

MOBBING: Studying the stalking group since anthropology ¹

Marina Parés Soliva *

* European Mobbing- SEDISEM Information Service

"When someone like us successfully achieves what we had deposited in the trunk of dreams, when another gets what we had given up, our ego sometimes cannot bear it, especially if that someone, that other, is close in time, in space, in age, in reputation, in birth." Elena Ochoa.

In the original Spanish. Translated by Marina Parés.

Summary

The main objective of the article is the study of mobbing or moral harassment at work understood as psychological harassment where emotional abuse is subtle, but no less painful. There are harassments where violence is most evident, but the theme of this study is the exercise of subtle violence, that violence that is masked, in a perverse way, with the varnish of human and democratic values. Today, labour harassment is contextualized in a type of industrial societies with predominance of democratic values and, in my opinion, this is because of the need for both the chief stalker and his allies to cover up the exercise of the violence they exercise on another person. The need to cover up is motivated because in such societies there is a discourse of values around respect for the human being that would sanction, in one way or another, these practices in the event of becoming apparent.

Anthropology will help us to understand the context in which it arises, that is, in democratic societies whose labour market is subject to globalization; it will also provide us with the tools to understand the mechanisms of establishment and perpetuation, through rites, that is through the analysis of the initiation rites and continuity of the gang

of harassment, as well as give us the elements that will allow us to understand the apathy in tackling moral harassment by the organization where a case of mobbing arises. The pretence of this work lies in the search for the above explanatory keys through anthropological science.

Introduction

The issue of moral harassment at work has become an emerging phenomenon in complex societies. This is due to two factors mainly, on the one hand, globalization that promotes labour precariousness of the labour market and on the other hand, that this occurs in democratic cultures that defend human rights and that value the individual rights of individual people. In this context, the same citizen subject to civil rights can be seen in his work role, that is, as a worker, who loses some of these rights and can therefore be subject to psychological violence practices. This same person if instead of pertinence to a social culture that has integrated democratic values was immersed in a culture of slavery he would not defend his rights because he would be a subject with few rights and therefore difficult to receive fair treatment. The emergence of the mobbing phenomenon is a red light from a society that does not want to lose the labour rights achieved in the last century in the hands of an oligarchy outside the control of the state such as multinationals. The exercise of moral harassment must be understood as the new way, typical of the 21st century, of diminishing workers' rights. Therefore, revulsive attitudes towards the practice of labour harassment are understood as an attempt not to let the democratic bar of Western societies lower. We are at the contradiction that in a society that is increasingly less tolerant of violence between human beings, an advocate for human rights, contrary, mostly, to the death penalty, which promotes mechanisms to tackle child abuse, and which is fiercely contrary to domestic violence, at the same time tolerates violence at

work; in such a way that we can say that there are violent actions in a social space, work, where violence manifests itself insidiously and without anything to prevent it. Piñuel says, quoting Leymann: "*In the societies of our highly industrialized Western world, the workplace is the last battleground in which one person can kill another without any risk of being prosecuted in court*"(Piñuel,2001:7) and we would add the extension of the word "work" to all those organizations where human beings contribute their personal effort either for profit (enterprises, universities, political parties) or non-profit (unions, associations and/or NGOs). Mobbing, therefore, is the finding of a loss of social values both individually and collectively; but also the rise of moral harassment at work contravenes every ethical order. I am of the opinion that the exercise of psychological violence at work manifested as moral harassment against a worker by a group with power will always hide a fraud. I define the concept of fraud as the acquisition or maintenance of privileges by this group or at least the group leader, which without harassment would lose or not acquire. I understand that this is a concept that can cause controversy and will be addressed in more detail throughout the article.

The Concept of Moral Harassment or Mobbing

There are many definitions of mobbing that I will not repeat, I just want to point out that the main feature of mobbing is the use of psychological violence to provoke the victim's self-destruction. There are two fundamental ways to exercise this type of violence: active and passive. The active is the one that humiliates and degrades the person by producing feelings of hopelessness, insecurity, and poor self-esteem, and often manifests itself accompanied by insults or unpleasant nicknames. The second modality is passive, it is heartbreak, indifference and selflessness. It should be noted that both types occur in mobbing. Having seen the two ways of expressing psychological violence, I would like

to point out some aspects, in my opinion, basic of moral harassment at work, its group nature and the cover-up of fraud, already mentioned above. I consider these two elements to be important because of their defining nature of moral harassment at work and therefore will allow it to be differentiated from other cases of labour conflict.

I give birth to the conviction that labour harassment is psychological violence of a group against a person, in my opinion it is not a conflict between two people, harasser and victim, and yes, on the other hand, of a group against a worker, that is, group harassment. I defend that moral harassment is carried out by the harasser—instigator in conjunction with harassers-harassers, who are the people the instigator has convinced to help him put the victim "in his place" through harassment, from "going after her." It is this stalking group that I call *a bullying gang*, perhaps there is another terminology more suitable to name it, but I prefer to adopt the one that has already been used before (Piñuel, 2001: 135). I repeat the idea, which, for me, moral harassment is synonymous with group harassment, since "without the help of these allies no psycho terrorist could carry out a process of harassment." ² I insist that it is the set made up of the instigator and his allies I call a gang of harassment. This idea, of mobbing as group harassment, was already noted in the publication of Leymann's work on the resistance of the person affected by a situation of moral harassment or mobbing "many scholars consider the support of the environment as one of the main factors of resistance" (Leymann,1996:89). Therefore, this lack of support for the victim by the environment and the adscription, of some people in this environment, precisely, to the postulates of the instigator of harassment are decisive in transforming an interpersonal conflict situation into a situation of harassment. The qualitative leap is determined by the transition from a dyadic conflict to a group one and therefore it is so necessary to know how this type of group is built and how it is maintained, "for the harassment to exist, especially in its institutional modality, it is

necessary a person who assumes the role of principal persecutor endowed with sufficient authority or charisma to mobilize the persecutory group dynamics" (González de Rivera, 2002: 86). It will be throughout the article that we will see how this group of harassment is constituted through the description of the initiation rites and how it is perpetuated by the rites of continuity. I'm not going to describe other types of rituals. This article focuses on explaining the behaviour of the bullying gang through the rite, since I intend to confirm that it is the rite that structures the group's behaviour and bullying strategy.

Based on ethological studies it is known that group harassment or mobbing exists in almost all species of social animals under two main forms "the coalition of weak individuals against a stronger one, and persecution by most of an individual with some strange or different trait" (González de Rivera ,2002:84). Among humans, "it occurs in group situations in which a subject is subjected to persecution, grievance or psychological pressure by one or more members of the group to which he belongs, with the complicity or acquiescence of the rest" (González de Rivera, 2002:62). There are likely differences between bullying gangs depending on whether the person being harassed is the strongest or the most foreign to the group, but this analysis goes beyond the pretensions of this study.

On the issue of moral harassment, the determinant is power, specifically the power of the leader, which is basically aimed at maintaining privileges in his intra and extra group relationships. Power is something that is exercised in interactions between humans and has a double effect: oppressive and configurator. On the subject of bullying, it is oppressive conception that takes shape as the ability and the possibility of control and mastery over the life or facts of others, basically to achieve obedience. Abuse of power obliges non-reciprocal interactions, where the controller has the means to sanction and also to reward those who obey.

I defend the concept of moral harassment or mobbing as the punishment that the main instigator exerts on the victim for not having submitted to his designs. This situation of disobedience. the leader will very often be camouflaged and, therefore, in these cases, this information can only be provided to us by the victim. The person affected by a situation of moral harassment, *motive* through a process of introspection, may find the unconnectable reason of the main stalker. This hidden motivation of the harassment instigator is related, in one way or another, to the victim's denial of undergoing a situation of domination of the group leader. The situation that gave rise to, in the instigator, the desire to destroy the other is almost always hidden. These situations are different in each individual case, sometimes it is the victim's denial of accepting a dismissal with loss of labour rights; in others to refuse to engage in fraudulent acts, I include here refusing to cooperate in harassing another partner, or not accepting the dominance of an informal leader; other situations triggering moral harassment include the future victim's denial of unwanted intimate contacts; and very often, more than one thinks, the origin is in the envy that the instigator feels for the victim. An envious person will compulsively need to dominate those who generate this feeling with the intention of mitigating his inner evil, when he fails to dominate this person, this same impulse will lead him to destroy it. The chief stalker manages to wield power through his ability and ability to guide the type of interactions with others in terms of one's own interests, beliefs and perceptions, "amoral situations can only develop if they are permitted or tolerated" (Leymann, 1996: 180). To gain that power, it "pollutes the victim's environment in order to find social support that allows him to assault him with impunity." ³ Mobbing, therefore, consists of a group dynamic that, once launched, continues automatically and unstopably. Once a group harassment process is initiated, any action or intent of defence by the victim increases the sense of group questioning and that danger will generate an increase in harassment

activities to the victim, "once initiated, any action or attempted justification or defence [by the victim [increases the sense of questioning and institutional danger, with the consequent increase of harassment activity" (González de Rivera, 2002: 63).

People are social beings and as such membership in a group can be considered as of maximum necessity. The feeling of social rejection, of being systematically persecuted and harassed destroys the feeling of belonging to the community and facilitates situations of individual alienation in the victim.

Violent practices, in addition to causing a breakdown of the victim's confidence in the society to which he belongs, also enhances other situations of alienation precisely in the people who exercise this violence, because each time they violent the other they move further away from the human values they seek to defend, reaching situations of fragmentation between the values they support and their action. The characteristics that will enhance attitudes and actions of harassment towards another are: envy, mediocrity and control. So we have that the characteristics of every person who instigates harassment are defined by the syndrome of the "active inoperative mediocre" or MIA described by González de Rivera: "The individual affection of MIA is persistent, easily develops a great activity (inoperative, of course) and has a great desire for notoriety and influence over others, which sometimes reaches messianic tints. Mia tends to infiltrate complex organizations, particularly those that are already affected by minor forms of mediocrity. It easily comes to master small encapsulated groups that produce nothing, but that assign "tracking and control" functions that allow them to hinder or annihilate the advancement of brilliant individuals." (González de Rivera, 2002: 89). It is important to highlight this aspect of annihilation of brilliant characters because in the long run, the members of the gang, will get the organization to remain between parameters of mediocrity with reference to both the effectiveness and the efficiency of it, understanding mediocrity as "the absence

of interest, appreciation or aspiration towards the excellent" (González de Rivera, 2002: 87); so that we can conclude that "organizations that instinct or consent to harassment within them will end up paying the high cost of mediocrity and incompetence." ⁴.

Often the allies of the instigator, those who become bullies and form the hellish circle of harassment have some characteristics of MIA syndrome, described above, these characteristics being common to the harassing leader that make it possible and facilitate their adherent to the bullying gang, because they are already doing well to work in mediocre environments and low competitiveness. In contrast, the characteristics of an environment that enhances situations of harassment are: the isolation of the department, the internal cohesion of the stalking group, and the absence of pressure towards performance or creativity. For Leymann the essential sources of mobbing within the company, are located at three levels, the first in the organization of work, "we can assume that any stressful work situation contains a significant potential of conflicts and, therefore, risk of mobbing" (Leymann, 1996 :168), second in the definition of tasks, "monotony and repetition of tasks [...] , [may cause [the aggressors to choose a colleague as a goat only to distract themselves" (Leymann, 1996 :169); and third in the type of direction together with the social dynamics of the working group, "in working groups under pressure, conflicts are born more easily, and the risk of mobbing increases" (Leymann, 1996: 173). The more one knows and analyses about the phenomenon of moral harassment, the more certainty is consolidated that it is not the personality of the victim that is the determinant of a situation of moral harassment and whether instead has much to do with the personality of the principal instigator and his allies, "in the business sphere, violence and harassment arise from the encounter between the longing of power and perversity" (Hirigoyen , 1999: 47).

Today, according to the latest studies, we can say that the characteristics of authenticity, innocence and affective dependence will be able to make a person a victim of harassment as long as it matches a perverse character and that the environment, in which both move, consents, "it is important for the stalker to reduce the breadth of the environment through secrecy and lying , because the more people are aware of what actually happens, the more likely it is that someone will do something to prevent it. But let us not rely too much: extensive groups, social classes, even entire nations have consented to and encouraged the vilest abuses" (González de Rivera, 2002: 85)

The Rituals

Because of the important role that the instigator and his allies play in developing a situation of moral harassment at work or mobbing, we are interested in the study of the bullying gang, its behaviour and the serious consequences of it; Piñuel (2001) ⁵ and González de Rivera (2002) ⁶ among others, and this analysis aims to continue with the same line of research using the anthropological theory of rites as an explanatory theoretical construct of the operation of the harassing group.

Definition of rituals

The definition of rituals from both anthropological science and psychological science is coincidental. From the anthropological vision and according to Sandoval Shaik, (2005) quoting Comstock (1972), we see that anthropology holds that rites validate the current social structure and promote the resolution of personal and social problems, by facilitating the manifestation of ideologies, values, norms and emotions through symbolic acts. Therefore we have that rituals in societies fulfill a triple socio-cultural function: a) organize the lives of peoples, defining and confirming their social structure., b) if they

are adequately flexible, they allow to introduce harmoniously the new norms and values that historical evolution demands, and c) give meaning to vital experiences, becoming a valuable instrument of learning the norms and values of the group , but also of the compendium of knowledge and skills essential for their adult life.

From psychology, especially since psychotherapy it is considered that a ritual comprises a set of more or less structured symbolic acts and/or interactions, which are not only restricted to the realization ceremony, but include the complete process of preparation, the very experience of execution and reintegration after daily life (Roberts, 1991).

The functions of rituals are therefore within a group 1) to regulate the functioning, and to allow evolution with little internal conflict. (2) transmit the group's culture, values and norms among members. 3) coordinate the past, present and social future of the group. 4) point out and support the group's life cycle transitions, and the inclusion of new members. 5) bring multipurpose meanings to behaviours, cognitions and affections, as well as evoke intense emotions that unite in the same experience diverse phenomena, and 6) provide support and contention to emotions and feelings of the members.

The harassment group functions like any society, but in micro vision; so it uses rites to reaffirm the behaviours and wills of its members.

Of all the types of rituals I want to focus on those who give belonging and cohesion to the group, namely, "the initiation rites and those of continuity since they are the basis that explains how a gang of harassment is constituted and perpetuated." ⁷.

Types of Rituals

We know that transitional rituals act on the normative transitions experienced by individuals and groups throughout their lives, marking the end of one stage of development and the beginning of a new one. Transitional rituals normally occur once in

the life of each subject, which is the main protagonist of the transition, while in continuity rituals are repeated more or less frequently, in order to maintain normality within each stage of the life cycle. Within the transitional rituals we find the initiation rites, which are those that involve inclusion as a full member in the group, and are grounds for analysis of this work. They are rites of passage so, with them, the behaviour of the member who enters, that is, the initiate, is modified.

Entering groups:

With regard to the entry of new members into any class or group or team, it is necessary that there always be a test or examination, however minimally demanding, in order to establish a clear difference between what it is to be an any person and a member of that group. On the other hand, it is obvious that groups must ensure that the people who enter are suitable for their purposes. For example, a mountaineering club must ensure that its members do not suffer from vertigo or fear of heights and wish to participate in expeditions.

In the inclusion in a bullying gang we will be able to find a test or examination that must be passed by the new member and that will demonstrate to the rest of the group that shares its purpose and is therefore suitable. Not everyone in the victim's environment will be able to access this category, nor be part of the elite surrounding the main instigator, he chooses potential candidates based on their usefulness and suitability to the victim's destruction plan. Very often the instigator will choose these allies on the hierarchical cusp, but without neglecting to influence other workers who hold an informal power, as they could come to support the victim and disrupt the plan. Once the instigator has chosen a new ally and has managed to influence him, it will have to be verified that he is suitable for the group. The influence on the new candidate can be exerted by the instigator either

directly or indirectly through one of their pawns strategically located in the organization. The important thing is to convince him of the harm of the victim to the company and the need for him to leave the organization. In order for him to become part of the elite or the group, the candidate must pass a suitability test. This test or examination will consist of assaulting the victim. Aggression shall be carried out either in humiliating or vetoing the victim directly or in facilitating the instruments for others to do so; instruments that without their collaboration the group would not have. The initiate will make it clear which side he is on.

The Initiates Rites

As we have said, the initial rites are transitional rites, that is, they are procedures that change the functioning of the group to which the protagonists of the transition belong. For Del Grosso (2003) citing Gluckman (1965) "A transformation of the roles and status of the participants appears, and on a more individual level alternate their frequencies of interaction, organize their affective and cognitive internal states and introduce prescribed changes in their relationships, which are replaced by new and qualitatively different ones".

The Stages

To define the stages by which a person enters a bullying gang we rely on Del Grosso (2003) citing Van Gennap (1960) where it differentiates three fundamental stages in any transitional situation: the separation stage, the marginalization stage and the incorporation stage. The analysis of these stages will be very useful to us in order to understand how the main instigator ends up convincing other workers to become their allies.

The Stage "segregation" entails, as the name suggests, a series of separation rites. Its purpose is that the interaction of the subject with the group that is detached is ostensibly reduced or completely terminated. In the gang of harassment is concrete in the estrangement of the initiate from the victim and manifests itself in the marginalization of the stigmatized by the new subscriber; so that for any new member to be admitted to the gang, I say that it must have some action that marginalizes the victim. Acts of marginalization will include increased violence based on the previous link maintained by the initiate with the outlawed victim. The greater the previous friendship with the victim, the more aggressive the action of treason of the new member, because the greater it will be their need to make the group credible. This stage of separation corresponds to step one of any mental control procedure, consisting in the thawing of the previous link with the victim and can be perceived as the future member of the gang departs from the victim, because they stop drinking coffee together, or they "forget" to return the phone calls or to answer the mail.

In the stalking group there is an emotionally charged use of language and suggestion is also used; because the attached person is intended to question his own identity, through the redefinition of the individual past. It is very important that the past be questioned, often trying, on the part of the group, to forget the positive memories of the past; especially what he experienced in conjunction with the victim. Examples of expressions that the new member is segregated from the future victim: "You're *exaggerating*," "*There's no such thing*"—addressed to the victim", “

Intermediate stage, after the separation stage is followed by the marginal stage, this is extremely complex; in it the subject is between two positions, the old and the new. Corresponds to change or step two of the mind control procedure. This change by the new member is achieved by the group through the imposition and creation of a new identity

of the member, through the use of the modification of the behaviour. The group alternates awards and punishments. Techniques are also used to stop thinking. In bullying, this is the most important part, that the attached one does not think about what he is doing to the victim and therefore loses his critical vision. The end result is that the individual attached to the group does not question the attack on which he submits the victim, but comes to find justifications for exercising violence against it, because it ends up agreeing with the group's idea of the victim's bad faith. With each adscription of a person to the group, the victims left to potential allies within the company and that results in the circle of people stigmatizing it. Examples of expressions: "*They are partly right,*" "*How you take it, you're too susceptible.*"

Onboarding stage, once the new member has allowed his will to be left in the hands of the group or bullying gang, becomes the stage of incorporation into *norm* life. This is realized through a rite of community meeting, which usually takes the form of a big party or important event, which defines that relationships have changed and that the frequencies of interaction will now be different. In workplace harassment it can take place in a celebration of the leader's anniversary or a meal at his or her home or at any event that the new member shares with the group in a public way. The important thing is to make it public for the rest of the organization, in order for the attached one to be seen as one of the members of the group. This stage corresponds to step three of mind control: called new freezing.

The group attempts to strengthen the new identity of the individual and at the same time a surrender of the old identity; through the separation of the past, separation or total separation from former friends. Examples of expressions: "*They had already told me I was bad (the victim) and I didn't want to believe them.*" In the end, the new member is

able to perform activities for the group, especially the recruitment of new members intended most of the time to expand the fence against the victim, but also often the object of new recruitment aims to leave the victim without allies; in such a way that he is more vulnerable, "for a perverse, the supreme pleasure is to achieve the destruction of one individual on the part of another and to witness this combat from which both will be weakened and that will therefore reinforce their personal omnipotence". (Hirigoyen 1999:97).

For the new gang member the new addition can be manifested by a name change or nickname, often receiving a affectionate or diminutive nickname from the group, being a trust only allowed to the other members of the group; other times it acquires a new image, but above all that stands out is the use of a new language and is concrete with the use of the group's own clichés. It appears, mostly in leisure times, a grouping with people representing the group, a system of *companionship*. There is one us differentiated from the other (the victim). In the bullying gang of relinquishing past relationships that do not have the approval of the group, "the wicked give a lot of security to the most fragile people" (Hirigoyen in 1999: 98).

One of the actions that helps cohesion is in secrecy, that is, in the need for its members to learn to keep secrets; only then will they gain the confidence to participate fully in the gang's activities. Anyone who joins a "gang" of harassment will have to go through all three stages.

The victim has refused to submit to the instigator and must not forget that "standing up to the domain means risking being hated" (Hirigoyen in 1999:101). First, the victim, you will notice a departure from the friend, the person you knew will slowly disfigure. We have already seen that in the first stage this *friend* will ask a lot of question about the action of the person affected by harassment, that is to say a hypercriticism, first varnished

with good intention to end by a full-blown stigma, until reaching a point where the interpersonal relationship will be almost zero. Once the three stages have been completed: segregation, intermediate and new identity there is no reversing. A member of the "gang" almost never ceases to be, and this is because group pressure does not erase the old identity, but creates a new identity that suppresses the old one. His identity has changed, he will no longer be the person before, the new identity entails a strong change of values, to the point that a backing back can make it impossible to live with one's own conscience; and this is because authorizing oneself to exercise violence on another human being, including psychological violence, requires disconnecting from the feeling of the other. This person has been manipulated by the instigator and has learned to silence the voice of his conscience and is increasingly specializing in it, reaches a point where he closely resembles the main stalker or organizational perverse, since the instigators "get [... [the collaboration of allies who also manipulate through a discourse that is based on mockery and contempt for moral values" (Hirigoyen, 1999: 107). In all members of the group, including the new attached, the lack of empathy towards the victim is growing and is manifested by an attitude lacking in any compassion towards it. Right now, the new member shines with his new identity, and he will receive the group's appreciation for his betrayal of the victim.

We must stop being afraid, both individually and collectively, in front of perverse individuals and face the consequences of their actions; if we refuse to perceive evil in the other, if we deny the scientific evidence that there are perverse among us, then we are making the game to them and we are becoming vulnerable since we are letting them set the rules, "the psychopath acts to obtain what pleases him, without the damage to inflict on his relatives or co-workers uncomfortable him" (Garrido ,2004:27). It is the practice of that maxim, unethical, that the end justifies the means

Only the recognition of their existence, and the application of methods of control of their actions will really protect us from being manipulated and destroyed, "all forms of abuse, abuse, aggression and violence are characterized by an asymmetrical relationship of forces, in which one part harms and another is damaged" (González de Rivera, 2002:85). We have seen that inclusion in a gang of harassment follows the usual ritual processes in every human being for any membership and group membership; and that use of rituals are the ones that legitimize each individual member of the group the dishonest end of the bullying gang since it has caused a change in their belief system and now assaulting the victim is socially-group accepted.

I have to admit that probably many people who study the subject of mobbing will not agree with the description I make of the integration of a person into a bullying gang; and this may be due to two reasons: either that they disagree with group harassment as synonymous with mobbing, that is, they do not give importance to the role that gang plays in harassment, which I give it, or that even if they agree to assess the group pressure to its fair measure do not accept such a rigid integration of a gang member, and this due to a confusion of terms between group of bullying and tacit collaborators. For those scholars of the phenomenon of moral harassment who do not detect mobbing circles, it is easy for them to fall into the trap of confusing people belonging to a gang of harassment, whose behaviour is extremely violent, with other people who even participating in bullying are not so violent, are the tacit collaborators, the facilitators and cover-ups of the harassment, but who are not part of the hellish circle or gang of harassment. They are easily identifiable when two indicators are taken into account: violence exercised and proximity to the leader. With reference to the exercise of violence we find that their actions do not have the level of extreme violence and for another that they are not part of the *elite*,

defined as the closest allies to the abusive leader. What I'll detail later when I explain the circles of violence in mobbing.

Individual Motivations to Be Part of a Harassment Group

It is often difficult to understand why a worker enter with others to harm a partner who has done nothing wrong to him personally, and this with the sole intention of pleasing an abusive leader. Even more often than one might think, they are people who to date have benefited, in one way or another, from their relationship with the victim, "most people [...] we make mistakes; sometimes we get carried away by selfish impulses, on other occasions we stop giving the credit that other people deserve, because we envy them or detest them" (Garrido,2004: 60)

In order to come to understand these actions I consider it interesting to discuss some questions about a person's individual motivations for being part of a stalking group. I consider that the various motivations of an individual to associate with a gang are five: identity acquisition, protection, companionship, intimidation and self-love.

Identity: It is the case of those individuals who in order to achieve an identity in their environment and not be excluded and marginalized accepts the culture of the gang. And it is through the group identity that he acquires his own. Often, the gang of harassment enjoys prestige within the organization and that enhances the desire to belong to it, to be part of the elite.

Protection: The second motivation is protection; the individual seeks shelter from the bullying group. In the context of a toxic context, understood as tolerant of violence and violent ones, the individual decides to join the gang because it seems to offer considerable protection against violence and thus avoid being attacked. Paradoxically inclusion in a gang, instead of protecting against violence, what causes it to delve deeper into it, since

the main stalker generates violent group dynamics since "his fundamental motivation is not to obtain the appreciation and affection of the people who form his environment [...] but control, dominate, feel superior. In this way, the psychopath deceives and manipulates us, and makes us feel hopeless and threatened in his world, with his rules, where he has all the advantages" (Garrido, 2004:66). Being part of a bullying group is actively participating in the exercise of psychological violence.

Companionship, through group activities, the individual is offered a continuity in the sense of brotherhood that sometimes does not find in other environments or that does not exist in the organization.

Intimidation: Sometimes, some individual is included in the gang because of threats or pressure from other peers and because of their need to be accepted by the other members, since the instigators can stay cold and put honest man's face even in the midst of the biggest. In fact, the main source of psychopathic satisfaction lies in this process of feeling superior because he is able to handle us" (Garrido, 2004:112). In these cases, in which inclusion is not voluntary and if forced, some pathology can be found in these subjects that suggests that they may be suffering from post-traumatic stress syndrome, much like the true victim of moral harassment at work.

Self-Love. Very often an individual subscribes to a bullying gang because he is trying to increase the concept of himself. They are people who want to be recognized for their activities and the gang can provide those praises that they may not receive in other settings. This last point would explain, in part, the extent that some victims of workplace harassment may be included as members of a gang and reproduce violence in settings other than the one they were victims of (another department, the family) with a desire to resent their wounded self-love, in a psychological process similar to the aggressor identification syndrome, "the wicked attempts to inject his own evil into his victim.

Corrupting is your ultimate goal. And he achieves his maximum pleasure when he gets his victim to become also destructive, or when he gets several individuals to annihilate each other" (Hirigoyen, 1999:106). Although it is an interesting and probably questioned aspect of psychological harassment, I only point it out as it is not the subject of this article. An inevitable sign that a person belongs to a gang is the manifestation of violence and disrespect for others, and this also includes damaging the properties of others, which is sometimes attractive as it has a lot to do with power. Very often the only physical violence found in moral harassment has this manifestation, namely the destruction of the victim's personal property (pricking the wheels of the car, breaking his glasses, spoiling his computer...).

The gang gives the member a sense that one has power over the organization. It is also true that some members yearn for a sense of belonging to something, a sense of family, and a sense of security; however, belonging to a bullying gang does not turn out to be the positive experience that some members believed they were going to find. For, although some members inscribed themselves to protect themselves against violence, the gang's actions and actions place them at the centre of increased violence given that there is a great deal of revenge and an intense desire to punish the victim, this being the main reason for the existence of the harassment gang,

The Rites of Continuity

A special type of continuity rites are so-called rites of intensification. The rites of intensification are the activities ritualized collectively, that is, group and are activities that can coincide with periodic changes in the environment. Examples are: celebrations, traditions and group routines linked to everyday life and especially leisure movements. In all cases of psychological harassment, whether labour, school or family, where the

objective is to marginalize, veto, humiliate and psychologically destroy the victim, it is precisely the continuation of these actions that give identity to the group, since it distinguishes them from those who do not attack the victim, that was precisely the objective of the instigator or main stalker when he was capturing each member of the group, surround yourself with like-minded people who help him get rid of the victim and not question his methods of achieving it, "all the wicked [... [they try to lure others into their own register and then lead them to pervert the rules" (Hirigoyen, 1999:106).

The psychological destruction of the victim is achieved through discredit, misappropriation of functions or belongings, as well as a variety of group actions aimed at deteriorating "progressively the human condition of the victim" (González de Rivera, 2002: 85). We affirm that it is the continuity of these group actions that give identity to the group, moreover, we are of the opinion that, if the victim disappeared from the environment, the gang would also tend to disappear and to avoid it is why it seeks a new victim, when it has managed to destroy the first victim, and thus continue to exist as a group. We must continue to maintain the group identity, the "we" differentiated from others, through aggressions towards "the other", and this way of always finding "enemies" "external to the group" ends up becoming a habit.

In the topic of group harassment, we find two indicators that allow us to differentiate mobbing from other types of situations that can be confused with harassment without being harassment and both indicators are given at the same time. These indicators are, on the one hand, the exclusion of harassing from continuity rites (group meetings) and on the other hand that the victim is the center of the rites of continuity (constant aggressions against the victim). We have just seen how continuity in violent actions is the mechanisms of group identity and, at the same time, promote their cohesion. In addition to a series of violent actions, the harassment gives actions of marginalization and exclusion of the

harassment that materialize in that it is marginalized from the activities of the gang, leisure time (drinking the coffee), conversations and of course the celebrations of the members of the group. In cases of labour conflict where these indicators do not exist, namely targeting violence and exclusion, there can be no talk of moral harassment at work.

Cohesion

The group uses the rites of continuity to cohere its members and form the gang. We can say that the cohesion of the bullying gang is achieved through the destructive mental control of its members and is easily identified as it promotes dependence on its components and obedience to the main or instigator stalker, either openly or with the subterfuge of a cause to be defended. Although it is a debatable aspect I think they have an internal functioning similar to that of sects. Normally the cause in mobbing to get rid of the victim can be generic, for example, that it is harmful to the organization or more concrete by claiming that it must be punished because it is bad, in which case the will of the instigator becomes more evident. What these false accusations really cover up is that the victim has become harmful to the despotic exercise of the leader's power, "for the wicked, ideally his victim should end up identifying himself as evil, so that that malignancy becomes normal, which everyone assumes" (Hirigoyen, 1999: 106). Members of a bullying group become people unable to think for themselves, let alone act independently. Very often the instigator of harassment is a person with serious personality alterations, he would be a psychopath adapted to society, "the psychopath in the world of work is a good example of the existence of this subject in life fully integrated into society" (Garrido, 2004: 80), and gets ascendant over his allies through mind control. Mental control is carried out through the implementation of a common idea to the group based

on the contamination of the victim's image, "the ultimately victory of the psychopath is to achieve personal (power) and material (money) profits managing to inflict humiliation and pain on his companions and serious losses to the company" (Garrido, 2004: 83)

Cohesion is based on adherence to the leader or his postulates through the negative mental control of the members of the bullying group by the main instigator, who achieves that negative mental control through the four basic components: behavioural control, control of information, control of thought and control of emotions.

Behavioural Control

The group controls the behaviour of each of its members. The behaviours favoured are those aimed at humiliating the victim of harassment and instead the prohibited behaviours are those that can be seen as supportive or friendly with the victim by the members of the group. Behavioural control therefore aims at the suppression of individuality and the prevalence of group thinking. Examples of group-enhanced behaviours: not speaking to the victim, spreading curse on the victim, verbally assaulting her, and aging her; are common behaviours of all members of the group, "if a psychopath is capable of anything, it is certainly that people do what he wants" (Garrido,2000:117). Although, sometimes, one person would not be able to assault another solo when he is surrounded by the group may feel authorized to unleash his lowest instincts. Harassment behaviours become manifestations that give group identity, in front of other people who do not harass the victim, and therefore if any of the members have kind gestures with the victim (helping her carry weight because of his fragile constitution) this subject receives the mockery of the rest "to me you do not take the packages "manifested by a strong man. Therefore, the control of the behaviour of the members is based both on a positive reinforcement if the

behaviour is of aggression to the victim, and of a negative reinforcement if the behavior is gentle with it.

Control the Information

There is strong control of information by the group. Its purpose is the need for obedience and dependence on its members and for this it is made an unethical use of trusts, spying is encouraged between members, information is fragmented (not everyone knows everything, spreads ill-used quotes, and statements out of context), hoax is used (information is deliberately hidden, lying openly and distorts information to make it acceptable), all these actions of misleading information can be successful because among gang members access to external information sources are minimized or denied. What the leader says without any verification is believed, moreover, any independent action by a member who intends to seek proven information will be perceived as a group disloyal.

The control of the information by the instigator is twofold: on the one hand with respect to the members of his group, in order to manipulate them, and, on the other, with regard to the victim to set aside and isolate it, the instigator of the harassment "employs all its seductive potential to collect privileged information while empowering hoaxes and half-truths to discredit and disorient his enemies [...], who are the ones who first identified their game" (Garrido,2004: 84).

Very often and with the intention of searching for elements that justify the attack, the instigator gets gang members to "monitor" the victim. Monitoring consists of tracking everything that the person does or writes to destroy, and this for the purpose of finding any fault to be magnified, and some members of the group, to gain intragroup positioning, lend themselves to the critical monitoring of the victim's actions; by way of deletion being this typical of crooked and cowardly people.

Thought Control

The third important element is the control of thought, because the need of the instigator is for members to internalize the doctrine of the group as the *truth*, for this a language characterized by the use of clichés is adopted, only good and correct thoughts are stimulated. Techniques are used to stop thinking, through eliminating comparison with reality, rejecting rational analysis and constructive criticism. This control of thought is manifested in the absence of critical questions about the leader-stalker by gang members and in the absence of a system of alternative beliefs considered legitimate, good or useful. So, the only good ones are them, so nothing the victim did is considered good. The whole group manages to stigmatize the victim by making her guilty of all evils as if the figure of the "scapegoat" was treated, "the victim does not exist as a person, but as a support of a quality from which the wicked tries to appropriate" (Hirigoyen, 1999 :115). No one questions the instigator's way of acting dishonest and when it becomes apparent there are a whole series of justifications for making it acceptable, for example, "He *had his reasons.*" Among the members of the stalking group there are two measuring rods, one to assess the actions of the victim and another to assess the actions themselves, therefore the same action will have different interpretation depending on the subject who performs it. The group's thinking, both among them and towards the rest of the organization, is of double morality, so that is allowed for some is not allowed to the victim.

Emotional Control

The last submission step is to control emotions by the group. There is a manipulation of the feelings of the people of the group, through an excessive use of guilt and fear (fear of thinking independently, fear of enemies, fear of leaving the group or being despised by

the group, fear of disapproval...). The main stalker "usually uses [...], to bring the gang around and crush its victim better" (Piñuel, 2001: 150)

The person under this type of mental control cannot visualize a positive or full future without being in the group; because it is known that people who leave the group will suffer rejection and there is, among the members of the group, much fear of being rejected by friends or colleagues. From the group's perspective, people who leave the group and move away from their postulates are weak, somewhat foolish and unfit; in short, there is never a legitimate reason to leave the group. For anyone to cease to belong to the harassment gang would imply a tacit examination of their wrongful behaviour, and of course the possibility of becoming the next victim of the group.

The Harassment Gang

Once we have studied the mechanisms of inclusion in a group, by a person and their maintenance in it, in this section we will make an analysis of the bullying gang at the level of its structure, and its functioning, that is, its collective action as a group. We start from the concept, repeated above, that defines the bullying gang as the group formed by the stalker and the people around him and participate in the harassment. Mobbing involves harassment of a person by a group, "it is very common for mobbing instigators to organize everything so that other workers participate in harassment actions. The modalities for manipulating other workers and inciting him to lynch the victim are very varied and are part of the natural capacities of certain workers with psychopathic disorders" (Piñuel, 2003:123-124).

In moral harassment we must not think that this is a fight between two people, which is about group harassment, "the wicked are fed the energy of those who suffer from their enchantment" (Hirigoyen, 1999:115). If it were a disagreement between two people it

could be solved, which makes it difficult to resolve harassment is the imbalance of forces. We are of the opinion that if there was no group to support the instigator, there would be no harassment or mobbing situation; perhaps we would be facing relationships of antipathy, but balanced, what defines harassment is precisely the existence of the imbalance of forces, because to consent and not to help the victim is to be complicit in the harassment.

Structure of the bullying gang: mobbing circles

It is important to see how the gang is structured within the company, and that is why we will analyse the different circles of violence in mobbing, which is how the stalking group is structured within the organization. To describe the mobbing circles, we will use the figure of a target as an explanatory model; at the center of the target is the victim, near it is the instigator who acts as a stalker who carries the initiative and surrounds himself with allies. It is this stalker that I call the main instigator since it is the person who initiates the harassment, who plans the destruction of the victim and acts as an abusive leader and is also the one who will get some benefit from the annihilation of the victim, this person can be defined with the typical characteristics of MIA Syndrome "Mediocre Inoperative Active" (González de Rivera 2002)⁸. Mia is an expert of the subtle exercise of psychological violence, and is very often kept in the shadows.

The instigator surrounds itself with allies to act as stalkers, very often they are the ones who face while the main instigator is left in the rear getting unnoticed, we cannot forget that the main stalker is a cowardly person. In moral harassment there is usually an ally very intimate to the instigator who is the one who carries the singing voice in the harassment. Without the existence of these allies we would not be facing a case of mobbing, it would be something else. The Allies form a small group, of 2-3 people, the

elite, who act together with the stalker. They are able to do a lot of damage as they act as a hellish circle. The group made up of the stalker and allies is called the "gang" of harassment, and they are the reason for studying this article.

We have to stop a little to understand what kind of people are going to be prone to integrate a gang of harassment, we have already seen that the profile of the main instigator of any harassment corresponds to a manipulative perverse (or integrated psychopath), instead I consider that the personality characteristics of his most loyal allies correspond to three specific types: the bully (sociopath) , the envious (paranoid), and, more rarely, another perverse. When the infernal circle or gang of harassment is made up of only two people, one of them can be expected to be a perverse (the instigator) and the other a sociopath (the thug); since every perverse is cowardly he needs the strength and aggressiveness of the bully who, in addition to being his whip, allows the main instigator, as a good manipulator he is, to stay in the shadow and not to stain his hands. If there is no sociopath (thug) in the organization, the main instigator will try to get a paranoid (envious) to act as a bully, and if that is not possible it will be himself who acts aggressively, "the perverse [...] they can also resort to force, but only when seduction ceases to be effective" (Hirigoyen,1999:119). When the gang of harassment is formed by more than two people, it can be expected that they are envious (paranoid) people who can thus give free passage to their destructive desires, "paranoiacs take power by force, while the wicked take it through seduction" (Hirigoyen, 1999:119). It is true that in the event that the gang expands to more people, there may be more than one thug in the group, although it will always be one that is the most violent of them all. It is necessary to mention the special case of adscription of two perverts in the same group, which occurs, only in the case that they must join forces against a common objective, because normally the wicked, they recognize each other and avoid each other.

In a slightly further circle is a group of collaborators who are not so violently active but who help harassment by spreading rumours and refusal to help the harassed. They are the tacit collaborators because they enhance the isolation of the victim and discredit, act as facilitations and cover-ups of the harassment. The group of collaborators expands as bullying progresses over time, sometimes reaching up to 30 people, and all of them collaborate in the stigmatization process. Without having received any harm from the victim, it is even the case that they have received any benefit from the victim in previous times, contribute to their destruction by imitation, by following "the fashion", emulating the gang of harassment. Even, sometimes out of fear or pressure, since it is true that the stalker "has no scruples in threatening and slandering, or in extorting others who could defend [the victim], thus contributing to [his isolation [" (Garrido,2004:113).

In the next circle are the so-called silent witnesses, they are called this way because they see and know what is happening. They are people aware of the situation of abuse, but they do nothing and look the other way, that is, they shut up and consent to the abuses. The consensual and cowardly attitude of these people does much damage to the victim, since with his attitude increases his vulnerability, "the mediocre active inoperative harasses with the collaboration and permissiveness of the rest of the staff of the organization. Psychological persecution unfolds amid a surprising silence and inhibition of observers who, although fully aware of the abuse and injustice of the situation, refrain from intervening, whether by implicit complicity with the plan to eliminate the harassed, or to avoid becoming themselves the object of retaliation" (González de Rivera, 2.002:11-112). The latter definition clearly distinguishes between the tacit collaborators and silent witnesses, the first ones defined as participants in the plan of destruction of the victim and the silent witnesses, such as those workers who do not intervene for fear of reprisals

or, we add another motivation of the silent witnesses, it is not to lose the *special* bond with the harasser.

Unlike some accomplices who are not aware of their servile attitude, silent witnesses make a good analysis of the situation, they know perfectly well that the victim is unfairly assaulted and innocent; but they decide not to intervene, "we can observe the prevalence of mute witnesses who let the victims of psychoterror, yes, with the best intention of safeguarding their jobs, their *modus vivendi*, their professional career, etc." (Piñuel, 2001:135-136). Sometimes there is another small group, very small, which is in favour of the victim. They are called non-silent witnesses and their support for the victim can be of vital importance because it allows the victim to interrupt the process of self-indictment, "psychoterrorism experts point out that solidarity, especially initial, stops the behaviour of harassment" (Piñuel, 2001:136).

In conclusion, we list the members of the mobbing circle, which are: the victim, the bullying gang, the tacit collaborators, the silent witnesses and the non-silent witnesses.

Functioning the stalking group

The analysis of the functioning of the bullying gang has been based on the investigation of the four lines of action: firstly the way of working the main stalker (instigator) with respect to its group of close allies (the stalkers); secondly, the psychic functioning of each individual as a member of a horde of harassment, the third line refers to the relationships between the members of the gang, both interpersonal and intragroup, and to conclude, fourthly, I will deal with the functioning of the gang against the victim, the latter working briefly since it has been widely described in other works on the subject previously carried out by other authors.

Functioning the stalker works with its allies:

The harassment instigator has two distinct groups of allies: gang members (the elite) and tacit collaborators, who end up actively participating in the victim's harassment and stigmatization, albeit with a lower level of violence than the infernal circle of the elite. We have already seen, in the previous section, the personality characteristics of the gang members, now we will have to analyse the functioning of the other group of allies, that of the tacit accomplices, who even without suffering any alteration of the personality end up participating in the harassment. There will always be people who submit to an abusive leader, and will be more likely to do so "all those who seek leaders to revere: in order to have the protection of someone who seems superior, accept any impairment" (Garrido, 2004:119)

The way of working the stalker relative to his allies is through psychic terror, it does not matter that he is pleasant, what really exists is a submission to the instigator, since all kinds of psychological violence is a tool in the hands of the moral stalker. The abuser, when he has much authority, perverts fear and rewards, and, as other authors have stated, is thus "building a network of faithful followers" (Garrido, 2004:84). The main stalker manipulates your environment; and people in this environment are afraid to lose "the sympathies" of the stalker, thus maintaining silence by forced dependence, is thus the instigator of harassment achieves the submission of the collective. We ask ourselves the same question as Harrington "how does the psychopath-someone who is cold and destructive – inspire that devotion among normal people?" (Garrido, 2004: 99), the studies point to their superficial charm and their ability to simulate, understood as "an ability not to let us see what they really intend" (Garrido, 2004:102). But the most paradoxical thing is not only that he gets the devotion of who is subdued, but that the instigator goes further, for he achieves his ultimate goal when he gets his allies to break

their principles, betraying the most basic human relations. The goal of the bullying instigator is to destroy a "rival" through the help of the group of allies and the consent of the institution, thus leaving the victim without friends and without support. We cannot fail to point out something enjoyed by the bullying instigator and that is when she gets the victim's own friends to betray her, so that the principles of loyalty and gratitude are broken. Often, the leader, does not need to give orders, his loyalists interpret his thought and execute his intentions, it is obvious that he induces as with a remote control what they have to do, "in this way the drama is written in which all those who participate in the circle of relations of the psychopath live in an important way, because these, without knowing it, , they must deal with someone who has no emotions, who simulates them, who pretends that he has them so that he can use them at will" (Garrido,2004:37).

In front of a master person in deception and simulation and who also enjoys power, whether this hierarchical or numerical, it is important to take into account what are the indicators of evaluation of an abusive leader, this will help us not to fall so easily into the manipulation of the organizational psycho terrorist. These indicators move in two parameters: deception and pressure.

Deception Indicators:

The stalker incentivizes deception or uses deception as a technique to draw his followers to what he calls "right" thinking or understanding. The indicators of deception are both the existence of lies and their tolerance, and this causes insecurity in one's own perceptions. Let's look at it in more detail.

The indicators of the existence of lies are as follows: false representations or misleading information of the main stalker appears in the discourse of the stalkers. He lies about his past with the idea of showing it better than it was.

Instead, the indicators of tolerance to lies are, both that gang members and other allies show a personal experience of not caring that there are great deceptions, and that in these people there is sometimes a fear of trusting their own ability to discern truth in relation to what they learn or know through the group.

Pressure indicators:

There are pressures, among the members, to accept without question what the stalker says. It tends to idealize. The pressure indicators are: fear and defence mechanisms.

Very often the stalker does not practice what he preaches and uses fear and phobias to control his followers. Among the followers are activated the common psychological mechanisms of defence, which we will analyse later, such as denial, rationalization, justification and fabulation whenever the relationship with the stalker and with the group's actions causes a departure from one's own consciousness. We have been educated not to harm others, when this principle is violated the mechanisms of defence of the individual are activated.

Intrapsychic functioning of each stalking member.

We see in more detail the defensive mechanisms of the members of the bullying gang and some of the other non-elite stalkers, since both are aggressors and victims of manipulation. They act as aggressors with the victim, but they are also subjects manipulated by the instigator, as referred to in the literature on the subject, "and they are also the employees and subalterns of dictators and kingfishers, victims and, at the same time, executioners of weaker others" (Garrido, 2004:119). These mechanisms are both to protect against the obvious submission of the leader and to protect themselves from the voice of conscience by breaking the basic moral norms by acting violently against another

human being. Défense mechanisms appear in the individual when it is necessary to suppress a trend considered, by the subject, as dangerous, and therefore relegating it outside the field of consciousness. Members of a horde of harassment or stalking group, understood in a broad sense, shall use the following defensive mechanisms in order to maintain a good self-concept while assaulting a person and consequently follow, consciously or unconsciously, subjected to the main stalker; we have seen before that these mechanisms are: denial, rationalization, justification and fabulation.

The Negation: is the defensive mechanism used to deal with distress and prevents the person from seeing the gravity of his or her condition and the reality of his subjugation. Gang members by consciously not accepting the situation of subjecting to the stalker avoid the displacer and anguish of their lack of judgment. They refuse to accept that the instigator is a person incapable of love and of being loyal, and that they have broken, by him, a basic ethical norm, namely non-aggression to another human being. With the mechanism of denial they manage to maintain, on the one hand, a good self-perception, "we also avoid with this denial feeling guilty and stupid for having been deceived in this way" (Garrido,2004:115), and at the same time avoid the anguish of recognizing the existence of evil by protecting and maintaining their conception of living in a rational world. It is the refusal to accept the existence of evil in the world that makes them vulnerable to it.

Rationalization. Is through this defensive mechanism that the gang member lies to. Self-deception is being forced on a permanent basis to alleviate the internal crisis, and it ends up becoming a disrespected and prolonged immolation over time. By rationalizing each gang member aims for self-control with the help of intellectualization. It implies, on the part of the subject, the conviction that the motives he manifests are really lawful and valid, he truly believes that the annihilation of another human being is a noble act and

that he is motivated by the good reasons propagated by the instigator. When the reasons used to attack the victim, such as acting for the benefit of the organization, being the lesser evil, etc., begin to stagger are able to defend them more insures than the instigator itself. It is through this self-deception that, the member of a gang of harassment, attenuates the voice of conscience, and therefore needs so much defending them, instead the instigator does not need to self-deceive because he knows from the beginning that all the arguments against the victim are fallacious, he himself invented them.

The Justification. Through justification, the individual makes remorse suffered from an unconscious cause consciously justified. In the case of the harassment gang, the unconscious cause must be sought in the internal conflicts themselves that need aggression to another human being and the conscious cause are the arguments given to justify such aggression. We have already seen that the unconscious motivations for assaulting a particular person were: domination and envy. Paradoxically, we find that the gang member every time he notices an increase in unconscious guilt will increase hostility towards the victim, in a desperate attempt to destroy it. This explains, in part, the escalation of psychological violence in aggravated labour harassment when the victim begins to talk about the harassment to which he is subjected and initiates defence strategies and avenues of reporting.

La Fabulation: is a denial of reality through fantasy. This defence takes place when the most elementary and profound needs are not immediately met and then the symbol and image supplement reality. Members of the bullying gang see themselves as banners of good, as flag-flagged advocates who must "rid" society of the danger posed by the victim. Fantasy, in addition to obviating reality, facilitates evasion and insecurity and predisposes to a lack of responsibility and commitment. No gang member assumes responsibility for the violent actions taken against the victim; even, some, come to

pretend, on the part of the rest of the organization, an acknowledgement for his *saving* performance, the explanation for this attitude is that "when a psychopath is the leader, many low-profile psychopaths, or simply grey and aimless people, are ready to be part of his court, and commit atrocities without a number" (Garrido, 2004:96). In their fantasy they refuse to accept the perverse of their attitude towards the victim.

Intragroup functioning of the bullying gang.

The vision of the inner workings of a gang of harassment will be given to us by the indicators of subordination. The presence of these indicators is what sets the bullying gang apart from other healthier group relationships. The subordination indicators follow the parameters of obsession on one side and reaction on the other.

Obsessive indicators

The group tries to monitor other people obsessively.

There is constantly a manifestation of the defensive mechanism of denial and even much obsessive concern.

The group generates expectations of perfection that entails the suppression of human needs.

The group puts great pressure on its members to discourage them from talking to ex-members or people who criticize the group.

Information control is one of the essential components, there are "secrets" inherent to the group, such as documents or publications "only for initiates".

There is special treatment for famous and powerful people.

There is a code of silence against the leader's unethical behaviour.

Reaction indicators

Group members tend to have reactive rather than proactive attitudes.

Other people and even harm are also allowed.

There is a lack of clear limits on behaviours.

A reduced view of situations prevails

There are "inside" groups and "outside" groups.

No member can question the leader's actions without being emotionally threatened or afraid of being expelled.

We can conclude that the type of intragroup operation is characterized, being a very closed circle, by very intense group pressure mechanisms.

Functioning the gang against the victim

I will just make a brief summary of how the bullying gang works against the victim, given that it is widely documented. Gang members in front of the victim may be openly hostile, but with others, they may seem affable and friendly; but they have a "code" and sense of self-righteousness, and if they think this code has been violated by someone, they may encounter a sudden lack of cooperation, or worse, with violence. Often, gang members are liars and can easily manipulate their environment as they see fit, "the world of psychopath produces vertigo [... [most [of psychopaths [do not offender, but it brings chaos and pain to those around him. [... [The world of the psychopath is special; in the kingdom everything is allowed" (Garrido, 2004:59)

Appearances can deceive, we have already said that they can be affable; However, some members of the bullying group may show difficulty controlling their feelings, may be constantly angry and defensive, and tend to resent any authority other than their leader's. Most members in their behaviour against the victim have little interest in acting

responsibly, and do not admit their guilt. They consider themselves basically decent and justified people in everything they do. The most common actions of any gang of harassment against the victim are: exclusion, silence, fear and obedience.

The exclusion and rejection of the victim by the bullying gang extends to the rest of the co-workers. They have received the message from the stalker and understood that the victim is stigmatized, the instigator has managed that when the victim protests and complains, he finds "but deaf ears among his companions and superiors. The psychopath [organizational [has burned [the victim [all bridges, has closed all the doors. The victim is alone and cornered in his job" (Garrido, 2004:85). The goal of all harassment is for the victim to disappear from the organization, department, work team or association; therefore one of the first and most constant actions in a situation of mobbing is the isolation and rejection of the victim, through activities carried out by the group aimed on the one hand to "prevent the victim from having the possibility of maintaining social contacts" (Piñuel, 2001: 71) and on the other activities "aimed at discrediting the victim or preventing him from maintaining his personal or work reputation" reaching "reducing the occupation of the victim and their employability through professional discrediting" (Piñuel, 2001:72)

The other important element of the gang's actions is the concealment of the violence it exerts and this is achieved through silence, the implantation of which is two bands, on the one hand, the silence of the environment close to the victim is useful to cover up the exercise of violence against the victim since it can exclude it without opposition and on the other, get the silence of the victim, through activities that reduce "the victim's chances of communicating properly with others, including the stalker himself" (Piñuel, 2001:70) aims to prevent the defence. Very often the attempt to reduce the victim to silence comes from his own co-workers, "it is shocking to observe the reaction of the co-workers

themselves who want the exit of the mobbing victim worker who confronts or defends *himself*." (Piñuel, 2003:125), and this is because of fear; some co-workers fear communicating with the victim for fear that the stalker will retaliate against them. The bullying group manages to generate by fear a reaction in the victim's companions called obedience to authority., and this means that sometimes, it is the co-workers themselves who join in the harassment of the harasser, acting as necessary co-workers in psychological annihilation, only because he is ordained by a figure to which they attribute some authority, "One of the great riddles of psychopathy (is) his ability to charm and achieve loyalty to someone who, paradoxically, possesses no (loyalty to no one)" (Garrido,2004)." Gang members often want control, but often have few leadership skills.

Detection of the Stalker group

There have been some contributions since anthropology that tend to define the "gang of harassment" and its collaborators as a clique or clientele. In the mobbing there is, of doubt, a clique that follows the directions of the abusive leader; but it is also true that we cannot confuse clientelar network with clientelism and much less assimilate client network with stalker group. This is for two reasons, the first and most obvious is that not all people in the organization who have reciprocal relations with the main stalker will engage in violence against the victim and second that there can be clientelism without there being someone to object to and subject to moral harassment. This leads us to have to differentiate between client network and clientelism, which is not the same, as we do not mean the same thing when we talk about social networks and socialism. The existence of client networks is common and consubstantial to the human being as a social subject. These types of networks make up the usual human interrelationships, be it relationships of neighbourhood, friendship, familiarity, professionalism. It is a concept that is closely

related to the relationships of reciprocity and collaboration, nothing in the concept suggests hidden or fraudulent aspects that, on the other hand, if they are part of the definition of clientelism. “Clientelism” is the degradation of healthy reciprocity relationships to submission relationships through the debt and favours procedure. In clientelism social relations are perverted, there is concealment of both the procedures used and the purposes pursued and this concealment is intended to cover up the fraud that encloses any relationship of clientelism. To confuse client network with clientelism is not to distinguish between mutual aid relationships, such as that which can take place on a neighbouring ladder, or between co-workers, with the mafia relationships that occur within closed groups within an organization in order to maintain their privileges fraudulently.

Therefore, while it is true that network analysis allows graphical analysis of client networks established in an organization and even detect cases of isolation or little communication of a worker with the rest of the workforce, in no case serve to assess moral harassment at work, since the violent element is absent in the postulates of isolation or little communication, and is not measurable by the network system, and although these may be useful as indications of organizational difficulties in the company, its use is of little application in moral harassment. Let us not deceive ourselves of mobbing involves clear actions of harassment of a group against an individual, with violent actions, both active and passive, through attacks on their personal dignity, is not only to isolate or have little communication, even, sometimes the harassment is carried out through much hostile communication with the victim. To date the LIPT (Leymann Inventory of Psychological Terror, Leymann, 1990) and its validated variations are very useful for the diagnosis of mobbing or moral harassment at work.

Once confirmed the existence of a case of mobbing in the organization it is necessary to detect the group that harasses in order to prevent it from continuing to exercise violence against the victim. Most of the time it will be easy to determine the members who make up a gang of harassment given their constant manifestations of hostility towards the victim. To get the mobbing tied up, it will take a major commitment from the organization to allocate the appropriate means to protect the worker affected by harassment, on the one hand and on the other to prevent bullies from continuing to engage in harassment; in these cases the intervention of organized psychologists is highly recommended for the design of the strategies to follow and for the monitoring of the plans implemented.

We have to determine a thorny issue, it is the detection of the main instigator, it is very common for it to remain in the shadows, often not even the victim herself knows who is behind everything, and we say that it will be more difficult to detect as the level of perversion of the integrated psychopath becomes higher. In previous studies we have argued that an effective method for detecting the bullying instigator is in the analysis of verbal and nonverbal communication of the bullying. The organization is the one who is most interested must be able to discover it, since its own pathology will direct him to look for another victim, if the first is being strongly protected by the institution, where he can unload his internal conflicts. The instigator of bullying is an integrated psychopath and as such will continue to emotionally harm his neighbours in a hidden way, "those who have developed the most malignant symptoms, such as a personal godly vision and a great desire to manipulate along with a deep absence of empathy, will have a better chance of harming emotionally and physically, but on certain occasions and in a hidden way, to his close friends" (Garrido, 2004:203). In addition to knowing who the instigator is, through the analysis of the type of communication he uses, we must be vigilant when we meet people, within the organization who, in one way or another, are used to being unfair to

their fellowmen and who never take responsibility for their actions or grieve for the harm inflicted. Most human beings are displeased to have harmed another person carried out by sporadic situations of emotional uncontrollability, but in cases of harassment we are faced with repetitive and repeated acts of violence directed towards a target, carried out by psychopathic, sociopathic and paranoid personalities, for that reason there is no compassion towards the victim and this explains the fury in which he is persecuted.

By way of summary we can say that the psychopath is that individual who is born with an innate tendency to manipulate and exploit others, are people who act cruelly against others, are the instigators of moral harassment at work, and difficult detection. Sociopaths, on the other hand, are people who have acquired their brutality in a conflicted social environment and manifest their aggression with acts of manifest violence, are easily detected as they act as thugs against the victim and usually are accustomed to being manipulated by the main instigator. Sometimes it is them, the thugs, who will give us the clue to who is the instigator, since they will always be the best friends, companions or allies of the instigator, and very often will justify their violence against the victim, in a perverse turn, as a way to defend his "friend" from the victim or to give him a deserved punishment for having "disturbed" the instigator of the harassment. An instigator about to be discovered will encourage any of his closest allies to take responsibility for harassment so that he can continue to machine in the backroom. When a process of harassment is long-running, the instigator must sacrifice various allies, as chess pawns, because he will have burned them in his, long, close to the victim. His lack of empathy also manifests itself in these cases, where he consents to all the faults being placed on his partner; again, his absolute lack of loyalty translates his difficulty in establishing full emotional relationships. When they are no longer useful to him, he abandons his allies to his fate, the sociopath, instead, was not born brutal, it was a violent environment that

made him so that he can possess some qualities of loyalty and sincere affection for his leader.

The third type of personality that makes up a gang of harassment is that formed by envious people with a strong paranoid element in their personalities, which, on the one hand, makes them desire the destruction of the exaltedness of the victim and on the other hand impel them to attribute to the victim their own desires for destruction. This "mirror" attribution, makes them see a persecutory tint in the defence, real or imaginary, on the part of the victim, and it is that persecutory element attributed to the victim, is the one that translates as "fear" to the victim, attributing to him a malignancy not contrasting in the facts or fear of his purported harms; with an absolute inability to see the reality of the situation, which is none other than the absolute isolation and helplessness of the true victim of harassment while being attributed all sorts of malignancies.

Therefore, we affirm that the adherence to a gang of harassment, will indicate that that person has a certain degree of personality alteration, and that without these traits could not in any way withstand the constant persistence of aggression of the victim, you have to have some internal moral rot to continue belonging to a gang of harassment. In any case, we must not forget, that the instigator of harassment, too, is going to surround himself with people without personality alteration, who although not directly violent the victim, are the necessary collaborators of harassment, they have been manipulated, either with the promise of prebends or with the fear of punishment. It is the ones who stop speaking to the victim, those who spread rumours and gossip, that provide the organizational means that contribute to the helplessness of the victim of moral harassment at work. Among these, very often, arises the figure of the exploited, of the commonly called climb, is an ambitious person who is carried away by envy towards the victim and who wishes to take actionless of the assets of the same, who obtains them as prebends by

the group of harassment. This assumption occurs when the harassment group must maintain appearances and directly appropriate the victim's charges, or his computer, or keep his client portfolio, or his job would report discredit to them within the institution; it is then that they allow the ascension of the climb that will be deeply grateful to them at first but that later when he wants to get rid of the manipulative pressure he will understand that he sold his freedom of decision, and will find himself being part of the network of debtors surrounding the main instigator; of course is already described by González de Rivera "a mirror image of the victim is the climb, brilliant and ambitious individual, whose great ability to understand and manage for their own benefit the dynamics of power and envy allow him to become a champion of the stalker and ideal substitute for the beatable" (González de Rivera, 2002: 116). That is why we state that the victim's alternate usually corresponds to the profile of the climb.

Conclusions:

Anthropological science, through rites, has provided us with the necessary tools to be able to get to know better the phenomenon of moral harassment at work from a new perspective, which is based on the bullying group and the environment it consents to; and therefore we present a different approach, to the usual way of presenting the issue of moral harassment that focuses on the profiles of stalker and victim. I wanted to demonstrate how it works and how a bullying group is maintained given the increasingly proven importance of the bullying group in perpetuating a partner's job harassment. The use, in group harassment, of the usual mechanisms of every human community such as rites and rituals consolidate the exercise of violence, both towards the person designated as a victim (through group harassment), and towards the same attached members (through mind control). We have been able to show that it is through the rites that the gang's

behaviour is structured and how its bullying strategy works. We have also been able to analyse that inclusion in the harassment gang follows the usual ritual processes in humans for any adscription and membership of a group, and that use of rituals, socially accepted, are those that legitimize each member of the group, for himself, the concealment of the dishonest end of the gang of harassment, which is none other than to assault and veto another human being , i.e. "get rid of it."

The consent of the organizational environment to the serious phenomenon of moral harassment, even in cases where the victim is frankly injured, is explained by the existence of a business culture dominated by myths. We are of the opinion that it is the social system itself with its myths and beliefs about power that empowers people not to question the actions of a gang of harassment; and therefore to reject violent behaviours it will be necessary to undo the stereotypes of power that envelop us, also influence, in the submission to the dictates of an abusive leader, the existence of social myths about hierarchical privileges. These privileges encourage the submission of another person, with such submission being made in the social acceptance to be seized, by the hierarchy, of rights, criteria and identity of the worker; and this makes it easier for the work environment to consent to harassment of another partner and even to "justify" it because it comes from a hierarchical position or figure with power. We understand as a figure with power that has the highest level of power, either by charge (hierarchy) or by number (group).

We conclude that in the fight against any exercise of psychological violence, so that it has a minimum of guarantees, it must include a critical analysis of the actions of the person as being social and therefore in his acting within a group. Let us not forget that confronting according to what kind of violence, on the part of a person, will very often consist of learning to resist the social vacuum.

Notes:

¹ Text based on the lecture "Mobbing: knowing the stalking group since anthropology" presented by the same author at the XIII International Colloquium of Physical Anthropology "Juan Comas", Campeche, Campeche, 6-11 November 2005.

² Parés, M. 2005 "Mobbing: initiation rites and continuity in the gang of harassment" in Agudo Torrico, Juan (comp) *Cultures, power and market*. Volume XIII. Seville. El Monte Foundation

³ Parés, M. 2005 "Talisman words and slogans in Media Harassment". VI Latin American Congress of Semiotics and IV Venezuelan Congress of Semiotics. Maracaibo, October 2005.

⁴ Parés, M. "How to recognize if there is a case of mobbing in a company?" Interdisciplinary Workshop "Mobbing and Violence at Work" at the III International Meeting on Occupational Health and Prevention. Vilanova I La Geltru (Barcelona), May 2005.

⁵ Piñuel, I. (2003: 45). "It is common for stalkers to perform in groups, gangs or bullying gangs."

⁶ González de Rivera, JL (2002: 114). "The members of the cohesive group recognize each other through their identification with the principle of smell of the clan, a state called "being of our own."

⁷ Parés, M. 2005 "Mobbing: initiation rites and continuity in the gang of harassment" in Agudo Torrico, Juan (comp) *Cultures, power and market*. Volume XIII. Seville. El Monte Foundation

⁸ Gonzalez de Rivera, J.L. (2002 : 89) Active inoperative mediocrity disorder or MIA syndrome: "The individual affection of MIA is persistent, easily develops a great activity-inoperative, of course, and has a great desire for notoriety and influence on others, which sometimes reaches messianic dyes. (...) It easily comes to dominate small encapsulated groups that produce nothing, but that assign functions (...) that allow them to hinder or annihilate the advancement of brilliant individuals."

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Debates sobre el *mobbing*
en México

Coordinadores:

Florencia Peña Saint Martin

Patricia Ravelo Blancas

Sergio G. Sánchez Díaz

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