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AGRESIVNOST NA RADNOM MJESTU: SEKUNDARNA ANALIZA ISTRAŽIVAČKE PRAKSE U HRVATSKOJ

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SAŽETAK: Agresivnost na radnom mjestu ozbiljan je problem s individualnim, organizacijskim i socijalnim uzročno-posljedičnim vezama. Provedena su brojna istraživanja o tom fenomenu s ciljem prepoznavanja i identifikacije njegovih značajki kako bi se poboljšala kvaliteta međuljudskih odnosa na radnom mjestu, uz istovremeno sprečavanje njegovih širih društvenih posljedica. Pored velikog broja ranih umirovljenja u Hrvatskoj, gotovo da nema podataka o utjecaju radnih uvjeta na zdravlje radnika, osim ako su primarni uzrok bolesti ili ozljede prouzročene radom. Ova studija razmatra tri postojeća istraživanja agresije na radnom mjestu: 1. anketno istraživanje radnika provedeno u srpnju 2014. godine u Splitu (na temelju pilot uzorka od 113 ispitanika); 2. anketno istraživanje nastavnika osnovnih i srednjih škola u Splitsko-dalmatinskoj županiji provedeno 2007. godine (stratificirani uzorak; N=764); 3. pojedinačnu studiju slučaja vertikalnog strateškog mobinga (bossing) provedenu 2009. godine. Kako pokazuju rezultati istraživanja, u kontekstu hrvatske tranzicijske ekonomije, dodatno opterećenje i stresori opravdano su očekivani. Slična je situacija uočljiva s obzirom na ostale potencijale koji pogoduju agresivnosti na radnom mjestu, često bez mogućnosti adekvatne akcije zbog nedostatka informacija, edukacije i odgovarajućih znanstvenih pokazatelja koji promiču razvoj profesionalnih standarda i mjera za njezino sustavno sprečavanje.

Ključne riječi: radno mjesto, agresivnost, bossing, Hrvatska

UVOD

Sustavno proučavanje psihofizičkog zlostavljanja na radu započelo je tek prije dvadeset godina, kad se odnos prema zaposlenima općenito promijenio, a njihova prava povećala. Mnoge studije provedene su o ovom fenomenu s ciljem prepoznavanja i identifikacije njegovih značajki kako bi se poboljšala kvaliteta međuljudskih odnosa. Pored velikog broja ranih umirovljenja u Hrvatskoj, gotovo da nema podataka o utjecaju radnih uvjeta na zdravlje radnika, osim ako su primarni uzrok bolesti ili ozljede prouzročene ra-

INTRODUCTION

Systematic study of the psychophysical abuse at work started just twenty years ago, when attitude toward employees changed and labor rights increased. Many studies have been conducted on this phenomenon with the aim of recognizing and identifying its features in order to improve quality of interpersonal relationships. In Croatia, with a large number of early retirees, there is no data on the impact of workplace conditions on health damage, unless primary cause is occupational disea-

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dom. Nemogućnost prepoznavanja ili neodgovarajuće sagledavanje psihofizičkog terora odražavaju nisku razinu svijesti o ovoj tematici (*Russo i sur., 2012.*).

Iako je agresija značajno povezana s određenim zanimanjima, kao što su policijska i vojna služba, radna mjesta koja uključuju izravnu interakciju s novcem itd., mnogo je učestalija negoli se obično misli. U navedenim slučajevima, fizičko nasilje eskalira povremeno (guranje, udaranje, ubojstva i dr.). Ono je medijski atraktivno zbog šokantnih posljedica. Međutim, fizička agresija ima mnoge manje ekstremne oblike, poput krađe ili uništenja imovine, prekomjernog korištenja resursa žrtve, uobičajenog napuštanja prostorije po njezinom ulasku, pretjeranog nadzora itd. Nadalje, agresija može biti verbalna (vikanje, tračanje, ponižavanje, neutemeljene kritike i dr.), kao i *izravna ili neizravna*, ovisno o tome šteti li žrtvi izravno interakcijom ili neizravno (*Baron, Neuman, 1996., McFarlin i sur., 2001.*). Na radnom mjestu češće se manifestira kao oblici koji nisu propisani formalnim sankcijama (upozorenja, otkazi i sl.); (*Russo i sur., 2014.*). To vrijedi i za Hrvatsku koja ima jednu od najvećih stopa nezaposlenosti u Europskoj uniji (*Relja i sur., 2011.*). Počinitelji zasigurno ne smatraju taktičnim one aktivnosti zbog kojih mogu izgubiti radnu poziciju ili dobiti otkaz.

U Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama svaki drugi radnik pretrpi neki oblik verbalne agresije, svaki šesti je seksualno uznemiravan, a 5 % pretrpi fizički napad. Nadalje, ankete Međunarodne organizacije rada ukazuju na sličnu zastupljenost ovih problema u Zapadnoj Europi, Africi, Aziji, Latinskoj Americi, kao i zemljama postsocijalističke tranzicije (*Russo i sur., 2014.*). Iako nema recentnih studija koje bi bile reprezentativne za cjelokupnu Republiku Hrvatsku, različita istraživanja pokazuju značajnu učestalost raznih oblika agresivnosti na radnom mjestu.

Između ostalog, uspješno smanjivanje agresivnosti na radnom mjestu ovisi o ukazivanju na učestalost pojavnosti njezinih različitih oblika te njihovih uzroka i posljedica. Kad osjećaj sigurnosti na radnom mjestu raste, veći su zadovoljstvo

se or injury at work. Inability of recognition and inadequate perception of psychophysical terror reflects low level of awareness on this subject (*Russo et al. 2012.*).

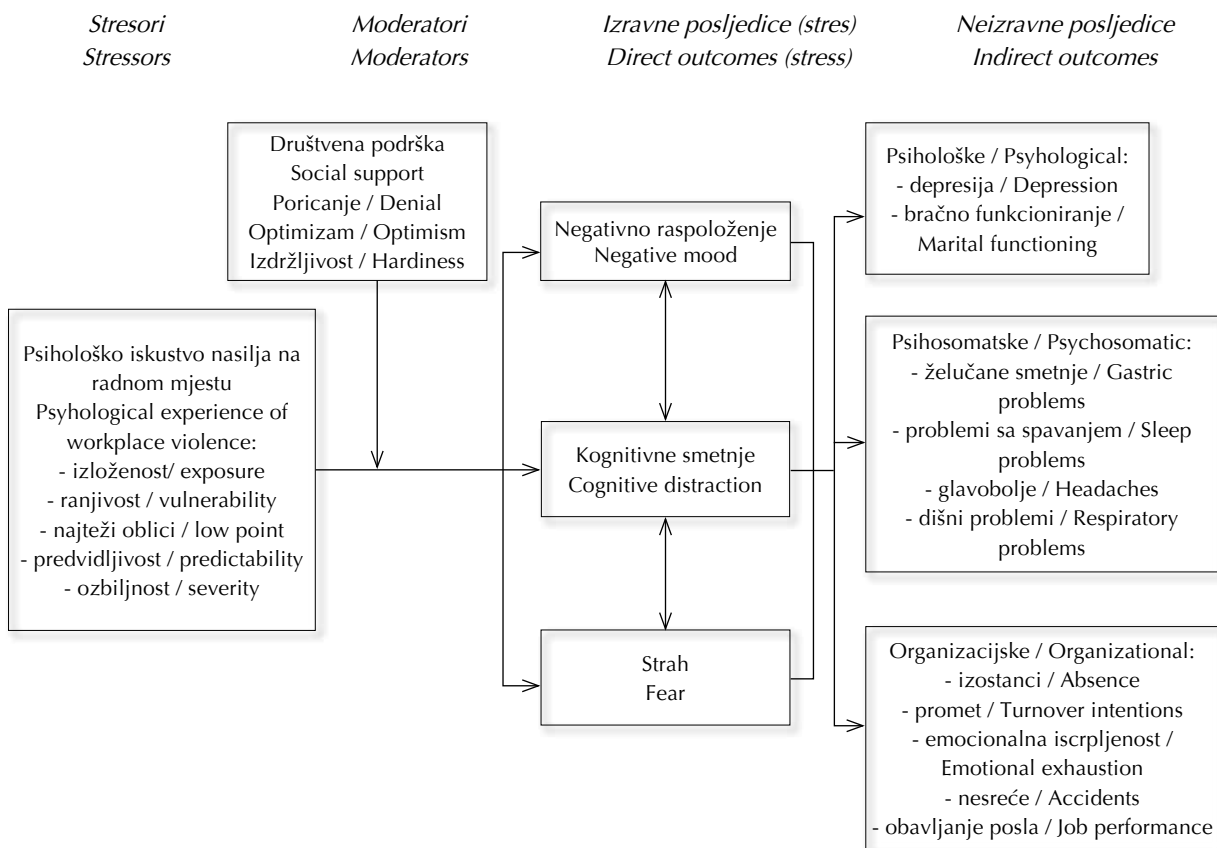
Although the aggression is more often associated with certain professions, such as police and military service, work positions that involve direct interactions with money, etc., it is much more common than is usually believed to be. In aforementioned cases, physical violence escalates occasionally (pushing, hitting, murder, etc.). It is media attractive due to its shocking effects. However, physical aggression has many less extreme forms such as theft or destruction of the victim's property, excessive usage of victim's resources, the usual leaving of the room upon the victim's entrance, excessive monitoring etc. Furthermore, aggression can be verbal (shouting, gossip, humiliation, unfounded criticism, etc.), as well as direct and indirect depending on whether it harms the victim through direct interaction or indirectly (*Baron, Neuman, 1996; McFarlin et al. 2001.*). At the workplace, it is more often manifested through forms that are not prescribed by formal sanctions (warning, cancellation, etc.) (*Russo et al. 2014.*). This also applies to Croatia, which has one of the highest unemployment rates in the EU (*Relja et al. 2011.*). The perpetrators certainly do not consider as tactical those activities for which they may lose their work position or get fired.

In the United States, one in two employees suffers from some form of verbal aggression, one in six is sexually harassed and 5% suffer from physical assault. In addition, ILO surveys indicate a similar prevalence of these issues in Western Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America, as well as in post-socialist transition countries (*Russo et al. 2014.*). There are no recent studies that are representative at the national level in Croatia, but various studies show a significant incidence of the different forms of workplace aggression.

Among other things, the successful reduction of workplace aggression depends on pointing to the frequency of appearance of its various forms and their causes and consequences. When the sense of the workplace security rises, the greater is employee satisfaction and productivity. The opposite is also true. With the lower sense of se-

i produktivnost radnika, a vrijedi i obrnuto. Uz slabiji osjećaj sigurnosti, poštovanje procedura, normi i vrijednosti opada sa češćim osipanjem radnika i otkazivanjima ugovora (Aytac, Dursun, 2011.). Pored organizacijskih posljedica, agresija na radnom mjestu treba biti smanjena zbog negativnog utjecaja na fizičko i mentalno stanje žrtava (želučane smetnje, glavobolje, anksioznost, depresija itd.), kao i širih društvenih posljedica za obitelj, prijatelje, poznanike i zajednicu (slika 1); (Barling, 1996.). Ako njezini promatrači i žrtve nisu zaštićeni na odgovarajući način (obrazovanje o poželjnim odnosima s kolegama i pravilno postupanje u slučaju agresije, preventivni propisi, institucionalni oblici potpore, odgovarajuća terapija itd.), negativne posljedice za psihičko i tjelesno zdravlje izloženih se povećavaju, a njihova nepoželjna ponašanja postaju sve češća (alkoholizam, uzimanje droga, psovanje, svađe, nasilje i dr.). To jača potencijal agresije u društvu, ogledane na radnom mjestu.

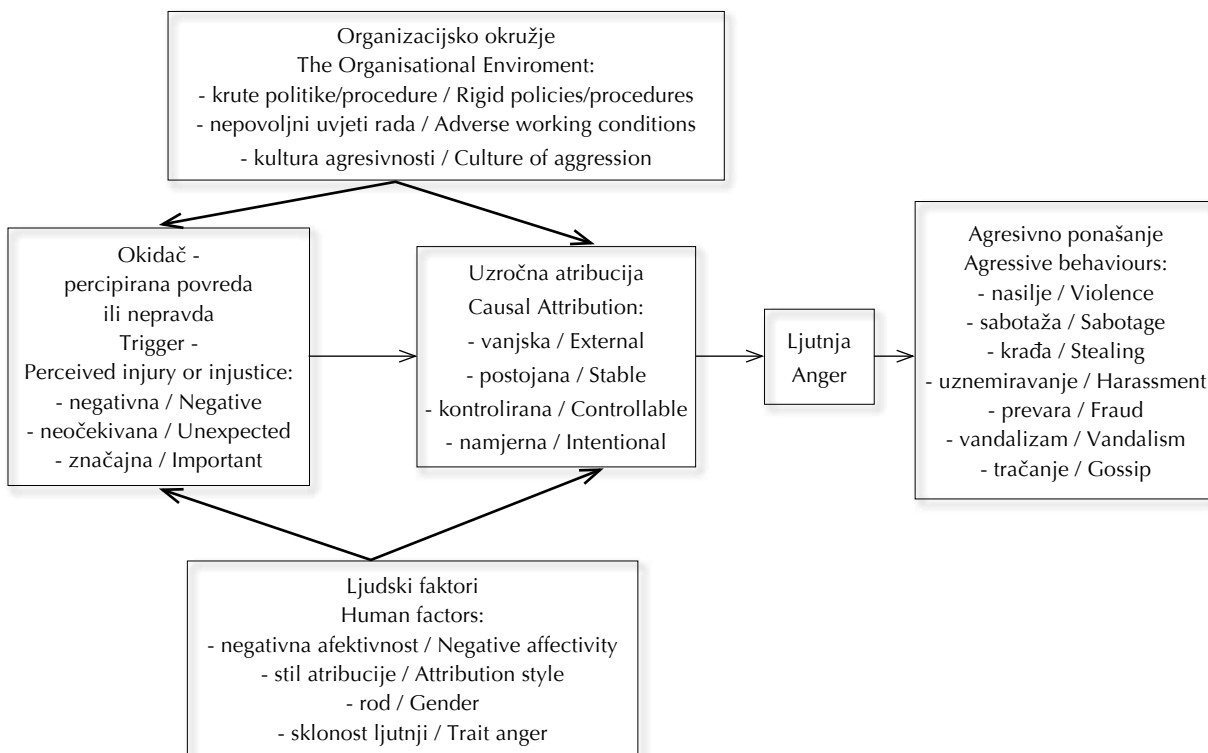
curity, the adherence to procedures, norms and values is less with more frequent work dispersal and contract cancellation (Aytac, Dursun, 2011). In addition to the organizational consequences, workplace aggression should be reduced due to the negative impact on physical and mental health of victims (gastric problems, headaches, anxiety, depression, etc.), and the broader social consequences for the family, friends, acquaintances and community (Figure 1) (Barling, 1996). If observers and victims of workplace aggression are not protected adequately (education on preferred relations with colleagues and proper acting in the case of aggression, preventive regulations, institutional forms of support, appropriate therapy, etc.), the adverse psychological and physical health conditions as well as the consequent behavior of those that are exposed to aggression are multiplied (alcoholism, drugs, cursing, quarrelling, violence, etc.). This strengthens the potential for aggression in society also mirrored in the workplace.



Slika 1. Posljedice agresivnosti na radnom mjestu
Figure 1. Consequences of workplace aggression

METODOLOGIJA

Ovaj članak uključuje sekundarnu analizu triju znanstvenih radova: Privatno poduzetništvo i javni konflikt - prikaz slučaja mobbinga (*Urlić, Russo, 2008.*); Harassment in Workplace among School Teachers: Development of a Survey (*Russo i sur., 2008.*); Aggression in the Working Environment: a Cross-sectoral Survey in Croatia (*Russo i sur., 2014.*).



Slika 2. Model agresivnosti na radnom mjestu
Figure 2. Model of workplace aggression

Posljednje dvije studije razmatraju makro-strukturalna obilježja agresivnosti na radnom mjestu, dok je prva pojedinačna studija slučaja koja se bavi vertikalnim strateškim mobbingom (bossing)¹. Cilj je predočiti kvantitativnu učestalost različitih oblika agresije na radnom mjestu s kvalitativnom usredotočenošću na slučaj spirale agresivnosti u složenosti njezinih uzroka, oblika i posljedica (slika 2); (*Martinko i sur., 2006.*). Iako agresivna ponašanja mogu biti mnogo brojnija

The last two studies discuss macro-structural features of the workplace aggression, while the first one is a single case study that deals with vertical strategic mobbing (bossing)¹. The objective is to show the quantitative incidence of workplace aggression with qualitative focus on a single case as spiral of aggression in the complexity of its causes, forms and consequences (Figure 2) (*Martinko et al. 2006*). Although forms of aggression can be much more numerous than it is indicated on the

¹ Kontinuirana agresija jednog ili više nadređenih usmjerena prema određenom radniku ili skupini radnika (*Urlić, Russo, 2008.*).

¹ The continuous aggression of one or more superiors directed towards a particular employee or group of employees (*Urlić, Russo, 2008*).

negoli je naznačeno na slici 2 (seksualno uznemiravanje, uništavanje imovine, prijetnje, izrugivanje itd.), nema sumnje da su takvi nepoželjni oblici djelovanja rezultat percipirane nepravde uzrokovane čimbenicima organizacijskog okružja (krute politike/procedure, nepovoljni uvjeti rada, kultura agresivnosti) i/ili psiholoških karakteristika zaposlenih (negativna afektivnost, sklonost ljutnji, vanjska atribucija itd.). Bez pridavanja veće važnosti bilo kojem uzroku agresije, treba istaknuti da svako agresivno ponašanje može izazvati reakcije istog smjera, zajedno sa spomenutim štetnim posljedicama.

REZULTATI

Agresivnost među radnicima u Splitu

Istraživanje je provedeno na pilot uzorku koji je obuhvatio 113 ispitanika zbog pouzdanosti testiranja istraživačkog instrumenta (upitnika sa zatvorenim pitanjima) i istraživačke metode (web anketa). Uzorak je heterogen prema izabranim sociodemografskim značajkama – rodu, dobi, stručnoj spremi, sektoru, radnom stažu u trenutnoj organizaciji i hijerarhijskoj poziciji. Nakon utvrđivanja primjerenosti istraživačkog nacrtu, namjera je provesti nacionalnu anketu na području Hrvatske o fenomenu agresivnosti na radnom mjestu.

Rezultati sugeriraju potencijal za razvoj agresivnosti na radnom mjestu. Čak 45,1 % ispitanika smatra svoj odnos s nadređenima lošim ili ni dobrim ni lošim, dok 23,9 % procjenjuje isto za suradnike istog/sličnog hijerarhijskog položaja. Odnos sa strankama/korisnicima procjenjuje se povoljnije jer ga 8,9 % ispitanika ocjenjuje ni dobrim ni lošim (slika 3); (*Russo i sur., 2014.*). Nisu utvrđene statistički značajne razlike u odnosu na sociodemografske značajke ispitanika. Premda oni rijetko procjenjuju lošima odnose s ostalim radnicima te strankama/korisnicima, činjenica kako veliki postotak ispitanika relacije na poslu ne ocjenjuje dobrima može (često i hoće) utjecati na oblikovanje negativnih emocija, raspoloženja i stavova što vodi daljnjim nepovoljnim međuosobnostima (*Martinko, Zellars, 2006.*).

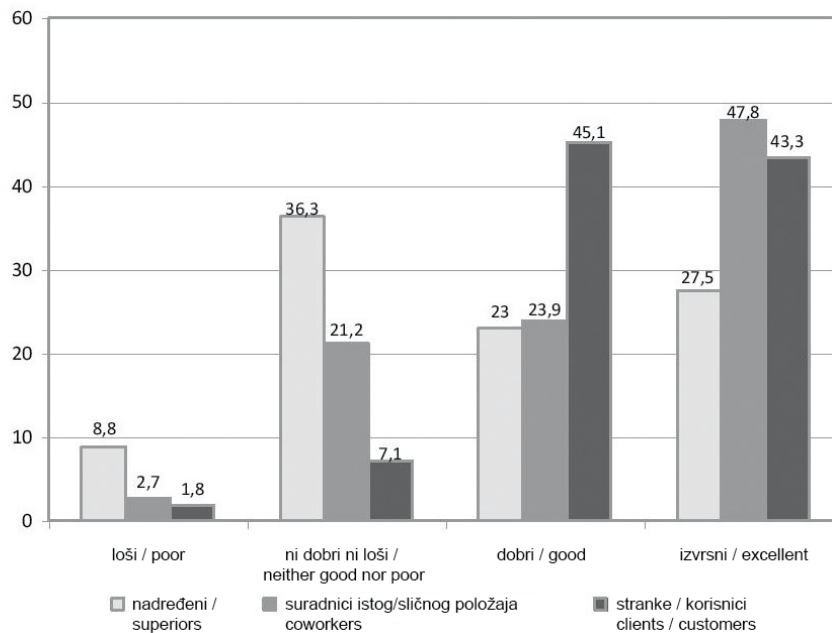
figure above (sexual harassment, destruction of property, threat, ridicule, etc.), there is no doubt that such undesirable forms of action result from perceived injustice caused by factors of organizational environment (rigid policies/procedures, adverse conditions, culture of aggression) and/or the psychological characteristics of employees (negative affectivity, trait anger, external attribution, etc.). Without giving the greater importance to any cause of aggression, it is stressed that any aggressive behavior can trigger reactions of the same direction, together with the mentioned harmful consequences.

RESULTS

Workplace aggression among employees in the city of Split

The study is conducted on a pilot sample that included 113 respondents due to the reliability of testing the used research instrument (questionnaire with pre-coded questions) and method (online survey). The sample is heterogeneously distributed through the selected sociodemographic characteristics - gender, age, qualification, sector, years of service in current organization and hierarchical position. After determining the appropriateness of the research design, the intention is to conduct a national survey on the phenomenon of workplace aggression.

The results suggest the potential for workplace aggression. Even 45.1% of respondents consider their relationship with superiors as poor or neither good nor poor, while 23.9% estimate the same for coworkers. The relationship with clients/customers is estimated more favorable due to the 8.9% of respondents that see this relationship as poor or neither good nor poor (Figure 3) (*Russo et al. 2014*). There are no significant statistical differences with respect to sociodemographic characteristics. Although the respondents rarely consider their relations with other employees and clients/customers as poor, the fact that a large percentage of respondents do not consider their workplace relations as good may (and often will) affect the formation of negative emotions, moods and attitudes that lead to further adverse interrelations (*Martinko, Zellars, 2006*).



Slika 3. Odnosi ispitanika na poslu (%)
Figure 3. Participants workplace relations (%)

Većina ispitanika ističe da je imala probleme u odnosima s nadređenima (61,9 %) i suradnicima istog/sličnog hijerarhijskog položaja (71,7 %), ali nikada u obliku fizičkih sukoba. Oko 3,5 % ispitanika fizički je napadnuto od stranaka/korisnika proizvoda i usluga. Ne treba zanemariti ni podatak da je određen postotak ispitanika bio izložen grubim oblicima agresivnosti poput prijetnje napadom stranke/korisnika (9,8 %), verbalnog i fizičkog seksualnog zlostavljanja (6,5 %), prijetnji fizičkim napadom suradnika (5,3 %), slanja prijetećih pisama rodbini i prijateljima (4,5 %), bezrazložnog dodirivanja po tijelu (4,5 %) i ucjenjivanja seksualnim uslugama zbog dobivanja ili zadržavanja posla (2,7 %); (Russo i sur., 2014.).

Spomenute aktivnosti pravno su kažnjive, pa nije za očekivati njihovu češću pojavnost. U tom smislu, razmatrajući njihovu povremenu, čestu ili vrlo čestu pojavnost, najzastupljenije su aktivnosti koje je teško dokazati kao agresivne i najčešće nisu izložene formalnom sankcioniranju, poput upadanja u riječ (31 %), vikanja (26,6 %), pretjeranog nadzora (23 %), ignoriranja prijedloga i ideja (19,5 %), pripisivanja zasluga drugima (19,5%), ogovaranja (18,6 %), dodjeljivanja zadataka bez prethodnih uputa i instrumenata

Most respondents pointed out that they had problems in relationships with coworkers (71.7%) and superiors (61.9%), but never in the form of physical assaults. 3.5% of respondents were physically assaulted by clients/customers of products and services. The fact that a certain percentage of the respondents were exposed to very harsh forms of aggression such as threats of physical attack by clients/customers (9.8%), verbal and physical sexual abuse (6.5%), threats of physical attack by coworkers (5.3%), sending threatening letters to relatives and friends (4.5%), unreasonable touching of the body (4.5%) and sexual blackmail in order to obtain or retain a job (2.7%) should not be dismissed (Russo et al. 2014).

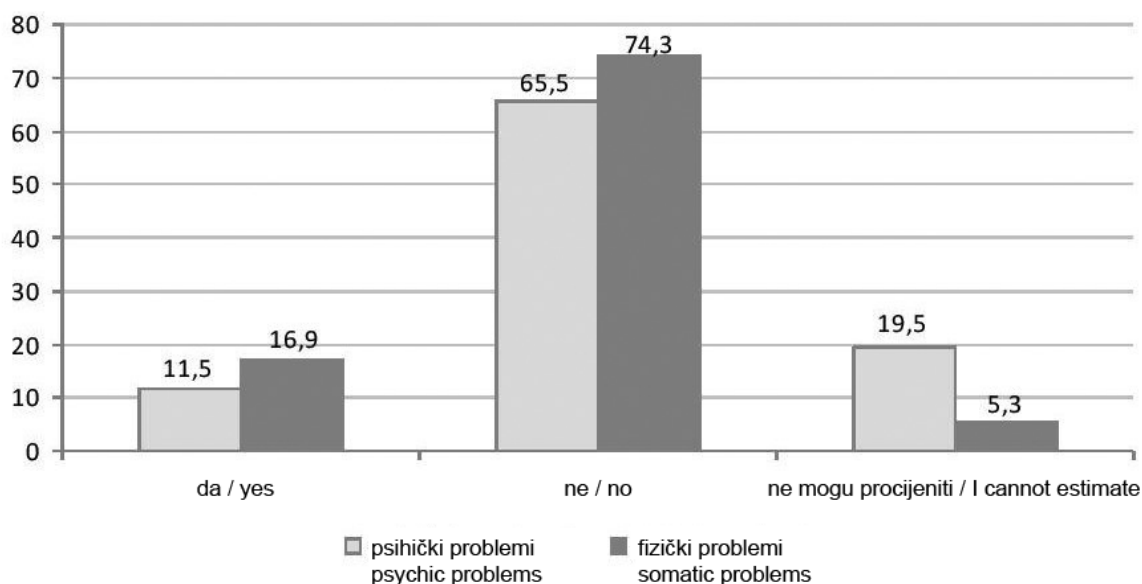
The above mentioned activities are punishable by law. Thus, their frequent appearance is not expected. In this sense, considering their occasional, frequent or very frequent appearance, the most common activities are those that are difficult to prove (as aggressive) and usually are not exposed to formal sanctions (various forms of verbal aggression and less extreme forms of physical aggression). Such activities are interruption of speech (31%), yelling (26.6%), excessive surveillance (23%), ignoring others suggestions and ideas (19.5%), unfair distribution of credits (19.5%),

za rad (17,7 %), onemogućavanja sudjelovanja na tečajevima (16,8 %), prešućivanja informacija u vezi s poslom (15,9 %), izloženosti neutemeljenim kritikama (14,1 %), uvreda (13,3 %), dodjeljivanja besmislenih zadataka (12,4 %), nagovaranja na djelovanje protiv žrtve (11,5%), isključivanja sa sastanaka ili projekata (11,5 %), tišine nakon ulaska u sobu (10,7 %), odbijanja izravne komunikacije (10,6 %), nestajanja/oštećivanja privatnog vlasništva (10,1 %) te isključivanja iz društvenog života na poslu (pauza za kavu, proslava i dr.); (9,7 %); (*Russo i sur., 2014.*).

Značajan postotak ispitanika tvrdi kako ima psihičke (11,5 %) ili somatske (16,1 %) probleme uzrokovane uvjetima rada i međudnosima na radnom mjestu (slika 4); (*Russo i sur., 2014.*). Prisutna je veća učestalost somatskih tegoba, poput mučnine, povraćanja, glavobolje i drugih, od psihičkih, dok ispitanici češće ne mogu procijeniti imaju li potonje probleme, što nije čudno jer su somatski pokazatelji uočljivi i jasniji. Iako može postojati znatna razlika između subjektivne procjene i objektivnog stanja, što zahtijeva detaljnije razmatranje koje nije u središtu ovog rada, podaci su svakako indikativni uzme li se u obzir da 30,1 % ispitanika tvrdi kako je tijekom posljednjih 12 mjeseci provelo tjedan dana na bolovanju zbog problema uzrokovanih međudnosima na poslu, dok je 6,2 % provelo do 14 dana. S obzirom na samoprocjenu psihičkih problema, uočene su značajne veze između spola ($\chi^2=9,934$; $df=2$; $p<0,05$), dobi ($r_s=-0,267$; $\alpha^*=0,006$; $p<0,05$), sektora kojem organizacija pripada ($\chi^2=14,791$; $df=4$; $p<0,05$) i staža ispitanika u trenutnoj organizaciji ($r_s=-0,285$; $\alpha^*=0,03$; $p<0,01$). Razlozi se mogu tražiti u kompetitivnosti, većoj nesigurnosti zaposlenja, iscrpljujućem radu, napetosti i stresu koji određuju profitni i neprofitni sektor, a koji uz agresivna iskustva mogu generirati zdravstvene tegobe učestalije među ženama. Nadalje, psihičke probleme češće ističu mlađi radnici s kraćim stažem, što može biti povezano s općenito nedovoljnom prilagodbom na uvjete rada (nerazvijena mreža utjecajnih prijatelja i poznanika u organizaciji, manjak iskustva u vezi s radnim zadacima i vještinama, slabija sposobnost nošenja sa zlostavljanjem dr.); (*Del Bel, 2003.*).

gossip (18.6%), assigning tasks without previous instruction and instruments (17.7%), preventing participation in trainings/workshops (16.8%), concealing business information (15.9%), unfounded criticism (14.1%), insulting remarks (13.3%), assigning meaningless tasks (12.4%), persuading others to act against the victim (11.5%), exclusion of the target from meetings or projects (11.5 %), silence upon victim entering the room (10.7%), refusal of direct communication (10.6%), disappearing/damaging of private property (10.1%) and exclusion of the target from social life at work (coffee breaks, celebrations, etc.) (9.7%) (*Russo et al. 2014.*).

A significant percentage of respondents claims to have had a psychical (11.5%) or somatic problems (16.1%) caused by the job. Somatic problems such as insomnia, vomiting and headaches are highlighted more often, which is not surprising in comparison to unclear and less visible symptoms of psychical problems (see Figure 4) (*Russo et al. 2014.*). Although there may be a significant difference between subjective assessment and objective conditions, which requires more detailed consideration that is not the focus of this study, the data is certainly indicative if one takes into account that 30.1% of respondents claimed that, during the last 12 months, they spent a week on sick leave due to the problems caused by their workplace interrelations, while 6.2% spent up to 14 days. Given the self-assessment of psychical problems, the significant links between mentioned health problems and respondents' sex ($\chi^2=9,934$, $df=2$, $p<0,05$), age ($r_s=-0,267$; $\alpha^*=0,006$, $p<0,05$) social sector their organization belongs to ($\chi^2=14,791$, $df=4$, $p<0,05$) and years of service in the current organization ($r_s=-0,285$, $\alpha^*=0,03$, $p<0,01$) are found. The reasons can be found in the competitiveness, greater job insecurity, exhausting work, tension and stress that characterize private for-profit and non-profit sectors, which along with aggressive experiences can generate health problems more common among women. Further, psychical problems are often reported by younger persons with shorter internship, which may be subject to insufficient adaptation to the workplace conditions in general (underdeveloped network of influential friends and acquaintances, lower experience regarding tasks and skills, low ability to cope with harassment, etc.) (*Del Bel, 2003.*).



Slika 4. Zdravstveni problemi prouzročeni radnim uvjetima i međuodnosima (%)
Figure 4. Health problems caused by workplace conditions and interrelations (%)

Unatoč problemima, većina ispitanika (94,7 %) nije podigla sudsku tužbu protiv kolega zbog neprimjerenog odnosa na poslu. Tek je 1,8 % jednom to učinilo. Većina ispitanika (80,5 %) nije ni razmišljala o podizanju tužbe, dok je 9,7 % razmišljalo jednom, a 5,3 % više puta. Rijetkost ove prakse može se dovesti u vezu sa sporošću, neučinkovitošću i nedosljednošću hrvatskog pravosuđa uz posljedično razmatranje tužbi kao agresivnog ponašanja među radnicima koje će pridonijeti daljnjim konfliktima i agresiji.

Uznemiravanje nastavnika u osnovnim i srednjim školama u Splitsko-dalmatinskoj županiji

Istraživanje je provedeno metodom ankete tijekom školske godine 2007./2008. Stratificirani uzorak uključio je 764 nastavnika osnovnih i srednjih škola u Splitsko-dalmatinskoj županiji. Rezultati su slični onima u prethodnoj studiji, s težištem na postojanost agresije na radnom mjestu² čije se prevencija treba razmatrati na strateški način.

² Za potrebe ovog istraživanja, agresivnost na radnom mjestu je postovječena s uznemiravanjem, uključujući bilo kakve aktivnosti usmjerene na izazivanje mentalne/fizičke štete žrtvi (Duprè, Barling, 2003.).

Despite the problems, most of the respondents (94.7%) did not take a lawsuit against colleagues due to inappropriate workplace interrelations. Only 1.8% did that. Most of them (80.5%) had not even thought about a lawsuit, while 9.7% had thought once and 5.3% more than once. The rarity of these practices can be attributed to the slowness, inefficiency and inconsistency of the Croatian judiciary system with consequent consideration of litigation as an aggressive behavior that will contribute to further conflict and workplace aggression (Russo et al 2014).

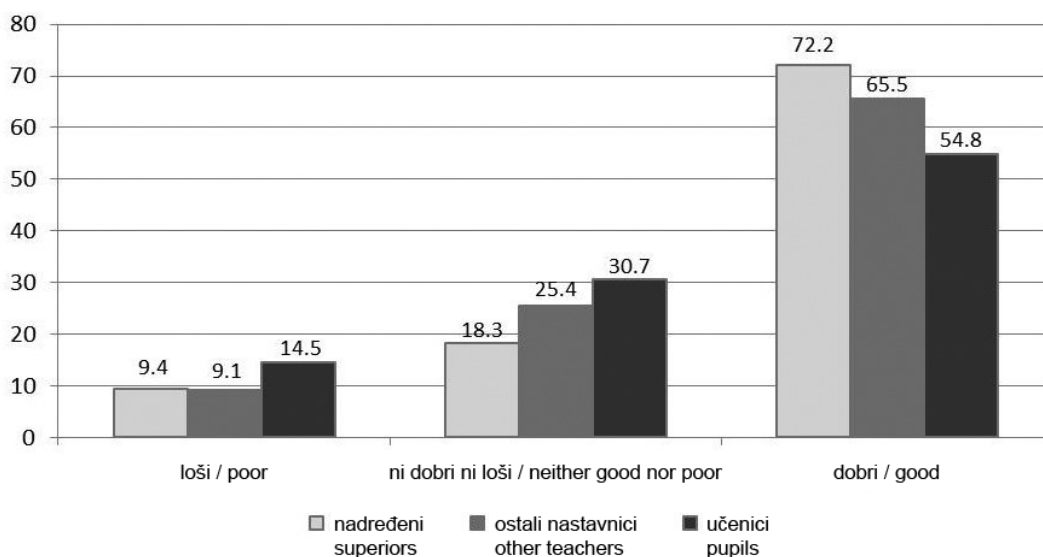
Harassment of teachers in primary and secondary schools in Split-Dalmatia County

The survey is conducted during the 2007/2008 school year on a random stratified sample that included 764 primary and secondary school teachers in Split-Dalmatia County. The research results are similar to those in the previous study, highlighting the persistence of workplace aggression² whose prevention should be considered more strategically.

² For the purpose of this study, workplace aggression is identified with workplace harassment, including any activity aimed at causing mental/physical harm to victim (Duprè Barling, 2003).

Oko 10 % ispitanika procjenjuje lošima odnose s ostalim radnicima. Svoje odnose s nadređenima smatra ni dobrim ni lošim njih 18,3 %, dok 25,4 % tvrdi to isto o odnosu s drugim nastavnicima. Čak 14,5 % ispitanika smatra lošima svoje odnose s učenicima, a 30,7 % ni dobrima ni lošima (slika 5); (*Russo i sur., 2008.*).

Approximately 10% of respondents estimate their relations with other employees as poor. 18.3% consider their relations with superiors neither good nor poor, while 25.4% stress the same regarding their relations with other teachers. Even 14.5% of respondents considered their poor relationship with the students, while 30.7% consider it neither good nor poor (Figure 5) (*Russo et al 2008*).



Slika 5. Kvaliteta odnosa s nadređenima, ostalim nastavnicima i učenicima (%)
Figure 5. Quality of relationships with superiors, coworkers and pupils (%)

Prema Tablici 1, približno četvrtina nastavnika (22,4 %) uznemiravana je najmanje jednom u posljednjih dvanaest mjeseci, dok je nešto manje od trećine (31,7 %) svjedočilo istom najmanje jednom tijekom tog razdoblja³.

Kao u prethodnoj studiji utvrđena je statistički značajna veza između dobi i izloženosti agresiji, na štetu mlađih učitelja ($U=31.401,5$; $z=2,1209$; $p=0,033$). Nadalje, približno 10 % ispitanika tvrdi da ima somatske i psihičke probleme prouzročene radom. Nastavnici koji nisu pretrpjeli uznemiravanje ocjenjuju povoljnije kvalitetu međuljudskih odnosa s nadređenima, suradnicima sličnog/istog hijerarhijskog položaja i učenicima. Isto tako, oni koji nisu bili svje-

There were 22.4% of teachers who were exposed to harassment at least once in the previous 12 months and 31.7% who witnessed it at least once in the previous 12 months (see Table 1³).

As in the previous study, there was a statistically significant relation between age and exposure to aggression, at the expense of younger teachers ($U=31401.5$; $z=2.1209$; $p=0.033$). Furthermore, approximately 10% of the respondents claimed to have somatic and psychical problems caused by work. Teachers who were not exposed to harassment in the workplace rated the quality of interpersonal relations with superiors, coworkers and pupils higher. Similarly,

³ Ljestvica je uključila pet mogućih odgovora: 1. uopće ne; 2. tri do četiri puta u posljednjih dvanaest mjeseci; 3. jednom mjesečno; 4. dvaput tjedno; 5. svakodnevno.

³ The scale had 5 possible answers: 1 – not at all; 2 – 3-4 times in 12 months; 3 – once a month; 4 – 2 times a week; 5 – every day.

Tablica 1. Učestalost uznemiravanja tijekom posljednjih 12 mjeseci**Table 1. Frequency of workplace harassment in the last 12 months**

oblik iskustva type of experience	Broj i postotak ispitanika koji su potvrdili uznemiravanje No. (%) of respondents who reported workplace harassment		
	svakodnevno ili često (stavke 3-5) every day or often (scale items 3-5)	da, ali rijetko (stavka 2) yes, but rarely (scale item 2)	nikada (stavka 1) never (scale item 1)
pretrpjeli uznemiravanje exposed to harassment	58 (7,9 %)	106 (14,5 %)	556 (77,5 %)
svjedočili uznemiravanju witnessed harassment	83 (13 %)	119 (18,7 %)	435 (68,3 %)

docu uznemiravanja, kao i oni koji ne iskazuju posljedice uznemiravanja za vlastito zdravlje, ocjenjuju povoljnije kvalitetu međudnosa s nadređenima, suradnicima i učenicima. Sve to jasno pokazuje nužnost sprečavanja agresivnosti na radnom mjestu u korist radnika, radnih organizacija i šire zajednice.

Pojedinačna studija slučaja – prikaz mobinga u splitskom Domu zdravlja

Podaci prikazani u sljedećim odlomcima temelje se na intervjuima sa žrtvom mobinga (bossing). Tijekom 2006. godine sud je presudio uplatu svih plaća i registraciju staža za vrijeme kada žrtva nije radila, plaćanje božićnica i darova za djecu, naknadu za sudski prestanak radnog odnosa u iznosu od šest plaća i druge prednosti. Optuženoj je određeno da zadovolji sve naknade prema žrtvi i sudske troškove. Slučaj je ukratko iznesen da bi se predstavio razvoj agresivnosti na radnom mjestu (spiralu agresije), uzimajući u obzir pojavu njezinih različitih oblika ako nije učinkovito spriječena, kao i posljedice za žrtvu, radnu organizaciju i okolinu žrtve. Imena aktera su izmišljena zbog anonimnosti ispitanice, iako je ona iskazala nebrigu ako bi prava imena bila dostupna javnosti u ovom tekstu (*Urlić, Russo, 2008.*).

Kate je medicinska sestra sa dvadeset godina radnog staža. Za vrijeme provedbe intervjua 2007. godine imala je 42 godine starosti. Osim spomenutog iskustva mobinga, ne može

those who did not witness harassment or those who were not disturbed by it rated the quality of inter-personal relations with their superiors, coworkers and pupils higher. All of these clearly show the necessity of preventing the workplace aggression for the benefit of workforce, work organizations and the wider community.

Single case study - presentation of mobbing in a public health center in Split

The data presented in the following sections are based on interviews with the victim of bossing. In 2006, the court ruled the necessity of paying all salaries and registration of internship for the time when victim didn't not work, payment of Christmas bonuses and gifts for children, compensation for judicial termination of employment in the amount of six salaries and other benefits. The defendant was ordered to meet all of the compensation to the victim and court costs. The case is briefly presented in order to present the development of workplace aggression (spiral of aggression), taking into account occurrence of its various forms if not prevented, as well as the consequences for the victim, work organization and victim environment. The actors' names are fictitious due to the anonymity of the interviewee, although she emphasized the carelessness if the true names will be available to the public through this text (*Urlić, Russo, 2008.*).

Kate is a nurse with twenty years of job tenure. During the implementation of the interview in 2007, she was 42 years old. Besides the afo-

se sjetiti nijednog doista problematičnog odnosa sa radnicima u različitim stomatološkim ordinacijama u kojima je radila. Problemi su počeli 2002. godine. Šefica ambulante u kojoj je radila postala je stomatologinja Nina. Brojne su priče kružile o Nini kao nepoželjnoj šefici zbog njezinog neprimjerenog, agresivnog i nezakonitog ponašanja. Nina je zahtijevala ilegalnu naplatu besplatnih usluga, što je Kate odbila. Potonja je često bila izložena neugodnim situacijama i komentarima pacijenata zbog pogrešnog poistovjećivanja sa spomenutom praksom. Jednom, Nina je tražila nezakonitu naplatu usluge. Kate je odbila, a pacijent je prokomentirao: "Što je sestro? Nosite li rukavice kako biste sakrili otiske prstiju na računima?"

Nakon nekoliko mjeseci, Kate je obavijestila sindikat o nezakonitom poslovanju svoje šefice. Nina je reagirala nerazumnim smanjivanjem njezine plaće, ukidanjem putnih troškova, prekomjernim zahtjevima koji su vodili čestom prekovremenom radu bez naknade i slanjem spomenute zaposlenice na bolovanje zbog kihanja koje dotad nije ometalo rad u ordinaciji.

Za vrijeme bolovanja Kati je dijagnosticiran vazomotorni rinitis za koji nije utvrđeno alergijsko podrijetlo, uz značajno oštećenje sluznice. Po povratku na posao, dočekao ju je Ninin suprug, bezobrazno joj poručivši da bi trebala dati otkaz jer u toj ordinaciji više nema što tražiti. Nakon što mu je odgovorila kako nije relevantan za poslovno savjetovanje, počupao ju je za kosu, bacio na pod te udario nogom u bedro i dojku. Kate se ustala i uspjela pobjeći, ali joj je tijekom bijega Ninin suprug prignječio podlakticu ulaznim vratima ordinacije.

Ozljede su fotodokumentirane. Kate je nazvala policiju i tako je počeo sudski postupak. Ne razmatrajući u detalje što se događalo sa žrtvom nakon intervjua, prema Katinim riječima, dvogodišnje iskustvo agresije znatno je promijenilo njezinu osobnost. Spava lošije i budi se zbog noćnih mora. Od početka sudskog postupka, snažni osjećaji tjeskobe, straha i napetosti su prisutni, kao i glavobolje te proljev. Nakon

rementioned experience of bossing, she cannot remember any truly problematic relation with employees in different dental offices where she worked. The problem began in 2002. The chief of the clinic where she worked had become a dentist Nina. There were many stories on Nina as undesirable boss because of her inappropriate, aggressive and illegal behaviour. Nina demanded illegal charging of free services, which Kate refused. The latter has been often exposed to uncomfortable situations and the comments of patients due to the wrong identification of Kate's work with the above mentioned practice. Once, Nina asked Kate to charge illegal service. Kate refused, but the patient commented: "Nurse, do you wear gloves to hide your fingerprints on the bills?"

After a few months, Kate reported the illegal business of her boss to the union. Nina reacted with unreasonable reducing of Kate's wage, the abolition of travel expenses, excessive demands that led to Kate's frequent overtime work without the wage and sending her on sick leave because of sneezing that had never interfered with Kate's work.

During the sick leave, Kate was diagnosed with vasomotor rhinitis, for which no allergic origin was proven, with significant mucosal injury. Upon returning to work from sick leave, Kate had to face Nina's husband who told her she should have quit because there was no more work for her in that dentist's office. After she replied that he was not in charge of deciding on any official matters there, he grabbed her by the hair, threw her against the floor and started kicking her. Kate got up and managed to escape, but Nina's husband tried to stop her by locking her forearm in the entrance door of the office.

All injuries were photo-documented. Kate called the police and so court proceedings began. Not going up in the details of what happened to the victim after the implementation of the interview, according to Kate's words, the experience of two years of aggression has greatly changed her personality. She sleeps worse and wakes up due to nightmares. Since the court proceedings, strong feelings of anxiety, fear and tension have started, as well as headaches and diarrhea. After the long-term mobbing, she removed her

dugotrajnog mobinga, uklonila je rak dojke. Šest mjeseci liječila je tetivu u lijevoj podlaktici zbog premlaćivanja i gnječenja vratima. Zatražila je pomoć psihijatra odmah nakon uručjenja otkaza. Dijagnosticiran joj je depresivni poremećaj. Koristi Normabel, Xanax i Fevarin kao terapiju. Iako je imala podršku obitelji i prijatelja, navodi sljedeće: "Bilo im je dosadno i frustrirajuće slušati me svakodnevno kako govorim o svojoj šefici i protupravnim troškovima". Prijatelji i kolege kontinuirano su pružali emocionalnu potporu i upućivali joj riječi podrške. Mnogi su svjedočili u njezino ime na sudu. Kate ističe da je to glavni razlog što je ostala relativno dobro psihički. U vrijeme intervjua nije imala dodatnih prihoda, dok je njezina obitelj bila financijski oštećena.

ZAKLJUČAK

Rezultati istraživanja ukazuju na značajan potencijal razvoja agresije na radnom mjestu, kao i stalnu prisutnost njezinih manje ekstremnih oblika. To ne treba uzimati olako jer otprilike svaki deseti ispitanik tvrdi kako ima somatske/psihološke probleme uzrokovane poslom. Slučaj medicinske sestre Kate jasno ukazuje na vjerojatnost razvoja raznih destruktivnih vrsta agresije ako je dopuštena njezina dugoročna prisutnost. Konačno, spomenute su različite posljedice agresije, ali posljedice za počinitelje nisu. Bez sankcioniranja i adekvatne resocijalizacije, oni razvijaju brojne oblike antisocijalnog ponašanja (*Đuranović, Opić, 2013.*).

S obzirom na šire društvene okolnosti u Hrvatskoj, mogućnost razvoja agresije na radnom mjestu nije zanemariva. U uvjetima vrlo visoke stope nezaposlenosti, radnici nastoje zadržati posao unatoč nepovoljnim uvjetima rada. Jedan od njih može biti agresivna okolina. S druge strane, nedostatak kontrole stvara stres, nezadovoljstvo i demotivaciju kod žrtava i svjedoka agresivnog ponašanja, što dovodi do daljnjih sukoba na poslu, u obitelji i drugdje (*Tepper, 2000.*). Nadalje, oblikovanje i implementacija društvenih vrijednosti i normi u tranzicijskom

breast cancer. She went six months on treating the tendon in her left forearm, caused by beating and kneading with the door. She asked the help of a psychiatrist immediately after she was handed the notice of termination. She was diagnosed with depressive disorder. She used Normabel, Xanax and Fevarin as therapy. Even though she had the support of family and friends, she still stated the following: "It was boring and frustrating to have them listen to me talking about my boss and illegal charges all the time". Friends and colleagues continuously provided emotional support and gave her words of support. Many have testified on her behalf in court. Kate emphasizes that it is the main reason she remained relatively well mentally. At the time of the interview, she did not receive the extra income while her family was financially deprived.

CONCLUSION

The research results indicate a significant potential for the development of aggression in the workplace, as well as the constant presence of its less extreme forms. It should not be taken lightly, since approximately every tenth respondent claims to have somatic/psychological problems caused by work. The case of nurse Kate clearly indicates the likelihood of the development of various destructive forms of aggression if its long-term viability in the workplace is allowed. Finally, the different consequences of aggression are aforementioned, but the consequences for the perpetrators are not. Without being sanctioned and adequately re-socialized, they continue to develop numerous types of anti-social behavior (*Đuranović, Opić, 2013.*).

Considering the wider social circumstances, the possibility of development of workplace aggression in Croatia is not negligible. In conditions of very high unemployment rate, workers struggle to keep their jobs despite the adverse work conditions. One of these may be aggressive environment. On the other hand, the lack of control creates stress, dissatisfaction and demotivation in the victims or witnesses of aggressive behavior, which leads to further conflicts at work, in the family and elsewhere (*Tepper,*

postsocijalističkom gospodarstvu je dug proces (*Matić, 2003.*). Sasvim je jasno da različiti oblici društvene devijantnosti, poput korupcije, klijentelizma i nepotizma, ukorijenjeni u društvu, pridonose razvoju agresivnosti na radnom mjestu (*Kregar, 1999.*). Ljudi ne bi trebali biti tretirani kao objekti. Zaštita njihovih prava je važan element u održavanju zdravlja, blagostanja i produktivnosti svakog člana društvenih odnosa (*Urlič, Russo, 2008.*). Radnici trebaju biti bolje upoznati sa svojim pravima, tj. biti u mogućnosti koristiti ih s više odlučnosti. Pokazuje se nedostatak relevantnih informacija o agresivnosti na radnom mjestu u Hrvatskoj, ali i nedostatak obrazovanja, preventivnih propisa itd. Žrtve trebaju smći snagu govoriti o tim problemima, a znanstvenici bi trebali nastojati izlagati njihova iskustva pred širokom publikom. Samo na taj način agresivnost na radnom mjestu bit će prepoznata kao ozbiljan problem, što je nužno za njezino uspješno (zakonsko) sprečavanje i sankcioniranje.

2000). Furthermore, the design and implementation of social values and norms in the transitional post-socialist economy is a long process (*Matić, 2003.*). It is quite clear that various forms of social deviance, such as corruption, clientelism and nepotism, rooted in the society, contribute to the development of workplace aggression (*Kregar, 1999.*). People should not be treated as objects. The protection of their rights is an important element in maintaining health, well-being and productivity of each member of a social relationship (*Urlič, Russo, 2008.*). Employees should be better acquainted with their rights and be able to use them with more decisiveness. The lack of relevant information about the workplace aggression in Croatia is shown, but also a lack in education, prevention regulations, etc. The victims need to find the strength to speak out publicly about these things, while researchers should strive to report such experiences in front of the wide audience. Only in this way, the workplace aggression will be widely recognized as a serious problem which is necessary for its successful and legally regulated prevention and sanctioning.

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**WORKPLACE AGRESSION: SECONDARY
ANALYSIS OF CROATIAN RESEARCH PRACTICE**

SUMMARY: Workplace aggression constitutes a serious issue in individual, organizational and social cause-effect relations. Many studies have been conducted on this phenomenon with the aim of recognizing and identifying its features in order to improve the quality of interpersonal relationships at workplace while simultaneously preventing its wider social consequences. In Croatia, with a large number of early retirees, there is almost no data on the impact of workplace conditions on health damage, unless primary cause is occupational disease or injury at work. This study considers three pre-existing examinations of workplace aggression: 1. an employee survey conducted in July 2014 in Split (based on a pilot sample of 113 respondents); 2. a survey among primary and secondary school teachers in Split-Dalmatia County conducted in 2007 (random stratified sample; N=764); 3. a single case study of vertical strategic mobbing (bossing) conducted in 2007. As shown by research results, in the context of Croatian transitional economy, additional burden and stressors are justifiably expected. A similar situation is also evident with potentialities in which the workplace abuse occurs, often without the possibility of adequate action due to lack of information, education and appropriate scientific indicators facilitating the development of professional standards and measures for systematic action.

Key words: *workplace, aggression, bossing, Croatia*

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