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My Little Desert Island: Using metaphors to identify the emotional impact of workplace bullying

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ABSTRACT

Bullying is now recognized as a disruptive and persistent feature of work but despite the difficulties it causes within organisations, managers appear to be unwilling or unable to manage workplace bullying. One reason for this phenomenon's persistence may be its invisibility for those who have not experienced it; therefore, this paper provides step-by-step details of an alternative approach for recognizing and understanding the impact of workplace bullying on employees. Using empirical data from targets of bullying, naturally occurring metaphors are systematically analysed and linked with emotions. It was found that metaphors associated with shame, sadness, and pain emerged strongly from the data and recognition of such emotions is likely to contribute to the visibility of bullying. Finally, this paper provides a novel methodology for gaining insight into a problem that has evaded any lasting solutions.

In recent years workplace bullying has become recognised as a complex issue that creates difficulties for organisations and requires managers' attention (O'Driscoll et al., 2011). Bullying typically involves a series of minor, unpleasant interactions and conflicts that have a major impact cumulatively. This behaviour produces a negative environment for employees, and sometimes for other stakeholders, such as customers, ultimately resulting in damage and ill-effects for targets and increased costs for businesses as a result of illness, lost productivity, recruitment, retention, and potentially lost custom (Mathisen, Einarsen, & Mykletun, 2008; O'Moore, Seigne, McGuire, & Smith, 1998; Rayner & Cooper, 1997).

CONCEPTUALISATION

In this study, workplace bullying is defined as repeated, hostile acts that are harmful to the recipient (Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf, & Cooper, 2011). A diverse range of acts or behaviours may constitute bullying, including overt examples, such as shouting, rudeness, belittling, and aggressive gestures, through to more covert acts of ostracism and exclusion (Keashly, 1998). Harm is a vital feature of bullying because recipients may interpret the same behaviours in quite different ways, so without harm bullying cannot exist (Lee, 2000; Namie & Namie, 2000; Quine, 1999; Randall, 1997). Harm may be

both psychological and physical, and typically targets experience symptoms associated with stress, such as distress, headaches, and nausea (Davenport, Schwartz, & Elliott, 1999; Field, 1996; Namie & Namie, 2000; Needham, 2003), insomnia, inability to concentrate, and in some cases Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (Lee, 2000; Leymann, 1990). Persistence is also a defining feature of bullying, so behaviours need to be recurrent and on-going (Einarsen, 1999; Field, 1996; Keashly, 1998; Lee, 2000; Namie & Namie, 2000).

Workplace bullying literature has tended to focus on measuring the extent and type of workplace bullying acts; however, more recently, interventions, such as those proposed by Vartia and Leka (2011), have received scholarly attention but these approaches are hampered by disappointing responses from HR and managers (Bishop, Korczynski, & Cohen, 2005; Cowan, 2011, 2012; D'Cruz, 2012; Ferris, 2004: Harrington, Rayner, & Warren, 2012; Harrington, Warren, & Rayner, 2013; Thirlwall, in press; Woodrow & Guest, 2014). One reason for this phenomenon's persistence may be its invisibility for those who have not experienced it (Branch, Ramsey, Barker, 2006; Gilbert & Malone, 1995). Therefore, finding alternative ways to manage bullying is important because organisational responses influence the degree of harm experienced by the target and the wider organisation (Ferris, 2004). Lack of support from the organisation is likely to result in employees feeling less confident about their situation (Djurkovic, McCormack, & Casimir, 2008), and more likely to report feeling bullied (Bilgel, Aytac, & Bayram, 2006). Workplace environments deteriorate following bullying, and this negative climate is likely to provide a suitable setting for yet more inappropriate behaviour (Zapf, 1999); therefore, the need for effective responses from organisations is vital (Woodrow & Guest, 2014), but taking the matter seriously (Lewis, 2001), by recognising its emotional impact through the analysis of metaphors, may be a useful start.

Metaphors and emotions

Metaphors are literary devices that appear regularly in communication. They describe objects and events by comparing two unlike things and emphasising a point of similarity (Morgan, 1997). Metaphors provide a compact method of conveying meaning and may be a useful substitute for lengthy descriptions (Ortony, 1975; Sackmann, 1989). Most importantly for the present study,

metaphors may describe feelings and emotions in tangible terms (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1997). By generating imagery, usually of situations or entities that will be familiar to the listener, metaphors permit communication to go beyond the literal meaning of the words and they enable the user to convey vividness and strength of emotion (Chandler, 2001; Ortony, 1975). The listener should be able to interpret the situation after receiving minimal detail and quickly begin to empathise with the feelings these images create.

Metaphors rely on references to objects or experiences other than those being discussed (Morgan, 1980). To infer the message, it is essential to sift the meaning from metaphors. Therefore, the focus must be on the attributes that emphasise the salient elements of experience and suppress the irrelevant parts (Glucksberg & McGlone, 1999). For example, if a distressed person said she was on a desert island, the listener might concentrate on the sense of isolation, loneliness, and possible fear in the message, and suppress any positive ideas of, for example, potential holiday destinations. Placing the metaphor in the frame, or broader context, of the background story often indicates the sense in which the metaphor is to be interpreted (Davidson, 1978; Steger, 2007).

Much of the time, metaphors and figures of speech are routinely used and comments such as "going up in the world" or "treading on thin ice" become part of normal language. Metaphors "die" when they are no longer noticed and the death of metaphors may result in a failure to challenge dominant ways of thinking within society (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Fortunately, new metaphors have the power to create a new reality. Generative metaphors are those that provide a new perspective, or frame, for looking at experiences, and thus they create new perceptions, explanations, and inventions that enable the naming and framing of problems (Schon, 1979). Thus, generative metaphors may be a useful mechanism for managing organisational difficulties.

Morgan (1980) drew attention to the historical use of metaphors to theorise organisations, by describing them, for example, as machines and organisms. With a more applied focus, Sackmann (1989) emphasised the role of metaphors in creating change and transforming organisations. Scholars' use of metaphors to study behaviour in organisations has provided the opportunity to view the workings of organisations in ways that might not normally be available (Putnam, Phillips, & Chapman, 1999). Overall, metaphors appear to offer a promising avenue for investigating workplace

bullying.

Metaphors of Bullying

As noted earlier, the impact of bullying may be difficult to recognise, owing to invisibility. The features of metaphors—compactness, vividness and emotion—are well suited to understanding the feelings experienced by bullying targets, because such features distill complex experiences into more tangible images. Investigating targets' emotional experience of bullying helps to contextualise, enrich, and augment existing studies (Djurkovic et al., 2008; Einarsen & Mikkelsen, 2003; Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996; Tracy, Lutgen-Sandvik, & Alberts, 2006).

Emotions play an important role in work relationships, by defining and maintaining feelings of liking, respect, openness, and trust (Waldron, 2000). When such relationships are damaged, negative feelings, such as suspicion, jealousy, and anger may emerge, and these emotions may result in people feeling abused. By focusing on targets' emotions, aspects of bullying that are usually lost in surveys and statistical analyses may be highlighted (Waldron, 2000). Identifying targets' feelings increases the likelihood of workplace bullying being understood, especially by those who have not experienced it.

Two studies of workplace bullying used metaphors to identify how bullying feels for targets. In the first study, scholars asked participants to describe their experiences in metaphorical terms (Sheehan, Barker, & McCarthy, 2004). They noted that interviewees found producing metaphors on request very difficult and consequently the "forced" responses were disappointing. Despite the difficulties, they managed to identify a number of metaphors capturing emotional experiences of bullying. Participants used drowning, struggling, and being trapped to describe the process; whilst they described perpetrators as two-faced, and saw themselves as trapped in a bad dream, a vulnerable target for arrows, and unimportant speck of dirt. In a subsequent study, Tracy et al. (2006) analysed the metaphors that targets used naturally in their descriptions of bullying experiences in order to understand the targets' underlying emotions. They reported that respondents saw the process of bullying primarily as a metaphorical game or battle, water torture, and a noxious substance. Bullies were narcissistic dictators or royalty, two-faced actors, and evil or demons. Finally, targets viewed themselves as slaves or animals, prisoners, children, and heartbroken lovers. Both studies reported common emotions of feeling trapped, powerless, and frightened; however, neither study reported the

ways in which the connections between the metaphors and emotions were identified, so it is difficult to comprehend why some emotions were chosen whilst others were excluded. The absence of a defined process, or reports of such a process, limits the robustness of the interpretations, despite the laudable attempts to increase overall understanding of workplace bullying by both studies.

To address the methodological shortcoming, or possibly oversight, in extant studies, this paper reports the rigorous process used to answer the research question:

"How do targets use metaphors to construct the emotional experience of bullying?"

METHODS

Interview data was collected from 31 participants--academics, managers, technicians, administrators-- from Institutes of Technology and Polytechnics (ITPs) in New Zealand, of whom 20 (65%) were women and 11 (35%) were men. This group was chosen because workers in the education sector may experience high levels of bullying (Leymann, 1996; Zapf, Knorz, & Kulla, 1996); therefore, finding interesting examples of the phenomenon was more likely. The use of confidential, semi-structured interviews allowed relevant, emergent themes to be further explored and gave breadth to the interviews, whilst keeping a focus on the subject area. Interviews lasted 2 hours on average. Interviewees volunteered to participate via a website and the selection criteria included working, or having worked at, an ITP. The volunteers were a purposive group that wanted to contribute experiences or views of bullying at work (Nielsen & Einarsen, 2008; O'Leary, 2005); however, it transpired that all had been targets of bullying according to the conceptualisation used in this study. Of the 31 interviewees, 22 used metaphors naturally in their stories.

The interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed then analysed line-by-line using NVivo software. Similar metaphors were grouped according to their frequency and under three main headings: (1) experiences, (2) perpetrators, and (3) targets (Tracy et al., 2006). Some of the metaphors fitted into multiple groups, so these appear more than once.

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Insert Table 1 about here

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In order to elicit the underlying emotional content of the metaphors, Steger's three-stage

metaphor analysis (2007) was used. The purpose of this process is to identify the tacit aspects of the interviewees' descriptions of their experiences. Briefly, the first stage in the process involves choosing a metaphor to analyse, owing to its repetition, elaboration, relatedness, contrast, and/or emotion. The present study selected metaphors for analysis based on repetition and elaboration, that is, I selected metaphors because either they occurred multiple times or they enhanced the story. At the second stage of the process, Steger recommends selecting one of six tools for analysis: (1) comparisons, (2) associations, (3) dimensions, (4) categories, (5) concepts, and (6) idioms. These tools enable the researcher to identify the general meaning behind the metaphor associations, which involve using other scholars' interpretations of the emotions incorporated within metaphors were used; where these were unavailable, terms from Storm and Storm's (1987) taxonomy of emotions were used. Finally, the third stage of the process requires the researcher to consider: (1) the metaphor user's background, (2) the metaphor user's comprehension of the story, and (3) the ways in which metaphor users viewed their own actions. Steger notes that the process of understanding a metaphor relies on the creativity of the interpreter, so in this study the complete account provided by the interviewees was used in order to identify as faithful an interpretation of their feelings as possible (Davidson, 1978; Steger, 2007). The following paragraphs discuss the use of a desert island metaphor to describe bullying and demonstrate the identification of emotions.

Bullying is a Desert Island

Stage 1. Perry used the metaphor of a desert island to describe the way he moved from being an active member of his organisation's management team under one CEO, to becoming the target of upward bullying from subordinates, then downward bullying from a new CEO. I selected this metaphor because Perry used it repeatedly to elaborate his story. An example of its use is the comment: "My little desert island, I felt I was in, was getting pushed further and further away from the rest of the organisation". Perry repeatedly referred to his desert island and repetition of a metaphor emphasises its strength (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), making it worthy of additional consideration. Furthermore, people use metaphors that are culturally appropriate to themselves (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), so in this case, an island is a culturally appropriate metaphor for a person from New Zealand to use. The inhabitants generally understand the dangers associated with the surrounding water and

isolation, so islands are a fitting choice for conveying an unambiguous message.

Stage 2. The next stage of Steger's process, General Metaphor Analysis, established possible meanings of the metaphor through its association with existing descriptions (Glucksberg & McGlone, 1999). A dictionary definition of an island defines it as "A piece of land surrounded by water", and a desert island is defined as "A small tropical island with no people living on it" (McMillan Dictionary Thesaurus, n.d.). These descriptions provide a helpful picture that may link to notions of isolation. References to water and the absence of other people suggest remoteness; consequently, islands have long been associated with isolation (Lape, 2004). Furthermore, classic fiction, such as *Lord of the Flies* (Golding, 1954), provides additional impressions of desert islands, such as the shortage of resources, the need to be self-sufficient, and fear of not being able to survive the hostile environment.

Moving to an island, away from the "mainland" of the rest of the organisation, also suggests a form of rejection, as exclusion from a group is a particular /rly powerful form of oppression (Williams, 2008). Furthermore, being a castaway—like Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719)—may reflect a feeling of being powerless to control one's circumstances; whilst isolation and banishment, such as solitary confinement in prison and "the naughty-step"[1] have typically been associated with punishment.

Stage 3. In the final stage, Steger notes that the background of the person often provides a basis for metaphors. He recommends using the text to identify the implications that the background places on the interpretation of the metaphor. In his interview, Perry spoke of being in a senior position in his organisation, where he had considerable freedom to manage his department and develop external interests. He explained that his original CEO encouraged him to identify business opportunities for the organisation and he (Perry) was a key player in a project that became high profile and lucrative for the organisation. However, shortly after the success of this project was realised, Perry began reporting to a new CEO who took a different approach. Perry described what happened:

> *At his first meeting with me, the first comment that he made was,*
> *"I've been talking to others, and it seems like you're regarded as*
> *quite a political player rather than someone who is effective." I*

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[1] Isolation used as a form of behaviour management for small children

> *found this quite off-putting, because my list of achievements*
> *over the last few years I was really proud of…. He made*
> *comments such as, "Well of course you realise that I'm going to*
> *make your role redundant" and I didn't realise this; this came*
> *as quite a surprise.*

The allusion to Perry's potential exclusion from the organisation provides some background to his feelings of *isolation* and being "sent out" to a desert island. Perry could not understand why he was receiving treatment that was akin to punishment when he had an outstanding work record. He felt *disturbed* by the messages he was receiving, and these made Perry question his sanity at times. His use of the desert island metaphor also hints at his *fear* of exclusion from the workforce and potentially failing to survive by not being able to provide for his family, whilst at the same time feeling *powerless* too, because he could not afford to leave his job.

Perry then talked about how his CEO refused to provide funding to enable Perry's department to function; he described it as follows:

> *I remember an issue where he had got some criticisms of a lab*
> *that was going to fall apart. [He said] "I need to replace this*
> *urgently" and I said, "Well I can't because you haven't given*
> *[me] any budget," [and he said] "Well I don't care, just fix it."*
> *It felt very similar to the process I mentioned earlier, being*
> *stuck out on a desert island. You had no authority. You had no*
> *resources.*

Perry used the desert island metaphor again to emphasise his feelings of *despair* in relation to the shortage of resources and his inability to manage his work. Perry found the situation became increasingly difficult and, as he became more removed from the organisation, his sense of isolation increased. He remarked, "[I was] being excluded from meetings, which made it quite difficult to lead. I was sent out on an island, and I guess going through that process it felt a very isolating experience".

Perry said he was unable to get any support from HR staff, which added to his sense of isolation and powerlessness. He explained that his work environment was becoming increasingly difficult to control because his department received multiple audits, so eventually he found another job in a different city and resigned. Perry continued with the island metaphor to describe his exit; he

commented: "I had found a plane on my desert island and jumped to another place to live".

The island metaphor provides a useful and persuasive account of how bullying felt for Perry. His background story supports the emotions—despair, disturbance, fear, isolation, and powerlessness—that this metaphor suggests. In sum, the use of this metaphor provides an emotional dimension to Perry's account of his experiences, and the story changes from one of general organisational interactions to a basic need to survive in a hostile environment.

Using Steger's process, I analysed the remaining stories. When this task was complete, I requested the assistance of a colleague, who was culturally and educationally similar to the participants, as recommended by Steger (2007). In order to gain a broader perspective of the possible emotions that might emerge from the metaphors, I provided a list of metaphors for him to read. After considering the metaphors, he made notes of the emotions that he expected would emerge from his interpretation. He explained his rationale for his choices, and together we worked through each of the metaphor themes to ensure that the range of emotions was comprehensive. Obviously, our life experiences limited this approach, so other researchers may well include additional emotions.

Finally, I arranged the emergent emotions according to Storm and Storm's (1987) taxonomic study of emotional terms. This work provided six groups of primary emotions, two positive, three negative, and one related to active, passive, and cognitive states. These groups comprised a broad range of over 500 emotional terms. The emotions associated with bullying fitted into the negative groups of (1) *shame, sadness,* and *pain*, (2) *anxiety* and *fear*, and (3) *anger*, *hatred,* and *disgust*. Organising the emergent terms in this way emphasised the most prominent emotions.

FINDINGS

Metaphors identified during the analysis were arranged into groups. Table 1 summarises the range of metaphors that targets used to describe bullying in terms of experiences, perpetrators and themselves.

Insert Table 2 about here

The list of metaphors indicates that power, danger, and unpredictability are very prominent. That is, it paints a picture of powerful, dangerous and unpredictable bullies and powerless, vulnerable

targets. Several targets continued with their metaphors throughout their stories, suggesting that they had given their metaphor choices some consideration or, upon using the metaphor, found it useful to convey and frame their experience.

Targets' choices of experience metaphors appeared to vary according to their resistance strategies. For example, targets used metaphors of battles when they perceived they had an opportunity to rectify their situation using active resistance. Similarly, targets who had negative experiences of active resistance, as a result of organisational sequestering, or who felt they were constrained and could only use passive or paradoxical forms of resistance, used metaphors that related to punishment, isolation, water, natural forces, games, and hell, which suggests that they perceived that they lacked agency and were in uncontrollable, dangerous situations.

The current study has produced a slightly broader range of metaphors compared to a similar study (Tracy et al., 2006). Table 2 provides a comparison of the outcomes of both studies. Five similarities emerged and these are marked *i* through to *v* in the table. The current study identified eight new or different metaphors. Six metaphors from the original study did not emerge.

Insert Table 3 about here

Analysis of the metaphors, using Steger's 3-stage process, reflected a range of emotions; these are arranged into the primary groups proposed by Storm and Storm (1987). Tables 3 to 5 list the experience, perpetrator, and target metaphor themes and associated emotions identified in this study.

Insert Tables 4, 5 & 6 about here

In total, interviewees in the current study used 61 metaphors. The emergent emotions clustered around the primary emotional groups of (1) shame, sadness, and pain (total 54). The most frequently emerging emotions are inwardly focused, that is they reflect targets' feelings about themselves, and this finding may help to explain why targets find bullying so difficult to bear. A smaller number of emotional terms fitted into the remaining groups of (2) anxiety and fear (total 31) and (3) anger, hatred, and disgust (total 28). These terms include inwardly focused emotions (group 2) and those directed outwardly at others, such as anger towards perpetrators (group 3). So overall, the majority of

emotions associated with bullying appear to result in targets experiencing negative emotions that focused inwardly and make them feel bad about themselves (e.g., shame).

DISCUSSION

When the emotions are compared with those that emerged from earlier studies, there is limited similarity. Predominantly, the primary group of shame, sadness, and pain emerged in all three studies. However, the remaining groups featured strongly in the current study, but barely emerged in the comparison studies.

Individual and cultural variations may have contributed to the use of different metaphors, and thus the emergence of different emotions. With the exception of the more familiar metaphors of madness and hell, those from the current study may have been influenced by aspects of interviewees' lived experiences (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In particular, the natural environment features strongly in metaphors from the current study. New Zealand is a group of islands located in the South Pacific ocean, so being surrounded by water is normal for those who live there. The country experiences regular earthquakes and there are active volcanos, so inhabitants tend to be familiar with the effects of natural forces. Furthermore, inhabitants also experience geographic isolation. It appears that geographic factors were reflected in targets' metaphor choices. Of course the USA, where Tracy et al. carried out their 2006 study, also has an extensive environment that is subject to earthquakes and other natural events, but the country is considerably larger and more geographically diverse, with huge urban areas that are absent from New Zealand, so particpants from the USA may have had quite different life experiences. Furthermore, references to prisoners, water torture, and dictators from USA participants may have been a reflection of contemporary current affairs and such descriptions would have little relevance in New Zealand. The emergent metaphors of perpetrators (as dangerous animals, volcanoes, and waterfalls) and the target (as leaves) reflect aspects of the natural environment, so it appears there is a common theme in targets' metaphor choices.

The disparities in the studies findings may be associated with the data collection and analysis methods. Tracy et al. (2006) used a combination of focus groups, drawing, and interviews for data collection, whilst the current study is a collection of mainly naturally occurring metaphors from

interviews only. It is possible that the interviewees in the focus groups were influenced by each other (Zorn, Roper, Weaver, & Broadfoot, 2004); consequently, they may have limited their ideas to fit and develop those of other group members. Another possibility is that workers in the higher education sector had more experience of using metaphors than the those from a mix of industries, which may have resulted in more imaginative responses. Finally the approaches to coding in the studies and differing schema may well have influenced the range of metaphors identified.

Contribution

Overall, the findings in this study contribute to the metaphor and emotion literature by offering a structured approach to identifying emotions through metaphors, which may be helpful to practitioners, as metaphors—and their associated emotions—provide a compact method of conveying vivid meaning and may be a useful substitute for lengthy descriptions (Chandler, 2001; Ortony, 1975; Sackmann, 1989). Identification of universal emotions of shame, sadness, and pain provide useful insight for managers, practitioners, and also those not familiar with the emotional impact of workplace bullying.

Limitations

Like all research, some aspects of the present study limit the findings and may restrict opportunities to generalise. One major limitation of the present study is its narrow industry focus. The relatively homogeneous sample may limit generalisations and a broader cross section of New Zealand workers might have produced different outcomes. Furthermore, my influence on the way interviewees told their stories and my interpretations of their metaphors are limitations of this study.

Conclusion

This paper has provided a process for identifying and illuminating metaphors to gain insight into not easily communicated emotions of workplace bullying targets. By being more alert to the underlying, more tacit aspects of target experiences, those managing workplace bullying should be able to achieve a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. Eventually, with greater insight some effective and lasting solutions to this problem may well be developed.

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Table 1

Summary of Steger's three-stage metaphor analysis

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3
Select metaphor owing to its:	Select analysis tool:	Consider the:
(1) repetition	(1) comparisons	(1) metaphor user's background
(2) elaboration	(2) associations	(2) metaphor user's comprehension of the story, and
(3) relatedness	(3) dimensions	
(4) contrast and/or	(4) categories	
(5) emotion	(5) concepts	(3) ways in which metaphor users viewed their own actions
	(6) idioms	

Note. Adapted from Steger 2007

Table 2

Metaphor Findings

Experience	Perpetrator	Target
Violence - *battles, fights and torture*	Duplicitous - *two-faced, Jekyll and Hyde*	Weak creature - *injured animal*
Madness - *an insane asylum, parallel universe*	Dangerous animal - *hungry lion, angry bull*	Child – *naughty*
Natural forces - *storm, waves*	Explosive - *active volcano, champagne bottles, popping balloons*	Leaves – *floating*
Desert islands - *isolation, banishment*	Other - *Bad witch, Waterfall*	
Immersed in water- *drowning, waterfall*		
Games – *poker, battleships, chess*		
Hell		

Note. Italics indicate examples of metaphors from that group

Table 3

Comparison of Metaphor Findings

Tracy et al, (2006)	Current study [a]
<u>Bullying Process as:</u>	<u>Experience</u>
Game or Battle [i] [b]	Violence - including battles [i]
Nightmare	Madness
Water torture	Natural forces
Noxious substance	Desert islands
	Immersed in water
	Games [i]
	Hell
<u>The bully as:</u>	<u>Perpetrator</u>
Two-faced actor [ii]	Duplicitous [ii]
Evil or demon - witches, Jekyll and Hyde [iii]	Bad witch [iii]
Narcissistic dictator or royalty	Dangerous animal
	Explosive
	Waterfall
<u>The target as:</u>	<u>Target</u>
Slave or Animal [iv]	Weak creature [iv]
Child [v]	Child [v]
Prisoner	Leaves
Heartbroken lover	

Note. Roman numerals indicate similar metaphors. That is, [i] in one column aligns with [i] in the other column and this continues with the remaining numerals.

[a] Listed in descending order of prevalence for current study

[b] Noted as most prevalent but other frequencies were not reported

Table 4

Metaphor Themes and Emotions – Experiences

Metaphor themes	Shame, sadness, pain	Anxiety and fear	Anger, hatred, disgust
Violence and Battles	powerlessness resignation unhappiness weakness weariness		aggression anger defiance offence resentment
Attacks	devastation distress intimidation pain	fear shock	bitterness distrust
Torture or punishment	fear misery suffering torment	anxiety dread fear horror	distrust
Madness	despair isolation powerlessness	apprehension disturbance fear	contempt distrust
Natural forces	devastation powerlessness	fear horror shock terror	distrust
Water	despair devastation drained hopelessness misery powerlessness suffering	terror	
Desert Islands	abandonment despair isolation loneliness misery rejection		bitterness frustration
Games	misery worry	apprehension fear	cunning defiance scheming scorn suspiciousness
Hell	isolation pain rejection torment	dread fear	

Note. The table shows how the emergent emotions for each experience metaphor theme relate to Storm and Storm's taxonomy (1987).

Table 5

Metaphor Themes and Emotions - Perpetrators

Metaphor themes	Shame, sadness, pain	Anxiety and fear	Anger, hatred, disgust
Duplicity		apprehension dread	bitterness distrust indignation resentment suspicion
Dangerous animals	intimidation powerlessness misery	fear nervousness apprehension fear	contempt scorn
Explosions	powerlessness torment	shock	
Waterfall	intimidation	fear panic	
Bad witch		apprehension	distrust bitterness hate

Note. The table shows how the emergent emotions for each perpetrator metaphor theme relate to Storm and Storm's taxonomy (1987).

Table 6

Metaphor Themes and Emotions - Targets

Metaphor themes	Shame, sadness, pain	Anxiety and fear	Anger, hatred, disgust
Children	embarrassment	fear	
	humiliation		
	inferiority		
	intimidation		
	powerlessness		
Weak creatures	intimidation	apprehension	
	powerlessness	dread	
	weakness	fear	
	vulnerability		
Leaves	inferiority		
	powerlessness		

Note. The table shows how the emergent emotions for each target metaphor theme relate to Storm and Storm's taxonomy (1987).