

ZAG Forschungs- und Arbeitsberichte



Heinz Witteriede Peter Paulus

Teachers in bullying situations (Tibs)

Final project report



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Final project report

Teachers in bullying situations (Tibs)

(German contribution to a co-operation project within the EC Daphne II – programme)



Teachers in bullying situations (Tibs)

Final report of the German contribution to the co-operation project 'Needs assessment and awareness raising programme for bullying in schools' which was carried out in the framework of the European Commissions' Daphne II – programme 'To prevent and combat violence against children, young people and women and to protect victims and groups at risk'

Abstract

Within the pilot study 'Teachers in bullying situations (Tibs)' (03/2006 to 03/2008) the bullying phenomenon has been investigated step by step under three main perspectives, - in general, - at workplaces, - in teachers' school life (tsl). The final report presents, a) a general definition of the subject matter, b) a systematization of bullying behaviour forms and constellations, c) an analysis of power-dynamics between frequently involved parties, d) an analysis of antecedents of bullying at workplaces, e) relevant regulations given by law, f) an investigation of bullying impacts in terms of health and costs, g) available data regarding bullying in tsl, h) 20 vivid case descriptions of bullying in tsl, i) a description of empirical findings based on the assessment of the situations by experienced teachers with the help of a tailored questionnaire, j) about 100 references and 20 briefly commented online resources.

Of the 103 schools addressed throughout Germany, 41 participated in the study giving a response rate of 39.8 %. Findings showed that not only are the cases not far removed from school reality in Germany, but also, with the exception of one case only, that they can be regarded as typical situations in teachers' school lives to varying extents. In all situations a notable degree of stress and of difficulty in dealing with them was indicated by the interviewees. This would allow the conclusion at this stage that teachers require systematic broad-based aid in dealing with bullying experienced in their school lives.

When referring to this report, please use the following attribution,

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Key words,

bullying, mobbing, bullying at work, bullying at schools, teachers' school life, bullying behaviour forms, bullying constellations, bullying cycle, antecedents of bullying, health impact, bullying situations, occurrence rates, prototypical quality, stress, difficulty

Lueneburg, 15th March 2008

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0 Introduction – Framework of Tibs

The German pilot study 'Teachers in bullying situations (Tibs)' took part in the cooperation project 'Needs assessment and awareness raising programme for bullying in schools' which ran from 22 March 2006 to 21 March 2008 (further information is available from the Association for the Psychosocial Health of Children and Adolescents (APHCA) by using the following e-mail address info@epsype.gr).

This project was carried out within the framework of the European Commissions' Daphne II programme 'To prevent and combat violence against children, young people and women and to protect victims and groups at risk' (contract number JLS/DAP/ 2005-1/040/YC30-CE-0062092/00-78). Detailed programme information is available at,http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/funding/2004_2007/daphne/wai/funding_daphne_en.htm.

Partners of the joint venture were,

- the Association for the Psychosocial Health of Children and Adolescents (APHCA), Scientific Non-Profit Association, Athens, Greece (coordinating organization),
- the Department of Education, Aristoteles University of Thessaloniki, Greece,
- the Child and Adolescent Psychiatry Department Ministry of Health, Mental Health, Health services, Nicosia, Cyprus,
- the Organization of Educational Psychologists Ministry of Education, Nicosia, Cyprus,
- the Department of General Psychology, Vilnius University, Lithuania,
- the Institute of Psychology and the Centre for Applied Health Sciences, Leuphana University of Lueneburg, Germany.

The German project contribution 'Tibs' was executed by Prof. Dr. Peter Paulus (research leadership) and Dr. Heinz Witteriede (research co-leadership and project management). They are particularily grateful for the support received from the participating schools, the 'German Philologist Federation', Ms. Jennifer Stephens, Mr. Horst Kasper, the secretary of the Centre for Applied Health Sciences Ms. Christel Amirmontaghemi, the Bertelsmann Foundation and the German Union for Education and Science as the co-financiers of the study.

1 Bullying – what is it?

1.1 The phenomenon in question – labelling and definition

When it comes to determine the phenomenon in question one must deal with a considerable labelling and definitional variety, 'sometimes focusing on quite different features' (Lohro and Hilp, 2001, p.6). There is neither an internationally accepted term nor a unitarily accepted definition applicable (Lohro and Hilp, 2001, p.5). According to Neuberger (1999, p.11), there are no true or correct definitions at all, but merely functional ones. Nonetheless, an investigation of common definitions and expressions (see annexes 10.1 - 10.2) reveals some predominantly recurring terms and aspects.

In this regard, the two most apparent leading terms are *bullying* and *mobbing*. Accordingly, the expressions *workplace bullyi*ng or *workplace mobbing*, respectively *bullying at work* or *mobbing at work* are those which appear more frequently than others. Moreover, a 'conceptual distinction' between both has been made in the past, since bullying was primarily referred to as the tormenting behaviour of an individual while mobbing was more commonly referred to as the harassment of a single person by a group ('ganging-up' a target). More recently, according to Di Martino, Hoel and Cooper (2003, p.6), this is mostly 'giving way to a conceptual assimilation'. Both bullying and mobbing include abusive and persistent efforts to undermine a person or a group of people (workers), and even if a distinction will be accepted, 'the psychological processes involved appear to be the same.' (Di Martino, Hoel and Cooper, 2003, p.6).

The terms bullying (at work) and mobbing (at work), are used as synonyms in the following. Additionally, the expression bullying is especially preferred due to its international prevalence regarding consideration of the phenomenon in schools.

In elaboration of this, an analysis of several definitions of authors from different countries (see Annex 10.2) and the results of analyzed case examples (see chapter 4.2) has been carried out, towards a working definition of bullying respectively bullying at work. The following definition brings together predominantly named aspects, which can be seen as widely agreed upon.

Bullying or mobbing can be defined as an escalating process in the course of which one or more individuals systematically abuse a power advantage regularly (e.g. weekly) and repeatedly (e.g. over about six months) for their own gratification or gain, in the form of a series of direct/indirect attempts to inflict physical/psychological /emotional harm on one or more victims who are unable to defend themselves or escape without significant consequences.

An incident cannot be called bullying if two or more individuals of roughly equal force for instance, argue or fight, or if it is an isolated event.

In this connection, it is particular important to investigate which kinds of a power imbalance are likely possible. Although, people at a certain workplace can be of equal strength regarding their working status (e.g., teachers, regular employees in a manufactory), an uneven balance of power favouring the perpetrator can simultaneously exist or gradually evolve as a consequence of physical strength/weakness, psychological strength/weakness, and/or economical dependency. Also the size building a group (of victims or perpetrators) can become of importance.

The immanently existing power advantage of some people over others at certain workplaces (e.g., in schools, teachers over pupils; principal over teachers) can simi-

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larly be overturned by the diminishing of usable power and the eroding of available relative power. According to Terry (1998, p.258f.), the natural relative power advantage of teachers over pupils can become eroded or 'non-usable' if, either a pupil has not learned to show respect for his elders and has already achieved kudos through peer bullying; parents have intruded into school discipline structures; the management structures of the school are poor or the teacher is inexperienced in applying them. On top of this a highly gifted pupil in terms of intelligence or linguistic ability may also be able to disarm a teacher's relative power, thereby developing his own usable power to his advantage. In such circumstances it seems most likely, that teachers with low self-esteem or poor linguistic ability could become the victim-puppet. The same is true regarding principals who could become puppets of more gifted teachers.

Finally it is important to notice, that the inflicted maltreatment must not only be experienced as oppressive by the victim, but should also be identified by his environment as intentionally committed harmful acts if they are accurately described by the victim, in order to prevent every single negative behavioural act being exaggeratedly labelled as bullying (Merck, 2004, p.3).

The investigation has succeeded thus far, in building an initial basic foundation of the subject matter of the project. For a more detailed understanding, the focus will be next be placed on the development of a systematic overview of firstly bullying behavioural forms, fields and shades of severity in general and subsequently at work.

1.2 Systematization of bullying behaviour

1.2.1 Classification of bullying behaviour in general

The following chart provides a breakdown of important categories of bullying behaviour¹ at different stages of severity. The classification is specified as a continuum of types, forms, fields and shades of severity of bullying indicating that there is no absolute separation, but rather gliding transitions. Some forms may occur at the same time and can have impact on more than one field. It is important to note that, the perception of shades of severity depends strongly on the victim's personal feelings. These feelings do not necessarily correlate directly with the ability to take legal actions.

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¹ The classification has been derived from several sources, taking different categories into account (e.g., physical, verbal and non-verbal/non-physical bullying (Olweus, 1993); physical aggression, social alienation, verbal aggression and intimidation, distinguished as mild, moderate and severe grades (Government of British Columbia Ministry of Education, online, 2001); physical, verbal, or non-verbal conduct of behaviours that constitutes harassment and bullying (Ishmael, 2002); physical, emotional and social bullying on three levels (Office of Bias Crime and Community Relations, online, n.d.); physical, verbal, emotional and sexual bullying (National Training and Technical Assistance Center, online, n.d.); physical, verbal, emotional, racial and sexual bullying (Shergill-Conolly, online, n.d.).

Table 1.1 The continuum of bullying behaviour types, forms, fields and shades of severity

Types of bullying behaviour		Bullying behaviour forms and shades of severity		Important fields			
		Annoying-bothering, difficult to bring to court	Bothering-menacing, more likely possible to bring to court	Threatening-endangering, most probably can be brought to court		bullyl ehavio	_
Verbal	direct	Teasing, name calling; taunting to make one look foolish or handicapped; making sexual remarks about appearance, catcalls; interrupting repeatedly, shouting at	Threatening to destroy possession; intimidating phone calls; ethnic/ racial slurs; persistent criticism, sarcasm, and/or blaming; making sexual innuendoes	Threatening to inflict bodily harm; practicing blackmailing (e.g., taking lunch, cigarettes, or money); repeated and threatening requests for sexual favours		n)	n)
bullying	indirect	Achieving group rejection by mocking one's size, ability, intelligence, colour, religion, ethnicity, disability, or sexual orientation / blaming on every negative incident	Spreading malicious rumours (e.g., that someone is a liar, a trick- ster, or sexually handicapped); arranging public humiliation by revealing personal information	Extorting total group exclusion of someone by threatening others if they do not comply; spreading dangerous rumours (e.g., blaming as a thief, a rapist)	Feature bullying (personal debasement)	Sexual bullying (unwanted sexual attention)	Social-emotional bullying (social alienation)
Non-	direct	Making scorning/obscene gestures; excessive staring at/imposing voyeur-ism; imitating one's gait, voice,; sending someone to Coventry	Imposing exhibitionism; (frequently) brushing against another's body while pretending it happened by accident	Assaulting someone with a weapon; forcing someone with a weapon to do something; locking in a closet or confined space	personal de	nwanted se	bullying (sc
verbal bullying	indirect	Playing dirty/mean tricks to embar- rass someone; posting derogatory comments in public places; inundating with intimidating emails	Defacing work or other personal property (e.g., clothing, lunch, or books); posting personal threats in public places	Destroying personal property; putting 'Happy Slapping' - tapes online; pur- suing someone all the time and everywhere	e bullying (bullying (u	emotional
Physical bullying	direct	Tickling; shoving, spitting, poking, hair pulling, scratching, pinching	Hitting, kicking, biting, strangling; causing frightening / endangering accidents (e.g., fall from a stair/bike)	Inflicting bodily harm ('Happy Slapping'); deliberate touching of sexual-organs; sexual abuse/assault	Featur	Sexual	Social-
	indirect	Inciting a person or a group to annoy someone physically as indicated above	Luring a person or a group into potentially dangerous situations as indicated above	Enlisting a person or a group to assault someone physically as indicated above			

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1.2.2 Systematization of bullying behaviour at work

Bullying types, forms, areas and shades of severity in general are dealt with systematically in table 1.1. These can manifest themselves in every conceivable situation of daily life. Mobbing at work is no exception although the psycho-social aspect dominates, while the physical side of mobbing for instance is less apparent (Einarsen et al., 2003, p. 9). The general labelling of bullying behaviour can become more specified and be expanded on when dealing with bullying at work.

On the basis of the analysis of ca. 300 interviews, Leymann a well-known specialist in the field of mobbing research, introduced a much-acclaimed classification in 1993 organising 45 different forms of mobbing into five categories,

- Attacks on occasions and opportunities of expressing oneself
- Attacks on social relations
- Effects on social reputation
- Attacks on the quality of occupation and life
- Attacks on personal health (Leymann, 2006, p. 21-34; see also chapter 10.3).

Some years later, Zapf (1999a cited Einarsen et al., 2003, p.9) similarly developed an empirically and theoretically based categorisation, which includes the following five types of mobbing behaviour,

- work-related bullying which may include changing the victim's work tasks in some negative way or making them difficult to perform
- social isolation by not communicating with somebody or excluding someone from social events
- personal attacks or attacks on someone's private life by ridicule or insulting remarks or the like
- verbal threats in which somebody is criticised, yelled at or humiliated in public;
- spreading rumours about someone.

Although Leymann's and Zapf's methods of categorisation differ, basically the content almost remains the same. The same applies for later work which employs Leymann's categorisation albeit slightly altered and extended (Zuschlag, 2001, p.236 ff.; Kollmer, 2003, p.13 f.). The following systemisation adheres to this while additionally placing particular emphasis on the health aspect. It has to be admitted that the plethora of forms which mobbing can take, make a fully-fledged listing impossible, although the principal manifestations common to European findings are covered (Di Martino, Hoel and Cooper, 2003, p.7 ff., cf. chapter 10.4) in tables 1.2a and 1.2b.

Table 1.2a Systematization of bullying behaviour at work – synopsis of categories

	A. Social-communicative isolation disruption of communication-options and of maintenance of relationships			
A.1	Social-communicative isolation caused by superiors			
A.2	Social-communicative isolation caused by colleagues and/or other co-workers			
A.3	Social-communicative isolation caused by external work-connections (clients, business partners, the authorities			

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	B. Destruction of reputation, image and self esteem subjection to constant criticism				
B.1	Constant criticism of behaviour at work				
B.2	Constant criticism of social behaviour				
B.3	Constant criticism of opinions and interests				
B.4	Constant criticism of personal appearance				
B.5	Constant criticism of private-life				
B.6	Constant criticism of attitude towards health				
	C. Sabotage of working life and future life reduction of work quality, hindrance of success, sabotage of perspectives				
C.1	Systematic deterioration in quality of work-life				
C.2	Hindrance of achievement of professional goals within the organisation				
C.3	Intentional undermining of future prospects / optimism for the future				
е	D. Damaging of health exposing to unhealthy conditions, psycho-terror, reduction of health resources				
D.1	Confrontation with potentially health-damaging work conditions				
D.2	Health-damage due to physical attacks				
D.3	Health-damage due to psycho-terror				
D.4	Health-damage due to removal/undermining of social support				
D.5	Health-damage due to systematic undermining of self-esteem				
D.6	Health-damage due to destruction of trust in a future security				
D.7	Health-damage due to undermining of the 'sense of coherence'				

Table 1.2b Systematization of bullying behaviour forms at work – elaborated version

A. Social-communicative isolation disruption of communication-options and of maintenance of relationships A.1 Social-communicative isolation caused by superiors Restriction of opportunities for involvement in personal discussions within the business Repeatedly interruption, shouting at or castigation at meetings/during breaks Contact denial through derogatory looks or gestures Refusal to talk to, or be addressed by the victim Issuing orders to colleagues to reduce communication with the victim to a minimum Censure of incoming and outgoing post Censure of incoming and outgoing phone-calls/e-mails (e.g., individual restriction/blocking of lines access; individual filtering of trunk calls) Regulation and control of visits to the victim Creation of mandatory procedures for making workplace contacts, internally and externally Isolation through designation of peripheral seating arrangements and/or through alteration of fields of work Restriction of work sequences and business trips A.2 Social-communicative isolation by peers, colleagues and/or co-workers

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Not addressing the victim

Not inviting the victim to group talks

Not congratulating the victim on anniversaries etc.

Giving the victim the cold shoulder (sending to Coventry)

Immediately putting the phone down

Not answering questions/applications

Not handing out requested information e.g. folders, files

Systematically denying the victims access to the flow of information at work

A. Social-communicative isolation caused by contacts external to workplace (clients, customers, partners, authorities)

Not writing to the victim

Not receiving the victim at official occasions

Giving the victim the cold shoulder during personal meetings

Putting the telephone receiver down immediately

Not answering at all or not immediately

Requested information withheld or delayed

Correspondance no longer continued/dealt with

B. Destruction of reputation, image and self esteem subjection to constant criticism

B.1 Constant criticism of work-place related behaviour

Criticism of achievements at work

Criticism of work motivation (e.g. regarding breaks or absences)

Criticism of work related solidarity

Criticism of representation of the business

Criticism of career enhancing behaviour

B.2 Constant criticism of social behaviour

Criticism of behaviour towards colleagues

Criticism of behaviour towards superiors

Criticism of behaviour towards co-workers

Criticism of behaviour towards customers, partners etc.

Criticism of involvement in communal activities (e.g., keeps himself to himself, partygoer)

B.3 Constant criticism of opinions and interests

Criticism of political tendencies

Criticism of religious beliefs

Criticism of ideological convictions

Criticism of leisure activities/hobbies (e.g., collecting garden gnomes, high risk sports)

B.4 Constant criticism of personal appearance

Criticism of outward appearance (e.g., overweight, effeminate, butch)

Criticism of outward appearance II (e.g., body odour, dirty nails, long nasal hair)

Criticism of outward appearance III (e.g., dressing habits, hair-cut, glasses)

B.5 Constant criticism of private life

Criticism of the family

Criticism of aquaintances

Criticism of the way of living and dwelling place

Criticism of shopping habits

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Criticism of modes of transport (e.g., on foot, by bike, car, train)

B.6 Criticism of attitude to health

Criticism of eating habits, mobility (e.g., over-eating, dieting, fastidiousness, slouching carriage / gait)

Crticism of consumption of 'legal drugs' (e.g., nicotine, alcohol, medicine)

Criticism of physical hygiene (e.g., unpleasant body smell, dirty nails, dandruff)

C. Sabotage of working life and future life

reduction of work quality, hindrance of success, sabotage of perspectives

C.1 Systematic deterioration of quality of working life

Forcing the victim to complete tasks which damage self esteem

Assigning all unwanted/unpleasant/useless tasks to the victim

Assigning to the victim tasks far beyond his competence

Assigning to the victim tasks without allowing time in which to become aquainted with them

Assigning to the victim tasks which obviously cannot be completed by him

Assigning "hurtful" tasks to the victim

Preventing the victim from selecting useful, satisfying tasks

Repeated side-lining, undeserved posting (e.g. to an unsatisfactory desk, an antagonistic team, a faraway place, to a superior who is known to be unsympathetic, to a post in which the victim is personally or professionally over-challenged)

C.2 Hindrance of achievement of professional goals

Clandestine diversion of important documents and/or equipment from place of work

Clandestine hiding of victim's work in progress

Clandestine infiltration of 'embarassing' elements into victim's work

Clandestine alteration of victim's work results

Clandestine invalidation of month-long experimental work

Creation of disarray on victim's desk (e.g. swapping files or trays)

Sabotage of victim's tools and/or machines

Allowing insight into confidentional documents unbeknown to the victim (without victim's knowledge)

Running up costs, purportedly at the behest of the victim (e.g. allocating ineffectual tasks)

Deliberate withholding of important information concerning the fulfilment of a task

Deliberate withholding of important information concerning guidelines regarding to internal / external communication (e.g. with customers, authorities etc.)

C.3 Intentional undermining of future prospects/optimism for the future

Dismissal (without a view to its implementation) with the aim of wearing down the victim's resistance

Repeated attempts to dismiss the victim with and without observing legal procedure

Repeated injunction to resign or agree to termination of contract, including threat of reprisals

Retiring the victim prematurely against his wishes

Sending into retirement

Implementing deterioration of pension obligations

D. Damaging of health

exposing to unhealthy conditions, psycho-terror, reduction of health resources

D.1 Confrontation with potentially health-damaging work conditions

Unfair demands to undertake extreme physical labour over a prolonged period

Unfair demands for labour under unhealthy conditions (e.g., exposure to dust, heat, noise, poisonous gases)

Unfair pressure to extend working hours (e.g., beyond tachograph limit for bus- and lorry-drivers)

Arbitrary delegation of shift work (unfair distribution of night shifts)

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Arbitrary selection for work in potentially physically or psychologically dangerous places

Pressure to work where safety and protection measures have not been met.

D.2 Health damage due to physical attacks

Suffering caused by shoving, pulling on the ears, twisting the nose etc.

Humiliation by slapping, hitting of certain parts of the body (e.g., upper arm, spine or head-butting)

Damaging by sexual abuse

D.3 Health damage due to psycho-terror

D.3.1 Intentionally discrediting and exposing to compromising situations

Speaking badly about the victim behind their backs/ spreading malicious rumours (e.g. suspecting them of theft, suspecting them of questionable relations with a superior "sleeping her/his way to the top", suggesting the victim is mentally ill etc.)

Suggesting the victim is homosexual and declaring this to be a personal failing

Repeatedly calling the victim a liar (e.g. using trumped up orders from a superior as an excuse)

Imitating the victim's gait, voice or gestures with the intention of making them look foolish

Making fun of the victim's disability / handicap

Making fun of the victim's origin (e.g. nationality, dwelling place, family)

Making fun of the victim's private life

Being derogatory about the victim's skin colour

Constantly questioning the victim's decision making

D.3.2 Creation of climate of constant threat

Threatening physical violence

Threatening public exposure

Threatening transferral or dismissal

Threatening legal consequences

Threatening sabotage of working life

Threatening damage to victim's family or possessions (vehicle, clothing, equipment etc.)

D.3.3 Creation of a climate of constant sexual harassment

Creating embarrassing situations by making snide remarks or salacious jokes

Offending and insulting with crude expletives

Creating awkward situations by intentional placement of pornographic material

Sidling up to and making subtle physical contact with sexual organs as though unintentionally (particularly in places out of the public eye e.g., copy-room, mail-room)

Explicit sexual innuendoes, which are denied when brought to charge

Implying that job security be dependant on compliance with sexual advances (or posing threat to promotion)

D.3.4 Systematic demoralizing of victim

Forcing the victim to undergo a psychiatric examination

Constantly "teaching" the victim "a lesson"

Repeatedly running up costs with a view to harming the victim and destroying his acumen

Repeated involvement of the victim in disciplinary or legal measures, keeping him distracted from actual work and breaking his resistance

Nightly home phone calls (telephone terror)

Constantly sending intimidating messages via mobile phone, email or over the internet (Cyber-bullying)

Destruction of property (vehicle, clothing, equipment, home, pets etc.)

D.4 Health-damage due to removal/undermining of social support

All actions mentioned in category A which exercise negative influence over upkeep of social network

D.5 Health-damage due to systematic undermining of self esteem

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All actions with negative influence on self esteem mentioned in category B and sub-category D.3.

D.6 Health damage due to a destruction of trust in a future security

All actions with influence on a future security mentioned in sub-category C.3

D.7 Health-damage due to reduction of the 'sense of coherence'

All actions with influence on comprehensibility/manageability/meaningfulness mentioned in categories A – D.

Table 1.1 shows an overall perspective of the main forms, areas in and degrees to which mobbing can manifest itself. More specifically, an analysis of the phenomenon as seen from a workplace perspective is shown in table 1.2b. The described forms of mobbing can emerge to varying extents or not appear at all, depending on the circumstances of the particular workplace. The same applies for schools as a mobbing site, or in other words for the area chosen as focus for this research paper: mobbing as seen in teachers' working environment. Nevertheless, there are some forms which can particularly occur at schools respectively which will only happen at schools. A closer analysis is done in chapter 4. In chapter 3 the association of bullying at work and health referred to in table 1.2b, is investigated further.

The following offers a general analysis of the mobbing phenomenon as shown in the investigation of the central characteristics of the mobbing process, firstly from an overall view and subsequently referring specifically to mobbing at work.

1.3 The bullying process – parties, cycle, phases

Bullying can be conceptualised as a process in which several parties can be involved during an undefined time span (Rigby, 1999, pp.2-3; Einarsen et al. 2003, p. 13-14). This will be explored in the next chapter. A subsequent chapter focuses on typical phases of the bullying process as described in the literature.

1.3.1 The parties within the bullying cycle

At first glance, there would seem to be merely two relevant parties involved in bullying processes, a bully and a victim. Actually three parties can be engaged in such situations and have an impact on the process.

Victims

The victim is the target of the above described negative acts (see tables 1.1 and 1.2b) committed by a bully (or a group of bullies). Chapter 1.4, column "Micro level of antecedents", shows some research based characteristics of victims of bullying at work.

Perpetrators

The perpetrator is the bully who inflicts the above described negative acts (see tables 1.1 and 1.2b) on a victim (or on a group of victims). Chapter 1.4, column "Micro level of antecedents", presents some research based characteristics of perpetrators of bullying at work.

A comparison of European studies reveals for instance that bosses or superiors are engaged in over 50 per cent of the cases, sometimes even over 70 per cent. The same almost applies to the involvement of colleagues. Bullying by inferiors, especially on their own, occurs more seldom (Zapf and Groß, 2004, p. 1264).

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Analyses based on responses from 5,288 individuals across occupational life In Great Britain (Hoel and Cooper, 2000, p. 3) for example, have found managers or superiors as perpetrators in 74.7 per cent. Peers or colleagues were counted as bullies in 36.7 per cent. The equivalent figures for inferiors were 6.7 per cent. Slightly differing only, a representative study by the Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (FIOSH) in Germany (Meschkutat, Stackelbeck and Langenhoff, 2002, p. 65) has recently shown that perpetrators are,

- 38.2 per cent superiors
- 12.8 per cent superiors and colleagues
- 22.3 per cent one colleague
- 20.1 per cent a group of colleagues
- 2.3 per cent inferior employees.

It follows that the risk of being bullied by superiors (in total, 51 per cent involvement) is as great as by colleagues (in total, 55.2 per cent involvement). However considering the fact that there are far fewer superiors than employees, it becomes obvious that the percentage in real terms is far higher.

Witnesses

The witness party is more complex than the first two. It can be either a single person or consist of a group of persons. The latter can consist of a peer group or of persons who do not know each other. According to Olweus (2003, p.4), there are several modes of student engagement in a bullying situation. The third party modes can be described as follows,

- B. Followers or henchmen, take part actively, but do not iniate the bullying,
- C. Supporters/passive bullies, support the bullying without taking action,
- D. Passive supporters/possible bullies, have condoned the bullying but do not display their support openly,
- E. Disengaged onlookers, watch the proceedings, but take no stand,
- F. Possible defenders, think they ought to help, but do not, despite not approving the bullying
- G. Defenders of the victim, assist or attempt to assist the victim actively.

These types of witness can be put into the following sub-groups:

- supporter witnesses who obviously support the bully (types B and C) or who support the victim by defending him (type G),
- bystander witnesses who do not overtly support either the bully (types D and E) or the victim (type F), but do have a certain impact on the proceedings by passively enjoying/disliking the bullying or due to doing nothing.

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Undeniably, bullying can occur without being accompanied by witness(es) but this seems not predominantly being the case. For example, the Canadian researchers Pepler and Craig (1995 cited Rigby, 2006, p. 426) showed, using direct observational methods and employing video cameras and wireless microphones, that among primary schoolchildren 'peers (aged 5-12 years) were present in 85% of bullying episodes on the school playground.' The International Labour Organization (1998, p.2) reported that research carried out in the United Kingdom showed that 78 per cent of employees had witnessed victims of bullying at work. Likewise in the U.K., Quine (1999, p. 231) published that 42% of 1100 NHS trust employees who answered a questionnaire 'had witnessed bullying of others, including many who did not report being bullied themselves.' Again in the U.K., Smith and Shu (2000 cited Ball, 2006, p.3) 'found that a majority of pupils (66 per cent) claimed to have seen bullying at school and that almost half of the incidents took place in the presence of two or three people, with around 70 per cent of incidents involving more than two people, including a very small percentage where more than nine people watched or participated.' Similarly but referring to crime in general, Planty from the Bureau of Justice Statistics of the U.S. Department of Justice reports (2002, p.1) that about '66% of all violent crimes between 1993 and 1999 occurred in the presence of some in addition to the victim and offender(s).' Based on the reports of 400 students from primary and secondary school in Australia, Ken Rigby most recently announced that over '90% of respondents indicated an awareness of peer victimisation occurring in the presence of bystanders.' (Rigby, 2006, p. 436)

Expanding on this theory, the described actor parties can be visualized as being connected within a cycle or process of bullying. The following graph is derived from works of Goldy (2002, p. 58) and Rigby (1999, pp. 2-3) and shows a combined, extended and supplemented picture which similarly reflects the Olweus' modes of engagement of a third party within a bullying situation as indicated above.

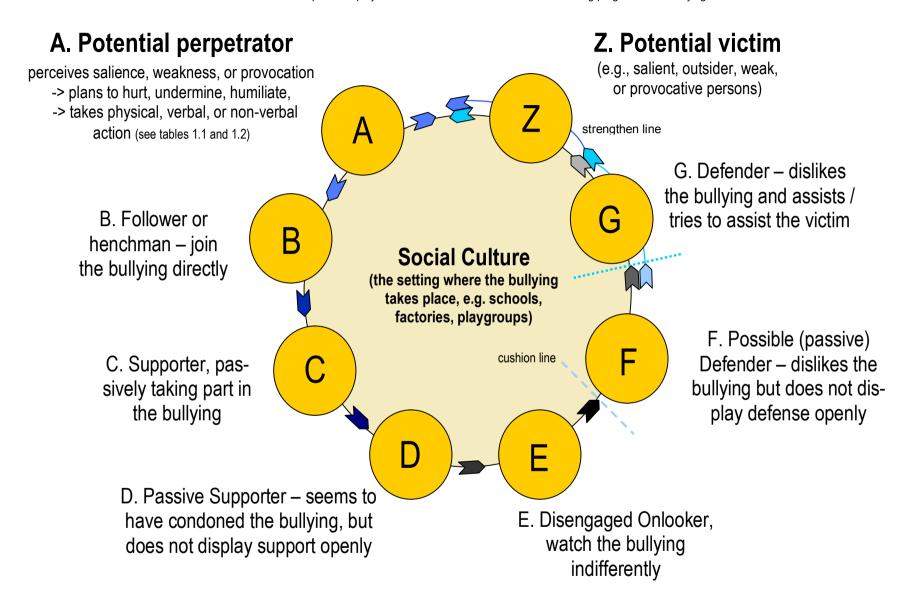


Figure 1.1 The parties within the bullying-power-cycle and their possible influence (NB, all parties can be understood as multiple)

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The following scenarios can be envisaged as consequences of interactions as shown in the above diagram:

<u>Case1:</u> A perpetrator (A.) bullies a victim (Z.) without the presence of a witness (B.-G.). There is an imbalance of power which shows the perpetrator as the stronger force (inner circle, middle blue arrow <-> light blue arrow. In all likelihood in this case the victim will most probably suffer from the attacks and without outside help, will find themselves gradually pulled into a 'downward spiral of victimization' (Goldy, 2002, pp.28-29) This may happen in the following way,

- a potential perpetrator perceives a potential victim (see chapter 1.4),
- the perpetrator hurts and humiliates the victim as planned,
- the victim does not effectively counteract or still worse, reacts submissively,
- the perpetrator feels encouraged and, perhaps increases the pressure,
- the victim reacts more helplessly, facing initial health problems,
- the perpetrator reinforces their efforts and so forth.

The perpetrator might at some point cease their efforts, after losing interest. Perhaps, the victim might one day be able to counteract effectively, having suddenly discovered new inner strength. More likely seems instead that the victim would escape the treatment by quitting school or the job, should they receive no substantial support.

<u>Case2:</u> A perpetrator (group) bullies a victim (group). Here they are accompanied by a witness (group). Again an imbalance of power exists which shows the perpetrator as the stronger force (inner circle, middle blue arrow <-> light blue arrow). The perpetrator is accompanied here by different witnesses, who either directly or indirectly encourage his efforts (middle blue arrow -> dark blue arrow -> black arrow). That may happen in this way,

- a potential perpetrator perceives a potential victim (see chapter 1.4),
- the perpetrator hurts and humiliates the victim as planned,
- the witnesses boost the perpetrator's efforts bit by bit, directly (B.-C.) or indirectly (D.-E.)²
- the victim does not effectively counteract or even worse, reacts submissively,
- the perpetrator feels encouraged and continues, perhaps increasingly aggressively,
- the supporter-witnesses maintain their stance, possibly encouraging bystander-witnesses to join in,
- the victim reacts more helplessly, facing initial health problems
- the perpetrator reinforces their efforts perpetuating the cycle.

2

² 'By keeping quiet (perhaps for fear of being the next target) the group can have a role in the dynamics by virtue of doing nothing. The target may feel that the group is against them too (Einarsen 1996), although this may not be the case – the other individuals may be acting out of self-protection. If group members do not take steps to support the target either publicly or privately, it is unsurprising that the target will interpret the group's action as supportive of the bullying, which in a way it is' (Rayner, 2002, p.112).; 'An audience empowers the bully. The overt or tacit approval or passive acceptance displayed by witnesses emboldens a bully and validates the aggression' (Parsons, 2005).

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As in the first case the perpetrator (this time with witnesses) might possibly give up one day, losing interest. Perhaps the victim might, after finding new inner strength be able at some point to counteract effectively. Highly likely seems instead, as in case1, that the victim would escape the treatment by quitting school or the job should they experience no substantial support.

<u>Case3</u>: The bullying takes place as described in cases one and two. This time however, the victim receives two-way substantial support, in terms of cushioning and strengthening. The most direct support and therefore the most likely to be successful, can be given by G-type-witnesses. They can discourage bullies by diminishing the intensity of the mistreatment (dark arrow -> middle grey arrow -> light grey arrow) and by strengthening the victim and removing the power imbalance (pale blue arrow and light blue arrow = middle blue arrow).

Moreover, these inner circle actors can possibly persuade F-type-witnesses or even E-type-witnesses to join in by giving an encouraging example. Working together they will be more likely to be able to overcome the perpetrator. In other words, witnesses have the 'Potential to Turn the Tides' (U.S. Department of Education, http://www.ed.gov/admins/lead/safety/training/bullying/bullying_pg16.html, accessed 15 Nov. 2006). 'Although relatively rare, intervention from bystanders does pay off. The authors of *Bullies, Targets and Witnesses* report that, when bystanders do speak up and object, the intervention stops the bullying in well over half the episodes. The bystander's role seems to be a learned behaviour.' (Parsons, 2005, p.19; see for the 'authors' Fried and Fried, 2003). It follows, if effective action is to be taken to reduce and prevent bullying, then the attitudes of witnesses must also be taken into consideration.

1.3.2 Typical phases of bullying-at-work processes

Leymann, (2000, pp. 57ff.), first introduced a phase model of bullying-at-work processes to the scientific community in 1993. Influenced by research work by his colleague Becker, he added a fifth phase to his formerly four-phase model some year later (Leymann, 1996, p.8). The following table presents an overview of this model by Merck (2004, p.171), slightly altered and supplemented by the author of this paper, relating to Leymann (1996, pp. 7f.).

Table 1.3 Five phases of bullying-at-work processes

Phases Organizational level		Victim level	
Phase 1: begin of conflict / bullying	Undefined conflict situation, initial un- pleasantness and nastiness; significant, management is uninvolved	Initial stress symptoms, attempts at control by adapting personally (peacemaking offers, ignoring, fighting back, conflict management)	
Phase 2: Psycho- terror	Systematic concentration on one person, aggression increases, psychoterror, stigmatisation of victim; significant, management remains uninvolved	Strong stress symptoms, fear, confusion, self doubts, increase in isolation, psychosomatic complications	
Phase 3: legal invio- lations	Intervention on the part of the management – measures directed against victim, transferral/demotion, reprimand, disqualification, attempted firing	Inner resignation, withdrawal, or opposition, complaints, exhaustion, severe psychosomatic disturbance	

Phase 4:	Doctors' false diagnoses, legal steps.	General insecurity and suspicion,
false	Victim becomes completely	mistrust, deep despair, post-traumatic
diagnoses	submissive.	stress syndrome
Phase 5: Exclusion from the work-life	Transferred repeatedly, sidelined, cold shouldered, dismissed, psychiatric treatment / sectioned, paid off, pensioned early	Depression, obsession, addiction, massive health problems, post- traumatic stress syndrome, personality problems, suicide attempts

This research project builds on the presented model, which illustrates a fully-fledged bullying process, starting at phase one and ending at phase five, but some points should be considered before the investigation continues. Firstly, not all phases must be dealt with in chronological/numerical order; some could also be omitted. Secondly, there is no absolute separation between the phases, but rather smooth transition. Thirdly, the bullying process was portrayed as a cycle (see chapter 1.3.1). Consequently, a bullying phase model must be dynamic rather than linear. That implies that the bullying process could end at every phase. Reasons for this could be because a victim is empowered by his reappraisal of the situation; breaking the cycle, or is given enough support by a bystander to do so. It follows that the next stages would not then be reached. Another reason for interruption of the cycle could be that the victim faces serious loss followed by personal breakdown some years after the initial bullying enticing the perpetrator either to start from scratch or from where he left off. The model is a useful description of possible phases of bullying-at-work processes, but a dynamic component as formulated by Schlaugat (1999 cited Merck, 2004, p.173) should be taken into consideration.

Table 1.3 contains first references to impact on the health of the victim. Based on empirical findings and clinical experimentation, Leymann (1996, pp.8-9) also suggested a so-called 'syndromatiology' regarding bullying at work, including time elapsing from initial manifestation of indisposition to that of serious illness. Further detailed data will be given in chapter 2.2.2.2, including, for instance, cost to the individual or negative impact on health illustrated by a real case study. The latter also serves as a good example for the explanations given above.

1.4 Antecedents of bullying at work

Bullying is essentially embedded in human relations and social interactions. It is characterised by 'complexity' (Rayner et al., 2002, p.120) and 'multi-causality' (Einarsen et al., 2003, p. 21), as social phenomenon are. A considerable 'range of factors are found at many explanatory levels' (Einarsen et al., 2003, p. 21), all of wich contribute to the appearance of bullying rather than one factor alone. (Hoel and Salin, 2003, p.214; Salin, 2003, p.25). Therefore premature judgements regarding significant causes must be avoided, before multi-level data is gathered (Rayner, 2002, p.120). The following provides a synopsis of explanatory levels and potentially effective factors as predominantly identified by selected authors. Often used categories are, individual, dyadic, group, organizational or societal levels of antecedents. These descriptions would take place on four levels,

- micro-level of antecedents, concerning characteristics of involved individuals
- meso-level of antecedents, concerning dyadic and group characteristics,
- macro-level of antecedents, concerning characteristics at the work place,

• meta-level of antecedents, concerning societal influences, which exercise far more external influence on the process than the first three.

Micro-level of antecedents, individual factors

Individual factors have been widely disputed within the debate on causes. Stand-points range from total disregard to full acceptance of individual characteristics as main causes. In this report the findings of Einarsen et al. are supported (1994 cited Hoel and Cooper, 2001, p. 7). He states that 'bullying should be understood primarily as an interplay between people, where neither situational nor personal factors entirely suffice to explain why bullying develops'. In other words, personal characteristics certainly cannot 'explain bullying in general', but rather affect the interaction of several antecedents contributing to the appearance of bullying. This part may be more or less dominant, depending on the specific case (Zapf and Einarsen, 2003, pp.165-166 and 180).

Several efforts have been made to identify potential characteristics of both victims and perpetrators (cf. Hoel and Cooper, 2001, pp.6-8; Rayner et al., 2002, p.107; Salin, 2003, pp.16-18; Zapf and Einarsen, 2003, p. 165). In the following a useful summarization of empirical findings by Zapf and Einarsen (2003, pp.168-179) is referred to.

Regarding perpetrators, they suggested 'three main types of bullying related to certain perpetrator characteristics: (1) self-regulatory processes with regard to threatened self-esteem; (2) lack of social competencies; and (3) bullying as a result of micropolitical behaviour.'

While the first point refers mainly to perpetrators protecting their self-esteem by reactive or preventive aggression, the second point covers perpetrators with problems concerning emotional control or adoption of particular attitudes Lastly, the third point includes perpetrator behaviours, such as defending and improving one's position by plotting against competitors or acting dominantly, striving to gain influence by high-achieving behaviour.

Regarding victims, they suggested the following three dominant characteristics in the development of bullying: (1) The exposed position of the victim; (2) social incompetence and self-esteem deficits; and (3) overachievement and conflict with group norms.

While the first point includes consideration of victims who are in salient or outsider positions, the second point refers to victims, vulnerable due to lack of personal competence. Eventually, the third point is related to highly conscientious or ambitious victims, who annoy colleagues by always knowing better or challenge performance standards 'good guys'.

Meso-level of antecedents, dyadic factors and group factors

The discussion of *dyadic factors* focuses on the aforementioned 'interplay between people' in the bullying process, in other words the interaction between victims and perpetrators. As an imbalance of power lies at the heart of the definition of bullying, it has been stated that such a perspective is 'vital to the understanding of the concept of bullying at work' (Einarsen et al., 2003, p.21).

In this connection, it seems to be widely agreed that victims cannot be seen merely as passive, receptive puppets, but must be regarded as active agents, able to neu-

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tralise or escalate emerging conflicts by their reactions (Hoel and Cooper, 2001, p.9; Salin, 2003, p.18; Einarsen et al., 2003, p.22). Every negative act committed by a perpetrator is most likely to produce some reaction by the victim which in its turn is likely to lead to a further response of the perpetrator (Hoel and Cooper, 2001, p.9; Einarsen et al., 2003, p.22).

This is especially true in the case of 'dispute-related bullying', which 'occurs as a result of highly escalated interpersonal conflicts' (Einarsen et al., 2003, p.19). Those conflicts differ from bullying not in what and how something is done, but in the length of time, the incidence rate and the ability of the involved parties to defend themselves (personal or work-related power imbalance) against the attacks. Particularly, the latter may increase during the course of the conflict and leave the opponent open to defenceless victimization. The dynamics of and developmental stages of such dispute-related bullying have been explained by Glasl (1994) on the basis of his conflict escalation model by several researchers (Einarsen et al., 2003, p.20). This particular form of bullying has additionally been distinguished from so-called 'predatory bullying' by Einarsen (2003, p.18. and applies to bullying a completely non-provocative victim. A perpetrator finds it necessary to demonstrate power, to exploit a perceived weakness or builds on the outsider status of the victim.

To sum up, Rayner et al. (2002, p.109) claim that 'escalation from conflict to victimization lies as much in dyadic interaction' as in individual traits. The latter discussed bullying form also indicates the potential influence of personality characteristics (cf. also Hoel and Cooper, 2001, p. 9; Salin, 2003, p.19).

On the *group level*, a popular concept for explaining bullying is the so-called 'scape-goat-process'. Such 'witch-hunts' usually evolve when groups pick on a less powerful member, ideal for venting their frustrations, aggressions or failures on (Einarsen et al., 2003, p.22; Hoel and Cooper, 2001, p.10; Salin, 2003, p.19). Research has shown that group members, who are to some extent considered as outsiders may be chosen to become the focus of attention, being too honest, unwilling to compromise or, showing 'anachronistic' behaviour (Schuster, 1996; Thylefors, 1987 cited Hoel and Cooper, 2001, p.10; Einarsen et al., 2003, p.22). In addition to this, when the real reasons for the indicated negative experience are unclear (Hoel and Cooper, 2001, p.10) or perhaps too embarrassing to be attributed to oneself, another victim becomes a welcome object on which to project blame. In this way perpetrators attempt to boost their, perhaps faltering self-esteem and are more able to come to terms with own faults (Einarsen, 2000 cited Hoel and Cooper, 2001, p.10). For application of the 'attribution theory' in more detail see Rayner et al., 2002, pp.104-105

Elaborating on the theory of a 'social interactionist perspective', Neuman and Baron (2003, p.197-198) suggested that breaches in norms of reciprocity and perceptions of unfairness (shown as increasing in work places) 'are especially crucial' in terms of evoking frustration and work-place aggression. Frequently, supervisors or entire organizations, known in such cases as strong sources, show behaviour perceived as unfair. Direct target retaliation often seems too risky and aggressive adults' attempt to minimise danger to themselves, simultaneously maximizing harm to others, is thwarted ('effect/danger ratio'). As a result, the aggression will be directed at seemingly weak and defenceless targets, 'and a pattern of bullying against such individuals may then arise.'

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Macro-level of antecedents, organizational factors

The level of organisational antecedents again contains numerous factors which may be conducive to bullying at work (Hoel and Cooper, 2001, pp.11-13; Salin, 2003, pp.20-23; Hoel and Salin, 2003, pp.204-218). They can be categorized under four headings (Hoel and Salin, 2003, p.204),

- '(1) the changing nature of work' (e.g., restructuring and downsizing caused by economical changes which place greater pressure on employees and managers as well, altering of relationship between managers and employees in previously less autocratically imposed work conditions (e.g., health sector, educational sector) by increased introduction of market philosophies, increased competition between managers due to a shrinking pool of jobs, greater job insecurity);
- '(2) work organisation' (e.g., a negative and stressful working environment, roleconflict and role ambiguity, enforced team-work, particularly if combined with interteam or collective bonus systems, overloading of physical working conditions);
- '(3) organisational culture and climate' (e.g., an atmosphere of unconditional subordination and compliance to discipline and group rules. Such conditions can be found in prisons, hospitals for the mentally ill, the armed forces, or five star restaurant kitchens where rules are more likely to be broken by new members during the 'organisational socialisation process'. Humiliating jokes, surprises or insults can be used as instruments to test or punish new members where bullying seems 'normal' in the organisation. In such cases perpetrators seem to be rewarded or even get away with it altogether.
- '(4) leadership' (e.g., an autocratic and authoritarian style of management which creates an atmosphere of fear and control leaving no room for complaint. A lack of participation in decision-making processes, a tyrannical style of leadership as described in 1994 by Ashforth as the 'petty tyranny'-concept, the lack of leadership i.e. the 'lais-sez-faire style of management' which give the impression that bullying is acceptable and permissible).

Meta-level of antecedents, societal factors

Relevant factors at this level are derived from overriding trends and changes influenced by world - wide developments such as, the contemporarily favoured norms 'survival of the fittest' and 'toughness'; increasing struggle for efficiency and creation of competitive working conditions; globalisation and liberation of markets (Salin, 2003, pp. 24-25; Rayner et al., 2002, pp. 117-120; Hoel and Cooper, 2001, pp.13-15).

1.5 Bullying at work and the law

1.5.1 Legal situation in Germany

In assessing bullying situations from a legal point of view, the core problem presented is the numerous bullying behaviour forms which occur within an escalating process. These behaviour forms are only partially indicated by law as bullying behaviour or, at least while in an early phase, are not outside the law. Moreover, the victim must prove that he has been bullied, i.e., he must bring evidence that the perpetrator has committed illegal acts (Kollmer, 2003, pp. 79-80; Sozialnetz Hessen, online, n.d.). Hence, it is crucial to find witnesses and to write down details of the attacks before bringing things to court.

Every case illustrates a specific situation requiring juristictive investigation of the circumstances. Risks, consequences and benefits of bringing a case to court need to carefully and professionally weighed up. Counselling by a specialist solicitor is always advisable (Sozialnetz Hessen, online, n.d.).

It must also be brought to attention that Germany does not possess a special bullying law (Kollmer, 2003, p.128), but corresponding regulations exist within different areas of the law, however. A case of bullying can principally be assessed under the following four judicial perspectives:

- By labour law, i.e., attacks can be assessed under terms of individual labour law, collective labour law or the so-called "Betriebsverfassungsgesetz" (a law regulating certain organisational aspects of enterprise), such as violation of personal rights, abuse by the employer, poor/unhealthy working conditions, etc.
- By civil law, i.e., attacks violate the personal rights (existence, body, health or freedom). Should this be the case, action for damages by virtue of inacceptable behaviour or action to retract defamation is possible.
- By penal law, i.e., attacks can be assessed under terms of penal law such as, intentionally committed bodily injury (or carelessly committed bodily harm where applicable), defamation, coercion, failure to render assistance, etc.
- By public law, i.e., attacks can not be assessed under terms of penal law, but under terms of the protection of working conditions act, such as demands to undertake labour which endangers the employee's health and safety (Kollmer, 2003, pp.40 -129; see also Sozialnetz Hessen, online, n.d.).

Beyond these four instruments provided by law, victims have another possibility of retaliation called 'informal' problem solving measures (Kollmer, 2003, p.40). The following table brings the most important regulations governing labour law in Germany together, including the 'informal' perspective.

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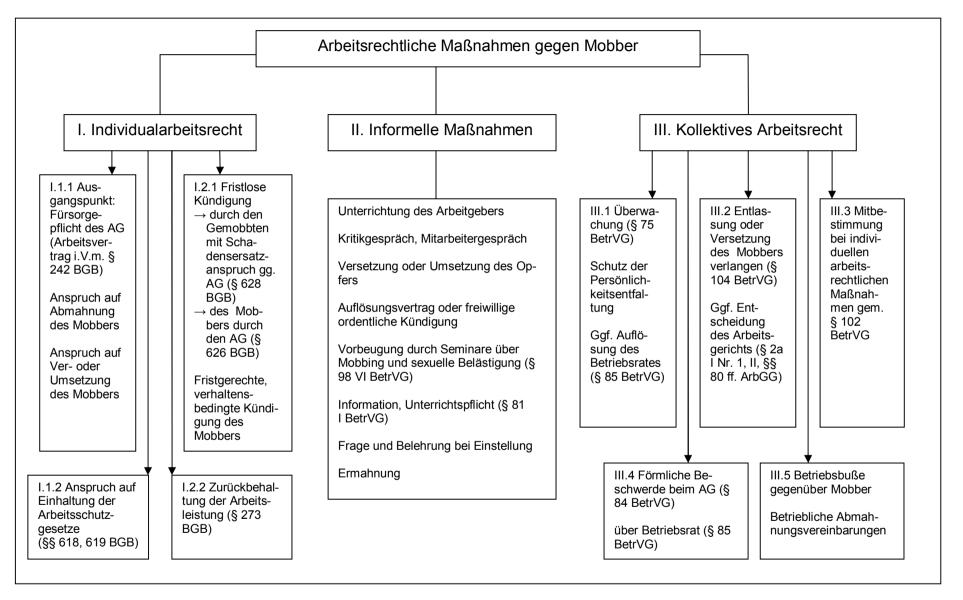


Figure 1.2 Anti-bullying labour law measures in Germany (according to Kollmer, 2003, p. 41), (see next page for translation)

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I. Individual Labour Law

- I.1.1 Starting Point: fiduciary duty on the part of the employer (contract of employment in connection with. § 242 BGB) Claimant has the right to invoke a warning against the bully Claimant has the right to demand relocation of the bully
- I.1.2 Claimant has the right to implementation of work safety law (§§ 618, 619 BGB)
- I.2.1 Contract termination without notice
 - → victim terminates and sues employer for damages (§ 628 BGB)
 - → perpatrator's contract terminated by employer (§ 626 BGB)

Termination of the perpetrator's contract with due notice

I.2.2 Withholding of retention rights (§ 273 BGB)

II. Informal Measures

Informing of employer

Appraisal interview; related discussion

Relocation of victim

Cancellation agreement or voluntary statutory notice of termination

Prevention via courses on dangers of mobbing and sexual harassment (§ 98 VI BetrVG)

Provision of data, compulsory information (§ 811 BetrVG)

Questioning and instruction at time of employment

Admonition

III. Collective Labour Law

III.1 Monitoring (§ 75 BetrVG)
Protection of self-development

Dissolution of shop steward's committee if necessary (§ 85 BetrVG)

- III.2 Firing or relocation of perpetrator demanded (§ 104 BetrVG)
 Decision by labour court if necessary (§ 2a I Nr. 1, II, §§ 80 ff. ArbGG)
- III.3 Employee participation in labour law measures according to § 102 BetrVG
- III.4 Official complaints to labour law courts (§ 84 BetrVG) -concerning shop stewards (§ 85 BetrVG)
- III.5 Managerial levies against perpetrator Managerial warning agreements

Detailed explanations of all the relevant regulations given by civil and penal law can not be given within the scope of this study, but can be found at Kollmer (2003, pp.108-126). This sub-chapter will finish with a consideration of repeatedly named public law regulations instead. These are,

- a) the *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz* which regulates certain organisational aspects of enterprise. Under § 75 of this act 'the employer and the staff association (if existent) have to ensure that the workers are treated decently. § 84 of this law confers a right to complain to the responsible people within the company upon every employee who feels they are being treated unjustly by either the employer himself or by their colleagues. It also stipulates that exercising this right must not lead to any disadvantages for the plaintiff. However, those people holding leading positions in their companies are not considered as being "employees" within the legal meaning of the "Betriebsverfassungsgesetz". Consequently, the protection of the aforementioned provisions does not apply to them' (Lohro and Hilp, 2001, p.16).
- b) the *Arbeitsschutzgesetz* which aims to protect employees against harmful working conditions. § 3 of this act 'obliges the employer to ensure all measures necessary for his employees' security and health. For this, § 4 No. 4 gives exemplary measures according to the organisation of work, social relations or to "miscellaneous" conditions of work. If the employer fails to fulfil his obligations, the employee has the right to complain and, if the employer does not react adequately, to address the responsible authorities (§ 17). Again, exercising this right must not lead to any disadvantages for the appellant.' (Lohro and Hilp, 2001, p.16).
- c) *local agreements at company level*, which can be considered as a kind of agreed law within a company by contract (Kollmer, 2003, p.128). Amongst others, those agreements also explicitly cover bullying at work in Germany. For example since 1996, the Volkswagen AG and its employees have an agreement in operation called *'collegial behaviour at work'* ("Partnerschaftliches Verhalten am Arbeitsplatz", Lohro and Hilp, 2001, p.16). It aims to establish 'an enterprise culture based on partnership' (Di Martino, Hoel and Cooper, 2003, p.56) and 'imposes an obligation upon every single employee to restrain from any form of sexual harassment, discrimination or workplace bullying. It also ensures a right to complain and obliges the enterprise to react with appropriate measures, including as a final step the dismissal of the bully.' (Lohro and Hilp, 2001, p.16). Additionally to this agreement, six example agreements for the private sector are provided by the German Union IG Metall (2005) on the internet, which follow 'the same structure but adjusted to the special characteristics of each enterprise.' (Di Martino, Hoel and Cooper, 2003, p.56). One agreement for the public sector can be found at Sozialnetz Hessen (online, n.d.).

1.5.2 Legal situation in the European Member States and at EU level

Lohro and Hilp wrote up a report on the topic of bullying at work in the European Member States in 2001 commissioned by the European Parliament. They introduced their findings regarding the legal situation as follows. 'In most Member States, however, legal remedies for bullied employees exist only insofar as certain isolated acts of the bullying process can be identified as general offences, such as insult, libel, or (sexual) harassment. The most typical actions of workplace bullying, however, are much more subtle ..., thus undermining the legal protection available for the person concerned.' (Lohro and Hilp, 2001, p.15). In addition to that brief commentary, which could be understood as a conclusion, useful information in detail regarding Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Spain, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Austria, Portugal, Finland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom can be found at Lohro and Hilp (2001, pp.15-23; additionally see Di Martino, Hoel and Cooper, 2003, pp. 50-

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58 and, Kollmer, 2003, pp. 128-132). Since the scope of this report cannot cover this aspect fully, the legal situation at European Union level will be addressed briefly.

There is no 'European-wide applicable provision' or 'specific proposal for a directive dealing with the priority area of bullying' at work. However, 'there are provisions that could be construed as covering this phenomenon' respectively 'various EU bodies have reiterated the need for further action in the area of workplace violence' (Lohro and Hilp, 2001, p.23; Di Martino, Hoel and Cooper, 2003, p.49).

In this regard, 'Article 5 of Council Directive 89/391/EEC on the introduction of measures to encourage improvements in the safety and health of workers at work imposes an obligation upon the employer "to ensure the safety and health of workers in every aspect related to the work". Additionally, the workers' own obligations in the field of safety and health at work shall not affect the principle of the responsibility of the employer.' (Lohro and Hilp, 2001, p.23).

Moreover, the new Article 13 in the EC Treaty has delivered the basis for adoption of two directives, which allows addressing sexual harassment and racial harassment. These are the Council Directive 2000/43/EC (June 2000) which implemented the principle of equal treatment between persons, irrespective of racial or ethnic origin; and the Council Directive 76/207/EEC (June 2002) which implemented the principle of equal access for men and women to employment, vocational training and promotion, and working conditions (Di Martino, Hoel and Cooper, 2003, p. 47).

Additionally, the 'European Parliament's 'Resolution on Harassment at the Workplace 2001/2339 (INI)':

calls on the Member States, with a view to counteracting bullying and sexual harassment at work, to review and, if appropriate, to supplement their existing legislation and to review and standardise the definition of bullying:

urges the Commission to consider a clarification or extension of the scope of the framework directive on health and safety at work or, alternatively, the drafting of a new framework directive as a legal instrument to combat bullying and as a means of ensuring respect for the worker's human dignity, privacy and integrity; emphasizes in this connection the importance of systematic work on health and safety and of preventive action; [...]

In its Communication 'Adapting to change in work and society: A new Community strategy on health and safety 2002–2006' (COM (Brussels) 11.03.2002, 118 final), the Commission stresses the need to adapt the legal framework to cover the emerging psycho-social risks:

The increase in psycho-social problems and illnesses is posing a new challenge to health and safety at work and is compromising moves to improve well-being at work. The various forms of psychological harassment and violence at work likewise pose a special problem nowadays, requiring legislative action. Any such action will be able to build on the acquis of recently adopted directives rooted in Article 13 of the EC Treaty, which defines what is meant by harassment, and make provision for redress.

The Commission will examine the appropriateness and the scope of a Community instrument on psychological harassment and violence at work.

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The European Commission's Advisory Committee on Safety, Hygiene and Health Protection at Work, in its 'Opinion on Violence at the Workplace', adopted on 29 November 2001, calls for the issuing by the Commission of guidelines in this area:

The Commission should therefore draft guidelines based on the definition of the phenomenon in all its various forms and on its inclusion among the risk factors that employers are obliged to assess under the terms of the framework directive. A model for the assessment of the specific risk as part of the overall assessment would therefore be useful.' (Di Martino, Hoel and Cooper, 2003, p.48 f.).

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that bullying cannot be considered a simple phenomenon. Neither is it easy to find an appropriate term or give a generally satisfying definition, nor is the explanation of bullying processes at large or the determination of antecedents simple. There also are a great deal of possible bullying behaviour forms described in the literature, which have more or less been systematized.

Based on findings, predominantly occurring answers to those topics have been collected and new points of view have been presented. Finally, the state of the law regarding bullying at work within the European Union, in particular in Germany, has been investigated. This work forms the foundation of the Tibs project and will hopefully provide a useful contribution to other work on these topics.

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2 Impacts of bullying – a serious phenomenon?

2.1 Occurrences of bullying at work and sectors/groups at risk

There are a number of studies which have investigated the frequency of bullying at workplaces, but it is not easy to sound out how often it actually occurs. The problem lies very much in the used measurements and those, again, are influenced by each understanding of the nature of bullying and its definition. An analysis of a considerable number of studies around Europe done by Zapf et al. (2003, pp. 104 -109) nevertheless shows that a prevalence rate raging between 1 and 4 per cent seems to be a realistic number of serious bullying incidents at workplaces (in the sense of the definition given in chapter 2.1) in Europe (Zapf and Groß, 2004, p.1266).

It can logically be reasoned that in an organization with 1.000 employees on average thirty people are involved in some kind of serious bullying at any time.³ This number mounts to 100 people if less severe cases (e.g., incidents appear not every week) have been borne in mind. Taking into account that in many cases not only two people, but groups of e.g., victims or bullies and/or, witnesses are negatively affected by those situations, this is to consider a serious number (Zapf et al., 2003, p. 109); not to mention probably existing dark figures.

Research additionally shows that there are some sectors in which employees seemingly are at higher risk to get caught in bullying situations. Taking findings of some European studies together, such a bad risk is reported for the social and health sector, the public administration sector and the education sector – in other words, for employees of the public sector (Zapf et al., 2003, p. 118).

In Germany for example, a higher risk of being bullied has been quantified on the basis of reports from almost 370 victims by Zapf and Groß (2000, p. 24) as follows,

- seven-fold for the health and social sector
- three point five-fold for the public administration sector
- three-fold for the educational sector
- three-fold for the credit business.

On the other hand, the sectors of agriculture, transport and trading, building trade, energy/water, catering industry have been reported as under-represented.

Focussing on gender aspects of bullying, a comparative set of European studies has found victims predominantly are two-thirds women to one-third being men. This is especially true regarding German samples, whereas several studies from Sweden, Norway and the UK have presented more balanced figures (Zapf, et. al, 2003, p. 111f.; Zapf, 1999, p. 6f.). Finally drawing attention on some other groups at risk, analyses based on responses from 5,288 individuals across occupational life (Hoel

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³ This figure has recently been reproduced to some extent by a representative study of the Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (BAuA) in Germany which sounds out that at the time of investigation 74 people out of 2765 interviewed employees being bullied. It follows that around 2.7 per cent of employed citizens or in other words three out of hundred employees in Germany are supposed to bullying at that time. Admittedly, the underlying definition of bullying is less strict than the one which is referred to above. However, it comes out an absolute number of around 1 million people at workplaces being bullied if those figures are linked to the total number of employees in Germany (38.988 million/2000) (Meschkutat, Stacklbeck, Langenhoff, 2002, p. 24).

and Cooper, 2000, p.3) have found younger people and middle-aged ones more likely being bullied than older ones and Asian or Afro-Caribbean people far more likely at risk than those ones who considered themselves a white ethnic background.

2.2 Health impacts, costs to the individual

2.2.1 Bullying at work and health resources and health

Table 1.2b has highlighted the relation between bullying at work and the health status of employees by introducing some sub-categories of the class 'health damaging' hitherto not systematically dealt with,

- D.4 Health-damage due to removal/undermining of social support,
- D.5 Health-damage due to systematic undermining of self-esteem,
- D.6 Health-damage due to destruction of trust in a future security.
- D.7 Health-damage due to undermining of the 'sense of coherence'.

They actually concern no categories bringing unknown forms of bullying together, but present new kinds of systematization of bullying acts under the health focus which have already been listed elsewhere. Thus, they refer to important concepts of modern health promotion such as, *social support* and *personal health resource factors*.

Protecting cushion-effects and preserving main-effects for the health of humans are discussed within the concept of social support. While a general support by the family, friends, colleagues, neighbours etc. should have preserving impacts on well-being, it is argued that, specific kinds of support (counselling, tangible aids etc.) will have protecting impacts on the health status.

There also are some repeatedly named factors within the discussion of the impacts of personal health resource factors such as, having a distinctive self-esteem and having a good sense of coherence. The latter one has been defined by its founder, Antonovsky (1979, p.123), as 'a global orientation that express the extent to which one has a pervasive, enduring though dynamic feeling of confidence that one's internal and external environments are predictable and that there is a high probability that things will work out as well as can reasonably be expected.' Nowadays, it presents the core concept of the leading approach in health promotion, the salutogenesis, which asks why and how most of the people stay healthy in spite of daily strains pressed down on them multiple and everywhere. Three main factors enhancing a person's abilities to cope with such strains have been determined in the following:

- Comprehensibility, which concerns a conceptual perception of daily incidents and demands being not chaotic and unpredictable but rather orderly and explainable.
- Manageability, which means the conceptual perception of being endued with resources to meet the incidents and demands successfully, not to be the helplessly.
- Meaningfulness, which involves the conceptual perception of such incidents and demands being worthwhile and desirable to deal with they evoke emotive sympathy (Antonovsky 1997, p.36; Smith, 2002; Rosenbrock, Michel, 2006, p. 29).

Antonovsky's approach has not been empirically validated to the full yet, but there is particularly evidence for the effectiveness of the salutogenesis concept in the field of

psychological illnesses on the one hand. On the other hand, several investigations have proved a principal connection between successful prevention, treatment and coping activities and being endued with well pronounced health resources or a successful development of such personal resources (Rosenbrock, Michel, 2006, p.29). Hence, it can be assumed with some validity that bullying behavioural acts (as largely indicated in table 1.2b) will considerably damaging the explained health resources, in particular because psychological active forms are dominating bullying at work. Should this be the case, a reduced health state and even illnesses based on weakened resilience must be logically expected in middle-term up to long-term; even not to mention the amount of negative stress which can be reasonably expected from such attacks.

2.2.2 Bullying at work and health effects – selected findings

When it comes to investigate the relationship between bullying and health one has to bear in mind, that this is not uncomplicated. Data about the potential health effect of bullying has mostly been raised by surveys operating with questionnaires. This leads to knowledge about a probable association between variables under certain circumstances, not to unquestionable insight into the real cause and effect (Rayner, Hoel, Cooper, 2002, pp. 43ff.). A found state of reduced health (e.g. depressive, headaches), for example, maybe caused by a bullying incident, but could also have been emerged from a loss of a beloved person or a suddenly activated genetic disposition or a 'toxic' environment etc. The following must be seen under this precondition.

2.2.2.1 Bullying impairs health

A number of studies have found that victims of bullying do often display some kind of ill health symptoms respectively 'that a relationship exists between the experience of bullying and impaired health.' (Rayner, Hoel, Cooper, 2002, p.44; see also Einarsen, 2005, and Einarsen and Mikkelsen, 2003, for a review).

To exemplarily get in more detailed, a community National Health Service (NHS) trust in south England commissioned in 1996, as part of a larger survey of life at workplaces, an examination of workplace bullying. Based on 1100 responses of trust employees (70% response rate) it was found that those who were victimized had shown 'significantly higher levels of job induced stress' and 'were significantly more likely to suffer clinical levels of anxiety [...] and depression' (Quine, 1999, p. 230) than those who had not been bullied. Over 14% of the victims reported health problems. 44% of victimized smokers and 20% of victimized drinkers reported an increase in their consumption in the previous year (Quine, 1999, p. 231).

Hoel and Cooper ran the first nation-wide survey of workplace bullying in Britain. 5.300 completed questionnaires were send back by 70 large organisation, covering a wide span of industries and occupations (2000, pp. 6f.). Amongst others, bullying 'was found to be particularly associated with poor mental health and [...] higher sickness absenteeism [...] than those who were not bullied.' (2000, p. 4). They also draw from their findings that 'being regularly exposed to bullying appears to have more health implications than occasional exposure.' (2000, p. 26).

Meschkutat, Stackelbeck and Langenhoff, who were in charge for a representative study by the Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (FIOSH) in Germany, have recently reported that 86% of people who have been bullied at their workplace complained about mental or physical problems during or after the victimization. 36% of them caught a short-term illness, circa 30% fall sick for a long-ranging time period.

18.6% underwent a treatment at a health resort, circa 15% got an inpatient treatment and every third victim asked for therapeutic help. The spectrum of clinical pictures ranged from typical stress symptoms such as, sleep disorders, headaches and migraine, shortness of breath, neurodermatitis to chronical diseases such as, depression, gastrointestinal sicknesses, cardiovascular diseases and cancer (2002, p. 79).

The Teacher Support Network and the Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL) in the United Kigdom conducted a survey regarding cyber-bullying of teachers from November 2006 to January 2007 with 379 respondents. Of those who reported being bullied in that way, 63% reported a reduction of their confidence and self esteem, 57% noticed a reduction of their effectiveness, 49% got ill but still went to work, 43% claimed it affected home life, 20% felt too frighthened to go to work, 17% took sick leave due to illness and stress, 8% were scared in general (online, 2007).

A survey concucted by J.M. Research which gathered information on bullying of three Ontario education-worker union members, reported on the base of a sample of 1,217 randomly selected interviewees. This showed that 10 % of those bullied take time off work. Another 53 % reported psychological, healthrelated or other personal impacts. The most common of these were loss of sleep or self-confidence, but severe anxiety attacks, loss of appetite, diagnosed depression or increased use of alcohol, tobacco or other substances were also mentioned. It was necessary for 34 % to seek professional help in recovering from a bullying incident. (Research, J. M., 2005, pp. ii f.)

2.2.2.2 Typical illness stages within bullying-at-work processes

Based on empirical findings and clinical experiences, Leymann (1996, pp. 8-9) even suggested a so-called 'Syndromätiologie' regarding bullying at work including time periods from the occurrences of first indisposition to serious illness. Table 2.1 provides an overview published by Merck (2004, pp. 33-34), slightly changed and supplemented by the authors relating to the aforementioned work of Leymann.

Typical illness stages within bullying-at-work processes Table 2.1

Symptoms	
Indisposition, e.g., headaches, sleep disorders, gastrointestinal problems, depressiveness, listlessness	
Mental disorder caused by stress (post-traumatic stress disorder), e.g., problems with falling asleep or sleeping trough, fatigue, jumpy, crankiness, disequilibrium, lack of concentration	
General state of anxiety, e.g., physical agitation, chronic nervousness, situational and object-related fears.	
Constant, self-intensifying somatoform and psychic disturbances; chronic courses	
Pathological mental state, e.g., apparent depression or an- ankasm, such as constantly washing hands, talking, obsessions Possible also: alcohol abuse, lapse of concentration, personality changes, suicide	

The presented disease stages agree with the phases of bullying processes, which have already been shown in Table 1.3. However, it is worth noticing that both only provide typically perfect phase models. Actually, the clinical development of symptoms runs off in slowly intensifying phases, whereby the individual process is strongly dependent on the kind, intensity and duration of the bullying, the personality of the victim and, how successfully the victim copes with the stress. Therefore, real cases reproduce the phases and symptoms more or less extensively. The following case (taken from Leymann, 2006, pp. 119-120) serves as a good example on that, thereby illustrating the models.

The victim Gerald (G.) was the first administrator of a public archive. First problems with his boss occurred during the move of the archive to another town. The superior was not archival educated and did not want to know anything about preparation work or the new archive plan as suggested by G. Hereupon, the following bullying, grievance and treatment courses developed, which had been reconstructed from G's diary.

Case example, bullying, symptoms and treatment courses Table 2.2

Time	Bullying course	Grievance course	Treatment course	
1979	Frictions with the boss started	G. complains about insomnia and headaches		
1980 a	Work tasks were gradually taken away from G.	G. complains about a permanent sense of insecurity, about sleep disorders and that he could not fall in sleep again cause of several solicitudes troubles him directly	His doctor prescribes G. a neuroleptic drug (a compound against nervous disorders and psychiatric illnesses such as, schizophrenia combined with kinds of persecution mania; feelings of isolation and insufficient stimulation).	
b	G. tried to discuss the problem, but was aggressively blocked by his boss	G. complains about problems with concentration, depressiveness, aggressions and helplessness		
С	G. encountered several open arguments with his superior	Symptoms increase to include fatigue, nausea, nightmares, anorexia, sweating, palpitation and breathlessness		
1981 a	The employer called for a meeting of the entire department in the course of which G. was attacked by his boss in public	G. collapses and reports several stress symptoms. He is depressive and gets testimony to be ill for a few weeks.	G. complains to his doctor that he does not tolerate the drug well. Thereupon, he gets a tranquillizer, normally given to treat nervous disorders reaching from slight restlessness to heavy psychiatric illnesses.	
b	Back at work, G. discovered that his office furniture has been placed on the hallway; another per- son sat in his office	G. initially becomes fit of rage, but than he collapsed and passed out. Later he drove home.		

1982 a	G. received a letter which conveys that he should be shifted and become a gate keeper	G. oscillates between depressive states, aggressive attacks and und angry activities. He heavily moans about psychosomatic symptoms. Seldom can he sleep well.	G. has to undergo a test by a psychologist. The diagnosis is paranoia. Again, he gets neuroleptic
b	G's position is advertised as free in a newspaper.	G. complains about feelings of total helplessness. Suicide thoughts occur.	drugs.

2.3 Economical impacts – some figures and computations

At both corporate and national level, an evaluation has been made of the financial aspects involved in bullying. 'For example, Leymann (1990) calculated that every victimised individual would produce a cost to the organisation of approximately \$30,000 to \$100,000 annually. Kivimäki et al. (2000), in a study of bullying at two Finnish hospitals, estimated that the annual cost of absence from bullying alone accounted for costs of £125,000. Rayner (2000) estimated a cost of approximately £1 million annually in replacement costs alone. Similarly, based on a meta-analysis of workplace bullying research, and taking into consideration prevalence and severity data, Sheehan et al. (2001) calculated a cost in order of \$0.6 to \$3.6 million per annum for an Australian business with 1,000 employees.

Hoel et al. (2001) took this one step further and estimated the costs of bullying at a national level, concluding that costs related to absence and replacement due to bullying alone may account for close to £2 billion annually. However, they acknowledged that any attempt to assess the costs of a complex problem such as bullying was fraught with difficulties, pointing to factors such as questionable quality of data and unclear connections between cause and effect' (Hoel, Einarsen and Cooper, 2003, p.154).

Hoel, Einarsen and Cooper (2003, pp. 155f.) also listed a number of factors which are highly relevant to the calculation of financial cost as follows,

- Sickness absenteeism
- Turnover and replacement costs
- Impact on productivity and performance
- Grievance/compensation/litigation
- Loss of public goodwill and reputation.

The cost of a bullying case was calculated as an example, by referring to a real case which took place in a local authority in the United Kingdom. The complainant and the accused were both graphical designers who eighteen months prior to the first incident of the bullying process, had applied for the position of manager of a work unit with approximately twenty people. In the course of the victimization the complainant 'went on medically certified sick leave due to stress and anxiety.' (2003, p. 156). Two investigators looked into the complaint, a formal investigation was launched and two official hearings (involving five independent persons) had taken place before the alleged offender, who had meanwhile been suspended on full pay, finally handed in his resignation. Costs mounted considerably, as table 2.3 shows.

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Table 2.3 Cost of a bullying case to the organization in a local authority in the UK

'Absence	£6.972
Replacement costs	£7,500
Reduced productivity	?
Investigators' time for grievance investigation	£2,110
Local management line-management time	£1,847
Head office personnel	£2,600
Corporate officers' time (including staff welfare)	£2,100
Cost of disciplinary process (hearing/solicitor)	£3,760
Witness interview costs	£1,200
Transfers	0
Litigation	?(0)
Effects on those indirectly involved	?
Miscellaneous (effects on publilc relations, etc.)	?
Total costs (minimum)	£28,109' ⁴

Noetzel (2004, online) offers another particularly useful example for cost-calculation in relation to bullying with regard to the state- or local authorities in the form of the following case shown in table 2.4., involving a primary schoolteacher.

Table 2.4 Costs of a bullying case in a German school

Assumption: The bullying victim, a primary school teacher, became ill and went into retirement 6 years early. Salary and pension for 2001 were calculated without considering inflation rates, which complied with buying power. The same applies for the costs invested.

inflation rates, which compiled with buying power. The same applies for the costs invested						
While the mobbing continued, the victim was ill for a prolonged period of time and required therapy. An auxilliary teacher was needed for one year and three months creating extra costs,		€ 40,000				
2. Extra costs after retirement including Christmas and holiday pay, for the 6 years up to normal requirement age: + pension + supplementary teacher (A12, 3. seniority salary scale; rising to 5 on the salary scale during this time - bullied teacher on full pay A12, 12. seniority salary scale Total extra costs between early and regular retirement	€ 195,000 € 195,000 € 257,000 € 133,000	€ 133,000				
3. Extra costs after regular retirement. The supplementary teacher receives pay six years early and three seniority grades higher (12 years x 12 months).		€ 9,000				
 4. Extra costs occur through raised contributions (doctor/ treatments) monthly psychological therapy € 90,- x 12 x 3 Jahre - Sanitorium visit - additional psychopharmaceutical medicines € 520,- x 3 yrs Total 	€ 3,240 € 2,200 € 1,560 € 7,000	€ 7,000				

⁴ ? means that the cost is unknown or too difficult to assess (Hoel, Einarsen and Cooper, 2003, p.156).

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6. Raised contributions from 50 % to 70 % lead to an average annual charge of € 3.750,- without above-mentioned extra costs to a 20 % higher repayment of contributions by insurance over 6 years 7. Federal state investment According to a survey HIS-Hanover, the cost of training pri mary and technical school teachers varies from subject to subject and college to college. These were reckoned without sponsorship, or administration costs and without considering research and education funds a) Student course costs The average costs for one student per course, from 14 possible primary and technical school-teacher training courses are quoted as € 14.478. Every student must complete 3 subjects as well as a pedagogy course. Higher educational costs concerning buildings, appointment, libraries, etc.: Schools of higher education basic investment: Course costs in total, b) Training costs Trainee teachers: independent lessons form a relief of workload for full teachers. Each trainee represents one third of a full teacher Salary for 3 trainee teachers(18 months) minus salary for one full teacher sum: ergo per trainee teacher ca.: - costs for seminar (teacher on special leave) - each student 0,07 salary x 1,5 years secretarial costs, general admininistration buildings and appointment costs per trainee teacher Corpo-out rate of 5 % State investment Cover 30 years (average time till retirement) and minimal interest rate of 5 % (government loans) of the investment sum, the interest rate paid would be The annual contribution would therefore be: The supplementary teacher would require, under above circumstances over a period of 6 years & 1 year 3 months: 7,25 x ≤ 3,820 = Lost investment total (training) d) Lost further training: Additionally, in lost further training an estimated supplementary costs to the Enderal State for the bullving.			
annual charge of € 3.750,- without above-mentioned extra costs to a 20 % higher repayment of contributions by insurance over 6 years 7. Federal state investment According to a survey HIS-Hanover, the cost of training pri mary and technical school teachers varies from subject to subject and college to college. These were reckoned without sponsorship, or admininistration costs and without considering research and education funds a) Student course costs The average costs for one student per course, from 14 possible primary and technical school-teacher training courses are quoted as € 14.478. Every student must complete 3 subjects as well as a pedagogy course. Higher educational costs concerning buildings, appointment, libraries, etc.: Schools of higher education basic investment: Course costs in total, b) Training costs Trainee teachers' independent lessons form a relief of workload for full teachers. Each trainee represents one third of a full teacher Salary for 3 trainee teachers (18 months) minus salary for one full teacher sum: ergo per trainee teacher ca: - costs for seminar (teacher on special leave) - each student 0,07 salary x 1,5 years secretarial costs, general admininistration buildings and appointment costs per trainee teacher Drop-out rate of 5 % State investment costs per trainee teacher Drop-out rate of 5 % State investment costs per trainee teacher Drop-out rate of 5 % State investment costs per trainee teacher Drop-out rate of 5 % State investment costs per trainee teacher Drop-out rate of 5 % State investment costs per trainee teacher Drop-out rate of 5 % State investment costs per trainee teacher Drop-out rate of 5 % State investment costs per trainee teacher Drop-out rate of 5 % State investment costs per trainee teacher Drop-out rate of 5 % State investment costs per trainee teacher Drop-out rate of 5 % State investment costs per trainee teacher Drop-out rate of 5 % State investment costs per trainee teacher Drop-out rate of 5 % State investment costs per trainee teacher Dr	Health etc.); federal states must bear similar costs to those of	estimated	€ 1,500
According to a survey HIS-Hanover, the cost of training pri mary and technical school teachers varies from subject to subject and college to College. These were reckoned without sponsorship, or admininistration costs and without considering research and education funds a) Student course costs The average costs for one student per course, from 14 possible primary and technical school-teacher training courses are quoted as € 14.478. Every student must complete 3 subjects as well as a pedagogy course. Higher educational costs concerning buildings, appointment, libraries, etc.: Schools of higher education basic investment: Course costs in total, b) Training costs Trainee teachers' independent lessons form a relief of workload for full teachers: independent lessons form a relief of workload for full teachers. - Salary for 3 trainee teachers(18 months) minus salary for one full teacher sum: ergo per trainee teacher ca.: - costs for seminar (teacher on special leave) - each student 0,07 salary x 1,5 years secretarial costs,general admininistration buildings and appointment costs per trainee teacher Drop-out rate of 5 % State investment Cover 30 years (average time till retirement) and minimal interest rate of 5 % (government loans) of the investment sum, the interest rate paid would be The annual contribution would therefore be: The supplementary teacher would require, under above circumstances over a period of 6 years & 1 year 3 months: 7,25 x € 3.820 = Lost investment total (training) d) Lost further training: Additionally, in lost further training an estimated supplementary costs to the Federal State for the bullying	annual charge of € 3.750,- without above-mentioned extra costs to a 20 % higher repayment of contributions by insurance		€ 4,500
The average costs for one student per course, from 14 possible primary and technical school-teacher training courses are quoted as € 14.478. Every student must complete 3 subjects as well as a pedagogy course. Higher educational costs concerning buildings, appointment, libraries, etc.: Schools of higher education basic investment: Course costs in total, b) Training costs Trainee teachers' independent lessons form a relief of workload for full teachers. Each trainee represents one third of a full teacher. Salary for 3 trainee teachers(18 months) minus salary for one full teacher sum: ergo per trainee teacher ca.: - costs for seminar (teacher on special leave) - each student 0,07 salary x 1,5 years secretarial costs,general admininistration buildings and appointment costs per trainee teacher Drop-out rate of 5 % State investment c) The sum of state investment Over 30 years (average time till retirement) and minimal interest rate paid would be The annual contribution would therefore be: The supplementary teacher would require, under above circumstances over a period of 6 years & 1 year 3 months: 7,25 x ∈ 3,820 = Lost investment total (training) d) Lost further training: Additionally, in lost further training an estimated supplementary costs to the Federal State for the bullying	According to a survey HIS-Hanover, the cost of training pri mary and technical school teachers varies from subject to sub- ject and college to college. These were reckoned without sponsorship, or admininistration costs and without consider-		
Trainee teachers' independent lessons form a relief of work-load for full teachers. Each trainee represents one third of a full teacher. - Salary for 3 trainee teachers(18 months) minus salary for one full teacher sum: ergo per trainee teacher ca.: - costs for seminar (teacher on special leave) - each student 0,07 salary x 1,5 years secretarial costs,general admininistration buildings and appointment costs per trainee teacher Drop-out rate of 5 % State investment c) The sum of state investment Over 30 years (average time till retirement) and minimal interest rate of 5 % (government loans) of the investment sum, the interest rate paid would be The annual contribution would therefore be: The supplementary teacher would require, under above circumstances over a period of 6 years & 1 year 3 months: 7,25 x € 3.820 = Lost investment total (training) d) Lost further training: Additionally, in lost further training an estimated € 56,800 € 49,000 € 7,800 € 2,600* € 61,45 € 1,280 € 775 € 8,200* € 11,300 € 65,500 € 49,125 € 3,820 € 49,125 € 3,820 € 27,700 € 27,700	The average costs for one student per course, from 14 possible primary and technical school-teacher training courses are quoted as € 14.478 .Every student must complete 3 subjects as well as a pedagogy course. Higher educational costs concerning buildings, appointment, libraries, etc.: Schools of higher education basic investment:	€ 4,355	
Drop-out rate of 5 % State investment C) The sum of state investment Over 30 years (average time till retirement) and minimal interest rate of 5 % (government loans) of the investment sum, the interest rate paid would be The annual contribution would therefore be: The supplementary teacher would require, under above circumstances over a period of 6 years & 1 year 3 months: 7,25 x € 3.820 = Lost investment total (training) d) Lost further training: Additionally, in lost further training an estimated € 11,300 € 65,500 € 49,125 € 3,820 € 27,700 € 27,700	Trainee teachers' independent lessons form a relief of workload for full teachers. Each trainee represents one third of a full teacher. - Salary for 3 trainee teachers(18 months) minus salary for one full teacher sum: ergo per trainee teacher ca.: - costs for seminar (teacher on special leave) - each student 0,07 salary x 1,5 years secretarial costs,general admininistration	€ 49,000 € 7,800 € 2,600* € 6,145 € 1,280 € 775	
Over 30 years (average time till retirement) and minimal interest rate of 5 % (government loans) of the investment sum, the interest rate paid would be The annual contribution would therefore be: The supplementary teacher would require, under above circumstances over a period of 6 years & 1 year 3 months: 7,25 x € 3.820 = Lost investment total (training) d) Lost further training: Additionally, in lost further training an estimated € 49,125 € 3,820 € 27,700 € 27,700	Drop-out rate of 5 %	€ 11,300	
Additionally, in lost further training an estimated € 1,300 supplementary costs to the Federal State for the bullying	Over 30 years (average time till retirement) and minimal interest rate of 5 % (government loans) of the investment sum, the interest rate paid would be The annual contribution would therefore be: The supplementary teacher would require, under above circumstances over a period of 6 years & 1 year 3 months: 7,25 x € 3.820 =	€ 49,125 € 3,820	€ 27,700
			€ 1,300
	1		€ 224,000

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The considerable extra costs of € 224.000 must be remunerated by the society in the form of taxpayers, without any return of investment seen. Further, financial costs to the victim, his parents and the society for funding his vocational training remain disregarded as are the psychological and mental disadvantages to the victim which are most likely to incrue further costs for the social insurance system.

2.4 Conclusion

Bullying is in fact a phenomenon to be taken seriously. There are considerable occurrence rates in different employment sectors and workplaces. It causes serious health impacts and creates great economical cost to organizations and societies. This also applies to the educational sector within the Tibs-study.

3 Bullying in teachers' school life – what can be built on?

3.1 Teachers in focus – does data suggest a serious problem?

This chapter presents available data focussing on teachers in terms of bullying in schools and estimates whether this should cause concern.

Olweus, the well known Norwegian researcher on bullying in schools, reported in 1996 for example, that 1.7% of 2,400 Norwegian 6th-9th graders surveyed, considered themselves to have been bullied by a teacher during the previous five months (Olweus, D., 1996; cf. Chapell, M. et al., online, 2004).

Twemlow et al. interviewed 116 teachers from seven urban elementary schools in the United States of America in the school year 1996-97 with the help of an anonymous questionnaire entitled 'A Survey on Bullying Teachers and Teacher Bullying'. 91.5% of these participated in the study. The survey showed that 45% of the teachers admitted to having bullied pupils and that these not only had been victims of bullying themselves in their own school-lives, but also displayed an awareness of other colleagues bullying their pupils. With the help of a 'principle component analysis' two factors emerged which explained a 52% variance. These factors were interpreted as a sadistic bully factor making 34%, and a bully-victim factor making 18%. Sadisim in teachers is manifested when it becomes apparent that they gain pleasure from their students' hurt and humiliation, whereas the bully-victim teacher, not always present, makes others feel responsible for his own shortcomings as far as disciplinary measures and their implementation are concerned. These teachers are often unable to curb their tempers when a situation becomes unable for them to control. (Twemlow, S.W., Fonagy, P. and Sacco, F., 2004; Twemlow et al., 2006).

Boulton investigated 1997 in the United Kingdom, with the help of a standardised questionnaire, the views on bullying of 138 pre-, infant, junior, and secondary school teachers (mean age 35.8 years and a mean length of teaching experience of 12.2 years). Teachers here are not of one opinion as to what in fact constitutes bullying e.g., 'Threatening people verbally' or even 'Leaving people out'. As a whole, the attitude of teachers towards bullies and bullying was negative although this decreased with time, i.e., the longer they were on the job. Independently of their length of service 87 % felt the need for special training and teachers in general lacked confidence in their ability to cope with bullying. Markedly higher rates of teachers showed greater responsibility in the classroom and school situation for dealing with bullying than outside school. (Boulton, M.J., 1997).

Birkinshaw and Eslea explored the perceptions of teachers toward boy versus girl and girl versus boy bullying in the United Kingdom in 1998 based on a sample of 76 primary school teachers whose point of view has received scant attention so far. The results showed that the physical aspect is mor readily seen as bullying and understood as distressful for the victim. Male/female bullying is regarded sooner as bullying than vice versa however, female/male bullying is regarded as more serious. The trend was reversed for indirect bullying. Unlike verbal or indirect bullying, teachers were more likely to punish physical bullying. The gender of the teacher also showed an influence on their decisions (Birkinshaw, S. and Eslea, M., 1998).

Terry interviewed 101 teachers in 7 urban high schools in the United Kingdom in 1998. His report 'Teachers as targets of bullying by their pupils: a study to investigate

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incidence', revealed that 63% of male and 50% of female teachers reported having been bullied by pupils once or more. The teachers were also asked how often their own actions might have been viewed as bullying by students during that term. 36.7% said that this was the case once or more times, 21% sometimes or more. The results were 5% higher for female teachers. When asked how many colleagues could be described as having bullied pupils that term, 51.4% reported at least one and 22.7% at least three or more (Terry, A.A., 1998).

Nicolaides, S; Toda, Y. and Smith, P.K. investigated the knowledge and attitudes on school bullying among british trainee teachers in 1998. Based on a sample of '270 students enrolled on either one or four-year courses the report showed bullying to be an important issue. The students lacked confidence in their own ability to deal with bullying and expressed the desire for specific training, since they only felt cabable of working with the victims and their parents, but not the bullies themselves. Informing teachers and parents were shown as the most favoured strategy for pupils. Not all aspects of their knowledge of bullying were accurate.

Kasper, a German teacher with 40 years experience (25 years as a principal) brought out a publication in 1998 which while offering instructive qualitative insight into the subject matter, only gives scant quantitative data. He analyzed, for example, the specific situation in schools producing structures which might contribute to the emergence of bullying. He also developed a systematization of so-called 'Tatbestände von Mobbing in der Schule' (matters of fact concerning mobbing in schools) based on 75 evaluated cases and presented 32 cases reported by German teachers who found themselves victims of their principals, colleagues, pupils etc. These he brought into a logical order and commented on them in groups (Kasper, H., 1998).

Krumm et al. interviewed 2965 students from Austria, Switzerland and Germany in 1999. The students were asked to recall any experience of hurtful behaviour by teachers during their school time. Of the 78% who answered affirmatively, 2028 (68%) were able to describe their case in detail and subsequently answer questions on their story. Their sufferings were systematized under 78 categories with particular respect to research on mobbing, and 17 structured questions were asked. The category 'ungerechte Leistungsbeurteilung' (unjust performance assessment) reached the first level. The results revealed that some 7% had suffered repeatedly from the same treatment, 4% of these over a 6 month year period and up to several years (Krumm, V. and Weiß, S., 2000). By taking the results from all categories into account, Krumm also reported that 17% of the students had experienced some form of hurtful or violating behaviour by a teacher during their school time 'at least once a week' and 'over a time period of six months at least'. He concluded that, according to Leymanns' mobbing definition of 1992, these students could be regarded as having been mobbed (Krumm, V., 2003).

Chapell et al. who investigated in 2004, the bullying of undergraduate students by American college teachers at a northeastern public university, reported, based on a sample of 1,025 students (62.6% female and 37.4% male, mean age 21.18 years and multi-ethnical/-cultural roots), that 'nearly 5% of these reported occasional or very frequent bullying by their teachers.' (Chapell, M. et al., online, 2004).

Tikkanen reported findings of an internet-based school survey. Although primarily designed to cover bullying between pupils in Norwegian schools, bullying of pupils by teachers was also investigated. The results showed that about 1% of pupils from

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elementary schools were bullied 'weekly or more often by one or more of their teachers during the last few months'. (Tikkanen, T., online, 2005).

The National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers conducted a survey in Wales in 2005, in which 2,162 teachers participated (response rate 15%). The investigation reveals, while teachers are the targets of, amongst others, verbal and physical assaults by their pupils, they must deal with a range of aggressive behaviour from colleagues, managers and parents including discrimination and victimisation. Taking a 12 month period into account, teachers experienced the following types of aggressive behaviour; 'abuse by a pupil (61%), harassment by a colleague or line manager (24%), harassment from a parent (24%), discrimination or victimisation (16%), physical assault by a pupil (11%).' Teachers of secondary schools highlighted abusive and bullying behaviour from their pupils and management, whilst primary teachers reported as 'far more likely ... "bullying", "harassment" and "dictatorial" behaviour by headteachers.' (NASUWT, online, 2005).

Twemlow, S.W. and Fonagy, P. investigated the 'relationship between the prevalence of teachers who bully students and school behavioural problems reflected in suspension from school' in the United States of America in 2005. With the help of an anonymous questionnaire 214 teachers were asked whether they had noticed colleagues bullying students but also about their own behaviour. The interviewees were grouped into teachers from schools with low, medium or high suspension rates. Teachers from 'schools with high rates of suspensions reported they bullied more students, had experienced more bullying when they were students, had worked with more bullying teachers over the past three years and had seen more bullying teachers over the past year.' (Twemlow, St. W. and Fonagy, P., 2005).

Mc Evoy interviewed 236 high school students (91 males and 145 females) with an age range of 15 to 23 in the United States in 2005. The interviews involved both narrative and fixed-choice accounts. The question 'Do you think most students in your high school would agree on which teachers bullied students?' was answered negatively by only 7% (n=17), whereas 93% (n=219) said yes. This vast majority was then asked 'to estimate the number of teachers in their school whom they believed students agreed were bullies.' One teacher was identified as a bully by 19%, two teachers by 23%, three teachers by 23%, four teachers by 11%, five or more teachers by another 11% whilst a remaining 11% specified none. Length of service seems to play a role in this connection. 89% of the 219 respondents who answered affirmatively identified as a bully a teacher who had taught five or more years, 6% were new teachers, and a further 6% did not specify. 77% of those interviewees thought that teachers who bully students were able to get away with their behaviour, 80% said no when asked whether they had become aware of such teachers ever having been officially reprimanded (Mc Evoy, online, 2005).

Parsons, a Canadian teacher with more than 30 years experience, brought out a publication in 2005 which delivers another instructive insight into the subject matter. He principally stressed the fact that not only students, but also teachers, principals and parents bully in schools. A rise of what can be called a 'bullying culture' follows. Students find them selves at the bottom rung of the 'pecking order'. Bullying is reality at all schools he claims and negatively affects what they actually desire to foster; effective teaching and learning. His book 'Bullied teacher: bullied students' lays down 'the bullying crisis in schools from bottom to top, recounting the who, what, where,

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how, and why of both student and adult bullying and exploring how they're all connected.' (Parsons, L., 2005, preface).

J. M. Research, concucted a survey investigating the incidence, nature and instigation of bullying amongmembers of three Ontario education worker unions⁵ in Canada in 2005. The results which were based on telephone interviews with 1,217 randomly-selected members of the three organizations, revealed that 'one out of every two' union member found himself a victim in the middle of a bullying process at a work place in the educational sector. Close to 'six in ten individuals' from those members who worked in education over five but less than 20 years, had experienced bullying as a victim.

No type of bullying has occurred to 'one third' of members more often than bullying by a student. This often takes the form of disturbances at work, irreverent behaviour, or distruction of personal belongings. Only 'slightly less than a quarter' of members found themselves the victim of a superior such as the principal, the deputy head, an administrator or supervisor. This stage of incident rates takes place most often in the form of constant surveillance, minor fault-finding or unfair criticism. A parent or a guardian bullied 'one in five members' where as support staff was more likely to be the victim than teachers. Bullying behaviour was most likely to be threatening the victim with involving the school authority system, disrupting the workplace or disrespectfulness. The 'One in five members' has also experienced bullying by a colleague at some time of his career in education (Research, J.M., 2005).

The Teacher Support Network in the United Kingdom has received more than 1000 telephone calls a month since they introduced their helpline for teachers in 1999. In a recently published video by teachers.tv on the subject 'bullying of teachers' it was stated that the 'number of staff contacting the teachers' support helpline about harassment and bullying has increased over fifteen-fold between 2005 and 2006.' (teachers.tv, online 2006, video time 8.08 – 8.18).

The Teacher Support Network and the Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL) conducted a survey regarding cyber-bullying of teachers in the United Kigdom from November 2006 to January 2007. 17% of the 379 respondents reported having been bullied by mobile phone, email or on the internet. This involves incidents such as receiving upsetting or enraging emails, photos, silent calls, text messages or even threatening text messages. 34% of the indicated perpetrators were pupils, 33% were unknown, 31% were their managers, 21% were their colleagues and 7% were parents of pupils (Teacher Support Network and ATL, online, 2007).

Currently, the *Teacher Support Network and the University of Glamorgan* are jointly carrying out a UK-wide survey designed to investigate the phenomenon of teachers and lecturers being bullied by colleagues or managers or both together. The study was launched in October 2007. The network's involvement emerged from 'a 400% increase in the number of calls and emails they received this year regarding bullying and harassment from colleagues and managers.' (Teacher Support Network, online, 2007).

In comparison with students investigating bullying in school in terms of teachers has barely been focussed on. However, as far as this study was able to ascertain, there

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⁵ The Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF), the Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario (ETFO), the Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association (OECTA)

was an awareness growth in European countries during the years 1996 to 1999. Despite an initial subsequent reduction in attention, it increased again after 2004in both European and overseas countries. Although the overall reported data is still insufficient, it sheds growing light on the gravity of the problem and calls for more systematic investigation of the subject matter at all levels. This also includes the well covered problem of bullying amongst pupils to which teachers have an ethical obligation to respond. The findings of 'Tibs' clearly support this conclusion (cf. chapter 4).

3.2 Conditions supposedly contributing to bullying in teachers' school life – antecedents and special features

In chapter 1.4 it was found that, rather than one factor alone contributing to the appearance of bullying, a wide range of factors at many levels constitute the phenomenon which is essentially embedded in human relations and social interactions and characterised by 'complexity' and 'multi-causality'. A synopsis was presented which systematized antecedents of bullying at work under four major levels,

- micro-level of antecedents, concerning characteristics of involved individuals
- meso-level of antecedents, concerning dyadic and group characteristics,
- macro-level of antecedents, concerning characteristics at the work place,
- meta-level of antecedents, concerning societal influences, which exercise far more external influence on the process than the previous three levels.

These findings can be fully applied to the workplace 'school', whereby school as an official and non-profit-organization dedicated to education and learning, displays some special features⁷ which might additionally contribute to bullying and the course of bullying processes in teachers' school lives.

Periodical operation schedule, Kasper pointed out how bullying processes at schools leading to early retirements often stretch across very long time periods (ten years or longer). Similarly, there are long-term prolonged cases which do not end with teachers dropping out of the job. This might be due to the periodical operation schedule which is very unlike business organizations. Schools have regular holidays. The bullying comes to a standstill while victim and perpetrator are apart, whilst in business organizations the perpetrator can only plan and wait for the victim to return from vacation or after illness. Members of a school normally return from holidays relaxed, improved from the break and bad memories can have had the chance to fade. The victim, in particular, usually improves and is thus able to keep going until the next holidays, despite being victimized again. This victimisation often increases at the end of the first half and full school year. These are peak periods in terms of stress and conflict-potential, when pupils are marked for their reports. Once again, however, these times are followed by longer holidays.

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⁶ Additional information can be found at related online resources in chapter 7 of this report, Gugel, 2002; Lauper, online, 2003; Tresselt, online, 2007. All the information has been utilized in chapter 3.3. ⁷ The following is particularly derived from Kasper, 1998, pp. 43ff. who based his explanation of school structures which might contribute to bullying, on analyses of 75 case descriptions he received from victimized teachers. It is also written according to Lauper, online, 2003.

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Rigid principles of organization, an unquestioned inventory of organizational rules inhibiting development as is often found in schools is a potentially rich medium for raising conflict among those daring to query or even alter these rules. Bullying processes can easily emerge, in the course of which, the one attempting these changes would be excluded or eliminated, while all others remain conform.

Pursuing unity, there is, for example, a time period defined for writing a test, which every class must adhere to exactly. This must be meticulously monitored in order to secure equity. Should a teacher not comply with the demand exactly in comparison to a parallel class and not allow the class as much time as was stipulated, his pupils could complain to the principal and be given permission to rewrite their test.

Control is a must, rules are therefore legitimated requiring an experienced colleague to keep watch over a beginner, to assure unity. Needless to say that he must immediately inform the principal should the beginner break the good, approved rules. In this way denunciation regarding all offences against the regulations becomes normal, since it serves to assure equity for all at these schools.

Supervision and control, become the means to an end at such schools. Pupils are controlled ad absurdam during the breaks or in classes, leaving no space for free expression. There is a risk of accident, teachers can be accused of violating rules governing official duties, they find themselves 'one step away from prison'. Since 1972 an accident insurance is required by law. Despite this, the old structure still provides the rigid control systems matrix for teacher generation to teacher generation

Tribalism and group formations, it can be said that 'birds of a feather flock together' i.e. people with similar profiles tend to group together in so-called tribes. Many of them develop typical behaviour rules, both positively and negatively, for instance, displaying martial behaviour or excluding others. In schools there are often staff who welcome friendly beginners with good team spirit from the start, but quite often, there are staff set in their ways and unwilling to adopt to novelty and the negative side of tribalism can be seen. Faculties of these might be, for example, natural scientists, experienced in causal thinking and handling technical equipment or philologists who need 'foolproof' tools. They might be 'artists', fact-orientated historians, union colleagues, greenhorns or experienced colleagues. A 'tribe of innovators' can often be found standing up to a 'tradionalist tribe', unreconcilably confronted with constant feelings of latent personal hate. The school management can also be a tribe of its own. He who does not belong lives dangerously as newcomers can easily be caught in the crossfire between different sides.

Hieracical structures within the school system, principals experience unconditional support in many cases from the school authority system and wield great power in schools through the law. This seems to give rise to misuse, and bullying behaviour by principals occurs particularly often in schools. Kasper, for example, found a bully-involvement in 96% of 75 investigated cases (Kasper, 1998, p. 50).

Fouling ones own nest, teachers who fight for greater participation and the rights of pupils can become excluded for not showing solidarity with the staff and supposedly violating peace at school. The same can happen to teachers who try to change injustice at their school by supporting their pupils, or to those who become involved with awareness campaigns regarding e.g., violence or bullying at schools.

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Being alone with the class, schools do not manufacture a product like business organizations but they educate people. These people are their customers by law. The law requires the pupils to go to school for a certain period of time and to make good use of the lessons and provide them with equal opportunities for their later life. The teachers are already well educated and several years older. They are alone with their pupils in the classroom and their word as a figure of authourity counts. This situation creates a strong power imbalance which can easily be misused by a teacher to bully a pupil.

On the other hand, pupils of a class, or even the whole class, can gang together, often under the lead of a strong, goading class-mate. The teacher's relative power advantage can become eroded and diminish to a certain point where the 'gang' overcomes, making him their victim-puppet.

Solidarity with pupils can be abused when teachers, particularly guidance teachers, intentionally become 'buddies' of pupils. The influence gained is sometimes used to encourage these to stand up against the 'unjustified' demands of an unloved colleague in the form of collective violation of discipline and performance denial. In this way the colleague becomes the victim of his bullying pupils.

A school community involves several groups which can collaborate in bullying to a far greater extent than can occur in business organizations. This can end up in the 'persecution' of a teacher by several groups of the school community (the ganging up of several groups against a teacher). Schools deal not only with their pupil-customer, but also with the legal guardians; the parent-customer. Parent-customers who consider the marks given by a teacher to their child unjustified can, for example, initiate or trigger just such a comprehensive type of bullying. They can start by threatening the teacher with involving the principal, the school authority system and the press. Next, they can make complaints to the principal (privately or officially in writing), to the school authority system (official complaint in writing) or to other teachers (in private). This can be followed or accompanied by press letters. They can also involve their children by slandering the teacher and thereby suggesting he deserves to experience harassment.

A similar process may be initiate by a colleague or the principal who involve other groups of the school community or organizations in cooperation with the school (cf. also above 'tribalism and group formations').

Strict pedagogy and rigid rules, constantly create and nurture a climate in which human needs are subordinated under so-called 'gospel truth' where rules are meticulously employed. Pupils are subjected to them, rather than being treated as humans who should benefit. This conflict between teachers and pupils can be constant. It produces insecurity and fear, creates feelings of frustration and helplessness. The strong pupil might experience bullying a weaker class-mate as a form of compensation. An unpopular teacher might just as easily become the target.

Intense rivalry situations through grading, ongoing developments show that the creation of objective performance comparisons within the framework of a state marking procedure and the publishing of individual qualifications generate intense rivalry situations. As above, they produce insecurity and fear, creating feelings of frustration and lowering self-esteem when failing to comply with demands. Bullying might occur as a result as described above.

Opportunities through 'unstructured' periods and 'free' areas, Pupils often welcome these as good opportunities for taking action against class-mates. Such periods are e.g., regular breaks, shortly before lessons and shortly after the school bell, changing times after sport, insufficiently defined lessons periods in terms of work tasks (class behaviour becomes out of hand allowing for assaults). Such free areas are e.g., large playgrounds where there are hidden corners, illlegal smoking areas, classrooms themselves while the teacher is pre-occupied with a class-mate, seperate rooms which are unlocked during the breaks. These are of course not responsible for propagating bullying, but can be regarded as presenting opportunities for a potential bully to use his power with more or less no risk of being discovered.

Apart from the mentioned antecedents of bullying at work in general, there is no sufficient data available to verify the listed special features at schools. This gap should be closed by further research.

3.3 Systematization of possible bullying constellations and behaviour forms in teachers' school life

Bullying types, forms, areas and shades of severity in general are systematically dealt with in table 1.1. More specifically, an analysis of the phenomenon as seen from a workplace perspective is shown in table 1.2b. The described forms of mobbing can emerge to varying extents or not appear at all, depending on the circumstances of the particular workplace. Schools do not make an exception in this regard, but there are some forms which specifically can occur at schools, respectively in the area chosen as focus for this research paper, bullying as seen in teachers' working environment.

This chapter presents a systematization of these behaviour forms, structured alongside the three possible roles teachers can play in bullying processes at schools with regard to the parties involved in the bullying-power-cycle (chapter 1.3.1); teachers as victims, teachers as perpetrators and teachers as witnesses. Table 3.1 displays a synopsis of bullying constellations which may occur in teachers' school life. Table 3.2 shows corresponding bullying behaviour forms, which add to those shown in tables 1.1 and 1.2b, as mentioned above.

The synopsis and elaborated version derived from extensive investigation of the relevant literature, online resources (cf. chapters 6 and 7) and a subsequent analysis of investigated case descriptions. The systematization 'matters of fact concerning mobbing at schools' by Kasper (1998, pp. 59-64) generated from analyses of 75 cases, a collection of such behaviours systematized by Lauper, (online, 2003) and a grey paper with further systematization based on roughly 200 cases were specifically useful. The contents of the grey paper were generously put to the disposal of this project by Horst Kasper following a telephone interview in 2007. The information given in the previous chapter has also been taken into consideration.

Table 3.1 Bullying constellations in teachers' school life

A. Teachers as victims
A.1 Bullied by principal / deputy head
A.2 Bullied by colleague(s)

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- A.3 Bullied by school employees (social worker, secretary, caretaker, cleaning staff, etc.)
- A.4 Bullied by pupil(s)
- A.5 Bullied by parent(s)
- A.6 Bullied by school authority system (intern: staff council, extern: authority board)

B. Teachers as perpetrators

- B.1 Bullying of principal / deputy head
- B.2 Bullying of colleague(s)
- B.3 Bullying of pupil(s)
- B.4 Bullying of school employee(s)

C. Teachers as witnesses

- C.1 Principal / deputy head bullies colleague(s) or vice versa
- C.2 Colleague(s) bullies colleague(s)
- C.3 Colleague(s) bullies pupil(s) or vice versa
- C.4 Pupil(s) bullies pupil(s)
- C.5 Parent(s) bullies colleague(s)
- C.6 Colleague(s) bullies school employee(s) or vice versa
- C.7 School authority system (intern: staff council, extern: authority board) bullies colleague(s)

Table 3.2 Bullying behaviour forms in teachers' school life

A. Teachers as victims

A.1 Bullied by principal / deputy head

A teacher is given undefined tasks not suitable for their qualifications

Colleagues gang up against one or more other colleagues

Being pilloried (being compromised in conversations or in conferences, by other teachers)

Infringement of fiduciary duty (for the teacher or principal concerned)

Measures aiming at the expulsion of older colleagues

A teacher has her class taken away mid-term. She is given the task of tidying up learning material and other rooms

There are suddenly 'no lessons' any more for a teacher who has often been ill

Unjustified accusations of failure to fulfil duties

Instructions to send victim to Coventry (she/he is said to be a trouble maker, to foul her/his own nest, etc.)

Withholding of necessary tools/equipment (a music teacher is not allowed access to the instrument cupboard)

Demonstrative ignoring of work and work results

Ignoring of justified complaints and refusal to protect against attacks

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Deliberate hindrance of processing teacher's concerns (important papers)

Refusal to allocate leave owed or regulated by law for 'official reasons'

Hindrance in processing of applications (leave, extra-judicial activities etc.) until just before deadline

Unannounced visits to class and other work-related control

Discrimination and isolation of particularly motivated teachers

Taking of disciplinary measures threatened

Arbitrary hindrance of proposed employment

Professional qualifications questioned

Awkward colleagues are subjected to psychiatric investigation

Arbitrary demands set, limiting normal action radius, even as far as forbidding contact with parents/colleagues

Restriction of range of individual teacher's professional freedom

Threatening the livelihood of beginners (threatening unfounded, poor evaluation, rejecting innovation and modern improvements of lessons)

Arbitrary rejection of professional work (purportedly owing to mistakes or even unexplained)

Request for relocation of a teacher in a different school

Threatening with undefined 'consequences'

Pettifogging/harassing control over a teacher

Allegations of disturbing relations at work (e.g., allegations of lack of collegiality)

A.2 Bullied by colleagues

Combined needling of particularly motivated colleagues until they become 'reasonable'

A club of 'good friends' become active against individuals (because they work too hard, take their work seriously, help the pupils too much, allegedly disturb relations)

Allegations of fraud, theft or other criminal acts

Discrimination of teachers who are particularly well-liked or respected by pupils

Accusations of insufficient solidarity, should a teacher represent the concerns or rights of a pupil against a colleague

Criticism of an older colleague's work (she's/he's not up to it any more)

Accusations of neglect of duty

Accusations of disturbing relations at work

Accusations of left or right-wing political sympathy

Refusal to work as replacements (I won't step in for them)

Denunciation of colleagues to the head of school or directors

Professional disqualification and discrimination of younger colleagues

Vilification of special performances (theatre performances, concerts, etc. organised by the concerned) in front of colleagues or in public

Ridiculing criticism in front of others (colleagues, pupils, parents)

Removal, displacing of personal belongings

Resolving to get rid of a colleagues by petitioning authorities

Colleagues protest against a teacher using combined sick leave-taking

Psycho-terror via silent phone calls, threatening phone calls, e-mails, compromising photos, text messages, upsetting messages in chat rooms (cyber-bullying)

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Good friends 'warn' others of the (supposedly bad) victim

Colleagues in leading positions (heads of department) allot unliked colleagues unpleasant tasks

Information pertaining to school matters is withheld from the victim

The victim is regularly not invited to events

The victim is barred from taking part in events (project weeks etc.)

The victim is ridiculed before the pupils

The victim is slandered in front of the pupils

Doubts are spread as to the correct running of the school

Colleagues bring unfounded complaints about a teacher before the authorities

Colleagues speak to parents about the teacher concerned

Rumours and lies are spread around

The victim's private affairs are made public

The victim's personal belongings or school equipment is damaged, tampered with, hidden, destroyed

The teacher is always given the worst time-table

The victim is always allotted the worst rooms

The victim is teased and ridiculed

Jokes are constantly made about the victim

Rumours are spread about the victim

The victim is accused of physical abuse

The victim is never allowed to speak out, is ignored and her/his opinions are countermanded

Positive feedback is withheld (praise etc.)

School material and equipment is damaged, destroyed, manipulated

Conditions are created in which the teacher cannot display their potential

Derogatory looks and gestures

The victim is barred from exchange of class material

No-one is willing to work with the victim any more

Obscene looks and gestures

Unwanted sexual attention

A.3 Bullied by school employees (social worker, secretary, caretaker, cleaning staff, etc.)

Damage/destruction/removal of valuable goods/belongings

Removal of work material (books, protractor, chalk, pointer etc.)

Classrooms/workrooms of individuals insufficiently cleaned or not cleaned at all

Hindrance of technical service for individuals (replacing of light bulbs, repairing of damage to walls, heating problems, furniture repairs etc.)

Cold-shouldering (ignoring, unfriendly encounters, lack of greeting, not inviting to parties etc.)

Embarrassing, compromising rumours/lies are spread

Inadequate support/denying of support in dealing with 'awkward' pupils

Misrepresentation of pupils in opposition to teachers during counselling

Constant criticism of teachers during conferences

Disruption/hindrance of flow of information (not dealing with requests, invitations, work-paper copies etc.)

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Psycho-terror via silent phone calls, threatening phone calls, e-mails, compromising photos, text messages, upsetting messages in chat rooms (cyber-bullying)

Good friends 'warn' of (purportedly bad) victim

Derogatory looks and gestures

Obscene looks and gestures

Unwanted sexual attention

Participation in bullying activities as described in A.2

A.4 Bullied by pupils

Allegations of unfair or arbitrary allotment of marks

Unjustified allegations of assault

Unjustified allegations of sexual innuendo or advances

Making fun of the teacher

Systematically ridiculing a teacher

A teacher is abused and berated

A teacher is not allowed to finish her/his sentences

Rumours and lies concerning a teacher are spread

Allegations made of irregular behaviour on the part of a teacher

A teacher is subjected to sexual provocation

Allegations of unwarranted sexual advances on the part of a teacher

The age or gender of a teacher is given as reason for she/he being unsuitable

A teacher is sexually harassed

A teacher's competence is unjustifiably doubted

A teacher's working material is hidden or destroyed

School installations are damaged or destroyed

A teacher's work is impeded

A teacher's car is damaged

A teacher's integrity is damaged

With the goal of challenging their integrity, private matters pertaining to a teacher are talked about (e.g. their sexual tendencies)

Allegations of unfairness are made about a teacher(slander)

A teacher is accused of earning too much

A teacher is bothered in their free-time by e.g. anonymous phone- calls, bogus ordering of wares, harassment

Unusually tough jokes are played on the teacher

Technical devices are manipulated with intent to disrupt lessons(e.g. computer)

A teacher's private property is damaged, hidden, destroyed

A teacher is put under pressure and threatened

A teacher is slandered in front of the school authorities

A private life of the teacher is spied on and bandied about

A teacher is never greeted

Psycho-terror via silent phone calls, threatening phone calls, e-mails, compromising photos, text messages, upsetting messages in chat rooms (cyber-bullying)

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A teacher is openly ridiculed (in the classroom, school grounds etc.)

Faces are pulled behind a teacher's back

A teacher's orders are systematically ignored

A.5 Bullied by parents

Allegations of physical aggression aginst one or more children

Allegations of sexual motivation in choosing teaching subjects

Accusation of arbitrary or unfair marking

Accusation/allegations of a teacher's sexual or sexually motivated actions towards a child

Authoratative behaviour, power-play and threats to a teacher or even the principal

Public attacks(newspaper articles) concerning school-internal conflict/ a defamatory campaign is initiated against a teacher (e.g. in the press)

Threat to organise a school strike/work to rule

Striking out of protest against an individual teacher

A teacher is taken to court for no good reason

A teacher's reputation is slandered in front of the school direction

A teacher's reputation is slandered in front of the authorities (She is incompetent in her teaching. The children do not learn anything)

A teacher's private life is spied on and bandied about

A teacher is put under pressure and threatened (telephone-terror, stalking, bullying etc.)

Physical attacks (pushed in the chest, slapped, punched etc.)

Parents team up with the pupils and join in with the bullying

A.6 Bullied by school authority system (intern: staff council, extern: authority board)

Auxiliary staff or replacement by a colleague refused, e.g. on the grounds that it does not constitute bullying

The victim is not believed (She/he has herself/himself to blame)

A reaction to the bullying situation complained about by the victim, is not visible

The victim is not informed about written complaints concerning him, he is not shown them, or not allowed access to them

During official investigations, the unprepared victim is confronted with written complaints, e.g. from pupils, parents, colleagues, members of staff etc.

The victim allegedly displays uncooperative and troublesome behaviour

The victim is threatened with psychiatric care or relocation, should the situation not improve

The victim is given a 'second chance' in another position, but pro forma, so that at the first opportunity medical investigations or early pensioning can be instigated

B. Teachers as perpetrators

B.1 Bullying of principal / deputy head

Official directives / working orders are rejected (ignored)

Offensive behaviour from witnesses which questions authority

The competence of the school direction is doubted publicly

In principle all bullying behaviour patterns as in A.2

B.2 Bullying of colleagues

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In principle all bullying behaviour patterns as in A.2

In principle all bullying behaviour patterns as in A.1 should the teacher also be the principal

B.3 Bullying of pupils

Systematic (or regular) belittling of individual pupils in word and deed

Damage to self-esteem by belittling remarks about a pupil (doubting intelligence or giftedness, verbal insulting with rude words etc.

Arbitrary giving of marks/marks do not correspond to the effort

Physical assault in the shape of pinching, pushing, touching, batting (corporal punishment)

Unjustified or demeaning punishment

Over-exaggerated punishment, out of relation to otherwise normal punishment given by the teacher

Threatening extensive punishment (I can pull one on you)

Unnecessary threatening with undefined consequences

Belittling the family reputation or the pupils' parents

Derogatory gestures/looks

A teacher makes jokes at a pupils' cost

A teacher gives a nick-name

A teacher only asks for an answer when certain that the pupil cannot give one

A pupil is repeatedly ignored when she/he puts up her/his hand

Derogative hints about a pupils' parents are made

A pupils is constantly humiliated with words and about requested actions

Intimate or private matters are dealt with in front of the class, privacy is violated

One is not allowed to speak

Problems are ignored, played down, described as nonexistent

The victim is given the blame

Pressure is created through constant criticism

A pupil is never praised

A pupil is forced to complete tasks which damage her/his self-esteem or humiliate her/him in front of the class

Praise which one pupil deserves is given to another

Verbal scolding

Untrue or greatly exaggerated claims are made to a pupil or her/his parents

Unacceptable or vexacious comparisons are made reproachfully

Help/support is withheld

A pupil is not taken seriously, she/her is constantly made fun of

Nick-names are used, also those given by the pupils themselves

B.4 Bullying of school employees (social worker, janitor, cleaning staff, secretary, etc.)

An efficient involvement of the social worker in the school day is hindered

Constant allocation of unpopular tasks

Constant criticism of work efficiency, the relations to pupils, behaviour, self

Subtle incitement to the pupils to resist the social worker

Socio-communicative isolation of the social worker/ damaging their support network

Almost all bullying behaviour patterns described in A.2

C. Teachers as witnesses

C.1 Principal / deputy head bully colleagues or vice versa

See A.1 and B.1

C.2 Colleagues bully colleagues

See A.2 und B.2

C.3 Colleagues bully pupils or vice versa

See B.3 and A.4

C.4 Pupils bully pupils

All behaviour forms described in table 1.1 can occur here in principle

Fellow pupils are prevented from going home

When a pupil is absent, alleging that they are skiving off school (false denunciation)

A fellow pupil is permanently treated as stupid

A fellow pupil is permanently treated as a tattletale

C.5 Parents bully colleagues

See A.5

C.6 Colleagues bully school employees or vice versa

See A.3 and B.4

C.7 School authority system (intern: staff council, extern: authority board) bullies colleagues

See A.6

3.4 Conclusion

Although some data is available, specific findings on bullying in teachers' school lives are so far scarce, compared to the mass of findings on bullying involving pupils. The presented material has nevertheless shed some light on the gravity of the problem which calls for more systematic investigation of the subject at all levels. This includes the explained special features of schools which were described as supposedly contributing to bullying in teachers' school life. A development of a preliminary systematization of bullying constellations and behaviour forms in teachers' school life was however, finally possible against the background of the afore-presented information. These results form the theoretical foundation of the following Tibs-project.

4 The project Tibs – something new to report?

4.1 Objectives and design of Tibs

4.1.1 Objectives of Tibs

Tibs was designed to fulfil the following three main objectives,

- identification of prototypical bullying situations in teachers' school life⁸,
- assessment of the degree of stress caused by those situations and the degree of difficulty encountered by teachers in mastering them,
- rise in awareness regarding the subject matter in schools and organizations pertaining to schools.

The results of the first two objectives together should serve to estimate whether teachers require aid in dealing with bullying in their school lives or not. The fulfilment of the first objective was intended to deliver a basis for the subsequent preparation of an intervention-aid matrix based on the so-called 'person-in-situation-approach' (cf. chapter 5.2), enabling teachers to deal systematically with bullying in their school lives.

4.1.2 Working steps of Tibs

Table 4.1 shows a synopsis of the central working steps and the related core intentions of Tibs.

Table 4.1 Working steps and related intentions of Tibs – a synopsis

nr	working steps	intentions
1	Investigation of literature and the www with regard to bully- ing in teachers' school life (tsl); contact with experts	Study of the research field, profiting from expert knowledge, collection of relevant case descriptions
2	Analysis and utilisation of the investigations I	Generation of a broad-based theoretical basis
3	Analysis and utilisation of the investigations II	Ascertainment of the implications of bullying at workplaces, in particular health impacts
4	Analysis and utilisation of the investigations III	Generation of a systematization of bullying constellations and behaviour forms in tsl
5	Analysis and utilisation of the investigations IV	Preparation of vivid case descriptions of presumably 'prototypical' bullying situations

⁸ A situation is considered 'prototypical' if it can be regarded as occuring not only at certain schools or under specific conditions (e.g., lower or upper class schools, suburban schools, elite schools, rural area or city schools), but also at any schools on a relatively general basis.

6	Generation of a questioning set (cf. chapter 5.1.5 for details)	Development of an instrument to assess the occurrence rates of the situations under three perspectives and their so-called 'prototypical quality' (cf. chapters 4.1.1 and 4.1.5) as well as the degree of stress caused by them and the degree of difficulty in mastering the situations
7	Administration of the cases and questionnaires to schools / experienced teachers	Validation of the situations through teachers' expertise and awareness raising regarding the subject matter in schools ⁹
8	Data processing and analysis of the responses	Development of a strategy to determine the 'prototypical quality' of the assessed situations, ascertainment of the degree of stress and difficulty caused by them, estimation of teachers need in receiving broad-based aid
9	Future-oriented analysis of findings	Drawing further conclusions and recommendations
10	Dissemniation of the project report via several channels	Raising awareness in schools and in organizations pertaining to schools regarding the subject matter

4.1.3 Sample description

The sample was collected from July 2007 to October 2007,

- a) applying for permission from the alliance 'Anschub.de', which is dedicated to promote 'good and healthy schools' in Germany, to send the questioning set to the project schools (13 schools in the federal state of Bavaria have received them).
- b) sending the questioning package to the German project schools taking part in an adaptation of the Australian programme 'MindMatters' which is especially dedicated to promoting mental health in schools (sets sent to 29 schools in the federal states North-Rhine-Westfalia and Lower Saxony);
- c) questioning heads of schools which have become known to during the investigation (the federal states Bavaria and Berlin have had sets sent to 1 school each);
- d) requesting the chairman of the 'German Philologist Federation' which covers schools throughout Germany, to administrate the questioning set to schools via the federation. 59 sets have been distributed throughout the nation (excluding the federal states Bavaria, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westfalia which had already been sufficently covered). 10

Table 4.2 indicates the number of schools asked to support the study, the states involved and the number of schools which in fact participated in the research.

⁹ The interviewees investigated the subject matter thoroughly to provide expert assessment. Teachers of an unknown number from each interviewed schools were involved. It is hoped that intense discussion of the subject matter has taken and will continue to take place within their schools.

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¹⁰ Rejections remain exempt to avoid embarrassment to those who did not participate.

Table 4.2 The sample at a glance

Schools adressed	Federal states adressed	Schools response rate
103	16 (all German states)	41 (39.8%)

4.1.4 The questioning set

The indicated schools were sent a questioning set including,

- a) 20 examples of presumably prototypical bullying situations in teachers' school life, encompassing between two thirds and one and a half A4-pages each,
- b) a one-page questionnaire designed to assess the prototypical nature of the situations, the degree of stress involved for teachers and the degree of difficulty in mastering those situations. In some cases, two copies of the questionnaire were given to cover both the victim and the witness perspectives,
- c) a covering letter requesting schools to participate in the study and giving instructions how. Schools were explicitly allowed, for example, to spread the amount of work within their school in order to reduce the workload for each teacher involved. It was merely asked that the participating teachers have at least five years occupational experience in schools,
- d) a distribution sheet, supporting the head of school or the person in charge in organizing the distribution of the cases within the school,
- e) an SAE to eliminate costs for participating schools.

4.1.5 Data processing – strategy applied in assessing the 'prototypical quality'

The data was processed with SPSS (Superior Performing Software System) by running descriptive procedures. A specific system has been developed to assess the so-called 'prototypical quality' (classifying the extent to which situations can be regarded as prototypical (cf. also chapter 4.1.1)) of the situations, as follows.

With the help of the Tibs-questionnaires three types of teacher responses have been collected in relation to each case example,

- the situation has been experienced once or several times, respectively the involvment of colleagues in such a situation has been observed once or more often by the interviewee this is rated with 1 point for every indication by an interviewee,
- the situation has been reported credibly once or more often by colleagues to the interviewee – this is also rated with 1 point for every indication by an interviewee,
- the situation has not been experienced, but the interviewee allow for its occurrence at schools – here indications by interviewees are not rated with a point, but are used for additional interpretations.

Five levels of 'prototypical quality' have subsequently been determined in relation to the responses,

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A level, more than 20 points have been reached – the bullying situation can be regarded as **most likely** to be prototypical in teacher's school life (tsl);

B level, 16 up to 20 points have been reached – the bullying situation can be regarded as **highly likely** to be prototypical in 'tsl';

C level, 11 up to 15 points have been reached – the bullying situation can be regarded as **likely** to be prototypical in 'tsl';

D level, 6 up to 10 points have been reached – the bullying situation can **partially** be regarded as prototypical in 'tsl';

E level, up to 5 points have been reached – the bullying situation **can not** be regarded as prototypical in 'tsl'.

4.2 Bullying situations in teachers' school life – results of the inquiry

4.2.1 Systematization and examples of presumably prototypical bullying situations in teachers' school life

Investigation of the literature and the www yielded an unstructured pool of bullying cases in schools and certain workplaces.¹¹ 20 descriptions of presumably typical bullying incidents in teachers' school lives have been generated from the analysis of the collection. They have been structured according to table 3.1 which presents bullying constellations in teachers' school life. Table 4.4 shows a synopsis of these cases.

Table 4.4 Synopsis of analyzed bullying situations in teachers' school life (systematized according to table 4.1a)

A. Teachers as victims
A.1 Bullied by principal / deputy head
1: 'In the principal's sights – criticised, isolated and degraded'
2: 'Under pressure from the deputy head – picked on for ages'
A.2 Bullied by colleague(s)
1: 'Unworthy successor – being in the crossfire between two sides and solid confines'
2: 'Wrong work background of the new colleague – forced to leave'
A.3 Bullied by school employees
1: 'Unexpected bullying situation – systematically picked on by the caretaker'
A.4 Bullied by pupil(s)
1: 'The new form teacher – targeted by dissatisfied students'
2: 'Bullying teachers – victim of the hierarchy dynamics in classrooms'

¹¹ 84 case descriptions of bullying in teachers' school life, a 30 minute video tape dealing explicitly with the subject matter, and several excerpts from such cases have been analyzed. Additionally, several cases of bullying at various workplaces have been investigated in order to compare aspects of these with bullying in teachers' school life.

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A.5 Bullied by parent(s)

1: 'Parents only concerned with good grades – teacher does not come up to expectations'

A.6 Bullied by school authority system

1: 'Targeted by the school authorities – worn down by schools inspector'

B. Teachers as perpetrators

B.1 Bullying of principal / deputy head

See case C 1.2

B.2 Bullying of colleague(s)

See cases A 2.1, A 2.2; A 1.1, A 1.2; C 1.1, C 1.2, C 1.3; C 2.1, C 2.2

B.3 Bullying of pupil(s)

See cases C 3.1, 3.3., 3.4

B.4 Bullying of school employee(s) – no case description

C. Teachers as witnesses

C.1 Principal / deputy head bullies colleague(s) or vice versa

- 1: 'Abandoned slandered by the principal'
- 2: 'Unwelcome head of school colleagues give them no chance'
- 3: 'Early retirement at the mercy of the principal'

C.2 Colleague(s) bullies colleague(s)

- 1: 'Doubly bullied vice form teacher as bully and agitator of students'
- 2: 'Motivated teacher forced into isolation by colleagues'

C.3 Colleague(s) bullies pupil(s) or vice versa

- 1: 'Collateral damage unconfident teacher makes student an outsider'
- 2: 'Targeted by the class student bullies teacher with the help of his class-mates'
- 3: 'Kinship expectations teacher discriminates against family members'
- 4: 'Too weak and unwilling 'well meaning' gym teacher harasses frail student'

C.4 Pupil(s) bullies pupil(s)

- 1: 'Top of the class bullied by class-mates'
- 2: 'Out of the ordinary bullied after conversion to a different religion'
- C.5 Parent(s) bullies colleague(s) no case description from the witness perspective, but case A 5.1 provides an example of this bullying constellation
- C.6 Colleague(s)bullies school employee(s) or vice versa no case description from the witness perspective, but case A 3.1 provides an example of the second bullying constellation
- C.7 School authority system bullies colleague(s) no case description from the witness perspective, but case A 6.1 provides an example of this bullying constellation

The following table 4.5 shows the description of two cases serving as an example for the content and the extent of the cases. Annex 10.5.3 presents all analyzed cases having been estimated by teachers.

Table 4.5 Description of analyzed bullying situations in teachers' school life (according to table 4.4) – two examples

	A. Teachers as victims (B. Teachers as perpetrators)
Code A2.2	Bullied by colleague(s): 'Wrong work background of the new colleague – forced to leave'
	Eva Feldmer is 43 years old and a teacher in the Information Technology Department. Before coming to her present school she worked for several years in schools abroad and also for three years at a German university.
	She wrote: "Never before have I experienced being bullied at work. I was not really aware of what was happening until I became ill. From that point on I could not work as a teacher anymore."
	At the start of the year it became apparent to Mrs. Feldmer that a certain colleague - Mr. Müller had a problem with her. From the first meeting he picked on her and her career. Mr. Müller said that she does not realize how to manage her professional life and criticized her heatedly in front of other teachers. He made jokes about her style of dress and also imitated her. Some of their colleagues did not seem to be interested in his "jokes", but others were clearly enjoying it behind her back.
	At first Mrs. Feldmer thought that she should not take these initial mockeries seriously. She thought it would be better to ignore these insults than to let him think that he has got the better of her. Mrs. Feldmer hoped that the situation would improve. But unfortunately the situation got worse. Mrs. Feldmer began to hear about more of these unfavourable comments. In the hall, he would often bump into her and apologise hastily with words like "sorry it was only an accident" or "I was not watching where I was going". Mrs. Feldmer could not believe that such a great number of "accidents" could happen.
	Mrs. Feldmer screwed up her courage one day and asked Mr. Müller directly for the reasons of his behaviour. He reacted very politely and reassured her that it was all just fun and games. She asked him kindly to please set aside these jokes in future.
	After this discussion Mrs. Feldmer felt that instead of things getting better that it was in fact the trigger for his behaviour to get worse. In the staff room particularly rude jokes were made about her. In the presence of other colleagues Mr. Müller called her "Mrs. Defensive" and she heard again and again that he used this expression in front of other colleagues. Mrs. Feldmer was not only appalled by his behaviour but also that it was tolerated by the other members of staff. Nobody seemed to bother challenging his behaviour.
	Mrs. Feldmer was fuming - but at the same time she became more and more

insecure with herself. Both feelings seemed to become stronger as the year went on. It was a paradox, even at the weekends she could not recover: 'Even when the stress seemed to decrease, nothing worked as it should and regularly I had anxiety attacks which left me feeling paralyzed.'

C. Teachers as witnesses (B. Teachers as perpetrators)

Code C.3.1

Colleague(s) bullies pupil(s) or vice versa: 'Collateral damage - unconfident teacher makes student an outsider'

Mr. Paal was the Geography and English teacher at a comprehensive school where he is teaching mostly at junior high level. His colleagues characterized him as a very insecure person and supposed that the students also noticed his insecurity. Mr. Paal had many problems with discipline in his classes. Only in the class 7a problems did not seem to exist. The reason why it was different there, the colleagues did not recognize.

Mr. Meyer who was also teaching 7a, observed that Marius, a little bumbling and still childish boy, appeared extremely insecure from the beginning of the school year. The class picked on him and taunted him it seemed, without interruption. Mr. Meyer noticed, too, that the boy had to suffer from physical violations also. His class-mates would kick and jostle him ruthlessly; the girls tousled his hair while passing by or patted him disdainfully.

Mr. Meyer asked the form teacher what should be done in regard to this class, but he just dismissed it as "sillyness". As well he discussed the situation with the students, to which Mr. Meyer did not succeed in changing anything. The students would remain silent or drop insults about Marius. "He is just too stupid and doesn't even catch on to what we are saying"; "He is just an embarrassment to us."

Finally, Mr. Meyer tried to speak with Marius confidentially. The student was extremely nervous and tried to avoid the teacher when he asked him for possible causes of his class-mates hostile behaviour. Marius told him that he has had these problems since Mr. Paal started to joke and mock him. The teacher took the situation seriously and advised Marius to talk first with his form teacher and that he would talk with his parents. Marius was afraid that everything would get worse. Mr. Meyer was able to explain him that everything will only run worse if he did not look for help. He offered to accompany him to meet the form teacher.

During the conversation, Marius now apparently relaxed, told what was going on in his lessons with Mr. Paal. The student described a case where he had told his teacher that he could not find his homework book. Mr. Paal apparently moaned aloud and said: "Again its the tall one with a small brain that always has a problem!" The whole class laughed at him – Mr. Paal, the loudest. Countless hints and humiliations from the teacher followed. The class reacted with increasing laughter. Marius had then heard ceaseless comments from Mr. Paal like: "This is better than in the cinema!", "Our Marius: this year's winner of the smallest brain award!"

Marius said that it was not long until his class-mates were attacking him, too. One of them said: "Marius, go and visit the school for the handicapped!" Another one said: "A complete idiot does not need a high school degree!"

It became apparent to Mr. Meyer that Mr. Paal was distinguishing himself at the expense of Marius and searching for the students' respect by doing this. Most of the students in that class really liked Mr. Paal describing him as completely "phat" which even the staff heard about.

4.2.2 Empirical findings on the assessment of the situations

68.8% of the interviewees are female teachers, 31.2% male teachers. Of these, 89.5% work in secondary schools and 10.5% in primary schools.

The interviewees were asked to assess the 20 bullying cases in teachers' school life shown above. They were asked to say whether,

- they have experienced a particular bullying situation, or
- this situation has been reported to them credibly by a colleague, or
- should they not have experienced this situation in their school lives, could they estimate with what probability it could occur in German schools.

The following chapters 4.2.2.1 to 4.2.2.3 show the results, which will subsequently be used in chapter 4.2.2.4 to investigate whether the situations can be regarded as 'prototypical' or not. Finally, chapter 4.2.2.5 reports the results regarding the degree of stress caused by the situations and the degree of difficulty in coping with them. While the cases with the code A have been examined from only one perspective, i.e. teachers as victims in part I (tables 4.6a to 4.10a), the cases with the code C have, where possible, been investigated from two perspectives, i.e. teachers as witnesses (tables 4.6b to 4.10b) and teachers as victims in part II (tables 4.6c to 4.10c). The corresponding code numbers 'v' respectively 'w' have therefore been added.

4.2.2.1 Interviewees deny experience of a certain bullying situation, but allow for the possibility of its occurrence at schools

Table 4.6a The situation has not been experienced, but ... (teachers as victims – I)

Co de nr.	Analyzed bullying situations in teachers' school life		Estimated stages of possibility that the situation could occur (N total = 41) Interviewee rates shown in percent (absolute figures are in brackets)					
			Optional stages of possibility					
	Teachers as victims – part I (and in parts as perpetrators)	1	2	3	4	5	tende	ncies
		zero	< 25%	> 25% but < 50%	> 50% but < 75%	> 75%	mean	mode
A.1	Bullied by principal / deputy head							
A. 1.1	'In the principal's sights – criticised, isolated and degraded' (N = 33, M = 8)	7.3 (3)	31.7 (13)	29.3 (12)	9.8 (4)	2.4 (1)	2.61	2
A. 1.2	'Under pressure from the deputy head – picked on for ages' (N = 31, M = 10)	7.3 (3)	24.4 (10)	31.7 (13)	9.8 (4)	2.4 (1)	2.68	3

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A.2	Bullied by colleague(s)							
A. 2.1	'Unworthy successor – being in the crossfire between two sides and solid confines' (N = 35, M = 6)	4.9 (2)	19.5 (8)	29.3 (12)	22.0 (9)	9.8 (4)	3.14	3
A. 2.2	'Wrong work background of the new colleague - forced to leave' (N = 28, M = 13)	0.0	14.6 (6)	31.7 (13)	19.5 (8)	2.4 (1)	3.14	3
A.3	Bullied by school employees							
A. 3.1	'Unexpected bullying situation – systematically picked on by the caretaker' (N = 34, M = 7)	7.3 (3)	34.1 (14)	19.5 (8)	22.0 (9)	0.0	2.68	2
A.4	Bullied by pupil(s)							
A. 4.1	'The new form teacher – targeted by dissatisfied students' (N = 31, M = 10)	0.0	9.8 (4)	29.3 (12)	26.8 (11)	9.8 (4)	3.48	3
A. 4.2	'Bullying teachers – victim of hierarchy dynamics in classrooms' (N = 28, M = 13)	0.0	0.0	24.4 (10)	26.8 (11)	17.1 (7)	3.89	4
A.5	Bullied by parent(s)							
A. 5.1	'Parents only concerned with good grades – teacher does not come up to expectations' (N = 27, M = 14)	0.0	7.3 (3)	19.5 (8)	24.4 (10)	14.6 (6)	3.70	4
A.6	Bullied by school authority system							
A. 6.1	'Targeted by the school authorities – worn down by schools inspector' (N = 30, M = 11)	7.3 (3)	24.4 (10)	24.4 (10)	12.2 (5)	4.9 (2)	2.77	2/3

Table 4.6a shows that none of the cases figure a mean under 2.5 on a scale from 1 to 5, therefore every case is estimated by the interviewees as occurring at an average rate of > 25% but < 50%. The lowest rate was 2.61 (A1.1). The highest rate was 3.89 (A.4.2).

Table 4.6b The situation has not been experienced, but ... (teachers as witnesses)

Co de nr.	Analyzed bullying situations in teachers' school life	Estimated stages of possibility that the situation could occur (N total = 41) Interviewee rates shown in percent (absolute figures are in brackets)								
			Optional stages of possibility							
	Teachers as witnesses (and in parts as victims or/and perpetrators)	1	2	3	4	5	tende	ncies		
	(and in parts as victims of and perpetrators)	zero	< 25%	> 25% but < 50%	> 50% but < 75%	> 75%	mean	mode		
C.1	Principal / deputy head bullies col- league(s) or vice versa									
C. 1.1w	'Abandoned – slandered by the principal' (N = 26, M = 15)	2.4 (1)	9.8 (4)	29.3 (12)	19.5 (8)	2.4 (1)	3.15	3		
C. 1.2w	'Unwelcome principal - colleagues do not give them a chance' (N = 23, M = 18)	0.0	9.8 (4)	24.4 (10)	9.8 (4)	12.2 (5)	3.43	3		
C. 1.3w	'Early retirement – at the mercy of the principal' (N = 21, M = 20)	2.4 (1)	9.8 (4)	22.0 (9)	12.2 (5)	4.9 (2)	3.14	3		

_								
C.2	Colleague(s) bullies colleague(s)							
C. 2.1w	'Doubly bullied – vice form teacher as bully and agitator of students' (N = 26, M = 15)	2.4 (1)	17.1 (7)	22.0 (9)	22.0 (9)	0.0	3.00	3 / 4
C. 2.2w	'Motivated teacher forced into isolation by colleagues' (N = 21, M = 20)	2.4 (1)	2.4 (1)	24.4 (10)	14.6 (6)	7.3 (3)	3.43	3
C.3	Colleague(s) bullies pupil(s) or vice versa							
C. 3.1w	'Collateral damage - unconfident teacher makes student an outsider' (N =36, M =5)	4.9 (2)	24.4 (10)	24.4 (10)	22.0 (9)	12.2 (5)	3.14	2/3
C. 3.2w	'Targeted by the class - student bullies teacher with the help of his class-mates' (N = 18, M = 23)	2.4 (1)	4.9 (2)	12.2 (5)	17.1 (7)	7.3 (3)	3.50	4
C. 3.3w	'Kinship expectations - teacher discriminates against family members' (N = 32, M = 9)	7.3 (3)	24.4 (10)	31.7 (13)	12.2 (5)	2.4 (1)	2.72	3
C. 3.4w	'Too weak and unwilling – 'well meaning' gym teacher harasses frail student' (N = 30, M = 11)	4.9 (2)	14.6 (6)	29.3 (12)	19.5 (8)	4.9 (2)	3.07	3
C.4	Pupil(s) bullies pupil(s)							
C. 4.1w	'Top of the class bullied by classmates' (N = 25, M = 16)	0.0	7.3 (3)	12.2 (5)	19.5 (8)	22.0 (9)	3.92	5
C. 4.2w	'Out of the ordinary - bullied after conversion to a different religion' (N =31, M =10)	2.4 (1)	14.6 (6)	26.8 (11)	26.8 (11)	4.9 (2)	3.23	3/4

Table 4.6b again shows that none of the cases figure a mean under 2.5 on a scale from 1 to 5, therefore every case is estimated by the interviewees as occurring at an average rate of > 25% but < 50%. The lowest rate was 2.72 (C.3.3w). The highest rate was 3.92 (C.4.1w).

Table 4.7c The situation has not been experienced, but ... (teachers as victims – II)

Co de nr.	Analyzed bullying situations in teachers' school life	Estimated stages of possibility that the situation could occur (N total = 41) Interviewee rates shown in percent (absolute figures are in brackets)									
	Teachers as victims – part II	Optional stages of possibility									
	(and in parts as perpetrators)	1	2	3	4	5	tende	ncies			
		zero	< 25%	> 25% but < 50%	> 50% but < 75%	> 75%	mean	mode			
C.1	Principal / deputy head bullies colleague(s) or vice versa										
C. 1.1v	'Abandoned - slandered by the principal' (N = 31, M = 10)	2.4 (1)	26.8 (11)	17.1 (7)	27.4 (10)	4.9 (2)	3.03	2			
C. 1.2v	'Unwelcome principal - colleagues do not give them a chance' (N = 31, M = 10)	2.4 (1)	7.3 (3)	29.3 (12)	26.8 (11)	9.8 (4)	3.45	3			
C. 1.3v	'Early retirement – at the mercy of the principal' (N = 28, M = 13)	4.9 (2)	17.1 (7)	26.8 (11)	17.1 (7)	2.4 (1)	2.93	3			

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C.2	Colleague(s) bullies colleague(s)							
C. 2.1v	'Doubly bullied – vice form teacher as bully and agitator of students' (N = 30, M = 11)	2.4 (1)	17.1 (7)	29.3 (12)	19.5 (8)	4.9 (2)	3.10	3
C. 2.2v	'Motivated teacher forced into isolation by colleagues'(N = 26, M = 15)	2.4 (1)	4.9 (2)	26.8 (11)	22.0 (9)	7.3 (3)	3.42	3
C.3	Colleague(s) bullies pupil(s) or vice versa							
C. 3.2v	'Targeted by the class - student bullies teacher with the help of his class-mates' (N = 32, M = 9)	4.9 (2)	4.9 (2)	19.5 (8)	24.4 (10)	26.8 (11)	3.79	5

Table 4.6c anew shows that none of the cases figure a mean under 2.5 on a scale from 1 to 5, therefore every case is estimated by the interviewees as occurring at an average rate of > 25% but < 50%. The lowest rate was 2.93 (C.1.3v). The highest rate was 3.79 (C.3.2v).

4.2.2.2 Interviewees admit to a certain bullying situation as credibly reported to them by a colleague

Table 4.7a The situation has been reported credibly ... (teachers as victims – I)

Code nr.	Analyzed bullying situations in teachers' school life	The situation has been credibly reported by colleagues						
	Tanahaya sa viatima maya l	once		several times		total		
	Teachers as victims – part I (and in parts as perpetrators)	num	%	num	%	%		
A.1	Bullied by principal / deputy head							
A. 1.1	'In the principal's sights – criticised, isolated and degraded'	7	17.1	2	4.9	22.0		
A. 1.2	'Under pressure from the deputy head - picked on for ages'	5	12.2	1	2.4	16.6		
A.2	Bullied by colleague(s)							
A. 2.1	'Unworthy successor – being in the crossfire between two sides and solid confines'	5	12.2	5	12.2	24.4		
A. 2.2	'Wrong work background of the new colleague – forced to leave'	6	14.6	1	2.4	17.0		
A.3	Bullied by school employees							
A. 3.1	'Unexpected bullying situation – systematically picked on by the caretaker'	5	12.2	3	7.3	19.5		
A.4	Bullied by pupil(s)							
A. 4.1	'The new form teacher – targeted by dissatisfied students'	5	12.2	6	14.6	16.8		
A. 4.2	'Bullying teachers – victim of hierarchy dynamics in classrooms'	4	9.8	9	22.0	31.8		
A.5	Bullied by parent(s)							
A. 5.1	'Parents only concerned with good grades – teacher does not come up to expectations'	7	17.1	7	17.1	34.2		

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A.6	Bullied by school authority system					
A. 6.1	'Targeted by the school authorities – worn down by schools inspector'	2	4.9	1	2.4	7.3

Table 4.7a shows a range of percentages between 7.3 and 34.2 out of 41 schools. Eight of the 9 cases figure above a rate of 16.6. This shows that such bullying situations have been reported credibly by colleagues at at least six schools, the most by far of all cases. One case however, was reported by only three schools.

Table 4.8b The situation has been reported credibly ... (teachers as witnesses)

Code nr.	Analyzed bullying situations in teachers' school life				een cre eagues	-
	Teachers as witnesses	on	once		several times	
	(and in parts as victims or/and perpetrators)	num.	%	num.	%	%
C.1	Principal / deputy head bullies colleague(s) or vice versa					
C. 1.1w	'Abandoned - slandered by the principal'			3	7.3	7.3
C. 1.2w	'Unwelcome principal – colleagues do not give them a chance'	4	9.8	3	7.3	17.1
C. 1.3w	'Early retirement – at the mercy of the principal'	6	14.6	3	7.3	21.9
C.2	Colleague(s) bullies colleague(s)					
C. 2.1w	'Doubly bullied – vice form teacher as bully and agitator of students'	8	19.5	2	4.9	24.4
C. 2.2w	'Motivated teacher forced into isolation by colleagues'	8	19.5	2	4.9	24.4
C.3	Colleague(s) bullies pupil(s) or vice versa					
C. 3.1w	'Collateral damage - unconfident teacher makes stu- dent an outsider'	6	14.6	3	7.3	21.9
C. 3.2w	'Targeted by the class - student bullies teacher with the help of his class-mates'	6	14.6	6	14.6	29.2
C. 3.3w	'Kinship expectations – teacher discriminates against family members'	5	12.2	2	4.9	17.1
C. 3.4w	'Too weak and unwilling – 'well meaning' gym teacher harasses frail student'	4	9.8	2	4.9	14.7
C.4	Pupil(s) bullies pupil(s)					
C. 4.1w	'Top of the class bullied by class-mates'	6	14.6	5	12.2	26.8
C. 4.2w	'Out of the ordinary – bullied after conversion to a different religion'	1	2.4	2	4.9	7.3

Table 4.7b shows a range of percentages between 7.3 and 29.2 out of 41 schools. Nine of 11 cases figure above a rate of 14.7. This shows that such bullying situations have been reported credibly by colleagues at at least six schools the most by far of all cases. One case however, was reported by only three schools.

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Table 4.8c The situation has been reported credibly ... (teachers as victims – II)

Code nr.			The situation has been credible reported by colleagues (N =					
	Teachers as victims – part II	or	псе	several times		total		
	(and in parts as perpetrators)	num.	%	num.	%	%		
C.1	Principal / deputy head bullies colleague(s) or vice versa							
C. 1.1v	'Abandoned - slandered by the principal'	5	12.2	1	2.4	14.6		
C. 1.2v	'Unwelcome principal – colleagues do not give them a chance'	6	14.6	1	2.4	17.0		
C. 1.3v	'Early retirement – at the mercy of the principal'	7	17.1	2	4.9	22.0		
C.2	Colleague(s) bullies colleague(s)							
C. 2.1v	'Doubly bullied – vice form teacher as bully and agitator of students'	7	17.1	4	9.8	26.9		
C. 2.2v	'Motivated teacher forced into isolation by colleagues'	9	22.0	5	12.2	34.2		
C.3	Colleague(s) bullies pupil(s) or vice versa							
C. 3.2v	'Targeted by the class - student bullies teacher with the help of his class-mates'	6	14.6	7	17.1	31.7		

Table 4.7c shows a range of percentages between 14.6 and 34.2 out of 41 schools. All cases figure above a rate of 14.6, showing that such bullying situations have been reported credibly by colleagues at at least six schools.

4.2.2.3 Interviewees admit to experiencing a certain bullying situation

Table 4.8a The situation has been experienced ... (teachers as victims – I)

Code nr.	Analyzed bullying situations in teachers' school life	The	The situation has been experienced (N = 41)						
	Teachers as victims – part I	Free	Frequency and form in absolute numbers						
	(and in parts as perpetrators)	involved once	several times	observed once	several times	involved + observed	percent		
A.1	Bullied by principal / deputy head								
A. 1.1	'In the principal's sights – criticised, isolated and degraded'		1	1			4.9		
A. 1.2	'Under pressure from the deputy head – picked on for ages'	1		2	1		9.8		
A.2	Bullied by colleague(s)								
A. 2.1	'Unworthy successor - being in the cross- fire between two sides and solid confines'	2		3	1		14.6		
A. 2.2	'Wrong work background of the new colleague – forced to leave'		1	3			9.8		

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A.3	Bullied by school employees						
A. 3.1	'Unexpected bullying situation – system- atically picked on by the caretaker'		1	1			4.9
A.4	Bullied by pupil(s)						
A. 4.1	'The new form teacher – targeted by dissatisfied students'	3		3	4	1	26.8
A. 4.2	'Bullying teachers – victim of hierarchy dynamics in classrooms'			2	7	3	29.3
A.5	Bullied by parent(s)						
A. 5.1	'Parents only concerned with good grades – teacher does not come up to expectations'	1		6	3	2	29.3
A.6	Bullied by school authority system						
A. 6.1	'Targeted by the school authorities – worn down by schools inspector'	2		2	1	2	17.1

Table 4.8a shows a range of percentages between 4.9 and 29.3 out of 41 schools. More than half the cases figure above a rate of 14.6. This shows that such bullying situations have been experienced in at least six schools in most of the cases. Two cases reached the highest level at 29.3 (see A.4.2, A.5.1) indicating experienced bullying situations in 12 schools.

Table 4.8b The situation has been experienced ... (teachers as witnesses)

Code nr.	Analyzed bullying situations in teachers' school life	The	The situation has been experienced (N = 41)						
	Teachers as witnesses	Free	Frequency and form in absolute numbers						
	(and in parts as victims or/and perpetrators)	involved once	several times	observed once	several times	involved + observed	percent		
C.1	Principal / deputy head bullies colleague(s) or vice versa								
C. 1.1w	'Abandoned - slandered by the principal'			3	1		9.8		
C. 1.2w	'Unwelcome principal – colleagues do not give them a chance'	2		5	2	1	26.8		
C. 1.3w	'Early retirement – at the mercy of the principal'	1	1	4	3	1	24.4		
C.2	Colleague(s) bullies colleague(s)								
C. 2.1w	'Doubly bullied – vice form teacher as bully and agitator of students'	4		5	1	1	26.8		
C. 2.2w	'Motivated teacher forced into isolation by colleagues'	3	1	2		1	17.1		
C.3	Colleague(s) bullies pupil(s) or vice versa								
C. 3.1w	'Collateral damage - unconfident teacher makes student an outsider'	1		3	1		12.2		

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C. 3.2w	'Targeted by the class – student bullies teacher with the help of his mates'	1	1	2	5		21.9
C. 3.3w	'Kinship expectations – teacher discriminates against family members'	1		1			4.9
C. 3.4w	'Too weak and unwilling – 'well mea- ning' gym teacher harasses frail stu- dent'	1	3	1	1	1	17.1
C.4	Pupil(s) bullies pupil(s)						
C. 4.1w	'Top of the class bullied by class- mates'	5	2	5	3	2	41.5
C. 4.2w	'Out of the ordinary – bullied after conversion to a different religion'		1			1	4.9

Table 4.8b shows a range of percentages between 4.9 and 41.5 out of 41 schools. Most figure above a rate of 17.1 which shows that such bullying situations have been experienced in at least seven schools. One case reached the highest level at 41.5 (see C.4.1w) indicating an experienced bullying situation in 17 schools.

Table 4.8c The situation has been experienced ... (teachers as victims – II)

Code nr.	Analyzed bullying situations in teachers' school life	The situation has been experienced (N = 41)					
	Teachers as victims – part II (and in parts as perpetrators)	Frequency and form in absolute numbers					Total
		involved once	several times	observed once	several times	involved + observed	percent
C.1	Principal / deputy head bullies colleague(s) or vice versa						
C. 1.1v	'Abandoned - slandered by the principal'	1		3	1		9.8
C. 1.2v	'Unwelcome principal – colleagues do not give them a chance'	2		3	1	1	17.1
C. 1.3v	'Early retirement – at the mercy of the principal'	2		5	3	1	24.4
C.2	Colleague(s) bullies colleague(s)						
C. 2.1v	'Doubly bullied – vice form teacher as bully and agitator of students'	1		9	2	1	31.7
C. 2.2v	'Motivated teacher forced into isolation by colleagues'	9	1	1	1	2	34.1
C.3	Colleague(s) bullies pupil(s) or vice versa						
C. 3.2v	'Targeted by the class - student bullies teacher with the help of his class-mates'	1		4	3		19.5

Table 4.8c shows a range of percentages between 9.8 and 34.1 out of 41 schools. Most figure above a rate of 17.1 which shows that such bullying situations have been experienced in at least seven schools. One case reached the highest level at 34.1 (see C.2.2v) indicating an experienced bullying situation in 14 schools. The lowest rate was shown by one case only (C.1.1v), indicating occurrence at five schools.

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4.2.2.4 Augmented findings – the 'prototypical quality' of the situations

The following tables 5.9a – 5.9c show the results of the efforts to determine the prototypical quality of the analyzed situations. The applied procedure has already been explained in chapter 5.1.6. Five levels of prototypical quality have been defined,

A level, more than 20 points have been reached – the bullying situation can be regarded as **most likely** to be prototypical in teacher's school life (tsl);

B level, 16 up to 20 points have been reached – the bullying situation can be regarded as **highly likely** to be prototypical in 'tsl';

C level, 11 up to 15 points have been reached – the bullying situation can be regarded as **likely** to be prototypical in 'tsl';

D level, 6 up to 10 points have been reached – the bullying situation can **partially** be regarded as prototypical in 'tsl';

E level, up to 5 points have been reached – the bullying situation **can not** be regarded as prototypical in 'tsl'.

Table 4.9a Determined prototypical quality of the situations – teacher as victims I

Code nr.	Analyzed bullying situations in teachers' school life	Level of proto- typical quality (reached points)	
	Teachers as victims – part I (and in parts as perpetrators)		
A.1	Bullied by principal / deputy head		
A. 1.1	'In the principal's sights – criticised, isolated and degraded'	C (11)	
A. 1.2	'Under pressure from the deputy head – picked on for ages'	D (10)	
A.2	Bullied by colleague(s)		
A. 2.1	'Unworthy successor – being in the crossfire between two sides and solid confines'	B (16)	
A. 2.2	'Wrong work background of the new colleague – forced to leave'	C (11)	
A.3	Bullied by school employees		
A. 3.1	'Unexpected bullying situation – systematically picked on by the caretaker'	D (10)	
A.4	Bullied by pupil(s)		
A. 4.1	'The new form teacher – targeted by dissatisfied students'	A (22)	
A. 4.2	'Bullying teachers – victim of hierarchy dynamics in classrooms'	A (25)	
A.5	Bullied by parent(s)		
A. 5.1	'Parents only concerned with good grades – teacher does not come up to expectations'	A (26)	
A.6	Bullied by school authority system		
A. 6.1	'Targeted by the school authorities – worn down by schools inspector'	D (10)	

Table 4.9a shows a mix of 'prototypical qualities' over nine cases exemplifying different situations of bullying in teachers' school life and which have been investigated

from the 'victim'-perspective. At least two-thirds of the cases range at level C where every case can be regarded as *likely* to be prototypical. Moreover, the three cases coming under level D, where situations can *partially* be regarded as prototypical, are clearly a borderline result, since only one point is missing to the next category.

One case where teachers are bullied by colleagues (A.2.1), fall in level B where situations can be regarded as *highly likely* to be prototypical. Three cases reached level A where situations can be regarded as *most likely* to be prototypical. The cases A.4.1 and A.4.2 exemplify a situation in which teachers are bullied by pupils. The third case (A.5.1) deals with teachers as parents' victim.

Table 4.9b Determined prototypical quality of the situations – teacher as witnesses

Code nr.	Analyzed bullying situations in teachers' school life	Level of proto-		
''''	Teachers as witnesses (and in parts as victims or/and perpetrators)	typical quality (reached points)		
C.1	Principal / deputy head bullies colleague(s) or vice versa			
C. 1.1w	'Abandoned - slandered by the principal'	D (7)		
C. 1.2w	'Unwelcome principal – colleagues do not give them a chance'	B (17)		
C. 1.3w	'Early retirement – at the mercy of the principal'	B (19)		
C.2	Colleague(s) bullies colleague(s)			
C. 2.1w	'Doubly bullied – vice form teacher as bully and agitator of students'	A (21)		
C. 2.2w	'Motivated teacher forced into isolation by colleagues'	B (17)		
C.3	Colleague(s) bullies pupil(s) or vice versa			
C. 3.1w	'Collateral damage - unconfident teacher makes student an outsider'	C (14)		
C. 3.2w	'Targeted by the class - student bullies teacher with the help of his class-mates'	A (21)		
C. 3.3w	'Kinship expectations – teacher discriminates against family members'	D (9)		
C. 3.4w	'Too weak and unwilling – 'well meaning' gym teacher harasses frail student'	C (13)		
C.4	Pupil(s) bullies pupil(s)			
C. 4.1w	'Top of the class bullied by class-mates'	A (28)		
C. 4.2w	'Out of the ordinary – bullied after conversion to a different religion'	E (5)		

Table 4.9b again shows a mix of 'prototypical qualities' over eleven cases exemplifying different situations of bullying in teachers' school life and which have been investigated from the 'witness'-perspective. The case C.4.2w (pupils bully pupils) is the one analyzed situation which comes under level E where situations can not be regarded as prototypical however, this is a borderline result, since only one point is missing to the next category. The case is also estimated by the interviewees as possibly occurring at a considerable rate (mean 3.23 on a scale from 1 to 5, cf. table 4.6b). Level D is reached by the case C.1.1w (colleagues are bullied by the principal) and the case C.3.3w (teacher discriminates against family members), which means that the situations can partially be regarded as prototypical.

Under the next level C anew come two cases, C.3.1w and C.3.4w (pupils as teachers' victim). These cases per definition are *likely* to be prototypical bullying situations.

Three cases fall in level B where situations can be regarded as *highly likely* to be prototypical. These cases show teachers as the victims of the principal (C.1.3w) as well as principals being the victims of teachers (C.1.2w) and teachers as victims of their colleagues (C.2.2w).

Another three cases even reached level A where situations can be regarded as *most likely* to be prototypical. Case C.2.1w deals with teachers as colleagues' victim, whereas in case C.3.2w pupils are the victim of their teachers. In case C.4.1w, finally, pupils are bullied by their class-mates.

Table 4.9c Determined prototypical quality of the situations – teacher as victims II

Code	Analyzed bullying situations in teachers' school life	Level of proto-		
nr.	Teachers as victims – part II (and in parts as perpetrators)	typical quality (reached points)		
C.1	Principal / deputy head bullies colleague(s) or vice versa			
C. 1.1v	'Abandoned - slandered by the principal'	C (11)		
C. 1.2v	'Unwelcome principal – colleagues give them no chance'	C (14)		
C. 1.3v	'Early retirement – at the mercy of the principal'	B (20)		
C.2	Colleague(s) bullies colleague(s)			
C. 2.1v	'Doubly bullied – vice form teacher as bully and agitator of students'	A (24)		
C. 2.2v	'Motivated teacher forced into isolation by colleagues'	A (28)		
C.3	Colleague(s) bullies pupil(s) or vice versa			
C. 3.2v	'Targeted by the class - student bullies teacher with the help of his class-mates'	A (21)		

Table 5.9c anew, shows a mix of 'prototypical qualities' over six cases exemplifying different situations of bullying in teachers' school life and which have additionally been investigated from the 'victim'-perspective. None of these cases fall below level C where every case can be regarded as *likely* to be prototypical. Level C is reached by two cases only, C.1.1w, which deals with teachers being bullied by the principal and C.1.2w, in which principals are the victims of their teachers.

One case comes under level B where situations can be regarded as *highly likely* to be prototypical. This case shows teachers as the victim of the principal (C.1.3w).

Half of the cases come under level A where situations can be regarded as *most likely* to be prototypical. This cases show teachers being bullied by their colleagues (C.2.1w, C.2.2w) and teachers being their pupils' victim.

4.2.2.5 The degree of stress and difficulty caused by the situations

The following tables 4.10a - c show the determined degrees of stress caused by the analyzed bullying situations in teachers' school life and the degree of difficulty coping with them for the affected teachers. Two possible role of teachers within the bullying process have been focussed on, i.e. teachers as victims and teachers as witnesses. The third, teachers as perpetrators, remains uninvestigated. Questioning a perpetrator on his estimation of how stressful his bullying feels to himself would not make sense and asking him to guage how stressful it might be for his victim would go beyond the bounds of this investigation.

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Table 4.10a Determined degree of stress and difficulty of coping with the analyzed bullying situations – teachers as victims part I

Co de nr.	Analyzed bullying situations in teachers' school life		cause	e of stre d by – total = 41)	Degree of difficulty of coping with – 'Z' (N total = 41)				
	Teachers as victims – part I		On a s	cale of 1 -	10	On a scale of 1 - 10			
	(and in parts as perpetrators)	min	max	mode	mean	min	max	mode	mean
A.1	Bullied by principal / deputy head								
A. 1.1	'In the principal's sights – criticised, isolated and degraded' (N = 33, M = 8)	6	10	10	9.3	4	10	10	9.0
A. 1.2	'Under pressure from the deputy head – picked on for ages' (N = 32, M = 9)		10	10	8.75	4	10	10	8.22
A.2	Bullied by colleague(s)								
A. 2.1	'Unworthy successor – being in the crossfire between two sides and solid confines' (N = 35, M = 6)		10	10	9.09	4	10	9	8.63
A. 2.2	'Wrong work background of the new colleague – forced to leave' (N = 30, M =11)		10	9	9.0	4	10	8 / 10 multiple M.	8.50
A.3	Bullied by school employees								
A. 3.1	'Unexpected bullying situation – system- atically picked on by the caretaker' (N = 34, M = 7)		10	10	8.26	3	10	10	7.94
A.4	Bullied by pupil(s)								
A. 4.1	'The new form teacher – targeted by dissatisfied students' (N = 34, M = 7)	5	10	9 / 10 multiple M.	9.00	3	10	10	8.26
A. 4.2	'Bullying teachers – victim of hierarchy dynamics in classrooms' (N = 34, M = 7)	6	10	10	9.18	3	10	10	8.12
A.5	Bullied by parent(s)								
A. 5.1	'Parents only concerned with good grades – teacher does not come up to expectations' (N = 30, M = 11)	5	10	10	8.83	5	10	8 / 10 multiple Modes	8.03
A.6	Bullied by school authority system								
A. 6.1	'Targeted by the school authorities – worn down by schools inspector' (N = 33, M = 8)	5	10	9	8.70	5	10	9	8.36

Table 4.10a shows both the means and modes and the lowest and the highest values for all cases in two categories 'Y' and 'Z' on a scale from 1 to 10. It deals with teachers as victims.

None of the cases in category 'Y' figures a mean under 8.26, indicating very high degrees of stress for affected teachers, caused by these situations. The mode, always at least 9 and the lowest value never under 5, support this interpretation. Case A.1.1, exemplifys a case where teachers are bullied by the principal, reaching the highest mean of 9.3.

In category 'Z' every case shows a mean above 7.93 which also indicates high degrees of difficulty affected teachers had in coping with these situations. This interpretation is supported by the mode, always at least 8, although here the lowest value sometimes drops to 3. Case A.1.1 anew reached the highest mean of 9.0.

Table 4.10b Determined degree of stress and difficulty of coping with the analyzed bullying situations – teachers as witnesses

Co de nr.	Analyzed bullying situations in teachers' school life		cause	e of streed by –		Degree of difficulty of coping with – 'Z' (N total = 41)				
	Teachers as witnesses		On a so	cale of 1 -	10		On a scale of 1 - 10			
	(and in parts as victims or/and perpetrators)	min	max	mode	mean	min	max	mode	mean	
C.1	Principal / deputy head bullies col- league(s) or vice versa									
C. 1.1w	'Abandoned - slandered by the principal' (N = 27, M = 14)	2	10	5	6.41	3	10	8	6.52	
C. 1.2w	'Unwelcome principal - colleagues do not give them a chance' (N = 27, M = 14)	2	9	6	5.67	3	10	7	6.59	
C. 1.3w	'Early retirement – at the mercy of the principal' (N = 21, M = 20)		10	8	7.62	3	8	10	7.38	
C.2	Colleague(s) bullies colleague(s)									
C. 2.1w	'Doubly bullied – vice form teacher as bully and agitator of students' (N = 28, M = 13)		10	6 / 7 multiple Modes	6.54	3	10	8	6.86	
C. 2.2w	'Motivated teacher forced into isolation by colleagues' (N = 23, M = 18)		9	8	6.74	3	8	10	7.00	
C.3	Colleague(s) bullies pupil(s) or vice versa									
C. 3.1w	'Collateral damage - unconfident teacher makes student an outsider' (N = 34, M = 7)		10	8	6.76	1	10	6 / 8 multiple Modes	6.65	
C. 3.2w	'Targeted by the class - student bullies teacher with the help of his class-mates' (N = 20, M = 21)		10	7	7.40	3	10	8	6.95	
C. 3.3w	'Kinship expectations – teacher discriminates against family members' (N = 34, M = 7)		10	8	6.68	1	7	10	6.32	
C. 3.4w	'Too weak and unwilling – 'well meaning' gym teacher harasses frail student' (N = 32, M = 9)	1	10	8	6.44	2	10	8 / 9 multiple Modes	6.72	
C.4	Pupil(s) bullies pupil(s)									
C. 4.1w	'Top of the class bullied by class-mates' (N = 30, M = 11); (N = 29, M = 12)	1	10	8 / 10 multiple Modes	7.73	1	10	8	8.07	
C. 4.2w	'Out of the ordinary – bullied because after conversion to a different religion' (N = 32, M = 9)	2	10	8	7.88	3	10	10	8.53	

Table 4.10b shows both the means and modes and the lowest and the highest values for all cases in two categories 'Y' and 'Z' on a scale from 1 to 10. It deals with teachers as witnesses of bullying situations this time.

None of the cases in category 'Y' figures a mean under 5.67, indicating relatively high degrees of stress for affected teachers, caused by these situations. Case C.4.2w, exemplifies a case where pupils bully pupils, reached the highest mean of 7.88.

In category 'Z' every case shows a mean above 6.31 which also indicates relatively high degrees of difficulty affected teachers had in coping with these situations. Case C.4.2w again reached the highest mean of 8.53.

Compared to the findings shown in table 4.10b, teachers clearly feel less stressed when witnessing bullying situations, than when they are the victim. The same is true regarding their estimated difficulty in dealing with them.

Table 4.10c Determined degree of stress and difficulty of coping with the analyzed bullying situations – teachers as victims part II

Co de nr.	Analyzed bullying situations in teachers' school life		cause	e of strong d by –		Degree of difficulty of coping with – 'Z' (N total = 41)				
	Teachers as victims – part II	1	Length c	of scale, 1	- 10	I	Length of scale, 1 - 10			
	(and in parts as perpetrators)	min	max	mode	mean	min	max	mode	mean	
C.1	Principal / deputy head bullies colleague(s) or vice versa									
C. 1.1v	'Abandoned - slandered by the principal' (N = 31, M = 10)	7	10	10	9.10	5	10	10	8.77	
C. 1.2v	'Unwelcome principal -colleagues do not give them a chance' (N = 32, M = 9)		10	10	9.13	5	10	10	8.50	
C. 1.3v	'Early retirement – at the mercy of the principal' (N = 30, M = 11)	7	10	10	9.07	3	10	10	8.47	
C.2	Colleague(s) bullies colleague(s)									
C. 2.1v	'Doubly bullied – vice form teacher as bully and agitator of students' (N = 32, M = 9)		10	8	8.66	3	10	8	7.97	
C. 2.2v	'Motivated teacher forced into isolation by colleagues'(N = 32, M = 9)		10	10	8.75	5	10	10	8.81	
C.3	Colleague(s) bullies pupil(s) or vice versa									
C. 3.2v	'Targeted by the class - student bullies teacher with the help of his class-mates' (N = 32, M = 9)	7	10	10	9.38	5	10	10	8.94	

Table 4.10c shows both the means and modes and the lowest and the highest values for all cases in two categories 'Y' and 'Z' on a scale from 1 to 10. It deals with teachers as victims again.

None of the cases in category 'Y' figures a mean under 8.66, indicating very high degrees of stress for affected teachers, caused by these situations. The mode, mostly 9 and the lowest value, which is mostly 7 dropping once only to 5, support this interpretation. Case C.3.2v, exemplifying a case where teachers are bullied by pupils, reached the highest mean of 9.38.

In category 'Z' every case shows a mean above 7.97, which also indicates high degrees of difficulty affected teachers had in coping with these situations. This interpretation is supported by the mode, mostly 10, although here three times the lowest value drops to 3. Case A.3.2 again reached the highest mean of 8.94.

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These findings support the comparison between the results shown in table 5.10a and table 4.10b on the previous page. Teachers clearly feel less stressed when witnessing bullying situations, than when they are the victim. The same is true regarding their estimated difficulty in dealing with them.

4.2.2.6 Summary of empirical findings

Interviewees deny experience of a certain bullying situation, but allow for the possibility of its occurrence at schools

None of the cases figure a mean under 2.5 on a scale from 1 to 5 in terms of both assessed perspectives (victim or witness), therefore every case is estimated by the interviewees as occurring at an average rate of > 25% but < 50% at least. The lowest rate was 2.61 (A.1.1 'In the principal's sights — criticised, isolated and degraded'). The highest rate was 3.92 (C.4.1w 'Top of the class bullied by class-mates').

Interviewees admit to a certain bullying situation as credibly reported to them by a colleague

The 15 cases which have been assessed under the victim perspective show a range of percentages between 7.3 and 34.2 out of 41 schools. 14 cases figure above a rate of 14.5, indicating that such bullying situations have been credibly reported by colleagues at at least six schools. Only the case A.6.1 'Targeted by the school authorities – worn down by schools inspector' falls below. The highest percentage was reached by the case A.5.1 'Parents only concerned with good grades – teacher does not come up to expectations' and by the case C.2.2 ν 'Motivated teacher forced into isolation by colleagues'.

The 11 cases which have been assessed under the witness perspective show a range of percentages between 7.3 and 29.2 in 41 schools. Nine cases figure above a rate of 14.5, indicating that such bullying situations have been credibly reported by colleagues at at least six schools. Only two cases fall below that percentage, C.1.1w 'Abandoned - slandered by the principal' and C. 4.2w 'Out of the ordinary – bullied after conversion to a different religion'. The highest percentage was reached by the case C.3.2w 'Targeted by the class - student bullies teacher with the help of his/her class-mates'.

Interviewees admit to experiencing a certain bullying situation

The 15 cases which have been assessed under the victim perspective show a range of percentages between 4.9 and 34.1 in 41 schools. 13 cases figure above a rate of 9.8, indicating that such bullying situations have been experienced by colleagues at at least four schools. The two cases below are, 'In the principal's sights - criticised, isolated and degraded' (A.1.1) and 'Unexpected bullying situation - systematically picked on by the caretaker' (A. 3.1), The highest percentage was reached by the case C.2.2v 'Motivated teacher forced into isolation by colleagues'.

The 11 cases which have been assessed under the witness perspective show a range of percentages between 4.9 and 41.5 in 41 schools. Eight cases figure above a rate of 17.1, indicating that such bullying situations have been experienced by colleagues at at least seven schools. The three cases below are, 'Abandoned - slandered by the principal' (C.1.1w), 'Kinship expectations – teacher discriminates against family members' (C. 3.3w), 'Out of the ordinary – bullied after conversion to a different religion' (C. 4.2w). The highest percentage was reached by the case C.4.1w 'Top of the class bullied by class-mates'.

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The 'prototypical quality' of the situations

Five levels of prototypical quality have been defined (A to E level). The results show that 80 % of the 15 cases which have been assessed under the victim perspective reached at least *level C* where situations can be regarded as *likely* to be prototypical. 26.6% of these cases fell in that category, 13.3 % reached *level B* where situations can be regarded as *highly likely* to be prototypical and 40% reached *level A* where situations can be regarded as *most likely* to be prototypical. The remaining 20% of cases reached *level D* which means that these situations can be *partially* regarded as prototypical at least.

72.7 % of the 11 cases which have been assessed under the witness perspective at least reached *level C* (27.3 % fell in *level B* and 27.3% in *level A*). Another 18.2% came under *level D*. One case only fell in *level E*, where situations can not be regarded as prototypical, however, since merely one point is missing for it to come under category D this is clearly a borderline result. In addition, the case is estimated by the interviewees as possibly occurring at a notable rate.

The degree of stress caused by the situations

The findings indicate considerable degrees of stress for affected teachers caused by the assessed situations. All 15 cases which have been assessed from the victim perspective reached a mean over 8.25 on a scale from 1 to 10.

Eight of the 11 cases which have been assessed from the witness perspective reached a mean over 6.5; the lowest mean was 5.67 (C.1.2w) exemplifying a situation where teachers bully the new principal. The highest means were reached by the cases C.3.2 (9.38v) exemplifying a situation where teachers are bullied by pupils, and A.1.1 (9.30), exemplifying a situation where teachers are bullied by the principal.

The degree of difficulty of coping with the situations

The findings indicate considerable degrees of difficulty in dealing with the assessed situations for affected teachers. All 15 cases which were assessed from the victim perspective reached a mean over 7.9 on a scale from 1 to 10.

Ten of 11 cases which were assessed from the witness perspective reached a mean over 6.5, the lowest mean was 6.32 (C.3.3w) exemplifying a situation where teachers discriminate against family members. The highest means were again reached by the cases A.1.1 (9.0) and C.3.2 (8.94v).

4.3 Conclusion

Against this background of findings, it can be concluded that none of the 20 case examples is far removed from school reality. Results yielded not only notable occurrence rates in schools within Germany, but with the exception of one case only showed that the situations can also be regarded as more or less typical situations in teachers' school lives. It would therefore seem sensible at this stage to develop problem-based measures tailored to their needs and to use them for teacher trainee and in-service courses. In all situations a notable degree of stress, as well as a considerable degree of difficulty in dealing with them was indicated by the interviewees. This would allow the conclusion that teachers actually require systematic broad-based aid in dealing with bullying frequently experienced in their school lives. These findings are, however, in the stage of a pilot study and should therefore be verified through further studies covering a greater sample of schools.

5 Confusion – further considerations?

5.1 Overall conclusions on Tibs

Within Tibs, a step by step investigation of the bullying phenomenon has been made under three main perspectives, a) in general, b) at workplaces, c) in teachers' school life. This final report presents in particular,

- a general definition of the subject matter,
- a systematization of bullying constellations and behaviour forms,
- an analysis of frequently involved parties and of power-dynamics which might emerge from the bullying between them,
- an analysis of antecedents of bullying at workplaces,
- a synopsis of relevant regulations given by law,
- an investigation of the impacts of bullying in terms of health and costs,
- available data regarding bullying in teachers' school life, including a discussion of special school features which might be contributing to such bullying,
- 20 vivid case descriptions of bullying in teachers' school lives,
- a description of empirical findings which are based on the assessment of the situations by experienced teachers with the help of a tailored questionnaire,
- about 100 references and 20 briefly commented online resources pertaining to the subject matter, which should serve to support further studies.

Analyses have shown that bullying cannot be considered a simple phenomenon. Bullying processes are of high complexity involving perpetrators, victims, witnesses of diverse kinds and number. Rather than by one factor alone, its appearance is triggered by a wide range of factors at many levels. A great deal of possible bullying behaviour forms are described in the literature and an open discussion exists as to the correct labelling and definition of the phenomenon. The report offers answers to this in chapter one. It further shows that bullying in general is a phenomenon which needs to be taken seriously. Bullying causes serious health impacts, creates great economical cost to organizations and societies and shows considerable occurrence rates in different employment sectors and workplaces. Although the available data sheds some light on the gravity of the problem, specific findings on bullying in teachers' school lives are so far scarce. This calls for more systematic investigation of the subject, including the special features of schools which were described as supposedly contributing to such bullying processes.

41 out of 103 asked schools from all federal states in Germany participated in the 'Tibs'-study (response rate, 39.8 %). The schools were explicitly allowed to spread the amount of work within their school in order to reduce the workload for each teacher involved. It was merely asked that the participating teachers have at least five years occupational experience in schools. Although it remains unclear how many

teachers have participated in total, the study yielded the fact that 68.8% of the interviewees were female teachers and 31.2% male teachers. Of these 89.5% were working in secondary schools, 10.5% in primary schools.

Overall, findings showed not only that none of the investigated cases is far removed from school reality in Germany, but with the exception of one case only, based on the ascertained occurrence rates, they can also be regarded as typical situations in teachers' school lives to varying extents. In all situations a notable degree of stress and of difficulty in dealing with them was indicated by the interviewees. This would allow the conclusion at this stage that teachers require systematic broad-based aid in dealing with bullying experienced in their school lives. However, it must be noticed, that these findings are based on a pilot study, hence verifaction is indicated.

Tibs has nevertheless, so far yielded results which at this stage seem to offer a reasonable basis for the preparation of an intervention-aid matrix enabling teachers to deal systematically and specifically with bullying by using the identified situations exemplarily and for shaping teacher trainee and in-service courses. Although within Tibs a preparation of the matrix was originally intended, it was not feasible owing to diverse challenges faced by the project management. Initial considerations for a conceivable follow-up project and its approach which is dedicated to implementing the practical applicabilities Tibs represents are described in the following.

5.2 Some considerations on a conceivable follow-up project of Tibs

A follow-up project should reach the stage of developing aids for teachers in dealing with bullying situations as mentioned above. It could be based on an adaptation of the so-called 'persons-in-situations-approach' focusing on real-life situations in specific settings and the essential characteristics of such. This approach involves both baseline analyses of situations, which can be regarded as prototypical (cf. 4.1.1) for the setting, and preparation for change with respect to problem-based learning. It is therefore useful for diagnostics, basic or advanced training and organizational development (Paulus and Schumacher, 2007).

The analysis of the identified prototypical 'person-in-situation-vignettes' (pisv) would take place alongside the explained antecedent levels of bullying at workplaces (cf. 1.4 and below) and in consideration of the discussed particularities of schools (cf. 3.2),

- micro-level of antecedents concerning characteristics of involved individuals (e.g., teachers, pupils etc.),
- meso-level of antecedents concerning dyadic and group characteristics (e.g., two teachers, a class, a group of teachers etc.),
- macro-level of antecedents concerning characteristics of the workplace (e.g., schools in general or a certain school),
- meta-level of antecedents concerning societal influences
 (e.g., contemporarily favoured norms, increasing requirements etc.)

Successively, these levels would be investigated from four perspectives,

- pre-research or everyday life perspective, followed by
- sociological, psychological and medical perspectives, followed by
- workplace research and occupational medicinal perspectives, completed by

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political perspective, including regulations by law.

Should the situation not refer to problems at the level of teachers or other school employees (i.e., at the workplace level), but at the level of pupils, the third perspective would be omitted.

The analysis would be made by asking specific questions such as,

- What are the conditions framing the situational context?
- What kind of persons and groups are involved?
- What type of interdependencies shape their inter-relationships?
- Which factors can be regarded as accountable for these interdependencies?
- Is there an observable process and if so, of what nature?
- Which factors can be regarded as stimulating the process?
- Which strategies and aids are available for coping with the situation?
- How can these strategies be successfully implemented?

Strains on people caused by their workplaces often can not be sufficiently explained by either isolated analyses of personal disposition or certain aspects of situations. They need to be understood as an outcome of people's individual experience and their behaviour in complex situations. Both relevant aspects, person and situation are systematically related to each other within the 'persons-in-situations-approach' and become therefore the initial points of well directed change.

Teachers who have to deal with ambiguous, multilayered and processing demands particularly often, as in the case of bullying, will find lifelike reflections of their occupational reality in the situations so far identified by Tibs. The systematic and multiperspective analysis of the situations within a follow-up project based on the 'persons-in-situations-approach' would allow them a differentiated insight into the complex interplay of relevant situational (organizational and societal) and personal factors (individual and interactional) in certain bullying cases. Applying the accompanying preparation of an intervention aid matrix to each of the cases would enable both systematic and specific dealing with bullying in teachers' school lives. The same applies to teacher trainees; the only difference being that they would be given realistic preparation for their later professional life. Corresponding courses for teachers (in-service units) and trainees (initial training units) should be developed within such a follow-up project.

5.3 International usability of the Tibs results

The identified situations reflect school reality in Germany, but since they were also derived from the analysis of foreign case descriptions, they should to some extent, be transferable to other countries. The transferability of the empirical findings remains questionable and needs to be verified through national studies. Slight modifications of the case descriptions or the questioning set might be necessary. The baseline analyses in chapters two, three and four, the comprehensive reference chapter six, and the briefly commented online resources listed in chapter seven should all be of general use.

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7 Related online resources

The **Backoffbully** web site presents information on bullying in schools and research-based material, including comprehensive programs developed for coping with bullying and school violence.

http://www.backoffbully.com/index.html

The **Stop Bullying Now** web site presents information and resources on practical research-based strategies for reducing bullying in schools and in communities.

http://www.stopbullyingnow.com/index.htm

The **NO BULLY** web site part is designed for teachers, parents and caregivers who are looking for information on and support in dealing with bullying problems.

http://www.nobully.org.nz/grownup.htm

The National Training and Technical Assistance Center for Drug Prevention and School Safety Coordinators, offers a packet within their web site called 'Exploring the Nature and Prevention of Bullying' which is designed to enhance coordinators' understanding of bullying and provide them with the information they need to create or refine their school-based bullying prevention plans.

http://www.k12coordinator.org/onlinece/onlineevents/bullying

The **Teacher Support Network** is an independent charity where teachers and lecturers can find confidential support 24/7 from trained and fully qualified professionals. Comprehensive information can be found at the following url

http://www.teachersupport.info/

The International Network on School Bullying and Violence pursues the purpose of disseminating information and organizing communication between countries on important issues within the area of school bullying and violence. Its ambition is that this site should gain reputation as a main reference point on policy, practice and research for national and local authorities, schools and researchers.

http://www.oecd-sbv.net/default.aspx

The International Bullying Prevention Association mission is intended 'to support and enhance quality research based bullying prevention principles and practices in order to achieve a safe school climate, healthy work environment, good citizenship and civic responsibility'. The web site offers a wide range of information regarding the subject matter.

http://www.stopbullyingworld.com/

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The **National Union of Teachers (NUT)** leads the profession, always placing education first, campaigning for better schools, more resources and improved conditions for pupils and teachers. There is a section of the web site of the Union which explicitly broaches the issue of bullying at schools.

http://www.teachers.org.uk/searchresults.php?keywords=Bullying

The **VISIONARY** web site is a European collaborative project on school bullying and violence (SBV) addressing teachers, parents, professionals, pupils and others interested in the topic. Information is available in 8 languages.

http://www.bullying-in-school.info/en/content/home.html

Ken Rigby's Bullying Pages provide information on resources concerned with bullying in schools in Australia.

http://www.education.unisa.edu.au/bullying/

The **teachers.tv** web site provides a growing amount of video material on bullying in schools, including some covering bullying amongst teachers.

http://www.teachers.tv/video/browser/1290; http://www.teachers.tv/video/5438

The **CSAP's Prevention Pathways** provides their 'ABC' of Bullying Addressing, Blocking, and Curbing School Aggression (SAMHSA is an Agency of the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services) under the following web site

http://pathwayscourses.samhsa.gov/bully/bully intro pg1.htm

The **British Columbia Teachers' Federation** provides on its web site a 17-minute videocassette called *Standing Together: A Focus on Bullying*, which may be used as a supplement to the resource binder, *Focus on Bullying: A Prevention Program for Elementary School Communities*. The video is narrated and dramatized by more than 150 elementary school pupils.

http://bctf.ca/publications/NewsmagArticle.aspx?id=11328

The **National Center for Bullying Prevention** web site covers the PACER Center's Bullying Prevention Project which is dedicated to all children, including children with disabilities, and promotes bullying awareness and teaches effective ways of responding to bullying. The resources include the animated *Kids Against Bullying Web site* for elementary school pupils and information on bullying prevention.

http://www.pacer.org/bullying/index.asp

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The **Kidscape** charity is committed to keeping children safe from abuse. Kidscape is the first charity in the UK established specifically to prevent bullying and sexual abuse of children. It offers information sections for parents, professionals, children/young people regarding the subject matter.

http://www.kidscape.org.uk/info/newdvd.html

The **mobbing.ca** website offers information and resources to help employees and employers overcome the unnecessary suffering and tremendous costs associated with the insidious form of workplace abuse called 'mobbing'.

http://members.shaw.ca/mobbing/mobbingCA/index.htm

The **Bully OnLine** web site regards itself as the world's largest resource on work-place bullying and related issues. It is a project of the Field Foundation

http://www.bullyonline.org/index.htm

The **Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Lehrer gegen Mobbing** is conducted by a group of teachers who worked voluntarily against violence and bullying in the education sector since 1993. They created structures, raised awareness and provided help for affected teachers.

http://www.bl-mobbing.de/

The Elterninitiative gegen Mobbing und Gewalt an Schulen (EMGS) is an initiative of parents working together voluntarily against bullying and violence in schools.

http://www.emgs.de/

The **Schüler gegen Mobbing** web site enables pupils to talk about their own bullying experiences in the so-called 'Schüler-Mobbing Weblog' and provides information about where counselling is available.

http://www.schueler-mobbing.de/

The **MOBBING - SCHLUSS DAMIT!** web site displays one activity of ,Seitenstark' (Arbeitsgemeinschaft vernetzter Kinderseiten). It involves three parts, an online questioning of pupils, parents and teachers; a forum where those goups can relate their bullying experiences; a competition dedicated to finding clever ideas for coping with bullying. The results can be found on the much used web site where more than 1000 pupils a day have visited since it opened.

http://mobbing.seitenstark.de/index.asp

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10 Annexes

10.1 Additional information on the labelling of the subject matter

'Even within the English-speaking literature there is no unitary term. In the U.S., the experience of workplace bullying is often referred to as "employee abuse", or "workplace terrorism".

American experts are also familiar with the expression of "mobbing", which is used in Germany, Italy and Sweden, for example. In the U.K., the phenomenon is called both "workplace bullying" and simply "bullying". The latter term, however, is predominantly used in the context of bullying in schools, which implies more physical aggression and threats than bullying at the workplace₅.

The more psychological nature of workplace bullying is indicated by the French expression "harcèlement moral".' (Lohro and Hilp, 2001, pp. 5-6)

'The original conceptual distinction between bullying (primarily referring to situations of individual harassment) and mobbing (primarily covering situations of collective harassment) is now giving way to a conceptual assimilation of these two terms.

In the past, some researchers (for example, Zapf, 1999a) have made a distinction between bullying and mobbing, arguing that mobbing is often concerned with aggression from a group of people and that this aggression tends to be directed towards one single person. Similarly, the ILO refers to mobbing as 'ganging-up or mobbing a target employee and subjecting that person to psychological harassment' (Chappell and Di Martino, 2000). However, most researchers now make no distinction between bullying and mobbing with regard to the number of perpetrators or targets involved. One may argue that even if a distinction was accepted, the psychological processes involved appear to be the same.

Both mobbing and bullying involve offensive behaviour through vindictive, cruel, malicious or humiliating attempts to undermine an individual or group of workers. These persistently negative attacks on their personal and professional performance are typically unpredictable, irrational and unfair.

This progressive assimilation of mobbing and bullying does not mean, however, that the two terms are used interchangeably all around Europe. In some countries, such as Germany or the Nordic countries, the term 'mobbing' is the prevalent one, while for the same type of behaviour the word 'bullying' is used in Britain and Ireland. Even in countries with their own terms (such as *harcèlement moral* in France, *acoso* or *maltrato psicológico* in Spain, *coacção moral* in Portugal or *molestie psicologiche* in Italy), the two English terms, particularly mobbing, are becoming increasingly popular. This trend is exemplified by the appearance of two fundamental books on the subject recently in Spain — *El maltrato psicológico* (Gonzáles de Rivera, 2002) and *Mobbing* (Piñuel y Zabala, 2001).' (Di Martino, Hoel and Cooper, 2003, p. 6).

'The phenomenon of bullying, which includes being exposed to persistent insults or offensive remarks, persistent criticism, personal or even physical abuse, has been labelled 'mobbing at work' in some Scandinavian and German countries (Leymann, 1996) and 'bullying at work' in many English-speaking countries (Liefooghe and Olafsson, 1999).' (Zapf et al., 2003, p. 103).

10.2 Selected definitions of the subject matter

Research (2005, p.i) 'Bullying is defined as persistent or repeated incidents of abuse, threats, insults or humiliation that are intended to hurt other individuals physically, emotionally, psychologically or socially.'

PRICE (2004, p.2) 'These and many other students suffer from behaviors ranging from name calling and rumor spreading, to threatening and intimidating behavior and actual physical attacks. These behaviors are described by different terms but when they are coupled with an imbalance of power between the victim and offender (whether that imbalance is physical, psychological, or social), that behavior is generally referred to as "bullying." Bullying takes place when a student is exposed repeatedly and over time to the kinds of negative actions described above.'

Sullivan et al. (2004, pp.3ff.) 'Bullying is a negative and often aggressive or manipulative act or series of acts by one or more people against another person or people usually over a period of time. It is abusive and is based on an imbalance of power. Bullying contains the following elements:

- 1. The person doing the bullying has more power than the one being victimized.
- 2. Bullying is often organized, systematic, and hidden.
- 3. Bullying is sometimes opportunistic, but once it starts is likely to continue.
- 4. It usually occurs over a period of time, although those who regularly bully may also carry out one-off incidents.
- 5. A victim of bullying can be hurt physically, emotionally, or psychologically.
- 6. All acts of bullying have an emotional or psychological dimension.'

Ross (2003, p. 23) 'Askew (1989). Bullying is a continuum of behaviour that involves the attempt to gain power and dominance over another.

Besag (1989). Bullying is the repeated attack - physical, psychological, social, or verbal - by those in a position of power on those who are powerless to resist, with the intention of causing distress for their own gain or gratification.

Farrington (1993). Bullying is repeated oppression, psychological or physical, of a less powerful person by a more powerful person or group of persons.

Johnstone, Munn, and Edwards (1991). Bullying is the willful, conscious desire to hurt or threaten or frighten someone else.

Lane (1989). Bullying includes any action or implied action, such as threats, intended to cause fear and distress. This behaviour has to be repeated on more than one occasion. The definition must include evidence that those involved intended or felt fear.

Olweus (1993a). A student is being bullied or victimized when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions¹² on the part of one or more other students. A single instance of more serious harassment can be regarded as bullying under certain (unspecified) circumstances.

Smith and Thompson (1991). Bullying intentionally causes hurt to the recipient. This hurt can be either physical or psychological. In addition, three further criteria particu-

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¹² "Included under the rubric of negative actions is a broad spectrum of behaviours ranging from low-level nonverbal harassment as stares and glares as well as cruel teasing, social ostracism, malicious gossip, sexual harassment, ethnic slurs, unreasonable territorial bans, destruction of property, extortion, and serious physical assault. (Besag, 1989; Olweus, 1993a)" (Ross, 2003, p. 23)

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larly distinguish bullying: It is unprovoked, it occurs repeatedly, and the bully is stronger than the victim or is perceived to be stronger.

Tattum (1989). Bullying is a willful, conscious desire to hurt another person. It can be occasional and short-lived, or it can be regular and long-standing.'

Ross (2003, p.27) 'Bullying refers to intentional and generally unprovoked attempts by one or more individuals to inflict physical hurt and/or psychological distress on one or more victims. There must be an imbalance of physical or psychological power, with the bully actually being stronger or perceived to be stronger than the victim. The bullying may be direct, with face-to-face physical or verbal confrontations, or indirect, with less visible actions such as spreading rumors or social exclusion. Although a single attack on a victim if severe enough can be accurately described as bullying, the term more often refers to a series of negative actions that occur frequently over time. This definition includes the qualifier "generally unprovoked", because it allows for the behaviour of the provocative victim (see chapter 4).'

Rigby (2002, p.5) 'In summary, bullying is now generally seen as having these elements: a desire to hurt; the perpetration of hurtful behaviour (physical, verbal or relational) in a situation in which there is an imbalance of power favouring the perpetrator(s); the action being regarded as unjustified, typically repeated, and experienced by the target of the aggression as oppressive, and by the perpetrator as enjoyable. A short and useful definition of bullying describing its essential nature has been proposed by Smith and Sharp (1994) as 'the systematic abuse of power'.'

Terry (1998, p.261) 'Bullying occurs in situations where the victim cannot easily escape. It occurs when an uneven balance of power is exploited and abused by an individual or individuals who in that particular circumstance have the advantage. Bullying is characterised by persistent, repetitive acts of physical or psychological aggression.'

Zapf et al. (2003, p. 103) 'Typically, a victim is constantly teased, badgered and insulted, and perceives that he or she has little recourse to retaliate in kind. Bullying may take the form of open verbal or physical attacks on the victim, but may also take the form of more subtle acts, such as excluding or isolating the victim from his or her peer group (Einarsen et al., 1994; Leymann, 1996; Zapf et al., 1996). The following definition of bullying or mobbing seems to be widely agreed upon (Einarsen et al., this volume; cf. Einarsen, 2000; Einarsen and Skogstad, 1996; Leymann, 1993b; Zapf, 1999a):

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

Hoel and Cooper (2000) 'We define bullying as a situation where one or several individuals persistently over a period of time perceive themselves to be on the receiving end of negative actions from one or several perons, in a situation where the target of

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bullying has difficulty in defending him or herself against these actions. We will not refer to a one-off incident as bullying.'

International Labour Organization (1998) 'Workplace bullying is one of the fastest-growing forms of workplace violence. It constitutes offensive behaviour through vindictive, cruel, malicious or humiliating attempts to undermine an individual or groups of employees [...]. It involves ganging up on or "mobbing" a targeted employee and subjecting that person to psychological harassment. Mobbing includes constant negative remarks or criticisms, isolating a person from social contacts, and gossiping or spreading false information.'

Leymann (1996) 'Psychological terror or mobbing in working life involves hostile and unethical communication which is directed in a systematic manner by one or more individuals, mainly toward one individual, who, due to mobbing, is pushed into a helpless and defenceless position and held there by means of continuing mobbing activities. These actions occur on a very frequent basis [.at least once a week] and over a long period of time [.at least six months' duration]. Because of the high frequency and long duration of hostile behaviour, this maltreatment results in considerable mental, psychosomatic and social misery.'

Merk (2004, pp. 159ff., italic writing has been removed) 'Björkqvist, Österman & Hjelt-Bäck (1994): "Wiederholte Handlungen (Aggressionen) werden dann als Belästigung definiert, wenn sie das Ziel haben, mentale und manchmal auch körperliche Schmerzen zu bereiten und wenn sie gegen eine oder mehrere Person/en gerichtet sind, die aus dem einen oder anderen Grund nicht in der Lage ist/sind, sich selbst zu verteidigen.'

Hjelt-Bäck (1992) bezeichnet mit "trakassering" (schwed. Schikane) "negative und unrechte Handlungen, die von einem Individuum oder mehreren Individuen gegen ein anderes oder mehrere andere Individuen, welche sich nicht verteidigen können, ausgeführt werden. Die mangelnde Verteidigungsmöglichkeit kann z. B. auf der Stellung des Individuums in der Organisation oder darauf beruhen, dass es sich nicht sozial verteidigen kann (z.B. weil die Widersacher eine Gruppe bilden)." [...]

Prosch (1995, S. 20): "Mobbing stellt einen sozialen Konfliktprozess dar, in dessen Verlauf mit zunehmender Eskalation eine Personifizierung von Streitpunkten stattfindet. Der Ursprung der Entstehung liegt primär in strukturellen und sozialen Faktoren, die sich auf das Verhaltensmuster der am Konfliktprozess beteiligten Personen auswirken. Die dabei gezeigten Konfliktverhaltensweisen sind gekennzeichnet durch systematische feindselige Handlungen, die von einem Individuum oder einer Gruppe nachhaltig gegen eine bestimmte Person gerichtet werden, welche dem Konflikt auf Dauer deutlich unterliegt und für diese Person wie auch für den Betrieb negative Folgen mit sich bringen."

Schlaugat (1999, S. 113): "Mobbing am Arbeitsplatz stellt einen spezifischen Typ eines eskalierenden Konfliktes dar, der sich gleichsam als lang andauernder und intensiver transaktionaler Stress beschreiben lässt: Eine oder mehrere Person/en richten wiederholt und häufig über einen längeren Zeitraum subtil feindliche Handlungen verbaler und/oder nonverbaler Art gegen eine oder mehrere Einzelperson/en, die diese als sehr stressend bewertet/n. Da sich ihre Bewältigungsstrategien vorwiegend als ineffektiv erweisen, kristallisiert sich mit zunehmender Dauer des Prozesses eine asymmetrische Rollenverteilung heraus, in deren Folge verstärkt physische und psychische gesundheitliche Beeinträchtigungen auftreten."

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Niedl (1995, S. 23): "Unter Mobbing am Arbeitsplatz werden Handlungen einer Gruppe oder eines Individuums verstanden, denen von einer Person, die diese Handlungen als gegen sie gerichtet wahrnimmt, ein feindseliger, demütigender oder einschüchternder Charakter zugeschrieben wird. Die Handlungen müssen häufig auftreten und über einen längeren Zeitraum andauern. Die betroffene Person muss sich zudem aufgrund wahrgenommener sozialer, ökonomischer, physischer oder psychischer Charakteristika außerstande sehen, sich zu wehren oder dieser Situation zu entkommen"."

Wollmerath, 2001 (zitiert nach Meschkutat et al. 2002, S. 19) '(Mobbing ist) ... ein Geschehensprozess in der Arbeitswelt, in dem destruktive Handlungen unterschiedlicher Art wiederholt und über einen längeren Zeitraum gegen Einzelne vorgenommen werden, welche von den Betroffenen als eine Beeinträchtigung und Verletzung ihrer Person empfunden werden und dessen ungebremster Verlauf für die Betroffenen grundsätzlich dazu führt, dass ihre psychische Befindlichkeit und Gesundheit zunehmend beeinträchtigt werden, ihre Isolation und Ausgrenzung am Arbeitsplatz zunehmen, dagegen die Chancen auf eine zufrieden stellende Lösung schwinden und der regelmäßig im Verlust ihres bisherigen beruflichen Wirkbereiches endet.'

Merk (2004, S. 1) ,Vergleicht man die verschiedenen Definitionen, so lassen sich zusammenfassend folgende zentrale Bestimmungsgrößen herausfinden, die für die Einstufung einer Verhaltensweise als Mobbinghandlung ausschlaggebend sind:

- Die Mobbinghandlungen gehen von arbeitsplatzrelevanten Einzelpersonen (d. h. Kollegen, Vorgesetzten, Untergebenen) oder Gruppen formeller (Arbeitsteams, Projektgruppen) bzw. informeller Art (Pausengruppen) aus;
- Die Mobbinghandlungen sind auf eine bestimmte Person ausgerichtet;
- Die betroffene Person hat aufgrund ihrer Unterlegenheit als Folge ökonomischer (z.B. materieller Abhängigkeit), physischer (z.B. Körperkraft), psychischer (z.B. Selbstwertgefühl des Betroffenen) oder sozialer (Hierarchische Stellung als Vorgesetzter) Faktoren keine Möglichkeit, die Situation zu verlassen oder den Mobbingprozess zu beenden. Diese asymmetrische Rollenverteilung ist kennzeichnend für den Mobbingprozess. Sie entwickelt sich zudem auch aus dem Zusammentreffen verschiedener situativer Faktoren, wie z. B. durch
 - gezieltes Ausnutzen günstiger Situationen und Situationen, in denen der Betroffene nicht vorbereitet ist,
 - gezieltes Ausnutzen von Schwächen und Arglosigkeit des Betroffenen,
 - Unterzahl der Mobbingbetroffenen und ihrer Verbündeter gegenüber der Zahl der Täter und deren Verbündeter.
 - Unkenntnis der "Spielregeln" und Ziele der verletzenden Handlungen,
 - ungleiche Positionsmacht.
- Die betroffene Person empfindet und interpretiert die Handlungen subjektiv als Feindseligkeit, Demütigung oder Einschüchterung und beeinflusst ihre Verhaltensmuster entsprechend;
- Die Handlungen treten häufig auf und wiederholen sich über einen längeren Zeitraum;
- Die Mobbinghandlungen erfolgen systematisch und zielgerichtet gegen eine Person, wobei der Ausstoß des Betroffenen aus seinem Wirkungskreis oder die nachhaltige Schädigung seines Ansehens beabsichtigt ist. Ein Ausstoß

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aus dem Wirkungsbereich kann hierbei auf die (Eigen-)Kündigung aber auch auf ein Herausdrängen aus einer betrieblichen Position (z.B. Versetzung in eine andere Abteilung) oder auf den Entzug einer Funktion bzw. einer Berechtigung (z.B. Entzug der Handlungsvollmacht, Entzug einer Kfz-Zuweisung) angelegt sein;

- Die Handlungen erfolgen nicht allein auf Grund bestimmter Persönlichkeitsstrukturen, sondern weisen auf defizitäre Zustände und Belastungsfaktoren innerhalb des Betriebes hin:
- Mobbinghandlungen sind Folge einer zumeist verdeckten Konfliktsituation am Arbeitsplatz, wobei sich mindestens der Mobber der Gegnerschaft bewusst ist.

Eine Mobbingsituation kann immer dann als gegeben angesehen werden, wenn die vorgenannten Merkmale gegeben sind.'

10.3 Leymann's systematization of bullying at work

'The mobbing-expert Prof. Heinz Leymann speaks of "mobbing" when one or several of the following 45 exactly described actions occur over half a year or longer and at least once per week:

3.1. Attacks on the possibility of expressing oneself

- Being limited in the possibility of expressing him/herself.
- Being constantly interrupted.
- The possibility of expressing itself is limited by colleagues.
- Being shouted at or told off.
- Constant criticism of one's work.
- Constant criticism of one's private life.
- Telephone terror.
- Verbal threats.
- Written threats.
- Refusal of contact through devaluing views or gestures.
- Refusal of contact by suggestions, without expressing anything directly.

3.2. Attacks on social relations

- The person concerned is ignored.
- The person concerned is not allowed to express him/herself.
- Transfer into a room far away from colleagues.
- Work colleagues are not allowed to talk to the person concerned.
- Being ignored by colleagues.

3.3. Effects on social reputation

- Bad-mouthing the person concerned.
- Rumours are spread about him or her.

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- The bullied person is made to seem ridiculous.
- Expressing suspicion that someone is psychologically ill.
- Seeking to force someone to undergo psychiatric investigation.
- Scoffing at a handicap.
- Gait, voice or gestures are imitated in order to make someone look ridiculous.
- Attacks on the person's political or religious views.
- Making fun of the person's private life.
- Making fun of their nationality.
- The person concerned is forced to carry out work which offends his/her selfconfidence.
- The work input is judged in a false or insulting way.
- Decisions are questioned.
- Making the person concerned the subject of obscene invectives or other degrading expressions.
- Making the person concerned the subject of sexual approaches or offers.

3.4. Attacks on the quality of occupation and life

- No work is assigned.
- He/she is deprived of assignments so that the person concerned is not able to find a task.
- Useless work functions are given.
- He/she is assigned work which do not respond to his/her qualification.
- The person concerned is constantly assigned new functions.
- The person concerned is given offensive work functions.
- He/she is given work functions which exceed his/her qualification in order to compromise their reputation.

3.5. Physical attacks with an impact on the health of individuals

- Obligation to carry out unhealthy works.
- Menace of physical force.
- Application of light pressure in order to teach someone a lesson.
- Physical maltreatment.
- Costs are caused in order to harm the person concerned.
- Material damage is caused at home or on the workstation.
- Sexual touching' (Lohro and Hilp, 2001, pp. 7ff.).

10.4 Manifestations of bullying at work across Europe – examples

The variety of behaviours that constitute bullying/mobbing is so large that it is impossible to list them all. The fact is that much behaviour may or may not constitute bullying/mobbing, depending on the way it is carried out and its combination with other behaviours. Despite these difficulties in describing such behaviours, a large area of convergence can be detected across Europe, as seen in the points below taken from selected documents.

UK: Guidance on Bullying, UNISON, 1996

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

Ireland: Report of the Task Force on the Prevention of Workplace Bullying, 2001

- undermining an individual's right to dignity at work;
- humiliation;
- intimidation;
- verbal abuse;
- victimisation:
- exclusion and isolation;
- intrusion by pestering, spying and stalking;
- repeated unreasonable assignments to duties which are obviously unfavourable to one individual;
- repeated requests giving impossible deadlines or impossible tasks;
- implied threats.

Sweden: Ordinance of the Swedish National Board of Occupational Safety and Health containing Provisions on Measures against Victimisation at Work, 1993

- slandering or maligning an employee and his/her family;
- deliberately withholding work-related information or supplying incorrect information of this kind;
- deliberately sabotaging or impeding the performance of work;

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- obviously insulting, ostracising, boycotting or disregarding the employee;
- persecution in various forms, threats and the inspiration of fear, degradation, e.g. sexual harassment:
- deliberate insults, hypercritical or negative response or attitudes (ridicule, unfriendliness, etc);
- supervision of the employee without his/her knowledge and with harmful intent;
- offensive 'administrative penal sanctions' which are suddenly directed against an individual employee without any objective cause, explanations or efforts at jointly solving any underlying problems. The sanctions may, for example, take the form of groundless withdrawal of an officer duties, unexplained transfers or overtime requirements, manifest obstruction in the processing of applications for training, leave of absence and such like.

ILO: Collective Agreement on the Prevention and Resolution of Harassment-related Grievances, 2001

- measures to exclude or isolate a protected (targeted) person from professional activities;
- persistent negative attacks on personal or professional performance without reason or legitimate authority;
- manipulation of a protected (targeted) person's personal or professional reputation by rumour, gossip and ridicule;
- abusing a position of power by persistently undermining a protected (targeted) person's work, or setting objectives with unreasonable and/or impossible deadlines, or unachievable tasks;
- unreasonable or inappropriate monitoring of a protected (targeted) person's performance:
- unreasonable and/or unfounded refusal of leave and training.' (Di Martino, Hoel and Cooper, 2003, p.7 ff.).

10.5 Investigation tools, covering letter and questionnaires

10.5.1 Example of a covering letter

Assessment of bullying situations by experienced teachers

Dear principal Mrs./Mr. ..., Dear teachers,

The pilotstudy 'Teachers in bullying situations – Tibs' provides the German contribution to a european co-operation project. It is carried out by the Centre for Applied Health Sciences at Leuphana University Lueneburg. Prof. Dr. Peter Paulus has the research leadership, Dr. Heinz Witteriede is in charge of the project management.

The project aims to identify prototypical bullying situations in teachers' school life. The team has first analyzed and systematized available descriptions of bullying situations in teachers' school life. This has resulted in 20 real and presumably prototypical case examples.

Whether these situations can be regarded as prototypical or not remains to be proven.

Since such proof requires the expertise of experienced teachers, we would be extremely grateful, should you care to support us in this work.

Please find attached the cases which are each accompanied by a very short questionnaire. We would ask you to estimate every case by crossing where applicable. The single cases can be distributed within your faculty, but only those colleagues with more than at least five years school experience should take part. Each case will only take you between five and ten minutes to deal with.

This investigation requires neither personal nor school data. Only the gender of the interviewiees and the type of school at which they are working will be needed. The questionnaires can be collected and returned to us without applying a sender address. This serves to protect the identity of the school and of the involved teachers.

We would ask you for your answers please, by xx.xx.2007. Please find attached a stamped addressed envelope to eliminate personal cost and a distribution sheet as a support in organizing the distribution of the cases within your faculty.

Thanking you very much in advance!

Yours sincerely,

(Prof. Dr. Peter Paulus) (Dr. Heinz Witteriede)

P.S., the project results will be available for you on the web site of the Centre for Applied Health Sciences (www.uni-lueneburg.de/zag/) around April/May 2008.

Should you have any questions, please, do not hesitate to contact Dr. Heinz Witteriede.

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10.5.2 Questionnaires

For the victim cases

Ple	ase cr	oss w	here app	licable -	- many t	hanks!					
	fem	ale				male	;				
	prir	nary so	chool			seco	ondary so	chool			
I	Situation has not been experienced,										
	I do not consider it possible, that this situation could occur in identical or similar form.										
	I cons form.	ider it	<u>quite</u> unli	<u>kely</u> (< 2	5%), that	this situa	ation cou	ld occur i	n identica	al or similar	
		ot cons ilar forr		<u>y</u> likely (>	25% but ·	< 50%), th	nat this si	tuation co	uld occur	r in identica	
	I cons form.	ider it <u>l</u>	<u>ikely</u> (>50)% but <	75%), tha	nt this situ	ation cou	ıld occur	in identic	al or similaı	
	I cons	ider it <u>v</u>	<u>ery likely</u>	(>75%), t	hat this si	tuation co	uld occu	r in identio	cal or sim	ilar form.	
II	Situa	tion h	as been	experier	nced						
	I have	been i	nvolved in	n a similar	situation	once.					
	I have	been i	nvolved ir	n a similar	situation	several ti	mes.				
	I have	once c	bserved a	a similar s	ituation in	n which a	colleague	e was invo	olved.		
	I have	severa	al times ob	served a	similar si	tuation in	which a	colleague	was invo	lved.	
Ш	Situa	tion h	as been	credibly	reporte	d					
	Collea	gues h	ave repor	ted a simi	ilar situati	on to me	once.				
	Collea	gues h	ave repor	ted a simi	ilar situati	on to me	several ti	mes.			
A. t B. t	Please make an estimation, by crossing where applicable, of: A. the degree of stress caused by the situation for Mr./Mrs; B. the degree of difficulty in mastering the situation for Mr./Mrs A. Degree of stress (1 min – 10 max)										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
В. [Degree	of diffi	iculty (1 r	min – 10	max)						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

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For the witness cases

Pie	ase cross wi	iere app	olicable -	· many t	manks!				
	female				male	Э			
	primary so	chool			sec	ondary s	chool		
	ase take the blicable.	perspec	ctive of th	ne witne	ess Mr./N	⁄lrs a	nd cross	s where	
I	Situation ha	as not b	een expe	rienced	l,				
	I do not consi	der it pos	sible, that	this situa	ation coul	d occur i	n identical	or similar	form.
	I consider it form.	quite unli	ikely (< 25	5%), that	this situ	ation cou	ıld occur	in identica	al or simila
	I do not consi or similar form		y likely (>:	25% but	< 50%), t	hat this s	ituation c	ould occur	r in identica
	I consider it <u>I</u> form.	ikely (>50	0% but < 1	75%), tha	at this situ	uation co	uld occur	in identic	al or simila
	I consider it v	ery likely	(>75%), tl	nat this s	ituation c	ould occu	ır in identi	cal or sim	ilar form.
II	Situation has been experienced								
	I have been involved in a similar situation once.								
	I have been involved in a similar situation several times.								
	I have <u>once</u> observed a similar situation in which a colleague was involved.								
	I have <u>several times</u> observed a similar situation in which a colleague was involved.								
Ш	Situation has been credibly reported								
	Colleagues have reported a similar situation to me once.								
	Colleagues have reported a similar situation to me several times.								
A. t B. t	ase make an he degree of the degree of Degree of stre	f stress f difficul ess (1 min	caused b	y the sistering t	ituation the situa	for Mr./I	Mrs; Mr./Mrs	.	
	1 2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
В. [Degree of diffi	culty (1 i	min – 10	max)					
	4 2	2		_		7	0		40

10.5.3 20 descriptions of bullying situations in teacher's school life

	A. Teachers as victims (B. Teachers as perpetrators)
Code A1.1	Bullied by principal / deputy head: 'In the principal's sights – criticised, isolated and degraded'
	Jens Grümmert has been working for eight years as a mathematics teacher in his current school. This is the second school he has taught at. Alongside his mathematics position he was also appointed as form teacher. Mr. Grümmert enjoyed his work immensely.
	In 2002 Mr. Grümmert took over as form teacher of a difficult class of students. He supposed that Mrs. Hanse, the headmistress, believed him to be capable of taking this class. Since taking over this class the behaviour and results of the students improved dramatically.
	The bullying started not long after that appointment. Mr. Grümmert was a loss as to why the headmistress had begun these unprovoked attacks. Mr. Grümmert started to be continually asked to have meetings with the head, in which she would take the opportunity to criticize his teaching methods. The progress made by the class seemed to go unnoticed. Despite these improvements the headmistress was always able to find faults. The headmistress claimed that some of the parents were unimpressed with his work and had officially complained. Mr. Grümmert was surprised by this statement. He could not understand why these complaints were made when the previous week, (at the Parent – Teacher evening) the parents had discussed with him how pleased they were with the progress their children were making. Mr. Grümmert asked the headmistress to tell him the names of the complaining parents. She answered that names would not be discussed. The headmistress warned him in a menacing voice that it is her job to rate him and his work, and that parents were to be left out of the equation. Under no circumstances was he to contact the parents without her prior knowledge.
	Events escalated when the headmistress decided in summer 2003, at the end of the school year that he would not be required as form teacher anymore. He was given no prior warning or any reason as to why this decision was made. When Mr. Grümmert refused to accept this, he was accused of not being a good colleague, and was told that his appointment to that job had only been temporary. The headmistress reminded him that he had no right to that job and that it was her decision alone that mattered. The following day Mr. Grümmert attempted to give the headmistress a letter in which he stated his objections to the sudden demotion, but the headmistress advised him that she had no intention of reading his letter. She subsequently started frequently visiting Mr. Grümmerts' class unannounced. He was not able to fend off the feeling that she was only visiting the class to find faults with his teaching and he began to feel uneasy with these constant appearances.

During conferences his contributions to the discussions were ignored. Even when colleagues addressed him within these meetings, they would be constantly interrupted or the subject in which they were discussing would be changed. Soon Mr. Grümmert realized he was being isolated, because none of the colleagues wanted to damage their relationship with the headmistress. From that point on he heavily began to feel physically and mentally strained, but succeeded in managing until the holidays more or less even though most days were accompanied by a headache.

When the new school year began Mr. Grümmert became aware that he had a lot of free lessons in-between classes compared to his colleagues. As well as that he was also given an extra large number of pupils.

During his free lessons Mr. Grümmert started to be delegated odd jobs. For example he had to assist the caretaker in clearing out the basement or had to work out a new system for grading in the library. When Mr. Grümmert asked why he had been given these odd jobs, the headmistress became furious and asked him to leave the room without giving him an explanation. A meeting was then held between the headmistress and Mr. Grümmert in which two members of the staff council attended. When they discussed the problems that had arisen it became clear to Mr. Grümmert that the two council members were in agreement with the headmistress who assured them that she did not consciously make any mistake and that she did not feel guilty of any wrong-doing.

Mr. Grümmert felt completely depressed. From then on, his anxiety became worse and he felt uneasy every time he saw or had to deal with her. Sleepless nights lead to tiredness and lack of concentration with his teaching. He felt increasingly burnt out.

	A. Teachers as victims (B. Teachers as perpetrators)
Code A1.2	Bullied by principal / deputy head: 'Under pressure from the deputy head – picked on for ages'
	Margret Lemsch has been working as a sport teacher for 22 years. The deputy head Peter Hoff who also worked as a sport teacher at that school began bullying Mrs. Lemsch not long after she started.
	It started with a joke that Mr. Hoff played on Mrs. Lemsch. They were in the indoor swimming pool to give swimming lessons. Mr. Hoff was aiming balls and throwing them to the children playing in the water. Even though Mrs. Lemsch cannot remember everything that happened, she can remember thinking about how she should react to one of the balls thrown by Mr. Hoff. It had hit her hard in the stomach. The deputy head looked over at her in an innocent way, but it was obvious to her that he was proud with his throw.
	Several months later, during a sports meeting, the deputy principal accused her of consciously manipulating the long jump results. Mrs. Lemsch was angered by his accusation about the long jump and decided to address him about it during the next conference. Mr. Hoff then contradicted having said

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such things and insulted her. The two colleagues who were present at the last conference did not say anything to agree with, or contradict what was said. As such the problem could not be resolved.

In the following years the deputy head insulted her at any given chance or tried to degrade her in front of their colleagues, sometimes going far enough to not only to vent his hostilities on her, but also on her students.

In 1994 Mrs. Lemsch planned a school trip with her fourth year class. When she entered the staffroom in order to fetch an accordance application form, Mr. Hoff shouted abuse at her through the open door: "I will kick your big ass ... Mrs. Lemsch! You could have asked for it two days earlier during our conference. Now, you are holding everyone up again. We have more important things to do rather than run around after you!" A real drum roll of insults followed.

Mrs. Lemsch was really taken aback by this and complained to the principal and the staff council. As his secretary refused to testify, the principal could only demand an apology from the deputy principal. Mrs. Lemsch could hardly take the apology seriously because the principal had forced Mr. Hoff to apologise.

After this incident Mrs. Lemsch started noticing that some of her colleagues were withdrawing from her. She looked into this odd behaviour and learned that the deputy head had alienated her from the rest of her colleagues. The alienation was due to the deputy head criticizing her work and her behaviour openly to the other members of staff.

What's more, she had to regularly endure direct bullying from Mr. Hoff. While the principal was attending a rehabilitation centre in the middle of the year, the deputy principal ordered Mrs. Lemsch to move from her current classroom into a smaller one in the basement. During the following years Mrs. Lemsch had to move her class several times, always near the end of the year – she was the only staff member who had to do so.

It did not seem to matter whether Mrs. Lemsch was dealing with the start of school information evenings for new pupils or even just necessary changes to the timetable, the deputy principal knew how to give her a hard time and did not respect her wishes. He would even go as far as to cancel meetings she had arranged stating that she was unable to attend when she had said nothing of the sort.

The principal was not at all responsive to the repeated complaints – He would state that they are both adults and should resolve this matter with each other. Today, shortly before retiring, Mrs. Lemsch still suffers from these bullying attacks. The burden of these attacks has left her feeling helpless and this feeling carries over into her private life.

A. Teachers as victims
(B. Teachers as perpetrators)

Code A2.1

Bullied by colleague(s): 'Unworthy successor – being in the crossfire between two sides and solid confines'

Sabine Bose returned to work after having 3 years maternity leave. At her new school she replaced the English teacher Mr. Wintermeyer who had achieved successfully a new position in school administration. Mr. Wintermeyer left behind many colleagues who had a lot of respect for him.

On her first day, Mrs. Bose felt an unexplainable exclusion coming from some colleagues while she was looking for a place in the staff room. She became aware that these teachers were supporters of Mr. Wintermeyer. They seemed to deem Mrs. Bose as an unworthy successor of Mr Wintermeyer.

Shortly before the autumn holidays Mrs. Bose took over the class. To her surprise she found out that no tests had been written. Mrs. Bose had to ask several times to get the classes oral marks as to see how the class was doing. At this point she realized that she had to write three tests for the half yearly school exams. These constant enquiries caused tension between her and her colleagues; they did not seem to be interested. Mrs. Bose found that she could only ask a few teachers for advice, these colleagues were happy to help despite the hostility of the rest.

It soon became apparent that the previous colleague Mr. Wintermeyer had become something of a political issue. She had never before seen a school where the atmosphere was so cold and rigid. Seating arrangements in the staff room, conferences and privileges concerning specific teachers all had that certain rigidity about them. They talked very seldom about pupils, and when they did it was in a bad way; they did not accept if other colleagues had a different opinion. The school seemed to be functioning under very high tension. Critical questions asked by Mrs. Bose and a few other colleagues were promptly disregarded with the answer: "We have been doing it like this for 20 years."

To Mrs. Bose these rigid structures were elusive because nobody informed her of changes in day-to-day activities. When she did get information, usually only partial, it was hidden behind a hand of a trusted colleague. Inside she was against this behaviour and had no desire to become a part of it.

When in conferences Mrs. Bose did not receive any respect. She was physically and mentally exhausted. When discussing the need for new class materials for the students her opinion was not taken into consideration and was not allowed to buy anything for 3 years. When Mrs. Bose questioned the way things were done, she always would get the answer that she was still new and clearly did not know how this school operated and would always get killer glances and gestures.

What's more, when she was entering the staff room or met a group of colleagues in the hall, the colleagues would often stop talking. She often

received information about projects or meetings so late that she could not plan any further of her own projects with her pupils.

All in all there had been many incidents where Mrs. Bose was excluded or declared as incapable as a teacher by her colleagues. Also, the head of English would be late in informing her about up and coming appointments, sometimes only two hours in advance. When Mrs. Bose could not make these appointments, the colleagues would say: "She never has time." Also it turned out that her fellow English teachers would check the marking of herstudents' English tests to make sure she was correcting them properly.

If Mrs. Bose forgot to watch the pupils' break-time she was immediately informed to the principal. When they changed the time-table Mrs. Bose got most of the classes in the afternoon. Mrs. Bose' father died shortly after, to which she applied for a special leave. She had to stand testy questions. The colleagues had the nerve to ask why this leave should be given. They had no words of sorrow or compassion.

In the end, very few colleagues had the courage to keep in close contact with her, when always having to face the immense hostilities of the majority. After four years Mrs. Bose was completely worn out and her health was suffering. Contrary to the feeling of failure and having felt not enough was done to solve these problems Mrs. Bose finally could not find any other way out than to apply for a transfer.

A. Teachers as victims (B. Teachers as perpetrators)

Code Bullied by colleague(s): 'Wrong work background of the new colleague A2.2 - forced to leave'

Eva Feldmer is 43 years old and a teacher in the Information Technology Department. Before coming to her present school she worked for several years in schools abroad and also for three years at a German university.

She wrote: "Never before have I experienced being bullied at work. I was not really aware of what was happening until I became ill. From that point on I could not work as a teacher anymore."

At the start of the year it became apparent to Mrs. Feldmer that a certain colleague - Mr. Müller had a problem with her. From the first meeting he picked on her and her career. Mr. Müller said that she does not realize how to manage her professional life and criticized her heatedly in front of other teachers. He made jokes about her style of dress and also imitated her. Some of their colleagues did not seem to be interested in his "jokes", but others were clearly enjoying it behind her back.

At first Mrs. Feldmer thought that she should not take these initial mockeries seriously. She thought it would be better to ignore these insults than to let him think that he has got the better of her. Mrs. Feldmer hoped that the situation would improve. But unfortunately the situation got worse.

Mrs. Feldmer began to hear about more of these unfavourable comments. In the hall, he would often bump into her and apologise hastily with words like "sorry it was only an accident" or "I was not watching where I was going". Mrs. Feldmer could not believe that such a great number of "accidents" could happen.

Mrs. Feldmer screwed up her courage one day and asked Mr. Müller directly for the reasons of his behaviour. He reacted very politely and reassured her that it was all just fun and games. She asked him kindly to please set aside these jokes in future.

After this discussion Mrs. Feldmer felt that instead of things getting better that it was in fact the trigger for his behaviour to get worse. In the staff room particularly rude jokes were made about her. In the presence of other colleagues Mr. Müller called her "Mrs. Defensive" and she heard again and again that he used this expression in front of other colleagues. Mrs. Feldmer was not only appalled by his behaviour but also that it was tolerated by the other members of staff. Nobody seemed to bother challenging his behaviour.

Mrs. Feldmer was fuming – but at the same time she became more and more insecure with herself. Both feelings seemed to become stronger as the year went on. It was a paradox, even at the weekends she could not recover: "Even when the stress seemed to decrease, nothing worked as it should and regularly I had anxiety attacks which left me feeling paralyzed."

A. Teachers as victims

Code A3.1

Bullied by school employees: 'Unexpected bullying situation systematically picked on by the caretaker'

Peter Kalski has been working as the Technology Teacher at a middle-sized village school for 6 years. During these 6 years, Mr. Kalski had to endure attacks from the highly respected and admired caretaker of the school, Mr. Anton.

At the end of his first year at school Mr. Kalski noticed a shift in Mr. Antons' demeanour, it started when Mr. Anton stopped greeting him and it seemed to Mr. Kalski that he began to be unfriendly and uncooperative. When Mr. Kalski needed the assistance of the caretaker, the caretaker would be late or not come at all and only come after repeated requests. Thus, Mr. Kalski had to wait several days for even miscellaneous items such as the replacement of a bulb or a problem with the heating. When the furniture needed to be repaired, Mr. Kalski had to wait for several months before Mr. Anton would do the necessary repairs. When he enquired about Mr. Anton to other colleagues, they pointed out that they did not have this problem, on the contrary, he did his work on time and creditably.

From this point Mr. Kalski tried not to ask any service of the caretaker at all until the stress became almost unbearable. Before long the caretaker started to spread rumours about Mr. Kalski and tried to turn the other colleagues against him. It then became apparent to Mr. Kalski the reluctant behaviour from some of his female colleagues. When he asked a close colleague

about this behaviour, he was told that nearly the whole staff already knew that he had been seen with another woman and that he was risking his marriage. It turned out that the caretaker had spread these rumours. Mr. Kalski became distressed about this conniving behaviour and he was afraid that such rumours could be known very quickly in a small town, which would lead to further problems out of school.

Mr. Kalski then learned from his pupils that the caretaker was openly mocking him, usually around the kickstands after school. After classes at the sports hall the caretaker also made comments to some students about the way Mr. Kalski walked and the fact he thought that Mr. Kalski was getting too big for his boots. It then became clear to Mr. Kalski why his authority was decreasing in his classes.

Mr. Kalski took Mr. Anton aside one day to ask him directly what his problem was with him. Mr. Anton rejected all accusations vehemently and appeared to be outraged. Mr. Kalski did not even achieve anything when he had a one-on-one meeting with the principal who assured him that Mr. Anton has been a very trustworthy and reliable employee for many years; he is easy to get along with and has had no problems in the past. The principal said he could not imagine this situation happening and therefore Mr. Kalski assumed that the principal did not even approach the caretaker about his complaints. Mr. Kalski asked some of his close colleagues to support him with his reproaches towards the principal, but they wanted to be kept out of it. They were afraid of creating complications of their own with the head.

Soon after the meeting Mr. Antons' attacks decreased, but not for long. Mr. Kalski realized that Mr. Anton continued to provoke him but now more subtly. Mr. Kalski was at a loss and felt himself at the mercy of the caretaker. It was at that point he decided to take his issue to the school authority even at the risk of creating lasting problems with the principal and his colleagues.

	A. Teachers as victims
Code A4.1	Bullied by students: 'The new form teacher – targeted by dissatisfied students'
	At her first job as a teacher Petra Tallmann was to take over the class of Mrs. Friesen who now took a different class of students in a higher grade. The students were in their third school year, and Mrs. Tallmann was their new class teacher. Mrs. Friesen was a very relaxed and broadminded teacher who was respected by both staff and students alike. Mrs. Tallmann described herself as obliging, fair and ambitious, perhaps sometimes even a bit strict.
	Mrs. Tallmann noticed very quickly that the students were rejecting her as their new teacher: "It did not matter what I did, everything was wrong from their point of view." Even after only four lessons, one student (Torge) ran out of the room, in a rage, screaming at her. He said that he would complain about her to the principal. But the principal showed him the door.
	A few days later Mrs. Tallmann was sent to the principal who showed her a students' circular he had intercepted in a class by chance. In the circular,

Torge suggested that Mrs. Tallmann was not interested in the students and their needs, that she was also consistently screaming at the students when they did not behave exactly to her expectations and to go to her lessons would be "a waste of time and be a risk to your health".

While Mrs. Tallmann read the circular, she said she felt dizzy and that her legs were trembling. She reassured the principal that the content of the circular was untrue. The principal assured her that he would not take this complaint too seriously, but he wanted to inform her that it would be his job to inquire about it. This incidence continued to have an effect on Mrs. Tallmann. The following day she was nearly unable to get out of bed; suffering from anxiety she felt unfit to work that day.

A couple of weeks later six other students were complaining about her lessons and the high standards set by Mrs. Tallmann. During one of her lessons she noticed that some of her students were talking about her, she heard them say that they planned to go to the local education authority in order to make a complaint about her. Two days later Mrs. Tallmann heard that the students were telling each other that it won't be long until she will be kicked out. Meanwhile most of the students did not greet her anymore, some of them even pulled faces behind her back or made rude gestures. Others refused to cooperate during the lessons and would ignore her instructions. "I got the feeling that I was not getting through to the students, and that they were just playing with me. I felt desperate; did the students want Mrs. Friesen back as their class teacher or was it just that they did not want me?"

Mrs. Tallmann contacted the former class teacher in the hope that Mrs. Friesen would be able to help her resolve the situation. Mrs. Friesen was also the school councillor. She expressed her concern that the students were writing anonymous letters of complaint instead finding other means of resolving their problems. Mrs. Tallmann felt that Mrs. Friesen seemed to be attacking her instead of understanding her dilemma. She wanted to ask the principal for an appointment and felt relaxed when he was the one that asked her. The students apparently knew about this appointment, and confronted Mrs. Tallmann with tactless and rude slurs shortly before it: "The students were in high spirits, they seemed to know what would happen to me and I felt a huge sense of anxiety."

To her surprise, not only was the principal present but also the head of the faculty who, when she entered, were covering the whole table with anonymous letters from the students' council; complaint letters that students had produced unbeknown to her. All the papers she noticed were from the class that was giving her problems, although she was teaching six other classes. In addition to that the head of the faculty advised her that just the previous day he had received complaints from several parents.

The principal put the complaint letters in order and talked about those which he deemed to be most relevant. Notes were made about the content of the letters and subsequently results were recorded.

During that process Mrs. Tallmann did not feel any substantial support for her from the members of staff that were present. Her mental stress was not at all a topic of discussion. The concluding statement suggested that she could manage the situation on her own. Mrs. Tallmann was not convinced at all by this statement. The only thing keeping her there was thinking about the nearing holidays.

A. Teachers as victims

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Code A4.2

Bullied by students: 'Bullying teachers – victim of the hierarchy dynamics in classrooms'

Mr. Bode is 51 years old and has been teaching mathematics and geography for many years. Two years ago, he also took up the position of form teacher in the 8th grade. Up until this time, he never had the feeling of being popular nor unpopular with his students.

One day, he started bumping into Tim more and more often. Tim is a mediocre student, but very athletic and up until that time had kept a low profile. Although not in his form class he did take Tim for a few classes. Without any reason, during a lesson where Mr. Bode was testing the students, he started telling Mr. Bode that he acted unfair. In the beginning, Mr. Bode kept a cool head and did not pay any attention to these comments. But Tim began disrupting his class more and more often with his comments of unfairness and injustice, all of which seemed to amuse him. Mr. Bode also received spoof comments about his dress, the way he walked and his voice. The rest of the class seemed to be slightly embarrassed by Tim's comments and hid their smiles behind their hands. But with Tim persisting with these insults it was not long before the class laughed openly at Mr. Bode.

At first, Mr. Bode tried to speak alone with Tim. Tim told him how weak he thought he was and that it won't be long until the classmates would pick up on it too. Mr. Bode noticed that Tim was informing some of the other classmates about their conversation the previous day and how Tim was trying to alienate him for the students. When Mr. Bode entered the classroom one day, Tim shouted that he reeked of alcohol and could smell it at the back of the class. Although frightened by this comment, Mr. Bode started the lesson. A lot of students were laughing openly at him. During the whole lesson, he did not have his mind on his subject and the students realized this.

At the end of the day, Mr. Bode thought about talking to Tim's parents and to his form teacher, but he feared that this would just escalate the situation. "I did not want to let it get me down. But when I think about it now, it was a big mistake not to do anything during or after that lesson because it showed the class that Tim had more power than I did."

From that moment not only did Tim continue to provoke Mr. Bode but his insults became even more serious. During one of the following geography lessons Mr. Bode lost his temper with Tim and asked him to leave the classroom. Tim ignored the order and remained seated with a big grin on his face, obviously encouraged by the numerous admiring looks on the faces of his classmates. Mr. Bode felt as though he lost his voice and could feel his confidence slipping away. When the laughter of the other students became unbearable, he ended the lesson early and left the classroom. Even in the corridor he could still hear the students shouting insults and abuse at him.

The principal was absent that day and Mr. Bode, completely drained, went to Mrs. Scholl who was another form teacher and asked for her support. She calmed her colleague and both reached an agreement that it would be best to have a meeting with Tim, his parents and the principal before the summer holidays. During this interview Tim's parents seemed to be surprised at their son's misconduct and they were only partially willing to admit that this had actually happened.

Even Tim showed himself as innocent; he thought himself more as a victim and was being picked on. Perhaps also Mr. Bode had to change his behaviour. But finally, he admitted having sometimes been a little bit rude and promised to improve.

Mr. Bode then hoped that the student meant it seriously and that he would succeed in overcoming his growing self-doubts, sleep-disorder and gastro-intestinal problems during the holidays.

Mr. Bode almost succeeded in recovering during the holidays and it looked like Tim was keeping his promise. Unfortunately shortly after, he started again with his cleverly placed attacks. Also last but not least, inspired by the growing approval and popularity from the class, he even gained the support of two more boys.

It was not long afterwards that Mr. Bode was going to school feeling uneasy again. Before every lesson in the class 8c he sweated and sometimes he trembled uncontrollably. Again and again Tim and his friends mocked him, abused him and thus humiliated him.

Sometimes, cardboards with swearwords had been fixed to his bike and he had to pump air in the tyres at least once a week. At the same time, his email-account was swamped with junk-mail about impotence, Viagra-pills and providers of sex websites for homosexuals. At night, the phone would ring often to which nobody was there.

Nevertheless Mr. Bode stayed with the class up to the end of the school year. He was able to change the lessons for the class 8c with a colleague who was a good friend. But he told his doctor that he was a nervous and physical wreck. The gastro-intestinal problems did not stop and his self-doubts concerning his abilities as a teacher grew. He really could not say how long he would be able to work as a teacher anymore.

	A. Teachers as victims
Code A5.1	Bullied by parents: 'Parents only concerned with good grades – teacher does not come up to expectations'
	"The hunting of high marks has become a kind of popular sport for every-body who has children. The mark-hunters are mostly parents, but this passion can also be transferred to their children. While in the past the battle for best marks was usually carried out only by a few parents, nowadays a growing number of parents become apparent. When a teacher is unwilling and cannot be convinced to give high marks, a lot of parents (mark-hunters) do not hold back to express their revolt."

With this citation from a play Gabriele Appen described her situation in the 10th class of grammar school. For three years Daniel (a student) had problems responding to the proficiency levels needed to be promoted into the next class. The form teacher of Daniel recommended to his father that the secondary school would be a good option for him. Daniel's father was very upset with Mrs. Appen's recommendation and insulted her. He said that she did not know how to properly motivate her students. He threatened her that he would only change his tune if Daniel would be promoted into the 10th class and succeed in taking his school-leaving exam. He would not accept her attitude to simply write off and get rid of weaker students.

Mrs. Appen told the other form teacher about this conversation. He calmed his colleague and recommended that she should not take it too seriously. He said that the responsibility of Daniel completing his school work was also up to the parents and in worst case; one could let him slip through to the next class. He would not be the first.

Two months later, at the schools open day, Mrs. Appen was briefing the parents of her students about the course systems in the next term. She said that her students along with their parents needed to make necessary decisions regarding what subjects they would continue with. Daniel's father interrupted her constantly in front of the other parents; he accused her of giving the students a hard time with no reason, which clearly reflected in their children's marks compared to their other subjects.

Mrs. Appen tried to get across to the parents that she set standards and expectations in motivation and team work for her students fairly and in preparation for their school leaving exam. She had no doubt about being fair and wanted the best for her students. But even Sarah's mother started to reproach Mrs. Appen about setting too higher standards. While some parents seemed to feel uncomfortable, others started to whisper. Daniel's father took advantage of the situation and started to instigate the parents to take his view of how Mrs. Appen was teaching their children and that it was unsatisfactory. At last two other mothers accused Mrs. Appen of being unfair in her marking. Mrs. Appen was still present when Daniel's father said that they should contact the headmistress and the education authority.

Due to the absence of the headmistress Mrs. Appen was not able to speak with her until the beginning of the following week. But in the days that lead up to the meeting Mrs. Appen recognized considerable changes in her class's attitude towards her. The students appeared to be more restless and in the breaks she noticed them whispering. In the corridor she heard Sarah announcing that: "The Appen' will be kicked out of the school if we do not get better marks soon."

When the conversation with the headmistress took place, several complaints from her students' parents had already been made. As well as this, the headmistress informed her that she had got an email telling her that several parents had already contacted the education authority. They were fearful that their children were not getting equal opportunities in their class with Mrs. Appen. The headmistress kindly told Mrs. Appen that she had to check the actual situation and asked for her understanding.

During the following four weeks Mrs. Appen did not hear anything from the headmistress. A lot of her students were behaving less friendly or more reserved towards her. Mrs. Appen found it difficult to establish a border between her and the meaningless criticism that was fumigating her classroom. In a "dramatic" letter from two representatives of the parent council she was informed that the education authority will start their investigations soon. In this letter other accusations were made; mostly about the teaching methods and the structure of the lessons.

Mrs. Appen did not understand she could hardly imagine that this was happening to her. Above all, the half-hearted or even missing support from the headmistress hurt her, and expected more action on her part. Meanwhile, Mrs. Appen feared that even more will happen and the situations will steamroll out of control.

A. Teachers as victims

Code A6.1

Bullied by the school authority system: 'Targeted by the school authorities – worn down by schools inspector'

Frieda Hoffmann worked in the same school since the 1980's. After some minor problems in the beginning, she worked for many years with acceptance.

When Mrs. Hoffmann complained that the principal had made a decision which in her eyes was wrong, the principal who was running the school under his control alienated her not just from the colleagues but also the person from the education authority. At the end of the year, this person applied for Mrs. Hoffmann's transfer to another school which was a great distance from her place of residence – a full one and half an hours drive. When Mrs. Hoffmann filed a protest against this transfer, it was said that enough English teachers existed in her area of residence, although she knew from colleagues that this was untrue.

At her new school Mrs. Hoffmann was greeted with a very cooperative atmosphere and to her great delight she returned to work in good spirits. But when she became ill almost three years later, she asked the education authority for a transfer to another school closer to her home. Her application was rejected.

Mrs. Hoffmann was nearly at the edge of a mental breakdown, she had to suffer from several indispensable operations, too. The long daily drives only added to her strain. To make matters worse, her relationship of six years with her husband separated when he stayed with his work in the same town of their residence. Divorce followed and Mrs. Hoffmann hit rock bottom.

With the support of the ministry of education she finally succeeded in a prompt transfer to another comprehensive school in her home town. But the decisive intervention from the top gave way to complications at her new school. She faced hatred and scorn from the other staff members right from the beginning. Some colleagues made their opinion known that they thought they did not need another English teacher, nor did they want one. Two years

later, one of her colleagues told Mrs. Hoffmann that before she had started the headmistress had told all colleagues that: "I have to take some of your English lessons away because the education authority has come up with her and she is already known for expecting to get away with special treatment."

With much effort on her part, Mrs. Hoffmann tried to organize this incriminating situation. The refusal of any cooperation from her colleagues could only be felt as subliminal; her health condition was suffering increasingly and with the addition of her mother's stroke, it put another strain on her already stressful life.

During this time two short unexpected visits followed from the education authority. Mrs. Hoffmann learnt that they knew everything about her current situation. The man from the education authority declared to her: "If you cannot work anymore, we suggest that you stop and apply for an earlier pension." During this visit she was also informed about the date of another more detailed visit.

This visit took place at the end of the year and ended up being like a tribunal. Her lessons were highly criticized and she was asked how she arranged and managed her lessons. Even her mental abilities were questioned. Furthermore, the man from the education authority suggested having heard from somebody that Mrs. Hoffmann had been seen several times working physically quite hard at her house during the many times she was 'ill'. A lot of suspicions and accusations followed. The conversation ended with a threat: "If there are no changes very soon, you will have to face the consequences."

If Mrs. Hoffmann did not have so many strains on her at that time, she would have protested instead of being a picture of misery. But under those circumstances she was relieved when the conversation was over. The fear of the mentioned consequences, deep feelings of helplessness and being at the mercy of the education authority stayed with her.

	C. Teachers as witnesses (A. Teachers as victims, B. Teachers as perpetrators)
Code C.1.1	Principal / deputy head bullies colleague(s) or vice versa: 'Abandoned - slandered by the principal'
	Ricarda Sommer, who has been working as teacher since 1996, reported having been a witness in a case of bullying two years ago at her school.
	The principal had repeatedly offended some of the female teachers in front of the pupils; this being the reason why there were so many clashes between the principal and some colleagues. Three of them asked the staff council for help. Mrs. Sommer and some other colleagues refused to show their support of their colleagues in fear of being asked by the principal whether they were involved in trying to get him removed.
	Mrs. Sommer then had to watch how a hard time was given to her colleague Mrs. Rothe who decided to take action against such strange behaviour by the principal. "At first, I was glad that I was refraining from being involved in

this situation, but later on, I often asked myself whether it would have been different for Mrs. Rothe if we had been in it together." said Mrs. Sommer, she also said that the main interest of the principal seemed to be in destroying systematically everything Mrs. Rothe enjoyed to do. Mrs. Rothe found it very hard when the principal deprived her from her theatre group. In conferences, the principal would criticise her work with defamation and irrelevant appraisal. Without prior consultation or decision, two peculiar pupils from the parallel class were sent into Mrs. Rothe's class.

Mrs. Sommer noticed that her colleague was often complaining about loss of appetite and nausea. She looked exhausted and was often moody.

Due to a lack of available teaching positions in 2000, a redundancy had to be made. For pedagogical and personal reasons Mrs. Rothe should have been the last one to go. But the principal succeeded in her displacement by false presentations, lies and the manipulation of colleagues.

The parents of Mrs. Rothe's pupils collected signatures in order to succeed in keeping her at her school. They formulated a disciplinary complaint too – in vain.

In remembering these events, Mrs. Sommer always got a bad feeling that somehow she had let Mrs. Rothe down.

C. Teachers as witnesses (A. Teachers as victims, B. Teachers as perpetrators)

Code C.1.2

Principal / deputy head bullies colleague(s) or vice versa: 'Unwelcome principal – colleagues do not give them a chance'

Peter Müller was working from 2000 until 2005 as a young teacher in his first school, reported that he became a witness just after he started working. The new principal had been systematically sabotaged by the well-rehearsed college.

It started with the pensioning of the old principal. More or less nearly the whole college thought that Mr. Schmidt, the deputy head would become his successor. The deception had been great not only for him, but also for some other colleagues when the education authority decided different, although most of the staff had tried several interventions. In abundance to that Mrs. Meisenfeld, a female colleague was chosen. In the beginning the colleagues did not accept this decision and were insistent that one should express solidarity with Mr. Schmidt. Only a small part of the college did not pay any attention to this behaviour and was uninvolved.

The first day of the "new headmistress" almost the whole college appeared then for the official reception, but it was not cordial at all - there were no flowers, no speech and even no entrance present. They just said hello to Mrs. Meisenfeld and said their own names. A lot of colleagues left the room while the headmistress was still speaking; they were excusing themselves with meaningful remarks that they still had a lot of things to do due to the unnecessary gap of time between the pensioning of the former principal and his replacement.

The communication with the headmistress was limited to only the necessary; the daily orders were carried out with delay and after repeated request. The headmistress' ideas about realignment and reorganisation were predominantly refused. The colleagues were referring to approved practices. In case the headmistress finally succeeded in pushing one of her ideas through after having had exhausting conversations, these ideas would be undermined and labelled as unsuitable before it would become normal practice.

Nevertheless, a conference with the education authority at the end of the year was a surprise to the headmistress. Mr. Müller later heard from a colleague involved that she had been confronted with many complaint letters from the college staff. It had been said that Mrs. Meisenfeld had concentrated her efforts in getting something accepted, but these were interpreted as imposing unnecessary pressure upon the colleagues. As well one felt embarrassed and in some cases even affronted by her inappropriate word choice in day-to-day contact. Her job performance had been called into question; referring to the incomprehensible and irrelevant issues that the headmistress placed on her staff.

Mrs. Meisenfeld who was always a great speaker found that she was not able to when confronted with such monstrous complaints. She became chalky and her face was littered with big red spots. In the end, the education authority said, one would stand by her, but she has to get things under control.

After the holidays she tried at first to appeal to her colleagues to support her in the following year and that attitudes, obviously misunderstood were not meant to offend. But soon afterwards she was confronted with the same resistance.

Some time later, she realized that students did not great her and sometimes she believed to have noticed that some of them made grimaces or insulting gestures while her back was turned to the blackboard. She could not explain the increasing problems of discipline either. The students did not work in her class. In addition, she once heard students in front of her door saying: "She will be suspended soon." To which they looked away frightened when they noticed her.

In the following weeks, Mr. Müller said he had the impression that Mrs. Meisenfeld came across filled with bitterness and kept everything to herself. Her appearance lost conviction, her self-confidence seemed to decrease more and more and her nervousness was obvious. Being more on edge, she campaigned vocally against colleagues, even in public and also against students. Just before summer holidays the education authority informed us that Mr. Schmidt would replace Mrs. Meisenfeld for an indefinite time. She did not return during my time at that school and later on, I heard she had left school work completely due to mental problems.

Today, I think I should have supported her actively or at least have defended her in front of the college. Left alone, she did not have any chance from the very beginning. But at that time I did not know how to act and in addition, I feared getting involved when I was so fresh out of University.

	C. Teachers as witnesses (A. Teachers as victims, B. Teachers as perpetrators)
Code C.1.3	Principal / deputy head bullies colleague(s) or vice versa: 'Early retirement – at the mercy of the principal'
	Manfred Segebrecht has been a dedicated and respected teacher at his school for 25 years. His friend and colleague Mr. Meisner is reporting his tale of woe,
	The problems started for Manfred when the principal retired. The principal had always taken over his classes whenever he fell ill. Manfred and I met once a week to play squash. During one of our games Manfred told me what he had to endure from the new headmistress. She basically accused him about having no experience at other schools due to his long occupation as a substitute teacher. She also said that he did not teach in a good way – and probably has never done. Manfred was excluded from conversations and the headmistress insisted that he showed her any written correspondence he had with parents before it being sent. When <i>she</i> wanted to decide on the organization of Manfred's class-parties, I advised him to take disciplinary action against her but unfortunately for him the education authority was protecting the headmistress.
	Beside these informal cuts to Manfred's daily duties, he was also attacked officially. During a staff meeting he was accused of being late to his lessons and when he had morning tea duty. Letters with complaints from students had supposedly disappeared from her desk.
	One and a half years later his troubles and health problems were escalating more and more, Manfred was suffering from apparent health disorders. He constantly had to call in sick. This matter of fact courted more and more the colleagues' resentment. One day the headmistress was highly stylizing his absence as endangerment for the school. I try in vain to ask the colleagues for some understanding to Manfred.
	A short time after Manfred was back at school, the headmistress and the education authority asked him to attend a meeting in the headmistress' office. In the following two hours my colleague found out that there had been many complaints to which the education authority thought were on serious enough grounds to discharge him and deprive him of his classes.
	Manfred, my wife and I deliberated what would be the best way to act against the headmistress. We decided on asking for legal advice at the Regional Council Authority who declared this request as an official disciplinary complaint. In the end, legal proceedings took place. Meanwhile Manfred knew about complaints parents had sent in. A negative statement from one colleague as well as a petition for his transfer had been made by certain long-time colleagues. Though these complaints could be disproved in the forefront of the hearing with the help of students and parents, Manfred fell seriously ill and finally retired early after several years of suffering. Since that time I was skating on thin ice, too. If I accepted a proposal as

criticism, I feared everything would come crumbling down. I suppose, some-

how, a lot of colleagues feared this secretly. I also wondered whether one could have done more for Manfred, especially the circle of colleagues who just watched it happen.

C. Teachers as witnesses (A. Teachers as victims, B. Teachers as perpetrators)

Code C.2.1

Colleague(s) bully colleague(s): 'Doubly bullied – vice form teacher as bully and agitator of students'

Mrs. Bettina Will was a witness of her colleague Mrs. Brahmst being bullied at her school. Mrs. Will was teaching Mrs. Brahmst social studies class at that time. Her notes describe the following events,

During a school trip some students told Mrs. Will that the substitute form teacher, Mr. Paust recently made fun of Mrs. Brahmst. The mentioned comments and remarks the teacher made were almost snaky and contemptuous towards Mrs. Brahmst. One student told Mrs. Will that Mr. Paust had told the boys' ways of upsetting Mrs. Brahmst easily and how to unnerve her. Mrs. Will used the situation to encourage the girls to think about fair behaviour and how Mrs. Brahmst should be treated with respect.

Three weeks later Mrs. Will heard during a conversation with colleagues that Mrs. Brahmst had increasing problems in her class. Mrs. Brahmst found it more difficult to prevail in front of her students. One colleague reported on recently witnessing in the corridor that some students were insulting Mrs. Brahmst in front of their other classmates. Among other things, this statement was said: "Such a silly thing like you should be shot!"

Meanwhile, the other colleagues did not seem to engage more than in conversation concerning the problems of their colleague. Mrs. Will became sceptical and it was conspicuous to her that the problems had occurred so abrupt and causelessly.

She asked Mrs. Brahmst about it directly. She was clearly relieved that there was somebody who did not want to minimize the situation and saw it for what it was. Over the next few months, Mrs. Brahmst tried several times to consult the substitute teacher in regard to finding some common ground where they could work together in solving the behaviour problems of the class. Unfortunately Mrs. Brahmsts' attempts of collaboration were met with only dismissive remarks and unsubstantial recommendations. It seemed to her that Mr. Paust was amused when she reported about the lack of discipline and the verbal slanders she was receiving from her students. Mrs. Will also retold what she had heard from her students regarding the situation.

Mrs. Will and Mrs. Brahmst conferred about what would be the next best course of action. Despite her indignation against the substitute teacher Mrs. Brahmst did not want to include the principal in her problem. Together during a conversation they informed Mr. Paust about Mrs. Brahmsts' indications and her apprehensions. Mr. Paust tried to make fun of the matter. When the two colleagues then proposed a meeting with the principal, he reacted aggressively and insulting: "A real dream-team has found its feet." Furthermore

he threatened the two teachers with "disclosing the kind of conspiracy that would be embarrassing."

The two women were unperturbed and made an appointment with the principal, inviting also Mr. Paust. During this meeting both accentuated that they would initiate decisive measures if necessary in case the substitute teacher would continue to set the students against Mrs. Brahmst. Mr. Paust saw himself as an accessible colleague who did not need to be accused by obviously hypersensitive women and on top of everything, being threatened. Certainly there would be other colleagues who would be glad to work with him and anyway, the holidays would start soon.

The principal then closed the conversation. The two women were not very satisfied with this conversation and sceptical about future development.

C. Teachers as witnesses (A. Teachers as victims, B. Teachers as perpetrators)

Code C.2.2

Colleague(s) bully colleague(s): 'Motivated teacher forced into isolation by colleagues'

For several years Anneliese Becker worked as the German teacher at her school. She described the following case of bullying at her college,

Martin Greif was a dynamic and very courageous teacher at our school whose way of teaching differed enjoyably for the students compared to the way of traditional teaching. He gained a lot of popularity, particularly where the students where concerned. The students sought his advice not only for school-related issues but also private.

Mr. Greif went with students from seven different classes to attend court hearings, centres of biology and stage performances. He worked with a variable weekly time-table and encouraged teamwork. He offered a course for healthy cooking, developed and implemented courses with the children and young adolescents during project days. I myself, having been nearly 18 years at this school, watched his actions with a kind of tautness. I must admit that he did not only show the others but me too, our lack of enthusiasm and how most of us kept in well-trodden paths.

I had also watched how such engagement can be pushed back and tried to be destroyed. Mr. Greif had been topic number one, even just after having started at my school. Few colleagues had a good word to say about him. It was said that he did not really teach and that he made things difficult for the other teachers by his method of teaching. I also heard how some of my colleagues made subliminal remarks about Mr. Greif in front of students. Some even tried to publicly minimize his competence.

Thinking about it today, I have to assume that the reason I did not say anything was because I was afraid of being cut by most of my long-time colleagues. I wanted to keep out of this — this also went for our principal. When he heard from some students what was going on behind his back Mr. Greif wanted a conversation with the principal and his substitute teacher to discuss what was being said. As I was told later from a colleague, both did not

take it seriously and they thought that the students were blowing the situation out of proportion.

The "Idealist" - was the name that Mr. Greif was called by all the colleagues of his faculty. They thought that they needed to 'show him the ropes' on how things were meant to done. In conferences, Mr. Greifs' often constructive proposals were continuously defeated and his professional qualifications were called into question. During these conferences and other meetings, it struck me that he was often the only one who was deprived of the necessary information. He was eliminated from the activities in the project weeks. When a colleague had to be replaced, his substitution was denied in public. When the holiday arrangements were discussed, he always was the last to be recognized even though he had two children at school. It was not long until Mr. Greif became completely isolated from the rest of the faculty.

I think this was the point where I did not wish to observe this case any longer. It had been embarrassing for me to witness what happened. I offered to substitute for Mr. Greif in his classes whenever he needed and talked with two colleagues about it. I pointed out that the behaviour in the college bordered on discrimination and that we should no longer accept this. Both colleagues neither agreed with, nor disagreed with me.

Mr. Greif continued to work as usual in spite of these circumstances. The cooperation with some institutions awakened some high interests from some students who even did not have class with him. When these students asked their teachers about it the situation escalated. It went to such extremes that he was threatened during the following meeting. He was told that they would collect signatures in order to complain against him to the education authority.

My colleague did not come to work the next day. After not seeing him at work for three days, I called him and his wife told me that he had a breakdown and that she was not sure whether he would come back because during the last half year his heart had been giving him difficulties too. I was stunned and realized that I had observed this situation for too long and did not act in a way that would really have helped him.

	C. Teachers as witnesses (B. Teachers as perpetrators)
Code C.3.1	Colleague(s) bullies pupil(s) or vice versa: 'Collateral damage - unconfident teacher makes student an outsider'
	Mr. Paal was the Geography and English teacher at a comprehensive school where he is teaching mostly at junior high level. His colleagues characterized him as a very insecure person and supposed that the students also noticed his insecurity. Mr. Paal had many problems with discipline in his classes. Only in the class 7a problems did not seem to exist. The reason why it was different there, the colleagues did not recognize.
	Mr. Meyer who was also teaching 7a, observed that Marius, a little bumbling and still childish boy, appeared extremely insecure from the beginning of the school year. The class picked on him and taunted him it seemed, without

interruption. Mr. Meyer noticed, too, that the boy had to suffer from physical violations also. His class-mates would kick and jostle him ruthlessly; the girls tousled his hair while passing by or patted him disdainfully.

Mr. Meyer asked the form teacher what should be done in regard to this class, but he just dismissed it as "sillyness". As well he discussed the situation with the students, to which Mr. Meyer did not succeed in changing anything. The students would remain silent or drop insults about Marius. "He is just too stupid and doesn't even catch on to what we are saying"; "He is just an embarrassment to us."

Finally, Mr. Meyer tried to speak with Marius confidentially. The student was extremely nervous and tried to avoid the teacher when he asked him for possible causes of his class-mates hostile behaviour. Marius told him that he has had these problems since Mr. Paal started to joke and mock him. The teacher took the situation seriously and advised Marius to talk first with his form teacher and that he would talk with his parents. Marius was afraid that everything would get worse. Mr. Meyer was able to explain him that everything will only run worse if he did not look for help. He offered to accompany him to meet the form teacher.

During the conversation, Marius now apparently relaxed, told what was going on in his lessons with Mr. Paal. The student described a case where he had told his teacher that he could not find his homework book. Mr. Paal apparently moaned aloud and said: "Again its the tall one with a small brain that always has a problem!" The whole class laughed at him – Mr. Paal, the loudest. Countless hints and humiliations from the teacher followed. The class reacted with increasing laughter. Marius had then heard ceaseless comments from Mr. Paal like: "This is better than in the cinema!", "Our Marius: this year's winner of the smallest brain award!"

Marius said that it was not long until his class-mates were attacking him, too. One of them said: "Marius, go and visit the school for the handicapped!" Another one said: "A complete idiot does not need a high school degree!"

It became apparent to Mr. Meyer that Mr. Paal was distinguishing himself at the expense of Marius and searching for the students' respect by doing this. Most of the students in that class really liked Mr. Paal describing him as completely "phat" which even the staff heard about.

	C. Teachers as witnesses (A. Teachers as victims)
Code C.3.2	Colleague(s) bullies pupil(s) or vice versa: 'Targeted by the class - student bullies teacher with the help of his class-mates'
	Mr. Schoen reported the following case of bullying he had observed at his school. His colleague Mr. Cohn was concerned,
	It started when a girl crying, came into the class room of my colleague after the lunch-break followed by her class-mate Kai. The boy had apparently ceaselessly beaten the girl with a book. Mr. Cohn shouted warnings at Kai to which he did not heed. My colleague, slightly hesitant, seized the student

firmly on his shoulder and pushed him back whilst still shouting warnings at him. Kai then turned around and shouted at him: "Don't touch me! I will beat you up!" On the way into the next classroom, I saw what happened and went to help. Together, Mr. Cohn and I were able to finally separate the raging tantaliser from his victim.

This event had bad consequences for Kai. Together with his mother he had a meeting with his form teacher, Mr. Cohn and the principal. Here, amends towards the girl were discussed, which Kai had to fulfil over the following weeks. Muttering under his breath, he was resigned to accept at his mother's urging. And in turn she promised him, she would not tell his father.

One and a half months later, Mr. Cohn was telling me that he was having immense problems establishing himself since this event. In contrast to this, Kai had gained more respect and recognition from his class-mates. Following the descriptions of my colleague, Kai did not stop acting like the big-shot during the lessons and would interrupt him and try to make him feel insecure. He suggested that my colleague had clear favourites for instance. Kai said that his main interest was trying to take sides with him; speaking for the girls; how deep their neck lines or how short their skirts were. Everybody could see that he was gaping at the girls.

Several meetings with Mr. Cohn and Kai went without effect. His mother reacted in support of her son and she was convinced that the teacher had permanently picked on her son because of his one and only slip-up with the girl.

I felt strained when my colleague asked me for advice. I only could recommend him to ask the principal for assistance. But he did not deem it necessary to step in. The events Mr. Cohn reported were, in his eyes, minimised as childish nonsense.

In the following weeks my colleague appeared increasingly more self-absorbed. When I asked him cautiously, he told me, that he had enormous problems with other students in his class, some of them girls. Just this morning some students had blocked him in a very provocative manner his entry to the parking. He lost more and more self-confidence in himself – also towards us, his colleagues. He was nervous and looked filled with bitterness. But nobody showed any real interest or support towards him. Nobody wanted to burden themselves with anything that would be stressful, I suppose.

To be honest, I also wished that Mr. Cohn would not tell me all these things. I did not wish to be involved. In addition, I really did not know what I could do to help him when he told me he was receiving anonymous SMS every evening which contained distasteful insults and revilements.

By email he received several pornographic pictures in which his face had been attached over the original face. He was threatened that they would be put onto the internet. Often, pizza and large book-orders were delivered he had not ordered.

Anyway, the students seemed to succeed in their actions of demoralizing Mr. Cohn. Given that the class did not annoy other teachers, everybody thought that it was him where the problems lay.

The following school year, Mr. Cohn was often ill which only the substitute

teachers recognized because they had to give his lessons. Nobody asked about him, which seemed to add to the problems he already had with his health – one day our headmistress informed us that our colleague lay in a Psychiatric Hospital after he had survived an attempted suicide and that he was under medical treatment for one year because of serious depression.

I was petrified and taken aback with this information. In particular, I remembered how he said to me and some other colleagues in the staff room: "It is demoralizing that he had to meet the students with the fear being observed every day and waiting for a new attack."

C. Teachers as witnesses (B. Teachers as perpetrators)

Code C.3.3

Colleague(s) bullies pupil(s) or vice versa: 'Kinship expectations – teacher discriminates against family members'

Mr. August Borchert is on friendly terms with the Kloppel Family in the neighbourhood whose son Markus 13 and daughter Tina 16, go to his school. When Tina got his colleague Mrs. Dörfner as form teacher, problems started arising which the parents of Tina complained to Mr. Borchert.

Several parents expressed their doubts regarding Mrs. Dörfner to the Kloppels who were chairpersons on the School Council. Obviously, she would be inapt in teaching. Most of her students seemed to have gotten worse since the first semester of the school year. Due to the several requests, the Kloppels sought a meeting with Mrs. Dörfner.

After having reported the worries of the parents, they asked her about Tina's performance at school. Mrs. Dörfner answered: "The majority of the class will soon improve. A small decrease may happen sometimes when there is a change of form teacher. Tina is an open minded, happy girl, who sometimes has a big mouth, but she did not see her as a child with problems, everything would be alright."

The Kloppels went home with a good feeling, but already the next day Tina was compromised by the teacher in front of the whole class; reproaching her that she had to lead a tedious conversation with her parents who had wrongly seemed to believe that they would get special treatment as Chairpersons' of the School Council. Tina was constantly exposed to continuous bullying, amongst other things.

Mrs. Dörfner made fun of her again and again, also of her dress or criticised her hairstyle. Many a time she screamed at Tina and when Tina started to cry, she only said that she was too sensitive; she always asked Tina first to answer all her questions, whether it was regarding homework or vocabulary: "It is incomprehensible, really incomprehensible what you are presenting again. Are you trying to push me to the limit?!" Class-mates reported to the Kloppels that Tina was punished again and again without reason and too hard. When they tried to help her, they were also punished.

During the holidays, the parents, despaired with what was happening at school, contacted their neighbour appealing him to speak with Mrs. Dörfner or to discuss the problem in the staff room. He promised to do his best but

said that he had to tread carefully around Mrs. Dörfner as she was very popular in the college. The attempt failed. Soon after the beginning of the school year, Tina became the victim of the same attacks as last year. Unfortunately, Mrs. Dörfner started teaching her brother Markus that year, in Biology and he was also met with ridicule: "Now I have to bring up another nogood in this school. I hope you are more studious than your sister and don't believe in just bumbling your way through school."

Over the following months, the children of the Kloppel Family did not get a moment's peace. Tina and Markus' social position in their classes was weakened by the insistent attacks and insults from Mrs. Dörfner. Both of them seemed to annoy their other teachers too due to tiredness, joylessness and helplessness, even when the requests and questions were simple. The situation escalated at the end of the school year when Markus was kept in after school for two hours for having only been speaking in the corridor.

The Kloppel Family threatened the principal with a disciplinary complaint at the education authority if he did not call a meeting at once. Mr. Borchert was meanwhile mistrusted by Mrs. Dörfner and some other colleagues due to his involvement with the 'awkward Klopper family'. He got a queasy feeling thinking about the up coming conference. He thought he could be caught in the cross-fire.

C. Teachers as witnesses (B. Teachers as perpetrators)

Code C.3.4

Colleague(s) bullies pupil(s) or vice versa: 'Too weak and unwilling – 'well meaning' gym teacher harasses frail student'

Klaus Reider was a very popular teacher at his school for many years. Although he did not work as form teacher, over these years students came to ask him for advice in solving problems they had with other colleagues. This had been the case last week for 13 year old student Martin. He was living in a foster home, had frail limbs and did not give the impression of having much power; this probably caused by the fact that he was often in poor health since infancy.

Martin reported that his physical education teacher Mr. Freischer said to him quite bluntly in his third lesson that he perceived him as a wimp and that he would disturb the progress of the sports lesson; that he would be a bad example for his class-mates and that he would be an encumbrance to their formation. In short, Mr. Freischer informed Martin that he would be a problem that he would solve by whipping him into shape and he would appreciate it if Martin himself should kindly make an effort and "... do not be such a girls blouse, like this you will not become a red blooded male!" Soon afterwards the whole class and even other students from the school had a whale of a time because of Martin.

Over the following lessons Martin did his best to improve to his teachers standards, but his attainments did not get the appreciation of his teacher. To Mr. Freischer, he was not committed enough. Martin was not allowed to

speak, to which Mr. Freischer would say "This is not part of the subject". When other students got grades of a 2 or even a 1, Martin would only get a 4. This was denominated as mercy from his teacher and that he should accept it and be grateful.

Not only Martin but also some of his class-mates thought that he got a raw deal. Martin had done just as well as the others, but they did not have the heart to say it openly. Mr. Freischer answered an argument Martin had about his treatment by telling him that he cannot take his illnesses as pretence for getting around sports. Perhaps when he accepted this he would be able to achieve the attainments worthy to get better marks. Just the fear of the lessons made Martin ill sometimes – so he said to Mr. Reider.

The second half of the year, Martin was made to swim or run one extra lap/round or he had to do an extra exercise even when he obviously completely drained. "This is for your own good. This way you will get the necessary muscles." Mr. Freischer said. Martin also had to take cold showers after the sports lesson. "This will toughen you up and you won't be so ill in the future!" But Martin's constitution could not stand it. Sometimes Mr. Freischer just said that Martin should just do him a favour and ask for a transfer into another class so he did not have to put up with him and then, he could work properly with his class again.

At that moment Martin called on Mr. Reider and they arranged a meeting together with Mr. Freischer. He said that he only wanted the best for Martin and that he had to motivate him especially in order to help him achieve to the best of his ability, otherwise he would have given him a 6. One could do a 'motor activity' test and then, see that he would only ever gain a 4 or even less. Mr. Reider was very impressed with the reaction of his colleague and interrupted the conversation to think about future proceedings.

	C. Teachers as witnesses
Code C.4.1	Pupil(s) bullies pupil(s): 'Top of the class bullied by class-mates'
	Frauke Gabler, 44 years old, reported a cause of bullying between students she observed at her school,
	Marc was the most ambitious pupil in his class. He was calm and a little bit coy. I knew from his form teacher he would soon change to a higher school level. This upgrade seemed to dissatisfy some of his class-mates. They abased Marc in his class and outside during the breaks whenever they had the opportunity. Even when colleagues were nearby, they did not hesitate. Unfortunately, Marc also behaved sometimes displeasing in the eyes of his class-mates, thus slightly contributing to the situation. For instance he frequently imposed on himself the task of cleaning the board after lessons or he always volunteered for extra exercises immediately.
	Recently, I saw some students in the schoolyard threatening him with a beating if he did not stop behaving like such a nerd. Another day, when I entered the classroom, I saw three of the bigger boys in the class pushing

him into the corner and jostling him. They tore pages from his booklet and put them into his mouth. I tried to separate the boys, but they did not even notice me. Afterwards, they accosted me too. The following day I watched how Marc was hit in the face with the white-board duster – his nose bleed.

When I taught the class on Wednesday and Thursday, I noticed that Marcs' table stood far away in the corner of the class room. Every time I asked Marc a question or he wanted to mention something, the class made a puking sound.

Anabela was the only student who confronted her class-mates about their behaviour of segregation towards Marc. Unfortunately she got no support from anybody and therefore, her protest had no effect. On the contrary, she was made a mockery of.

Marc did not complain. I suppose he did not tell his parents about it. Instead of that he learned how to behave and how not to behave. He did not participate in the lessons anymore, leading to deterioration in his marks. I also observed that he had more and more difficulties following the lessons. Often, he just sat there vacantly.

Meanwhile, the bullying escalated. The whole class and also some students of the parallel class continued to bully Marc. By getting worse marks, he tried to get rid off his reputation as a nerd and to draw their attention off him, so he would not be targeted anymore. But he had no chance. When he got good marks and participated in the lessons, he was considered a nerd. When he got a four or a five and tried to disturb the lessons, his class-mates called him stupid and scoffed at him.

It was alarming to see what students where able to do to each other. The situation of Marc still occupied my thoughts which made it hard for me to relax after finishing work. I felt completely powerless.

	C. Teachers as witnesses
Code C.4.2	Pupil(s) bullies pupil(s): 'Out of the ordinary – bullied after conversion to a different religion'
	Gisela Althaus was teaching a variety of classes in a large school. It was there she saw the ruthless exclusion and isolation of one particular student, Nicola who had converted with her re-married mother to Islam. Since that time Nicola wore a Muslim headscarf and large clothing. As well, she was freed from mixed sport lessons by the request of her parents. Mrs. Althaus did not succeed in tempering the abusive behaviour of her class-mates. She reported the following,
	After the initial surprise and confusion of her class-mates, Nicola was the topic of their conversations and also the topic of jokes and mockery: "Do you have scales or what?" "Have you lost your hair?" "Funny rag, do you have something to hide?"
	At that time the teacher still hoped that this initial reservation and curiosity would calm down. She was aware that the religion of Islam even for adults

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often was connected with something foreign and inapproachable. Mrs. Althaus noticed that the student herself was at first not taken aback by the sayings and teasing. Nicola was at pains to explain to the class that also self-conscious women wear Islam headscarf and belong to this religion. But Nicolas explanations were only received with contemptuous gestures.

Over the following weeks, Mrs. Althaus observed that above all, the girls were segregating her. When Nicola tried to talk to them, they yelled at her. Even her former best friends said: "Does your brain still work?", "How silly are you, in fact?", "We do not want to be friends with someone like you anymore!" Mrs. Althaus tried to speak with the girls of her class about their behaviour of segregation, but she promptly got strong reactions of defence and aggression. The girls remained of the opinion that Nicola and her mother volunteered themselves to repression and abasement.

A few days later, Mrs. Althaus was in charge of overseeing break-time when she saw how Nicola was attacked physically by some girls. The girls kicked her, tore her scarf from her head and threw it into the wheelie bin. As they left the scene, two of them spat at her.

Before Mrs. Althaus was sure how to behave fittingly, the situation was over. She told her colleague who was also in charge with her during that break about the incident. He thought that the girls should resolve it between them. For him, this incident was over and done with. Mrs. Althaus was appalled at the reaction of her colleague and asked for advice from some other colleagues. She learnt that on one hand the teachers underestimated the situation and on the other hand, they seemed as overstrained with the situation as she was. Furthermore, from another colleague she got the confirmation that "Under such circumstances the motivation of the students is easy to comprehend."

The discriminating behaviour towards Nicola from her class-mates seemed to increase day by day. Nicola was retreating more and more, and it seemed that she was just letting her school days wash over. She gave up her attempt to waken up her school-mates tolerance.

One morning, on the information board near the entry of the school building. a big collage was hanging, and in the middle was a photo of Nicola. Around the photo were pictures of radical Islamist fundamentalists, cut from newspapers and journals. The same day, Mrs. Althaus intercepted little papers with comparable cartoon drawings of Nicola.

The attacks hit their peak when Nicola fasted last month. It seemed that everybody knew about it because she did not eat during the breaks and at lunch time she was not seen in the school cafeteria. Now, Nicola was insulted by the boys, too. Mrs. Althaus was not able to do anything when they laughed at Nicola because she had made a mistake or had got a bad mark.

Persistently, her class-mates called her stupid. When Nicola came back from the white-board, they would trip her up. They would also throw things at her or kick her bag as they passed her table. Meanwhile, Mrs. Althaus did not teach anymore by separating her class into small groups because the class-mates refused vehemently to work with Nicola. Often, Nicola left the class room running.

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"I am afraid", said Mrs. Althaus sorrowfully, "That Nicola will not come to school anymore. These events are also affecting my well-being at school. But the persistent feeling of powerlessness I have is the worst."

10.6 Covering letter, questionnaires and case descriptions for the German reader

10.6.1 Begleitbriefbeispiel

Beurteilung von Mobbing-Situationen durch erfahrene Lehrerinnen u. Lehrer

Sehr geehrte Frau Schulleiterin ..., (beziehungsweise: Herr Schulleiter ...,) Sehr geehrte Lehrerinnen, sehr geehrte Lehrer,

"Lehrerinnen und Lehrer in Mobbing-Situationen" (Teachers in bullying situations – Tibs) heißt die deutsche Teilstudie einer europäischen Kooperationsarbeit. Dieses Pilotprojekt wird vom Zentrum für Angewandte Gesundheitswissenschaften der Leuphana Universität Lüneburg durchgeführt. Die wissenschaftliche Leitung obliegt Herrn Prof. Dr. Peter Paulus, die Koordination Herrn Dr. Heinz Witteriede.

Ziel des Projektes ist es, prototypische Situationen von Mobbing im Berufsalltag von Lehrerinnen und Lehrern zu identifizieren, auf die sich dann praxisrelevante Handlungsempfehlungen zuschneiden lassen. In einem ersten Schritt sind hierzu verfügbare Situationsbeschreibungen analysiert, systematisiert und zu 20 Fallbeispielen zusammengefasst worden.

In dem jetzt anstehenden zweiten Schritt geht es darum zu überprüfen, in wie weit die Beschreibungen tatsächlich Situationen abbilden, die als typisch für Berufsalltag der Lehrkräfte gelten können.

Hierzu ist die Expertise von erfahrenen Lehrerinnen und Lehrern unverzichtbar. Deshalb möchten wir Sie um Ihre Mitarbeit bitten.

In der Anlage erhalten Sie die genannten 20 Fallbeschreibungen zum Thema Mobbing. In dem beiliegenden sehr kurzen Fragebogen werden Sie für jeden "Fall" um einige Einschätzungen gebeten, die Sie durch einfaches Ankreuzen vornehmen können. Die Fallbeschreibungen können grundsätzlich auf das gesamte Kollegium Ihrer Schule verteilt werden. Wichtig ist uns aber, dass nur Kolleginnen und Kollegen, die länger als fünf Jahre im Schuldienst sind, an der Befragung teilnehmen. Pro Fallbeispiel werden Sie circa fünf bis zehn Minuten Bearbeitungszeit einkalkulieren müssen.

Bei dieser Befragung werden weder Personaldaten noch Schuldaten abgefragt. Wir erbitten lediglich die Angabe Ihres Geschlechts und des Schulbereichs, in dem Sie tätig sind. Die Rücksendung der Fragebögen erwarten wir als Sammelsendung Ihrer Schule, die zudem ohne Absenderadresse erfolgen kann. Ein Rückschluss auf einzelne Personen oder Ihre Schule ist damit vollständig ausgeschlossen.

Wir erbitten Ihre Antwort bis zum xx.xx.2007. Zu Ihrer Unterstützung haben wir Ihnen einen Vordruck beigelegt, auf dem Sie neben der für ein Fensterkuvert passend eingearbeiteten Rücksendeadresse, auch eine tabellarische Auflistung aller von uns übersandten Fallbeispiele und Fragebögen finden. Der beigefügte Rückumschlag ist mit dem postalischen Hinweis "Entgelt zahlt Empfänger" versehen, so dass Ihnen keine Kosten entstehen.

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In der Hoffnung, dass Sie uns unterstützen, möchten wir Ihnen bereits an dieser Stelle herzlich für Ihr Engagement danken!

Mit besten Grüßen

(Prof. Dr. Peter Paulus) (Dr. Heinz Witteriede)

P.S.: Die Projektergebnisse werden für Sie ab April/May 2008 von den Internetseiten des ZAG (www.uni-lueneburg.de/zag/) abrufbar sein.

Wenn Sie Rückfragen haben, wenden Sie sich bitte an Herrn Dr. Heinz Witteriede.

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10.6.2 Die Fragebögen

Kre	Kreuzen Sie bitte das jeweils Zutreffende an – vielen Dank!									
	Le	ehrerin				Lehr	er			
	S	chulform	Primarb	ereich		Schu	ulform Se	kundarb	ereich	
I	Situation ist von mir noch nicht erlebt worden,									
	Ich halte es zudem für <u>ausgeschlossen</u> , dass diese Situation so oder zumindest in seh ähnlicher Form im deutschen Schulalltag vorkommt.									
	Ich halte es auch für <u>wenig</u> wahrscheinlich (< 25%), dass diese Situation so oder zumin dest in sehr ähnlicher Form im deutschen Schulalltag vorkommt.									
	Ich h	alte es je so oder zi	doch für <u>e</u> umindest	einigerma in sehr äh	<u>ßen</u> wah Inlicher F	rscheinlich Form im de	n (>25% a eutschen	aber < 50° Schulallta	%), dass og vorkom	diese Situa mt.
	Ich halte es aber für <u>durchaus</u> wahrscheinlich (> 50% aber < 75%), dass diese Situation so oder zumindest in sehr ähnlicher Form im deutschen Schulalltag vorkommt.									
	Ich halte es allerdings für <u>hoch</u> wahrscheinlich (>75%), dass diese Situation so oder zumindest in sehr ähnlicher Form im deutschen Schulalltag vorkommt.									
II	Situ	ation ist	von mir	bereits	erlebt v	vorden				
	Ich war schon ein Mal selbst von einer sehr ähnlichen Situation betroffen.									
	Ich war bereits mehrmals selbst von einer sehr ähnlichen Situation betroffen.									
	Ich habe <u>ein</u> Mal beobachten müssen, dass Kolleginnen/Kollegen von einer sehr ähnlicher Situation betroffen waren.									
	Ich habe <u>mehrmals</u> beobachten müssen, dass Kolleginnen/Kollegen von einer sehr ähnli chen Situation betroffen waren.									
Ш	Situation ist mir aus glaubwürdigen Berichten bekannt									
	Kolleginnen/Kollegen haben mir ein Mal von einer sehr ähnlichen Situation berichtet.									
	Kolleginnen/Kollegen haben mir mehrmals von einer sehr ähnlichen Situation berichtet.									
dui	Schätzen Sie bitte aus Ihrer persönlichen Sicht ein: A. den Grad der Belastung durch die Situation für Hr./Fr; B. den Schwierigkeitsgrad für Hr./Fr hinsichtlich deren Bewältigung. Markieren Sie dazu bitte einfach jeweils eine Ziffer. A. Belastungsgrad (1 = minimaler 10 = maximaler)									
_	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
B. \$				1	T) = maxin	,			46
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

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Kre	Kreuzen Sie bitte das jeweils Zutreffende an – vielen Dank!								
	Lehrerin				Lehr	er			
	Schulfor	m Primarb	ereich		Schi	ulform Se	kundarb	ereich	
	euzen Sie bi s Zeugen He	•		itreffend	e unter	Einnahm	ne der Po	erspekti	ve
I	Situation is	st von mi	r noch ni	icht erle	bt word	en,			
	Ich halte es ähnlicher Fo						on so ode	er zumino	dest in seh
	Ich halte es dest in sehr							ation so o	oder zumin
	Ich halte es jedoch für <u>einigermaßen</u> wahrscheinlich (>25% aber < 50%), dass diese Situation so oder zumindest in sehr ähnlicher Form im deutschen Schulalltag vorkommt.								
	Ich halte es aber für <u>durchaus</u> wahrscheinlich (> 50% aber < 75%), dass diese Situation soder zumindest in sehr ähnlicher Form im deutschen Schulalltag vorkommt.								Situation so
	Ich halte es allerdings für <u>hoch</u> wahrscheinlich (>75%), dass diese Situation so oder zu mindest in sehr ähnlicher Form im deutschen Schulalltag vorkommt.								
II	Situation ist von mir bereits erlebt worden								
	Ich war schon ein Mal selbst von einer sehr ähnlichen Situation betroffen.								
	Ich war bereits mehrmals selbst von einer sehr ähnlichen Situation betroffen.								
	Ich habe <u>ein</u> Mal beobachten müssen, dass Kolleginnen/Kollegen von einer sehr ähnliche Situation betroffen waren.								
	Ich habe <u>mehrmals</u> beobachten müssen, dass Kolleginnen/Kollegen von einer sehr ähnl chen Situation betroffen waren.								
Ш	Situation is	st mir aus	glaubw	ürdigen	Bericht	en bekaı	nnt		
	Kolleginnen/Kollegen haben mir ein Mal von einer sehr ähnlichen Situation berichtet.								
	Kolleginnen/Kollegen haben mir mehrmals von einer sehr ähnlichen Situation berichtet.								
dur lich	n ätzen Sie I r ch die Situa n deren Bev Belastungsg	ation für H Vältigung	łr./Fr; . Markier	B. den S en Sie d	Schwieri azu bitte	gkeitsgr e einfach	ad für H	r./Fr ŀ	ninsicht-
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В. 5	Schwierigkei	tsgrad (1	= minima	aler10	= maxin	naler)			
	1 2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

10.6.3 Die analysierten bullying situationen im Überblick

Table 11.1 Die analysierten bullying Situationen im Überblick

A. Lehrkräfte als Opfer
A.1 Mobbing durch die Schulleitung / Co-Schulleitung
1: "Im Visier der Schulleitung – kritisiert, isoliert und degradiert"
2: "Den Konrektor im Nacken – jahrzehntelang 'aufs Korn genommen' "
A.2 Mobbing durch KollegenInnen
1: "Unwürdige Nachfolgerin – aufgerieben zwischen den Fronten und starren Strukturen"
2: "Falsche 'Herkunft' der Neuen – vom Kollegen in die 'Pause' getrieben"
A.3 Mobbing durch Schulangestellte
1: "Unerwartete Mobbing-Falle – systematisch tyrannisiert vom Hausmeister"
A.4 Mobbing durch SchülerInnen
1: "Die neue Klassenlehrerin – Zielscheibe unzufriedener Schülerinnen und Schüler"
2: "Lehrermobbing – Opfer der Anerkennungsdynamik in Klassen"
A.5 Mobbing durch Eltern
1: "Eltern auf Notenjagd – Lehrerin entspricht nicht den Zielvorstellungen"
A.6 Mobbing durch die Schulbehörde
1: "Ins Behördenvisier geraten – Zermürbung durch Schulrat"
B. Lehrkräfte als Täter
B.1 Schulleitung / Co-Schulleitung wird gemobbt
Vergleiche Fall C 1.2
B.2 KollegenInnen werden gemobbt
Vergleiche die Fälle A 2.1, A 2.2; A 1.1, A 1.2; C 1.1, C 1.2, C 1.3; C 2.1, C 2.2
B.3 SchülerInnen werden gemobbt
Vergleiche die Fälle C 3.1, 3.3., 3.4
B.4 Schulangestellte werden gemobbt – keine Fallbeschreibung
C. Lehrkräfte als Zeugen
C.1 Schulleitung / Co-Schulleitung mobbt KollegenInnen oder umgekehrt
1: "Im Stich gelassen – vom Rektor diffamiert"
2: "Unerwünschte Leitung – vom Kollegium keine Chance gelassen"
3: "Frühpensioniert – der Schulleiterin ausgeliefert"
C.2 KollegenInnen mobben KollegenInnen
1: "Doppelt gemobbt – Co-Klassenleiter als Mobber und Schüler-Anstifter"
2: "Engagiert in die Isolation – von Kolleginnen und Kollegen zermürbt"
C.3 KollegenInnen mobben SchülerInnen oder umgekehrt
1: "Nebenschaden – unsicherer Lehrer macht Schüler zum Außenseiter"
2: "Ins Klassen-Visier geraten – Schüler als Initiator für Mobbing an Klassenlehrer"
3: In Sippenhaft – Lehrerin arbeitet sich an Familiensprösslingen ab
4: Zu Schwach und leistungsunwillig – im Fokus der besten Absichten des Sportlehrers
C.4 SchülerInnen mobben SchülerInnen
1: "Aufstieg zum "Klassenprimus" – SchülerInnen drangsalieren leistungswilligen Schüler"
2: "Aus der Reihe gefallen – Ausgrenzung von konvertierter Mitschülerin" C.5. Eltern mehben Kollegenlanen keine Zeugenbeschreibung (siehe aber A.5.1)
C.5 Eltern mobben KollegenInnen – keine Zeugenbeschreibung (siehe aber A.5.1)
C.6 KollegenInnen mobben Schulangestellte oder umgekehrt – keine Zeugenbeschreibung (s. A.3.1) C.7 Schulbehörde mobbt KollegenInnen – keine Zeugenbeschreibung (siehe aber A.6.1)

10.6.4 Die 20 Fallbeschreibungen

10.6.4	Die 20 Fallbeschreibungen
	A. Lehrer als Opfer (B. Lehrer als Täter)
Code A1.1	Mobbing durch die Schulleitung / Co-Schulleitung: "Im Visier der Schulleitung – kritisiert, isoliert und degradiert"
	Jens Grümmert ist seit acht Jahren als Mathematiklehrer an seiner zweiten Schule tätig. Schon bald nach Beginn seiner Arbeit wurde er als Klassenlehrer eingesetzt und war sehr zufrieden mit seiner Tätigkeit.
	2002 bekam Jens eine schwierige achte Klasse als Klassenleiter zugewiesen. Er ging davon aus, dass die Schulleiterin, Frau Hanse, ihm diese herausfordernde Aufgabe zutraute. Jens kam auch mit dieser Klasse ausgesprochen gut zu Recht, Verhalten und Leistungen der meisten Schüler verbesserten sich zusehends.
	Aus unerklärlichen und Jens unbekannten Gründen wurde er jedoch seitdem von der Schulleiterin schikaniert. Ständig wurde er zu Gesprächen bestellt und es wurden andauernd Kleinigkeiten moniert. Die Fortschritte, die die achte Klasse machte, fanden dabei keinerlei Beachtung. Frau Hanse fand immer etwas. Eltern seien mit der Arbeit von Jens unzufrieden und hätten sich beschwert. Für den Lehrer war dies unerklärlich, da sich auf dem Elternabend in der Woche zuvor alle Eltern positiv geäußert hatten. "Namen stehen nicht zur Debatte" meinte sie auf seine Bitte hin, ihm die Namen zu nennen. Sie warnte Jens in drohendem Ton, nicht ohne vorherige Absprache mit ihr mit Eltern in Verbindung zu treten. Schließlich müsse sie ihn beurteilen.
	Die Ereignisse eskalieren, als gegen Ende des Schuljahres im Sommer 2003 die Schulleiterin beschließt, dass dem Lehrer im kommenden Jahr keine Klassenleiterfunktion mehr zugewiesen wird. Jens versucht sich zu wehren, erfährt aber nur Vorwürfe hinsichtlich mangelnder Kollegialität. Ein Einsatz als Klassenleiter wäre schließlich von Anfang an nur vorübergehend geplant gewesen. Als Jens der Schulleiterin am darauf folgenden Tag ein Schreiben mit sachlichen Gründen übergibt, weigert sie sich, dieses überhaupt zu lesen.
	Vielfach besucht Frau Hanse nun unangemeldet den Unterricht von Jens. Er wird das Gefühl nicht los, sie komme nur, um Fehler in seinem Verhalten oder seiner Unterrichtsweise zu finden. Auf Konferenzen und Planungssitzungen wird er regelrecht übersehen, seine Beiträge werden systematisch von ihr überhört. Wenn KollegenInnen das Wort an ihn richten, werden diese regelmäßig rasch unterbrochen oder es wird einfach das Thema gewechselt, bevor er sich äußern kann. Jens gerät dadurch zusehends in Isolation, denn keiner der KollegenInnen will es sich mit der Schulleiterin ernstlich verderben. Inzwischen beginnt er sich zunehmend körperlich unwohl zu fühlen. Fast täglich hat er Kopfschmerzen. Aber er schafft es noch, sich zunächst einmal in die Ferien zu 'retten'.
	Im neuen Schuljahr hat Jens dann plötzlich lauter Einzelstunden in verschiedenen Klassen und somit im Verhältnis zu seinen KollegenInnen ü-

bermäßig viele Schüler zu betreuen. In den freien Stunden muss er immer wieder Aushilfsarbeiten machen. Zum Beispiel soll er dem Hausmeister dabei helfen, den Keller aufzuräumen oder in der Schulbibliothek ein neues System der Buchsortierung erarbeiten. Als Jens die Schulleiterin darauf anspricht, gerät diese so in Rage, dass sie ihn auffordert, ihr Zimmer umgehend zu verlassen.

Es kommt zu einem Termin, an dem auch zwei Mitglieder des Personalrats teilnehmen. Diese ergreifen aber eindeutig Partei für die Schulleiterin, die behauptet, keine "formalen" Fehler gemacht zu haben und sich keiner Schuld bewusst sei.

Jens ist vollkommen niedergeschlagen. Fortan bekommt er immer, wenn er Frau Hanse sieht oder sich gar mit ihr auseinandersetzen muss, Beklemmungen und Herzrasen. Schlaflose Nächte führen zu Müdigkeitserscheinungen und Konzentrationsschwächen in der Schule. Er fühlt sich zunehmend ausgebrannt.

A. Lehrer als Opfer (B. Lehrer als Täter)

Code A1.2

Mobbing durch die Schulleitung / Co-Schulleitung: "Den Konrektor im Nacken - jahrzehntelang 'aufs Korn genommen'"

Margret Lemsch ist seit 22 Jahren als Sportlehrerin im Schuldienst tätig. Fast genauso lange her ist es, dass sie immer wieder von dem ebenso lange an der Schule tätigen Konrektor Peter Hoff, ebenfalls Sportlehrer, angegriffen wird. Begonnen hat die Schikane mit einem für den sportlichen Mann typischen "Scherz". Sie war mit ihm zum Schwimmunterricht im Hallenbad. Herr Hoff warf dort mit Bällen gezielt auf die im Wasser spielenden Kinder. Sie erinnert sich heute nicht mehr an jede Einzelheit, aber sie weiß noch, dass sie verunsichert überlegte, wie sie sich verhalten solle, als ein hart geworfener Ball in ihre Magengegend schlug. Der Konrektor schaute unschuldig, aber kaum verkennbar stolz grinsend über seinen Treffer.

Auf einem Sportfest, einige Monate später, wurde sie versteckt vom Konrektor beschuldigt, die Messergebnisse beim Weitsprung absichtlich zu manipulieren. Margret regte sich über diesen unbegründeten Vorwurf sehr auf und beschloss, ihn auf der nächsten Konferenz anzusprechen. Bei dieser bestritt Herr Hoff so etwas gesagt zu haben und beschimpfte sie. Eine Klärung konnte nicht erreicht werden, da sich die beiden Kolleginnen, die den Vorfall hätten bezeugen können, nicht äußerten.

In den folgenden Jahren beleidigte der Konrektor sie immer mal wieder bei sich bietenden Gelegenheiten oder versuchte, sie im Kollegenkreis herabzusetzen. Teilweise ließ er seine Feindseligkeiten gegen sie auch an den Schülern ihrer Klasse aus.

1994 plante Margret dann mit ihrer vierten Klasse eine Klassenfahrt. Als sie ins Sekretariat ging, um sich ein entsprechendes Antragsformular zu holen, schrie Herr Hoff sie durch die offene Tür hindurch an: "Ich trete Sie in ihren Riesenar..., Frau Lemsch! Danach hätten sie mich ja wohl auch schon vor zwei Tagen auf der Konferenz fragen können! Jetzt halten Sie hier wieder den ganzen Betrieb auf! Wir haben schließlich auch noch wichtige Dinge zu erledigen." Es folgte ein wahrer Trommelwirbel an Beschimpfungen.

Schockiert beschwerte sich Margret beim Schulleiter und dem Personalrat. Da sich die Sekretärin als Zeugin dieses Vorfalls jedoch weigerte, etwas dazu zu sagen, kam es auf Druck des Schulleiters nur zu einer formalen Entschuldigung des Konrektors, die sie aufgrund der Art und Weise der Aussprache aber kaum ernst nehmen konnte.

In der Folgezeit musste Margret dann erfahren, wie sich einige Kollegen zunehmend von ihr zurückzogen. Als sie dem nachging, ergab sich, dass der Konrektor die Kollegen gezielt durch scharfe Kritik an ihrer Arbeit und ihr Auftreten oder auch durch Verbreitung von Gerüchten hinterrücks gegen sie "aufbrachte".

Daneben kam es regelmäßig zu direkten Schikanen. So musste Margret auf Geheiß des Konrektors, als sich der Schulleiter in Kur befand, ohne Begründung mitten im Schuljahr das Klassenzimmer räumen und mit der Klasse in einen viel zu kleinen Raum im Keller umziehen. Auch in den folgenden Jahren kommt es immer wieder vor, dass Margret als einzige Kollegin kurz vor Schuljahreswechsel das Klassenzimmer tauschen muss.

Ob bei der Organisation von Informationsveranstaltungen für Schulanfänger oder notwendigen Änderungen des Stundenplans, der Konrektor machte Margret immer wieder das Arbeitsleben schwer, indem er z. B. diese Treffen in ihrem Namen kurzfristig absagte oder ihre Änderungswünsche einfach nicht berücksichtigte, bis es zu spät war.

Wiederholte Beschwerden beim Schulleiter blieben ohne Erfolg – sie seien beide erwachsen und sollten die Angelegenheit eigenständig klären. Heute, kurz vor der Pensionierung, leidet Margret noch immer unter dessen Attacken, die unter anderem ein zunehmend starkes Gefühl von Hilflosigkeit bei ihr hinterließen, das sie mittlerweile auch in außerschulischen Alltagssituationen immer wieder als eine sie behindernde Belastung spürt.

	A. Lehrer als Opfer (B. Lehrer als Täter)					
Code A2.1	Mobbing durch KollegenInnen: "Unwürdige Nachfolgerin – aufgerieben zwischen den Fronten und starren Strukturen"					
	Nach dreijährigem Erziehungsurlaub kehrte Sabine Bose wieder ins Berufsleben zurück. An ihrer neuen Schule sollte sie einen Englischlehrer namens Wintermeyer ersetzen. Dieser hatte sich mit Erfolg auf eine Stelle in der Schulbezirksregierung beworben und an seiner alten Schule eine Art Fanclub hinterlassen, der das Kollegium in zwei Lager spaltete.					
	Schon am ersten Schultag spürte Sabine auf der Suche nach einem Platz im Lehrerzimmer eine ihr gegenüber unerklärliche Ablehnung von einigen Kollegen. Erst später erfuhr sie, dass diese Lehrer zu den Anhängern Wintermeyers gehörten. Sabine entsprach wohl in keiner Weise dem Bild einer "würdigen Nachfolgerin" dieses Lehrers.					

TEACHERS IN BULLYING SITUATIONS (Tibs) -German contribution to the Daphne II - project 'Needs assessment and awareness raising programme for bullying in schools'

Bei der Übernahme der Klasse kurz vor den Herbstferien, stellte sie fest, dass bisher noch nicht eine einzige Klassenarbeit geschrieben wurde. Auf wiederholte Anfrage bekam Sabine die Listen mit den mündlichen Noten ausgehändigt. Ihr war bewusst, dass sie bis zu den Halbjahreszeugnissen jeweils drei Klassenarbeiten schreiben lassen musste. Auf diesbezügliche Erkundigungen erhielt sie aber nur deutliche Zeichen der Abneigung ihrer Person. Einige wenige andere LehrerInnen konnte Sabine hingegen um Rat fragen und verstand sich nach relativ kurzer Zeit gut mit ihnen.

Doch erst im Laufe der Zeit wurde für Sabine deutlicher, dass der Kollege Wintermeyer wohl zu einem gewissen Politikum geworden war. Noch nie hatte sie eine Schule erlebt, in der alles so verhärtet und starr war. Angefangen bei der Sitzordnung im Lehrerzimmer und bei Konferenzen oder bei Privilegien für bestimmte LehrerInnen. Über SchülerInnen wurde in den häufigsten Fällen nur negativ gesprochen; mit KollegenInnen, mit denen es Meinungsverschiedenheiten gab, gar nicht. Es herrschte ein Klima höchster Empfindlichkeit. Kritische Fragen von Sabine und einigen wenigen anderen KollegenInnen wurden regelrecht abgebügelt mit der Äußerung: "Das machen wir seit 20 Jahren so."

Für Sabine waren diese festliegenden Strukturen schwer zu durchschauen, da sie niemand richtig informierte und wenn, dann nur bruchstückhaft unter vorgehaltener Hand. Sie sperrte sich innerlich dagegen, ein Teil dieses Kreises zu werden.

Auch auf Konferenzen erhielt die zusehends entkräftete Lehrerin keinen Respekt. Ging es um den Austausch oder die Neubeschaffung von Unterrichtsmaterialien, fand sie in drei Jahren nicht einmal Berücksichtigung. Sprach sie eine der bestehenden Regeln an, wurde ihr noch nach drei Jahren an dieser Schule entgegnet, dass sie noch neu sei und dies nicht nachvollziehen könne. Beständig erhielt sie verachtende Blicke und Gesten. Nicht selten verstummten KollegenInnen, wenn sie dass Lehrerzimmer betrat oder auf eine Gruppe von KollegenInnen auf dem Flur traf. Informationen zu Projekten und Veranstaltungen erhielt sie oft erst so spät, dass es ihr nicht mehr möglich war, mit ihren SchülerInnen ein eigenes Projekt zu planen.

Insgesamt gab es eine ganze Reihe von Vorfällen, bei denen Sabine von ihren Kollegen für unglaubwürdig erklärt und ausgegrenzt wurde. So informierte der Fachleiter des Englischbereichs sie stets als letzte über Termine, manchmal erst zwei Stunden vorher. Wenn Sabine dann die Termine nicht mehr einhalten konnte, wurde ihr vorgeworfen "Die hat nie Zeit." Ebenso stellte sich heraus, dass FachkollegenInnen ihre Korrekturen der Englischtests kontrollierten, um herauszufinden, ob sie sich an die festgelegten Kriterien hielt. Als Sabine eine Hofaufsicht vergaß, erfuhr sie das sofort vom Schulleiter direkt. Bei Stundenplanänderungen erhielt sie die häufigsten Nachmittagsstunden. Als Sabines Vater verstarb und sie Sonderurlaub beantragte, musste sie sich aus dem Kollegium Bemerkungen wie "Unverschämtheit" anhören und auf gereizte Fragen zu Änderungen des Vertretungsplans Rede und Antwort stehen. Kein Wort des Bedauerns oder des Mitgefühls.

Engere Kontakte zu ihr zu unterhalten, trauten sich schließlich nur noch wenige Kolleginnen, hatten diese doch stets mit massiven Anfeindungen aus dem Mehrheitslager zu rechnen. Nach vier Jahren war Sabine völlig entnervt und gesundheitlich mitgenommen. Entgegen dem bohrenden Gefühl, versagt zu haben, sich den Problemen nicht genügend gestellt zu haben, sah sie schließlich keinen anderen Ausweg, als ihre Versetzung zu beantragen.

A. Lehrer als Opfer (B. Lehrer als Täter)

Code A2.2

Mobbing durch KollegenInnen: "Falsche 'Herkunft' der Neuen – vom Kollegen in die 'Pause' getrieben"

Eva Feldmer ist 43 Jahre alt und Lehrerin für Informatik und Technik. Bevor sie an ihre jetzige Schule kam, hatte sie mehrere Jahre im Auslandsschuldienst gearbeitet und daran anschließend für weitere drei Jahre an einer deutschen Universität.

Sie schreibt: "Noch nie zuvor wurde ich an meinem Arbeitsplatz gemobbt. Ich hatte also keine Ahnung davon, was da abläuft, bis ich so krank wurde, dass es mir beim besten Willen nicht mehr möglich war, meine Arbeit als Lehrerin auszuüben."

Gleich zu Beginn ihrer Arbeit an der Schule fiel Eva die Ablehnung des Kollegen Müller auf. Von der ersten Begegnung an machte dieser spitze Bemerkungen über sie und ihren beruflichen Werdegang. Sie wäre sowieso weit ab von der Realität und würde sich noch umschauen, wie es in der Wirklichkeit läuft. Lautstark kritisierte er sie vor anderen Lehrern, machte Witze über ihren Kleidungsstil und ahmte sie nach. Einige der Kollegen schienen sich nicht für seine "Späße" zu interessieren, andere schmunzelten hinter Evas Rücken.

Zuerst dachte die Lehrerin noch, sie müsse diese anfänglichen Verspottungen nicht ernst nehmen, ihnen eine Weile standhalten und sich behaupten. Mit der Zeit würde sich die neue Situation schon entspannen. Doch das Gegenteil war der Fall. Eva musste sich des Öfteren abfällige und anzügliche Bemerkungen ihres Fachkollegen anhören. Auf den Fluren streifte er sie wiederholt und entschuldigte sich nur flüchtig mit den Worten, es sei ein Versehen oder eine Unachtsamkeit gewesen. An so viele "Unfälle" konnte Eva aber nicht glauben. Sie fasste sich ein Herz und sprach Herrn Müller direkt auf sein Verhalten an. Dieser reagierte betont freundlich und beteuerte, dass es sich, wenn überhaupt, nur um kleine Scherze handele. Eva bat Herrn Müller, auf diese zukünftig zu verzichten.

Im Nachhinein betrachtet, scheint es ihr so, als ob dieses Gespräch dann aber der Auslöser dafür war, dass Sie noch massivere Probleme mit dem Kollegen bekam.

Im Lehrerzimmer wurden teilweise unverschämte Witze über sie gemacht. Auch wurde sie von Herrn Müller vor anderen KollegenInnen nur als "Mrs. Sensibel" angesprochen bzw. sie konnte wiederholt hören, wie er vor anderen KollegenInnen diese Bezeichnung für sie verwendete. Sie war nicht nur über diese Art und Weise des Fachkollegen entsetzt, sondern auch darüber, dass dieser Umgang toleriert wurde. Niemand störte sich daran oder hinterfragte sein Verhalten.

Eva wurde wütend und kochte innerlich – wurde aber gleichzeitig immer unsicherer in ihrem Auftreten. Beides schien sich gegenseitig zu verstärken. Paradoxer Weise fand sie auch an Wochenenden immer seltener Erholung: "Wenn der Stress von mir abzufallen schien, funktionierte teilweise nichts mehr wie es sollte und ich hatte immer wieder regelrechte Angstattacken, die mich komplett lahm legten."

Endlich suchte sie das Gespräch mit dem Rektor der Schule. Er zeigte sich verständnisvoll und versicherte, er werde mit Herrn Müller reden. Auf den Vorschlag von ihm, das Gespräch zu dritt zu führen, konnte sie allerdings nicht mehr eingehen. Inzwischen war einfach zu viel passiert und sie befürchtete, während des Termins zu sehr unter Druck zu stehen, womöglich noch in Tränen auszubrechen. Diese Blöße wollte sie sich auf keinen Fall geben, hoffte aber trotzdem auf eine echte und dauerhafte Änderung des Verhaltens von Herrn Müller.

Diese blieb aus. Die schon bekannten Angriffe und "Spielchen", wie sie Eva bezeichnet, gingen stattdessen ohne Pause weiter. Auch häuften sich versteckte Angriffe. Zum Beispiel fand sie an drei Tagen ihre Brotbox im Papierkorb des Lehrerzimmers wieder, an anderen Tagen waren ihre Tasche oder ihr Schlüssel "verlegt".

Unter großen Selbstzweifeln und starker Unsicherheit suchte Eva nach mehreren Monaten nochmals die Beratung des Schulrektors. Dieser wirkte einerseits wieder sehr entgegenkommend, wies aber andererseits die Beschwerden und Vermutungen Evas zurück. Er empfahl ihr, sich krankschreiben zu lassen, um wieder Energie zu schöpfen und "klarer zu sehen". Keiner wolle ihr etwas Böses.

In der darauf folgenden Nacht erlitt Eva abermals eine heftige Angstattacke, die sie nicht zuletzt auch auf die aus ihrer Sicht unzureichende Unterstützung durch den Rektor zurückführte, über den sie sich sehr geärgert hatte und die sie ratlos zurückließ. Der Neurologe, den sie daraufhin aufsuchte, schrieb sie bis auf weiteres krank und riet ihr dringend zu einer mehrwöchigen Kur und einer anschließenden beruflichen Regenerationspause. Eva folgte dem Rat, in der Hoffnung, sich bald wieder in der Lage zu fühlen, in den Schuldienst zurückkehren zu können.

	A. Lehrer als Opfer
Code A3.1	Mobbing durch Schulangestellte: "Unerwartete Mobbing-Falle – systematisch tyrannisiert vom Hausmeister"
	Peter Kalski ist seit sechs Jahren als AWT-Lehrer an einer mittelgroßen Dorfschule tätig. Während dieser Zeit hat der Lehrer immer wieder den verdeckten Angriffen des sehr geachteten und geschätzten Hausmeisters der Schule, Herrn Anton, entgegenzutreten.
	Zunächst war Herrn Kalski lediglich unangenehm aufgefallen, dass ihn der Hausmeister gegen Ende seines ersten Jahres an der Schule plötzlich nicht mehr grüßte oder sich ihm gegenüber unfreundlich verhielt. Ging es um Anliegen des Lehrers, bei denen er auf die Dienstleistungen von Herrn Anton

German contribution to the Daphne II - project 'Needs assessment and awareness raising programme for bullying in schools'

angewiesen war, wurden diese zudem regelmäßig nur mit großer Verzögerung und auf mehrfaches Bitten hin erledigt. So wartete Herr Kalski z. B. mehrere Tage, bis eine Glühbirne oder ein schlichtes Heizungsventil ausgewechselt wurden. Waren Reparaturarbeiten am Mobiliar fällig, musste der Lehrer häufig mehrere Monate warten. Erkundigte sich der Lehrer bei Kollegen, hoben diese alle den prompten und zuverlässigen Service von Herrn Anton hervor.

Bereits zu diesem Zeitpunkt empfindet Herr Kalski die Situation als sehr belastend. Er versucht zunächst, die Arbeitsleistungen des Schulangestellten einfach nicht mehr in Anspruch nehmen zu müssen.

Doch die psychische Belastung wird für den Lehrer unerträglich, als der Hausmeister dann auch noch beginnt, Gerüchte über ihn zu streuen und versucht, auf diese Weise Kollegen gegen ihn aufzuhetzen. So bemerkt Herr Kalski z. B., dass sich plötzlich einige weibliche Kolleginnen verstärkt reserviert ihm gegenüber verhalten. Als er daraufhin einen vertrauten Kollegen befragt, erzählt ihm dieser, dass es inzwischen im halben Kollegium bekannt ist, dass er wiederholt mit einer anderen Frau gesehen wurde und er unverkennbar seine Ehe aufs Spiel setzt. Es stellt sich heraus, dass der Hausmeister dieses Gerücht gestreut hatte. Herr Kalski war erschüttert über dieses intrigante Verhalten. Er befürchtete, dass ein solches Gerücht in der Kleinstadt schnell bekannt werden würde und ihm nun auch noch Probleme außerhalb der Schule bevorstehen.

Darüber hinaus muss der Lehrer von Schülern seiner Klasse erfahren, dass sich der Hausmeister nach Schulschluss auffällig oft bei den Fahrradständern aufhalte und sich dann über ihn lustig mache. Auch bei Arbeiten an der Sporthalle habe er einige Schüler vor oder nach dem Sportunterricht angesprochen und dann z. B. über seinen Gang oder sein Auto gelästert, dass er als "größenwahnsinnig" bezeichnete. Nun wurde Herr Kalski auch klar, warum er in letzter Zeit zunehmend den Eindruck hatte, dass seine Autorität in der Klasse nachlässt.

Er stellt Herrn Anton zur Rede. Dieser weist die Anschuldigungen vehement zurück und zeigt sich empört. Auch in einem Gespräch mit dem Schulleiter erreicht Herr Kalski nichts. Der Schulleiter beteuert, dass Herr Anton seit vielen Jahren ein sehr zuverlässiger und umgänglicher Angestellter wäre. mit dem es noch nie Probleme gab. So etwas sei für ihn unvorstellbar und so findet - soweit Herr Kalski informiert ist - nicht einmal ein Gespräch mit dem Hausmeister statt. Kollegen, die der Lehrer bittet, ihn mit ihren Angaben beim Schulleiter zu unterstützen, wollen aus der Sache herausgehalten werden. Sie befürchten 'unnötigen Stress'.

Die Angriffe von Herrn Anton waren seitdem vorübergehend zwar etwas zurückgegangen, doch schon kurz darauf nimmt der Lehrer wieder seine Provokationen wahr. Sie sind jetzt nur noch subtiler.

Der Lehrer ist ratlos und fühlt sich hilflos ausgeliefert. Inzwischen hat er, auch auf die Gefahr hin, mit dem Schulleiter und einigen Kollegen nachhaltige Probleme zu bekommen, die Schulbehörde um Unterstützung gebeten.

	A. Lehrer als Opfer
Code A4.1	Mobbing durch SchülerInnen: "Die neue Klassenlehrerin – Zielscheibe unzufriedener Schülerinnen und Schüler"
	Petra Tallmann soll ab dem dritten Schuljahr an ihrer ersten Schule die Klasse von Frau Friesen als neue Klassenlehrerin übernehmen. Frau Friesen ist sehr leger und großzügig, hoch angesehen im Kollegium und bei den SchülerInnen. Frau Tallmann bezeichnet sich eher als verbindlich, korrekt und teilweise sehr anspruchsvoll, "vielleicht auch manchmal etwas streng." Die Lehrerin spürte schnell eine breite Ablehnung durch die SchülerInnen der Klasse: "Ich konnte tun, was ich wollte, alles war aus ihrer Sicht falsch." Bereits in der vierten Unterrichtsstunde rannte Torge wutentbrannt aus dem Raum, sie dabei anschreiend, er würde sich beim Direktor über sie beschweren. Dieser wies ihm allerdings die Tür.
	Einige Tage später aber wird Frau Tallmann doch zum Schulleiter gerufen, der ihr einen 'Rundbrief' des Schülers vorlegt, den er zufällig in seinem Unterricht habe 'abfangen' können. In diesem behauptet Torge, Frau Tallmann würde in ihrem Unterricht keine Rücksicht auf die SchülerInnen und deren Bedürfnisse nehmen. Auch schreie sie immer wieder SchülerInnen an, wenn diese sich nicht genau so verhielten wie sie es erwarte. In ihren Unterricht zu gehen, "sei schlichtweg vertane Zeit und gefährde die Gesundheit." Während des Lesens des Briefes wird der Lehrerin schwindelig und sie spürt, wie ihre Beine zittern. Sie versichert, dass hier Unwahrheiten über sie verbreitet würden. Der Rektor beteuert, dass er diese Beschwerde nicht zu ernst nehme, er habe sie aber informieren wollen und es sei zudem seine Pflicht gewesen, hierauf zu reagieren. Doch der Vorfall wirkt nach. Der Lehrerin ist es am Folgetag kaum möglich aufzustehen. Die Beine versagen ihr und sie bleibt für den Vormittag dienstunfähig.
	Einige Wochen später beschweren sich sechs weitere SchülerInnen der Klasse im Schülervertretungskasten erneut über den Unterricht und die viel zu hohen Maßstäbe von Frau Tallmann. Während des Unterrichts unterhalten sich einige SchülerInnen unüberhörbar darüber, dass sie geschlossen zum staatlichen Schulamt fahren wollten, um sich über sie zu beschweren. Zwei Tage darauf bekommt die Lehrerin mit, dass SchülerInnen erzählen, sie würde von der Schule fliegen. Die Lehrerin wurde inzwischen von den meisten ihrer SchülerInnen nicht mehr gegrüßt, einige zogen hinter ihrem Rücken Grimassen oder machten abwertende Gesten. Andere verweigerten im Unterricht die Mitarbeit und ignorierten ihre Anweisungen systematisch. "Ich hatte das Gefühl, keine Chance in der Klasse zu bekommen und nur Spielball der SchülerInnen zu sein. Ich war verzweifelt. Wollten die SchülerInnen bewirken, dass sie Frau Friesen wieder als Klassenleiterin zugewiesen bekamen oder lag es tatsächlich an mir?"
	Frau Tallmann wendet sich an die ehemalige Klassenlehrerin. Diese ist zugleich die Vertrauenslehrerin der Schule und betont ihre Besorgnis darüber, dass SchülerInnen, statt den Austausch zu suchen, anonyme Briefe und Beschwerden schreiben und in Umlauf brächten. Frau Tallmann. fühlte sich von ihrer Kollegin eher angegriffen als verstanden. Da sie den Rektor nun ohnehin um einen weiteren Gesprächstermin bitten wollte, reagiert sie zu-

nächst gelöst, als dieser sie erneut zu einem Gespräch bestellt. Die Schülerlnnen, die offenbar von diesem Termin erfahren hatten, konfrontieren die Lehrerin allerdings kurz zuvor noch mit taktlosen und unverschämten Anspielungen: "Während sie in Hochstimmung waren, fühlte ich mich so handlungsunfähig wie nie zuvor. Sie schienen zu wissen, was auf mich zukam."

So bedecken der Schulleiter und der zu ihrer Überraschung ebenfalls anwesende Leiter ihres Fachbereichs während des Termins den ganzen Tisch mit anonymen Briefen aus dem SV-Kasten, Beschwerdebriefen und Protokollen, welche die SchülerInnen ohne ihr Wissen angefertigt hatten. Alle waren ausschließlich von ihrer Klasse, obwohl sie insgesamt in sechs Klassen unterrichtete. Zudem berichtet der Fachbereichsleiter, dass gerade erst am Vortag mehrere Beschwerdeanrufe von Eltern bei ihm eingegangen seien. Der Schulleiter ordnete die Beschwerden und sprach über diejenigen, die für ihn am sachlichsten klangen.

Es fand eine kühle Abarbeitung statt, deren Ergebnisse protokolliert wurden. Eine substanzielle Unterstützung ihrer Person, empfand Frau Tallmann dabei jedoch nicht. Ihre vor allem auch psychische Belastung wurde nicht thematisiert. Abschließend hieß es nur, dass die Entwicklung zwar Anlass zur Besorgnis gäbe, aber man immer noch denke, dass sie die Situation schon noch allein meistern werde. Überzeugen konnten diese Bekundungen Frau Tallmann allerdings nicht. Allein der Gedanke an die bevorstehenden Ferien hielt sie aufrecht.

	A. Lehrer als Opfer
Code A4.2	Mobbing durch SchülerInnen: "Lehrermobbing – Opfer der Anerkennungsdynamik in Klassen"
	Herr Bode, 51 Jahre alt, unterrichtet seit vielen Jahren Mathematik und Geografie. Vor zwei Jahren hat er auch die Funktion des Klassenlehrers in der jetzigen 8c übernommen. Er hatte bisher weder das Gefühl besonders beliebt, noch besonders unbeliebt bei den Schülern zu sein.
	Doch irgendwann stößt er immer häufiger mit Tim zusammen. Tim ist ein mittelmäßiger Schüler, sehr kräftig und trat bisher eher zurückhaltend auf. Ohne ersichtlichen Grund begann er plötzlich, Herrn Bode nach mündlichen Leistungskontrollen seiner MitschülerInnen Unfairness zu unterstellen. Anfangs geht der Lehrer gelassen damit um und schenkt den Äußerungen keine Beachtung. Doch Tim bringt durch seine wiederholten Vorwürfe von Unfairness und Ungerechtigkeit Unruhe in die Klasse, an welcher er sich zu erheitern scheint. Herr Bode wird nun immer öfter mit Verulkungen über seine Kleidung, seinen Gang oder seine Stimme von Tim empfangen. Die Klasse amüsiert sich zuerst zurückhaltend und hinter dem Rücken des Lehrers, doch schon bald offensichtlich. Tim dagegen erntet in den Pausen wiederholt anerkennende Bemerkungen, welche er sehr genießt.
	Der Lehrer versucht zunächst, mit Tim unter vier Augen zu reden. Dieser gibt ihm respektlos zu verstehen, für wie schwach er ihn hält und dass die anderen das auch schon noch mitkriegen würden. Am Tag danach bekommt Herr Bode mit, wie Tim bei einigen MitschülerInnen über dieses Gespräch

lästert und versucht, sie gegen ihn aufzubringen. Als er das Klassenzimmer betritt, ruft Tim, er könne seine "Fahne" wieder Mal bis in die vorletzte Reihe riechen. Erschrocken über diese infarme Behauptung und Dreistigkeit des Schülers beginnt Herr Bode verunsichert den Unterricht. Zahlreiche Schüler kichern unverhohlen. Die ganze Unterrichtsstunde über ist er unkonzentriert und stark nervös, was die Schüler registrieren.

Am Ende des Schultages überlegt Herr Bode, ob er mit den Eltern von Tim und der Klassenleiterin des Schülers sprechen sollte. Doch er befürchtet, dann noch schlechter vor der Klasse dazustehen und beschließt, erst einmal nichts zu unternehmen. "Ich wollte mich nicht unterkriegen lassen. Aber im Nachhinein war diese ausbleibende Reaktion in und nach dieser Stunde ein großer Fehler, denn damit bestätigte ich Tims "Oberwasser".

So gehen Tims Provokationen von da an nicht nur munter weiter, sondern werden ernsthafter und abwertender. In einer der folgenden Geografiestunden fordert der Lehrer Tim wütend auf, die Klasse zu verlassen. Der Schüler überhört die Aufforderung und bleibt mit verschränkten Armen und einem breiten Grinsen sitzen, offenkundig bestärkt durch zahlreiche bewundernde Blicke seiner Mitschüler. In diesem Moment fährt Dennis Herrn Bode an, er solle endlich Tim mal in Ruhe lassen und nicht ständig auf ihm rumhacken. Der Lehrer ist sprachlos und fühlt jegliche Widerstandskraft schwinden. Als das Gelächter der anderen Schüler unerträglich für ihn wird, beendet er die Stunde vorzeitig und verlässt die Klasse. Noch auf dem Flur hört er, wie ihm Schimpfworte in Fäkalsprache nachgerufen werden.

Da der Schulleiter an diesem Tag außerhalb ist, geht Herr Bode aufgelöst zur Klassenleiterin und bittet sie um ihre Unterstützung. Frau Scholl beruhigt ihren Kollegen und beide vereinbaren noch vor den in Kürze beginnenden Sommerferien ein gemeinsames Gespräch mit Tims Eltern, Tim selbst und dem Direktor. In diesem zeigen sich seine Eltern überrascht und nur bedingt bereit, ein Fehlverhalten ihres Sohnes einzugestehen sowie auf diesen entsprechend einzuwirken.

	A. Lehrer als Opfer
Code A5.1	Mobbing durch Eltern: "Eltern auf Notenjagd – Lehrerin entspricht nicht den Zielvorstellungen"
	"Das Jagen nach guten Noten ist zu einer Art Volkssport geworden; es erfasst jeden, der schulpflichtige Kinder hat. Die Notenjäger sind zumeist Eltern, nicht selten überträgt sich diese Leidenschaft auch auf ihre Kinder. Während der Kampf um die Einser und Zweier früher fast ausschließlich von jedem Jäger allein ausgetragen wurde, zeichnet sich heute eine zunehmende Solidarität ab. Ist der Lehrer widerwillig und nicht zur Herausgabe guter Noten zu bewegen, schrecken viele Notenjäger auch vor einem Großaufstand nicht zurück."
	Mit diesem Zitat aus einer Satire umschreibt Gabriele Appen ihre Situation in einer 10. Klasse an einem Gymnasium. Hier hat der Schüler Daniel seit drei Jahren Probleme, dem Leistungsniveau der Klasse zu folgen und ist jetzt zum wiederholten Male versetzungsgefährdet. Daher empfiehlt die Lehrerin

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dem Vater des Schülers einen Wechsel zur Realschule. Dieser ist sofort sehr aufgebracht über eine solche Empfehlung und beschuldigt Frau Appen, dass dies daran liege, dass sie es nicht versteht, die SchülerInnen "angemessen zu motivieren". Er droht ihr, wenn sie nicht in der Lage wäre, dafür zu sorgen, dass Daniel die 10.Klasse und das Abitur schafft, "andere Seiten aufzuziehen". Er würde ihre Einstellung, schwächere Schüler einfach abzuschreiben und abzuschieben, nicht hinnehmen.

Frau Appen berichtet dem Co-Klassenleiter von dem Gespräch. Er beruhigt seine Kollegin und empfiehlt ihr, die Behauptung und Drohung nicht allzu ernst zu nehmen. Die Verantwortung läge bei den Eltern Daniels und notfalls "schleife" man ihn eben mit durch. Er wäre nicht der Erste.

Auf dem Elternsprechtag, knapp zwei Monate später, informiert Frau Appen die Eltern ihrer Schüler über das Kurssystem in der bevorstehenden Abiturstufe und die damit verbundene Notwendigkeit einiger Entscheidungen der Schüler. Daniels Vater unterbricht sie dabei permanent. Vor allen anderen Eltern wirft er ihr vor, es den Schülern unnötig schwer zu machen, was sich auch in deren Noten gegenüber anderen Fächern eindeutig widerspiegeln würde.

Frau Appen versucht den Eltern zu vermitteln, dass sie klare Maßstäbe und Erwartungen an die Motivation und Mitarbeit der kommenden Abiturienten hat. Sie hat aber keinen Zweifel, dabei stets fair zu sein und sich für ihre Schüler einzusetzen. Doch auch Sarahs Mutter startet nun mit Vorwürfen über zu hohe Anforderungen. Während einigen Eltern die Situation unangenehm zu sein scheint, beginnen andere zu flüstern. Daniels Vater, der nun Unterstützung hat, nutzt die spannungsreiche Situation und beginnt, die Eltern zum Teil subtil, aber auch ganz direkt aufzuwiegeln. Schließlich greifen zwei weitere Mütter die Lehrerin ebenfalls mit Vorhaltungen über fälschliche Beurteilungen an. Noch in Gegenwart von Frau Appen beginnt der Vater von Daniel, dazu aufzurufen, sich gemeinsam an die Schulleitung und das Schulamt zu wenden.

Aufgrund der Abwesenheit der Schulleiterin ist es Frau Appen erst zu Beginn der darauf folgenden Woche möglich, mit dieser zu sprechen. Doch schon in den Tagen bis dahin nimmt sie deutliche Veränderungen in ihrer Klasse wahr. Es ist unruhiger als sonst, in den Pausen wird auffallend viel getuschelt. Auf dem Flur vermeldet Sarah: "Die Appen wird von der Schule fliegen, wenn wir nicht alle bald bessere Zensuren bekommen."

Als das Gespräch mit der Schulleiterin stattfindet, liegen bereits mehrere Beschwerden von Eltern ihrer Klasse vor. Die Schulleiterin hat außerdem eine E-Mail erhalten, in welcher sie darüber informiert wird, dass einige Eltern sich umgehend an die Schulbehörde gewandt hätten. Sie sähen die Chancengleichheit ihrer Kinder im Unterricht von Frau Appen gefährdet. Die Schulleiterin begegnet Frau Appen entgegenkommend und bittet indessen um Verständnis, den Sachverhalt prüfen zu müssen.

In den darauf folgenden vier Wochen erhält Frau Appen allerdings auch auf Nachfragen keine eindeutige Rückmeldung von der Schulleitung. Viele ihrer Schüler verhalten sich weniger freundlich oder distanziert ihr gegenüber. Es fällt der Lehrerin sehr schwer, sich trotz ihres Wissens um die Gegenstands-

losigkeit der Kritiken von den Vorkommnissen abzugrenzen. Sie ist sehr nervös und aufgewühlt.

In einem "dramatisch" verfassten Brief von zwei Elternbeirätinnen wird ihr schließlich mitgeteilt, dass die Schulbehörde die Ermittlungen in Kürze beginnen werde. In diesem Schreiben werden weitere Anschuldigungen gemacht, bei denen es allgemein unter anderem um Unterrichtsaufbau und methoden geht. Frau Appen versteht die Welt nicht mehr. So etwas hätte sie sich nicht vorstellen können. Vor allem schmerzt sie die halbherzige bzw. fehlende Unterstützung durch die Schulleiterin. Hier hätte sie mehr als "Lippenbekenntnisse' erwartet. Mittlerweile hat Frau Appen Angst, dass da noch mehr auf sie zukommen könnte.

	A. Lehrer als Opfer
Code A6.1	Mobbing durch die Schulbehörde: "Ins Behördenvisier geraten - Zermürbung durch den Schulrat"
	Frieda Hoffmann arbeitete seit Ende der achtziger Jahre an ihrer ersten Schule. Nach geringfügigen Anfangsproblemen, unterrichtete sie viele Jahre mit Anerkennung. Als sie eine aus ihrer Sicht ungerechte Beurteilung des Rektors beanstandete, der die Schule schon vor ihrer Zeit mit bekannt fester Hand leitete, brachte dieser das Kollegium und die zuständige Schulrätin gegen Frieda auf. Diese veranlasste Friedas Versetzung am Ende jenes Schuljahres an eine Grundschule anderthalb Fahrstunden außerhalb ihres Wohnortes. Als Frieda gegen diesen Bescheid Einspruch einlegte, hieß es, es gebe im Kreis ihres Wohnortes genügend Englischlehrer. Sie wusste aber durch den
	Kontakt zu Fachkollegen, dass dies nicht stimmte. Zu ihrer großen Freude traf Frieda an der neuen Schule dann aber auf eine sehr kollegiale Atmosphäre, sodass ihr die Arbeit schon bald sehr gut gefiel. Als sie jedoch fast drei Jahre später erkrankte, stellte sie erneut einen Antrag auf Verwendung an einer Schule in ihrer Umgebung. Aber auch dieser Antrag wurde von der örtlich zuständigen Schulaufsicht abgelehnt.
	Die Krankheit, die mehrere OPs unumgänglich machte, die täglichen langen Fahrwege und damit in der Summe weiter wachsenden Belastungen, brachten Frieda in der Folge an den Rand des Zusammenbruchs. Zu allem Überfluss kam es dann auch noch nach sechs Jahren Wochenendbeziehung zur Trennung von ihrem Mann, der an seiner Anstellung am Wohnort festgehalten hatte. Die Scheidung folgte und Frieda war am Boden zerstört.
	Mit der Unterstützung des Kultusministeriums erreichte sie dann aber doch noch die "schlagartige" Versetzung an die zu ihrem Wohnort gehörende integrierte Gesamtschule. Den dafür maßgeblichen Eingriff "von oben" hat man ihr allerdings nicht verziehen, denn an der neuen Schule wurde Frieda von Beginn an mit Verachtung gestraft.
	Einige KollegenInnen zeigten ganz offen, dass sie weder einen weiteren Fachkollegen für Englisch brauchen würden noch möchten. Zwei Jahre später erzählte ihr eine Kollegin, die Rektorin der Schule habe dem Kollegium

vor ihrem Arbeitsbeginn gesagt: "Ich muss euch jetzt euer Englisch nehmen, da wir die aufs Auge gedrückt bekommen haben. Sie ist schon bekannt dafür, dass sie überall eine Extrawurst in Anspruch nehmen möchte."

Frieda versuchte mit viel Kraft, diese belastende Situation erträglich zu gestalten. Und auch wenn die Zurückweisung durch die KollegenInnen nur noch unterschwellig zu spüren war, litt ihr Gesundheitszustand zunehmend. Der Schlaganfall und die darauf folgende Pflegebedürftigkeit ihrer Mutter belasteten Frieda zusätzlich.

In dieser Zeit folgten zwei unangekündigte Kurzbesuche durch den zuständigen Schulrat. Erstaunlicherweise war das Schulamt über die Lage von Frieda gut informiert. Der Amtsrat erklärte ihr "Wenn sie nicht mehr können, müssen sie eben aufhören und vorzeitig Rente beantragen." Zugleich wurde ihr ein Termin für eine ausführlichere Visitation mitgeteilt.

Diese fand gegen Ende des Jahres statt und artete buchstäblich in einem Tribunal aus. Der Unterricht der Lehrerin wurde scharf kritisiert. Sie wurde aufgefordert zu erklären wie sie ihre "eigene" Unterrichtsgestaltung mit dem Selbstverständnis des Lehrerberufs vereinbaren könne. Sogar ihre mentalen Fähigkeiten wurden in Frage gestellt. Außerdem behauptete der Schulrat, ihm sei mitgeteilt worden, dass Frieda während ihrer häufigen Krankschreibungen mehrmals von einem Kollegen beim Verrichten eigentlich körperlich anstrengender Arbeiten an ihrem Haus gesehen wurde. In diesem Stil folgten Verdächtigungen und Anschuldigungen Schlag auf Schlag. Beendet wurde das Gespräch mit der Drohung "Wenn sich das nicht umgehend ändert, werden wir Konsequenzen in Erwägung ziehen müssen."

Wäre Frieda zu diesem Zeitpunkt nicht so geschockt und nervlich so angegriffen gewesen, hätte sie sich energisch zur Wehr gesetzt, statt einfach nur das "heulende Elend" zu bekommen. Unter diesen Umständen war sie nur erleichtert, als die Besprechung endlich vorüber war. Die Angst vor den erwähnten Konsequenzen und tiefe Gefühle von Hilflosigkeit und ausgeliefert zu sein blieben indessen.

	C. Lehrkräfte als Zeugen (A. Lehrkräfte als Opfer, B. Lehrkräfte als Täter)
Code C.1.1	Schulleitung / Co-Schulleitung mobbt KollegenInnen oder umgekehrt: "Im Stich gelassen – vom Rektor diffamiert"
	Ricarda Sommer, seit 1996 als Lehrerin tätig, berichtet davon, vor zwei Jahren Zeugin eines Falles von Mobbing an ihrer Schule gewesen zu sein.
	Zwischen einigen Kolleginnen und dem Schulrektor war es immer wieder zu Zusammenstößen gekommen, da dieser die Lehrerinnen mehrmalig in Anwesenheit der Kinder angriff. Die Kolleginnen suchten zu dritt Hilfe beim Personalratsvorsitzenden. Ricarda Sommer und eine andere Kollegin lehnten jedoch aus Angst ab, sich an einem zweiten Gespräch zu beteiligen.
	Sie musste nun mit ansehen, wie ihrer Kollegin Frau Rothe, die fest ent- schlossen war, gegen dieses Auftreten des Rektors vorzugehen, das Leben schwer gemacht wurde. "Zuerst war ich heilfroh, dass ich mich aus der

Sache raus gehalten hatte, doch dann habe ich mir immer wieder die Frage gestellt, ob es für die Kollegin nicht anders gelaufen wäre, wenn wir das mit ihr gemeinsam durchgezogen hätten."

Das Hauptinteresse des Schulrektors schien nach Angaben von Ricarda Sommer darin zu liegen, zielbewusst alles zu zerstören, was ihrer Kollegin Spaß machte und womit sie Erfolg hatte. Den Entzug ihrer Theatergruppe z. B. verkraftete sie nur schwer. In Konferenzen scheute sich der Rektor nicht vor unsachlichen öffentlichen Bewertungen und Diffamierungen der Arbeit der Kollegin. In Frau Rothes Klasse wurden ohne Absprache oder Konferenzbeschlüsse zwei verhaltensauffällige Kinder aus der Parallelklasse versetzt.

Ricarda Sommer fiel auf, dass ihre Kollegin immer häufiger über Appetitlosigkeit und Übelkeit klagte. Sie sah erschöpft und oft abwesend aus.

Als es 2000 wegen Überbesetzung um den Wechsel einer Kollegin/eines Kollegen an eine andere Schule ging, hätte Frau Rothe aus pädagogischen und persönlichen Gründen am wenigsten versetzt werden dürfen. Doch mit Hilfe falscher Darstellungen, Lügen und Manipulationen von KollegenInnen erreichte der Rektor ihre Versetzung.

Auch sammelten die Eltern der Schüler von Frau Rothe Unterschriften, um ihren Verbleib an der Schule zu erreichen. Sie verfassten außerdem eine Dienstaufsichtsbeschwerde – ohne Erfolg.

Ricarda Sommer hat bei der Erinnerung an die Vorkommnisse ein schlechtes Gefühl, "denn irgendwie habe ich sie ja doch auch im Stich gelassen."

C. Lehrkräfte als Zeugen (A. Lehrkräfte als Opfer, B. Lehrkräfte als Täter)

Code C.1.2

Schulleitung / Co-Schulleitung mobbt KollegenInnen oder umgekehrt: "Unerwünschte Leitung – vom Kollegium keine Chance gelassen"

Peter Müller, von 2000 bis 2005 als Junglehrer an seiner ersten Schule tätig, berichtet, wie er kurz nach Dienstantritt Zeuge geworden ist, dass eine neue Schulleitung vom Großteil eines 'langjährig eingespielten' Kollegiums systematisch sabotiert worden ist.

Es hatte damit begonnen, dass der beliebte Schulleiter pensioniert wurde. Seinen Nachfolger sah mehr oder weniger das gesamte Kollegium in dem Konrektor Hr. Schmidt. So war nicht nur für diesen die Enttäuschung groß, als seitens der Bezirksregierung, trotz vielfältiger Interventionen weiter Teile des Kollegiums, anders entschieden wurde. Zu allem Überfluss bekam man auch noch eine Schulleiterin, Frau Meisenfeld, vorgesetzt und so bestand von Beginn an weitestgehend Einigkeit darüber, dass man dies nicht so ohne weiteres hinnehmen dürfe und man sich mit Hr. Schmidt solidarisieren müsse. Nur ein kleinerer Teil des Kollegiums nahm kaum Notiz von der Angelegenheit bzw. verhielt sich betont unbeteiligt.

Am ersten Tag der 'Neuen' erschienen zwar die meisten KollegenInnen noch zur offiziellen Begrüßung, diese fiel jedoch wenig herzlich aus; weder

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gab es Blumen, noch eine Ansprache oder gar ein Einstiegsgeschenk. Man begnügte sich mit einem schlichten Guten Morgen Frau Meisenfeld und der eigenen Namensnennung. Mehrere Kollegen verließen bereits während der Ansprache der Rektorin den Raum mit dem "vielsagenden" Hinweis, man habe noch eine Vielzahl von Aufgaben zu erledigen, die sich aufgrund der unnötigen' Lücke zwischen der Pensionierung des alten Rektors und der Neubesetzung ergeben hatten.

In der Folgezeit beschränkte man die Kommunikation mit der Schulleiterin auf das Nötigste, erledigte Alltagsanweisungen nur verzögert und erst nach wiederholter Aufforderung, lehnte Ideen für schulische Neuausrichtungen und Umorganisationen der Rektorin unter Verweis und Beharrung auf ,bewährte' Verfahrensweisen überwiegend ab. Gelang es ihr dann doch mal, eine ihrer Ideen nach mühseligen Gesprächen und mit nachdrücklicher Entschiedenheit in die Umsetzung zu bringen, wurden diese vielfach 'kollegial' unterlaufen und fortan als ungeeignet abgestempelt.

Trotzdem kam der negative Verlauf einer kurzfristig einberaumten Besprechung mit der Schulbehörde gegen Ende ihres ersten Schuljahres für die Rektorin wohl überraschend. Später erfuhr ich von einem Beteiligten, dass sie hier mit einer Vielzahl von Beschwerdebriefen aus dem Kollegium konfrontiert wurde, in denen man ihr ihre Durchsetzungsbemühungen als "unlautere' Zwangausübungen auf KollegenInnen auslegte. Auch fühlte man sich durch eine "unangemessene" Sprachwahl im täglichen Umgang wiederholt peinlich berührt und teilweise sogar persönlich beleidigt. Ihre Leitungsbefähigung wurde zudem durch Verweis auf unverständliche Negierungen ,bewährter' Verfahrensweisen und wiederholt ,fehlgegangene' Neuorganisationen in Frage gestellt.

Frau Meisenfeld, sonst alles andere als redegehemmt, hätte es angesichts der Ungeheuerlichkeit der Vorwürfe die Sprache verschlagen, sie sei kreideweiß geworden und ihr Gesicht habe große feuerrote Flecken bekommen. Abschließend hieß es, man stünde noch hinter ihr, aber sie müsse sehen, dass sie die Sache nach den Ferien in den Griff bekäme.

Nach den Ferien versuchte sie es zunächst mit einer Zukunftskonferenz, in der sie um Nachsicht für offenbar missverstandene Aussagen und Verhaltensweisen bat und an die Unterstützung des Kollegiums für das kommende Schuljahr appellierte. Doch bereits nach kurzer Zeit sah sie sich den gleichen Widerständen ausgesetzt.

Etwas später stellte sie zudem fest, dass sie wiederholt von SchülerInnen nicht mehr gegrüßt wurde und manchmal meinte sie, jetzt in ihrer Klasse Grimassen oder abwertende Gesten zu bemerken, wenn sie sich von der Tafel umdrehte. Unerklärlich waren ihr ebenso die zunehmenden Disziplinund Mitarbeitsprobleme in ihren Unterrichtsstunden. Einmal hörte sie zudem, wie vor ihrer Tür wartende SchülerInnen sagten "Die wird sowieso bald suspendiert." und erschrocken wegschauten, als sie sie bemerkten.

In den folgenden Wochen wirkte Frau Meisenfeld auf mich in sich gekehrt und verbittert. Ihr Auftreten verlor an Überzeugungskraft, ihr Selbstbewusstsein schien stetig abzunehmen und ihre starke Nervosität war offenkundig. Zunehmend gereizt, maßregelte sie KollegenInnen immer häufiger lautstark, auch öffentlich, ebenso wie SchülerInnen. Kurz vor den Sommerferien teilte man uns dann seitens der Schulbehörde mit, dass Herr Schmidt Frau Meisenfeld auf unbestimmte Zeit vertreten werde. Sie kehrte während meiner Zeit an der Schule nicht wieder und ich hörte später, dass sie aufgrund psychischer Probleme den Schuldienst quittiert habe.

Heute denke ich, dass ich sie hätte aktiv unterstützen müssen oder aber zumindest im Kollegium für sie hätte eintreten sollen. Allein gelassen hatte sie von Anfang an keine Chance. Aber damals wusste ich nicht wie und außerdem hatte ich große Angst, als ebenfalls noch 'frischer' Kollege und Junglehrer zwischen die Fronten zu geraten.

C. Lehrkräfte als Zeugen (A. Lehrkräfte als Opfer, B. Lehrkräfte als Täter)

Code C.1.3

Schulleitung / Co-Schulleitung mobbt KollegenInnen oder umgekehrt: "Frühpensioniert – der Schulleiterin ausgeliefert"

Herr Manfred Segebrecht ist seit 25 Jahren ein engagierter, allseits geschätzter Lehrer an seiner Schule. Sein befreundeter Kollege Herr Meisner berichtet dessen Leidensgeschichte:

Als die Schulleitung, die Manfred bei Krankheit und Abwesenheit stets erfolgreich vertreten hatte, in Pension ging, gingen auch seine Probleme los. Er erzählte mir bei unseren wöchentlichen Squashtreffen, was er sich von der neuen Schulleiterin alles bieten lassen musste. Sie warf ihm vor, dass ihm grundsätzlich Erfahrungen an anderen Schulen fehlen und seine langjährige Tätigkeit als "Mitarbeitender Lehrer" habe ihm offensichtlich die Sinne für die Schulpraxis genommen – wenn er überhaupt je darüber verfügt hatte. Als Manfred zunehmend aus Gesprächen ausgeschlossen wird, die Schulleiterin von ihm verlangt, jeden schriftlichen Kontakt mit Eltern vorher zur Genehmigung vorzulegen und dann auch noch die Gestaltung seiner Klassenfeste von ihr bestimmt werden sollen, rate ich ihm zu einer Dienstbeschwerde. Das staatliche Schulamt nimmt die Schulleiterin in Schutz.

Neben diesen weitgehend informellen "Beschneidungen" wird Manfred nun auch offiziell attackiert. Auf Gesamtkonferenzen wird ihm vorgeworfen, wiederholt unpünktlich im Unterricht und bei der Frühaufsicht gewesen zu sein. Es sollen Briefe mit Beschwerden von seinen Schülern von ihrem Schreibtisch verschwunden sein.

Nach anderthalb Jahren weiten sich bei meinem Kollegen und Freund nach und nach manifestierende Störungen der Befindlichkeit zu schwereren Gesundheitsproblematiken aus. Er muss sich wiederholt krankmelden. Diese Tatsache ruft auch zunehmend versteckten Unmut bei den KollegenInnen hervor. Dieser tritt offen zu Tage als die Schulleiterin sein Fehlen zum "schulgefährdenden" Problem hochstilisiert. Ich versuche vergebens, bei den KollegenInnen Verständnis für Manfred zu erwirken.

Kurz nachdem Manfred wieder da ist, wird er von der Schulleiterin und der zuständigen Dezernentin zu einem kurzen Gespräch ins Büro bestellt. In den folgenden zwei Stunden erfährt mein Kollege zahllose Vorwürfe, die darin münden, dass man ihm die Klasse entziehen werde.

Manfred, meine Frau und ich beraten, dass es das Beste wäre, die zuständige Bezirksregierung um Rechtsauskunft zu bitten. Doch diese deklarierte die Nachfrage als Dienstaufsichtsbeschwerde. Es kommt schließlich zu einer gerichtlichen Auseinandersetzung, in deren Verlauf Manfred von zwischenzeitlich eingegangenen Elternbeschwerden, der negativen Stellungnahme einer ehemaligen Kollegin sowie einem Antrag auf seine Versetzung durch langjährige KollegenInnen erfährt. Zwar können diese im Vorfeld des Gerichtstermins mit Hilfe von SchülerInnen und Eltern widerlegt werden, doch der Prozess ist langwierig. Manfred erkrankt ernsthaft und wird schließlich nach mehreren Leidensjahren frühpensioniert.

Seitdem bewege auch ich mich wie auf dünnem Eis. Ein Vorschlag als Kritik aufgefasst und alles könnte ins Wanken geraten. Ich glaube, insgeheim haben viele irgendwie Angst davor. Ich frage mich außerdem, ob man nicht noch mehr hätte für Manfred tun können, insbesondere im Kreise der Kolleginnen und Kollegen.

C. Lehrkräfte als Zeugen (A. Lehrkräfte als Opfer, B. Lehrkräfte als Täter)

Code C.2.1

KollegenInnen mobben KollegenInnen: "Doppelt gemobbt – Co-Klassenleiter als Mobber und Schüler-Anstifter"

Die Lehrerin Bettina Will wurde an ihrer Schule Zeugin, wie ihre Kollegin Frau Brahmst, deren Klasse sie in Sozialkunde unterrichtet, Opfer von Mobbing durch KollegenInnen wurde. Aus ihren Aufzeichnungen lassen sich folgende Geschehnisse darstellen.

Auf einer außerschulischen Exkursion erzählen ihr einige Schülerinnen davon, dass sich der Co-Klassenleiter, Herr Paust, in letzter Zeit dauernd über ihre Klassenleiterin, Frau Brahmst, lustig macht. Die erwähnten Anspielungen und Bemerkungen des Lehrers sind überwiegend sehr abfällig und verachtend seiner Kollegin gegenüber. Eine Schülerin berichtete davon, dass Herr Paust den Jungen Ratschläge gab, wie sie Frau Brahmst am einfachsten aufregen und aus der Fassung bringen könnten. Frau Will nutzt die Situation, um die Mädchen anzuregen, über die Situation von Frau Brahmst und über faires Verhalten miteinander nachzudenken.

Drei Wochen später erfährt sie durch ein Gespräch von KollegenInnen, dass Frau Brahmst zunehmend Probleme in ihrer Klasse haben soll. Es fällt ihr zweifellos schwerer als sonst, sich gegen die SchülerInnen durchzusetzen. Ein Kollege berichtet, dass er mitbekommen habe, wie Schüler Frau Brahmst auf dem Flur vor dem Klassenzimmer persönlich beleidigten. Es fiel unter anderem die Aussage: "So was Blödes wie Sie müsste man erschießen."

Während die anderen LehrerInnen die Probleme der Kollegin über die Unterhaltung hinaus nicht weiter zu beschäftigen schienen, wurde die Sozialkundelehrerin skeptisch. Für sie war es auffällig, dass die erheblichen Probleme so unvermittelt und unbegründet auftraten. Sie sprach Frau Brahmst darauf an. Diese schien sichtbar erleichtert, dass jemand die Situation nicht

"herunterspielte". Sie hätte in den letzten Monaten mehrmals versucht, sich mit dem Co-Klassenleiter der Klasse zu beraten, jedoch immer nur herablassende Bemerkungen und gehaltlose Empfehlungen bekommen. Es kam Frau Brahmst sogar so vor, als würde sich der Kollege fast erheitern, wenn sie ihm von der allgemeinen Disziplinlosigkeit und den verbalen Angriffen gegen sich berichtet. Auch Frau Will teilt mit, was sie von den Schülerinnen der Kollegin erfahren hatte.

Beide berieten gemeinsam, was man tun könne. Den Schulleiter wollte Frau Brahmst, trotz ihrer Empörung über den Co-Klassenleiter, aber erst einmal nicht einbeziehen. In einem gemeinsamen Gespräch informierten sie Herrn Paust über ihre Anhaltspunkte und daraus folgenden Befürchtungen. Herr Paust versuchte, die Angelegenheit ins Lächerliche zu ziehen. Als beide Kolleginnen deshalb ein Gespräch mit dem Direktor vorschlugen, reagierte er gereizt und beleidigend: "Da hat sich ja ein tolles Dreamteam gefunden." Zudem drohte er beiden Lehrerinnen, im Kollegium "offenzulegen, was für eine Verschwörung hier gerade inszeniert wird."

Unbeirrt vereinbarten die beiden Kolleginnen einen Gesprächstermin mit dem Rektor, zu dem auch der Co-Klassenleiter gebeten wurde. Während dieses Gesprächs betonen beide, dass sie nötigenfalls entscheidende Maßnahmen einleiten würden, wenn der Co-Klassenleiter weiterhin die Schüler gegen seine Kollegin aufbringt und so gegen sie arbeitet. Herr Paust jedoch sieht sich als umgänglicher Kollege, der es nicht nötig habe, sich von offensichtlich "übersensiblen" Frauen beschuldigen und obendrein auch noch drohen zu lassen. Es gäbe sicherlich noch andere KollegenInnen, die froh wären, wenn sie mit ihm als Co-Klassenleiter zusammenarbeiten könnten. Die Ferien ständen ohnehin kurz bevor. Daran anknüpfend beendet der Rektor das Gespräch. Die beiden Frauen sind nicht zufrieden mit dem Gesprächsverlauf und bleiben skeptisch hinsichtlich der zukünftigen Entwicklung.

C. Lehrkräfte als Zeugen
(A. Lehrkräfte als Opfer, B. Lehrkräfte als Täter)

Code C.2.2

KollegenInnen mobben KollegenInnen: "Engagiert in die Isolation – von Kolleginnen und Kollegen zermürbt"

Anneliese Becker arbeitet seit vielen Jahren als Deutschlehrerin an ihrer Schule. Sie beschreibt den folgenden Fall von Mobbing innerhalb ihres Kollegiums:

Martin Greif ist ein dynamischer und sehr engagierter Lehrer an unserer Schule, dessen Art den Unterricht zu gestalten sich für die Schüler in angenehmer Weise vom bisher Gewohnten unterschied. Er erhielt hohen Zuspruch und insbesondere Jugendliche suchten sowohl in schulischen als auch privaten Problemen seinen Rat. Er besuchte mit seinen SchülerInnen, aus sieben verschiedenen Klassen Gerichtsverhandlungen, Biologiezentren und Theatervorstellungen. Er arbeitete mit Wochenplan und Freiarbeit, bot einen Kurs zum gesunden Kochen an, hat mit Kindern und jungen Jugendlichen zusammen an Projekttagen ansprechende Vorhaben entwickelt und

umgesetzt. Ich selbst, seit fast 18 Jahren an dieser Schule, verfolgte seine Aktionen mit einer gewissen Anspannung. Denn zugegeben, er zeigte wohl nicht nur den anderen, sondern auch mir, wo es uns inzwischen an Begeisterungsfähigkeit mangelte und wie 'eingefahren' die meisten von uns waren. Schließlich habe ich aber auch beobachtet, wie man ein solches Engagement zurückdrängt und versucht zu zerstören. Herr Greif war innerhalb kurzer Zeit nach seinem Arbeitsbeginn bei uns, Thema Nummer eins. Dabei ließen die wenigsten ein gutes Haar an ihm. Es hieß er mache keinen richtigen Unterricht und er würde es durch seine Art des Umgangs den anderen LehrerInnen schwer machen. Ich bekam auch mit, wie einige meiner KollegenInnen SchülerInnen gegenüber unterschwellige Bemerkungen über Herrn Greif machten. Einige versuchten sogar ganz offensichtlich, seine Kompetenz zu minimieren.

Wenn ich heute darüber nachdenke, habe ich nichts gesagt, weil ich Angst hatte, von meinen meist langjährigen und vertrauten KollegenInnen geschnitten zu werden. Ich wollte mich aus dem Ganzen heraushalten – wie wohl auch unser Schulleiter. Mit ihm und der Konrektorin hat Herr Greif das Gespräch gesucht, als er von einigen seiner SchülerInnen erfuhr, was hinter seinem Rücken vor sich ging. Wie ich später von einer Kollegin erfuhr, nahmen beide die Angelegenheit nicht ernst. Sie waren der Auffassung, dass die SchülerInnen die Bemerkungen der jeweiligen KollegenInnen überbewerten würden.

Dem "Idealisten", wie Herr Greif vor allem von KollegenInnen aus seinem Fachbereich genannt wurde, sollte es "gezeigt" werden. Auf Konferenzen wurden seine oft förderlichen Vorschläge durchgängig abgelehnt und seine fachliche Qualifikation in Frage gestellt. Auf diesen Konferenzen und anderen Besprechungen fiel mir auch auf, dass ihm häufig als einzigem wichtige Informationen fehlten. Von Aktivitäten auf Projektwochen wurde der Lehrer ausgeschlossen. Ging es um eine notwendige Vertretung des Kollegen, wurde diese offen verweigert. Wenn es um die Absprache von Urlaubstagen ging, stand er, obwohl er zwei schulpflichtige Kinder hatte, immer als letztes auf der Liste. So isolierte man den Kollegen bald völlig.

Ich glaube, dies war der Punkt, an dem ich nicht mehr nur Beobachterin des Vorfalls war. Es war mir peinlich, was hier ablief und noch peinlicher, dass ich einfach zusah. Ich bot Herrn Greif die künftige Vertretung seiner Stunden an und sprach mit zwei befreundeten Kollegen. Ich machte sie darauf aufmerksam, dass das Verhalten im Kollegium an Diskriminierung grenzt und wir das nicht weiter mittragen dürften. Beide Kollegen äußersten sich nur äußerst zweideutig.

Mein Kollege arbeitete trotz der Umstände weiter nach seinen pädagogischen Vorstellungen und legte hohen Wert auf die Ergänzung des Unterrichts durch außerschulische Aktivitäten. Speziell die Zusammenarbeit mit einigen Institutionen weckte auch bei Schülern, die nicht von ihm unterrichtet wurden, hohes Interesse. Durch deren wiederholtes Nachfragen bei Kollegen verschärfte sich die Situation. Dies ging soweit, dass man ihm auf der folgenden Lehrerbesprechung drohte, mit einer Unterschriftensammlung an die Personalbehörde zu gehen, sollte er sich nicht schnellstens dazu entschließen, sich in das Kollegium "einzufügen" und damit weiterhin das Betriebsklima zerrütten.

Mein Kollege fehlte am darauf folgenden Tag. Nach drei Tagen rief ich bei ihm an und seine Frau erzählte mir, dass er einen Nervenzusammenbruch erlitten hatte. Es sei nicht sicher, wann er wiederkommen könne, da ihm auch sein Herz seit über einem halben Jahr Probleme mache. Ich war fassungslos und begriff, dass ich viel zu lange zugesehen und im Ergebnis nichts unternommen hatte, um ihm tatsächlich zu helfen.

C. Lehrkräfte als Zeugen (B. Lehrkräfte als Täter)

Code C.3.1

KollegenInnen mobben SchülerInnen oder umgekehrt: "Nebenschaden – unsicherer Lehrer macht Schüler zum Außenseiter"

Herr Paal ist Geografie- und Englischlehrer an einer integrierten Gesamtschule und unterrichtet vorwiegend in der Mittelstufe. Seine Kollegen bezeichnen ihn als sehr unsicher. Sie vermuten stark, dass auch die Schüler seine Unsicherheit spüren, denn in vielen Klassen hat Herr Paal Disziplinprobleme. Nur mit der Klasse 7a scheint es keine Schwierigkeiten zu geben. Weshalb es dort anders läuft, ist den Kollegen allerdings nicht klar.

Herr Meyer, der die Klasse 7a ebenfalls unterrichtet, bemerkt, dass Marius, ein etwas unbeholfener und noch sehr kindlicher Junge, seit Schuljahresbeginn außergewöhnlich unsicher auftritt. Die Klasse hänselt und verspottet ihn beinahe pausenlos. Ihm fällt auch auf, dass es zu körperlichen Übergriffen auf den Jungen kommt. Er wird von seinen Mitschülern gestoßen und rücksichtslos angerempelt. Die Mädchen zerzausen ihm im Vorbeigehen die Haare oder tätscheln ihn verächtlich.

Der Lehrer sucht die Rücksprache mit der Klassenleiterin, welche die Schilderungen indessen als "Kindereien" abtut. Auch im Austausch mit den Schülern erwirkt Herr Meyer nichts. Entweder die Schüler schweigen oder machen verletzende Bemerkungen über Marius. "Der ist doch eh zu blöd und kriegt das nicht mit.", "Der ist doch einfach nur peinlich für uns alle". Schließlich versucht Herr Meyer, mit Marius unter vier Augen zu sprechen. Der Schüler ist auffällig nervös und versucht, dem Lehrer auszuweichen, als dieser ihn nach möglichen Ursachen für das feindliche Verhalten seiner MitschülerInnen fragt.

Letztendlich erzählt ihm Marius, dass er diese großen Probleme erst hat, seitdem Herr Paal anfing, gemeine Witze über ihn zu machen und über ihn herzuziehen. Der Lehrer nimmt die Situation ernst und empfiehlt dem Jungen, sich zuerst an den Beratungslehrer zu wenden. Er werde mit seinen Eltern sprechen. Marius hatte Angst, dass es so nur noch schlimmer werden würde. Doch der Lehrer kann ihm verständlich machen, dass es nur schlimmer wird, wenn er sich keine Hilfe sucht. Er bietet an, Marius zum Beratungslehrer zu begleiten.

Während des Beratungsgesprächs erzählt Marius, nun sichtbar gelöst, was im Unterricht bei dem Kollegen abläuft. Er beschreibt unter anderem einen Fall, in dem er dem Lehrer mitteilte, dass er sein Heft, in dem die Hausaufgaben waren, nicht finden konnte. Herr Paal hatte laut gestöhnt und gesagt:

"Schon wieder der Lange mit dem kleinen Hirn". Die ganze Klasse hatte ihn ausgelacht – Herr Paal am lautesten.

Auf zahllose folgende Anspielungen und Erniedrigungen des Lehrers reagierte die Klasse mit wachsender Heiterkeit. Marius hörte unablässig Bemerkungen von Herrn Paal wie: "Das ist ja besser als im Kino"; "Unser Marius: im neuen Schuljahr noch weniger Hirn."; "Zumindest mit dem Arsch ist Marius geschickt."

Marius berichtet auch davon, dass es nicht lange dauerte bis Angriffe seiner Mitschüler hinzukamen. Einer sagte: "Mensch, Marius, geh doch zur Behindertenschule", ein weiterer: "Vollidioten brauchen kein Abitur".

Schnell wird Herrn Meyer deutlich, dass der Kollege sich auf Kosten von Marius profiliert und dadurch an Anerkennung bei den Schülern zu gewinnen sucht. Tatsächlich finden die meisten in der Klasse Herrn Paal neuerdings voll "fett", wie sich im Lehrerzimmer vernehmen ließ.

C. Lehrkräfte als Zeugen (A. Lehrkräfte als Opfer)

Code Kollegeninnen mobben Schülerinnen oder umgekehrt: "Ins Klassen-C.3.2 Visier geraten – Schüler als Initiator für Mobbing an Klassenlehrer"

Herr Schoen berichtet in einem kollegialen Beratungsgespräch den folgenden Fall von Mobbing, den er als Lehrer an seiner Schule 'hautnah' mitbekam. Betroffen war sein Kollege Herr Cohn:

Es begann alles damit, dass eine weinende Schülerin, gefolgt von ihrem Mitschüler Kai, nach der großen Pause ins Klassenzimmer meines Kollegen gestürzt kam. Der Schüler schlug mit einem Buch unablässig auf das Mädchen ein. Mehrfache Verwarnungen erreichten den Jungen nicht. Als mein Kollege zuerst zögernd, dann fester den Schüler an der Schulter griff und ihn ermahnte, er solle aufhören, drehte Kai sich um und brüllte ihn an "Pack mich nicht an! Ich hau dich kaputt!" Auf dem Weg ins Nebenklassenzimmer sah ich, was dort vor sich ging, und eilte zur Hilfe. Zusammen konnten Herr Cohn und ich den rasenden Peiniger schließlich von seinem Opfer trennen.

Für Kai hatte der Vorfall unangenehme Konsequenzen. Gemeinsam mit seiner Mutter musste er zu einem Gespräch mit dem Klassenlehrer Herrn Cohn und der Schulleitung erscheinen. Hier wurden Wiedergutmachungsleistungen gegenüber der Schülerin vereinbart, die Kai in den folgenden Wochen zu erfüllen hatte. Zähneknirschend musste er diese, auf Drängen seiner Mutter, akzeptieren, die ihm dafür versprach, den Vater vorerst heraus zuhalten.

Circa anderthalb Monate später erzählte Herr Cohn mir, dass er seit diesem Vorfall immense Probleme hat, sich in der Klasse durchzusetzen. Im Gegensatz dazu habe Kai bei seinen MitschülerInnen eher an Respekt und Anerkennung gewonnen. Nach Beschreibungen meines Kollegen spielte Kai sich immer wieder im Unterricht auf, indem er ihn unterbrach und versuchte, ihn mit Verspottungen und Unterstellungen zu verunsichern. Zum Beispiel behauptete er, mein Kollege hätte klare Favoriten in der Klasse. Dabei ginge es ihm in erster Linie nur darum, wer sich mit ihm gut stellt oder bei den

TEACHERS IN BULLYING SITUATIONS (Tibs) -

German contribution to the Daphne II - project 'Needs assessment and awareness raising programme for bullying in schools'

Mädchen, wie tief deren Ausschnitt bzw. wie kurz deren Rock wäre. Es könne jeder sehen, wie er die Mädchen immer 'angafft'.

Mehrere Gespräche von Herrn Cohn mit Kai waren wirkungslos. Seine Mutter reagierte so, dass sich der Schüler unterstützt fühlen konnte. Sie war der festen Überzeugung, der Lehrer hacke jetzt wegen des "Ausrutschers" mit der Mitschülerin ständig auf ihrem Sohn rum.

Ich fühlte mich überfordert als mein Kollege mich um Rat fragte. Ich konnte ihm nur empfehlen, die Schulleiterin um Mitwirkung zu bitten. Doch von dieser Seite hielt man es nicht für notwendig einzuschreiten. Die von Herrn Cohn geschilderten Vorfälle wurden als "kindlicher Unfug" bagatellisiert.

In den folgenden Wochen wirkt mein Kollege zunehmend in sich gekehrt. Als ich verhalten nachfrage, erzählt er mir mit sichtbarer Erleichterung sofort, dass er nun auch mit anderen Schülern seiner Klasse, auch einigen Mädchen, beträchtliche Schwierigkeiten habe. Gerade erst an diesem Morgen hatten mehrere Schüler ihm die Zufahrt zum Parkplatz, der nur über den Schulhof erreichbar ist, provokativ versperrt.

Mein Kollege verlor immer mehr an Selbstbewusstsein in seinem Auftreten – auch uns Kollegen gegenüber. Er war stark nervös und wirkte zunehmend verbittert. Großes Interesse daran zeigte aber niemand. Keiner wollte sich zusätzlich belasten, glaube ich.

Wenn ich ehrlich bin, habe ich mir so manches Mal auch gewünscht, Herr Cohn würde nicht mir all das erzählen. Ich wollte da nicht mit hineingezogen werden. Überdies wusste ich doch auch nicht, was ich raten sollte, wenn er berichtete, dass er fast jeden Abend anonyme sms mit geschmacklosen Beschimpfungen und Beleidigungen erhielt.

Per E-Mail bekam er mehrmals pornographische Bilder, in die sein Gesicht hinein retouchiert worden war. Man drohte ihm, diese ins Internet zu stellen. Häufig wurden ihm z. B. Pizza oder große Buchsendungen von Internetanbietern geliefert, die er nicht bestellt hatte.

Es schien den SchülerInnen mit ihren Aktionen jedenfalls zu gelingen, Herrn Cohn systematisch zu zermürben. Da die Klasse aber anderen LehrerInnen nicht unangenehm auffiel, gingen wohl alle stillschweigend auch davon aus, dass die Probleme an ihm selbst liegen mussten.

Dass Herr Cohn im folgenden Schuljahr häufig krankgeschrieben war, fiel vermutlich nur den LehrerInnen auf, die seine Stunden vertreten mussten. Niemand erkundigte sich, welche gesundheitlichen Probleme er hatte - bis zu dem Tag, an dem uns die Schulleiterin mitteilte, dass der Kollege nach einem Suizidversuch in einer psychiatrischen Klink läge und dass er sich bereits seit einem knappen Jahr wegen schwerer Depressionen in ärztlicher Behandlung befunden habe.

Ich war wie versteinert und tief bestürzt. Insbesondere fiel mir auch wieder ein, wie er noch vor einigen Tagen zu mir und zwei weiteren Kolleginnen im Lehrerzimmer sagte: "Es ist so zermürbend, den Schülerinnen und Schülern mit Angst zu begegnen, sich beobachtet zu fühlen und täglich in der Erwartung eines neuen Vorfalls zu leben."

C. Lehrkräfte als Zeugen (B. Lehrkräfte als Täter)

Code C.3.3

KollegenInnen mobben SchülerInnen oder umgekehrt: "In Sippenhaft -Lehrerin arbeitet sich an Familiensprösslingen ab"

Der Lehrer August Borchert steht in privatem Kontakt zur Familie Kloppel in der Nachbarschaft, deren Sohn Markus und Tochter Tina, 13 und 16 Jahre, auf seine Schule gehen. Dies war bisher nur selten Thema gewesen, doch seitdem Tina vor zwei Jahren seine Kollegin Frau Dörfner als Klassenlehrerin bekam, ist es nach und nach zu massiven Problemen gekommen, über die sich die Eltern immer wieder bei dem Lehrer beklagen.

Alles hatte damit begonnen, dass mehrere Eltern gegenüber den Kloppels, den Vorsitzenden der Elternschaft, ihre Besorgnis über Frau Dörfner ausdrückten. Diese sei offensichtlich pädagogisch ungeeignet. Anlass war insbesondere, dass sich der Notendurchschnitt vieler Kinder bereits im ersten Schulhalbjahr erheblich verschlechtert hatte. Die Kloppels suchten auf mehrfaches Bitten hin das Gespräch mit Frau Dörfner. Nachdem sie die Sorgen der Elternschaft vorgetragen hatten, fragten sie nach dem Stand der schulischen Leistungen von Tina. Hierauf antwortete die Lehrerin: "Der Durchschnitt der Klasse werde sich schon bald wieder bessern. Ein leichter 'Absacker' käme immer mal vor, wenn die Klassenleitung wechseln würde. Tina sei im Übrigen ein aufgeschlossenes zufriedenes Mädchen, das zwar manchmal eine recht große Klappe hätte, aber das sie nicht als Problemkind sähe, es sei alles bestens."

Die Kloppels gingen mit einem guten Gefühl nach Hause, doch schon am nächsten Tag wurde Tina von der Lehrerin vor der ganzen Klasse bloßgestellt, indem ihr vorgehalten wurde, dass sie ein nervtötendes Gespräch mit ihren Eltern habe führen müssen, die ja wohl fälschlicherweise glauben würden, als Elternvertreter besondere Rechte in Anspruch nehmen zu können. Bis zu den Schulferien war Tina fortlaufenden Schikanen ausgesetzt, die sich unter anderem darin äußerten, dass die Lehrerin vor der Klasse wiederholt ihre Kleidung oder ihr Haarstyling kritisierte bzw. sich darüber lustig machte; sie Tina des Öfteren laut anschrie und wenn diese dann weinte, nur meinte, dass sie zu empfindlich sei; sie Tina nahezu jeden Morgen zuerst abfragte und selbst kleine Fehler abwertend kommentierte: "Unfassbar, es ist unfassbar, was Du mir hier schon wieder bietest. Das grenzt an Körperverletzung...". MitschülerInnen berichteten den Kloppels zudem, dass Tina aus ihrer Sicht wiederholt zu Unrecht oder zu stark bestraft wurde. Versuchten diese sich für Tina einzusetzen, wurden sie ebenfalls bestraft.

In den Ferien wenden sich die verzweifelten Eltern an ihren Nachbarn mit der Bitte, doch einmal mit Frau Dörfner zu sprechen oder das Problem im Lehrerzimmer zu Sprache zu bringen. Dieser verspricht sein Bestes zu tun, gibt aber zu bedenken, dass Frau Dörfner sehr beliebt im Kollegium sei und er aufpassen müsse, dass er es sich nicht mit den Kollegen verderbe.

Der Erfolg bleibt jedenfalls aus. Schon bald nach Beginn des neuen Schuljahres sieht Tina sich wieder derselben negativen Aufmerksamkeit ausgesetzt. Unglücklicherweise unterrichtet Frau Dörfner jetzt auch Biologie in der

Klasse ihres Bruders Markus, den die Lehrerin mit den Worten begrüßt "Da ziehen wir ja noch so eine Rakete in der Schule groß. Ich hoffe, dass Du fleißiger bist als deine Schwester, damit aus Dir nicht auch noch ein Nichtsnutz wird, der meint, sich durchmogeln zu können."

Im Folgenden kommen die Kinder der Kloppels kaum noch zur Ruhe. Die ständigen Angriffe und Abwertungen durch die Lehrerin führen u. a. auch zu einer massiven Schwächung der sozialen Stellung von Markus und Tina in ihren Klassen. Beide fallen auch anderen LehrerInnen der Schule immer häufiger auf, durch Übermüdung, Freudlosigkeit und Hilflosigkeit, auch bei objektiv einfachen Anforderungen. Die Situation eskaliert schließlich, als Markus gegen Schuljahresende für "Reden auf dem Gang" zwei Stunden Nachsitzen muss.

Die Kloppels drohen der Schulleitung mit einer Dienstaufsichtsbeschwerde beim Oberschulamt, falls nicht augenblicklich eine Schulkonferenz einberufen würde. Herr Borchert, der mittlerweile ohnehin von Frau Dörfner und einigen KollegenInnen aufgrund seines "allzu engen Kontaktes" zu den "schwierigen Eltern" mit Argwohn bedacht wird, bekommt ein mulmiges Gefühl bei dem Gedanken an die Konferenz. Nur allzu leicht könnte er hier zwischen die Fronten geraten.

C. Lehrkräfte als Zeugen/dritte Partei (B. Lehrkräfte als Täter)

Code Kollegeninnen mobben Schülerinnen oder umgekehrt: "Zu Schwach u. C.3.4 leistungsunwillig – im Fokus der besten Absichten des Sportlehrers"

Klaus Reider ist seit vielen Jahren ein beliebter Lehrer seiner Schule. Obwohl er nicht die Funktion eines Vertrauenslehrers ausfüllt, kamen über die Jahre doch immer mal wieder Schüler mit Problemen zu ihm, die sie unter anderem auch mit seinen KollegenInnen hatten. So auch erst letzte Woche der 13-jährige Schüler Martin. Dieser lebt in einem Pflegeheim, ist von zartgliedriger Struktur und vermittelt nicht gerade den Eindruck, vor Kraft zu strotzen; was sicherlich auch damit zusammenhängt, dass er seit frühester Kindheit häufig kränkelt.

Martin berichtet, dass der Sportlehrer Herr Freischer ihm schon von der dritten Stunde an deutlich gemacht habe, dass er ihn für verweichlicht halten würde, dass Martin "so wie er sei" den Ablauf des Sportunterrichts stören würde, dass er ein negatives Beispiel für seine MitschülerInnen wäre und diese in deren Entwicklung behindern würde. Kurzum, Martin sei ein Problem, dass er zu lösen habe, indem er Martin auf Vordermann bringe. Martin selbst solle sich gefälligst mehr anstrengen und nicht so ein "Weichspüler und Warmduscher sein. So werde er auf jeden Fall kein richtiger Mann." Die gesamte Klasse und schon bald auch andere SchülerInnen der Schule amüsierten sich daraufhin aufs Beste über Martin.

Martin gab sich in der Folge alle Mühe, doch seine Leistungen fanden nicht die Anerkennung des Lehrers. Nie war er ihm engagiert genug und ausreden durfte er auch nie: "Das gehört nicht zum Thema", bekam er regelmäßig

zu hören. Während alle anderen SchülerInnen dann auf dem Halbjahreszeugnis eine 2 oder sogar eine 1 bekamen, erhielt Martin nur eine 4, die zu allem Überfluss auch noch vor allen anderen als eine letzte Gnaden 4 bezeichnet wurde, für die er anscheinend auch noch dankbar zu sein hatte.

Nicht nur Martin, sondern auch einige MitschülerInnen empfanden dies als ungerecht, hatte Martin doch manche Aufgaben mindestens ebenso gut wie andere gelöst, trauten sich aber nicht, dies offen zu sagen. Der Lehrer antwortete auf Martins Aufbegehren nur, dass dieser seine ewigen "Kränkeleien" nicht so häufig als Vorwand nehmen dürfe, um sich vor dem Sport zu drücken. Dann würde er vielleicht auch Leistungen bringen, die einer besseren Note würdig wären. Dass ihn - so Martin zu Herrn Reider - allein schon die Angst vor dem Unterricht manchmal krank gemacht habe, davon sei er zumindest überzeugt, habe der Freischner überhaupt nicht mitbekommen.

Im zweiten Schulhalbjahr musste Martin dann immer eine extra Runde schwimmen oder laufen oder eine extra Übung machen, auch wenn er offensichtlich total ausgelaugt war: "Das ist nur zu deinem Besten. Davon bekommst du die fehlenden Muckis.", hieß es dann. Auch musste er nach dem Sport immer extra kalt duschen: "Das härtet dich ab und du wirst in Zukunft weniger krank sein." Aber Martins Konstitution spielte nicht mit. Irgendwann meinte der Lehrer dann nur, dass Martin ihm bloß den Gefallen tun solle, eine Versetzung in eine andere Klasse zu beantragen, damit er ihn nicht mehr ertragen müsse und wieder ordentlich mit der Klasse arbeiten könne. Er wolle ihm auch nochmals eine Gnaden 4 geben.

Dies ist der Zeitpunkt, zu dem Martin völlig demoralisiert Herrn Reider aufsucht. Als der Lehrer sich daraufhin im Beisein von Martin mit seinem Kollegen auseinandersetzt, meint dieser nur, dass er lediglich das Beste für Martin gewollt habe. Er habe ihn besonders motivieren müssen, damit dieser überhaupt etwas bringe und sein Leistungsoptimum erreichen würde. Ansonsten hätte er ihm gleich eine 6 geben müssen. Man könne ja einen Motoriktest machen, dann würde man schon sehen, dass dieser höchstens eine 4 verdient hätte, eher noch weniger. Herr Reider ist tief betroffen von der Reaktion seines Kollegen und bricht das Gespräch zunächst einmal ab, um sich das weitere Vorgehen in Ruhe überlegen zu können.

	C. Lehrkräfte als Zeugen
Code C.4.1	SchülerInnen mobben SchülerInnen: "Aufstieg zum 'Klassenprimus' – SchülerInnen drangsalieren leistungswilligen Schüler"
	Frauke Gabler, 44 Jahre alt, schildert einen von ihr beobachteten Fall von Mobbing unter SchülerInnen an ihrer Schule:
	Marc war in seiner Klasse der leistungsstärkste Schüler. Er war ruhig und zurückhaltend. Ich wusste von seinem Klassenlehrer, dass ein baldiger Wechsel an eine höhere Schulform, in Erwägung gezogen wurde. Dieser 'Aufstieg' schien einigen seiner MitschülerInnen zu missfallen. Sie demütigten Marc in der Klasse und auf dem Pausenhof, wo immer sie Gelegenheit dazu hatten. Auch wenn Kollegen in der Nähe sind, schreckten sie nicht zurück.

Marc hatte an seiner Situation auch ein wenig Mitschuld. Manchmal verhielt er sich in den Augen seiner MitschülerInnen unangenehm. Zum Beispiel drängte er sich nach dem Unterricht förmlich auf, die Tafel abzuwischen oder meldete sich immer sofort, wenn es um Zusatzaufgaben ging.

Auf dem Pausenhof sah ich letztlich, dass einige Schüler ihm mit Schlägen drohten, wenn er nicht endlich aufhören würde, sich wie eine "Streberleiche" zu benehmen. An einem anderen Tag sah ich bei dem Reinkommen in die Klasse, dass die drei körperlich stärksten Jungen Marc in die Ecke trieben und heftig schupsten. Sie rissen Seiten aus einem seiner Hefte und steckten ihm diese in den Mund. Ich versuchte die Jungen zu trennen, doch diese beachteten mich kaum. Hinterher wurde ich von ihnen auch noch angepöbelt. Am folgenden Tag wurde ich darauf aufmerksam, wie Marc der Tafelschwamm brutal ins Gesicht gedrückt wurde – seine Nase blutete bereits.

Wenn ich die Klasse mittwochs und donnerstags unterrichte, kam es mehrmals vor, dass der Tisch von Marc weit in die Ecke des Klassenzimmers geschoben worden war. Stellte ich Marc eine Frage oder wollte er durch eine Anmerkung zum Unterricht beitragen, gingen Brechlaute durch den Raum.

Die einzige Schülerin, die ihre MitschülerInnen mit ihrem Ausgrenzungsverhalten gegenüber Marc konfrontierte, war Anabela, doch sie wurde von niemandem unterstützt und so hatte ihr Protest keine Wirkung. Im Gegenteil, sie wurde dafür verspottet.

Marc beklagt sich nicht. Ich nehme an, dass er die Ereignisse auch nicht mit seinen Eltern bespricht. Stattdessen lernt er, wie er sich zu verhalten hat und wie nicht. Er beteiligt sich kaum noch am Unterrichtsgeschehen, was zu einer gravierenden Verschlechterung seiner Noten führt. Ich beobachte auch, dass er seit mehreren Wochen große Schwierigkeiten hat, dem Unterricht zu folgen. Er ist geistig oft abwesend.

Das Mobbing hat sich inzwischen fast auf die ganze Klasse und sogar einige SchülerInnen aus der Parallelklasse ausgeweitet. Durch schlechte Zensuren in Klassenarbeiten versucht er nun seinen Ruf als Streber los zu werden und von sich als Zielscheibe abzulenken. Aber er hat keine Chance. Schreibt er gute Noten und arbeitet im Unterricht mit, ist er der Streber. Schreibt er eine vier oder fünf und versucht im Unterricht zu stören, bezeichnen ihn die MitschülerInnen als "blöd" und machen sich lustig über ihn.

Es ist alarmierend, was sich SchülerInnen untereinander antun. Marcs Situation beschäftigt mich immer stärker. Es fällt mir immer schwerer, nach Feierabend abzuschalten. Aber ich fühle mich dem gegenüber machtlos. Ich bin den SchülerInnen täglich ausgesetzt – allein. Es ist einfach zu riskant.

	C. Lehrkräfte als Zeugen
Code C.4.2	SchülerInnen mobben SchülerInnen: "Aus der Reihe gefallen – Ausgrenzung von konvertierter Mitschülerin"
	Gisela Althaus unterrichtet in allen Klassenstufen einer großen Schule an der sie die rücksichtslose Ausgrenzung und Isolierung der Schülerin Nicola

German contribution to the Daphne II – project 'Needs assessment and awareness raising programme for bullying in schools'

erlebt, die nach der erneuten Heirat ihrer Mutter gemeinsam mit ihr zum Islam konvertierte. Seitdem das Mädchen demgemäß ein Kopftuch und sehr weite Kleidung trägt sowie auf Wunsch ihrer Eltern eine Befreiung vom gemischten Sportunterricht erhält, ist das ausfallende Verhalten ihrer MitschülerInnen für Frau Althaus nur noch schwer oder nicht mehr zu mäßigen. Sie berichtet den folgenden Mobbingverlauf:

Nach anfänglicher Überraschung und Verwirrung ihrer Mitschülerinnen wird Nicola schnell zum Mittelpunkt von Gesprächen, genauso schnell aber auch von Witzen und Spott: Hast Du Schuppen, oder was?", "Sind dir die Haare ausgefallen?", "Komischer Fummel, hast doch eh nichts zu verstecken."

Die Lehrerin hat zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch die Hoffnung, dass sich diese ersten "Berührungsängste" nach und nach legen werden. Sie ist sich im Klaren darüber, dass die Religion des Islam auch für Erwachsene oft mit etwas Fremdem und Unnahbarem verbunden ist. Die Schülerin selbst, so Frau Althaus, lässt sich durch die verächtlichen Sprüche und Sticheleien der Gleichaltrigen zunächst nicht aus der Fassung bringen und ist bemüht ihnen zu erklären, dass auch selbstbewusste und denkende Frauen ein Kopftuch tragen und dieser Religion angehören. Doch meist enden diese Erklärungsversuche für Nicola nur mit verachtenden Gesten.

Über die nächsten Wochen beobachtet die Lehrerin, dass insbesondere die Mädchen sie stetig weiter ausgrenzen. Versucht Nicola mit ihnen zu reden, wird sie von einigen ihrer ehemaligen besten Freundinnen unbeherrscht angeschrien: "Arbeitet dein Gehirn nicht mehr?", "Wie dumm bist du eigentlich?", "Mit so einer wollen wir nichts mehr zu tun haben!".

Frau Althaus versucht mit den Schülerinnen der Klasse über ihr Ausgrenzungsverhalten zu sprechen, bekommt aber sofort starke Abwehrreaktionen und eindeutige Aggressionen zu spüren. Die Schülerinnen bleiben uneinsichtig der Meinung, dass Nicola und ihre Mutter sich freiwillig in Unterdrückung und Demütigung begeben haben.

Nur einige Tage später sieht die Lehrerin während einer Hofaufsicht, dass Nicola von einigen Mädchen auch tätlich angegriffen wird. Die Schülerinnen treten sie, reißen ihr das Kopftuch vom Kopf und werfen es in die Mülltonne. Beim Weggehen spuken zwei Schülerinnen vor sie. Ehe Frau Althaus sicher ist, wie sie sich angemessen verhalten solle, ist die Situation vorüber. Sie spricht ihren Kollegen, der mit ihr zusammen die Aufsicht hatte, auf diese Angelegenheit an. Dieser meint, die Schülerinnen sollten das unter sich klären. Damit ist das Thema für ihn erledigt. Die Lehrerin ist entsetzt über die Reaktion ihres Kollegen und sucht das Gespräch mit anderen Kollegenlnnen. Für sie wird dabei aber lediglich deutlich, dass die Lehrer die Situation entweder unterschätzen oder aber genauso überfordert damit sind wie sie selbst. Von einer Kollegin bekommt sie darüber hinaus die Rückmeldung: "Unter solchen Umständen ist die Motivation der Schüler unschwer nachzuvollziehen".

Das diskriminierende Auftreten der Mitschülerinnen von Nicola verstärkt sich fortlaufend. Das Mädchen zieht sich immer mehr in sich selbst zurück, scheint die Schultage still über sich ergehen zu lassen. Längst hat sie ihre Versuche aufgegeben, bei den Mitschülerinnen und ehemaligen Freundinnen Toleranz wecken zu wollen.

TEACHERS IN BULLYING SITUATIONS (Tibs) -

German contribution to the Daphne II - project 'Needs assessment and awareness raising programme for bullying in schools'

An einem Morgen ist am Informationsbrett im Eingangsbereich der Schule eine große Collage aufgehängt, auf der ein Foto von Nicola den Mittelpunkt bildet. Um das Foto herum sind Bilder mit radikalen Islamisten aufgeklebt, welche aus Zeitungen und Zeitschriften ausgeschnitten wurden. Zur selben Zeit fängt Frau Althaus in ihren Unterrichtsstunden mehrmals Zettel oder Briefchen mit vergleichbaren karikaturähnlichen Zeichnungen von Nicola ab.

Einen Höhepunkt erreichen die Angriffe der MitschülerInnen schließlich als das Mädchen im vergangenen Monat fastete. Es war scheinbar niemandem entgangen, da sie in der ganzen Woche in den Pausen nichts aß und auch in der Mittagspause nicht in der Schülermensa gesehen wurde. Die Schülerin wurde nun auch von den Jungen verstärkt beleidigt, auch während des Unterrichts. Frau Althaus kann nichts dagegen unternehmen, dass Nicola schadenfreudig ausgelacht wird, wenn sie mal einen Fehler macht oder eine schlechtere Zensur schreibt.

Permanent wird sie von den MitschülerInnen als dumm hingestellt. Kommt die Schülerin von der Tafel zurück, werden ihr aus verschiedenen Ecken Beine gestellt. Gehen die Mitschüler an ihrem Tisch vorbei, reißen sie ihre Sachen vom Tisch oder treten gegen ihre Tasche. Mittlerweile versucht Frau Althaus auch, eine Arbeit in Kleingruppen zu umgehen, denn die SchülerInnen lehnen eine Zusammenarbeit mit Nicola so vehement ab, dass dadurch jedes Mal große Aufregung und Tumult in der Klasse entstehen. Häufig verlässt Nicola nach dem Unterricht nun schon fluchtartig den Klassenraum.

"Ich habe die Befürchtung" – so schließt die Lehrerin besorgt – "dass Nicola bald gar nicht mehr zur Schule kommt. Mit diesen Vorfällen schwindet sogar mein eigenes Wohlbefinden an unserer Schule. Das beharrliche Gefühl von Ohnmacht ist aber das Schlimmste."

11 For further Information

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