         [°heh heh°
29    Jackie:       .hh I think everyone m(h)usta [been like that
30    Facil:                                      [yeah: yeah:
```
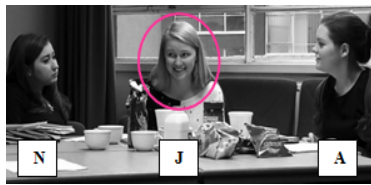
In this interaction, the group work together to position themselves as able students, by disparaging what they once were. Group member Jackie takes on the role of 'group speaker', and tells the class facilitator how the group felt regarding the class in the first week (lines 19-27). The laughter particles throughout this 'reveal' may be due to the unusual situation in which a student is admitting she was wary of or even regretting taking the class, in front of the class leader. By stating "we" instead of "I", Jackie is not holding herself fully accountable for what she is saying; although she is the 'spokesman' currently, her views are representative of what the

group feels and thus she alone cannot be admonished for admitting to not enjoying the class in the early days.

(Lines 16-17) The group listen to the facilitator (off-screen) as she is talking…　　*(Lines 19-27) …before Jackie admits the group's difficulties when the class first started…*　　*(Lines 13-28) …which is responded to by her peers.*

Jackie's voicing for the group could be responded to in one of two ways; either through agreement or disagreement from her peers to indicate not only to each other, but perhaps more importantly to the class leader that their views are being justly represented. Ally's smile at line 20 indicates that she knows the gist of what Jackie is going to say even before she says it, and Nadia smiles (line 24) a short time after. Consider if either (or both) of Nadia or Ally disagreed with Jackie; it would be likely that they would speak up in order to distance themselves from the potentially disastrous claims being made (i.e. that they were struggling, and therefore are not 'good' students), so by not doing this, they are accepting Jackie's version of events. Jackie tentatively states, "everyone musta been like that", (line 29) in order to show that her group was no different from any other, and thus preserving their identity in that not understanding was not their fault, as "everyone" felt the same way. Ultimately, Jackie is disparaging her fellow group members by admitting that they struggled, which could be responded to negatively and taken as being insulting. However, this deprecation in fact helps to construct cohesion in the group.

At line 22, when Jackie 'active voices' (Wooffitt, 1992) how the group felt in the first week, she emphasises that "all" the group were struggling, accomplishing the goal of showing it was not just her alone, despite being the one who is relaying this, but the whole group, and almost speaks in a reverse 'X… then Y' format (Wooffitt, 2005) by normalising the current feeling of the group by possibly exaggerating how they *used* to feel. Jackie's extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986) and active voicing construct it as humorous, that those difficult days are now something that can be laughed at because they are now past them. Ally affiliates this by actually laughing (line 28), which perhaps gives Jackie the incentive to switch from talking as the group ("we"), to providing an individual opinion, ("I think"). Therefore, although the group is disparaged by one of their own, they also demonstrate cohesion through affiliation and support, almost from the beginning of the extract.

Throughout this extract, it is interesting to observe the interaction between the facilitator and the group. The extract begins with an assessment from the facilitator regarding the group's current status, that "things are startin' to make more sense" (line 17), from which point Jackie goes on to detail – even speaking over the facilitator – how differently the group feel now compared to when they first started. The next utterance from the facilitator is at line 26, and is somewhat unusual in that instead of admonishing the group for not asking for help after Jackie's big 'reveal', she very much aligns with Jackie, joining in with active voicing indicating alignment, which perhaps signals to the other group members that it is okay to admit to this, as Ally then actually laughs, upgrading her alignment from simply smiling to an audible expression (line 28). Had the facilitator not joined in with Jackie's assessment of the class, the other group members may have been less willing to demonstrate their alignment for fear of what the facilitator may think. This is somewhat unusual in the typical teacher/ student dyad whereby someone in the 'teacher' role would not tend to disparage their own class. However, because the sequence started by the group discussing the stage they are at currently (i.e. that the class is beginning to make more sense to them), it is more acceptable to disparage what they used to be like, and in fact, the more they do so, the better, as it illustrates the progression they have made.

What these two extracts have aimed to show is that even when a student disparages their group, cohesion is created through extension of the disparagement by someone else in the group and subsequent laughter acquiescence.

Discussion

Group cohesion has been identified as the most important aspect of small group research (Lott & Lott, 1965), and as such, it is vital that student groups are supported for cohesion to take place. The current research can go some way to help those involved in group work teaching or facilitating, by helping them be more aware of the intricate interactions taking place at the group level, and recognising the beneficial properties of laughter. While previous research looked at different 'types' of laughter instigations such as humour, joking and teasing, the current paper focused on the sequential organisation of laughter in which an individual made a group-deprecating utterance, and how this was oriented to by fellow group members.

The point of interest in both extracts is the pattern that emerges, demonstrating cohesion in a group through supporting and extending the disparagement. The deprecator is in a sensitive situation, as they disparage their group in some way. Were fellow group members to disagree with their assessment, past research suggests they would be overtly vocal about it whereas agreements are portrayed more subtly

in order to avoid disrupting the dynamics. In the analysis here, one group member delivered a group-deprecating comment, which was supported in some way by someone else in the group. In extract one, group member Rachel extends the deprecator's comment by initiating a joke based on it, and in extract two, the group facilitator imitates the deprecator's comments, to the acceptance of the rest of the group as evidenced by their affiliative smiles and laughter. The group members acquiesce to the disparagement – and the extension – indicating agreement and thus that they are united, and cohesive, as a group.

In addition, both extracts are focused around the notion of the group comparing themselves to themselves at a different time (i.e. the first extract revolves around the group as they *should* be, and the second looks at the group as they *were*), and seems to suggest that this reflection between different versions of themselves is important for cohesion.

It is important to note than in both examples above, every member of the group was involved in the interaction. Because deprecation is a form of self-tease, the individual doing so is solely responsible for the position he puts him or herself in. If, for instance, the tease was directed at someone else in the group, this could have implications for the group's interpersonal dynamics in that solidarity in sub groups could be created, effectively diminishing group cohesion as a whole, and leading to questions pertaining to whether students work *in* a group or *as* a group, as discussed by Hammar Chiriac (2014).

One of the difficulties of researching a phenomenon such as cohesion is its vague nature; even if all group members report that they felt 'cohesive', this does not necessarily mean that cohesion was accomplished. While past research has tended to focus on measuring cohesion by asking group members how they feel about the group and the task (e.g., Carron, Widmeyer & Brawley, 1985), more discursive-type research has the potential to show how cohesion is constructed naturalistically as it happens in real-time interaction.

This paper is part of an on-going study investigating cohesion in student groups. As researchers working with student participants, it is crucial to recognise what we can do to better support students in higher education. The types of interactions that have been analysed can be found in groups across a broad spectrum of disciplines and it can be useful to focus on the non-academic talk in environments such as these to get an insight into the social processes that can often hinge on the relative success or failure of group work

As educators, we want to encourage students to leave university valuing the skills they have learned through such processes as contributing to group work so that they are prepared for life after university and are not just focused on their final degree classification. Looking at laughter stemming from deprecation may seem a counter-intuitive way of analysing cohesion, but if we can demonstrate benefits that

come from less desirable aspects of the group work, we are better positioned to support students who may experience such settings and be unsure as to how to deal with them.

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Appendix

(.)	Just noticeable pause
(1.0)	Timed pause
A: word [word	Overlapping talk
B: [word	
.hh	In-breath
wor-	Cut-off word
>word<	Faster speech
WORD	Louder speech
°word°	Quieter speech
word	Emphasised speech
£word	"smiley" speech
wo(h)rd	(h) denotes laughter bubbling within word
wo:rd	: denotes stretching the preceding sound
A: word=	= denotes no discernible pause between two speakers' turns
B: =word	
((action))	non-verbal action

*Adapted from system developed by Jefferson, printed in J.M. Atkinson and J. Heritage (eds.) (1984) Structures of social action; studies in conversation analysis (pp.ix-xvi). Cambridge University Press.

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Independent in the heard: Inclusion and exclusion as social processes
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TWO IN TEN FEEL EXCLUDED FROM SOCIAL WORK-RELATED PROCESSES BY WORKPLACE BULLYING

Anna M. Dåderman, Ann-Catrin Ohlsson,
Carina Ragnestål-Impola

Abstract

The aim was to investigate (1) the prevalence of workplace bullying experienced by men and women in Swedish workplaces with a high level of stress dominated by one sex, (2) the prevalence of unjust treatment in these workplaces, (3) the relationship between workplace bullying and organizational climate, (4) the variability in bullying in these workplaces, and (5) the variability in organizational climate. These issues were examined using a self-assessment questionnaire in two types of workplace in Sweden: one male-dominated (juvenile detention care) and the other female-dominated (elderly care). About 20% of the participants experienced workplace bullying. There was a positive correlation between bullying and negative communication (strong effect size). There were no differences regarding the type of workplace. The internal consistency of the instrument was high, and we recommend its use in studies of workplace bullying.

Keywords: workplace bullying, organizational environment, sex differences

Bullying at the workplace is a growing global problem, leading to exclusion from social work-related processes, and a lowering of well-being, job satisfaction and self-esteem. Workplace bullying is correlated with serious health-related and stress-related problems, such as anxiety, depression, irritability, self-hate, sleep problems, concentration difficulties, chronic fatigue, and anger (Einarsen & Mikkelsen, 2003, Einarsen & Raknes, 1997; Einarsen, Raknes, & Mattheisen, 1994; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001; Zapf, Knorz, & Kulla, 1996). Employing a longitudinal design, Einarsen and Nielsen (2015) showed that workplace bullying poses a serious long-term threat to the health and well-being, at least for men. Bullying behavior occurs more frequently in work situations of high workload and high stress, although only sparse research has satisfactorily covered the phenomenon in workplaces characterized by a high level of stress. Bullying may be expressed differently in a workplace that is traditionally dominated by female employees than in one traditionally dominated by male employees. In addition, bullying occurs more frequently in organizations with an unfavorable organizational climate. It is, therefore, important to study bullying and the organizational climate at an organization simultaneously.

We have examined workplace bullying in two types of organizations in Sweden (one dominated by female employees, the other by male employees), and we describe here the relationships between workplace bullying and organizational climate. Knowledge about these relationships may enhance the organizational climate, and enable us to develop sustainable strategies for the management of personal resources, in order to improve the quality of interpersonal relationships. A positive organizational climate is one factor that determines organizational success and good employee health.

Background

Workplace bullying is a relatively new psychological construct that has become increasingly important for managers and researchers in work and organizational psychology, during the past 25 years. Heinz Leymann, a German-born physician and psychiatrist working in Sweden, is one of the pioneers in the field of workplace bullying (1986, 1990, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1996), and began studying adult bullying in the early 1980s. He adopted the term "mobbing" from ethologist descriptions of animal behavior in which a group of smaller animals attacked a single larger animal. Leymann worked with children who were bullied at school, and he made people aware of similar experiences of his adult patients. Leymann inspired other Scandinavian researchers, who initiated studies of workplace aggression, bullying, and mobbing in Finland (Björkqvist, Österman, & Hjelt-Bäck, 1994) and Norway (Einarsen et al., 1994). The term "bullying" has been brought to public attention in Britain by Andrea Adams, a freelance journalist (Adams & Crawford, 1992). Her work inspired others in the U.K (e.g., Hoel & Cooper, 2000; Rayner, 1997). Scandinavia and the U.K. continue to lead the research on bullying and mobbing. Scholars and professionals in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the European Union, and Japan have also worked extensively in bullying research (Zapf, Einarsen, Hoel, & Vartia, 2003), and the phenomenon has been studied in the U.S. (Lutgen-Sandvik, Tracy, & Alberts, 2007).

The concepts of "harassment" and "bullying" are sometimes used synonymously, and several definitions of workplace bullying have been proposed. "Harassment" has been defined by the Swedish National Board of Occupational Safety and Health (1993) as "recurrent negative actions directed at particular employees in a reprehensible manner that can lead to their exclusion from social interaction at the workplace" (p. 3). Leymann (1990, 1996) defined "mobbing" as "hostile and unethical behavior directed at individuals who are unable to defend themselves". "Bullying" is, according to Adams (1997), "persistent, demeaning, and downgrading treatment of human beings through vicious words and cruel acts, which gradu-

ally undermines confidence and self-esteem". Salin (2003) defined bullying as "*repeated* and *persistent negative actions* towards one or more *individual(s)*, which involves *a perceived power imbalance* and *creates a hostile work environment*. Bullying is thus a form of interpersonal aggression or hostile, anti-social behavior in the workplace" (p. 1214; emphasis in original). Zapf and Gross (2001) defined workplace bullying as "consistent exposure to persistent, oppressive, offensive, abusive, intimidating, malicious, or insulting behavior by a manager/supervisor or co-worker". Einarsen and Mikkelsen (2003, p. 35) proposed the following definition:

> 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, the bullying behavior 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.

The definitions of bullying have several core components in common: exposure to negative acts, the frequency (regularity) and duration, the process of interpersonal development (escalation), the power imbalance (non-control situation for the victim), and the persistent character of bullying.

Workplace bullying can be measured by two main methods (Einarsen, 2000; Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001; Nielsen, Notelaers, & Einarsen, 2011): (1) a "subjective" or "self-labeling" method asks participants whether they perceive themselves as victims of workplace bullying, based on a given definition of bullying; and (2) an "operational" method or criterion-based method (also known as "the behavioral experience method"), in which various questionnaires are used. The participants are given a list of negative unwanted acts at the workplace, and they are asked to tick the ones to which they have been subjected during a certain specified period (e.g. six months). If the frequency of reported negative acts is above a certain threshold, it can be concluded that bullying has taken place.

The prevalence of bullying that is reported may be subject to both under-reporting and over-reporting. The prevalence (i.e., the percentage of the workforce that experiences bullying) that has been determined ranges from 3% to 51%, where the magnitude of the range is due to differences in study design, definition of bullying, choice of measurement instrument, and selection of study sample. Nielsen, Matthiesen, and Einarsen (2010) carried out a meta-analysis of data from about

140,000 people from 86 independent samples, and estimated the prevalence of workplace bullying to be 14.6%. The figure obtained from the self-labeled /subjective method was 11.3%, while that obtained from the behavioral measure/objective method was 18.1%. Under-reporting is likely when bullying is measured by the subjective method (Einarsen, 2000), since people may decline to self-identify with a victim role, which associates personal attributes with weakness and passivity (Mikkelsen, & Einarsen, 2001). It is also possible that people are unaware of the fact that they are being bullied. In contrast, over-reporting is likely when the operational method is used, because the concept of workplace bullying is not explicitly defined, and some negative unwanted behaviors at work may not be bullying, but rather criminal acts. Examples of such serious negative behaviors are sexual harassment, physical abuse, and the threat of physical abuse.

Some studies have compared male-dominated and female-dominated workplaces with respect to workplace bullying (Leymann, 1992c). The sex-distribution of the people at each type of workplace who experience bullying is similar. Further, bullying behavior is similar in many ways in male-dominated and female-dominated workplaces. Both sexes feel excluded in a similar way when co-workers are forbidden to speak to them, and give only glances or gestures with negative meaning. There are, however, some differences. Women experience more often that people talk behind their back, that their superiors limit the opportunities for development, that colleagues spread negative comments and false rumors, and that their private lives are ridiculed or attacked. Men, in contrast, experience more often verbal intimidation, their professional skills being called into question, and vociferous exchanges. Scandinavian studies (Einarsen & Raknes, 1997; Leymann & Tallgren, 1989) have shown that employees working in male-dominated manufacturing companies run a higher risk of exposure to bullying. Einarsen and Skogstad (1996) found a high (17%) prevalence of bullying among male workers in a Norwegian shipyard.

Organizations are facing changes characterized by increased competitiveness due to globalization and the financial crisis, and workplace bullying should therefore be studied in the context of the organizational climate. The organizational climate of an organization or company is created by the shared perceptions of the organizational members, and the meaning attached to policies, practices and procedures that they experience, as well as the kinds of behavior that are expected, rewarded and supported (Ostroff, Kinicki, & Tamkins, 2003; Schneider, White, & Paul, 1998). Organizational climate reflects the tangible, culture-embedding mechanisms of organizations, through which they attempt to direct the energies of organizational members (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1983; Schneider, Ehrhart, & Macey, 2013). Einarsen et al. (1994) found a positive correlation between workplace bullying and organizational environments in which role conflict and dissatisfaction

with psychosocial organizational climate were elevated. Vartia (1996) found a positive correlation between workplace bullying and organizational climates characterized by poor cooperative relationships, and a high degree of envy and internal competition. Giorgi (2009) found that five of ten measured dimensions of organizational climate (team, job description, leadership, dynamism, and innovation) significantly predicted workplace bullying. Kearns, McCarthy, and Sheehan (1997) postulated that workplace bullying arises during the process of restructuring at an organization. Competitiveness as a trait produces further traits, such as ruthlessness in organizational workplaces (Duffy, 2009), which, in turn, become increasingly absorbed into the values of an organization, as well as into individual values. Since the early 1990s, many studies have been performed in many countries, but research in Sweden into this phenomenon has been remarkably stagnant since 2000. It is, therefore, interesting to explore whether the amount of workplace bullying has increased in recent years, possibly due to globalization and other changes in organizations.

At least 27 questionnaires are available to assess workplace bullying (see Nielsen et al. 2011, Table 6.2). Most of them have a high Cronbach's alpha > .80, indicating a high homogeneity.

Knowledge about workplace bullying in Sweden is very limited. A database search using PSYCInfo, PubMed, Educational Resources Information Centre, Proquest Dissertations and Theses, Scopus, and Google Scholar entering a combination of the following keywords: harassment AND (bullying OR mobbing) AND (Swedish OR Sweden) AND (organization OR workplace) returned no results that could shed light on the prevalence of workplace bullying in Sweden. The only study that we found described sexual harassment of women officers and cadets in the Swedish military (Estrada & Berggren, 2009). We have also found a qualitative study performed in Sweden by Strandmark and Hallkvist (2007).

This low interest in studying the phenomenon in Sweden is surprising, because research on school bullying has a long tradition in Sweden (Olweus, 1991). It is important to know the prevalence of bullying at different workplaces in order to design and implement strategies to deal with it.

The Current Study

It is necessary to know about the occurrence of bullying at different workplaces and cultures, and to study the effects of organizational climate, in order to work actively for employee well-being, job satisfaction, career development, intentions to stay in the job, and job tenure. Such knowledge is important also to improve the health of the employees, as the organizational climate, which includes interpersonal relationships and organizational dysfunction. The association between bullying and its consequences has been relatively well-investigated, but little is known about the rela-

tionships between bullying and organizational climate in workplaces that are dominated by one sex. The main aim of the present study, therefore, was to investigate the prevalence of workplace bullying and the relationship between workplace bullying and organizational climate in organizations in Sweden where the workforce is dominated by one sex. The following research questions were formulated:

1. What is the prevalence of workplace bullying of men and women at Swedish workplaces with a high level of stress and one dominant sex in the workplace?
2. What is the prevalence of unjust treatment at these workplaces? Does it differ between men and women?
3. What is the relationship between workplace bullying and organizational climate?
4. To what extent does the level of bullying differ between workplaces with a high level of stress that are dominated by one sex?
5. To what extent does the organizational climate differ between these workplaces?

Methods

Settings

We chose two divisions of juvenile detention care and two divisions of elderly care, since bullying is a widespread problem in social work (Macintosh, Wuest, Gray, & Cronkhite, 2010).

Juvenile care is a typically male workplace. State-run treatment departments (the Swedish National Board of Institutional Care, or "SIS"), and privately run and council-owned treatment departments provide care in Sweden for adolescents with neuropsychiatric and psychosocial problems. A typical workplace is a secure treatment unit at which disruptive young people with substance-abuse problems, criminal behavior, or psychosocial problems are located. Young people can be placed in such a unit by coercion, according to the Care of Young Persons (Special Provisions) Act, or on a voluntary basis, according to the Social Services Act (SoL). Such workplaces are dominated by male employees. We chose two such workplaces; both were secure treatment facilities at which young boys are placed according to the Care of Young Persons Act.

In contrast, care of the elderly is a typically female occupation. It is most often carried out by private operators, although some County Councils are principals. Healthcare consumers in elderly care have a greater need for care. We chose one such workplace: a service home at which the elderly are offered a place when they are no longer able to fend for themselves due to high age, poor health or disease.

The second workplace within elderly care was a short-term accommodation unit, in which the elderly live for a short period following, for example, a hospital stay.

Participants

Participants consisted of 62 employees aged between 19 and 65 years ($M = 43.8$, $SD = 10.5$). One group was from the two male-dominated workplaces (juvenile care, $N = 28$) aged between 25 and 59 years. In this group, five participants were women. Another group was from the two female-dominated workplaces (elderly care, $N = 34$) aged between 19 and 65 years. In this group, two participants were men. Eight persons from the elderly care units declined to participate in the study.

Instruments

The instruments presented by Nielsen et al. (2011) are in English, and none of them was available in Swedish at the time (2013) of the data collection for the study presented here. We used an instrument in Swedish constructed by Westerlund (2011) at Novia University of Applied Science in Vasa (Vasa is in the Swedish-speaking part of the Finnish coastline), in order to examine both workplace bullying and organizational climate. Two initial questions measured experience of workplace bullying and two further questions measured unjust treatment at work (see below). Further, two scales were constructed, one that determined workplace bullying, and the other working climate (see the Appendix, where the English version of the instrument may be found). Westerlund (personal communication, 12 December 2013) gave us her permission to use and present the scales. The Swedish version may be found in Ohlsson and Ragnestål-Impola (2013, Appendix 2).

Workplace bullying. Two methods of estimating the prevalence of workplace bullying were applied (Westerlund, 2011). The first method was the "self-labeling" (often known as the "subjective method"), which was obtained by two questions dealing with the respondent's experience of *workplace bullying.* The response format here was "Yes" or "No" (Questions 8 and 9). The definition of bullying was provided (see the Appendix). Two further questions dealt with the experience of *unjust treatment* (Questions 10 and 11). The answers were coded on an ordinal scale with response options 0 (*Never*), 1 (*Rarely*), and 2 (*Sometimes/often*). (Actually, it was five response options here, but it was zero response rate to "Very often", and very few respondents answered "Often", thus, this response was coded together with "Sometimes"). No definition of such unjust treatment was presented.

The second method was the "behavioral experience" method (often known as the "operational method") using the Bullying Scale and the Organizational Climate Scale. The Bullying Scale has 16 items (Questions 27-42) (including, for example, such items as "Have you at your work been subjected to colleagues spreading gossip and rumors about you"). Using a five-point Likert-type scale from 0 (*Never*) to

4 (*Very often*), respondents stated how often they had been subjected to the 16 negative and unwanted work-related acts described by the questionnaire, based on their experience in their current workplace. The value of Cronbach's alpha of this scale was .97. Only mean scale scores were analyzed (the frequency of unwanted negative acts was not considered).

The Organizational Climate Scale. The Organizational Climate Scale comprises general questions that, according to the content of the items, may be assumed to measure indirectly a particular kind of managerial bullying. This is the case, since the leader is responsible for the organizational climate. The scale deals with general statements of "conduct/misconduct" and "inclusion/exclusion". One of the seven statements for the "participation/co-determination" factor is, for example,: "At my work, I participate in decision-making", while a statement for the "negative communication" factor is: "In the workplace there is someone who spoils the atmosphere". Using a four-point Likert-type scale to quantify level of agreement from 0 (*Not at all*) to 3 (*A great deal*), respondents rate the importance of 15 work-related phenomena regarding organizational climate.

We have developed the Organizational Climate Scale further by estimating its dimensionality. We used exploratory factor analysis, specifically with principal axis factor factoring with varimax rotation, to estimate this. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure produced a strong value of .81 for the 15 items, indicating a high-to-partial correlation ratio that made the items well-suited to factor analysis. We identified: (a) Factor 1, which we named "Participation/Co-Determination", which comprised seven items (Questions 12, 13, 16, 19, 21, 23, and 26), Cronbach's alpha = .78; and (b) Factor 2, which we named "Negative Communication", which comprised also seven items (Questions 14, 15, 17, 20, 22, 24, and 25), Cronbach's alpha = .87. We deleted one item (Question 7, "Nobody is discriminated") due to its poor psychometric properties. The two factors explained 53% of the total variance.

Background. The background information that we collected was sex, age, type of work, working hours, employment type, and the number of people in the work group. Participants were also asked to describe their own experiences with bullying in their workplaces (Question 43). Participants were asked to describe how the bullying behavior was expressed, and whether any actions were taken in order to stop it. Three participants chose to answer this question. The descriptions they gave revealed that they had been subjected to being ostracized, violated, and discriminated against. No action had been taken in any case.

Results

Workplace Bullying

A total of 19.4% of the sample ($n = 12$) reported being a victim of bullying at the current workplace. Twenty-five per cent of men ($n = 6$) and 15.8% ($n = 6$) of women had been exposed to workplace bullying. The sex difference in these frequencies was not significant ($\chi^2 = 0.80$, df $= 1$, $p = .371$).

Further, 35.5% of the sample ($n = 22$) reported witnessing bullying at the current workplace. More than half of men (54.2% $n = 13$) and 23.7% ($n = 9$) of women reported witnessing workplace bullying. The relationship between having witnessed bullying and sex was significant ($\chi^2 = 5.97$, df $= 1$, $p = .015$).

There was no significant sex difference in the mean score on the Bullying Scale ($t = 1.20$, df $= 60$, $p = .234$, two-tailed). Men reported a higher mean score ($M = 14.0$, $SD = 11.4$) than women ($M = 10.2$, $SD = 12.6$).

Unjust Treatment

Twenty-nine per cent of the sample ($n = 18$) had been a victim of unjust treatment at work. Ten men (41.7%) and 8 women (21.1%) reported that they sometimes or often had been a victim of unjust treatment. The relationship between being a victim of unjust treatment and sex was not significant ($\chi^2 = 4.07$, df $= 2$, $p = .131$).

Further, 40.3% of the sample ($n = 25$) reported witnessing unjust treatment at the current workplace. More than half of men (66.7%, $n = 16$) and 23.7% of women ($n = 9$) reported having witnessed unjust treatment. There was a significant relationship between witnessing unjust treatment and sex ($\chi^2 = 11.47$, df $= 2$, $p = .003$).

Correlations between Bullying and Organizational Climate

Table 1 shows the correlations between bullying and the two dimensions of organizational climate that we defined, participation/co-determination and negative communication. There was a positive correlation between bullying and a climate of negative communication. The effect size was large. In addition, there was a negative correlation between a climate of participation/co-determination and both negative communication and bullying. The effect sizes were medium.

Table 1
Correlations between the work-related variables studied

Variable	*M (SD)*	Negative communication	Participation/ Co-determination
Negative communication	11.6 (4.9)		
Participation/ Co-determination	13.2 (3.5)	-.40**	
Bullying	11.6 (12.2)	.65**	– .43**

Note. Pearson's correlation coefficient was applied. **$p < .01$

Level of Bullying in Workplaces Dominated by One Sex

Mean scores on the Bullying Scale were higher in the male-dominated workplaces ($M = 13.96$, $SD = 2.33$) than in the female-dominated ones ($M = 10.16$, $SD = 2.04$). An independent *t*-test, however, showed that the difference in the bullying score between male-dominated and female-dominated workplaces was not statistically significant ($t = 1.20$, $p = .230$).

Organizational Climate in Workplaces Dominated by One Sex

The participants at female-dominated workplaces experienced a greater sense of participation/co-determination than those at male-dominated workplaces. There was, however, no statistically significant mean scale score difference in the dimension of organizational climate "Participation/co-determination" between male-dominated ($M = 12.54$, $SD = 0.80$) and female-dominated ($M = 13.63$, $SD = 0.52$) workplaces ($t = 1.19$, $p = .240$).

Further, there was no statistically significant mean scale score difference in the dimension of organizational climate "Negative communication" between male-dominated ($M = 8.13$, $SD = 0.97$) and female-dominated ($M = 10.66$, $SD = 0.77$) workplaces ($t = 1.96$, $p = .550$).

Discussion

The results presented here show that: (1) Two in ten employees at Swedish workplaces with a high level of stress and at which one sex dominates feel bullied. The figure is higher in men than in women but the difference is not significant. In contrast, the percentage of men who witness workplace bullying is significantly higher

than the percentage of women (most men have witnessed bullying). (2) The prevalence of unjust treatment at work is high; three in ten participants have experienced it. Twice as many men than women experience unjust treatment. (3) The relationships between workplace bullying and the two dimensions of organizational climate that we defined are significant and in an opposite direction: negative communication is positively related, while participation/co-determination is negatively related, to workplace bullying. (4) The level of bullying in male-dominated workplaces is higher than in female-dominated workplaces, but the difference is not significant. (5) Organizational climate does not differ significantly between these two types of workplace, although employees at female-dominated workplaces experience a greater sense of participation/co-determination and greater negative communication than employees at male-dominated workplaces.

Research into workplace bullying has been stagnant in Sweden during the past 15 years, even though the workplace has become increasingly competitive with sings of decreasing empathy for others (Twenge, Campbell, & Freeman, 2012), and has undergone rapid change during this period. Our results are an innovative contribution to such research. Sweden is one of the highest ranked countries in the world with respect to both cultural individualism and social mobility (Hofstede, 2001; Jäntti et al., 2006). Individualism may promote workplace bullying. The figures for workplace bullying presented in this study are higher than those recently reported, which have been determined from replies to a simple question. Salin (2015), for example, reported the prevalence of bullying in Finland as follows: 4.4% are currently experiencing bullying, 12.6% have previously been subjected to it at the current workplace, and 8.1% have previously been subjected to it at another workplace. In our study, 25% of men and 15.8% of women have experienced workplace bullying at the current workplace, a far higher figures than that reported by Salin.

We have investigated also how often workplace bullying is witnessed, which is innovative. Men witness bullying significantly more frequently than women, and most men had witnessed it. This finding may be explained by the fact that it is difficult for people to admit that they are being bullied. It is easier to state that one has witnessed bullying than it to admit that the bullying in question was directed at oneself. It is possible that men are more willing to report having witnessed bullying than they are to admit that they have been bullied. Agervold (2007) postulated that the assessment of witnesses is the closest one may come to an objective observation of bullying. School-based research on bullying has used the peer nomination method to identify both victims and bullies (Solberg & Olweus, 2003). Higher figures for bullying in men may be related to a general tendency among males to be more aggressive than females (Einarsen, 2000). It may be related also to a tendency of males to use competitive, unyielding and aggressive strategies in conflict man-

agement (Miller, 1991). The U.S. Workplace Bullying Institute reported that males are more often found in the role of the bully (62%), while females are more often found among those targeted (58%) (Farmer, 2011).

As an additional check, we investigated the prevalence of being unjustly treated and the prevalence of witnessing unjust treatment at work. One third of employees had felt unjustly treated by their co-workers at their current workplace. Although a definition of "unjust treatment" was not presented, participants interpreted it as a broader concept than bullying. It is possible that employees did not associate it with similar negative perceptions as bullying. An interesting finding was that twice as many men than women had witnessed unjust treatment at the current workplace. It should be kept in mind that the workplaces of all but two of the men were secure correctional institutions for male juvenile delinquents. Many of the residents in such institutions have a pattern of deviant personality traits (Dåderman, 1999; Dåderman, Wirsén Meurling, & Hallman, 2001), a high degree of psychopathy (Dåderman & Kristiansson, 2003; 2004), or alcohol and severe drug abuse (Dåderman & Lidberg, 1999). This workplace environment is very stressful. It is possible that the high prevalence of witnessing unjust treatment by men is related to this severely stressful work environment. The majority of women in our study worked in elderly care. The work environment of these women is, of course, also stressful, but in a different way, and the stress may be not so visible, because many of these women work alone or in small groups. It is also possible that it is easier to notice (and remember) when somebody suffers unjust treatment in a male-dominated environment than it is in a female-dominated environment. Workplaces such as juvenile institutions are much louder environments than workplaces in elderly care, because the former house male delinquents who make more noise than older people. Studies that compared male-dominated and female-dominated workplaces with respect to workplace bullying (Leymann, 1992c) have shown that men experience more verbal intimidation than women, their professional skills are brought more often into question, and vociferous exchanges occur more frequently.

The results presented here cannot be explained in terms of objective differences in the experience of negative acts reflected in the Bullying Scale, nor in general statements of "conduct/misconduct" and "inclusion/exclusion" reflected in the Climate Scale, because the mean score differences for these variables between male-dominated and female-dominated workplaces were not significantly different. We have not used an established instrument to measure the perception of being exposed to a range of specific bullying behaviors, and thus our results on the Climate Scale cannot be compared with previous results. Factor analysis allowed us to determine that the scale comprises two separate factors. This was necessary, since the results from the total scale were unreliable, which indicated that several (covert) dimensions were involved. Our consequent analyses were performed using these

two factors, and we did not analyze the items of the scale. Westerlund (2011) only analyzed individual items from the two scales.

Our correlational analysis showed that a negative communication climate was positively related to workplace bullying, while a participation/co-determination climate was negatively related. These correlations were significant, and indicate that the Bullying Scale is a valid instrument. Bullying may be positively related to a negative communication climate because a workplace with a positive communication climate should lead to less bullying. Similarly, bullying should decrease when employees are allowed to participate in decisions, which indicates collegiality. They are, in this case, informed about decisions and their opinion is respected. It is possible that these relationships are self-evident in the eyes of employees, but these relationships do not allow us to draw any causal conclusions. Giorgi (2009) found that team, job description, leadership, dynamism, and innovation significantly predicted workplace bullying. More research is required in order to understand the relationship beteen workplace bullying and organizational climate. Future research should also include investigation of social values in this context. Work with organizational values should lead to better cooperation between employees and deeper awareness of workplace bullying, and thus to a reduced experience of bullying. Continuous work on the managerial level with different aspects of organizational climate should include seeking for different ways in order to increase respect, tolerance, and empathetic approach to diversity.

Some methodological limitations should be discussed. The new instrument that we have used here has not yet been validated. The relationships between the variables were reasonably convincing, however, and the instrument had excellent internal consistency. More research that uses the instrument must be carried out in order to allow us to conclude that the conclusions drawn are valid. Future research in the Swedish context would benefit from using this instrument in combination with an internationally validated instrument, such as, the Negative Acts Questionnaire-Revised (Einarsen, Hoel, & Notelaers, 2009).

We conclude that the prevalence of workplace bullying in Swedish organizations characterized by a high level of stress is relatively high. The level of workplace bullying and the frequency of witnessing unjust treatment are similar in male-dominated and female-dominated workplaces.

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Questionnaire about the working climate in juvenile detention care and elderly care

Please answer the following questions based on your experiences and your assessment of your workplace. Specify only one answer for each question.

Background

1. Sex   Female   Male

2. Age _____

3. Field of work   Juvenile care   Elderly care

4. How long have you worked at your current workplace? _____

5. Working hours   Full-time   Part-time

6. Employment type   Permanent   Temporary

                        Substitute   Other, please specify

7. Number of people in your workgroup _____

Working climate

8. Have you been subjected to bullying* by colleagues at your current workplace?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

9. Has any of your current colleagues been subjected to bullying* at the workplace?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

10. Have you been subjected to unjust treatment by colleagues at your current workplace?

☐ Never   ☐ Seldom   ☐ Occasionally ☐ Often   ☐ Very often

11. Have you witnessed any of your current colleagues being subjected to unjust treatment at your workplace?

☐ Never   ☐ Seldom   ☐ Occasionally ☐ Often   ☐ Very often

*Bullying:

• repeated negative activities that continue during a longer period, against one or several people

• may be expressed in many forms, from ostracisation, harassing looks and spreading rumours, to serious violence and physical abuse.

Answer Questions 12-26 on a scale from 0-3,

where 0 – not at all, 1 – not very much, 2 – a certain amount and 3 – a great deal.

At the workplace...

	0	1	2	3
12. there is a good atmosphere	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. all employees are respected	☐	☐	☐	☐
14. people gossip	☐	☐	☐	☐
15. there are people who cannot work in collaboration	☐	☐	☐	☐
16. the expertise of the employees is well managed	☐	☐	☐	☐
17. there is someone who spoils the atmosphere	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. nobody is discriminated against	☐	☐	☐	☐
19. I participate in decision-making	☐	☐	☐	☐
20. employees are defamed	☐	☐	☐	☐
21. information flows freely	☐	☐	☐	☐
22. negative comments about employees are made	☐	☐	☐	☐
23. the opinions of the personnel are considered	☐	☐	☐	☐
24. there is someone who complains without a reason	☐	☐	☐	☐
25. the working methods of the personnel are questioned	☐	☐	☐	☐
26. everyone takes the responsibility of creating a workplace that is free from discrimination	☐	☐	☐	☐

Answer Questions 27-42 on a scale from 0-4,

where 0 – never, 1 – seldom, 2 – occasionally, 3 – often, 4 – very often.

Have you been subjected to the following by colleagues at your workplace:

	Never	Seldom	Occasionally	Often	Very often
	0	1	2	3	4
27. Rumours about you have been spread	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
28. Your opinions have been ignored	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
29. You have been defamed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
30. You have been given harassing looks or actions	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
31. You have been addressed by a degrading nickname	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
32. You have been continuously interrupted	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Never	Seldom	Occasionally	Often	Very often
	0	1	2	3	4
33. Lies about you have been spread	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
34. You have been ostracised	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
35. Hurtful comments have been made to you	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
36. You have been made fun of	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
37. You have been avoided	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
38. You have been studiously ignored	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
39. You have been snapped at	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
40. People have refused to speak to you	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
41. People have ignored you when you addressed them	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
42. Your working methods have been criticised	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

43. Do you have any experience of bullying at the workplace?

Describe what happened and how it was dealt with, if at all.

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_____

(Continue on the other side of the page if required.)

We are extremely grateful for your cooperation in completing the questionnaire

THE VERBAL EXPRESSION OF COMPASSION IN AN ACADEMIC SETTING

Teresa Söderhjelm

Abstract

This case study aimed at exploring procedures to capture the verbal expression of compassion in an academic setting. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews addressing the informants' perceptions of current working environment conditions, at a medical education and research faculty. The informants represented management teams, research group leaders, researchers, doctoral students and administrative staff (n=46). The interviews were coded focusing on expressions of compassion, using and comparing two different instruments: the Neff Self-Compassion Scale and SAVI, System for Analysing Verbal Interaction. Data were also gathered through earlier surveys concerning the work environment and bibliometrics. The findings suggested a link between the two instruments used, as well as a link between expressed compassion through verbal behaviour and reported stress levels. Some informants indicated that compassion would contradict productivity. Comparing measures for compassion with bibliometrics did not indicate such a trade-off.

Keywords Compassion, Neff Self-Compassion Scale, SAVI, Organisation, Leadership

Following the definition of compassion by Cosley, McCoy, Saslow and Epel (2010) compassion can be seen as concern for the wellbeing of others. Compassion motivates support giving and is evoked by perceiving others as vulnerable, distressed or in need. College students who are more concerned about their peers show higher self-esteem, self-efficacy, and lower ambulatory blood pressure (Cosley et al., 2010).

One way through which compassion may be related to wellbeing is by improving the perception and actualization of available social support. Individuals who show greater compassion for others also perceive others to have greater compassion for them (Cosley et al., 2010).

During 2012 a research team at a medical faculty of a Swedish university gathered data to investigate possible follow-ups to a work environment questionnaire. The faculty was positioned above the stated reference values for all indexes of sleeping difficulties. The proportion exposed to bullying and harassment had increased somewhat in comparison with previous measurements, and 15 % stated that they had observed this type of behaviour in the workplace. The indexes for work satisfaction and work motivation were high (AHA, Arbete och Hälsa, 2011-12).

The referred figures were of importance for this study taking into consideration a study by Emdad, Alipour, Hagberg, and Jensen (2012) where the impact on bullying not only on the direct targets, but also on the bystanders was investigated.

The results support the notion that bullying is not only a dyadic target-bully issue. It has to be seen as a triadic relationship between bully, victim, and bystander and as a structural, organisational problem where many bystanders as well as targets suffer and are at risk of future stress related health problems. Bystanders and the whole organisation are involved in the process of bullying behaviour, and, in turn, intervention programs should address the whole workplace system (Emdad et al., 2012).

In some cases, bystanders choose not to get involved, which may lead to feelings of guilt. In other instances, they may try to help the target by finding ways to retaliate against the bully. In any case, the witnesses spend a great deal of time pondering the bullying, resulting in potentially lower productivity for the organisation (Pearson & Porath, 2005).

Previous research on compassion

The construct of compassion can be understood from many different perspectives. Goetz, Keltner, and Simon-Thomas (2010) defined compassion as "a distinct affective experience". In this model, compassion is thought to constitute an evolutionarily advantageous trait evolved as part of a caregiving response to vulnerable offspring leading to the preferential selection of compassionate individuals in mating. Correspondingly, compassion emerged as a desirable trait in cooperative relations between non-kin. In this sense, Goetz et al. (2010) link the evolution of compassion with the development of positive reputations — i.e. if you get a reputation for being kind-hearted this is good for your survival.

A recent study (Breines & Chen, 2013) have investigated whether self-compassion is a stable trait or if it is influenced by the social context. The study shows that it is influenced by context; one way to increase compassion for the self is to give it to others.

Compassion in an academic setting

How can compassion be promoted and applied in an academic setting? Successful academic environments, (successful defined as conducting breakthrough research pushing the frontiers of human knowledge, but not necessarily producing the largest volume of articles), are characterised by a high degree of autonomy, flexibility, social integration, cooperation and employee security (Hollingsworth, 2003). This assumes the existence of leadership that can both identify the most central research issues and developmental trends, and simultaneously contribute to good spirit and job satisfaction amongst colleagues.

In the academic environment, much work is conducted in teams. A model for team leadership is based on the functional leadership claim that the leader's function is to monitor the team and then take whatever action is necessary to ensure

team effectiveness (Hill Kogler & Northouse, 2010). Organisational research shows that contextual factors (history, culture, control and reward systems etc.) have a decisive influence on work and cooperative processes in all types of organisations (Pettigrew & Whipp, 1991).

Compassion measurement

Neff (2003) argues for the concept of compassion and self-compassion being inter-changeable: "In the West, compassion is usually conceptualized in terms of com-passion for others, but in Buddhist psychology, it is believed that it is as essential to feel compassion for oneself as it is for others. The definition of self-compassion… is not distinguished from the more general definition of ''compassion'' (Neff, 2003). According to Neff 's extensive research on non-clinical populations, self-compassion is associated with increased wellbeing as reflected in lower feeling of depression, lower anxiety and greater satisfaction with life.

The Neff Self-Compassion Scale (SCS), widely applied in research on compas-sion, focuses on six areas: Self-Kindness (e.g., "I try to be loving towards myself when I am feeling emotional pain"); Self-Judgment ("I'm disapproving and judg-mental about my own flaws and inadequacies"); Common Humanity ("When things are going badly for me, I see the difficulties as part of life that everyone goes through"); Isolation ("When I think about my inadequacies, it tends to make me feel more separate and cut off from the rest of the world"); Self-Compassion Mind-fulness ("When something upsets me I keep my emotions in balance"); and over identification ("When I'm feeling down I tend to obsess and fixate on everything that's wrong") (Neff, 2003). The SCS shows strong internal reliability (consistently above .90) as well as test-retest reliability (.93 over a three-week interval; Neff 2003). Convergent validity for the scale is strong, with self-reported SCS scores substantially overlapping with observer reports (Neff, 2006; Neff, Kirkpatrick, & Rude, 2007). The scale also shows discriminant validity – practicing Buddhists report higher SCS scores than non-Buddhists (Neff, 2003).
To strengthen the claim that self-compassion is a valid proxy for compassion, Longe, Maratos, Gilbert, Evans, Volker, Rockliff, and Rippon Longe (2009) showed activity in the same brain area for both.

Methods for analyses of verbal expression of compassion

Compassion being a relatively new and not that thoroughly researched concept, the research group in this project discussed the possibility of capturing expressions of compassion by measuring it in a couple of different ways; hereby creating a trian-gulation. One option was to focus on the core areas in the self-compassion scale i.e. expressions of kindness, non-judgment, common humanity, feelings of isolation, emotional balance and over-identification (the latter two could be interpreted as

distress tolerance thereby using an overlapping terminology with Neff and Gilbert (2009)) rating the verbal expressions of our informants. Hereby using the previously referred to self-compassion scale as a base.

Compassion can be demonstrated in different ways: through facial expressions, temporal pole activity, compassionate acts and verbal behaviour. Since our main source of information was interviews we decided to focus on the verbal expression of compassion (research team meeting Oct. 2012). Inspired by a data triangulation approach (Yin, 2009) we decided to use both an adaption of the self-compassion scale focusing on the core areas: expressions of kindness, non-judgment, common humanity, feelings of isolation, emotional balance and over identification, and an instrument developed for analysing verbal behaviour called SAVI, System for Analysing Verbal Interaction, developed by Simon and Agazarian (1969).

The SAVI instrument is based on general systems and information theory. SAVI was developed by Simon and Agazarian (1969) in order to describe communication to understand what is actually happening when people are talking to each other; that verbal behaviour is more than just the contents of the words people utter (Benjamin, Yeager & Simon, 2012). The idea is that all human communication can be described as behaviour that either facilitates or avoids information getting across, and that avoidance creates stress in the system. SAVI is an observation and classification instrument that estimates the probability that information will be transferred. Based on this analysis it is possible to predict the potential for problem solving in the communication. It is also possible to decide if the verbal acts used will contribute to problem solving or in themselves contribute to the problem (Sandahl, Lindgren & Herlitz, 2000).

The theory behind SAVI assumes that noise in the communication will reduce the probability of information getting across from sender to the receiver. Noise is defined as ambiguities, contradictions and redundancies. The concept of noise comes from information theory; the technical study of how quantities of information are measured, stored and transmitted, and was first used in an article by Shannon and Weaver in 1949 called the Mathematical Theory of Communication (Benjamin et al., 2012).

In SAVI all utterances and human sounds are regarded as verbal behaviours to be coded in nine discrete categories, each containing sub-categories. Both content and how something is said is taken into account. The vertical scoring depends on if the sounds are assumed to contribute to approaching or avoiding problem solving. Avoidance behaviours are coded as red, they introduce noise, making it less likely the communication will transfer information and more likely it will create stress. Neutral behaviours are coded as yellow; mostly information, and the effect it has depends on the context, yellow behaviours can be used as ammunition if the context is red, or as a resources if it is green, since green behaviours give evidence that

information has been transferred. Green behaviours tend to create a positive, productive climate and thus increase the chances of information being transferred and integrated (Simon & Agazarian, 2008). If the content is personal, factual or orienting it is scored horizontally. Personal information influences the system in terms of degree of intimacy related to the past or the present. Factual information influences the system´s capacity to organise and integrate data and facts. Orienting information gives the system a direction (Sandahl et al., 2000). In Sandahl, Lindgren and Herlitz' study (2000) inter-rater agreement for novice raters varied between 75 and 77 %. Here follows a simplified illustration of the SAVI-grid:

Table 1
A simplified illustration of System for Analysing Verbal Interaction developed Simon and Agazarian (1969). SAVI is a registered trademark of Agazarian, Simon, Byram and Carter

	Direction towards Person	*Direction towards Facts*	*Orienting of facts and person*
Avoidance behavior	Fighting, attack	Obscuring	Competing
Neutral behavior	Personal information, opinions, questions	Facts & figures General information	Influencing
Facilitating behavior	Resonating	Responding	Integrating

Simon and Agazarian did not use the concept of compassion expressively; the research team discussed this dilemma and came to the conclusion that the green verbal behaviours acknowledging that information is received could be interpreted as an expression of compassion in the sense that they break isolation. According to Simon and Agazarian an interchange between green and yellow behaviours integrating different opinions, is a typical pattern for actual problem solving. This pattern could also be estimated as a proxy for compassion since compassion includes desire to relieve someone of their troubles (research team meeting, 2012).

Research questions for this study

The main research question in this study was to explore procedures to capture the verbal expression of compassion in an academic setting. If such procedures could be found, could anything be said about whom, under which circumstances and to what effect compassion was expressed?

Study design and theoretical framework

During the fall of 2012 a team of four researchers initiated a project as a part of a follow up of the AHA-survey of the psychosocial work environment at the medical faculty of a Swedish university, as an important part of the AHA-method is to develop a method of reinforcing and supporting sustainable health (Emdad et al., 2012). Two departments volunteered to take part, in the following called Depart-

ment 1 and Department 2. Interviews were conducted on many hierarchical levels: division leaders and other key personnel, doctoral students, and post-docs.

A case study approach (Yin, 2009) was used to describe and explain the planning, formation, and results. The framework used to decide what data to gather was based on Pettigrew and Whipp (1993) model of strategic change. The Pettigrew and Whipp framework is frequently used in analysing change programmes in organisations (Stetler, Ritchie, Rycroft-Malone, Achults, & Charns, 2007; Øvretveit, Andreen-Sachs, Carlsson, Gustafsson, Hansson, Keller, Lofgren, Mazzocato, Tolf & Brommels, 2012). It focuses the data collection on the content of the change, how the actions taken to implement the change is received and developed, the context, along with intermediate and final outcomes (Iles & Sutherland, 2001; Stetler et al., 2007; Walshe, 2007).

Data were gathered in semi-structured interviews conducted with a sample of key persons at different organisational levels, selected by the management of the departments (In total 46 persons were interviewed of which 29 were women. Of these 46, 17 (12 men) held positions as members of management teams either for the departments or for sections within the departments). The interview protocol addressed the informants' perception of current working environment conditions, with special focus on psychosocial aspects such as leadership and organisational climate. The concluding question in all the interviews was whether there was someone else the informant suggested to be interview – this led to an additional 7 interviews. The majority of the interviews were conducted September-November 2012, and some in February and March of 2013. All interviews were recorded and conducted by two interviewers. All informants were assured confidentiality.

The interview guide covered the following questions:

Q1. Describe your current position at work.
Q2. What functions well and less so at Department 1,2?
Q3. How would you describe the research climate at Department 1,2?
Q4. How would you describe the social climate at Department 1,2?
Q5. If you for one day were the head of department, mention three areas to prioritize.
Q6. Are there any work environment problems at Department 1,2, we (in the research group) should know about?
Q7. How are deficiencies in the psychosocial work environment defined at Department 1,2 today?
Q8. How are identified deficiencies in the psychosocial work environment at Department 1,2 handled?
Q9. Anything we have forgotten to ask that is important to know?
Q10. Some one else you think we should interview?

Returning to Yin on case study analysis: one of the fundamental techniques is to find logic based on pattern matching (Yin, 2009). This method can be compared

with the judicial process based on circumstantial evidence, comparing an empirically found pattern with an expected. If the patterns match, the internal validity of the case study is strengthened. In a descriptive case study as this one, pattern matching is a relevant technique, according to Yin, as long as expected patterns of specific variables are defined before the data collection. An expected pattern in this specific context could be that the high degree of motivation might diminish some problems and exaggerated others.

In constructing the above questions an expected outcome was that the informants would be able to show compassion on a rising scale from questions 2, 3, 4, 5 and to question 6 giving the informant ample room to express compassion, to questions 1, 7 and 8 being more neutral in that they deal more with the structural level.

One of the critiques of case studies is that they mostly produce a lot of paper (Yin, 2009). To not fall into that trap questions 1,2,3,5,6 were analysed in more depth, as they were the questions rendering the answers containing most information. Maybe this also reveals something of the informants' profiles. The first 6 questions concern the individuals point of view, whereas questions 7 and 8 are on a level, which might not interest the informants that much.

Do the questions carry different weight? Apart from the administrative personnel, all informants either had their own research group, or participated in one or many. This could imply that the question on research-climate was the over-ruling one: if you identify yourself as a researcher and the research climate is good then maybe the rest is less important? Hereby strengthening the pre-perception of motivation being a key factor.

Using the qualitative content approach as described by Graneheim and Lundmark (2004) the research group gathered for in all three days reading the interview transcripts and creating categories and uncovering themes. Some of the identified themes were: Struggle for structure and control, interaction as a process of respecting or invading each other´s areas, inclusion or exclusion in the group. Categories defined were: motivation, resource allocation, organisational structure, leadership and harassment.

Data analysis

All interviews were transcribed and analysed in two steps thereby finding both underlying themes and expressed verbal behaviour displaying compassion. For the first step qualitative content analysis was used as defined by Graneheim and Lundman (2004) and for the second step the SAVI-system (Agazarian, 1969, 2000) as well as the six areas of Neff's self-compassion scale (Neff, 2003). The first step could be described as a qualitative content analysis when the whole research group went through all the answers finding categories, i.e. groups of content sharing a commonality (Krippendorff, 1980). Categories refer mainly to a descriptive level of

content and can be seen as the manifest content of the text. The latent content can be captured in themes, finding themes were the next step in the research group's work. The exact verbal expressions by the informants in those parts of the interviews being considered as carrying most information were then analysed by SAVI, System for Analyzing Verbal Interaction (Agazarian 1969, 2000) and by the six central areas of the self-compassion scale (Neff, 2003). Thus using the Neff items as a sort of filter: could the utterances coded as proxy for compassion by SAVI, i.e. "green" and an interaction of "green and yellow" behaviours be coded as expressions of compassion or not? One could argue for a triangulation taking place in the intersection between the qualitative analysis of the interviews and the coding with SAVI and the Neff-scale.

In analysing with SAVI it is not only of interest what is said, but how it is said, and since the interviews were recorded it was possible to analyse such items as tone of voice. Using two coders coding eight interviews in minute detail started the coding; the inter-rater reliability was, after the first interview 0.91. (The first statement below is an example of a deviation.) The research group contained two very experienced coders, which could explain the high inter-rater reliability. Examples drawn from eight interviews coded in detail by two coders can be found in Table 2.

Since context presumably has an impact on compassion (Breines & Chen, 2013) the model for "Realistic evaluation" (Pawson & Tilley, 1997) was used in this study. The content of the interviews were analysed in relation to the external environment (context), and patterns and explanatory mechanisms were sought out. The evaluation model is hypothesis-driven insofar as assumptions regarding causes and consequences are formulated and tested against the data gathered. At the same time, the results are reported successively to the environment in order for it to be possible to immediately make corrections and modifications. This was done on several occasions and led to some adjustments in the presentation of the data, and to interesting discussions on the differences in interpretations of observations depending on point of view; whether the interpreter belonged to the studied group or not.

Archive data and bibliometrics

Data were gathered from official documents acquired from the department's home pages and intra-net. This working method corresponds to established models for quality assurance and can provide supporting data for continued research. All data were archived in a study database, which included the taped and transcribed interviews, minutes of meetings, observation protocols, and study notes.

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Independent in the heard: Inclusion and exclusion as social processes
Proceedings from the 9th GRASP conference, Linköping University, May 2014
Robert Thornberg & Tomas Jungert (Eds)

Table 2
A comparison of SAVI with Neff coding, examples from eight interviews coded by two coders. Apart from the first extract there was inter-rater fit

Interview	Example	Tone of voice	Savi code	Compassion code
1	My shoulder is always a bit humid from someone crying on it	Sad	Green or yellow Resonating or fact	Kindness/ Common humanity
2	I worry over people feeling harassed	Sad	Green/resonating	Kindness/common humanity
3	Some people are allowed to do whatever they like!	Sarcastic	Red/fighting	Judgmental
	I have heard extremely nasty verbal harassment	Upset	Green/resonating	Common humanity
4	The group-leader is always travelling. This creates stress and frustration in the group, but the leader gets lots of funding, so who will say anything?	Downcast	Green/resonating	Common humanity
5	Everything in this section is transparent and structured. Here is no harassment. I came from a section where obscurity and ostracism ruled, so this is a great change	Matter of fact	Yellow/information, personal opinion	Lifting feeling of isolation
6	I can´t do anything against the harassments since I only get second-hand information	Neutral	Red/fighting	Convey feeling of isolation
6	The problems we know of don´t show in the AHA. Maybe people don´t dare answer honestly?	Thoughtful	Yellow/information & Green/resonating	Kindness, common humanity
7	I like my work the drawback is the insecurity, I have a feeling that I never do enough. I think it´s the same for many of us.	Thoughtful	Green/resonating	Common humanity
8	We have all the components in place: great people, funding, good communication. It´s easy and fun to interact.	Happy	Green/resonating	Breaking feeling of isolation

Ethical issues
The Regional Ethical Review Board at KI, Stockholm, Sweden, approved the study (2012/2061-31/5). The data were gathered according to the ethical principles and code of conduct prescribed by the American Psychological Association (2010).

Results

The presentation of the findings is organised as such: first some general facts on the participating departments, then the results of the interviews grouped in five different categories: motivation, resource allocation, organisational structure, leadership and harassment.

Characteristics of the case departments
Two departments volunteered to take part in the pilot, in the following called Department 1 and Department 2 (below dept.1 and dept.2). Both departments are quite large with over 300 employees, time and money divided between research and education with emphasise on research. Dept.1 has a little tighter budget than Dept.2, with 0.6 million s.kr/employee compared to 0.8 s.kr/employee. In bibliometric terms dept. 1 published 530 journal articles in 2011-12, and during the same time Dept.2 published 690 journal articles. The departments are divided into sections.

Interviews were conducted on complementary hierarchical levels: division leaders and other key personnel, doctoral students, post-docs, and management teams. Their position is identified after the quotes, and numbers separates people at the same hierarchical level.

Findings from interviews
Motivation. Our pre-conception of a pattern would be that the high work motivation displayed in the AHA-poll would show in the answers, and it did:

> I really love my job and people are so friendly and helpful. I have been here for 8 years, and the drawback is the instability, now I´m on a 6-month contract. It´s a bit rough after 12 years of university studies that you can´t get a permanent position, but I don´t want to leave research! ...You know that you enter a world of short contracts and tough competition. I´ve been on a stipend, and then you don´t have social security, so when I had my child I saved up so I could take 6 months unpaid leave, but that´s ok. It´s how it is. (Senior researcher 1)

> I am Professor on a combination appointment: 30 % at the county council clinic and 70 % at the faculty. I am on the executive board and on the research advisory board, I´m head of the section and I`m leader of my research-group. The clinic is physically located in 6 different hospitals, and sometimes I show up as my own boss. Not one day is like the next, it never gets dull! (professor and head of sec-

tion 1)

For the research group it was noteworthy that even if the informants reveal quite disturbing facts, they rarely turn them into allegations:

> I have a great boss now who shows that he cares about us and that we are not ex-changeable. It´s not always like that… I got pregnant when I was a post-doc. I used to work with Toxoplasmosis, not so good when you´re pregnant. I told my boss, and he said he would check the security routines. Every time I met him in the corridor and my stomach got larger and larger, he said: oh, yes, the security. I´ll check it… He never did. I felt like I was the first lab-worker in the history of the institute getting pregnant. But I can´t have been? The place is full of women. (Senior researcher 1)

Analysing this last statement with the SAVI system, taking into consideration both what is said and how it is said: listening to the interview the informant tells this story in a very calm voice, showing genuine surprise that maybe she might actually have been the first lab worker getting pregnant. The verbal content is in the yellow section, which is conveying personal and general information, questions, proposals and opinions, and in the green section resonating and integrating. Despite the quite serious content she never goes into the red section of communication fighting, obscuring or competing. Looking at the statement from a compassion point of view it is non-judgmental. This indicates a possible positive correlation between the Neff compassion scale and the SAVI-grid.

> The bosses send the signal that there is a surplus of young researchers in the world wanting to come here, maybe they do care about our welfare, but it´s not always obvious. (Doctoral student 1)

Analysing this statement with SAVI starts with an attack, that is a red communication strategy. Whether the latter part of the statement is red or a yellow or even green communication depends on the tone of voice. In this case it was quite harsh leading to the statement being registered as in the red. Would we say that the statement displays compassion? No, it seems quite judgmental, thus showing a connection between the SAVI-system and the Neff compassion scale.

There were also signs of worry that the high work motivation does not stimulate necessary changes:

> The faculty does not spend much on HR, I think the idea is that the researchers are so motivated they work even if you make them eat shit, so to speak, so why spend "unnecessary" money? (Post-doc 1)

This statement starts with general information (yellow), moving into attack (red). It is neither kind nor non-judgmental thus it is not displaying compassion.

Resource allocation. This leads into the next category: the impact of the faculty's resource allocation policies. According to a majority of the informants the policies are basically that the research group leaders must fund their own research:

> I don´t have time to do much research, since at least half of my time is spent applying for funds. You never get a 100 % funding from one source. There are like 35 000 different stipend funds you can apply to and it takes forever. (professor, research group leader 1)

> The faculty has the policy that you shall find your own money for your research. This creates a feeling of this being a research-franchise: a research-hotel. I think the idea is that by creating this very harsh climate you will get only the best people. But the side effect is that if you finance your own work, why should you abide to rules you might not approve of? (professor, head of section 2)

> Our vision at the faculty is to be number one, that´s a great vision but it doesn´t work as a strategy. My role as head of the section is to foster future researchers, but there is a lack of structure over career possibilities at the faculty, it´s hard to explain to my young researchers why there are so many investments in beautiful new buildings, but not in employment for young researchers. We want to be like an elite US-University, but we lack the security and transparency they can offer there. Connections and nepotism plays a too important role in the absence of a structure. (professor, head of section 1)

When you just see these statements they might read as quite harsh and you might code them as red attacks, but listening to them they are delivered in tones that are full of concern, they are almost said with sadness turning them into green verbal behaviours. Analysing them from a compassion perspective they convey a feeling of isolation thus pointing away from compassion, but again the tone of the voices show kindness thus pointing towards compassion.

Despite the world-class research resources was a source of anxiety and a worry for the future, both for the informant´s own, as well as for the research groups and for that of the faculty:

> Scientists like me in the middle of our careers we don't know what is going to happen tomorrow. I am an assistant professor, and it is still difficult for me, but then think how it is for a research assistant to have a family - not possible! In this university it´s difficult to go to the top and that´s ok, but they should define a ten year track where it is up to you to think "can I make it or not", and if I make it I will be secure. (assistant professor, research group leader 2)

> Worry number one: the insecurity, what am I going to do in the future? Number two: Not sleeping, could be related to the first one. (post-doc 2)

These statements were delivered in soft, non-aggressive voices. They were presented as facts and with proposals for solutions and some personal resonating putting the statements in the yellow and green SAVI-verbal behaviours. Compassion was demonstrated by distress tolerance and common humanity.

Organisational structure. Salas, Tannenbaum, Kraiger and Smith-Jensen's (2012) researched academic environments finding them unusually stable systems with great resistance to attempts at change. The informants at the medical faculty in question confirmed this view:

> It is very old fashioned with hierarchic structures, but the institute need not be afraid of change, they are afraid that if they abandon their old ways they will not be a research institute anymore, but that will not happen. You can get good research, and have leaders who know about how to handle personnel, economy and administration. (Post-doc 1)

> The section used to be like a kingdom with the king, serfs and no one in between. Then the king retired and there was a total void of structure. I started my work as the new section-leader by building structures. This gives a sense of security but also of frustration; as long as you are not aware of any boarders you can do what you want, but now people get a yes or a no…People suffer if they are not seen, and without structures the risk is great that that will happen. Structure gives people a sense of identity and of belonging and it gives you a clear role. The organisation in general has too little structure, or at least too little of a transparent structure. This is not good because it gives room for nepotism. They say that cream always floats to the top, but so does something else as well… and that something else thrives on obscurity. (professor and head of section 1)

These statements are solution focused, communicating in yellow giving information and also in green resonating. They display compassion in common humanity and also of breaking feelings of isolation.

> The structure is very hierarchic, people are not treated equally. Some can do what ever they want, you don´t mess with them because they are great researchers publishing in high impact journals, getting massive funding. It is common knowledge at the department that some researchers treat their PhD-students badly, but nothing is done about it. I´m just amazed how they can do such great research when people are treated so badly? (senior researcher 2)

This statement is one of many on the same theme; that as long as a leader of a research group gets the research published in high impact journals deficiencies in

leadership is of minor concern. The statements are formulated as red attacks in SAVI, and displays judgment and feelings of isolation, i.e. does not display compassion.

> How can we increase the involvement? The structure is not built to foster the feeling of belonging. Take the different elections, for example the position as prefect where 50 % of the employees can´t vote because they don´t have a doctoral degree! This breeds a sense of inequality. (researcher, member of management team 1)

Statements like these were not uncommon stressing the feeling of being a victim to unpredictable decisions higher up in the organisation. The statement showed a wish for a clearer structure, bordered on whining coded in the SAVI as red/blame interlaced with yellow/information, compassion wise pointing towards feelings of isolation and judgment.

But the notion of a stable system was also disputed:

> Researchers are extremely flexible. You can announce a new system for acquiring research grants one day and the next everyone has adapted to it. What we lack is not flexibility but funnily enough critical thinking. We tend to accept authority a little too quickly. (professor, member of department's management team 5)

The picture painted by the doctoral students varied between those who were content, and those who are not:

> If you don´t agree and let it be known you can get in trouble.

> We are not doctoral students; we are just badly treated servants.

> I see my supervisor as often as I want; my supervisors' door is always open.

The attitude conveyed by the tutors differed from:

> I don´t take that many doctoral students since this is an education and I want to give them the best. This is an elite institution, but you cannot be elite when you are still being educated. My role is to foster them into the next generation of elite researchers. (professor, research group leader 2)

To:

> You can never work too much, just too little. Those who consider research a 9 to 5 job and it being important to attend all the meetings and courses, they will never become any good and it is still impossible for me to fire them once they´ve

been accepted as doctoral students. (professor, head of section 2)

This last statement was said in a harsh tone, coded as a SAVI-red fighting/attack, and it did not convey compassion.

Leadership. Our pre-understanding of academic leadership was based on Hollingsworth (2003): as leadership characterised by a high degree of autonomy, flexibility, social integration, and cooperation. This view could be contradictory to the functional leadership claim: in the academic environment, much work is conducted in teams, and a model for team leadership is that the leader's function is to monitor the team and then take whatever action is necessary to ensure team effectiveness (Hill & Northhouse, 2010). Our informants gave examples:

> The Institute is in a transition phase where many of the old professors are retiring… These guys, born in the 1930-40´s have prioritized their own career at the expense of for example ethical issues, and I think that´s why we have this extremely elitist system with finding your own money for research. (professor and head of section 1)

> After many years I changed division and came to this place where people actually help me when I need it. It´s such a change, like they take happy-pills! I have been thinking a lot about the section I left, and I still can´t understand how we could do such good research when the psychosocial environment was so bad. (senior researcher 3)

> We get too little encouragement! I think I can speak for all at the faculty; the working climate has become much harsher. It would make a world of difference if my boss once in a while told me: well done! (senior researcher 4)

These answers were delivered in soft voices, being more solution oriented than attacking, coded as SAVI yellow and resonating in green. They also conveyed a wish for breaking feelings of isolation.

Some answers pointed towards the academic setting being a very special (exclusive) one:

> I have given academic leadership a lot of thought. I do believe that we want a researcher to lead the department, even if an external might be a better leader he or she will lack the knowledge and respect from the research-community. But a lot of academic leaders are not that great: lacking basic knowledge of labour laws, being quite impossible to reach, and having a hard time making decisions. This could probably be solved with training. (senior researcher 4)

> Working here is like being on a roller-coaster; if you have the resources you can

do any research you like, but it´s tough when you have employees on longer contracts and suddenly there is no funding, and then you risk tampering with the labour laws, which are ill suited for this kind of work. (professor, research group leader 3)

What characterizes an academic setting compared to other organisations' was mentioned by many of the informants:

One has to remember that research is a job without limits, you can go on 24/7, and that can be a problem. We have arranged seminars dealing with this issue, but it is difficult to separate work from ones private life! (professor, head of section 4)

This statement shows a lot of concern and is coded in green/resonating, where as the next two are more matter of fact communication in SAVI-yellow categories, not displaying compassion:

For me it´s no different than coaching a football-team. I am the coach. If people don´t appreciate it they can leave. Work environment is nothing separate, to me it´s a good project … Many researchers have large egos, but they do push the research forward, and we have some weirdoes, but they have a lot of ideas and are needed in a creative climate which I think we have here. (senior professor 1, research group leader)

… if you finance your own work, why should you follow the rules if you don´t like them? (professor, head of section 2)

These statements are countered by:

Our group differs in that we have a lot of psychosocial issues, with a leader that doesn´t encourage people to develop, so many leave the group. Other groups in the department cooperate, but that is not encouraged in our group. We can cooperate with groups from other countries, but I think there is a lot of bad-will between our professor and other researchers here preventing a local cooperation. So we are a highly performing, dysfunctional group. I love research; it takes years to build a career in research, but I´m considering other options. It is sad, but that´s the way it is … I feel ashamed to admit it; but I give up. I don´t try to change things any longer. (assistant professor 2)

Listening to this statement it was delivered in a soft, sad tone of voice. Just reading the transcript it could be coded as a red attack, but since the tone differs it is coded as yellow information and green resonating. On the Neff compassion scale it can be coded as displaying non-judgment, indicating compassion. The wordings "I feel ashamed…" points towards a lack of self-compassion however.

Questions 7 and 8, concerning departmental handling of psychosocial work environment issues, were hard to answer for most informants. The above statements may point to the reason why many informants had difficulties in expressing opinions of the department level: the lack of cohesion, of a reason to look and work beyond their own research-group.

Harassment. Many of the informants emphasised the competitive nature of research work and thereby many risks of conflicts. If we accept the idea that compassion can be demonstrated when people observe harassment, the departments had some sections where the incidence of observing harassment, according to the AHA-results, was above 45 %. This correlated with high points on work related sleep problems (62 %) (AHA, 2011). An observation during the interviews was that informants having witnessed or having been victims of harassment had given the incidents a lot of thought and energy and wanted to talk at length about what had happened and why, thus confirming Pearson and Porath's (2005) findings of harassments impeding productivity.

> It is very hard to know how to handle these problems with harassments, many more than two people are often involved, and I cannot say that the organisation is giving us a very active support. We encourage cooperation between the research groups, but what has happened many times is that people take each other's ideas, and instead of cooperation there is a big conflict. (professor, research group leader and member of department's management team 2)

> I worry a lot that some people feel harassed. I know personally of some and I´ve asked them to tell their superiors, but they are afraid of reprisals. It makes me feel really bad, I don´t know what to do. It is just grinding - what can I do? (professor, research group leader, member of department´s management team 3)

> I hear a lot of things but some are rumours and I can´t act on rumours, and sometimes people tell me things and they forbid me to take it further. But a few times I have actually had all the paperwork and I have taken it to what I thought was the right people and then nothing has happened. I don´t know what it takes to change things? (professor, research group leader, member of department´s management team 3)

> There are some obvious problems that everyone seems to know about, but no one does anything to stop. Some people are allowed to do whatever they want. If you are a great scientist publishing a lot and getting the grants, you can obviously behave, as you like. (senior researcher 4)

> Some sections have this culture of excluding people; there are no real reasons why you´re excluded and this creates a feeling of insecurity. I was excluded and

was not able to do my work. The only one standing up for me and helping me was the administrative chief, the other leaders just ducked or tried to use my vulnerable position against me. (senior researcher 5)

I think the lack of encouragement and good leadership is worse for us who are working here long-time. I have a feeling that the doctoral students don´t care that much; they just stick their head between their shoulders and try to get on with their work and get out of here as quickly as possible. (senior researcher 6)

There is no one in our group who wants to continue in research after their dissertation. (doctoral student 1)

For many years I worked in a section where decisions were just dumped on you, and the boss disappeared if there was a conflict. I felt very alone and tense. During this time I had to see a therapist. Now I work in a section where the boss almost exaggerates transparency; no decisions can be made without everybody concerned being involved. It can feel a bit winded, but the advantage is that you feel secure in the knowledge that there won´t be any nasty surprises and I know that if there ever is a conflict this boss will sort it. I don´t go to the therapist anymore, I don´t need it. (senior researcher 4)

There is a jargon at our section which is less respectful towards researchers with other ethnical backgrounds than Swedish; they are assumed to work harder for less money. There is also a status divide between those with a medical background who are considered more valuable, than those with only a chemical or biological background. (senior researcher 7)

SAVI-coding these answers actually put many of them in the red attack (self defend) category. The answers also convey feelings of isolation, of helplessness, thus not displaying compassion even though they do show concern for the well being of others. But there are a few answers that differ on the concern aspect:

Researchers are not supposed to sleep, they are supposed to worry about their research. Some people cannot handle the pressure, if they are doctoral students, it´s a problem since they are here for at least four years. They will not thrive and as a supervisor you end up with a bad apple in the barrel. (professor, head of section 2)

Listening to this statement it starts out as information and therefore coded in SAVI yellow behaviour, continuing with a red attack. It does not point to any display of compassion.

Some people say we should mix more, but it´s not easy. I have 8-10 doctoral students from China and they always have lunch together speaking Chinese. It´s very unfortunate, they want to be only with each other and I don´t know why. Swedes

would never sit in a group like that. (professor, research group leader 6)

Listening to this statement it is said in a rather accusing tone of voice, it is thus coded as a red fighting attack in SAVI, followed by a red behaviour called oughtitude defined as comments expressing superiority and that the speaker has a direct line to the truth, which everybody "ought to know" (Benjamin et al. 2012). Analysing it´s compassion content none is found.

The interviews grouped together: Analysing the 46 interviews with the SAVI-grid, using the green, and the interplay of yellow and green behaviours as proxy for compassion, compassion is demonstrated trough concern for others' situation, through a wish to do something about it, a sadness if this is not possible, through an expressed intention to change things and through an account on things having been done.

Does compassion matter? Again judged by the SAVI-grid the people using the most green, and green-yellow behaviours are the ones expressing most satisfaction with their workplace, both displayed in the interviews, and in the AHA-survey as shown in the items bullying and harassments, sleep problems, and leadership items:

> At our section we don´t have sleeping difficulties or problems with harassment, but we´re probably not elitist enough. The Institute´s model is to be a hotshot researcher at an elite university, but we don´t buy into that, we tread our own path. (professor, leader of section and member of department's management team 4)

Running all the 46 interviews through SAVI showed a majority of yellow (neutral) verbal behaviour with a lot of factual information being conveyed, green resonating, responding and integrating behaviour and a few red fighting and competing behaviours. For research purposes a SAVI-label is coded every time there is a category change (Simon & Agazarian, 2008) that implies that an informant could be coded in just one category.

Table 3
SAVI-coding of the 46 interviews

SAVI	Green	Yellow	Red
46 interviews	150	310	40

Compassion was demonstrated on the subject of people getting caught in the institutional structures or lack of structures, of others perceiving that someone was not treated fairly, of trying to help when the workload got too heavy, and of facilitating the demands created by the stress of financial strains and diversified tasks. The concept of compassion was exhibited in slightly different ways in the two de-

partments, with dept.1 focusing more on an interpersonal level than dept.2. An attempt to capture these differences is shown in Table 4.

Table 4
Summary of compassion display at the two departments

	Example of compassion display	Organisational levels important for compassion display	Suggested changes	Exhibited problems with the compassion construct
Dept.1	"I worry a lot about people being harassed"	Within the research groups, sections, and common departmental platform.	More structures in how doctoral students are introduced, more structures in sections. Building common departmental platform. Leadership training. More transparency in the whole organisation.	"The thing is that those who are really nasty do some really good research, maybe the best?"
Dept.2	"I´m working for a structure where people not able to handle power should be relieved of that power"	Fewer mentions of research groups than dept.1, more mentions of inter departmental platforms	Building interdepartmental platforms. Leadership training.	None voiced in the interviews

Discussion and conclusions

One significant finding that emerged from this study was that for the informants, being very ambitious striving to create breakthrough research, working in a quite complex structure where some found their way and others got lost, one of the main culprits was leadership. The deficiencies were expressed as vague, imperceptible or

authoritarian leadership creating feelings of uncertainty and worry. According to the research by Lawrence and Lorsch (1967), the management you are dealing with becomes obvious in situations of decision-making and conflict resolution, judging by the interviews these areas seemed in some cases to be wanting.

Is leadership is important for display of compassion? Going back to Hollingsworth (2003) a characteristic for research groups doing breakthrough research is a visionary leadership with social and emotional skills. Hemlin, Allwood, and Martin (2008) describe creative research environments, as having a positive group- and organisational climate, according to these findings leadership is important for creating a prosperous ambience. Difficulties might lie ahead however as shown by Salas et al.'s (2012) find that academic environments are unusually stable systems with great resistance to attempts at change, which was confirmed by the informants. Stable systems can develop and change, but this occurs best through slow transformation processes where systematic work is based on a holistic approach (Salas et al., 2012). The inertia was quite evident in the feedback to the departments. Signals were given on some occasions that change was slow and cumbersome, so cumbersome that an idea was to disqualify the information obtained by the interviews as invalid.

Another significant finding that emerged from this study relates to verbal expression of compassion in an academic setting. Spending a lot of time at the two departments demonstrated for the research team that the context in it self constitutes a challenge for the expression of compassion; being one of extreme competitiveness, often with financial uncertainties and obscure structures and leadership. Still the research team found displays of compassion, such as group- and section leaders wanting to and trying to help other researchers in their work and trying to better the circumstances for those less fortunate in the sometimes harsh financial system.

Our analyses of the interviews by the SAVI-grid showed that a vast majority of the verbal interaction was being done in the yellow, and in a mix between yellow and green verbal behaviours, thus pointing towards a problem solving behaviour. Very few informants got into the red category. An observation concerning the red category was that it seemed to leave traces, informants working in the vicinity of and in a position of dependency to the person communicating in red, conveyed a feeling of sadness. This is consistent with the earlier mentioned study by Emdad et al. (2012) showing the impact on bullying not only on the direct targets, but also on the bystanders. They write: "frequent by-standing to bullying may be a warning sign for developing future symptoms of depression".

Was there a positive or negative link between team-leaders expressing compassion and team performance, here measured both in bibliometric terms and in reported stress levels? Take bibliometrics first. Going to the official site at the faculty

and comparing with the SAVI-grid there was no correlation. The leaders communicating in green and yellow got as many articles published as the ones communicating in red. The, by quite a few of the informants, explicitly implied connection between aggressive leadership and larger than average productivity might thus be false. Adding the AHA-scores there was a positive correlation between green communication and fewer stress related factors. Could this then constitute as an indication both of Cosley et al.'s (2010) of compassion reducing stress and that the way people communicate, here registered by the SAVI-system, has implications for reducing stress levels?

Finally, was using SAVI and the Neff Self compassion scale as proxies for compassion a viable route, for analysing expressions of compassion? By analysing the interviews both through the SAVI-system (Agazarian, 1969), and the adaptation of the Neff Self-Compassion Scale (Neff, 2003), as well as the AHA-results (2011-2012) we had the opportunity to study the same phenomena with more than two methods thus creating a cross verification. The results from the different methods supported one another, thus indicating that both the SAVI-system and Neff Self-Compassion Scale could be valid tools in interpreting expressions of compassion.

A number of important limitations need to be considered. This study is a bi-product of a major pilot study trying to find follow-ups for the AHA-questionnaire with the main target to lessen harassments and sleeping problems, and the informants did not come from a randomised sample. The data used is filtered through the deficiencies of the researcher. The problem with the researcher´s possible bias is countered by data being analysed by the whole research team and with continuous feedback to the informants. The study has some strength in the choice of triangulation as a method.

Being a by-product of a pilot study of course causes limitations to the validity of this study. Maybe more reliable and valid information might have been produced had the informants been asked directly to fill out Neff´s Self-Compassion scale, being one of the most researched instrument in the compassion field. But on the other hand, as Neff wrote (2013) self-reports have serious limitations. The incorporation of multiple sources of evidence have likely increased the quality of the study substantially and strengthened our conclusions.

Implications

Our findings reveal some interesting implications for practice and policy makers. First and foremost, compassion is still a new concept in organisational research, but since it has shown promise in reducing stress and inducing well-being in a non-clinical population (Neff, 2003, 2013) the research team thought it might be of interest to see if and how it could be expressed and maybe strengthened in an academic setting. One of our main findings, consistent with Breines and Chen (2013)

was that compassion was context-dependent; in those groups and sections where there were stable and transparent structures and well-defined leadership the expression of compassion occurred and correlated with green verbal behaviour in SAVI (Agazarian, 1969), where as in sections without these settings expressions of compassion were more scares. Next, if there was a positive correlation between reduced stress levels and compassion, which measures should be taken to strengthen the expression of compassion? Our interview data revealed some interesting solutions directed towards structure, clarity and increased transparency.

Another way to strengthen the expression of compassion in the academic setting would therefore be to work with the leadership. Due to the action led research (Greenwood & Levin, 2007) with continuous feedback to the informants we found that people say and do things that might be interpreted not at all as intended. One way to strengthen the expression of compassion would thus be to induce more communication and feedback skills in the organisation. Added to that, many of the informants conveyed feelings of isolation; they were fine in their research group, but that the group operated quite isolated in cutthroat competitive climate without much support from the organization. One way to lessen this feeling would be to make the faculty less of a "research hotel" and more of a stable platform.

Our findings also raise some questions for further research and method development. This study has relied on an interpretation of the Neff Scale and on the SAVI-system with "green" and an interchange of "yellow and green" behaviours acting as a proxy for verbal expression of compassion. This onset could be further developed for more stringent conclusions of the true nature of verbal expression of compassion. In its current form however, the instrument provides a structured tool for analysis. To accomplish a more reliable instrument one would probably try to develop an instrument adding compassion-components to SAVI. It would also be of great importance to further the study by adding some compassion items in the next work environment questionnaire, as well as do some compassion enhancing interventions directed towards leaders in the academic setting and measure the psychosocial work environment for their teams before and after.

Despite the deficiencies this study points to some important characters in a functional academic environment, such as you can be nice and still do good research, maybe even better? Or to take the words of Albert Einstein: The world is a dangerous place to live, not because of the people who are evil, but because of the people who don't do anything about it.

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CONVERSATIONAL ARGUMENTS IN SMALL GROUP DECISION MAKING: REASONING ACTIVITY AND PERCEIVED INFLUENCE OVER THE DECISION ARE KEYS FOR SUCCESS

Pär Löfstrand

Abstract

This study explored decision making in small groups. There were 81 participants forming 21 ad-hoc groups of about four members each with the aim of reaching a joint decision. Correlations between participants' evaluations of satisfaction and group efficiency on the one hand, and perceived equality in the influence over the discussion and the decision on the other hand, revealed associations especially with regard to influence over the decision. Those perceiving equal influence over the decision experienced more satisfaction and efficiency. Conversational patterns in three successful versus three unsuccessful groups (based on the group mean level of evaluated satisfaction and group efficiency) were analyzed by use of Conversational Argument Coding Scheme. Successful groups had more reasoning activities, especially responses and justifications, than did unsuccessful groups.

Keywords

Conversational Arguments, Decision-making, Equality, Influence, Satisfaction, Small Groups,

Introduction

Consider two different groups at work. Members in the first group are all satisfied with the group's performance; they find that the group work efficient and are certain that everyone is involved in the discussion and in the decision-making process. Members in the second group are less satisfied with the group's performance and they do not believe that the group works efficiently. The members are also convinced that some group members are more active than others in the discussion and in the decision-making process. Is there anything in the decision-making process that creates these differences?

The role of social influence such as groupthink and how it affects group decision-making has a long history in social psychological research; one influential approach was Janis' studies of groupthink (1972). Since then, other researchers have examined different variables related to decision making in groups, such as social impact, minority influence, group polarization, groupthink etc. (Hogg & Vaughan, 2005; Janis, 1972; Latané & L'Herrou, 1996; Wood, Lundgren, Ouellette, Busceme

& Blackstone, 1994). More recent research has moved further to explore the mechanisms behind majority and minority influence in decision-making groups (Erb, Hilton, Bohner & Roffey, 2015; Levine & Tindale, 2015; Meyers, Brashers, & Hanner, 2000).

Previous research has revealed that poor group decisions are correlated with a bad exchange of information while good exchange of information leads to more correct decisions (Larson, Christensen, Franz, & Abbot, 1998). Other studies have found that information sharing and discussion leads to a better decision quality (Peterson, Owens, Tetlock, Fan, & Martorana, 1998; Tasa & Whyte, 2005). Previous research has revealed a number of different aspects that may be important for the outcome of group decision-making; e.g. personality, (Peeters, Rutte, Van Tuijl, Harrie, & Reymen, 2006), leadership (De Dreu, 2008; Mueller, 2010), and structural aspects such as the context, (Gouran & Hirokawa, 1996). However, in real life, probably the most common decision-making situation is that a group consists of different people with different personalities, with leaders who have different competences, and that they exist in different contexts.

An essential aspect for decision-making groups in order to achieve good results is that the participants are satisfied with the group's performance (DeStephen & Hirokawa, 1988). Satisfied group members who perceive that they have a strong influence and who have a positive experience of the decision-making process will also reach positive outcomes (Michie & Williams, 2003). Negative experiences and a perceived lack of influence may lead to frustration and attempts to solve conflicts rather than leading the group forward (Mason & Griffin, 2002; 2003; Spector, 1988). Moreover, satisfaction is correlated with the group's performance (Kong, Konczak, & Bottom, 2015).

An intuitive definition of group efficiency might be as the ease or speed with which a decision is reached. However, an effective team performance may need constructive information search and even disagreement among the group members (Kong, et al., 2015). If these ingredients are missing the lack of objections and questioning may preclude the group from achieving their goal (Gelfand, Major, Raver, Nishii & O'Brien, 2006; Graziano, Jensen-Campbell & Hair, 1996). Furthermore, efficiency may also be dependent on how the outcome is defined. The definition of outcomes or goals for the decision task is seldom problematized. Often the outcome measures are operationalized in achievement terms such as winning tokens or money (Brewer & Kramer, 1986; Ostrom, 2003). With this definition it is possible to define group efficiency objectively. However, in real life it is difficult to decide the quality of the decision objectively (Kolbe & Boos, 2009) and it has been stressed in the research literature the need for extending the repertoire of outcome measures (Kray & Thompson, 2005). In real life it is also sometimes up to the group themself to define the outcome. As a consequence it is difficult to de-

fine and choose an objective form of efficiency measure. Perhaps also the definition of group efficiency is in the eyes of the beholder, i.e. the group members.

Research on work motivation, employee participation and group influence indicates that it is important for people's health and performance to perceive that they have influence and that they can affect their working conditions (Michie & Williams, 2003; Slotegraaf & Atuahene-Gima, 2011). But, the conceptualization of influence is seldom problematized. The research that in some way has problemized the conceptualization of influence is linked to empowerment (Baird & Wang, 2010) or deliberation (Myers, 2012). The research concerning empowerment mainly focus on how to strengthen the group of employees. However, in which part or parts of the decision making process is it important to have influence is seldom made explicit. Furthermore, an underlying assumption is often that people gaining more influence is the same as an equal distribution of influence, but sometimes more influence for few leads to less influence for others. This is a risk that groups having to make a joint decision might encounter. There is, with other words, a need to study the influence over different parts of the decision-making process, for example involvement in the discussion leading towards a decision, on the one hand, and influence over the actual decision on the other hand and also the perceived equality of the distribution of the influence.

According to the functional theory of effectiveness in a group decision-making process (Gouran & Hirokawa, 1996), the group's understanding of a problem, the requirements of the group, the way in which alternatives are evaluated, and the selection of the best trade-off alternatives are crucial for group success (Gouran & Hirokawa, 1996; Kolbe & Boos, 2009). A key element for understanding group decision-making is to get a better understanding of the members' perceptions, thoughts, and feelings (Wiiteman, 1991). Research is somewhat contradictory as to how these aspects affect satisfaction and group performance. Different opinions have in some studies appeared to have positive effects (Schweiger, Sandberg & Ragan, 1986; Simmons, Pelled & Smith 1999; Slotegraaf & Atuahene-Gima, 2011). When a group entertains many different ideas, higher quality decisions are more likely to result (Barr & Gold, 2014, Gouran, 1982). Other studies claim that they may also lead to tension, antagonism and frustration among the group members (Behfar, Mannix, Peterson & Trochim, 2011; De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; Jehn, 1995). These contradictory results point to the need for more controlled research on the dynamics in the group processes leading to a joint decision.

To summarize, there is reason to believe that satisfaction with a group decision is related to how efficiently the group's work has been. As the definition of efficiency to some extent is dependent on how the outcome is conceptualized, and that often the outcome is decided upon by the participants themselves, efficiency then can be regarded as a subjective experience. Furthermore both satisfaction and per-

ceived efficiency may be related to influence. However influence can be operationalized as both influence in the process leading up to a decision and influence over the decision. As increasing influence does not necessarily imply an even distribution among group members it is important also to make this aspect explicit. Efficiency does not necessarily mean the ease or speed with which a decision is reached. Sooner it includes how the problem to be solved is elaborated – how information is shared, how different opinions and conflicts are handled. The aim of this study is to study these aspects based on a group experiment in a controlled laboratory setting. The study is divided into two parts. First, the relations between satisfaction, perceived efficiency, perceived equality of influence over the discussion and perceived equality of influence over the decision are analyzed quantitatively. The second part analyses the communication in the groups qualitatively, in order to investigate the pattern in groups differing in the level of decision satisfaction and perceived efficiency.

Methodology

Participants

Eighty-one undergraduate students (53 female and 28 male) from different study programs took part in the study. Their age varied between 18 and 45 years with a mean age of 22.4 years among men and 26.1 among women.

Procedure

The experiment was originally set up to study how effects of competition vs. cooperation and gender composition affect group decision-making (Löfstrand & Zakrisson, 2014). In the present study these experimental conditions are not investigated *per se*. Instead, they serve as control factors in the analysis of the relation between satisfaction, perceived group efficiency, and perceived equality of influence over the discussion and over the decision. The ambition was to have four participants in each group but as different circumstances (participants not showing up or coming late) changed this ambition. All in all, 17 of the groups had four participants, two groups had three participants and two groups had five participants. These groups were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: a) to assemble a team for a relay running competition with the goal of maximizing the chance of winning the competition (nine groups), or, b) to assemble a team with the goal of having fun and of maximizing the sense of community within the team (twelve groups). Due to the same reason as above there was an equal number of groups in each condition. Two groups consisted of men only, eight groups consisted exclusively of women, and 11 groups consisted of an equal number of men and women.

The participants in each group were placed around a table on which two sheets of paper were lying upside down. After the experimenter had read the instructions the group was told that they had 15 minutes in which to solve the task. One of the sheets contained the instructions (consisting of one of the conditions described above) and pictures of 20 target persons (10 men and 10 women) with information of their first names, ages, occupations, and favorite hobbies. The other sheet of paper contained the different relay sections of various lengths, and this is where the group wrote down their final decision. The session was filmed with three cameras set at different angles. After 15 minutes the session was ended. Immediately afterwards the participants completed a questionnaire in which they answered questions concerning their reflections of their experiences of the task. For example, the questionnaire, included questions concerning how satisfied they were with the decision, how efficiently they thought that the group had worked and how difficult the task had been. They also estimated each member's influence (including their own) on the discussion and on the final decision respectively. Finally, they were debriefed about the aim of the study and about how the data were to be handled. The dialogue of each group was transcribed.

Variables

Perceived satisfaction with the decision: The question read: *"How good do you think the decision was?"* The participants indicated their answers on a seven-step rating scale ranging from one (very bad) to seven (very good).

Perceived group efficiency: The question read: *"How efficient do you think the group's work was?"* The participants indicated their answers on a seven-step rating scale ranging from one (very bad) to seven (very good).

Perceived equality in the influence over the discussion: The participants were asked to indicate the percentage of how much each group member participated in the discussion. Those who assigned almost the same percentage to all group members (within a 5 % limit) were categorized as perceiving an equal distribution of influence over the discussion. Those who assigned an unequal percentage to the group members were categorized as perceiving an unequal distribution of influence over the discussion. The variable was dummy coded with perceived equal distribution of influence as one.

Perceived equality in the influence over the decision: The participants were asked to indicate the percentage of how much each group member participated in the decision. Those who assigned the same percentage (within a 5 % limit) to all group members were categorized as perceiving an equal distribution of influence over the decision. Those who assigned an unequal percentage to the group members were categorized as perceiving an unequal distribution of influence over the

decision. The variable was dummy coded with perceived equal distribution of influence as one.

Perceived task difficulty: This question was included as a control variable as task difficulty could affect satisfaction and group efficiency, regardless of the other variables. The question read: *"How hard was the task to solve?"* The participants indicated their answers on a seven-step rating scale ranging from one (very easy) to seven (very difficult). The questionnaire also included a question to which degree the participant knew the other group members on a seven-step scale ranging from one (not familiar with) to seven (very much familiar with).

Data Analysis

There were two kinds of analyses. One set analyzed the quantitative data; the relations between satisfaction, perceived efficiency and perceived equality in the influence over the discussion, perceived equality in the influence over the decision and perceived task difficulty including all 81 participants across the 21 groups by use of correlation and multiple regression analysis.

The second set analyzed the within group discussion qualitatively. Based on the group means for decision satisfaction and perceived group efficiency six of the 21 groups were selected for further analysis. Three groups were chosen with group means as high as possibly on these two variables. These were labeled "successful". The other three groups were chosen with group means as low as possible on these two variables. These were labeled "unsuccessful". The groups in the two categories were also matched according to experimental condition and gender composition. The transcripts from these six groups were subjected to the conversational argument-coding scheme (CACS; Canary & Seibold, 2010). The Conversational Argument Coding Scheme is a widespread coding scheme with the ambition of exploring arguments. Previous research has used the CACS in different contexts: to explore sex differences (Meyers, Brashers, Winston & Grob, 1997); to study majority vs. minority influence (Meyers, Brashers & Hanner, 2000); to study Instant-messaging interactions (Stewart, Setlock & Fussell, 2007), and in different circumstances such as city commission meetings (Beck, Gronewold & Western, 2012).

The CACS consists of five major categories. Firstly, *arguables,* is divided into two major parts. The first is called *generative mechanisms* containing assertions and propositions. The second is called *reasoning activities* and consists of elaborations, responses, amplifications and justifications. The second main category is *convergence markers* containing statements representing agreement and acknowledgement. The third category is called *prompters* containing statements such as objections and challenges. The forth category is labeled *delimitors* containing statements that provide a context for arguables or attempts to secure com-

mon ground or to remove possible objections. The last category is *non-arguables* contain process statements or statements unrelated to the task or incomplete statements impossible to categorize (Canary & Seibold, 2010; Meyers & Brashers, 2010; Seibold & Meyers, 2007). All in all there were 16 sub-categories. The inter-rater reliability between two judges was first tested on one group not included in the main analysis. The inter-rater reliability was 89 percent across the five categories, ranging from 80-92 percent for the sixteen sub-categories. One judge then coded the six selected groups.

Results

In order to test whether or not the experimental conditions had any effect on the main variables, three-way ANOVAs were carried out with gender, gender composition (single, mixed) and group task (competition vs. community) as between-factors, and the five self-rated evaluations (satisfaction with the decision, perceived group efficiency, perceived task difficulty, perceived equality in the influence over the discussion, and perceived equality in the influence over the decision) as dependent variables. These analyses used all 81 participants across the 21 groups. There were neither significant main effects nor significant interaction effects for any of the five dependent variables. Correlations between the five main variables were then carried out (see Table 1).

Table 1
Correlations between the five main variables, (N=81)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
1. Decision satisfaction					
2. Group efficiency	.67***				
3. Task difficulty	-.43***	-.35**			
4. Perceived equal influence over the discussion	.22	.32**	-.21		
5. Perceived equal influence over the decision	.39***	.44***	-.33**	.31**	

** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Firstly, perceived group efficiency correlated with decision satisfaction. Secondly, decision satisfaction correlated with perceived equality in the influence over the decision and with task difficulty. Thirdly, perceived group efficiency correlated with perceived equality in the influence over the discussion and over the decision, and also with task difficulty. Finally, perceived equality in the influence over the decision correlated moderately with perceived influence over the discussion.

Two multiple regression analyses were carried out to reveal whether perceived equality in the influence over the decision and over the discussion had any effect on decision satisfaction and perceived group efficiency. Task difficulty was included as a control variable. Since no correlation was found between decision satisfaction and perceived equality in influence over the discussion, it was excluded from the analysis. As can be seen in Table 2, both models are significant.

Table 2
Results from multiple regression analysis with Decision satisfaction and Perceived group efficiency as dependent variables

	Decision Satisfaction	Perceived group efficiency
	β	β
Task difficulty	-.34**	-.20
Perceived equality over the discussion	_	.18
Perceived equality over the decision	.28*	.32**
R	.50***	.52***
Df	2, 78	3, 77

*$p <.05$; ** $p <.01$; *** $p <.001$.

Both task difficulty and perceived equality in the influence over the decision had an impact on satisfaction. The model reveals that the more satisfied the participant was, the easier the task was experienced. Moreover, those who perceived the influence over the decision to be equal were more satisfied compared with those who perceived the influence as unequal. For evaluation of group efficiency, when taking all variables into account the only remaining significant contribution was perceived equality in the influence over the decision. Those perceiving the influence over the decision to be equal regarded the group work as more efficient than those perceiving an unequal influence over the decisions. To summarize then, it is evident that participants experienced that factors during the group session are vital for their

evaluation of the quality of their work. So the next part of this study explores the communication patterns in groups differing in their experienced satisfaction and efficiency.

Conversational Arguments

As mentioned above a subset of six groups were selected for a qualitative analysis of their communication patterns. Three groups were selected on the basis of their high means on decision satisfaction and perceived group efficiency, hence labeled successful groups. The other three groups were selected on the basis of their low means on decision satisfaction and perceived group efficiency, hence labeled unsuccessful groups. As can be seen in table 3 the selection of groups was adequate. There were significant differences between the successful and unsuccessful groups on decision satisfaction and on perceived group efficiency. Furthermore the successful groups had a significant lower mean on task difficulty than the unsuccessful groups.

As can also be seen in the table, the two categories differed in their means on perceived equality in influence over the discussion and over the decision, with the successful groups having higher means than the unsuccessful groups. Since their experiences during the group decision-making task could have been influenced by how well they knew each other (i.e. that the successful groups knew each other better), the participants were asked to indicate in the questionnaire the degree of familiarity with the other group members. The two categories were compared according to this variable; as can be seen in the last column in Table 3 this was not the case.

The six selected groups were analyzed according to the conversational argument schedule (Meyers & Brashers, 2010). As can be seen in Table 4 there were significant differences on two variables. For arguables there was a significant difference between the two kinds of groups on reasoning activities. The successful groups had more reasoning activities than the unsuccessful groups. Looking at the sub-categories for reasoning activities there were significant differences for justifications ($F=45.37$ $p<.05$) and responses ($F=30.03$ $p<.05$).

The unsuccessful groups hardly used any of these. The successful groups used more *justifications*. One example of the use of a justification in a successful group, which had the goal of creating a winning team, was: *"The chances of winning should be as good as possible"*.

Another example from a successful group with the goal of creating a sense of community was: *"But it's maybe better if everyone takes part"*. The successful groups also used *responses* more often. These were statements to defend arguables.

An example of a response in one successful group was: "*…that depends on what we think we need in order to get a good result"*.

Another example of a response is found in a successful group was: "*But, there's no information given on that, we have the opportunity to use more runners as they can share a relay."* As seen in these examples, both justifications and responses are used independently of the goal set for the task. The reasoning activities serve to move the communication forward.

Table 3
Successful and unsuccessful decision-making groups

	Goal	Gender composition	Decision satisfaction	Perceived group efficiency	Task difficulty	Perceived influence over the discussion (percent)	Perceived influence over the decision (percent)	Familiarity with other group members
SUCCESSFUL GROUPS								
GROUP A	Non-comp	Women	6.50	6.50	2.00	0.50	1.00	4.25
GROUP B	Non-comp	Mix	6.50	6.25	2.00	0.50	0.75	2.75
GROUP C	Comp	Women	6.25	6.75	1.50	1.00	0.50	4.17
MEAN			6.42	6.50	1.83	0.67	0.75	3.72
SD			0.14	0.25	1.83	0.49	0.45	3.72
UNSUCCESSFUL GROUPS								
GROUP D	Non-comp	Mix	5.00	4.50	2.50	0.25	0.00	4.33
GROUP E	Non-comp	Women	3.00	4.25	4.25	0.00	0.00	4.67
GROUP F	Comp	Women	3.75	4.00	3.50	0.00	0.25	3.92
MEAN			3.92	4.35	3.42	.08	.08	4.30
SD			1.01	0.25	0.88	0.29	0.50	0.38
F			18.00**	121.50***	8.80**	12.53**	18.56***	1.20

*** p <.01 *** p < .001*

The other significant difference was for non-arguables, which can be an indication of the successful groups generally talking more. As can be seen in Table 4 the successful groups systematically had more of all conversational categories although not all differences were significant. This can be an indication of a more complex communication pattern in the successful groups

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Table 4

Conversational Arguments used in successful and unsuccessful groups, number of state-ments of each category

	Successful groups	SD	Unsuccessful groups	SD	F
Arguables:	181.33	85.23	118.33	84.65	1.65
Generative mechanisms	131	75.82	120.67	46.36	.05
Reasoning activities	51.00	14	9	15.59	12.05*
Convergence Markers	72,7	30.67	55	13.23	0.84
Promptors	23,3	10.69	18.7	1.15	.57
Delimitors	20.00	16	6.33	5.51	1.96
Non-arguables	112	21.22	52	13.75	16.7**

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Discussion

This study explored and found that perceived equality in the influence over the de-cision was related to both satisfaction and perceived group efficiency while per-ceived equality in the influence over the discussion was only related to perceived group efficiency and not satisfaction, although in the regression analysis this impact disappeared completely. There is a lot of research concerning positive outcomes of influence in the work place (Mason & Griffin, 2003; Michie & Williams, 2003; Seibold & Meyers, 1996; Simmons et al, 1999). However, less research has been conducted concerning differences between perceived influence over the discussion and perceived influence over the decision. In the workplace, it is most common that employee influence is measured by surveys in which employees indicate how much they believe themselves to be involved. Never are questions asked about differences between various forms of influence such as the difference between influence over the decision and influence over the discussion. This study demonstrates how important it is to differentiate between different forms of influence.

The first analysis was built on evaluations made on an individual level, which means that there could be different opinions within each group of satisfaction, effi-ciency, perceived equality in the influence over the decision and the discussion. However, the analysis for a sub set of groups corroborated the results. Groups that

differed in their mean values of satisfaction and perceived group efficiency also differed in their mean values of perceived equality in the influence over the discussion and the decision. Moreover, the differences cannot be explained away as a result of the members in the successful groups knowing each other better as no such difference was found.

This study revealed differences between groups where the participants perceived the decision-making process as more or less successful. There were more participants in the successful groups who perceived the decision-making process (both decision and discussion) as being equal. Participants in the successful groups had more reasoning activities. They gave each other more responses and also used more defending arguments (justifications) than the unsuccessful groups did. This indicates a higher grade of processing activity, such as, for example, sharing information, something that previous research has revealed to be more important for successful decision-making (Peterson, Owens, Tetlock, Fan & Martorana 1998; Tasa & Whyte, 2005). Moreover, successful groups used more non-arguables in the discussion than the non-successful groups did, indicating a more complex type of conversation in the successful groups. This suggests that they generated more ideas, which lead to a higher quality of decisions (Gouran, 1982). This might seem as a paradox; that "a lot of talking" in fact is beneficial and leading to more efficient decision making.

An interesting result concerning arguables that there were no differences between successful and unsuccessful groups regarding generative mechanisms, which means proposals, suggestions. But there were differences regarding how these statements were elaborated upon by use of reasoning activities. This means that it is not the amount of input information that is important for the decision making process. Instead it is what the group allows the members to do with it.

Greater differences between the groups according to conversational arguments could have been expected. For example, successful groups might have used more objections and challenges (prompters) than the less successful groups, but this was not found. Why then could more differences not be found? One possible explanation could be that the successful groups had a more complex discussion pattern containing reasoning activities in a way that made the use of objections or challenges unnecessary. Another explanation could be that this study only involved three successful and three unsuccessful decision-making groups. More groups could have made more differences between them visible.

Drawbacks in most decision-making research are that the goals of the decision-making task are seldom manipulated and are mainly expressed in extrinsic, achievement terms. To parry for differences as a result of the goal setting this study was set up with two different goals for the task, one competitive and one community; no differences were found between them. The ANOVA analyses did not find

any effect on any of the five variables. This makes the results of this study more generalizable, at least for these two different conditions for group decision-making. Other factors that could be of importance are gender and gender composition. It is sometimes asserted that men tend to form hierarchical social structures while women tend to form more equality-based structures (Mast, 2002; Schmid, Mast, Bombari, & Mast, 2011). Research also indicates that the salience of gender characteristics in negotiation tasks, or manipulation of status position, influences the experienced power and performance (Keshet, Kark, Pomerantz-Zorin, Koslowsly, & Schwarzwald, 2006; Kray, Thompson, & Galinsky, 2001; Kray, Reb, Galinsky & Thompson, 2004). Thus gender is a complex factor that could influence in various ways. In the present study both gender and gender composition (single/mixed) of the groups were used. However, none of them had any impact on the five main variables. This also strengthens the applicability of the present results.

Conclusions

The results in this study respond to the question in the introduction, *what in the decision-making process creates different experiences of success?* The results indicate the importance of equality in decision-making. The results correspond to the functional theory (Gouran & Hirokawa, 1996). A correct understanding of the problem is easier if you have a more complex discussion, for example, more reasoning activities on equal terms. Plenty of discussion and the fact that everyone is involved is an important key for reaching a decision with a high level of satisfaction. Proposals are found in all groups but there is a difference between them in how they treat the proposals.

However, more research needs to be done. One example of future research could be to study how perceived influence over the decision versus real influence over a decision correlate. Future studies could also involve other topics more closely related to working life such as decisions over recruitment or work environment. The asymmetry between the participants linked to the perceived influence could be interesting to study, especially concerning participants differing from the group norms in terms of perceived influence. For example when there is not a consensus regarding the distribution of influence. It would also be interesting to test conversational arguments in real life decision-making groups. In the present study we found no differences between men and women or between groups with different gender composition. This might have to do with the fact that participants were all students. Furthermore they were randomly assigned to ad-hoc groups meaning that they initially were equal regarding the task they had to solve. This is seldom the case in real life where there are inherited differences in power and status. Future research could thus look more into differences between men and women in real

life, especially in groups with an unequal distribution of men and women. This as previous research (Wood et al, 1994, Schmid et al, 2011, Pratto & Stewart, 2012) all has found that there are important differences between men and women in the communications patters, dominance (power). Finally is there definitely a need to explore if these results are stable in natural environments.

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DARK VALUES: THE DARK TRIAD IN SCHWARTZ' VALUE TYPES

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Abstract

Based on the still not fully understood link between personality traits and values, this study set out to investigate how much the Dark Triad (Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy) accounts for Schwartz's 10 human universal value types. Participants were measured on the Big Five, the Dark Triad, and Schwartz's values. The results were medium to strong correlations between the Dark Triad in 9 out of the 10 value types. Also, while the Big Five captured between 18–43% of the variance on the value types, the Dark Triad explained up to 23% additional variance, in particular on self-enhancing values. Machiavellianism accounted for most of this additional variance, followed by narcissism, and psychopathy. Consequences and other research directions are discussed.

Key-words: Dark Triad, universal values, morality, Dark Values

Personality trait theory is an approach to the study of general personality dispositions (i.e., behaviors, thoughts, and emotions) enduring over time (McCrae & John, 1992). A subset of the more general personality dimensions is known as the Dark Triad (i.e., Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy) which represents malevolent and anti-social personality traits in the general population (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Recent studies include investigations of the relation between Dark Triad traits and behaviors of moral pertinence, such as Internet use (Buckels, Trapnell, & Paulhus, 2014), schadenfreude (James, Kavanagh, Jonason, Chonody, & Scrutton, 2014), and counter-productive work behaviors (O'Boyle, Forsyth, Banks, & McDaniel, 2012). The latter line of research relates to an overarching research tradition of trying to ascertain how personality traits and work behavior are related. The Dark Triad explains moderate amounts of variance when it comes to explaining counterproductive work behaviors (O'Boyle et al., 2012; Spain, Harms & LeBreton, 2014). The dysfunction related to interpersonal relations featured in the Dark Triad is of particular interest here, as we conduct an exploratory study of how personal values relate to dark personality traits.

Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, and Knafo (2002) examined how general personality traits are associated with values, concluding that the two constructs are related, but both conceptually and empirically distinct. Traits account for how people behave,

whereas values describe what people consider important. Values also reflect motivational content, in the sense that values reflect goals one wants to achieve (Schwartz, 1992). Little is known about which sets of values are endorsed by individuals with high scores on the Dark Triad, as opposed to those with lower scores. In this study we investigated and coined the term *Dark Values*, denoting the set of values held by high scorers on the Dark Triad.

Personality traits and values

Personality Traits in the Big Five and the Dark Triad
Enduring individual differences in general personality traits are most commonly measured with the Five-Factor Model, or Big Five (Costa & McCrae, 1992), comprised by the dimensions: Openness to Experience (O), Conscientiousness (C), Extraversion (E), Agreeableness (A), and Neuroticism (N). The Big Five represents the most reliable and universal take on personality structure, and can be utilized in predicting a wide variety of behaviors (Judge, Heller, & Mount, 2002; Roberts, Kuncel, Shiner, Caspi, & Goldberg, 2007). The Big Five has been referred to as "the most scientifically rigorous taxonomy that behavioral science has produced" (Reis, 2006, in Costa & McCrae, 2008, p. 214), and it applies to both normal and abnormal personality traits (Markon, Krueger, & Watson, 2005).

While the Big Five describes the general constitution of a normal personality, destructive traits are better captured by the Dark Triad, which denotes manipulative, selfish, and callous dispositions in the general population (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). It is comprised of Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy. Machiavellianism refers to manipulative behaviors, for instance utilizing lying or flattery to achieve power (Christie & Geis, 1970; Jones & Paulhus, 2009). Narcissism refers to self-centeredness, showing exaggerated self-appraisal, and self-image (Paulhus & Williams, 2002), and psychopathy is characterized by callousness, lack of empathy and impulsivity (Jones & Paulhus, 2014). The Dark Triad dimensions show significant overlap but have nevertheless been found to be both theoretically and empirically distinct (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). It should be noted that the terms "narcissists," "Machiavellians," and "psychopaths" are not used as diagnostic labels, but as abbreviations for individuals characterized by high scores on the respective trait measures; no pathology is implied, as the terms refer to subclinical constructs. However, subclinical samples cover a wide range and therefore naturally include extreme cases (Ray & Ray, 1982). Personality traits in the Big Five and in the Dark Triad are defined as highly heritable and dispositions of temperament; thereby being different from needs, motives, and values, which are known to be more subject to influence and change (Parks & Guay, 2009; Roccas et al., 2002).

Values

Values are defined as enduring goals under cognitive control (Roccas et al., 2002). Some evidence suggests that traits are more related to behaviors over which people have little cognitive control and that values mostly influence behavior when activated (Roccas et al., 2002; Verplanken & Holland, 2002). Schwartz's theory of basic universal human values is one of the most theoretically developed and tested value models (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004). The model consists of 10 universal value types (each described by two exemplary items in parenthesis): *Security* (national security, social order), *Tradition* (devoutness, humility), *Conformity* (obedience, honoring parents), *Benevolence* (helpfulness, loyalty), *Universalism* (social justice, equality), *Self-direction* (creativity, independence), *Stimulation* (exciting life, varied life), *Hedonism* (pleasure, enjoying life), *Achievement* (success, ambition), and *Power* (authority, wealth) (Schwartz, 2007). These 10 value types are commonly illustrated in a quasi-circumplex model (Figure 1), from which two orthogonal axes can be derived: Self-enhancement–Self-transcendence and Openness to change–Conservation (Schwartz, 1992).
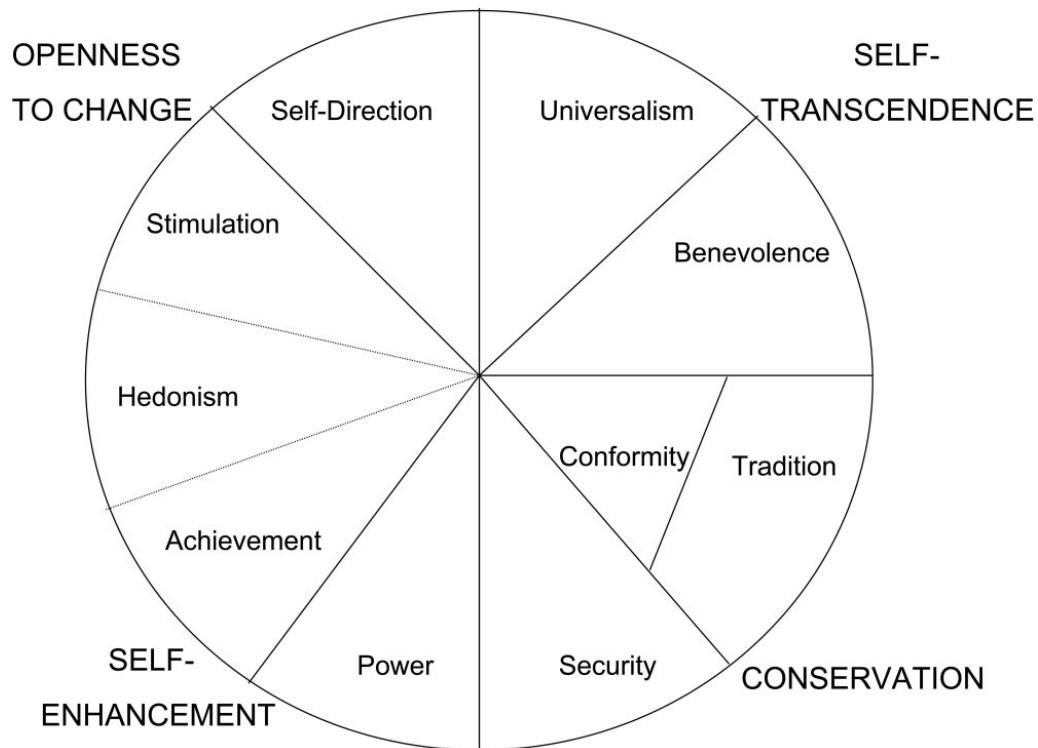

Figure 1. The original Schwartz's value types (Schwartz, 1992).

Traits and Values

Olver and Mooradian (2003) presented an integrative model with personality traits representing "nature", and values as learned behaviors representing "nurture".

This was based on the idea that values seem to be more externally influenced by environmental factors, while traits more internally influenced by genetic factors. The premise of this study is that personality traits of adults are antecedents of values. The developing field of personality neuroscience (DeYoung & Gray, 2009) provides additional support for this premise, demonstrating biological correlates of the Big Five traits (DeYoung, 2010).

Considering the respective long histories of research on traits and values, these constructs have been infrequently studied together (Olver & Mooradian, 2003; Parks & Guay, 2009). The most recent meta-analysis compiled a total of 60 studies (Parks-Leduc, Feldman, & Bardi, 2014) pertaining to a wide range of behaviors, but no study has connected values to deviant traits such as those covered by the Dark Triad. Demonstrated links between the two are likely to further our understanding of why people behave and feel the way they do, which is the main purpose of this paper.

Dark Values

The Dark Triad traits are seen in interactions with others, a common feature being the tendency to exclude others and promote oneself (Gurtman, 2009; Rauthmann & Will, 2011). A possible unifier of Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy lies in the disregard for conventional morality (Campbell et al., 2009; Furnham, Richards, & Paulhus, 2013). Values are intimately connected, but not synonymous, with morality in that they reflect what people believe to be good or bad (Bardi, Lee, Hofmann-Towfigh, & Soutar, 2009; Schwartz, 2007).

The present study aims to identify which values are shared by dark personalities by ascertaining the relationships between the factors in the Dark Triad and Schwartz's 10 value types. The main prediction is that the Dark Triad explains additional variance on universal values, after controlling for the Big Five traits. On the assumption that the main prediction holds, the second prediction is a positive relationship between the Dark Triad and Self-enhancing values (Power and Achievement), on the basis that they emphasize the pursuit of self-interest (Schwartz, 1992). From this it follows that a negative relationship is to be expected with Self-transcendence values (Universalism and Benevolence), being that the value circumplex is orthogonal. An exploratory approach with no proposed predictions was used regarding Openness to change (Self-direction, Stimulation, and Hedonism) and Conservation values (Security, Conformity, and Tradition). No causality is implied in the reporting of the study. When discussing the results values are often spoken of in terms of dimensions which indicate their location in the circumplex (cf. Figure 1). The term "Dark Values" coined in this study refers to the values adopted by high scorers on the Dark Triad.

Method

Participants

The participants (*N* = 155) constituted two samples. The first sample was from University West in Sweden and consisted of a class of 79 freshmen from a human resource management program (63 female, 16 male; 18 to 56 years, *M* = 25.1, *SD* = 7.2).

The second sample was collected through Amazon's international online polling service, Mechanical Turk (MTurk). This method of adding online samples has been used successfully in previous studies (Buckels, Trapnell, & Paulhus, 2014; Jones & Paulhus, 2014). MTurk has demonstrated reliability (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011), and provides a good spread of socio-economic backgrounds (Casler, Bickel, & Hackett, 2013). The sample consisted of 76 US participants (46 female, 30 male; 18 to 82 years, *M* = 42.6, *SD* = 15.4), having completed at least 50 MTurk tasks with an acceptance rate of 95% or more, according to recommendations. The participants were compensated with $1. Five control questions were added to ensure that participants were paying attention (e.g. "*This questionnaire is about classical economics*"). This procedure led to the exclusion of 9 participants.

Cronbach's alphas were calculated and compared with a meta-analysis (Parks-Leduc et al., 2014), yielding similar results. Samples differed significantly (*p* < .01) on two traits; Extraversion which was higher in the Swedish sample and Openness which was higher in the online US sample. Both samples corresponded very well with meta-analytic results (Parks-Leduc et al., 2014), which demonstrates the reliability of the data.

Instruments

The Big Five Inventory (BFI-44; John, Naumann & Soto, 2008) is a 44-item self-report personality inventory, ranging from 1-5 ("*Strongly disagree*" to "*Strongly agree*"). Participants rated how much they agreed with statements such as: "*I see myself as someone who is full of energy*" (i.e., Extraversion). Items were averaged to create each dimension.

The Short Dark Triad (SD3; Jones & Paulhus, 2014) is a 27-item self-report questionnaire, ranging from 1-5 ("*Strongly disagree*" to "*Strongly agree*"), which has been used successfully in other MTurk studies (e.g., Buckels, Trapnell, & Paulhus, 2014; Jones & Paulhus, 2014). Participants rated how much they agreed with statements such as: "*You should wait for the right time to get back at people*" (i.e., Machiavellianism). Items were averaged to create each dimension

The Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ-40; Schwartz et al., 2001) is a 40-item self-report questionnaire that measures values by allowing the participant to identify with short vignettes. These are scored on a six-point Likert scale ranging from

"*Not like me at all*" to "*Very much like me*". The scale requires centering to control for differences in individual response patterns. All questionnaires were administered in the original English versions, both in class and online (30 min). The mandatory high-level English ability and practical use in Swedish universities is believed to secure a similar high level of understanding (Bolton, & Kuteeva, 2012).

Results

Descriptive statistics

BFI-44 means and standard deviations for Openness ($M = 3.52$, $SD = 0.68$), Conscientiousness ($M = 3.75$, $SD = 0.61$), Extraversion ($M = 3.42$, $SD = 0.86$), Agreeableness ($M = 3.69$, $SD = 0.65$), and Neuroticism ($M = 2.85$, $SD = 0.91$) conformed to expectations. Cronbach's alphas for BFI-44 were very good, ranging from .82-.91. SD3 and PVQ-40 descriptives are reported in Table 1 and 2, respectively. Being that the purpose of using the Big Five is as a control, the correlations between the Big Five and the Dark Triad, and the Big Five and PVQ have been omitted. However, analyses show that the data conformed to the expected results based on previous studies (e.g., Paulhus & Williams, 2002; Roccas et al., 2002).

Table 1
Descriptive Analysis of the Dark Triad (SD3)

	M	*SD*	S	K	1	2	3
1 Machiavellianism	2.93	0.71	-.17	-.25	*.84*		
2 Narcissism	2.77	0.66	-.36	.16	.44	*.81*	
3 Psychopathy	2.18	0.65	.22	-.42	.70	.46	*.75*

Note. N = 155. All correlations significant at .001 level (two-tailed). S = Skewness; K = Kurtosis. Cronbach's alphas for Dark Triad are reported in the diagonal (*italics*).

Dark Triad and Schwartz's value types

The relationship between the Dark Triad and Schwartz's 10 value types are summarized in Figure 2. As expected, the correlations with Self-enhancing values such as Power (PO) and Achievement (AC) were particularly strong. The opposite, Self-transcending values such as Universalism (UN) and Benevolence (BE), showed slightly smaller effects.

Furthermore, a sinusoidal pattern emerges depicting how Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy relate to the circumplex structure. The correlations align with the orthogonal structure of the circumplex: starting at Tradition (TR), the

trend is a negative relationship reaching a null-effect at Self-direction (SD), with a continued positive relationship peaking at Power (PO). After Bonferroni corrections, effects over ($r > .26$) are significant at $p < .01$ and effects over ($r > .31$) at $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests). Correlations of ($r = .35$) have a lower boundary 95% CI of .19, just under the lower threshold for a medium effect (Hemphill, 2003).

Table 2
Descriptive analysis of Schwartz's 10 value types

	SE	TR	CO	BE	UN	SD	ST	HE	AC	PO
M	4.11	3.22	4.14	4.66	4.35	4.61	3.34	4.19	3.70	3.14
SD	0.76	0.93	0.82	0.72	0.79	0.73	0.99	1.01	1.06	1.07
S	0.23	0.33	-0.19	-0.66	-0.06	0.38	0.05	-0.32	-0.05	0.25
K	-0.55	-0.06	0.07	0.72	0.84	-0.29	-0.78	-0.57	-0.83	-0.46
α	0.64	0.54	0.72	0.65	0.78	0.65	0.74	0.83	0.85	0.69

Note. N = 155. CO = Conformity; BE = Benevolence; UN = Universalism; SD = Self-direction; ST = Stimulation; HE = Hedonism; AC = Achievement; PO = Power; SE = Security; TR = Tradition.
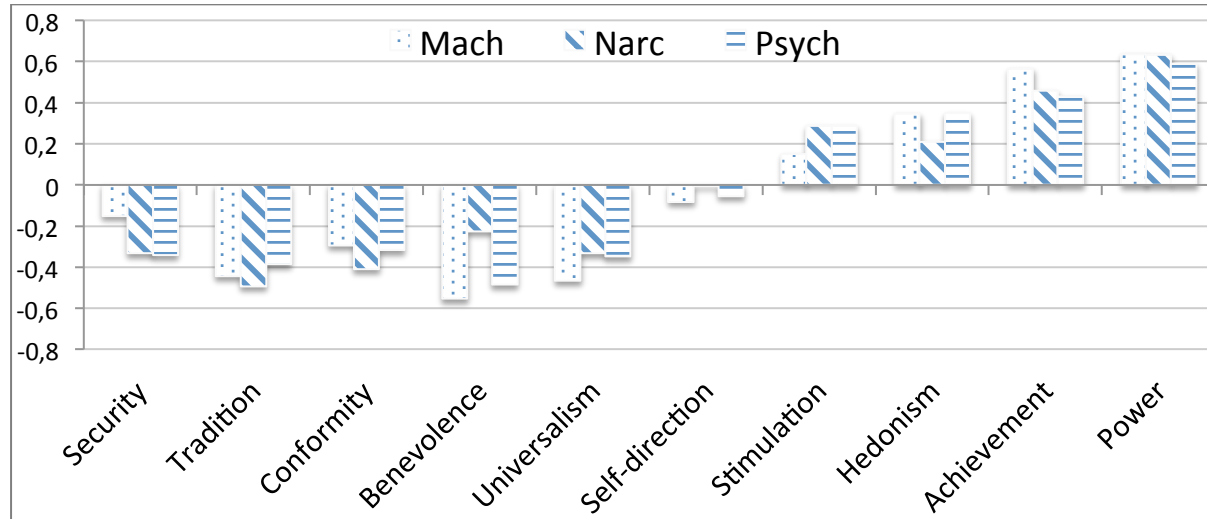
Figure 2. Correlations between Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy and Schwartz's 10 values.

The research aim in this study was to explore Dark Values (the added explained variance on values from the Dark Triad, after controlling for the Big Five). Accordingly, two-step hierarchical regression analyses on the 10 value types are reported in Table 3. The first three columns report percentages of accounted vari-

ance. The results indicate that the Dark Triad accounts for added variance in 7 of the 10 value types, thus confirming the main prediction. These effects are especially evident in the Self-transcendence–Self-enhancement values, but also in the Conservation values. The Dark Triad does not predict Openness values. Furthermore, the beta-coefficients in Table 3 report that Machiavellianism explains 5 of the 10 value types, narcissism 3, and psychopathy only 2.
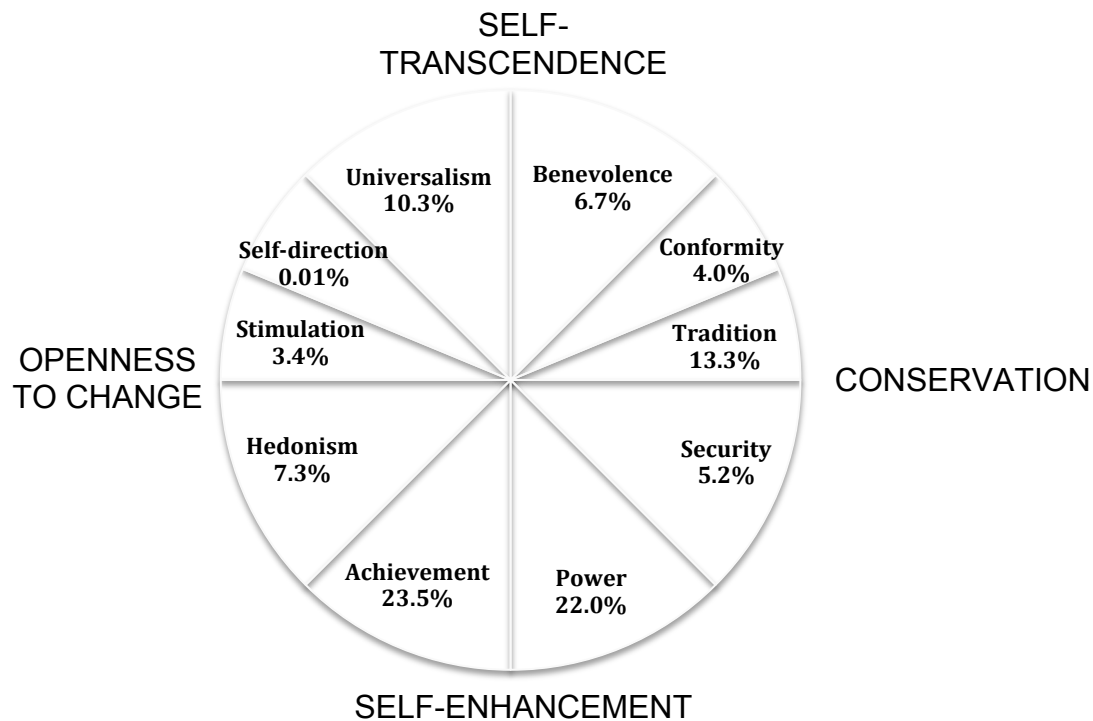
Table 3

Accounted variance from the Big Five and the Dark Triad on Schwartz values

Value Type	Big Five R^2	Big Five + Dark Triad R^2	ΔR^2	β Mach	β Narc	β Psych
Security	31.4	36.6	5.2*	-.01	-.03	-.30**
Tradition	29.8	43.1	13.3***	-.42***	-.13	-.02
Conformity	31.6	35.6	4.0	-.19	-.12	-.03
Benevolence	42.0	48.7	6.7***	-.19	-.11	-.15
Universalism	25.8	36.1	10.3***	-.26*	-.22*	-.07
Self-direction	37.5	37.6	0.01	.05	.00	.00
Stimulation	36.7	40.1	3.4	.10	.04	.17
Hedonism	17.8	25.1	7.3**	.29*	-.10	.15
Achievement	19.2	42.7	23.5***	.43***	.30**	.10
Power	42.9	64.9	22.0***	.28***	.37***	.19*

Note. All R^2 values are reported in %. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$. (two-tailed).

Figure 3 is the summary of the main research question, reporting the percentage of variance accounted for by the Dark Triad, in addition to the Big Five. The circumplex has been slightly modified to straight 90 degree angle diagonals of the two axes, which has proven useful in furthering research on values (Lindeman & Verkasalo, 2005). The Dark Triad demonstrated the most predictive power on Self-enhancement values with over 20% additional variance, followed by Tradition and Universalism with over 10%, and Hedonism, Security and Benevolence showing significant results around 5%.

SELF-
TRANSCENDENCE

Universalism
10.3%

Benevolence
6.7%

Self-direction
0.01%

Conformity
4.0%

Stimulation
3.4%

Tradition
13.3%

OPENNESS
TO CHANGE

CONSERVATION

Hedonism
7.3%

Security
5.2%

Achievement
23.5%

Power
22.0%

SELF-ENHANCEMENT

Figure 3. Dark Values. Based on R^2 coefficients from hierarchical regressions, showing the added variance from the Dark Triad on Schwartz's 10 value types (Big Five is controlled for).

Discussion

Our results aligned with previous studies and extend the knowledge of the Dark Triad (Parks-Leduc et al., 2014; Paulhus & Williams, 2002). The Dark Triad correlates with three out of four value dimensions (Self-enhancing, Self-transcending, and Conservation) and adding explanatory variance (10-20%), beyond the Big Five. However, the fourth dimension (Openness to change) showed minimal or no relation to the Dark Triad. Openness to change-items involves mostly non-moral content, potentially explaining the lack of effect (Schwartz, 2007). Tradition, on the other hand, showed particular impact by the Dark Triad (cf. Figure 3). This effect likely exemplifies the high scorer on the Dark Triad: showing disregard for conventions, bordering on anti-social behavior. The study shows that individuals scoring high on the Dark Triad share certain value types.

Independent in the heard: Inclusion and exclusion as social processes
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Robert Thornberg & Tomas Jungert (Eds)

Traits and values in the components of the Dark Triad

Most of the additional variance in universal values was accounted for by Machiavellianism which indicates that this disposition is not well captured by the Big Five. As seen in Figure 2, a majority of the effects from Machiavellianism reaches the medium threshold of $r = .20$ proposed by Hemphill (2003), while narcissism and psychopathy shows medium effects in less than half of the value types. Behavioral genetics report a strong shared-environment component for Machiavellianism, but not for narcissism and psychopathy (Larsson, Andershed & Lichtenstein, 2006; Vernon, Villani, Vickers & Harris, 2008). Olver and Mooradian (2003) proposed that traits can be separated from values, through the endogenous characteristics of traits (nature) versus the learned adaptations of values (nurture). *Our results suggest that Machiavellianism is highly value-driven, while narcissism and psychopathy are more trait-driven.* On the item-level in the Machiavellianism subscale – which includes hiding secrets, making the most of opportunities, using information for one's own benefit, and avoiding conflict with others for long-term benefit – a learned world-view is implied. The narcissism scale, on the other hand, measures a person's perceived interaction with others and one's own intrinsic self-image. The items concern the influence of the presence of others, people's opinions, and being at the center of attention; all implying social interaction. Lastly, the psychopathy scale is more based on temperaments – such as being out of control and harboring revenge – which have demonstrated high heritability (Larsson et al., 2006).

Our exploratory analysis implies that the Dark Triad is composed by both trait-like and value-like measurements, thus illuminating the varying relationships with universal values. This could have potential implications in the construct debate (Fossati, Pincus, Borroni, Munteanu, & Maffei, 2014).

Dark Values and morality

The title choice "Dark Values" suggests that Self-enhancing values such as Power and Achievement should perhaps not be considered morally neutral (Arvan, 2013). People generally consider Self-transcending values to contain more morally relevant content than the other dimensions (Schwartz, 2007). Items in the Short Dark Triad are not very flattering: "*I'll say anything to get what I want*", "*I can be mean to others*", "*I like to get revenge on authorities*", or "*I seek out danger*" and carry moral implications.

The results of our study show that high scorers on the Dark Triad hold values that entail the exclusion of others and the enhancement of oneself. This supports Rauthmann and Will's (2011) results, who found that persons scoring high on Machiavellianism have low propensity for including others in their work and tend to view others negatively. An application of this could be the difficulty of distinguishing the value types of for instance newly employed or business partners. Us-

ing personality tests such as the Big Five to find people extraordinary low on, for instance, Agreeableness is a start in the prevention of anti-social work behaviors. Twenge, Baumeister, Tice, and Stucke (2001) report effects such as increased aggression, less helpful behavior, less rational and intelligent choices in subjects who are excluded socially. Gaining a better understanding of how individuals with darker personality traits think is one of many aspects in successful cooperation and communication.

Conclusion and future studies

The Dark Triad predicts universal values to a greater extent than the Big Five. The opposite could be construed, called a *White Triad*, which would imply the hypothesized measure of a socially inclusive, caring, and extraordinarily agreeable individual, is not necessarily captured by low scores on the Dark Triad (cf. Crego & Widiger, 2014).

Being that values affect behavior when activated (Verplanken & Holland, 2002), a potentially fruitful line of experimental research opens up: it is unknown to what extent it is possible to manipulate values in highly callous individuals. This is somewhat unchartered territory, and we are encouraged to keep exploring the link between traits and values in ensuing research.

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ELEVERS PERSPEKTIV PÅ MOBBNINGSINCIDENTERS UPPKOMST

Camilla Forsberg

Abstrakt

Syftet med denna studie har varit att undersöka elevers perspektiv på mobbningsincidenters uppkomst genom att fokusera hur elever beskriver hur och varför mobbning uppstår. Studien baseras på fyrtioåtta semi-strukturerade intervjuer med elever i fjärde till och med sjunde årskurs. Materialet har analyserats och insamlats med konstruktivistisk grundad teori. Den överordnade processen för hur mobbning förstås av eleverna kan tolkas som ett *socialt ordnande av tillhörighet*. Resultaten redogör för att eleverna förstår mobbning och mobbningsincidenters uppkomst utifrån följande tre socialt ordnande kategorier: (a) socialt hierarkiserande (b) aktivitetsförstörande, (c) nymedlemshändande.

Nyckelord: mobbning, mobbningsincidenter, elevers perspektiv, grundad teori, socialt ordnande

Introduktion

Mobbning definieras vanligen som upprepande, aggressiva handlingar av en eller flera personer gentemot någon som befinner sig i ett underläge (se vidare Olweus, 1993). Mobbning är än idag ett problem i skolor runt om i världen (Bontrager et al., 2009). Det finns en hel del forskning om mobbning som fenomen där det varit aktuellt att försöka förstå vidden av problematiken men även vilka faktorer som tycks sammanlänkade med uppkomsten av mobbning. Några av de faktorer som särskilt aktualiserats i denna forskning har belyst sådana faktorer som familjen, individen själv, vänner och skolan (Espelage & Swearer, 2011). Det har inom mobbningsforskning varit vanligare att använda kvantitativa metoder. Dessa studier har onekligen bidragit med viktiga perspektiv för att förklara fenomenet, men öppnar upp för att istället utgå ifrån en kvalitativ metodansats. En kvalitativ metodansats kan i detta avseende bidra med en fördjupad förståelse kring mobbning som fenomen. I denna studie studeras därför elevers perspektiv på mobbningsincidenters uppkomst, hur elever skapar mening kring och förstår hur och varför mobbning uppstår. Elevers perspektiv är ett alltmer uppmärksammat inom den kvalitativa mobbningsforskningen även om studierna fortfarande är relativt få till antalet (Patton, Hong, Patel, & Kral, 2015). Mobbning kan förstås som ett socialt fenomen och som en

social process där förståelser av mobbning som fenomen betraktas som skapade i sociala sammanhang och interaktioner. Utifrån detta perspektiv på mobbning blir det aktuellt att försöka förstå hur denna sociala mening skapas och vilka processer som görs aktuella. Ett perspektiv som i synnerhet fokuserar detta är den symboliska interaktionismen som utgår ifrån att människor agerar gentemot världen utifrån den mening den har för dem, denna mening konstrueras socialt och hanteras genom en tolkande process (Blumer, 1969).

I de kvalitativa studier som finns på området återfinns en mängd förklaringar och resonemang kring varför mobbning uppstår. En av dessa förklaringar adresserar att mobbning sker på grund av ett upplevt grupptryck (Hamarus & Kaikkonen, 2008) som också innebär att den utsatta konstrueras som avvikande, vilket också är en av de vanligaste förklaringarna till mobbning utifrån elevernas perspektiv. I samtida forskning (Thornberg 2011, Thornberg, 2015) vidareutvecklas dessa tankegångar med stöd i teoribildning som adresserar social kategorisering och teori kring stigma där mobbning förstås som en social process och påvisade hur den utsatta ges skulden för mobbningen. Att den utsatta ges skulden förstår Thornberg (2015) som ett kollektivt agerande där kollektivet konstrueras som de normala genom att peka ut den utsatta som avvikande. Ytterligare en vanlig förklaring till mobbning betonar mobbaren som problemet. Här synliggörs sådant som att den mobbade kommer ifrån en problematisk hembakgrund, har ett lågt självförtroende, är en elak person eller har hög status (Frisén et al., 2008; Thornberg, & Knutsen, 2011; Varjas et al, 2008).

I denna studie är syftet att undersöka just elevers perspektiv på mobbningsincidenter och hur de skapar mening kring varför mobbning uppstår. Detta kan öka vår förståelse kring vilka processer som görs viktiga för elever och är ett viktigt bidrag i forskningen om mobbning och elevers perspektiv då tidigare studier oftare fokuserat vilka faktorer eller personer eleverna lyfter fram. Med fokus på sociala processer och interaktionsmönster så har symbolisk interaktionism och konstruktivistisk grundad teori valts som utgångspunkter i studien då dessa fokuserar sociala processer och meningsskapande.

Metod och forskningsprocess

Datamaterial och deltagare

Datamaterialet består utav fyrtioåtta semistrukturerade intervjuer med elever i årskurs fyra till och med årskurs sju. Intervjuerna har samlats in på fem olika skolor förlagda i olika bostadsområden på olika orter, vilket ger en viss spridning i materialet, men de flesta deltagarna har ändock vit medelklassbakgrund. Totalt har 14

pojkar respektive 34 flickor intervjuats. Samtliga elever på de besökta skolorna fick frågan om att delta i studien, då elever i studien har betraktats som experter på sin sociala vardag och anses ha kunskap om hur elever förstår mobbning. Varje klass som deltog besöktes och eleverna delgavs information om syftet med studien, att det var frivilligt att delta, att de skulle förbli anonyma om de valde att delta och att samtycke behövdes ifrån dem själva och deras vårdnadshavare. Ett informations och samtyckesbrev delades därefter ut vilket innehöll samma information. Både elever och vårdnadshavare har inför intervjuerna gett sitt samtycke. Frågan om samtycke aktualiserades även under intervjuerna då eleverna fick information om studien på nytt och fick samtycka till sitt deltagande. Studien har etikprövats av regionala etikprövningsnämnden i Linköping.

Under intervjuarna fick eleverna frågor om mobbning och mobbningsincidenter de känner till, hur de förstår dessa och hur de ser på uppkomsten av mobbning överlag. Eftersom denna studie tar sin utgångpunkt i grundad teori har intervjuguiden uppdaterats efter vilka olika tematiker/koder som har framträtt i elevernas resonemang. Under studiens gång aktualiserades olika teman/koder, dessa följdes sedan upp i nya intervjuer eller med några av de informanter som redan hade intervjuats. Detta kallas för teoretisk sampling inom grundad teori (Charmaz, 2014). Samtliga intervjuer har spelats in och transkriberats. I forskning med barn kan det ibland finnas en maktasymmetri inbyggd mellan vuxna och barn, och i den kontext i vilken denna studie insamlats, skolan, mellan lärare och elev. För att motverka denna potentiella maktasymmetri och för att tillskriva eleverna agens och betrakta dem som experter på sin sociala vardag har en speciell form av forskarposition använts i studien: "minsta möjliga vuxen" (Mandell, 1991; Mayall, 2000). Denna forskarposition innebär, förutom ovanstående, att även visa en öppenhet och nyfikenhet av att lära om och av eleverna, att inte avbryta dem eller agera som en "vanlig" vuxen i skolan utan istället vara lyhörd för hur deras sociala vardag gestaltar sig och deras mening skapas kring mobbning som fenomen.

Grundad teori

Som tidigare nämnts tar denna studie sin utgångspunkt i grundad teori där fokus ligger på att förstå deltagarnas perspektiv. I denna studie har grundat teori tillämpats genom hela forskningsprocessen inte enbart som en del av analysen. I valet av de olika versioner som finns av grundad teori så har den konstruktivistiska versionen valts (Charmaz, 2014). Inom konstruktivistisk grundad teori så betraktas datamaterialet som konstruerat av både forskaren och forskningens deltagare, liksom de olika analysverktyg som finns att tillgå anses vara flexibla verktyg. Detta innebär att de två analysfaser som innefattas i den konstruktivistiska ansatsen, initial och fokuserad kodning, har tillämpats (Charmaz, 2014). Utöver dessa analysfaser har

Glasers teoretiska kodning (1978, 1998) adderats som ett lämpligt analysverktyg. Analysprocessen kan närmast beskrivas som en pendel som går fram och tillbaka mellan datainsamling och analysens olika faser. Analysfaserna ska därmed inte uppfattas som linjära. Analysen konstrueras genom kodning, konstant jämförande av koder och memoskrivande. Medan den initiala kodningen kodar ord för ord, rad för rad, och sedan jämför dessa koder, fokuseras de mest frekventa av dessa koder i den fokuserade analysfasen. Under arbetet med en föregående studie som handlade om elevers perspektiv på åskådarroller vid mobbning, började eleverna ofta att diskutera att den utsatta kunde betraktas som annorlunda och ibland hade sig själv att skylla för mobbningen. Jag adderade därför en fråga i min intervjuguide som mer specifikt fokuserade hur elever såg på varför mobbning hände eller hur det kom sig att en viss incident hade ägt rum. Detta blev sedan fokus i denna studie. Tidigt i analysen framstod det som att eleverna var upptagna vid att beskriva den utsatta i de olika mobbningssituationer de beskrev som ansvarig för mobbningen och som udda. Utöver detta tycktes det som att eleverna även kontextualiserade denna "avvikelse" i olika sammanhang. När jag initialt analyserade mitt material så konstruerades koder som "annorlundavarande" "uddavarande". I den fortsätta fokuserade analysen undersökte jag sedan vad som betonades som annorlunda, när och på vilket sätt, vilket bidrog till konceptualiserandet av att detta ägde rum i tre olika kontexter, sociala hierarkier, aktiviteter/kamratgrupper och när nya medlemmar kommer till klassen. I alla dessa situationella kontexter betonades även konstruktionen av den utsatta som avvikelse och olika exempel på vad som utgjorde norm i respektive kontext och hur mobbning kunde uppstå i dessa kontexter. I den teoretiska kodningen konstrueras relationer mellan kategorierna och en analytisk berättelse om datamaterial börjar anta skepnad (Charmaz, 2014) genom att lämpliga teoretiska koder inkluderas i analysen för att kunna skapa denna analytiska berättelse om datamaterialet (Glaser, 1978, 1998). I denna del av analysen började jag fundera över hur jag skulle kunna skapa en analytisk berättelse kring mitt material. Jag vidrörde tidigt begreppet social ordning men tyckte att det inte riktigt satte fokus på att mobbningsincidenter tycktes kunna uppstå vid olika tillfällen, lite när som samtidigt som det indikerades att det fanns mer stabila sociala mönster för vem som hade hög och eller låg status. Någonstans där började jag fundera på mina kategorier i termer av att de var socialt ordnande av tillhörigheter då de också betonade grupper och medlemskap i olika gruppers betydelse. Mina kategorier konceptualiseras och definierades därefter (Charmaz, 2014) utifrån en kärnprocess där socialt ordnande av tillhörighet framstod som det centrala i elevernas resonemang men att det sociala ordnandet i sig även synliggör en temporär social ordning.

Resultat

I denna studie har symbolisk interaktionism använts för att förstå elevernas resonemang kring hur och varför mobbning uppstår. Symbolisk interaktionism bygger på tre premisser: (a) människor agerar gentemot objekt i sin omvärld beroende på vilken betydelse dessa objekt har för dem; (b) mening uppstår i social interaktion, och (c) tolkas av individen när denna agerar gentemot sin omvärld. Dessa utgångspunkter sätter fokus på hur och vilka perspektiv och processer som används av eleverna. Ett genomgående drag i elevernas resonemang är att de tenderar att betrakta mobbning som något som väldigt sällan äger rum på deras egna skolor, även om de även genomgående beskriver erfarenheter av att ha mött mobbning, i de allra flesta fall utifrån att de blivit åskådare till mobbning. Ett annat genomgående drag är att eleverna definierar mobbning som något som bör ske upprepande gånger för att räknas som mobbning, men beskriver samtidigt incidenter som mobbning utan att dessa behöver vara upprepade. Eleverna adresserar även flera olika typer av mobbning och nämner (sparkar, slag, ryktesspridning, nätmobbning, utfrysning, verbala kränkande kommentarer). Genom att koda och analysera hur eleverna konceptualiserar och förstår hur och varför mobbning äger rum konceptualiserades *socialt ordnande av tillhörighet* som en kärnprocess. Denna process består av tre olika underkategorier där eleverna lyfter fram: (a) socialt hierarkiserande (b) aktivitetsförstörande (c) nymedlemshändande. Dessa sociala ordnande underkategorier aktualiserar både frågor om normalitet och avvikelse, social status och vem som görs ansvarig för mobbning. Socialt ordnande av tillhörighet illustrerar därmed en process genom vilken eleverna positionerar sig själv och andra utifrån inkludering/exkludering och social dominans/underordning.

Socialt hierarkiserande

I elevernas resonemang framträder ett mönster där den sociala vardagen tycks organiseras utifrån en socialt hierarkiserande struktur där både individuella elever och grupper av elever ordnas enligt denna struktur. Detta synliggörs i resonemang om att vissa elever associeras med låg status och låg popularitet och andra elever associeras med hög status och hög popularitet.

> Men alltså, eh, jag vet inte hur jag ska förklara det riktigt, mm, ja men då är det liksom att dem, dem är coola och så är en annan ute, pojke, åk 6

Den eller dem som mobbar kopplas även samman med att vara drivande i mobbning då de anses inneha en hög social position i den sociala hierarkin som möjliggör att de kan mobba andra. Den typen av resonemang synliggör även grupperingar mellan eleverna baserade på popularitet och status. Mobbning beskrivs även kunna uppstå i strävan efter popularitet och status. Eleverna återkommer till att beskriva

sin sociala vardag i binära kategorier om vad som anses coolt/inne och ute/ocoolt och länkar detta samman med förståelser om hur och varför mobbning uppstår.

> Alltså, det är ju många som liksom blir eh alltså blir mobbade och så för att dem inte är söta eller för att dem inte har bra klädsel eller för att dem är, ja, på något sätt, inte är som alla andra och eh, det, och, men är man kanske inte såhär, om man inte ser tillräckligt bra ut och sen är cool ändå, och gör, bryter mot reglerna eller gör nåt, då blir man ändå med i coola gänget för det. Så att alltså, men sitter man och är liksom, kanske, inte ser bra ut och sitter vid en bänk eller gör bara nåt ocoolt då blir man utsatt. (flicka, åk 7)

I citatet ovan uppstår mobbning utifrån utseenderelaterade normer och värderande av olika typer av klädsel, notera dock att även vissa beteenden inordnas i termer av att vara coola eller inte. Det handlar således även om ett hierarkiserande av vilka akti- viteter en person ägnar sig åt, där vissa elever som kan kodas som coola men ej snygga kan undgå mobbning medan de som ej ägnar sig åt de coola aktiviteterna kan bli mobbade.

Aktivitetsförstörande

Den andra kategorin som illustrerar hur det sociala ordnandet av tillhörighet kan konceptualiseras utifrån elevernas resonemang betonar de aktiviteter som eleverna engagerar sig i. Dessa aktiviteter äger rum under raster eller fritiden och innefattar mindre grupper eller sammanslutningar och ofta ens kamratrelationer. Inom dessa aktiviteter och relationer beskrivs hur mobbning kan uppstå då någon agerar på ett sätt som i situationen gör att mobbningen uppstår. En viktig aspekt att beakta är att eleverna i stor utsträckning betonar sina sociala grupperingar utifrån genus tillika menar eleverna att mobbning bland pojkar och flickor skiljer sig åt vilket enligt elevernas resonemang och exempel på mobbningsincidenter tenderar att spela roll för deras meningsskapande kring mobbning.

> Så alltså killarna dem, vad heter det, hamnar i slagsmål, reder ut det, och sen så är dem liksom kompisar igen. Tjejerna tar det nog lite mer såhär, alltså dem kanske är förban- nade lite längre tid om man säger och liksom blänger på varandra och så. (tjej, åk 5)

De aktiviteter där pojkar positioneras som aktivitetsförstörare involverar i högre grad fysiska aktiviteter där den informella norm som bryts ofta fokuserar en speci- fik aktivitet, exempelvis fotboll. De identifierar också olika typer av mobbning. Aktivitetsförstörande tenderar också att handla om att inte bryta mot vänskapliga lojaliteter exempelvis beteenden som lögn, eller att personen gör något elakt med flit. Följande exempel som är en mobbingsincident som involverande pojkar, visar hur en elev beskrivs som i vägen när andra spelade fotboll vilket startade mobb- ningen.

Ja, det var, såhär, då var det några på fotbollsplan som bråka och svärde mot varandra och slags, slogs, svärde, och ja, då att nån var i vägen och grejer sådär, en annan kom och sparka på den, ja nåt sånt, var det. (pojke, åk 4)

I de aktiviteter där flickor blir positionerade som normbrytare av en aktivitet så framhäver flickorna utfrysning, ryktesspridning och blickar. Följande citat illustrerar hur en flicka blir beskylld som tjuv då hon anses ha stulit pengar och därmed brutit mot en informell norm varpå mobbning uppstår.

Elev: Eh M var hemma hos E och eh, E hade pengar liggandes i rummet, det var, ja dem låg i en sparbössa, det var såhär, hundralappar, jag tror det var trehundra kronor, och eh sen när M gick ifrån E så saknades dem där trehundra kronorna. Och eh sen började folk prata om att E, att M hade snott pengar utav E, och eh, det var ingen som visste att det var sant eller falskt liksom, alla bara förutsatte att det var sant. Ehm, för, det är en idag, ingen vet, vad som egentligen hände då, men hon hade, M då, hon har blivit, det här är alltid en sak som dyker upp liksom. När det är bråk, ja men du då, du gjorde ju det här

C: Mm, mm. Så vad hände liksom efter det där alltså?

Elev: Ehm, jag tror det tysta var värst, för henne. Alltså att folk kanske ignorerade henne, dem valde att inte bjuda henne på fester, för att hon skälde ju pengar, ehm, det var.. småsaker, om någon började tjafsa med henne, då kom det här upp igen och igen och igen, du gör ju fel, liksom, dem kan inte släppa det.

(flicka, åk 7)

Elevernas resonemang, där de betonar betydelsen av aktiviteter och anger vissa ageranden som startare av mobbning, kan tolkas som att någon form av normbrott, där någon form av informell norm eller lojalitet aktualiseras, och används som förståelse kring varför mobbning uppstår.

Nymedlemshändande

I den tredje kategorin som utgör exempel på hur eleverna socialt ordnar tillhörighet utifrån hur de förstår mobbningsincidenters uppkomst, aktualiseras de två tidigare underkategorierna, socialt hierarkiserande och aktivitetsförstörande, men gestaltas här i resonemang som berör nya medlemmar och hur olika mobbningssituationer kan uppstå som en del av att nya medlemmar tillkommer i en klass. En vanlig förklaring som framhävs när eleverna beskriver hur och varför mobbning uppstår synliggör hur nya elever positioneras som udda och själva detta faktum att de var nya sammanlänkas med att mobbning uppstått. Detta synliggörs exempelvis i citatet nedan.

Mm, alltså vi har en ny i klassen, Joey, han kommer ifrån en liten byhåla, och så, Ben, en kille, han eh, eller han, han var på honom nere i kafeterian, såhär det var något han hade sagt eller gjort såhär på skoj, så tog Ben honom och höll såhär, alltså strypgrepp, men han ströp honom ju inte, vad jag såg, kunde se, och sen, sig förlåt, sig förlåt, men släpp mig först. Det alltså, det blir väl mobbning efter ett tag. (pojke, åk 7)

I citatet ovan framställs även Joey som ny och detta med att han kommer ifrån en liten byhåla som aktuellt att betona, Joey är udda. Joey anges vidare ha sagt eller gjort något och detta i sin tur har bidragit till att Ben nu tar strypgrepp på Joey. På så sätt kan Joeys beskrivna agerande tolkas som ett exempel på ett normbrott av någon pågående aktivitet. Ben beskrivs även av flera elever som populär och cool, därmed kan det tänkas att Ben här använder sin sociala position för att visa Joey var hans sociala position är. Vidare i elevernas resonemang om den udda eleven synliggörs samtidigt exempel på vad som uppfattas som det normala och det icke-normala.

Ja, jag kan ta en, det var, han var ny, och så, han vart, han var utländsk, han vart lite såhär tagen direkt på sak, sen var han lite annorlunda än vad alla andra var, så dem började typ kalla honom för olika saker, och så typ spred det sig till olika skolor så det fortsatte andra också kallade honom saker och… (flicka, åk 6)

I ovan citat så handlar det både om att eleven var ny och således beskrivs som annorlunda men i detta exempel betonas även etnicitet som en aspekt som bidrog till att mobbningen uppstod. På så viss görs denna nya elev till annorlunda i termer av att vara ny men även annorlunda utifrån etnicitet.

Diskussion

I denna studie har elevers perspektiv på mobbningsincidenters uppkomst, genom att fokusera hur eleverna förklarar hur och varför mobbing uppstår, varit i fokus. I de resultat som ovan presenteras förstår eleverna mobbningsincidenternas uppkomst som uppkomna på grund av (a) socialt hierarkiserande (b) aktivitetsförstöranden, och (c) nymedlemshändanden. Dessa aspekter har tolkats som ett konstruerande av social ordnande av tillhörighet, tillika ett meningsskapande som visar på hur sociala ordning gestaltas i elevernas vardag, som tycks komma till uttryck i elevernas resonemang om mobbningsincidenters uppkomst. Det sociala ordnandet kan förstås som görande av social ordning, där människors sociala världar konstrueras av individer som kommunicerar med varandra med hjälp av symboler och därmed kommer att dela perspektiv via social interaktion (Charon, 2011). Social ordning blir därmed något temporärt och pågående men konstrueras både genom namngivning

Independent in the heard: Inclusion and exclusion as social processes
Proceedings from the 9th GRASP conference, Linköping University, May 2014
Robert Thornberg & Tomas Jungert (Eds)

och klassificering liksom genom koordinering, där människor genom organiserad aktivitet också influerar hur andra definierar och agerar (Charon, 2011).

Till att börja med så aktualiserar eleverna det sociala ordnandet av tillhörighet när de resonerar om mobbaren som någon som sätter agendan genom att uppfattas vara en populär person eller någon som strävar efter detta. Eleverna berör även grupperingar, coolhet och olikhet, vilket kan belysa hur sociala roller aktualiseras och betydelsen av att passa in socialt.

I elevernas meningsskapande och förståelse av hur mobbning uppstår finns frågan om normalitet och avvikelse närvarande och tycks vara en del av deras sociala vardag. Denna typ av resonemang konfirmerar även tidigare studier på området där elever tenderar att beskylla den utsatta genom att konstruera denna som udda (se vidare, Cheng et al., 2011; Frisén et al., 2008; Guerra et al., 2011; Hamarus & Kaikkonen, 2008; Thornberg et al, 2013; Thornberg, 2012; Thornberg & Knutsen, 2011; Thornberg, 2011; Teräsahjo & Salmivalli, 2003; Varjas et al, 2008). Teräsahjo & Salmivalli (2003) har introducerat begreppet "the odd student repertoire" som används av elever för att rättfärdiga mobbning. När det gäller konstruktionen av avvikande av nya medlemmar skulle detta resonemang kunna förstås som ett ingrupps–utgruppsfenomen (Tajfel, 1978), ett fenomen där människor positioneras och kategoriseras som udda utifrån att inte tillhöra gruppen. I elevernas sätt att skapa mening kring mobbning, genom att betona att vederbörande var ny, så tycks detta aktualisera en ingruppsnorm i den kontext i vilken den nya medlemmen ingår, likaså andra typer av normer som brukas för att förstå varför den utsatta blir mobbad såsom exempelvis "han var utländsk" i citatet tidigare.

Elevernas tredje resonemang uppehöll sig vid att förstå mobbningsincidenter utifrån ett aktivitetsförstörande, företrädesvis inom ramen för deras egna sociala grupperingar eller aktiviteter, och där olika normer och lojaliteter framträder som viktiga att upprätthålla. Normbrott som förklaring till varför mobbning uppstår har belysts i tidigare studier (se vidare Corsaro, 2011; Wright et al, 1968), då ett normbrott uppstår behöver den sociala ordningen återställas.

Denna studie bidrar med en fördjupad inblick i hur elevernas perspektiv på mobbningsincidenter gestaltas och adderar kontextuella förhållanden under det att det också till vis del säger någonting om när och var mobbning kan tänkas äga rum. Detta betyder inte att alla nya elever som börjar i en klass per automatik blir mobbande eller att alla elever med ett visst utseende blir mobbade. Snarare är det olika typer av konstruerade avvikelser som framträder och i synnerhet när det kommer till processerna som omgärdar aktivitetsförstöraren där en mängd olika normöverskridanden förekommer i elevernas resonemang om hur det kommer sig att mobbningsincidenter uppstår. Studien belyser även hur den avvikande eleven konceptualiseras på flera olika sätt samt att olika former av normalitet och avvikelse via socialt ordnande aktiviteter tycks aktuellt för elevernas meningsskapande. När det

sociala ordnandet av tillhörighet konceptualiseras i termer av normalitet och avvikelse skulle detta kunna vara exempel på normativa ordningar (se vidare Davies, 2011) som därmed tycks utgöra en del av elevernas förståelse av mobbning.

Denna studie fokuserar enbart vad eleverna beskrivit under intervjuerna. Det är därav ej möjligt att fånga hur dessa mobbningsincidenter eller socialt ordnande av tillhörigheter tar sig uttryck i praktiken. Det är även ett större antal flickor än pojkar som deltagit i studien och det framkom könsskillnader i beskrivning av aktivitetsförstöranden och typer av mobbning. Huruvida detta är ett resultat av att fler flickor än pojkar deltagit är svårt att säga, däremot är den kärnprocess med dess tillhörande underkategorier förekommande i alla deltagares resonemang.

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Independent in the heard: Inclusion and exclusion as social processes
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MOBBNING OCH ATT FÖRSVARA UTSATTA FÖR MOBBNING: BETYDELSEN AV ELEVERS MORALISKA EMOTIONER OCH MORALISKA DESENGAGEMANG

Robert Thornberg, Tiziana Pozzoli,

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Abstract

Tidigare forskning har visat att moraliskt disengagemang och moraliska emotioner sammanhänger med både mobbning och att försvara personer som är utsatta för mobbning. Vad vi dock inte vet är om var och en av dessa två faktorer fortfarande bidrar till att förklara variationen av dessa beteenden när båda inkluderas i samma modell. Syftet med studien var därför att undersöka hur moraliskt disengagemang och moraliska emotioner är associerade med mobbning och försvararbeteende bland skolbarn i en och samma modell. Vi ville även undersöka om det förelåg en interaktionseffekt mellan dessa två moraliska faktorer och som ytterligare bidrar till att förklara variationen i mobbning och försvararbeteende. 561 elever i årskurs 5 och 6 från 28 grundskolor besvarade anonymt och under skoltid en enkät. Resultatet visade att medan moraliskt disengagemang var positivt associerat med mobbning och negativt associerat med försvararbeteende, så var moraliska emotioner negativt associerade med mobbning och positivt associerade med försvararbeteende. Vidare visade resultatet att elever som uppvisade hög nivå av moraliska emotioner var mindre benägna att mobba oavsett deras nivå av moraliskt disengagemang. I kontrast till detta var moraliskt disengagemang negativt associerat med försvarbeteende vid låga nivåer av moraliska emotioner men inte när nivån av moraliska emotioner var högt.

Keywords: mobbning, åskådare, moraliskt disengagemang, moraliska emotioner

Enligt Hymel et al. (2010) innebär mobbning en allvarlig moralisk överträdelse eftersom den utgörs av upprepade inhumana handlingar med avsikt att skada och med negativa konsekvenser mot en person som befinner sig i underläge. Att försvara en person som är utsatt för mobbning, å andra sidan, är en moralisk handling eftersom

den syftar till att skydda offrets välbefinnande och rättigheter. Ett sådant försvarande exemplifierar humant och prosocialt beteende (jfr. Tisak, Tisak, & Goldstein, 2006). Forskning har visat att mobbning ofta sammanhänger med socio-kognitiva processer som hjälper till att rättfärdiga och bortrationalisera inhumana handlingar och reducera eller avleda skuldkänslor, medan att försvara offer ofta är kopplat till moralisk kompetens och känslighet (Caravita, Gini, & Pozzoli, 2012). I synnerhet har studier visat att högre grad av moraliskt disengagemang sammanhänger med mer mobbningsbeteenden och mindre försvarande av utsatta för mobbning (t.ex. Pozzoli, Gini, & Vieno, 2012; Thornberg & Jungert, 2013). Vissa studier har funnit samband mellan moraliska emotioner och olika beteenden vid mobbning (Correia & Dalbert, 2008; Gini, Albiero, Benelli & Altoè, 2007). Vad som ännu inte är undersökt är huruvida moraliska emotioner och moraliskt disengagemang på ett unikt sätt bidrar till att förklara såväl mobbningsbeteende som försvararbeteende när dessa två variabler undersöks tillsammans i en enda modell. Inte heller vet vi i dagsläget om det föreligger någon interaktionseffekt mellan moraliska emotioner och moraliskt disengagemang i relation till mobbning respektive att försvara utsatta för mobbning.

Moraliska emotioner

Moraliska emotioner refererar till känslor som motiverar moraliskt handlande (Hoffman, 2000). Empati, sympati och skuld är tre moraliska emotioner som har fått stor uppmärksamhet i utvecklings-, social- och moralpsykologiska studier (Bierhoff, 2002; Eisenberg, 2000; Hoffman, 2000). Hoffman (2000) har identifierat fem prototypiska moraliska situationer som barn stöter på när de växer upp och som har betydelse för hur deras moraliska emotioner utvecklas. Det handlar om moraliska situationer som uppträder under uppväxten oavsett kulturell kontext. Två av dessa moraliska situationer är av intresse för denna studie eftersom de kan kopplas till såväl mobbning som att försvara offer.

Den första moraliska situationen kallar Hoffman för *den-oskyldige-åskådaren-situationen* som refererar till att bli vittne till någon som angrips eller skadas och där man ställs inför frågorna "Ska jag hjälpa?" och "Hur mår jag om jag inte hjälper?" Enligt Hoffman leder en sådan situation till att vittnet av händelsen upplever en så kallad empatisk distress, som kan komma att utgöra ett prosocialt motiv om den omvandlas till sympati för offret eller skuldkänslor om man förblir passiv och inte ingriper. Den andra moraliska situationen är *överträdarsituationen* som innebär en situation där man avsiktligt eller oavsiktligt åsamkar en annan person skada eller överväger att bete sig på sätt som kan skada en annan person. Medan den-oskyldige-åskådare-situationen utgör den prototypiska moralsituationen för empati

är överträdarsituationen den prototypiska moralsituationen för skuldkänslor för att man gör någon illa (Hoffman, 2000).

Empati kan definieras som förmågan att förstå eller dela en annan persons känslotillstånd (Barchia & Bussey, 2011b). Forskning har visat att elever med högre nivåer av empati är mer benägna att hjälpa och försvara utsatta för mobbning (Barchia & Bussey, 2011b; Caravita, Di Blasio, & Salmivalli, 2009), medan elever med lägre nivåer av empati är mer benägna att mobba (Correia & Dalbert, 2008; Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006) eller ta mobbarens parti (Gini et al., 2007).

Sympati handlar om känslor som sorg och medkänsla för andra (Carlo, Mestre, Samper, Tur, & Armenta, 2010). Medan empati handlar om att kunna leva sig in i och känna de känslor en annan individ upplever så handlar sympati om att exempelvis tycka synd om en individ som är utsatt för lidande oavsett vad individen själv känner. I likhet med empati har sympati visat sig ha ett positivt samband med prosocialt beteende (se Eisenberg et al., 2010; Hoffman, 2000). Sympati är även negativt kopplat till aggression. I en studie av Carlo et al. (2010) predicerade hög grad av sympati mer prosocialt beteende och mindre aggression hos barn. Vidare fann MacEvoy och Leff (2012) att barns sympati var negativt associerat med relationell aggression. Däremot har inga studier ännu undersökt de direkta sambanden mellan sympati, mobbning och att försvara utsatta för mobbning.

Skuld, slutligen, innebär ånger för att ha betett sig illa och har kopplats till att överträda internaliserade moraliska kriterier eller att orsaka en annan person skada (Eisenberg, 2000). Roos, Salmivalli och Hodges (2011) fann att när barn får läsa hypotetiska vinjetter som beskriver olika aggressiva händelser är barn som oftare beter sig aggressivt mindre benägna att associera skuld till sådana händelser jämfört med andra barn. Forskning har dessutom visat att barn och ungdomar med hög empatisk förmåga är mer benägna att känna skuld om de gör någon annan person illa (Hoffman, 2000; Silfver & Helkama, 2007). Enligt Hoffman (2000) kan skuldkänslor över att förbli passiv som vittne till någon som utsätts för skada eller lidande fungera som ett prosocialt motiv för att sluta vara passiv och istället ingripa och hjälpa offret. I relation till mobbning fann Menesini et al. (2003) att barn som oftare var involverade i skolmobbning också uttryckte mer stolthet och likgiltighet än skuld och skam.

Moraliskt disengagemang

Det finns många sociala och psykologiska sätt varvid självreglerande mekanismer kan avaktiveras och moraliska självsanktioner disengageras från omoraliska handlingar. Enligt Bandura (1999, 2004) är *moraliskt disengagemang* ("moral disengagement") en uppsättning sociala och psykologiska processer genom vilka människor kan fjärma sig (disengagera sig) från humana handlingar och istället

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börja agera inhumant, kränkande eller fruktansvärt mot andra. Moraliskt disengagemang kan komma till uttryck genom en eller en kombination av följande fyra processer: (a) kognitiv restrukturering, (b) att minimera det egna aktörskapet, (c) att förbise eller förvränga konsekvenserna, och (d) att dehumanisera eller skylla på offret.

Kognitiv rekonstruering refererar till att producera föreställningar om själva handlingen så att den inte uppfattas vara omoralisk, exempelvis *genom* att föra resonemang som går ut på att "målen helgar medlen", att använda ord för att benämna en negativ handling på ett sätt så att handlingen låter mindre negativ eller att få en dålig handling att verka mindre dålig genom att jämföra den med en värre handling. *Minimera det egna aktörskapet* innebär exempelvis att förminska, otydliggöra eller frånsäga sig det egna personliga ansvaret för den inhumana handlingen. Detta kan enligt Bandura ske genom att *förskjuta ansvaret till någon annan* (jfr. Milgram, 1974) eller att späda ut eget ansvar i gruppen (jfr. Latané & Darley, 1970).

Förbise eller förvränga konsekvenserna handlar om att minimera, ignorera eller förvränga handlingens illagörande effekter, exempelvis att hävda att det inte är så farligt eller att ingen som tar skada av lite bråk. *Dehumanisera eller skylla på offret* innebär antingen att inte se, eller erkänna personens mänskliga kvaliteter och lika värde utan att istället se offret som en lägre stående person, genom att exempelvis kalla honom eller henne "äcklig" eller "störd" (dehumanisering), eller att skylla på offret – att han eller hon själv har orsakat sitt eget lidande ("blaming the victim").

Moraliskt disengagemang har i tidigare studier visat sig vara positivt associaterat med aggression i allmänhet (Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, & Pastorelli, 1996; Barchia & Bussey, 2011a; Paciello et al., 2008), och negativt med prosocialt beteende (Bandura et al., 1996, 2001). När det gäller mobbning har elever med högre grad av moraliskt disengagemang större benägenhet att ta rollen som mobbare (Caravita et al., 2012; Gini, Pozzoli, & Hauser, 2011; Hymel, Rocke-Henderson, & Bonanno, 2005; Thornberg & Jungert, 2014) eller rollen som medhjälpare och understödjare till mobbaren (Gini, 2006; Pozzoli et al., 2012; Thornberg & Jungert, 2013) samtidigt som de är mindre benägna att anta rollen som försvarare av offer (Gini, 2006; Obermann, 2011; Thornberg & Jungert, 2013, 2014).

Interaktion mellan moraliskt disengagemang och moraliska emotioner

Enligt Bandura (1999) skapas moraliskt disengagemang genom ett ömsesidigt samspel mellan kognitiva, affektiva och sociala faktorer och eftersom tidigare forskning har visat på en individuell variation i moraliskt disengagemang (t.ex. Caravita, Sijtsema, Rambaran, & Gini, 2014; Hymel et al., 2005; Thornberg & Jungert,

2013) är det rimligt att anta att personliga karakteristika påverkar benägenheten till moraliskt disengagemang. Exempelvis har studier funnit att moraliskt disengagemang är negativt associerat med empati (Barriga et al., 2009; Hyde et al., 2010) och skuldkänslor vid moraliska överträdelser (Bandura et al., 1996; Perren *&* Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger, 2012). I Obermanns (2011) studie uppvisade så kallade "likgiltiga passiva åskådare" en högre grad av moraliskt disengagemang jämfört med försvarare och "skuldkännande passiva åskådare" (dvs. passiva vittnen som kände att de borde hjälpa). I tillägg till detta fann Hyde och kollegor (2010) att högre grad av empati vid 12 års ålder förutspådde lägre grad av moraliskt disengagemang vid 15 års ålder.

Genom att integrera begreppet moraliska emotioner (empati, sympati och moralisk skuld) med Banduras socio-kognitiva teori om moralisk agens och moraliskt disengagemang antar vi att barn som är mer benägna till att känna moraliska emotioner när de blir vittnen till mobbning (jämför även Hoffman, 2000) är mer motståndskraftiga för moraliskt disengagemang. Baserad på teori och tidigare forskning var vår hypotes att moraliska emotioner har en modererande inverkan på relationen mellan moraliskt disengagemang och såväl mobbning som att försvara offret: Hög grad av moraliska emotioner antas minska det positiva sambandet mellan moraliskt disengagemang och mobbning samt det negativa sambandet mellan moraliskt disengagemang och försvar av offret.

Syfte och hypoteser

Hittills har forskningen inte studerat hur moraliskt disengagemang och moraliska emotioner tillsammans sammanhänger med mobbning och att försvara utsatta för mobbning. Vi vet fortfarande inte huruvida moraliskt disengagemang och moraliska emotioner var för sig bidrar till att förklara variation av mobbnings- och försvararbeteenden när båda faktorerna inkluderas i en och samma modell. Även om det finns en teoretisk relation mellan dem så är moraliskt disengagemang och moraliska emotioner olika teoretiska begrepp och båda borde sålunda sammanhänga med mobbning och försvararbeteende även när båda testas i en och samma modell och på så sätt utgör varandras kontrollvariabel.

Det första syftet med den här studien var därför att undersöka hur moraliskt disengagemang och moraliska emotioner är associerade med mobbning och försvararbeteende bland skolbarn i en och samma modell. Vår hypotes var att medan moraliskt disengagemang är positivt kopplat med mobbning och negativt med försvararbeteende så är moraliska emotioner negativt kopplat med mobbning och positivt med försvararbeteende.

Vårt andra syfte var att undersöka om det förelåg en interaktionseffekt mellan dessa två moraliska faktorer och som ytterligare bidrog till att förklara variationen i

mobbning och försvararbeteende (i.e., modererande effekter). Vår hypotes var att moraliska emotioner har en modererande inverkan på relationen mellan moraliskt disengagemang och såväl mobbning som att försvara offret: Hög grad av moraliska emotioner antas minska det positiva sambandet mellan moraliskt disengagemang och mobbning samt det negativa sambandet mellan moraliskt disengagemang och försvar av offret.

Metod

Deltagare

Deltagarna rekryterades från 28 grundskolor (årskurs 5 och 6) från 11 kommunala skolor i två städer och två mindre orter i Sverige. Det ursprungliga urvalet utgjordes av 615 (56.5% pojkar) elever. Skolornas rektorer och lärare tillfrågades först och därefter distribuerades informations- och samtyckesbrev till föräldrarna. Även fick eleverna ge sitt informerade samtycke till att delta. Det slutliga urvalet bestod av 561 elever (50.6% pojkar; $M_{ålder}$ = 11 år, 8 månader, SD = 6 månader), vilket innebar 91.2% av det ursprungliga urvalet. Socioekonomisk och etnisk bakgrundsdata samlades inte in på individuell nivå, men då urvalet rekryterades från skolor i områden med olika typer av socioekonomisk status representeras sammantaget ett brett socioekonomiskt spann.

Datainsamling

Deltagarna fick besvara en enkät under ordinarie lektion i sina vanliga klassrum. Samtliga deltagare var anonyma i studien. Enkäten utgjordes av ett antal frågeformuläret i sina vanliga klassrum.

Mobbningsbeteende. Ett svenskt 6-item långt mobbningsformulär (Thornberg & Jungert, 2014) användes för att mäta barnens mobbningsbeteenden. Barnen fick frågan "Hur ofta har du själv eller tillsammans med andra, gjort följande saker i skolan mot samma person under de senaste tre månaderna?" De sex påståenden som deltagarna fick ta ställning till innefattade sammantaget fysisk, verbal och relationell mobbning. Exempel: "Slagit eller sparkat personen så att han/hon skulle få ont", "Retat och kallat personen för elaka saker" och "Spridit elaka rykten eller lögner om personen". Deltagarna fick ange hur ofta de gjort det som beskrevs i varje item på en femgradig skala (0 = "Jag har inte gjort så", 1 = "Ett par gånger", 2 = "2 eller 3 gånger i månaden", 3 = "Ungefär en gång i veckan", 4 = "Flera gånger i veckan") (Cronbach's α = .88).

Försvararbeteende. En reviderad och förkortad version av Thornbergs och Jungerts (2014) självskattningsskala om försvararbeteenden användes för att mäta

hjälpinsatser riktade mot andra utsatta för kränkningar. Formuläret utgjordes av 10 item och uppdelad i två delar. I den första delen (bli vittne till fysisk mobbning) fick deltagarna fick frågan "Om en eller några elever slår, sparkar, eller knuffar en annan elev hårt för att göra personen ledsen, vad brukar du göra då?" som sedan följdes av fem påståenden. I den andra delen (verbal mobbning) fick deltagarna frågan "Om en eller några personer retar en annan elev för att göra personen ledsen, vad brukar du göra då?" som följdes av samma fem påståenden som i den första delen. Exempel på påståenden är "Jag går och säger till en lärare", "Jag försöker få dom att sluta" och "Jag säger till dom att sluta bråka med eleven". Deltagarna fick ange hur ofta de agerat på det vis som beskrevs i varje påstående på en femgradig skala (0 = "aldrig", 1 = "sällan", 2 = "ibland", 3 = "ofta", 4 = "alltid") (Cronbach's α = .94).

Moraliskt disengagemang. Ett 18-item frågeformulär användes för att mäta deltagarnas moraliska disengagemang vid mobbningssituationer (MDBS; Thornberg & Jungert, 2014). Exempel på påståenden i formuläret är "Att reta en person ett par gånger i veckan är inte så farligt eftersom det inte skadar personen på riktigt", "Om personer är konstiga så är det deras eget fel om dom blir mobbade", "Att säga elaka saker till en viss person ett par gånger i veckan gör inget. Det handlar ju bara om att man skämtar lite med personen" och "Det är okej att mobba en person om man gör det för att hjälpa sina vänner". Deltagarna angav hur väl varje påstående stämde in på dem på en sjugradig skala (1 = "håller inte alls med" och 7 = "håller med helt och hållet" (Cronbach's α = .90).

Moraliska emotioner. Ett 12-item långt frågeformulär utvecklades för att mäta deltagarnas moraliska emotioner i samband med mobbningssituationer. Fyra påståenden avsåg *empati med offret* (t.ex. "Jag blir ledsen om jag ser att en mobbad person bli ledsen"), två påståenden avsåg *sympati för offret* (t.ex. "Om jag ser en person bli mobbad så tycker jag verkligen synd om den personen"), tre påståenden mätte *skuld för att inte ha ingripit* (t.ex. "Om jag ser en person bli mobbad och jag samtidigt *inte* försöker hjälpa personen skulle jag få skuldkänslor"), tre påståenden avsåg *skuld för att ha utsatt någon för mobbning* (t.ex. "Om jag mobbar en person skulle jag känna mej som en dålig människa"). Deltagarna angav hur väl varje påstående stämde in på dem på en sjugradig skala (1 = "håller inte alls med" och 7 = "håller med helt och hållet"). Faktoranalys (principalkomponentanalys), först med en Varimax rotation och därefter med en Oblique rotation, gav en faktor som inte gjorde skillnad på de olika moraliska emotionerna. Cronbach's α var .97.

Resultat

Deskriptiv statistik, korrelationer och könsskillnader

I Tabell 1 presenteras den deskriptiva statistiken och korrelationerna avseende de studerade variablerna. Skillnader mellan pojkar och flickor undersöktes med *t*-test och effektstorlek rapporteras som Cohens *d*. Pojkar rapporterade högre grad av moraliskt disengagemang och högre förekomst av mobbningsbeteenden än flickor, medan flickor oftare rapporterade försvararbeteenden och högre nivåer av moraliska emotioner än pojkar.

Tabell 1
Deskriptiv statistik, korrelationer och könsskillnader

	1.	2.	3.	4.	Hela urvalet		Pojkar		Flickor			
					M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*d*
1. Mobbning	-	-.29***	.28***	-.22***	.20	.44	.30	.58	.10	.20	5.74***	.46
2. Försvara	-.53***	-	-.14*	.41***	2.77	.95	2.58	1.04	2.96	.82	-4.71***	-.41
3. Moraliskt disengagemang	.55***	-.47***	-	-.16**	1.83	.81	2.01	.96	1.65	.57	5.48***	.46
4. Moraliska emotioner	-.40***	.69***	-.34***	-	5.32	1.64	4.86	1.74	5.79	1.38	-7.06***	-.59

Not. Korrelationer för pojkar (*n* = 284) presenteras under diagonalen och korrelationer för flickor (*n* = 277) presenteras ovanför diagonalen. * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

För både pojkar och flickor fann vi ett negativt samband mellan *m*oraliskt disengagemang och moraliska emotioner. Moraliskt disengagemang var dessutom positivt relaterat till mobbning och negativt kopplat till försvararbeteende, medan ett omvänt mönster fanns för moraliska emotioner. Slutligen fanns ett negativt samband mellan mobbning och försvararbeteende. Överlag var korrelationskoefficienterna starkare för pojkar än för flickor.

Eftersom såväl medelvärdesjämförelser som korrelationer visade på skillnader mellan flickor och pojkar kontrollerade vi för kön i vår path model i programmet LISREL 8.7 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1993). Mobbning och försvararbeteende fördes in i modellen som observerade beroende variabler medan moraliskt disengagemang och moraliska emotioner fördes in som observerade oberoende variabler. Vidare undersöktes moderation genom en procedur som föreslagits av Baron och Kenny (1986; se även Frazier et al., 2004) så att de oberoende variablerna centrerades kring sina medelvärden för att skapa en interaktionsterm, vilken också fördes in i modellen.

Den slutgiltiga modellen visas i Figur 1 (alla paths var statistiskt signifikanta). För att värdera modellens passform användes R^2-värden, som var .31 för mobbning och .39 för försvararbeteende. Huvudeffekt för både moraliskt disengagemang och moraliska emotioner på mobbning och försvararbeteende (i motsatta riktningar) visade sig i enlighet med vår hypotes. Dessutom var interaktionstermen moraliskt disengagemang x moraliska emotioner signifikant, även det i enlighet med vår hypotes.

Figur 1. *Modell om moraliskt disengagemang (moral disengagement), moraliska emotioner (moral emotions), mobbning (bullying) och försvararbeteende (defending).*
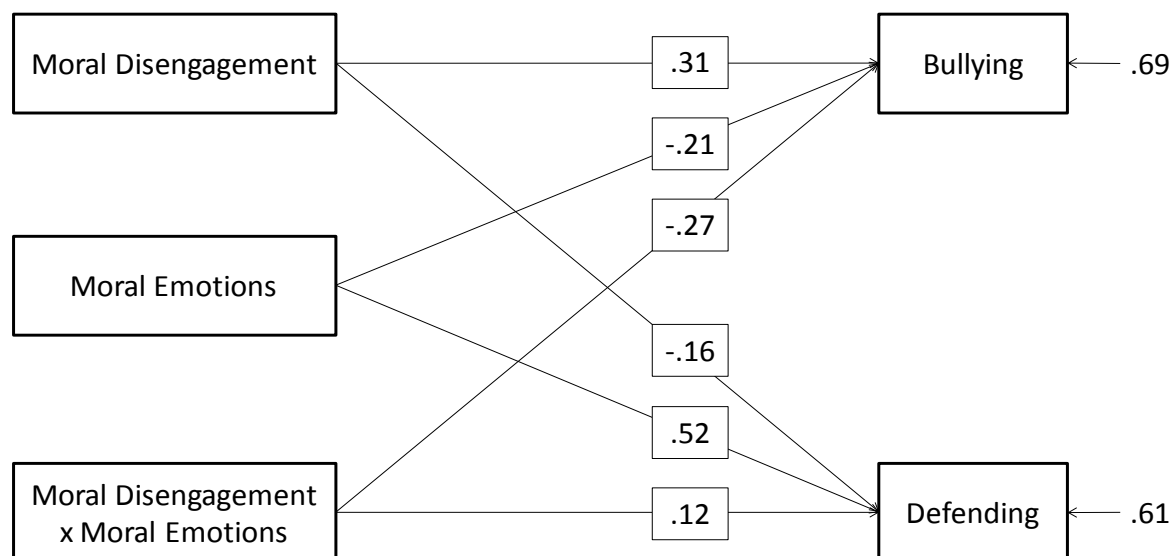
Vad beträffar mobbning visade nästa analys (Figur 2) att vid höga nivåer (+1 SD) av moraliska emotioner var relationen mellan moraliskt disengagemang och mobbning mycket liten (β =.06, $t = 1.80$, p=.07), vilket innebär att elever med hög grad av moraliska emotioner var mindre benägna att mobba andra elever oavsett

om deras grad av moraliska disengagemang var hög eller låg.

Figur 2. *Interaktionseffekt (moraliskt disengagemang x moraliska emotioner) i relation till mobbning (bullying) och försvararbeteende (defending).*
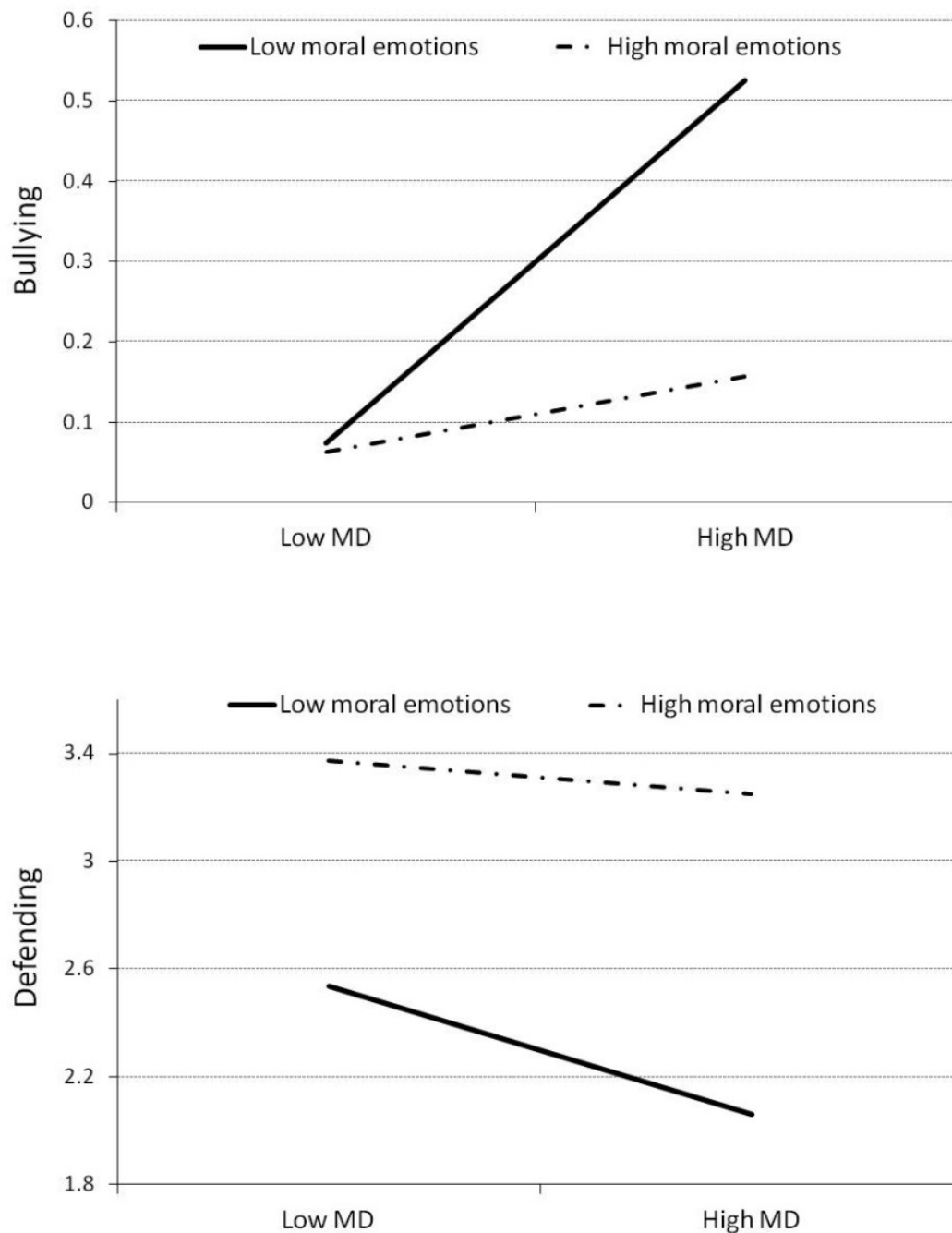
Omvänt visade analysen att för elever med låg grad av moraliska emotioner (-1 SD) var mer benägna att mobba andra om de även uppvisade hög grad av moraliskt

disengagemang (β =.28, t = 13.67, p<.001). Avseende försvararbeteende visar Figur 2 att moraliskt disengagemang var negativt och signifikant relaterat till försvararbeteende för de med låg grad av moraliska emotioner (β = -.29, t = -7.14, p<.001), men inte för de med hög grad av moraliska emotioner (β = -.08, t = -1.17, p = .24). I detta senare fall var deltagarnas försvararbeteende vanligt oavsett deras benägenhet till moraliskt disengagemang.

Diskussion

Den här studien är, så vitt vi vet, den första som undersökt hur moraliskt disengagemang och moraliska emotioner i en och samma modell sammanhänger med mobbning och försvararbeteende bland skolelever. Vi undersökte huruvida moraliskt disengagemang och moraliska emotioner bidrar på ett unikt sätt till att förklara båda typerna av beteenden samt om dessa två moraliska dimensioner interagerar med varandra. Genomgående har tidigare studier (t.ex. Caravita et al., 2012; Gini, 2006; Gini et al., 2011; Thornberg & Jungert, 2013, 2014) visat att moraliskt disengagemang sammanhänger positivt med mobbningsbeteende och negativt med försvararbeteende.

I enlighet med vår hypotes fanns dessa relationer kvar när moraliskt disengagemang och moraliska emotioner var med i samma modell. Eftersom empati och skuld har visat sig vara negativt associerat med mobbningsbeteende och positivt med försvararbeteende i tidigare studier (t.ex. Barchia & Bussey, 2011b; Correia & Dalbert, 2008; Menesini et al., 2003), antog vi att liknande mönster avseende moraliska emotioner, som i föreliggande studie utgjordes av ett totalt index av empati, sympati och moralisk skuld.

Resultatet bekräftade mönstret och vår hypotes att dessa relationer skulle gälla även när vi kontrollerade för moraliskt disengagemang. Således visade vår studie att såväl moraliska emotioner som moraliskt disengagemang bidrar till att förklara mobbningsbeteenden och försvararbeteenden. Detta visar vidare att moraliska emotioner – inte bara i termer av moraliska självsanktioner i form av skuldkänslor när man gör moraliska överträdelser (Bandura, 1999, 2004) utan som ett mer omfattande begrepp som inkluderar empati, sympati för offer, skuld för att man gör någon illa och skuld för att man förblir passiv som vittne till någon som är utsatt eller lider (Hoffman, 2000) – förefaller vara viktiga att inkludera i den socialkognitiva teorin av moralisk agens (Bandura, 1999, 2004) för att bättre förstå och kunna förklara mobbning och försvararbeteende.

Inom kunskapsfälten moralpsykologi och moralisk utveckling har flera forskare på senare tid betonat vikten av att på ett teoretiskt och empiriskt integrerat sätt undersöka både moralisk kognition och moraliska emotioner för att förklara

individuella skillnader i såväl moraliska som omoraliska beteenden (Arsenio & Lemerise, 2004; Hoffman, 2000; Malti & Latzko, 2010; Perren & Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger, 2012). I enlighet med detta integrativa perspektiv och i linje med våra hypoteser fann vi att moraliskt disengagemang och moraliska emotioner interagerade med varandra som bidragande faktorer till mobbning och försvararbeteende. Om elever uttryckte låg grad av moraliska emotioner så var de mer benägna att mobba andra om de samtidigt uppvisade högre nivåer av moraliskt disengagemang. Om elever uttryckte hög grad av moraliska emotioner var de mindre benägna att mobba andra oavsett deras grad av moraliskt disengagemang. Om elever uttryckte låg grad av moraliska emotioner så var de mindre benägna att hjälpa utsatta för mobbning om de samtidigt uppvisade högre nivåer av moraliskt disengagemang. Om de istället uttryckte hög grad av moraliska emotioner så var de också mer benägna att hjälpa utsatta för mobbning oavsett deras grad av moraliskt disengagemang. Våra resultat föreslår med andra ord att starka moraliska känslor (empati, sympati och moralisk skuld) tenderar att motverka effekten av moraliskt disengagemang på beteenden i mobbningssituationer. I linje med Hoffman (2000) visar moraliska känslor som empati, sympati och moralisk skuld på en medvetenhet av den skada offret drabbas av, och därmed fungerar som "a mediator between moral standards and moral behaviour" (Perren & Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger, 2012, s. 205). "Heta" kognitioner framkallade av moraliska emotioner fångar uppmärksamheten på offrets nöd och lidande på ett sätt som verkar vara mer övertygande och kraftfull än en eventuell parallell närvaro av moraliskt disengagemang.

Några av begränsningarna med föreliggande studie är att den bygger på självskattningsdata vilket gör den sårbar för sociala önskvärdhetseffekter och "shared method variance effects" (Cornell & Bandypadhyay, 2010). Vidare har vi använt oss av en tvärsnittsdesign, vilket innebär att vi inte kan uttala oss om orsakssamband när det gäller relationer mellan variabler. Vidare begränsar urvalet generaliserbarheten. Urvalet av elever från ett särskilt område i Sverige kan, men behöver inte vara lik den population av elever som läsaren arbetar med eller har för ögonen. Trots dessa begränsningar så föreslår föreliggande resultat att antimobbningsinsatser kan minska mobbningsbeteenden och öka sannolikheten av försvararbeteenden bland elever genom att fostra och stärka moraliska känslor och samtidigt motverka och dekonstruera moraliskt disengagemang. Vår studie pekar i synnerhet på betydelsen av att arbeta med och stärka elevernas moraliska emotioner (empati, sympati för utsatta, skuldkänslor för passivt åskådarbeteende och skuldkänslor om man gör andra illa), eftersom en stark benägenhet till att känna sådana känslor tycks vara viktig för att minimera effekten av moraliskt disengagemang och därigenom försvaga elevers benägenhet att mobba och istället stärka deras benägenhet att försvara utsatta i mobbningssituationer.

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Since May 1998 Scandinavian researchers in the field of group and social psychology have met bi-annually for what has been called the GRASP conference. GRASP originally stood for "Group as Paradox" but has later on referred to GRoup And Social Psychology. The first eight conferences were held in Linköping, Lund, Stockholm, Skövde, Linköping, Lund, Gothenburg, and Bergen.

The eighth conference was organized at Linköping University May 22-23, 2014. The theme of this year was "Independent in the herd? Inclusion and exclusion as social processes". Twenty-two papers were accepted and presented at the conference. Keynote speech was given by Dr Siân Jones from Oxford Brookes University and Dr Ken Mavor from University of St Andrews. Seven papers have been chosen to represent the conference in this volume.

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