U.S. women bullying women in the pharmaceutical/biotechnology/medical device industry

Sharon L. Liu

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Pepperdine University
Graduate School of Education and Psychology

U.S. WOMEN BULLYING WOMEN IN THE
PHARMACEUTICAL/BIOTECHNOLOGY/MEDICAL DEVICE INDUSTRY

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
Of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Education in Organization Change

by
Sharon L. Liu
May, 2012

Daphne DePorres, Ed.D. – Dissertation Chairperson
This dissertation, written by

Sharon L Liu

under the guidance of a Faculty Committee and approved by its members, has been submitted to and accepted by the Graduate Faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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DEDICATION

To my caring husband, Ben
VITA
Sharon L. Liu

EDUCATION

Ed.D. in Organization Change, Pepperdine University, 2012
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EXPERIENCE

Senior Principal Consultant, Oracle Corporation, 2007 to present.

- Consulted on Oracle Health Sciences Applications
  - LabPas
  - Oracle Clinical
  - Remote Data Capture
- Developed customized training materials for OC, RDC, and LabPas
- Participated in Conference Room Pilots for LabPas
- Drafted usage documentation for OC/RDC
- Developed and ran OC/RDC test scripts
- Created a CDISC compliant Global Library for OC/RDC

Project Manager,

Manager Clinical Data Standards,


- Served as a project manager designing and setting a new training database
- Taught Oracle Clinical classes
- Facilitated process change and new tool implementation
- Created and presented a 2-hour teamwork seminar for Biostats Department in 2004
- Managed Oracle Clinical Laboratory, Batch Data Load, Global Library, and Global CRF Design personnel in UK and Thousand Oaks
- Identified, summarized, and presented metrics to evaluate group’s productivity to management
- Forecasted printing budget for CDM
• Investigated, presented at ACDM in England a paper on Global communication styles and preferences, proposed a change process plan, and wrote a summary article for SCDM.


• Consulted on Oracle Clinical Application (in US: Baxter, BSC, Clinimetrics, Coulter, Genentech, Giliad, Malinkcrodt, Solvay, Cygnus; in Japan: CTC; in Canada: Cromedica; in Israel: Teva)


**Clintrial Consultant**, 1994-1998


**Clinical Data Base Consultant**, First Medical, 1997; Biocircuits, 1995.


**Clinical Research Associate, Manager of Quality Assurance, Data Base Manager,** Immune Response Corporation, 1989-1994

• GLP, GMP, and GCP processes
• Facilitated the discussion to adopt and adapt a software product to collect clinical trial data.
• Designed and programmed a data base management application using Paradox and PAL
• Set up and implemented Clintrial

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**Research**


Teacher and Program Coordinator


Science Teacher, Crestwood High School, 1976

Science Program Coordinator, Cranbrook Institute of Science, 1975-1976

English Teacher and Tutor, Sarajevo, Yugoslavia-1974-1975
ABSTRACT

This empirical study investigated bullying among adult U.S. women in the Pharmaceutical/Biotechnology/Medical Device (PBMD) Industry. A concurrent triangulation mixed method was used. An online survey was sent out consisting of: (a) a modified Einarsen, Hoel, & Notelaers (2009) Negative Acts Questionnaire; (b) open-ended questions about being bullied, witnessing bullying, and how the respondent coped with bullying; (c) demographic questions of the respondent and the bullying perpetrator (if applicable); and (d) questions on whether the respondents had been bullied, witnessed bullying, or perpetrated bullying.

Bullying in the PBMD industry is a problem as evidenced by the fact that 61% of the women in this study had either been bullied or had witnessed bullying. The workplace experience is significantly different for women who have been bullied vs. those who have not. Most of the bullying occurred between first-line supervisors (46%) and coworkers (39%). In 39% (19/48) of the bullying cases, management exacerbated the situation, was itself the root of the problem, or did not respond to bullying behavior. When respondents turned to Human Resources (HR) for support, they typically perceived that HR sided with management against them.

The most successful coping method involved responding directly to the bully. When management responded unhesitatingly and in a direct manner to the bully, making clear that bullying behavior would not be condoned, the outcome was positive. Based on my research, a number of approaches can be used by management and HR to decrease bullying, starting with increasing awareness of risk factors for bullying behavior, e.g.,
recognizing that women tend to use indirect exclusionary work-related behaviors to bully other women. Furthermore, differences between the target and bully with respect to age, years of experience and years in the company increase the risk of bullying.

Keywords: workplace, bullying, women, management, human resources, HR, mixed methods
Chapter 1: Introduction To The Study

Statement of Problem

Workplace bullying is a major problem, especially in the United States where 50% of citizens report being affected by bullying (Namie & Namie, 2009a). However, bullying is often denied or downplayed as personality conflict in corporations, despite the costs to the targets of bullying and the corporation (Namie, 2010, Namie & Namie, 2009a, Namie & Namie, 2009b). Several gaps in the literature highlight why it is particularly important to examine bullying in the U.S. For instance, most bullying research is conducted in Europe (e.g., Finland, Germany, Sweden, United Kingdom, and Italy) and existing research disagrees as to who are the perpetrators and targets of bullying. Furthermore, women and men may bully in different ways, such that women may prefer indirect aggression, which often goes undetected in the workplace. This chapter will present the context of women bullying women before discussing the purpose, research questions, and significance of this study. Key terms used throughout the research project and the researcher’s assumptions are introduced before an in depth review of literature, which explores bullying, in the next chapter.

Workplace bullying was first investigated by Heinz Leymann (1990), a Swedish researcher. In his seminal article *Mobbing in Psychological Terror at Workplaces*, Leymann used the term *mobbing*, which he distinguished from the term *bullying*, to describe situations that dealt with multiple perpetrators ganging up against a single target. Today, however, this distinction has been loosened and workplace bullying is the more common term for repetitive negative acts from one or more perpetrators toward a person
who perceives him or herself at a power disadvantage (Beale & Hoel, 2010; Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Hoel, Cooper, & Faragher, 2001; Lester, 2009; Lind, Glaso, Pallesen, & Einarsen, 2009; Lutgen-Sandvik, Tracy, & Alberts, 2007; Salin, 2001).

European countries not only generate the most research on bullying, but European countries such as Finland, Sweden, and Ireland have enacted laws to protect targets of bullying. The U.S. does not have anti-bullying legislation and existing workplace laws do not protect bullied employees. Although existing harassment laws recognize protected groups such as women and minorities, the laws do not apply if a woman is the bully of women. In other words, if a man was to bully a woman, a woman would be protected by sexual harassment laws. But if bullying occurs between two persons of the same gender, there are no laws to protect the bullied person because sexual harassment only refers to people of different sexes harassing each other. The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (1999, 2003), in fact, argues that U.S. laws concerning hostile work environments would need to be changed and expanded to include bullying actions as a punishable. This study is about bullying which is not covered by law in the U.S. and not about hostile work environment harassment which “occurs when unwelcome comments or conduct based on sex, race or other legally protected characteristics unreasonably interferes with an employee’s work performance or creates an intimidating, hostile or offensive work environment” (Federal Communications Commission, 2012, p.1)

Complicating the problem further, there is disagreement in the literature as to who is bullied or if there is a clear distinction between bullies and the bullied. Rather than being seen as a victim, some researchers note that the bullied, or the person being targeted, are sometimes characterized as weak or lacking proper social skills or social networks.
(Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Harvey, Heames, Richey, & Leonard, 2006; E. G. Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2002; Tepper, Duffy, Henle, & Lambert, 2006). On the other hand, other researchers have indicated that it may not be the weak performer or the socially deficient person that is targeted, but rather people who threaten bullies’ positions in the workplace or threaten bullies’ self-esteem and cause them to question their self-efficacy (Ang, Ong, Lim, & Lim, 2010; Brunner & Costello, 2003; Di Martino, Hoel, & Cooper, 2003; Hodson, Roscigno, & Lopez, 2006; LaBier, 2000). Still others suggest that there is no distinction between bullies and the bullied; instead, the bullied often display the same behaviors as bullies (Buon & Buon, 2007; Nelson, Woodhams, & Hatcher, 2010).

Bullying between women may particularly be overlooked in the workplace because women tend to prefer indirect aggression, which may go undetected by management and initially missed by the bullied targets until they notice a pattern of behavior. Because women are socialized to be caring and cooperative (Campbell, 1999; Gilligan, 1993; Gilligan, 1995; Gyllensten & Palmer, 2005; Terrion & Ashforth, 2002), women often expect other women to be caring and kind. However, these benign expectations may actually contribute to bullying problems because targets do not recognize harassing behaviors until such behaviors escalate. In fact, targets often indicate that their initial reactions to bullying are confusion and doubt (Brunner & Costello, 2003). Even when workplace bullying is recognized it is often not reported because the target fears retaliation (Brunner & Costello, 2003), being accused of being too sensitive or being labeled as mentally ill (Martin, 2010), losing-face with their managers or decreasing their chances of promotion by being labeled as trouble makers or weak
performers (Brunner & Costello, 2003). These explanations may help explain why only a small percentage of targets (7%) ever make a formal complaint (Namie & Namie, 2009a).

**Purpose**

The purpose of this study is to expand the body of knowledge about workplace woman to woman (W2W) bullying to a locale and industry not yet examined – the U.S. Pharmaceutical/Biotechnology/Medical Device (PBMD) industry. The PBMD industry was selected as the target population for this study because it is highly competitive and stress-inducing factors such as increased outsourcing and increased regulatory oversight which are some of the factors which have previously been shown to correlate with workplace bullying (Badzmierowski & Dufresne, 2005; Hodson et al., 2006; Wheeler, Halbesleben, & Shanine, 2010). Given the increase in recent years in the percent of women working in the U.S. civilian workforce (54%; Solis & Hall, 2010) it is surprising that little or no research on W2W bullying has been done in this country.

One goal of this study was to obtain quantitative as well as qualitative data on W2W bullying and how women cope based on their experience with, and observations of, female targets, witnesses, and bullies. A second goal was to explore how demographics such as age, organizational rank, years of experience in the industry and at the company where women may have experienced or witnessed bullying, and the level of education influence their experiences. A third goal was to explore if individual responses to various survey items agree with how they describe their personal experiences and if the questions allowed them to reflect on their experiences. Finally, from a managerial perspective, I recommend suggested interventions which will help corporate managers
identify and circumvent W2W bullying at an early stage, before the situation can escalate. The ultimate goal was to change the way in which U.S. companies deal with this phenomenon, thus alleviating the cost of bullying to the victim, her family, the organization, and the community, which will be discussed fully in Chapter 2.

**Research Questions**

The following questions were examined:

1. How do women cope based on their experience and observations of female targets, witnesses and bullies?

2. How do demographics such as age, organizational rank, years of experience in the industry, tenure at the company where she may have experienced or witnessed bullying, and level of education influence her experiences?

3. Do women’s responses to the Negative Acts Questionnaire (NAQ; quantitative analysis) agree with women’s responses to open-ended questions in a survey (qualitative analysis)?

**Significance of the Study**

Research on workplace bullying is important because according to a survey conducted in the U.S. by Namie (2010), one out of two people have been either a target of bullying or a witness to bullying or have never been a target but have witnessed others being bullied. Because research has shown that witnesses suffer to a similar extent as those who are bullied (Escartín, Rodríguez-Carballeira, Zapf, Porrúa, & Martín-Peña, 2009; Lutgen-Sandvik, 2005; Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007; Nicol, 2006; Parzefall & Lain,
2010; Sablynski, 2002), then it is conceivable that 50% of the population may be negatively affected by workplace bullying. This percentage suggests that workplace bullying is a ubiquitous problem.

Furthermore, bullying is costly. It is costly for individuals because of resulting physical and mental illnesses, for family and friends because of injured relationships or financial instability, for industry because of low morale, time wasted dealing with the problem, underutilization of staff, and impaired creativity and decision making, and for society especially if workers lash out in frustration and kill co-workers and/or adversely affect family members (Chiaberi, Moll, Rosen, & Chiaberi, 2009; “Data reveal,” 2004; Duffy & Sperry, 2007; Hoobler & Brass, 2006; Sperry & Duffy, 2009).

This research may also benefit clinical practitioners, who encounter targets of bullying but may misdiagnose their situation. Because so little is known about bullying, especially about women bullying and their unique bullying style, practitioners may unfortunately misdiagnosis targets as manic depressive, paranoid, and/or experiencing character disturbance. After the misdiagnosis, the target often feels victimized a second time (LaBier, 2000). By providing the clinicians with information about W2W bullying in the workplace, other interpretations are possible. Though this research may benefit clinical practitioners, this research was conducted through a managerial lens with managers as the intended audience.

Ultimately, this research sought to address the gap in the academic literature in several ways. First, it is the first to examine W2W bullying in the U.S. Second, it explores ways in which women, who experience W2W bullying either through witnessing, cope and how demographics may impact the findings. Third, compare the
quantitative NAQ results with the qualitative open-ended question results to look for the degree of agreement between these two methods. In the research literature, women tend to focus on damaging relationships and isolating other women from their support group and research has shown that this type of indirect bullying (threatening to break or breaking relationships) is the most painful bullying attack for girls and women because the attacks are interpreted as betrayals (Safran, 2008). Furthermore, additional researchers argue that emotional abuse is the most severe type of abuse for adults (Escartin et al., 2009).

Definitions

For the purpose of this study, bullying is defined as the intentional repeated actions that occur frequently over an extended period of time of at least 6 months by a person or a group directed against an individual employee in the form of verbal abuse, behavior that humiliates, threatens, and/or sabotages an individual’s work production or status and there is a perceived imbalance of power (Einarsen, Raknes, & Matthiesen, 1994; Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007). Incidences of isolated acts of incivility are not considered bullying, as well as unusual and extraordinary bursts of emotion, socially inept comments or camaraderie-type teasing (Namie & Namie, 2009a).

Throughout this study, the terms target, perpetrator, workplace, and the acronym PBMD industry are frequently used. The word target rather than victim was used in this study to emphasize that perpetrators do not bully random individuals. Unlike a victim, who may be described as a person who does not have options, a target is defined as someone who has options and can choose how best to respond. Perpetrator is the term
used in this study to represent a person who is judged responsible by a target for performing an injurious action (Aquino & Lamertz, 2004).

Definitions of workplace and pharmaceutical, biotechnology, and medical device companies clarify the context of this study. The operational definition of workplace does not refer to a bricks-and-mortar location, but to the socially-constructed interactions between employees at a company. This is an important distinction, since some companies are global and people may spend much of their time in virtual relationships with other employees. Therefore, workplace bullying does not necessarily have to take place face-to-face.

The PBMD Industry encompasses three types of companies. A pharmaceutical company creates, tests, and sells safe and effective pharmaceutical treatments such as Zoloft. A biotechnology company produces products for humans that are derived from living organisms and bioprocesses for medicines such as Enbrel. A medical device company produces, tests, and sells medical devices to improve the quality of human life such as a stent. The PBMD industry, as it is defined for this study, also includes the collaborative companies that help these companies discover, test, manage and/or analyze, and/or submit data to regulatory agencies. Therefore, the combined PBMD industry includes all companies whose combined efforts lead to medical products designed to improve the lives of humans.

Within these industries, the role of management and human resources are defined in a general manner. Management is defined as those who are perceived to have control over the work environment and employees. Human Resources is defined as the group of individuals who are assigned within the company to oversee recruiting, staffing, policies,
and employee services such as employee counseling, relations, development, training, safety and welfare.

**Assumptions**

Four primary assumptions underpin this study. First, the researcher assumed there was W2W bullying in the PBMD industry. Anecdotal evidence leads me to believe that my personal experience with bullying in the PBMD industry was not unique. Looking back on that period of time, I now recognize that the behaviors commonly used by women to bully other women were dismissed or denied. Second, these experiences demonstrated that it was easy for targets, such as myself, to respond to bullying in kind. Third, the PBMD industry has become increasingly competitive due to the pressures of rising costs, lagging products and ever-increasing regulatory oversight, and increasing outsourcing (Oracle Health Science Global Business Unit (HSGBU), personal communication, February 25, 2010; Oracle HSBGU, personal communication, June 29, 2011). Therefore, I assumed that a pressure-cooker PBMD work environment created conditions conducive to bullying. Fourth, the study assumed that it was difficult for women to admit that they have been bullied and harder still to admit that they have acted as bullies.

**Organization of Remaining Chapters**

Chapter 2 is a comprehensive review of the existing literature on the subject of bullying and pulls from a wide range of disciplines, such as neurobiology and evolutionary biology. Its purpose is to examine how bullying is explored in the literature and what is known particularly about the role women play in bullying.
Chapter 3 describes in detail the qualitative and quantitative methods used in this study. The chapter will also cover sampling, data collection, mixed method analyses, and collected demographics.

Chapter 4 describes the results and analysis of the non-experimental concurrent triangulation data. Chapter 5 concludes with implications, conclusions, limitations, and future research.

Summary

Bullying in the workplace adversely affects companies, their employees, and the communities they live in. Companies are impacted financially, targets of bullies pay a price in terms of both physical and mental health as well as job satisfaction, and communities are affected by citizens that are unhealthy, depressed, or may lash out and kill co-workers or adversely affect family in response to abuse in their workplace. Recent U.S. surveys have shown bullying as a problem affecting more than 50% of the workforce (Namie, 2007b; Namie, 2010). Despite this high percentage, very little research has been done concerning women bullies (for a notable exception, see Chesler, 2009), and no published research has yet to explore women bullying women in the United States.

This research further explores how women cope with either being bullied or having witnessed other women being bullied. Additionally demographics of the target and the perpetrator are examined to identify their impact on W2W bullying. Results from the NAQ questionnaire are compared to responses from open-ended questions to see if they agree. These findings are important if managers are to be able to identify the more subtle signs of W2W aggression. This research seeks to verify that U.S. W2W bullying
exists in the PBMD industry and if it does exist, what comprises W2W bullying profile in the PBMD industry and the characteristics that may be associated with workplace bullying.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter explores the complex phenomenon of bullying with a focus on what is known about women’s bullying behavior toward other women in the workplace, the costs to the individual who is targeted or a witness, their family and friends, their organization, and our community. Data from animal and human experimental studies, psychology, evolutionary biology, primatology, and neurobiology studies supplement the existing gap explaining why and what happens when women bully other women. This literature review had a significant impact upon the research questions and approaches that were utilized as part of my doctoral dissertation on the phenomenon of women bullying women in the highly competitive PBMD industry.

Bullying

Complexity of bullying. Our understanding of bullying is complicated by the disparate research and the lack of common agreement about what is bullying and what, if anything, should be done. Bullying is a ubiquitous problem – seen worldwide from articles emanating and surveys from U.S. (Baumeister, Smart, & Boden, 1996; Colbert, Mount, Harter, Witt, & Barrick, 2004;; Namie, 2010), Europe (Beale & Hoel, 2010; Girardi et al. 2007; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2002), Australia (Ayoko, Callan, & Hartel, 2003; MacDonald & Leary, 2005), and India (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2010); however, few agree on what should be done about it or even whether something should be done about it. Bullying is ubiquitous also because approximately 1/3 of the population has experienced bullying as shown in the 2007 and 2010 Zogby International survey (Namie, 2007b; Namie, 2010). Other research confirms that this phenomenon occurs for many
people and that it spreads from person to person (Namie, 2007b; Sutton, 2007). Based on results from the Negative Acts Questionnaire (NAQ), people who label themselves as being bullied represent only a small percentage of people that experience at least one negative act frequently (at least once per week) over at least a 6-month period. These negative acts, which are listed in the NAQ, range from threatening violence to more subtle behaviors such as exclusion from group or decision making, over monitoring work, ordering the person to work below their capabilities or ordering unreasonable deadlines or workloads to be completed.

A high percentage of bullying comes from managers. The percent of bullying managers range from approximately 70% to 90%. Ninety percent of the research participants identified managers as bullies (Lewis, 2006); greater than 75% of individuals at the managerial level were identified as bullies in studies done in the United Kingdom (U.K.), Ireland, Austria and Italy (Di Martino et al., 2003); and 73% of the people identified as bullies held higher job positions than the targets of their bullying in the 2007 Zogby survey (Namie, 2007b). Sadly, not only is there a large percentage of managers who abuse their power, but when mistreatment was reported, the organization either did nothing (44% of the time) or exacerbated the problem for the target (18% of the time). By doing nothing, the employer acts as the bully’s accomplice (Namie, 2007b).

Information about female bullies and the incidence of women bullying women came from the same Zogby International Surveys. The 2007 Zogby Survey (Namie, 2007b) conducted over 7,700 online interviews with adults in the U.S. and the 2010 online survey was taken by over 4,200 U.S (Namie, 2010). adults. Both surveys indicated that targets and perpetrators represent both sexes, and women tend to bully women more
than they bully men. Almost 80% of women’s targets are other women, up from 71% in 2007 (Namie, 2007b; Namie, 2010). Given that the incidence of bullying is so high, it is surprising that so few people think of themselves as bullies and admit to being bullies. From this literature review, it appears that anyone is capable of being a bully and everyone can be a bullying target. In fact, there is much confusion around bullying, which can be seen in the next section.

**Terms lead to confusion.** Part of the confusion surrounding bullying is due to the fact that there are so many names with similar behaviors. In Table 1, the term is followed by citations which use that particular term. These include the terms: bullying, mobbing, abusive supervision, antisocial behavior, direct aggression versus relational aggression/social aggression/indirect aggression, psychological terror, psychological violence, emotional abuse, generalized workplace abuse, antisocial behavior, harassment, incivility, and political intelligence.

Table 1

*Terms Used to Describe Negative Behaviors*

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Term</th>
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<tr>
<td>Bullying</td>
<td>(Andreou &amp; Bonoti, 2010; Badzmierowski &amp; Dufresne, Fall 2005; Beale &amp; Hoel, 2010; Brotheridge &amp; Lee, 2010; D'Cruz &amp; Ernesto, 2010; D'Cruz &amp; Noronha, 2010; Einarsen, Hoel, &amp; Notelaers, 2009; Hodson et al., 2006; Hoel et al., 2001;</td>
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(continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bullying</td>
<td>Lee &amp; Brotheridge, 2006; Lester, 2009; Lieber, 2010;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mikkelsen &amp; Einarsen, 2001; Mikkelsen &amp; Einarsen, 2002;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Namie &amp; Lutgen-Sandvik, 2010; Out, 2005; Pate &amp;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Beaumont, 2010; Salin, 2008; Seigne, Coyne, Randall, &amp;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Parker, 2007)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mobbing</td>
<td>(Balducci, Alfano, &amp; Fraccaroli, 2009; Duffy &amp; Sperry,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2007; Niedl, 1996)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abusive Supervision</td>
<td>(Barling, Dupre, &amp; Kelloway, 2009; Denson, Pedersen,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ronquillo, &amp; Nandy, 2008; Harvey, Stoner, Hochwarter, &amp;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kacmar, 2007; Hoobler &amp; Brass, 2006; Keashly &amp; Neuman,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2008; Neuman &amp; Baron, 1998; Snyder et al., 2005; Tepper,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Henle, Lambert, Giacalone, &amp; Duffy, 2008; Vitaro,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Brendgen, &amp; Barker, 2006)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Antisocial Behavior</td>
<td>(O'Leary-Kelly, Duffy, &amp; Griffin, 2000; O'Leary-Kelly,</td>
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<td>Griffin, &amp; Glew, 1996)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Direct Aggression</td>
<td>(Barling et al., 2009; Chesler, 2009; Keashly &amp; Jagatic, 2003;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Versus Relational/Social/</td>
<td>Neuman &amp; Baron, 1998; O'Leary-Kelly et al., 1996;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indirect Aggression</td>
<td>Pellegrini &amp; Archer, 2005; Robinson &amp; Greenberg, 1998;</td>
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<td>Term</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psychological Terror</td>
<td>(Leymann, 1990)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological Violence</td>
<td>(Di Martino et al., 2003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Abuse</td>
<td>(Fox, 2001; Hirigoyen, 2004; Jantz &amp; McMurray, 2009; Keashly, 1998; Keashly, 2001; Keashly &amp; Harvey, 2005)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Generalized Workplace Abuse</td>
<td>(Richman et al., 1999)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harassment</td>
<td>(Buon &amp; Buon, 2007; Rospenda, Richman, &amp; Shannon, 2009)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Incivility</td>
<td>(Andersson &amp; Pearson, 1999; Corina, 2008; Cortina, Magley, Williams, &amp; Langhout, 2001; Sprigg, Martin, Nevin, &amp; Armitage, 2010)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Political Intelligence</td>
<td>(Kramer, 2006)</td>
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Bullying has no agreed-upon definition, so there is overlap in the meanings of the various terms and within bullying itself. In Table 2 the most common themes included in the definition of bullying is followed by citations for each theme. The most common themes include repeated aggression on a frequent basis in which one or more individuals
react with an individual who feels discriminated against and unable to defend
himself/herself (i.e., a power imbalance).

Table 2

*Common Themes in the Definition of Bullying*

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
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<tr>
<td>Repeated Aggression</td>
<td>(Andreou &amp; Bonotib, 2010; Einarsen &amp; Skogstad, 1996; Harvey et al., 2006; Hodson et al., 2006; Lieber, 2010; Mikkelsen &amp; Einarsen, 2002; Namie &amp; Namie, 2009a; Salin, 2001; Seigne et al., 2007; Sprigg et al., 2010, Taylor, 2003; Tracy, Lutgen-Sandvik, &amp; Alberts, 2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequent Basis</td>
<td>(Balducci et al., 2009; Beale &amp; Hoel, 2010; Brotheridge &amp; Lee, 2010; Einarsen et al., 2009; Harvey et al., 2006; Hoel et al., 2001; Matthiesen &amp; Einarsen, 2004; Namie &amp; Namie, 2009a; Salin, 2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power Imbalance</td>
<td>(Beale &amp; Hoel, 2010; Einarsen &amp; Skogstad, 1996; Groeblinghoff &amp; Becker, 1996; Hoel et al., 2001; Lester, 2009; Lind et al., 2009; Salin, 2001; Taylor, 2003; Tracy et al., 2006)</td>
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Though most exclude single acts, some researchers have found that their study participants believe a single act of aggression can be construed as bullying, especially if it is severe and the target fears that she is at risk of being victimized in the future. In the same study, only one quarter of the female inmates viewed repetition of an aggressive action as a necessary for the aggression to be labeled as bullying (Nelson et al., 2010).

Also, not all researchers have found that their participants felt there was a need for a power imbalance for negative actions to be thought to be bullying. Nearly half of the female participants in Nelson et al. study thought that a power imbalance also was not a necessary precursor to bullying.
**Targets obscure bullying.** Targets add to the complexity in that they may trivialize bullying behaviors, deny being bullied, or actually fail to recognize bullying initially because of a strong commitment to organizational values and professionalism (Lewis, 2006). In one case, an Indian woman in a call center who had a stellar work record ignored her manager’s humiliations because to her, it was illogical for her manager to bully her since she was doing an outstanding job compared to her co-workers (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2010). Additionally, targets may not report bullying for fear that admitting there is a problem will reflect badly on them (Lewis, 2006). In other cases, targets use their bullying-induced sicknesses (such as anxiety disorders, gastro-intestinal, exhaustion, etc.) as the reason for workplace difficulties instead of admitting they were being bullied. Unfortunately, some organizations then use such illnesses to portray targets as dysfunctional individuals, rather than identifying difficulties in the workplace (Lewis, 2006). Even if targets end up leaving a company, targets tend to refuse to report their experiences with bullying in an exit interview for fear of jeopardizing future job prospects or inadvertently hurting those still employed at the organization (Rayner & McIvor, 2008).

**Bullies or targets.** Another confounding aspect of dealing with the bullying phenomenon is that sometimes it is not clear who is bullying whom. For example, even in the cases where there is clearly a bully/target relationship, a target may strike back at a bully who may portray herself as a wronged victim (Vega & Comer, 2005). While Vega and Comer describe some of the most effective bullies in these confusing situations as passive aggressive – aggressive behaviors shown in non-aggressive ways, Girardi et al. (2007) characterize many targets as also being passive aggressive as well.
At any time, the target may become the bully in an act of revenge and retaliation (Bradford & Aquino, 1999). As long as the target feels justified, she may act in a manner indicative of bullying herself. For example, merely sharing her experiences with friends and coworkers may be perceived as gossiping and spreading negative feelings about another person, which is one of the behaviors that targets classify as bullying behavior.

Nelson et al. (2010) believes that people may not realize that they are behaving as a bully. For example, people may not recognize that the behavior they use to cope with bullying could itself be seen as bullying. Such behavior includes ignoring the bully, minimizing communication (‘quiet treatment’), changing their body language, and sharing their feelings with others, which could be interpreted as gossiping (Nelson et al., 2010). The fact that people do not realize they are responding with the same behaviors they define as bullying behaviors, seems to imply that people may implicitly define a bully as anyone initiating these negative behaviors and not those people who respond defensively. If someone displays any of the 22 NAQ-R behaviors frequently (weekly or daily), which are listed in Appendix A, then both the initiator and the responder could be labeled as bullies.

Researchers have tried to identify traits that are common among bullies. For example, Seigne et al. (2007) investigated the relationship between personality traits and bullying behaviors. He found a difference between bullies and non-bullies in terms of their independence; however, it was not significant. Bullies tended to be more competitive, assertive, single-minded and forthright. Aggressiveness was also shown to be significant in bullies using the General Aggression Rational Scale. Aggressiveness was also seen in Ireland’s (2001) research in prisons. For example, everyone in the bully
category suggested aggressive responses in all proposed research bully-victim scenarios. A pure bully category was identified as those prisoners who were proactively aggressive as interpreted from the self-report behavioral checklists that the prisoners were asked to fill out. According to the Hostile Stance Scale, bullies tend to be antagonistic toward others. Other traits were identified by Seigne et al. (2007), which included the tendency to lose their temper in a fast impulsive manner, to display greater verbal aggressiveness, to be less apt to avoid conflict, and to be physically aggressive. Baron-Cohen (2005) found that men display more direct aggression than females. Females tend to show more indirect/relational forms of hostility, such as gossip, exclusion and nasty remarks. Di Marino et al. (2003) listed competitiveness, envy, jealousy, and unawareness of their negative behaviors as personality characteristics essential to female hostility.

**Who are the targets of bullying.** Do women target the weak, lower-status women or powerful, ego-threatening women? The respondents in the Nelson et al. (2010) study of women inmates believe anyone can be bullied. These participants believed that bullies try to maintain the existing formal or informal hierarchy and that even the biggest bully can be intimidated by someone. Other research confirms that both weak/low performers and outperformers are equally likely to be socially isolated from a group (Exline & Lobel, 1999). Surprisingly, Exline and Lobel presented data that indicate that even the members of a group who were perceived as being the most willing to help others were often expelled from the group. In other words, a group tends to eliminate the worst/weakest contributor as well as the best.
Reasons vary for expelling outperformers from a group. However, envy was cited as a primary reason (Di Martino et al., 2003; Vartia, 1996) for causing a feeling of inferiority in the other group members. In fact, in a German study, 60% of targets felt that the bully perceived them as a competitor while 40% felt the bully was jealous of them (Di Martino et al., 2003).

Researchers further indicated that as women go higher in the workplace hierarchy, they are bullied substantially more than their male counterparts (Hoel et al., 2001). In fact, women are more negative than men are when asked to evaluate women leaders (Campbell, 1999). Campbell found that other women especially respond negatively if the woman leader behaves in an authoritarian fashion. This behavior is seen earlier between girls in that they tend to criticize and reject other girls whose behavior is interpreted as a display of superiority. Other researchers have also seen a similar negative reaction to perceived high status clues (Marsh, Blair, Jones, Soliman, & Blair, 2009). In organizations, women are bullied more at higher levels than when they are at the lower levels of the hierarchy (Salin, 2001). Moreover, research also shows that many times, when women reach a level of power, they are perceived as not helping other women (Camussi & Leccardi, 2005). Camussi and Leccardi label these types of behaviors as “female misogyny – women’s hatred of women” (p. 119).

Research has uncovered an interesting human behavior when it comes to whom to exclude, ostracize, socially isolate, ‘freeze out’, and give the ‘silent treatment’. There is a behavior that researchers have named the pratfall effect (Exline & Lobel, 1999, p. 310). The pratfall effect describes the reaction toward a highly competent person who has performed flawlessly, but who is viewed by others less favorably than those who make
minor mistakes. Germans have coined the term *schadenfreude* (p. 310) to refer to those who take pleasure in another person’s failure (Exline & Lobel, 1999). Human research has confirmed this reaction by using fMRI and showing that when a person feels envy, the brain location for pain is stimulated (anterior cingulated cortex), while the pleasure center is activated (striatum) when a person experiences schadenfreude (Takahashi et al., 2009).

With the pratfall effect and schadenfreude in mind, other researchers have tried to distinguish between who gets targeted. For example, Lind et al. (2009) investigated personality trait differences between targets of bullying and their bullies. Although she found that the targets were high in conscientiousness (hardworking, self-motivated, moralistic, and rule-driven) and low in agreeableness (not courteous, e.g. rude, irritable, manipulative, not politically savvy), the authors considered the differences to be nominal. Hence, personality patterns do not differentiate targets from non-targets in the workplace. However, a study conducted by Tepper, Duffy, and Shaw (2001) indicated that being conscientious means the person is less likely to retaliate. The conscientious target works harder and tries to keep his or her work standards high despite the interference of the bullying behaviors of others.

In summary, although the lines of differentiation are not strong according to the literature on bullying, targets of bullying tend to be high in conscientiousness and low in agreeableness. Bullies, on the other hand, tend to be high in aggressiveness and low in self-control, especially with respect to controlling anger.

*Different interpretations of reality.* One of the characteristics of indirect or social aggression, which is the method of choice for female bullies, is harming someone
through the exploitation of a relationship, for example by not being friends or being socially isolated (Rospenda et al., 2009). This act of isolation and its resulting reduction in communication leads targets, bullies, and witnesses to interpret their reality in different ways. For example, targets occasionally interpret witnesses as being complicit with the bully (Nelson et al., 2010) if they do not speak up. In some cases this may be true. According to Brunner and Costello (2003), some employees who observe the bully may side with the bully for fear of being the bully’s next target. Other witnesses of bullying add to the confusion by admitting to the target of feeling badly about the situation but never make attempts to intervene.

Witness’ behavior can be interpreted in terms of their relationship with the bully. Lewis and Orford (2005) identified that witnesses’ behavior is based on fear of the bully’s power as opposed to actually siding with the bully. Research has shown that witnesses are troubled by bullying also. Numerous researchers have discovered that health indicators and job indicators are similar to the severity of the adverse responses of the targets, such as depression, anxiety, psychosomatic complaints, lower job satisfaction, higher job stress (Escartin et al., 2009; Vartia, 2001).

Targets interpret bullying behaviors differently. Some targets do not recognize that they are being targeted by bullies, even though they know some behaviors at work are irritating and unjustified. Other individuals, who may have a greater tolerance for bullying behaviors, may not perceive a problem when confronted with the same behaviors. Because women tend to use indirect rather than direct (such as physical violence) bullying techniques (Baron-Cohen, 2005), isolated occurrences of bullying behavior may appear benign to bystanders or even to targets. Only when a pattern of
behavior emerges are the actions perceived as bullying (Beale & Hoel, 2010; Brotheridge & Lee, 2010; Lieber, 2010; Sprigg et al., 2010). Conversely, research on bullying in the women’s prison system shows that for some targets, bullying behaviors may not need to be repeated if there is an imbalance of power, i.e., no pattern is needed. Sometimes in prison, the research subjects believe that bullying can occur with a single adverse episode as long as there is a credible threat of it happening again (Nelson et al., 2010). This diversity of different people’s interpretation of what defines bullying complicates the issue of how to control bullying and helps explain the varying responses to bullying.

**Different responses to bullying.** Research has shown that women respond in a variety of ways when confronted with bullying behaviors in the workplace. Sometimes the different reactions are due to differences in their work environment. For example, Ely (1995) studied women’s gender identity in workplaces where few higher positions were filled with women. Ely found that women respond in a variety of ways when confronted with a devaluing work environment and subjected to stereotypic gender roles. One group of women who wished to compete for the few high positions available chose to consciously change their behavior to conform to workplace expectations. Another group of women refused to change their behavior—thus foregoing the possibility of a promotion. A third group internalized their workplace’s negative assessment of women and were neither able to conform with nor reject workplace norms. In contrast, organizations where there was a more even number of both sexes, results showed that women were less ambivalent about their gender identity and enacted both masculine and feminine behaviors depending upon the situation. Interestingly, women in workplaces with fewer women tended to evaluate themselves less favorably or said they were not
aware of the role gender played in the workplace and therefore unaware of gender-related challenges (Ely, 1995).

Other responses to bullying behavior include anger followed by retaliation especially if the target perceives negative actions as being unfair. Responding in anger if expectations of fairness were violated was shown to be moderated if a promise was made to restore equity in the future. However, if the unfair situation happens again, indicating there was no satisfactory resolution, the anger would increase (Hatch & Forgays, 2001). This reaction is consistent with Lind et al. (2009) who found that the personality profile of targets was high in conscientiousness, defining these individuals as self-disciplined, hardworking, rule bound and moralistic. Righteous or justified targets tend to view their retaliation reactions not as bullying behaviors but justified behaviors (Nelson et al., 2010). Monin, Sawyer, and Marquez (2008) found that people tend to react by isolating or rejecting others, who are moralistic and are rule bound to do what is right. The reasoning is that people tend to view the moralistic person as someone who may reproach them later. Ironically, if either side feels judged unjustly, they feel bullied (Out, 2005; Tepper et al., 2006). In fact, Out (2005) and Tepper et al. (2006) found that unjust treatment was again predictive of retaliation, which depends on a person’s perception. These negative behaviors begin by infecting those around the target and bully. If the target is unable to risk retaliation because of the bully’s position (e.g. a manager), the negative feelings are often vented against convenient targets, such as the target’s subordinates, family, or the family dog. In these cases, it is difficult to determine who the target is and who the bully is when reactions entail the same negative behaviors labeled as bullying behaviors.
Bullying Among Women

Women do bully other women, as seen by the results of the 2010 Zogby survey. Approximately half of workplace bullies are women and they tend to bully mostly other women (Namie, 2010). Therefore, woman bullies need to take responsibility for contributing to a toxic work environment (Brunner & Costello, 2003).

Bullying or mobbing dates back to the biblical days of Sarah (mother of Isaac) and Hagar (mother of Ishmael) where one wife banished the other wife. Despite 30 years of bullying research, which started with Leymann in 1990, very little research has been directed toward women bullying and there is nothing in the literature about U.S. women bullying other women. The literature published about women in the past 10 to 15 years has been conducted in the U.K., Canada, and Australia. Most of the information about women who bully is taken from the Zogby surveys, of which the latest was conducted in 2010 with over 4,200 US respondents. In order to gain more information about why women may bully other women, literature relating to psychology, evolutionary biology, primatology, and neurobiology was examined.

Psychology. Basic Needs. Affiliation, as a basic human need, has been recognized by psychology theorists for a long time (Exline & Lobel, 1999; Gilligan, 1995), as well as evolutionary biologists such as Bjorklund and Pellegrini (Harris, 2005; Pellegrini & Archer, 2005). What humans lack in fleetness, strength, climbing capability, or camouflage, is made up with affiliation with one another. Homo sapiens is a social species. Biologically, humans release cortisol (a stress hormone) as a response to threats of isolation suggesting that humans are designed to be social (Gere & MacDonald, 2010).
Exclusion from a group, therefore, would logically be avoided by most people by doing their best work or being on their best behavior. Ironically, one would expect that top performers in the workplace would have no reason to fear being excluded from a workgroup. However, Exline and Lobel (1999) conducted a meta-analysis on data concerning outperformers (those who fare better than another person in a task) who are rejected by their colleagues. For example, in a study by Argote, Fisher, McDonald, & O’Neal in 1976 (as cited in Exline & Lobel, 1999), outperformers who were accepted after failure but were rejected after a success did not perform as well on the next anagram task. Exline and Lobel coined the phrase _sensitivity about being the target of threatening upward comparisons_ (STTUC). Basically, STTUC individuals become fearful when they perceive that they are being judged by others. This often results in expulsion and isolation as well as other common bullying actions such as verbal abuse.

Further proof that top performers are targeted for bullying comes from the Namie (2010) survey. According to the survey, the top five reasons individuals are targeted are (in rank order): (a) refusal to be subservient (often perceived as being insubordinate by bullies), (b) more technically skilled, (c) being respected by others, (d) being ethical and honest, and (e) not being adequately political. Thus, when a bully’s ego is threatened by people who have strengths desired by the bully, those people are targeted (Brunner & Costello, 2003).

According to Brunner and Costello (2003), competition has increased between women in the workplace. They theorize that since there is a perceived lack of opportunities for females in the workplace, competition among women is intensified. Since some males may devalue women’s skills, traits, qualifications and
accomplishments, some women demean other women in order to protect their limited power. From an evolutionary standpoint (Brunner & Costello, 2003), women have always needed to protect and procure resources. Other authors (Marsh et al., 2009) as well as Brunner and Costello (2003) suggest that women bully their subordinates in order to prevent other women from challenging the existing hierarchy or status quo. Another view is that men get women to do their dirty work in order to keep their hands clean and avoid being accused of discrimination.

Power struggles between females include a range of emotionally hurtful behaviors, such as gossiping, exclusion, alienation, and stealing friends or romantic partners (Crothers, Ipinski, & Minutolo, 2009). Females may also use direct relational aggressive behavior, which is using confrontation to cause interpersonal damage. Examples of such direct relational aggressive behavior include ignoring someone, threatening to withdraw friendship, and excluding someone from a group by telling her she is not welcome. Other behaviors are not only indirect but can be interpreted in more than one way; these include lateness to meetings, slowness in responding to phone calls and emails, rolling eyes, avoiding eye contact, constantly changing instructions or giving contradictory instructions, assigning meaningless tasks, undermining performance by hiding documents or equipment, excluding someone from activities and meetings, blocking their promotion, or setting impossible deadlines and overloading them with work (Crothers et al., 2009). Crothers et al. hypothesized that women choose relational aggression/indirect aggression between women because it does not violate female gender roles, when women are expected to maintain harmonious relationships (Gilligan, 1995). Chesler (2009), in Woman’s Inhumanity to Woman, discusses the fear of rejection by
peers that women have, which results in women trying to avoid upsetting or disagreeing with colleagues and friends. This fear of rejection in turn prevents women from being authentic in their relationships (Gilligan, 1995).

Social exclusion. The mere threat of social exclusion, let alone the use of exclusion from a group is commonly used by people (bullies) to curb acceptable behaviors (Oaten, Williams, Jones, & Zadro, 2008; Williams, 2007; Williams, & Govan, 2005). Bullying is a complex process which involves the interaction between two or more people under certain situational and environmental factors (Baumeister et al., 1996). For example, social exclusion is still being used to curb deviant behavior in children – commonly known as a time out (Williams, 2007). Time out works because of our innate need for connection because humans are social beings. Social exclusion may be even more subtle. Merely avoiding eye contact and physically avoiding someone could be viewed as exclusion to someone. Ironically, inmates from Nelson et al. (2010) study, who labeled these as bullying behaviors did not recognize that they used the same behaviors to cope with social exclusion.

Top performers may also experience social exclusion from the group. As a review, Exline and Lobel (1999) coined the phrase sensitivity about being the target of threatening upward comparisons (STTUC). Basically, STTUC individuals become fearful when they perceive that they are being judged by others because this often results in expulsion and isolation as well as other common bullying actions such as verbal abuse. Exline and Lobel reported that STTUC occurs within same-sex relationships, which offers insight into the phenomenon of women bullying other women.
A number of empirical findings support the idea that in women-to-women relationships, women worry more than men about outperformance. Maintaining relationships is central for women, and therefore, open competition is not as tolerated in female-female relationships as it is in male-male relationships. For example, Mooney and Omoto (1995; as cited in Exline & Lobel, 1999) found that women who were asked to recall outperforming other women experienced more stress if a friend was involved. In situations where women are competing in traditionally male-dominated domains, women appear more comfortable if women engage in tasks that are consistent with traditional female roles. When both men and women were asked to comment on women succeeding in a male-dominated domain, women gave more negative responses, which indicated hostility toward successful females. This supports other research (Tehrani, 2004) showing that as women are promoted to management roles, they are bullied more than at lower positions, a trend which is exactly opposite than that of males. In a study by Paludi (1979; as cited in Exline & Lobel, 1999), a visual cue from the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) showing a female medical student in the top 5% of her class prompted more negative judgments from both men and women compared to a comparable male medical student cue. Sixty-five percent of female participants responded negatively to the successful female medical student cue, which clearly suggests intense negative feelings by women about successful women.

Self-sacrificing individuals may also experience social exclusion. Bown and Abrams (2003) research indicated that a group’s discussion on how to deal with group members who do not conform to the group norms helped to build a positive sense of group identity. Interestingly, the eliminated ones are not only those that do not contribute
to the good of the group (Kerr et al., 2009) but also the unselfish ones – those that contributed more than profited from the good (Parks & Stone, 2010). Deviants from group norms, regardless of whether they are overly helpful, over-performers or under-achievers, likely are viewed by colleagues as being unworthy. Based on social identity theory and the black-sheep effect of Marques and Paez (1994; as cited in Bown & Abrams, 2003), not being liked by the group and deviance from the group norm result in greater negative judgments. Deviance from group-specific attributes, even if the person is helpful, unselfish, or over-performers, tends to be perceived as threatening by the group and results in the deviants being rejected by colleagues over time (Bown & Abrams, 2003). This culling of the group means that members may be excluded from the group, which is unpleasant and is one of the negative acts associated with bullying.

**Evolutionary biology. Competition.** The existence of intense competitive feelings between women, phobias and hyper-vigilance have an evolutionary basis. Campbell (1999) conducted an evolutionary meta-analysis and found that females tend to value protecting themselves, thus enhancing reproductive success as well as the survival of their infants, with the female ultimately being responsible for infant care and defense. Evolved mechanisms include females avoiding physical aggression, taking fewer risks, fearing both enclosed areas and open areas, and having phobias of such things as animals, snakes, blood and injury. From an evolutionary stand point, hyper-vigilance being higher in females makes sense, since one failure to respond when danger is present could mean death to herself and/or her offspring. In fact, this may explain why females tend to have panic disorders and agoraphobia more than males according to the American Psychiatric
Association (as cited in Campbell, 1999) and PTSD (Nemeroff et al., 2006). Avoiding risks may be related to women’s preference of aggression (Barling et al., 2009; Baron-Cohen, Winter/Spring 2005; Campbell, 1999). Hyper-vigilance may explain the observations of Schumann and Ross (2010) in which they conclude that compared to men women have a lower threshold in what constitutes offensive behavior. This sensitivity is also in agreement with Baron-Cohen’s (2005) observation that women are better at picking up subtle nuances from facial expressions and tones of voice and better at decoding nonverbal communication. From an evolutionary view point, the hyper-vigilance may play a role in what may be interpreted as negative actions/bullying.

**Roles.** Women’s roles throughout their maturity can be supported from an evolutionary standpoint. The roles of women being gatherers, protector of self and offspring, which requires obtaining sufficient resources helps explain the behaviors women show throughout life. For example, Charlesworth’s (1996) research (as cited in Campbell, 1999) shows that female aggression starts at an early age with disputes over desirable toys. As girls grow up and enter elementary school, they use significantly more verbal behavior (compared to boys’ physical behavior) in competing for resources. Charlesworth’s research on how intra-sex groups deal with maximizing movie-viewing time showed that although girls can and will compete when necessary, they preferred cooperation within same-sex groups while boys preferred competition. However, as girls mature, they tend to prefer low-risk, indirect means of competing for resources such as boyfriends (mate choices, in an evolutionary sense), with such behavior peaking between the ages of 15 and 24. Feshbach (1969), Cairnes et al. (1989), Bjorkqvist et al. (1979; as cited in Campbell, 1999), and Crick and Grotpeter (1995) found that girls were more
likely than boys to exclude newcomers, to become friendly with someone else for purposes of revenge and to shun someone of the same sex, as well as antagonistic female-to-female interactions such as gossiping, spreading rumors, and ignoring to one another. Similar behaviors are displayed later in the workplace especially when women play unfamiliar male-like roles. Researchers have found that women especially dislike authoritarian female leaders. This reaction suggests that women are more comfortable with women in traditional roles (Campbell, 1999; Crothers et al., 2009).

**Cultural impact.** Cultural context is important in framing appropriate roles that women play. Especially in patriarchal institutions, which describes well the PBMD industry, evolutionary theorists believe that societal interpretation of these behavioral sex differences have *socialized* the frequency and methods of aggression appropriate for women. As a result, aggression by women has been stigmatized (Campbell, 1999). Lumsden and Wilson (1981) and Durham (1991; as cited in Campbell, 1999) suggested that *enhancement* interaction may impact socially transmitted memes by exaggerating evolutionary adaptive traits. Memes (Renshaw, 2004) are lessons or customs acquired from our parents, society, schools and other social networks. Memes are similar to genes but are socially spread through communities. In summary, patriarchal cultures and institutions have enhanced adaptive traits and rendered aggressive behavior by women unnatural.

**Bullying as part of human nature.** “We have met the enemy and (s)he is us!” (Kelly, 1971, p. 1). Common beliefs about bullying have changed throughout the years. Until Baumeister et al. (1996) meta-analysis of egotism and violence, it was commonly
believed that bullying and violence were caused by people with low self-esteem, despite the abundant data across several disciplines. Baumeister et al. (1996) and Fast and Chen (2009) posited that violence and negative reactions appear most often in response to a threat to the ego or superiority has been undermined by circumstances. Whether bullying is due to low self-esteem in order to secure or protect material rewards or due to high self-esteem because there is a perceived threat to one’s superiority, many of us have probably displayed such bullying behavior at some time. For example, after receiving an unfavorable evaluation or being questioned about our actions, many of us will react defensively and reveal displeasure through body language, subtle or otherwise.

**Primatology.** Primatologists also present clues to the behaviors that women display toward each other. For example, primatologists have observed that, like human primates, macaque (ercopithecines) females harass females of lower status (Campbell, 1999; Sapolsky, 2005). Such harassment diminishes the female target’s reproductive success by suppressing estrus and increasing abortions, thus increasing the resources for the bullying female and her offspring. Female macaques bully indirectly in that adult females do not physically combat other adult females. Thus, in both human and macaque primates, it appears that females employ low-risk forms of combat.

Chimpanzees also show bullying behaviors as shown by not cooperating with another chimpanzee. In the Miller (2007) study, chimpanzees must work together to reap a reward of bananas. When two chimps with varying age and social rank no cooperation was shown. Cooperation was only shown when the two chimpanzees were similar in age and rank.
Neurobiology. Neurobiology also presents clues to explain behaviors between women. Human social groups depend upon hierarchical structures. Being able to monitor the status of other group members and effectively adjusting behavior in response to those status cues is essential for an individual’s adaptive functioning. Marsh et al. (2009) study indicated that the ventrolateral prefrontal cortex (VLPFC) in interaction with the superior temporal cortex (STC) and ventromedial prefrontal cortex (VMPFC) plays an important role in monitoring status cues and facilitating modulation of socially adaptive behavior.

fMRI (functional magnetic resonance imaging) of 18 people viewing images of body positions indicative of status levels revealed VLPFC, VMPFC and STC conductivity between all three. This confirms anecdotal data suggesting that patients with lesions in the VLPFC show less responsiveness to hierarchy cues; therefore, the VLPFC plays a role in modulating behavioral responses. Interestingly, participants rated pictures of people displaying higher status cues as less pleasant than those of people showing neutral cues (Marsh et al., 2009). This suggests that how people respond to status cues may determine how they interact with another person even before they realize they are showing emotion.

In summary, sciences such as psychology, evolutionary biology, primatology and neurobiology help provide insight into how women treat women. According to psychology, belonging is a basic need. Evolutionary biology suggests that the adaptive role women played as gatherers, and along with the need to protect themselves and their offspring, contributed to the need of women to procure resources using the least risky means possible. One such risk-minimizing method, which springs from the fact that belonging is a basic need, is the use of social exclusion to obtain desired outcomes, such
as toys, boys, or position. However, society has played a role in enhancing the adaptive roles of women and, especially in patriarchal environments, viewing women’s aggression as unnatural. This phenomenon may explain why women are more apt to negatively react to women placed in traditionally male roles, especially if those women act authoritatively.

Primatology and neurobiology provide insights into why women compete with other women. Primatology shows that among primates, it is common for females to challenge females of lower hierarchical status until those females lose their resources and sometimes the ability to reproduce. Neurobiology has identified regions of the brain (VLPFC, VMPFC and STC) that monitor the other group members’ status and help decide on changing behavior in response to status cues. Interestingly, people tend to rank those with higher social status cues as more unpleasant, which again provides insight into why women may react negatively toward other women in leadership roles.

The Costs of Bullying

Bullying takes its toll on the target, her family, her employer and society – especially if it is allowed to escalate. Unfortunately, some authors believe that the bully meme (a unit of learned social behaviors) appears to be contagious because a person is more likely to become a bully than to change the behavior of the self-centered, nasty, narrow minded or unethical bully (Sutton, 2007). Therefore, it is important to understand the costs associated with bullying to determine if allowing bullying behavior to go unchecked is an acceptable alternative. The following section is divided into five topics –
the cost to the bullied target, to bystanders or witnesses, to her family and friends, to her organization, and to our society.

**The cost to the bullied target.** The seriousness of workplace bullying is clearly seen from the following list of physical and mental disorders that can result from allowing bullying behaviors to escalate. From the earliest literature on bullying, researchers have documented the decline in mental and physical health (Einarsen et al., 2009; Einarsen & Raknes, 1997; Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2004; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001; Zapf & Einarsen, 2001).

One of the severe results of chronic unchecked bullying is Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Many researchers have found significant correlation between self-perceived frequency of exposure to bullying behaviors and symptoms of PTSD (Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2004; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2002; Nemeroff et al., 2006; Rodriguez-Munoz & Moreno-Jimenez, 2010; Tehrani, 2004). Tehrani (2004) identified over half of her participants, which included both bullying targets and witnesses, had significant PTSD symptoms. These symptoms include: (a) diminished energy (MacIntosh, 2005); (b) loss of concentration (Di Martino et al., 2003; MacIntosh, 2005); (c) anxiety (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2010; Di Martino et al., 2003; MacIntosh, 2005); (d) lack of joy (MacIntosh, 2005); (e) frustration and hopelessness (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2010; MacIntosh, Wuest, Gray, & Aldous, 2010; O'Donnell, MacIntosh, & Wuest, 2010); flash backs with avoidance of reminders (Aldwin & Yancura, 2004; Rodriguez-Munoz & Moreno-Jimenez, 2010); hyper-arousal (Rodriguez-Munoz & Moreno-Jimenez, 2010); and (f) gastrointestinal disorders
(MacIntosh et al., 2010; Nemeroff et al., 2006). All the researchers reported that female gender appears to be the strongest predictor for PTSD, which indicates that women appear to be especially prone to serious health issues associated with bullying.

Bullying appears to be so traumatic that targets of bullying display more severe PTSD symptoms than people who have been assaulted by relatives or nurses who have been assaulted by their patients (Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996), experienced natural disasters (Janson & Hazler, 2004), medical students, divorced or separated individuals, postal employees undergoing an organizational transition, United Nations personnel returning from a war zone, and lost a child in an accident (Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2004). In the most severe cases, targets of bullying showed significantly higher levels of PTSD than people who had been in traumatic accidents (Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2002). Over 80% of the participants in Mickelson and Einarsen’s (2002) research said that bullying affected them more negatively than any other event in their life.

Targets of bullying display other physical maladies. Some of the physical signs include sleep deficits (bullying targets require sleep-inducing drugs and sedation more than individuals who have not been bullied (MacIntosh, 2005; Vartia, 2001). Sleep disturbances can last for years (Burgard & Ailshire, 2008) and cause targets to not get along with others (Tepper, 2000). Other symptoms associated with bullying is high blood pressure. Differences in perceptions of interpersonal fairness were the strongest predictor of differences in blood pressure (Wager, Fieldman, & Hussey, 2003). Furthermore, violation of fairness in women lead to intense and sustained anger until there is a promise to correct the situation (Hatch & Forgays, 2001). Additionally, cardiac problems, which
decrease with an increase in justice and fairness (Kivimaki et al., 2005). Other physical maladies include headaches (MacIntosh, 2005).

Targets of bullying display additional mental maladies. Some of the mental signs shown by targets include diminished energy/emotional exhaustion. Researchers found that emotional exhaustion improved as perceptions of justice increased (Parzefall & Lain, 2010; Sprigg et al., 2010; Tepper, 2000). A second mental malady is depression, which is one of the most common consequences of bullying (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2010; Di Martino et al., 2003; Girardi et al., 2007; MacIntosh, 2005). In fact, Balducci et al. (2009) study, depression rather than PTSD seemed more typical of bullying and the frequency of negative behaviors was a significant predictor of depression (Badzmierowski & Dufresne, 2005; Balducci et al., 2009; Barling et al., 2009; Baron-Cohen, 2005).

Targets of bullying may also have shortened lives due to increased cellular aging. Epel et al. (2004) showed in empirical studies that stress modulates the rate of cellular aging and thus impacts health. Her evidence showed that psychological stress is significantly associated with cell aging which was shown by higher oxidative stress, lower telomerase activity and shorter telomere length. She showed that women under high stress have a telomere length equivalent to ten years of additional aging compared to women with low stress. Other studies suggest that early onset of age-related diseases may be positively associated to cellular level stress (Epel et al., 2004).

Suicide is another path of shortening lives. Leymann (1990), in his early treatise, revealed that between 10-15% of people in Sweden commit suicide due to bullying. A positive significant correlation between NAQ-R findings of bullying and potential suicide was shown in Balducci et al. study (2009). In fact, the frequency of exposure to bullying
predicted an increase in considering suicide and suicidal behavior, after taking into account depression (Balducci et al., 2009).

Even if a target’s life is not affected by illness, the general quality of life is often affected. General job satisfaction declines. Since one spends approximately 1/3 of his or her life at work, this is a significant finding. Exposure to bullying is significantly correlated to job dissatisfaction (Brotheridge & Lee, 2010; Crothers et al., 2009; Kessler, Sonnega, Bromet, Hughes, & Nelson, 1995; Lutgen- Sandvik, 2006; Lutgen- Sandvik et al., 2007; Tepper, 2000). Shame and lowered self-esteem (Lewis & Orford, 2005) also increase with bullying exposure. Gruenewald, Kemeny, Aziz, and Fahey (2004) concluded that people experience shame and a decrease in social self-esteem when they experience threats to their social lives. Research has shown that females are particularly prone to diminished self-worth as well as previously mentioned depression, PTSD, and physical complaints. Even mild forms of relational aggression/indirect aggression leads to harmful reactions (Lewis & Orford, 2005). According to MacIntosh (2005) in a Canadian study of workplace bullying in the nursing profession, which is represented by 76% women, these individuals experience a decline in self-worth and self-confidence related to feeling silenced, an issue that Gilligan brought up in the early 1970’s (Gilligan, 1993; Gilligan, 1995). MacIntosh (2005) participants also felt discounted, discredited and isolated, echoing the research of others on the female response to bullying such as Crothers et al. (2009).

**Human and animal studies.** Human and animal imaging studies augment our understanding of what happens under chronic stress such as job stress and interpersonal injustice. The human and animal imaging studies show that such stress may lead to a
decrease in being able to adapt to new unpredicted circumstances. In humans, rumination is a common activity in which one repeatedly thinks of a problem in hopes of solving the dilemma. The brain region associated with rumination is the hippocampus. During rumination there is an increased encoding of the dilemma or problem in memory and action in the hippocampus increases; however, the increased encoding leads to bewilderment regarding any new, unexpected, or unjustified change in the dilemma (Denson et al., 2008). Therefore, empirical studies show that the mind under stress causes so much attention to rumination that there is less bandwidth for new and unexpected change. This may explain why some authors believe there is less creative thinking when people are under stress (Di Martino et al., 2003; Porath & Erez, 2009; Vega & Comer, 2005).

Primate studies show that the hippocampus atrophies and neurogenesis and neuroplasticity decreases when chronically socially stressed by a dominance hierarchy. These impairments in the hippocampus (the center for memory) are believed to contribute to impaired memory (Sapolsky, 2005).

Rat studies also support the findings in impaired decision-making and the neurological changes induced by chronic stress. The purpose of Dias-Ferreira et al. (2009) studies were to examine whether chronic unpredictable stress would affect the ability of animals to react appropriately based on consequences (i.e., make logic-based decisions). The rat studies’ results indicated that chronically stressed rats became insensitive to changes in their environment even if the consequence was beneficial. The rats continued to repeat original habitual behaviors. The mechanism of chronic stress is that the release of corticosteroids (a stress hormone which helps us react to crises) which
affects our decision-making through structural changes in neural networks. The reorganization of corticostriatal circuits, atrophy of the associative corticostriatal circuits, and hypertrophy of the circuits throughout the sensorimotor striatum result in affecting memory and decreasing behavioral flexibility. These findings support the fact that social stress causes impaired decision-making and behaviors which are appropriate to changing situations. In other words, this may explain that when people are under close scrutiny or being bullied, they are not only afraid but they may be less able to change course from how things have always been done.

There is also proof through animal and human studies that the pain felt from bullying or social isolation can be measured. Neuroimaging using fMRI (functional magnetic resonance imaging) has shown that the same area in the brain is active regardless of whether one is experiencing physical pain or the psychological pain of social exclusion (Eisenberger, Lieberman, & Williams, 2003). Activity in the anterior cingulated cortex (ACC) is greater when one experiences exclusion and correlates positively with the participants’ reported distress. Similar findings were discovered when research participants, who in a game of Cyberball felt rejection, displayed an increased activation of the dorsal anterior cingulated cortex (dACC), which is the region of the brain that shows activation during physical pain. Therefore, when someone says ‘You’ve hurt my feelings’, the person may actually be experiencing pain.

Targets also have reported feeling numb in response to bullying. Researchers have noted that threats to belonging (a biological need to belong) leads to a temporary numbing or stunning of the emotional system, which is similar to when there is physical injury and there is a temporary numbing of pain (Gere & MacDonald, 2010; Sapolsky,
Gere and MacDonald (2010) speculate that social injury, both the feeling of pain and numbing, may have piggybacked on the already developed physical pain system to respond to a survival threat.

In summary, human and animal empirical studies support the feelings that people often report after being chronically stressed or socially isolated. Chronic stress has been shown to cause changes in the hippocampus (the center for memory and rumination) and decreased synaptic networks, leading to the inability to adapt to new unpredictable circumstances along with impaired memory, creativity, and decision-making.

Furthermore, these studies show that social isolation and bullying lead to pain and numbing in the victim. It has also been shown that the brain region (ACC) associated with pain is the same region stimulated when people experience social exclusion and bullying.

**The cost to bystanders/witnesses.** Bystanders or witnesses were referred to in this paper as people who witness another person being bullied but are not themselves bullied. Empirical data suggests that bullying negatively impacts targets' and witnesses’ work quality (Porath & Erez, 2009; Rayner & McIvor, 2008; Vartia, 2001). Porath and Erez (2009) demonstrated that witnessing bullying decreased the witness’s performance on routine and creative tasks. These negative reactions are lessened if the witness was in direct competition with the target.Comparable negative health effects to those experienced by targets are also noted in the literature for bystanders. Witnesses have significantly more general and mental stress (Vartia, 2001), and a greater tendency to quit their jobs as a result of having observed bullying compared to those who have not witnessed bullying (Rayner & McIvor, 2008).
The cost to family and friends. Research has shown that women tend to turn to their social network to help make sense of their workplace bullying situation. The next section introduces the costs to the target’s social network of family and friends.

Many targets of bullying become so obsessed with their bullying situation or their personalities change (e.g., depressive) such that they may displace their aggression on their family, leading to strained relationships with family and friends. Initially, being heard and being supported by family and friends is welcomed, especially when offered long-term and unconditionally. Unfortunately, over time, the workplace bullying negatively impacts those relationships, thus leading to decreased support and increased target distress (Lewis & Orford, 2005). The target’s family and friends may become tired of hearing the same stories, may not understand why the target cannot defend herself or follow through on their advice. The target’s behaviors are also affected by the bullying (e.g., depression), so bullying drives an unfortunate wedge between the targets and their families and friends. Displaced aggression also becomes a problem for family (Hoobler & Brass, 2006). Lewis and Orford (2005) reported from their all-female study, that some women tended to concentrate so much on their work problems that it hurt their close relationships at home. Therefore, families and close friends of bullying targets are also negatively impacted (Di Martino et al., 2003; Duffy & Sperry, 2007; Sperry & Duffy, 2009).

Unlike family and friends, workplace colleagues tend not to give unconditional support. In some cases, since workers sometimes see colleagues more than their own family, the target may believe that these colleagues are part of her social network. However, according to some researchers (Lewis & Orford, 2005; Tracy et al., 2006), it is
common for co-workers to not take the target seriously. Often work colleagues blame the target for being vulnerable and personalizing the problem. This occurs because many people believe the world is just and therefore the target must have contributed to the negative situation. Also, if the target has frequent absences or sick leave because of the bullying, the absences increase the workload of those who remain (Glendinning, 2001), again decreasing workplace support. To the target, these unsupportive reactions from the organization are additionally traumatizing, causing her to feel victimized a second time. As a result, targets try to cope by drawing on a non-existent or increasingly limited social resources pool under the continuing contentious situation in the workplace (Lewis, 2006).

The cost can also be financial in nature for the target’s family. Under some circumstances bullies undermine the target’s professional status in current and future assignments (Blase & Blase, 2003; Lester, 2009). In other cases, changes to the target’s behavior (e.g., decreased self-esteem, depression, and PTSD) may make it more difficult to find work in the future (Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996), especially if the individual was terminated. Since only 23% of the time the bully is either punished or terminated, many times the only option for the target to end the bullying is if the target leaves the organization, gets transferred within the same company, or is terminated. In the Zogby survey, of those bullied, 24% were terminated from their position and 40% end up quitting their job and 13% are transferred. (Namie & Namie, 2009a).

**The cost to the organization.** This section will summarize why allowing bullying to escalate is expensive for organizations. Organizations’ most common responses to allegations of bullying are: (a) the behaviors are acceptable; (b) the behaviors are
unacceptable but the situation is viewed as a personality conflict for which both parties are responsible; and (c) the behaviors are viewed as harmful and inappropriate (Ferris, 2004).

**Human resources costs.** Bullying is expensive for organizations. Management acquiescence to bullying can result in increased turnover (Glendinning, 2001), possible litigation costs with an increase in unemployment insurance and workman’s compensation claims (Brown & Sumner, 2006; Di Martino et al., 2003; Vega & Comer, 2005), and lower quality work and motivation (Brown & Sumner, 2006; Di Martino et al., 2003).

**Turnover.** Targets and bystanders tend to leave their jobs if the organization is unable or unwilling to reduce bullying (Namie, 2007b). Turnover is a major cost for organizations in terms of hiring new staff, retraining, and possible legal defense costs (Glendinning, 2001). One of the costs of turnover is recruiting costs. Recruiting and plans for succession not only cost money but also time away from normal work (Glendinning, 2001). Once a new hire has been found through a process of advertisements and interviews, the new hire must be retrained, during which period, she is not performing to full capacity. Dollar amounts are difficult to find in the literature; however, one amount quoted was £13.75 billion annually (Beale & Hoel, 2010) in the U.K. This amount estimated the cost for increased sickness absence, labor turnover, and loss of productivity. Others estimate that 5% of an organization’s operating budget is at stake (Harvey et al., 2007), and Lieber (2010) estimates $1.2 million can be subtracted from the bottom line. The cost can be higher if there is litigation (Brown & Sumner, 2006; Duffy,
Shaw, Scott, & Tepper, 2006)). Health care costs and workers compensation claims may rise because accidents and mistakes are found to increase when a person is being bullied (Di Martino et al., 2003) Therefore, additional costs associated with unemployment insurance and workman’s compensation claims may increase the bottom line costs further (Vega & Comer, 2005). This means that bullying is expensive for an organization to tolerate.

*Diminished productivity.* Efficiency and efficacy are affected because of the additional time targets spend on worrying, second-guessing their decisions, documenting the bullying, and sending emails to make sure others know what is happening, what is being requested and when the requests were made. Additionally, if management responds, valuable time may be spent trying to document and respond to the situation. The Canada Safety Council (as cited in Brunner & Costello, 2003) estimates that over 50% of a target’s day is wasted by countering bullying, including time spent building up a defensive network and seeking allies (Brunner & Costello, 2003). The estimated cost is $180 million in lost time and productivity (Badzmierowski & Dufresne, 2005).

*Sick leave.* A target’s frequent absences or sick leave because of the bullying not only costs the company money directly (Glendinning, 2001), but also increases the workload for those who remain, which may cause health costs to rise further due to the added stress of over-work of the target’s coworkers. People who report a high level of chronic work overload and worry tend to display a stronger increase and a higher mean level of cortisol after awakening on weekdays compared to weekend days. Thus, the remaining workers may end up with stress-related illnesses and may also need to take time off (Schlotz, Hellhammer, Schulz, & Stone, 2004). Therefore, target sick leave may lead to
further illnesses of those who were not bullied, leading to further losses for the organization.

**Reduced commitment.** Bullying was also found to reduce commitment (Dulac, Coyle-Shapiro, Henderson, & Wayne, 2008; Lewis & Orford, 2005). Tepper et al. (2008) found that abusive supervision was indirectly related to organizational deviance. Examples of organizational deviances are theft, sabotage, lateness, and doing just enough not to be fired. These anti-social acts are believed to be due to breaches in the perceived psychological contract between the employer and employee. The psychological contract is what employees believe were specific promises and commitments in both directions that bind employees to their employers, even if the terms were not explicit. However, unlike legal contracts, these are informal, implicit, indirect, and highly subjective. Since the majority of bullies are managers, these breaches are perceived as falling short of employees’ expectations of fair treatment and violate the norm of reciprocity (Parzefall & Lain, 2010). This may explain Tepper’s (2000) earlier research, which identified that procedural justice was related to the measures of job satisfaction, and organization commitment.

**Impaired memory.** van Stegeren’s (2009) meta-analysis of neuroimaging studies showed that short-term stress improved memory performance; however, sustained and high stress levels were accompanied by high cortisol levels which led to impaired memory performance and actual atrophy of the hippocampus. The hippocampus is a prominent brain structure, which has the role in cognition, regulating the hippocampus-pituitary-adrenal axis, which drives hormonal response to psychological and
physiological challenges, and in memory processes in humans. In fact, depression and anxiety are characterized by the failure of emotional regulation. Since depressed subjects show impaired attention, memory and new learning (van Stegeren, 2009), their work performance would therefore suffer.

**Diminished problem-solving ability, creativity and innovation.** Researchers have noted that targets of bullying think less clearly and their problem-solving ability is significantly reduced (Di Martino et al., 2003; Girardi et al., 2007). In fact, targets who have reported anguish over workplace changes (Girardi et al., 2007) may not be able to handle change gracefully because of their reduced capacity. This was also shown in rat studies in which the rats were put under chronic stress. The rat studies showed that under chronic stress, rats would perform under habit and previously learned behaviors, but could not adapt to a changing environment (Dias-Ferreira et al., 2009). Another empirical study of 146 Italian individuals who were exposed to bullying and were depressed also indicated that this condition led to difficulty making decisions (Girardi et al., 2007).

Another thought process decreased by chronic bullying is creativity/innovation (Di Martino et al., 2003; Vega & Comer, 2005). Porath and Erez (2009) study demonstrated that when an authority figure was rude toward the study’s participants, the participant’s routine and creative task performance was diminished (Porath & Erez, 2009). Furthermore, bullying has been associated with insecurity and lack of initiative, which decreases creativity (Di Martino et al., 2003). Brotheridge and Lee (2010) suggest that because of the known impact of bullying-induced emotions (Groeblinghoff & Becker, 1996; Lester, 2009), that managers and HR should expect a negative impact on the targets’ creativity, innovation, and initiative and effective task performance.
(2001) believes that bullying from managers of highly skilled subordinates may be intentional – to get rid of them. Her study points out the loss in accessing knowledge; underutilizing employees and reducing creativity by excessively monitoring. Bullying results in under-utilizing employees who were hired for their experience and knowledge and potential creativity. Deliberately withholding information and micromanaging may be micro-political strategies used for eliminating too high-achieving subordinates. Ultimately, this means that after underutilization and negative work environment, the talent goes and bullies stay.

**The cost to society.** By looking at bullying from a systems perspective, the costs to society can be great if targets no longer believe in a just, meaningful, safe, and logical world. Vega and Comer (2005) posit that after a person has experienced long term bullying, the bullying changes the way people think. Instead of believing that the world is a just place – that there is a meaning to life and one can determine most aspects in life – a person may act counter to their former beliefs – resulting in anti-social behaviors. Lewis (2006) reported that women, who had been bullied do not believe in themselves and their assumptions about work and the world change. Some authors posit that it is the need to reconstruct their personal belief system that leads to targets’ pain and disorientation, which sometimes leads to antisocial responses, sometimes focused on unrelated people (Di Martino et al., 2003). Coworkers claim that the infamous post office shootings were caused by bullying in a work environment where employees had little control and were not valued (Chiaberi et al., 2009). Numerous school shootings were also believed to be in response to long term bullying (Leary, Kowalski, Smith, & Phillips, 2003).
Chow, Tiedens, and Govan (2008), Williams (2007), Williams, and Govan (2005) hypothesized that specific conditions can predict whether a target of bullying by isolation/exclusion responds with ingratiation or with antisocial behavior. For example, if targets feel anger toward those who reject them, then they are more apt to respond in an anti-social manner. Also, responding in anti-social ways is more likely if the individual is unable or unwilling to regulate her response. Simon and Lively (2010) state that women are more intense and hold onto anger longer than males. Such powerful and persistent anger may play a major role in women experiencing a higher rate of depression for a longer time. Researchers contend that daily experiences expose women to unjust social interactions, which result in anger and possibly depression (Simon & Lively, 2010).

Opposing Views of Bullying

Not all researchers share the same views about bullying. Some researchers point out that most of the bullying research is biased toward the self-labeled target as shown by the lack of literature representing the perpetrators’ points of view. Others, who are experienced in the field of bullying, view the majority of bullying as a breakdown of communication. Still others fear of recent interest in bullying because it may become its own type of bullying in which companies exclude people who display bullying behaviors.

Buon and Buon (2007) and Westhues (2008) question the current research as being conducted in a biased manner – toward the target and giving no voice to the perpetrator. They view the current research not only as biased toward the target but even the terminology is loaded with visions of thugs and predatory individuals. According to these authors, the name ‘bullying’ decreases the likelihood of constructive dialogue and
input; few studies actually gather information from the perpetrator. The perpetrator should be given a chance for input and be viewed as trustworthy as the target for input (Westhues, 2008). Buon and Buon (2007) believe we all have the potential to use our personal power positively or negatively; therefore, there is a bully in each of us.

Buon and Buon (2007), two business consultants, believe that the majority of bullying cases are caused by a lack of communication. They believe, like Westhues, the first steps in communication is to neutralize terminology to help open honest discussions and reframe our understanding. In their consulting practice, they found that most of the time the target has never talked to the perpetrator about their interactions. Buon and Buon (2007) believe that many times, people are unaware of the impact they make and how they come across to people.

Westhues (2008) believes that this crusade to free the marketplace of bullies is a modern day witch hunt and an example of profiling. Fears are based on the increase of interest in bullying. If ‘being nice’ is more important than contribution, then both Kramer (2006) and Westhues (2008) fear that we would have banned great thinkers like Galileo or modern day Steven Jobs from Apple Computers. Kramer (2006) cites modern day leaders who are known for their abrasive bullying ways; however, Kramer credits them with having political intelligence (Kramer, 2006) as seen by their ability to get outstanding results in little time. On the other hand, Kramer acknowledged that sometimes, leaders with political intelligence may run into problems because there are few checks and balances left because most subordinates who remain have kept their positions because they do not question their leader. Westhues’ (2008) final fear is that
with the increase of bullying literature being published, our current culture will become a culture of over-sensitive whiners who lean toward exaggeration and false accusations.

Summary

Although bullying is ubiquitous, it is a complex phenomenon. There is a lack of agreement about what constitutes bullying and what, if anything, should be done about it. In this research, the operational definition for bullying encompasses themes common to many of the terms used to describe bullying. Bullying is herein defined as intentional repeated actions that occur frequently over a period of time of at least 6 months by a person or a group directed against an individual in the form of verbal abuse, or behavior that humiliates, threatens, and/or sabotages an individual’s work production or status.

The significance of bullying can be obscured by targets themselves, who may trivialize, deny, fail to recognize or fail to report bullying behavior. In addition, people may interpret events differently and respond differently to the same actions. As bullying escalates, it can be difficult to distinguish the perpetrator from the target, due to retaliation by the target. In fact, the characteristics of perpetrators and targets differ minimally. However, some researchers have shown bullies tend to be higher in aggression and lower in impulse control, than targets, who tend to be high in conscientiousness and low in agreeableness.

The basic human need to belong is central to much of the indirect bullying perpetrated by groups and by women. Women’s bullying behaviors include emotionally hurtful behaviors such as social isolation. Research has shown that people exclude deviants from a group even if those excluded are outstanding performers or sacrifice
themselves for the benefit of the group. Women who reach a level of leadership tend to be bullied more as their status increases. In fact, women in leadership positions are viewed more negatively by women than by men.

Due to the paucity of information on women bullying women in the bullying literature, studies from other disciplines (psychology, evolutionary biology, primatology, human/animal behavior and neurobiology) were used to gain additional insight. Psychology literature looks at the importance of belonging along with the power struggles that occur between women. Evolutionary biology literature points out the role of women as gatherers and the importance to women of reproductive success and protection of the young. This may explain why it was important for women to express aggression in a less risky manner than males and why women have always been attentive to resources as they mature. Culture, through the years and especially in patriarchal environments, tends to reinforce these adaptive behaviors and render open competition as unnatural for women.

Primatology research suggests that females are wired to be competitive with other females. In macaques, lower status females are harassed and subsequently their reproductive capacity is decreased or eliminated. Chimps have been found to be cooperative when their age and status were similar but not if their ages or statuses are different. As it turns out, human social groups depend predominantly upon hierarchical structures and the ability to monitor status and modulate behavior in response to status cues.

Neurobiology research has lead to the discovery of areas of the brain (VLPFC, STC, VMPFC) which are critical in monitoring status cues and facilitating socially
adaptive behaviors. Experiments have shown that people rank pictures of people with high status cues as more unpleasant compared to pictures of people with neutral rank cues. This may explain why women assign low ranks to women occupying male-traditional roles outside the societal norm. Other animal and human neurobiology studies provide anecdotal evidence that stress causes memory loss, inflexibility to adapt to change, loss of decision-making capabilities, and a decrease in creative or innovative thinking.

A review of the literature confirms that bullying is a serious problem based on the severity of health problems for targets and witnesses, along with the impact on relationships between family and friends, companies’ intellectual resources, and on the community’s quality of life and safety. Since most organizations do not have preventative processes in place and the highest incidence of bullying occurs in management, bullied targets may not see any viable options other than lashing out in return.

There is considerable disagreement in the current literature on bullying. For example, some researchers point out that the research is biased toward targets- that is, most of the data are from the targets’ perspectives. Some researchers also fear that company personnel may eliminate or not hire top contributors due to their bullying behavior. These researchers liken the interest in bullying to a modern day witch hunt. Others take a more moderate position and believe that most bullying problems can be solved through improved communication and a focus on prevention.

After reviewing the literature, I decided to focus my research on: (a) how women cope with being bullied or witnessing bullying; (b) which demographics impact the extent of bullying; (c) whether quantitative and qualitative data agree in the mixed methods
design. The following chapter describes the methods that were used to gather data on women bullying women within a competitive U.S. industry. Since the topic of U.S. women bullying other women has not been adequately examined, my methods and analysis were based on methods used in general bullying studies and include both quantitative and qualitative analyses. Researchers such as Nelson et al. (2010) posit that presenting a list of behaviors to subjects and asking them to describe how frequently they occur does not sufficiently capture what bullying means to people, especially to those who have been targets of bullying.
Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

A review of the literature confirmed that workplace bullying occurs around the world and is destructive to employees, their organizations, and their communities. Although most of the research on workplace bullying has been done in Europe, workplace bullying has become a growing concern in the United States because it is so common and if allowed to escalate, it can lead to violence (Barling et al., 2009; Chiaberi et al., 2009; Williams & Govan, 2005). Faced with workplace aggression, targets complain of a wide variety of physical, psychological, and social ailments that ultimately prevent them from performing their jobs well (Porath & Erez, 2009; Sprigg et al., 2010). Ultimately after repeated assaults, bullying can damage the target’s career (Meece, 2009). Consequently, most targets lose their jobs (24%), quit voluntarily (40%), or are transferred out of the department (13%). Bullies are punished only 23% of the time (Namie & Namie, 2009a). Although some studies have been done in the U.S. regarding workplace bullying, none have researched W2W bullying.

This chapter will discuss the methodology, the rationale, testing considerations, and analysis for studying W2W bullying in the U.S. The purpose of this retrospective, concurrent mixed methods study is to extend the research on workplace bullying to women in the U.S. within a highly competitive industry. The questions in this dissertation fall into three major areas.

1. How do women cope with their experiences of being bullied, witnessing bullying, and perpetrating bullying behavior?
2. How do demographics of the study respondents such as age, organizational rank, tenure in the industry and at the company where women may have experienced or witnessed bullying, and the level of education influence their experiences?

3. Do women’s responses to the Negative Acts Questionnaire (NAQ) (quantitative analysis) agree with their respective responses to open-ended questions in the survey (qualitative analysis)?

**Methods**

A non-experimental, concurrent triangulation mixed methods design was used for this study. The methods employed an online survey and interview process to examine workplace bullying behaviors among women in the U.S considering various factors including age, organizational rank, level of related PBMD total experience, length of time at the company where she may have experienced or witnessed bullying, and level of education.

The working definition of a concurrent triangulation mixed methods strategy was from Creswell (2003). *Concurrent* refers to the fact that the two types of data are simultaneously collected during a single data collection phase as opposed to two distinct phases where data from one type determines how the other type of data will be collected. Concurrent *triangulation* uses the two different data in an attempt to confirm, cross-validate or corroborate findings in a single study. According to Creswell (2003), concurrent triangulation uses the quantitative and qualitative methods as a means to offset the inherent weaknesses within one method with the inherent strengths of the other method. Usually the priority between the qualitative and quantitative methods is equal,
but the priority may differ in practical circumstances – unlike concurrent nested strategy in which the minor one is nested within the one with the highest priority. The concurrent transformative strategy for the methods also was not selected because this study was not built on a defining issue or transformative framework.

The concurrent triangulation method has two major advantages over other mixed methods. First the period of data collection is much shorter because data are not collected during two phases. The second advantage is that the triangulation results in well-validated findings. The integration of the two methods’ results during the interpretation phase enables the researcher to note a convergence of the findings or identify and explain any non-convergence that may result.

An online data collection strategy was used because anonymity is crucial to the success of the assessment process when dealing with emotional issues that are often concealed due to shame and isolation. The exploration of workplace bullying must be unthreatening and private (Blase & Blase, 2003). The online strategy included survey type single select questions as well as more in-depth open-ended questions similar to what is captured in an interview.

The online questionnaire consisted of an introduction of inclusion/exclusion criteria and informed consent followed by five sections. The five sections were: (a) self-identification as a target of bullying, a witness to bullying, and/or a perpetrator of bullying behaviors; (b) a modified NAQ-R, to determine whether the participant was bullied in the past and, if so, (c) the demographics of the perpetrator(s); (d) open-ended questions designed to gather more detailed information in the participants’ own words about workplace bullying; and (e) demographic questions about the participant.
Population and Sample

**Sampling considerations.** Sample size depended on two primary considerations. One was the homogeneity of the population (Bryman & Bell, 2007; Witte & Witte, 2007) and the other was the amount of error acceptable in the conclusion (Witte & Witte, 2007). The sample comes from a relatively homogeneous population. All participants were women from the United States working within the same industry; this work requires at least a bachelor’s degree. Also taken into account was how large a sample was needed to keep the error small. As the sample number increases, the standard error will decrease based on the equation \( \sigma_x = \sigma / \sqrt{n} \) (Witte & Witte, 2007).

The minimum sample size was 97 and this number is based on statistical power analyses for multiple regressions involving small effect sizes and five predictors (the software used for this calculation was developed by Soper, 2011, and cites Abramowitz & Stegun, 1965, J. Cohen, 1988, and J. Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003).

The sample population of women in the PBMD industry from the OHSUG list and women with whom I worked totaled 320 women. This number may have been less than 320, because it was difficult to differentiate males from females based on their names and whether or not they resided in the U.S. Since only a 50% response rate was anticipated due both to the sensitive nature of the subject matter and the typical response rate seen with online surveys, all 320 individuals were sent an invitation (Appendix B) to participate.
**Target population.** The target population for this study was women who worked in the United States PBMD industry. The target sample included women belonging to the Oracle Health Sciences User Group (OHSUG) as well as women known by the researcher to have worked in the PBMD industry. The researcher sought and was given permission to use the roster of OHSUG members (Appendix C).

Anonymity of participants was critical as some members of the targeted sample are personally known to the researcher and the sensitive nature of the study. The total size of the target sample is 320. Twenty-nine women of this convenience sample were women known to the researcher from past consulting work in the PBMD industry. The remaining 291 of the convenience sample were listed members on the membership roster of OHSUG to which the researcher belongs. These 320 targeted individuals represented 66 Pharmaceutical/Biotechnology/Medical Device companies. Only members with obviously male names (e.g., Robert, Sunil) and non-U.S. addresses were excluded from the original roster. Because some of the individuals on the target sample may actually have been males and some may only have had a U.S. address based on the location of their company’s headquarters, additional criteria were used in this study to verify participants’ eligibility. In order to be included in the study, respondents had to be non-pregnant adult female (18 years or older), working with at least one other woman in the PBMD-related company and working and living predominantly in the U.S.

**Protection of human subjects.** Approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Pepperdine University was obtained before the study begins. Since the recollection of past or present bullying behaviors may have caused discomfort and
distress to the participant, the IRB application was submitted as an Expedited application (i.e., more than minimal risk to the subject). There was no compensation for participation. An online informed consent was presented to each participant after they met the inclusion/exclusion criteria. The participant selected either “Yes, I agree to participate in the study conducted by Sharon Liu under the direction of Dr. DePorres” or “No, I do not wish to continue.” The participant was directed to the questionnaire section if she selected “yes,” or to the early end page if she selected “no.”

Participants were informed that: (a) they could stop participating in the study at any time; (b) the study data would only be used for research purposes; and (c) their answers would not influence their current position nor their future relationship with OHSUG or with Oracle Corporation (the researcher’s employer). Participants were able to go back in the survey to answer or delete an answer a question, this afforded them more control over the survey completion process and the final information they submitted, thus minimizing stress while they answered the questionnaire.

The researcher’s telephone number and email address was provided should the participant have questions or need a referral in case of distress. A second reference email as well as the researcher’s advisor’s email address was given.

In order to assure anonymity of subjects to the researcher, an intermediary (SurveyMonkey®) was used. When designing the online survey, the researcher elected not to have access to IP addresses or participants’ email addresses. There was no available link between the survey responses and specific respondents.
Data Collection Procedure

Data collection lasted 1 month and each survey took approximately 20 minutes depending on the amount of details the participants cared to share. SurveyMonkey® was used to build the online questionnaire that included both survey type questions as well as some open-ended questions simulating an interview process. SurveyMonkey® was used to send the invitation to the 320 potential participants, as well as a reminder notice after two weeks reminding individuals who may not have completed the questionnaire that the cut-off date was nearing.

The invitation included eligibility criteria, the consent form and a link to the questionnaire, which was titled “United States Workplace Environment.” The invitation (see Appendix B) intentionally did not mention the word bullying in order to avoid biasing the participants. It included a description of the project, and an assurance that confidentiality would be maintained without repercussions from either Oracle Corporation or the researcher regardless of whether or not the subject choose to participate. Participants were also be given the option of providing a different email address, because participants may have felt more comfortable answering the questionnaire from a non-work-related email address.

The data collected were both quantitative and qualitative. For example, the quantitative data included the categorization question, the demographic questions, and the NAQ-R portions of the study. The qualitative section included open-ended questions that asked the participant to describe their experiences of being bullied, witnessing bullying, and coping with bullying. Participants were asked to describe under what circumstances
they considered bullying behavior to be justified. Because the study used a concurrent triangulation strategy to collect the data, participants responded to both the quantitative and qualitative items on the online survey at the same time.

**External validity.** External validity is either the degree to which results can be generalized beyond the research sample or how the inferences can be transferable across populations as long as the ‘sending context’ and ‘receiving context’ appear to make thoughtful, logical sense and based on similarities of people and circumstances (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). This study involved a relatively narrow representation of the general population of women; however, on a broad level, these are highly educated, well-trained, professional women who work within competitive companies. However, by targeting a single industry, even though the target sample represents over 60 companies, it is possible that this sample of women is not necessarily representative of women who experience bullying.

**Instrumentation**

The data gathering instrument (Appendix A) for this study consisted of six parts. The first part began with filter questions to determine whether the participant qualified for the study along with an informed consent question.

The second section focused on the participant’s bullying experience. First, participants were provided with a specific definition of workplace bullying identical to the one used in the 2007 and 2010 WBI-Zogby surveys (Namie, 2007b; Namie, 2010). Workplace bullying is therein defined as the intentional repeated actions that occur frequently over an extended period of time (at least 6 months) directed by a person or a
group against an individual employee. These actions are in the form of verbal abuse, behavior that humiliates, threatens, and/or sabotages an individual’s work production or status. Additionally, the targeted individual perceives an imbalance of power (Einarsen et al., 1994; Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007). The three questions used to identify their bullying experience was asked if the participant had ever: (a) been bullied by another woman at work?; (b) witnessed bullying by women toward women at work?; or (c) displayed bullying behaviors toward other women?.

The basis for the third section of the study was the NAQ-R, which consists of 22 items (Appendix A) describing behaviors that may be considered forms of bullying if done repeatedly over a 6 month period. Though Einarsen’s instrument (NAQ) was first developed in 1991 to measure exposure to bullying and harassment based on the literature and a series of case studies (Einarsen & Raknes, 1997; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001), the published NAQ-R, which was the version used in this study, was validated in England (Einarsen et al., 2009) with over 5000 U.K. employees and adapted especially for Anglo-American cultures. The Cronbach’s α for the translated version was 0.90, indicating excellent internal consistency. The questions in the NAQ-R include both direct (e.g., verbal and physical abuse) or indirect (e.g., gossiping, social isolation) behaviors. The language of NAQ-R was revised to use phrasing more familiar to those who speak American English. The changes included substituting vacation for holiday and removing the letter u in rumour and behaviour.

Section 4 was concerned with perpetrator demographics. This section was completed only if the participant marked any of the Questionnaire-R actions as Yes with actions that occurred at least weekly. These results helped identify how perpetrator
demographics affect bullying behavior. The survey was constructed so that the participant may enter up to three descriptions of the perpetrators by answering page 6 “Would you like to enter Perpetrator Demographics for an additional woman? You may enter up to 3 women.” and the last question on the page 7 “Would you like to enter Perpetrator Demographics for an additional woman? You may add up to 1 more.”

Section 5 contained open-ended questions dealing with the participant’s experience of being bullied or having witnessed bullying in the workplace, how she handled those situations and whether she believed any of the 22 behaviors from NAQ-R are ever justified. This section encouraged participants to describe the bullying phenomenon in their own words. The qualitative data enabled the researcher to compare the answers between the quantitative and qualitative data, i.e. to use triangulation, in order to look for consistency between these questions, the category questions and NAQ-R sections. The questions were designed to provide deeper insight into the participant’s feelings along with a better understanding of the relationships and behaviors that contribute to a bullying environment. This section was also provided the qualitative data necessary for a concurrent mixed methods design.

The sixth and final section dealt with participant demographics. Five variables were analyzed for their effect on bullying – age, organizational rank, years of related experience, years with the company in which bullying took place, and level of education. The effects of participant demographics were compared to the corresponding effects of perpetrator demographics – age, organizational rank, years of related experience, years with the company in which bullying took place, and level of education.
**Appropriateness of instrument.** The NAQ-R is the tool used to measure bullying in the literature. This preeminent tool is the most highly regarded valid and reliable tool used to measure bullying as illustrated by the numerous citations since its development (e.g., Aquino & Lamertz, 2004; Balducci et al. 2009; DeCuper et al., 2009; Duffy et al., 2006; Einarsen et al., 2009; Hoel et al., 2001; Lutgen-Sandvik, Tracy & Alberts, 2007; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2004; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2002). Permission to use Einarsen’s instrument, as seen in Appendix D, was unnecessary because his website states that everything required to use the instrument can be found in his 2009 article and he does not have time to respond to requests. Einarsen does, however, request to see the resulting analysis.

Einarsen’s instrument was first developed in 1991 to measure exposure to bullying and harassment based on the literature and a series of case studies (Einarsen & Raknes, 1997; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001). The original scale, which was developed in the Nordic countries, described personal and work-related negative acts. The instrument’s psychometric properties, factor structure, and validity were tested by reanalyzing data from an existing U.K. employee survey (Einarsen et al., 2009).

Since then, researchers have measured the internal reliability of the instrument by calculating the Cronbach’s alpha. The Cronbach’s alpha consistently range from 0.85 to 0.92 (Hoel et al., 2001; Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2004; Salin, 2001; Sprigg et al., 2010).

The demographic parameters that were measured in this study are typical of other studies documented in the literature (Hoel et al., 2001; Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007; Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2004; Namie, 2007b; Namie, 2010; Porath & Erez, 2009; Salin,
The demographic of race was not included because past studies, including the work of WBI-Zogby Namie (2007b) and WBI-Zogby Namie (2010), indicated that the incidence of bullying is consistent across races, with the exception that Asians appear to be bullied less than other ethnic groups. This demographic variable was not of interest within this study.

The open-ended questions at the end of the questionnaire supplemented the quantitative data collected and comprised the qualitative component of the mixed methods design. They were designed to elicit descriptive data similar to that captured in an interview process. Triangulation of data from both methodologies allowed cross-checking of the data, which was one of the goals of this research. According to Bryman and Bell (2007), “the use of quantitative and qualitative research in conjunction may often allow access to different levels of reality” (p. 413).

**Confirmation of validity and reliability.** The internal reliability of the adjusted NAQ-R was evaluated by applying Cronbach’s alpha to the actual study, similar to Einarsen et al. (2009). According to Bryman and Bell (2007), measurement validity is a means to determine whether or not a specific measure actually reflects the concept it is supposed to measure, and is related to reliability. It is related because if a measure of a concept is unstable, it cannot be valid.

Prior to a pilot study to ensure the tool’s validity and reliability, the tool Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level was used to assess for reading level based on a maximum reading level of 16th grade (equivalent to an undergraduate college degree) to ensure that all members of the target sample would be able to understand the items. The Flesch-Kincaid
Grade Level was 14.7. The pilot study was then presented to 6 women who work in a professional environment with varying levels of college education.

In addition to confirming the reliability of the online questionnaire, the pilot study also helped identify any problems with electronic administration of the questionnaire, missing details, and vague wording. It also helped in estimating the amount of time required to complete the questionnaire and analyze the data for the production study, i.e., the actual study.

The pilot study participants were asked to provide feedback on how the questionnaire might be improved. Prior to the actual study, the suggestions were reviewed and incorporated into the final version of the questionnaire.

One other form of validity was evaluated during the pilot study. Ecological validity (a measure of whether or not the findings are applicable to people’s everyday experiences) were determined by discussing with the participants (via email) whether the tool provided a means for them to reflect the essence of their experiences and if the findings captured the essence of the bullying phenomenon.

**Data Analysis**

As this was a concurrent triangulation mixed methods design, analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data occurred simultaneously during and after data collection was finished. An iterative approach was taken throughout the analysis so that each section of the questionnaire would provide insight into the phenomenon of W2W bullying.
**Quantitative data analysis.** Data collected from the data gathering questionnaires were analyzed with SPSS Version 19.0. The analysis included psychometric assessments of the reliability by using Cronbach’s α, which measures internal consistency by comparing pair-wise correlations with each other (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Descriptive statistics included the number and percent of the three participant categories (none, Bullied, Witnessed, Perpetrator, and Bullied-Witnessed).

“Bullying” as per NAQ was defined as at least one negative action occurring either approximately weekly or approximately daily. There was disagreement in the literature on whether to define bullying as \textit{at least one} negative act occurring frequently which is defined as approximately weekly or approximately daily, (Einarsen et al., 2009; Leymann, 1990; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001; Notelaers, Einarsen, DeWitte, & Vermunt, 2006; Salin, 2001; Sprigg et al., 2010) or \textit{two} negative acts occurring frequently (Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007). The choice of “at least one negative act occurring frequently” was made because a greater number of studies use this definition. Furthermore, there is also disagreement among researchers about what timeframe to use – 6 or 12 months. For example, Salin (2001) used a 12-month period. The choice of a 6-month timeframe was made because most of the research literature is based on this timeframe (Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004; Ayoko et al., 2003; Beale & Hoel, 2010; Escartin et al., 2009; Harlos, 2010; Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2001).

Bullying scores were calculated using the same method as in Lutgen-Sandvik et al., (2007). The researcher assessed three measures: (a) \textit{intensity}, or the sum of the number of negative acts marked as “Yes,…”, regardless of the frequency; (b) \textit{frequency}
of negative acts occurring “Approximately weekly” or “Approximately daily” and; (c) 
*degree of bullying*, which was defined as the sum of the intensity and the frequency 
divided by six. Intensity, frequency, and degree were calculated as per Lutgen-Sandvik et 
al. (2007).

Chi square was used to determine whether the bullied percentages from self-labeling 
and NAQ were significantly different from each other. This relationship of which was the 
higher percentage was compared to with published percentages in the WBI-Zogby 2010 
Survey (Namie, 2010).

Multiple regression was used to determine which independent variables (age, 
organizational rank, years of industry experience, company experience, or education) are 
the best predictors of bullying. The types of analyses used in this study are similar to the 
methods employed by other researchers when using NAQ-R (Matthiesen & Einarsen, 
2004).

**Qualitative data analysis.** The fifth section of the questionnaire provided the 
participants an opportunity to tell their stories in their own words. A textual analysis 
process was used with these four essential components: (a) getting a sense of the whole; 
(b) coding (delineating the meaning units); (c) categorizing the coding (determining the 
themes); and (d) generating a composite description of meaning (Richards & Morse, 
2007; Saldana, 2009). The qualitative data were entered into NVivo, a software program 
designed for analyzing qualitative data. The researcher attempted to get a sense of the 
whole intuitively by reading the responses and identifying units of meaning, delineating 
themes, and converging themes across the group that best represented the essence of
workplace bullying. The open-ended question responses and the survey data were analyzed repeatedly in order to develop a thematic analysis of the concurrent triangulation mixed methods design.

**Stage I: Getting a sense of the whole.** This process involved reading and re-reading the responses to the open-ended questions from the last section of the questionnaire (Appendix A) in an attempt to grasp the essence of each participant's responses (Richards & Morse, 2007; Witte & Witte, 2007). From this process, the researcher created a number of nodes which are similar to an outline in NVivo to capture units of meaning from the respondents.

**Stage II: Delineating the meaning units.** A common name for delineating the meaning units is encoding or coding the data (Richards & Morse, 2007; Saldana, 2009). The overall goal was to determine the meaning of a bullying experience from the respondents’ own words.

**Stage III: Categorizing the codes.** Textural themes. The researcher identified themes that emerge from recurring words, ideas, and descriptions in each participant's responses. These themes were used to develop the descriptions of each participant's experience.

**Structural themes.** Structural themes were derived from participants' responses using time, causality, relationship-to-self, and relationship-to-others. The researcher examined the answers to the open-ended questions with these structures in mind. The structural description of an experience helped define the underlying factors of what was experienced, for example the respondents’ relationship with management and Human
Resources (HR). NVivo word frequencies and word trees were also used to visualize commonality between the respondents.

**Stage IV: Composite description of phenomenon.** This process involved deriving convergent themes across the group that best represented the essence of bullying. The results were shared with the participants who were asked to review the composite description of the phenomenon.

**Rationale for methods of analysis.** The approach of coding, identifying themes, and converging the themes across the group is an accepted standard used in qualitative research (Richards & Morse, 2007; Saldana, 2009). Furthermore, the NVivo tool enabled this type of analysis to be done across the respondents.

**Mixed methods analysis.** Use of a concurrent triangulation mixed methods strategy enabled the researcher to: (a) compare the most and least common behaviors of W2W bullying found in the quantitative (NAQ-R) and qualitative sections; (b) confirm whether women show more of a tendency to use indirect aggression toward each other as seen by the respondents’ responses using the NAQ-R (Baron-Cohen, 2005; Campbell, 1999; Crothers et al., 2009; Rospenda et al., 2009) as opposed to when answering open-ended questions; (c) identify any behaviors missing from either the NAQ-R or the open-ended questions; and (d) compare the answers from the category questions, the NAQ-R and the open-ended questions with regard to the participant being bullied, witnessing, or displaying bullying behaviors.
Limitations

The issue of bullying was expected to be a sensitive one from an emotional standpoint for some participants, especially when it came to admitting that one has displayed bullying behavior; this may have inhibited some participants from being entirely truthful. This may have been seen by the small number (8) of the 114 respondents. It is also possible that some women who choose to participate are those that want to expose W2W bullying, which would skew the results toward a higher incidence of bullying.

There were certain disadvantages in using a self-completion questionnaire as opposed to conducting a structured interview. Although self-completion questionnaires have the advantage of being independent of interviewer effects (e.g., reactions to gender, ethnicity, social background and interviewer variability), they do not allow the researcher to ask the respondent to clarify meaning or elaborate on an answer. According to Bryman and Bell (2007), respondents tend to answer all questions when interviewed, but may not answer all questions when filling out questionnaires. Self-completion questionnaires were limited in terms of how many questions a respondent would answer before getting bored and stopping. If the questionnaire is perceived as overly long by the respondents, they may view the task as too daunting and be reluctant to finish or even begin it. In this regard, participant feedback from the pilot study would have indicated that the questionnaire needed to be condensed; however, this response was not received.

Additional limitations result from using the NAQ-R. For example, the questions themselves limited what the participant could consider and each question has a predetermined range of responses; therefore, certain meaningful responses may have
been missed. Additionally, NAQ-R did not tell us which negative behavior(s) may have been experienced as more stressful or whether some participants were able to tolerate behaviors which were disturbing to others nor did it reveal the role of management in deterring these behaviors.

Other limitations from using the NAQ-R may have been an element of cultural bias. The NAQ-R was first employed in Europe and, although validated in England there is no guarantee that bullying is perceived in the same way in the U.S. Based on the researcher’s U.S. PBMD industry experience, at least three categories were missing from the NAQ-R e.g., the bully creating false documentation as proof against the target, supplying incorrect information to the target thus adversely affecting the target’s job, and requesting the target to lie to subordinates. Furthermore, the researcher changed some phrases and words to their American English equivalent (e.g., “holiday” to “vacation”) for purposes of clarification. Unfortunately, changing words and the means of delivery may have invalidated comparison of the results to other studies in unforeseen ways.

Finally, the women in this study came from a homogenous target population from one industry. This convenience sample was used to collect the research data; however, the data from this study may not apply to all working women in the U.S.

**Procedures to ensure study internal validity.** Internal validity specifically addresses the true causes of the outcomes observed in the study. Credibility was established by having the study protocol reviewed by the Pepperdine committee both prior to execution of this study, and after the results and discussion sections were written. Triangulation was another credibility technique which was used to measure the intra-
reliability of each participant’s responses, to provide confidence in the data and to ensure a deeper interpretation than would have been obtained by collecting only one type of data. For example, the individual’s responses to the following three questions were compared: (a) “Have you ever displayed bullying behaviors toward other women?,” (b) “Please provide specific details regarding how you were able to cope when you experienced (bullying/witnessed)…,” and the question (c) “Do you think that repeated bullying behaviors are ever justified? If Yes, please provide specific circumstances….”

Triangulation was also used to compare the answers to the questions (a) “Have you ever been bullied by another woman at work?” and (b) “Have you ever witnessed bullying by women toward woman at work?” with the NAQ-R answers and the answers from the open-ended questions about bullying and witnessing experiences.

The researcher consciously selected a well-known instrument to measure bullying. Using an established and well-respected data collection instrument increases confidence in the validity of the results.

Intra-rater and inter-rater practices was used to strengthen the internal validity of the study. For intra-rater practices, the researcher used a re-iterative approach to reviewing the data. By periodically reviewing earlier coded materials along with the quantitative analysis, the researcher better insured that the coding done early in the process is similar to that done later on. Also, reviewing both the quantitative analysis and earlier qualitative coding and categorization, thematic patterns should become clearer. For inter-rater practices, the researcher consulted with an experienced professional well versed in textual analysis. The professional was asked to point out any biases or problems with the coding approach that the researcher has employed. Furthermore, all the data will
be kept for 5 years after the final defense of the study, so that the data can undergo further scrutiny if necessary.

**Summary**

The study target population was determined by examining gaps in bullying research and the dissidence between the perceptions of women working cooperatively versus competitively. As summarized in Chapter 2, the predominant research on workplace bullying consists of quantitative and qualitative data collected in Europe focusing on general bullying behavior across both sexes. This research helped explore the experiences and observations of women who work in a competitive industry and have been bullied or witnessed bullying. The 3 research questions are (a) How do women cope based on their experience and observations of female targets, witnesses and bullies?; (b) How do demographics such as age, organizational rank, years of experience in the industry, tenure at the company where she may have experienced or witnessed bullying, and level of education influence her experiences?; and (c) Do women’s responses to the Negative Acts Questionnaire (NAQ) (quantitative analysis) agree with women’s responses to open-ended questions in a survey (qualitative analysis)?

A non-experimental, concurrent triangulation mixed methods design using an online survey and interview process was used to examine the relationships between workplace bullying behaviors among women in the U.S. in a competitive industry. Factors such as age, organizational rank, level of related PBMD total experience, length of time at the company where she may have experienced or witnessed bullying, and level of education were evaluated for their effect on bullying. The online questionnaire used an
established instrument for measuring bullying (NAQ-R), open-ended questions, and general demographics. The convenience sample came from an organization of professionals that use Oracle Health Sciences data management systems for clinical data management. These women were asked to participate to help ensure that there are sufficient responses for analysis.

The analysis consisted of three stages. The quantitative data were analyzed using SPSS 19 to calculate bullying indicators of intensity, frequency and degree of bullying, descriptive measures, regression analysis, and Chi square comparisons. Coding and theme-ing were used to analyze the qualitative data. Finally, through iteration of comparing the qualitative data with themselves and the quantitative data, the resulting findings were then shown to the willing participants for their input on how well the findings reflect their experiences and if the open-ended questions allowed them to reflect on their experiences.
Chapter 4: Results with Interpretation

This research explored the experiences and observations of women who work in the competitive PBMD industry and have been bullied by a woman or have witnessed bullying among women. The following 3 research questions were examined:

1. How do women cope with their experiences of being bullied, witnessing bullying, and perpetrating bullying behavior?

2. How do demographics such as age, organizational rank, years of industry experience, level of education and tenure at the company where she may have experienced or witnessed bullying influence her experiences of W2W bullying? and

3. Do women’s responses to the Negative Acts Questionnaire (NAQ) (quantitative analysis) agree with their respective responses to open-ended survey questions (qualitative analysis)?

These questions were investigated with a non-experimental, concurrent triangulation mixed methods design using an online survey and open-ended questions to examine the relationships between various workplace bullying behaviors.

A mixed-methods design was chosen for two reasons. The first is that each of the individual methods- quantitative and qualitative- has positive qualities that the other does not. For example, qualitative analysis allows for emergent themes and meanings. One such theme is the primary role of management. The primary role of management emerges clearly from mere word count as seen in Figure 3. Qualitative methodology also allows
for details about the experience of women bullying women in the workplace and coping strategies. The role of management again emerged as important from the detailed open-ended question responses, despite the fact a question addressing this was not included. On the other hand, quantitative analysis allows for statistical evaluation of the data. The second strength of a mixed-methods design is that one can examine whether themes which emerge from one method are reinforced by the other method.

Women from the PBMD industry were invited to answer an online questionnaire that contained both open-ended and closed-ended questions about their experiences with other women in the workplace. One hundred and thirty two women responded out of 320 invitations (41% response rate). Of those 132 responses, 114 women met all the inclusion criteria listed in chapter three, i.e., non-pregnant adult female living and working predominately in the United States in a PBMD-related company having at least 1 other female employee. Of those who self-identified as being bullied, 45% of the bullied respondents did not answer the open-ended questions. Not all of the 114 women completed all demographic information, the numbers are indicated in Table 3.

The profile of the respondents, who provided demographic information, is shown in Table 3. The percentages reflect the total eligible sample of 114 instead of the number that responded for each characteristic. The women’s ages in this study ranged from 20 to 60; however, most of the women were in their 40’s and 50’s (54%). The profile also revealed that the positions held by the respondents ranged from individual contributor (non-supervisor) to overseeing three levels of employees; the highest percentage (38%) of the respondents was individual contributors. Additionally, this group of women was
highly educated, with 69% having at least a Bachelor’s Degree of which 13% possessed a Ph.D. or professional degree (MD). The largest percentage of women in this study (24%) have a relatively short tenure at their present company (1 to 5 years), but 66% of the women tended to have extensive industry experience of 11 or more years.

Table 3

*Main Characteristics of the Respondents*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age (N=86)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>20s</td>
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<td>30s</td>
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<td>40s</td>
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<td>50s</td>
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<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60s</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not Indicated</td>
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<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Position in company hierarchy (N=87)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Individual Contributor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Supervisor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not Indicated</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>Highest level of education (N=86)</td>
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<td>&lt; Bachelor</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bachelor</td>
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<td>Master</td>
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<tr>
<td>&gt;Master</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>Not Indicated</td>
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*(continued)*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Years of industry experience</strong> (N=87)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1-5</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
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<td>11-15</td>
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<td>16-20</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;25</td>
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<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Indicated</td>
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<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Years at company (N=60)</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>11-15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;15</td>
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<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Indicated</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* Not all subjects reported demographic information. Relative frequencies were calculated based on the total sample.

The results that follow are organized by research question. The first section compiles the coping strategies which were garnered from the qualitative data. The next section explores whether the collected demographics are able to help predict what traits lead to bullying behaviors. After the multiple regression model is presented, results from a series of Chi Square tests investigating demographic differences are given. In the last section, the qualitative and quantitative analyses will be compared to see where they agreed, differed, and complemented each other.
Coping

Initially, the data were examined as to how women cope based on their reported experiences and observations. The respondents were asked, if applicable, how they coped with being bullied or witnessing bullying. From the open-ended questions, there were a total of 28 respondents who shared their coping responses from 58 number of subjects who self-labeled as being bullied; and a total of 13 respondents who shared coping responses from 62 number of subjects who identified themselves as having witnessed bullying. Table 4 shows the incidence of approaches from these individuals. Some individuals listed more than one coping situation.

Table 4

*Incidence of Coping Methods Used*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Methods</th>
<th>When Bullied Count</th>
<th>When Witnessing Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ignore (smile &amp; document, accept as part of work, avoid, stay silent)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go to Management or HR</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change position, quit, terminated</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work hard, focus, fill in gaps left by bully</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support from others</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confront</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* The total number of times a coping strategy was mentioned. Some respondents cited more than one coping method. Twenty-eight were self-labeled as bullied with information recorded. Thirteen were self-labeled as witnesses with information recorded.
Ignoring the situation was the most common method of dealing with bullying in this study. Ignoring had many faces. Sometimes it meant smiling and documenting bullying behavior, internalizing and keeping silent, avoiding, and accepting bullying as a normal in workplace relationships. All quoted materials are based on communication with participants in this study. One respondent who self-labeled as being bullied and admitted seeing bullying, reported that “I never felt like I had to cope. It was just an element of that working relationship that I had to accept and move forward knowing it was a factor.” In one instance, outside counseling suggested to a respondent to ignore the perpetrator. Respondents were also told by their immediate managers to be less sensitive and back down. These recommendations, according to the respondents, did not help because the bullying continued. Nevertheless, the theme of women ignoring the bully matches the theme that ignoring is a common method of bullying (Appendices E and F).

Reporting behaviors to human resources (HR) or management also proved not to be a helpful coping option, depending on the approach taken by HR or management. However, from the results, 76% of the time, HR was not consulted so emergent themes were based on limited data. See Figure 1. One common theme, which emerged from the data, was that HR is perceived as siding with management; for example, when HR sided with management without conducting or delaying an investigation (12%). “I went to HR and they sided with the manager. It wasn't until several complaints were lodged with HR that they finally reviewed the complaint and they then acted on it...six years too late for me…” Another instance in which HR proved ineffective occurred when a perpetrator, whose bullying behavior had been reported by other employees, was deemed too important to the department to be reprimanded or dismissed.
Figure 1. HR responses according to respondents.

One of the frequent recourses for coping with bullying, which emerged from the answers to the open-ended questions, was turning to management for help. Table 5 summarizes the findings. From all respondents, who mentioned management’s role, 22 out of a total of 48 respondents answered the open-ended questions and turned to management for help (46%). An additional 10% could not turn to management for help because management was the problem.

Table 5

Respondents’ Evaluation of Management’s Role

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Results Unknown</th>
<th>Negative Results</th>
<th>Positive Results</th>
<th>Mgt was the Problem</th>
<th>No Mention of Mgt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Values are the number or percent of respondents (total 48) to the detailed bullying question.
Figure 2 and Table 5 show that management’s responses fell into 5 categories: 1. management was informed but there was no evidence that management took action after being asked for help (23%), 2. management involvement made the situation worse (6%), 3. manager involvement improved the situation (17%), 4. management was the problem (10%), or 5. management participation was not mentioned at all (45%).

Figure 2. Five categories of management response.

Management’s importance in managing bullying is shown in Figure 3, which is an analysis of word frequency. Table 6 details the actual count of the most used words in the open-ended questions.
Figure 3. Frequency tag cloud showing the most frequent 100 words and their synonyms from the four open-ended questions.
Table 6

Words Used More Than 50 Times from Open-Ended Questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullying</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situation</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needed</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. This table is a subset of the tag cloud showing words occurring more than 50.

Sadly, based on 39% of the cases, management’s involvement led to negative results due either to inaction or to actions detrimental to the target or management was the problem. Results for unknown (23%) and no mention of management (45%) may indicate that 68% of the time management either did nothing when approached to help or did not respond to the bullying situations. Management inaction resulted in continuance
of bullying behavior. Management ineffective behaviors included advising victims to back down and not get “all bothered”, inability to devise effective responses to female bullying behaviors, and making excuses for perpetrators’ behavior such as "I'm sure they didn't do it on purpose." In addition, little or no feedback was ever provided by management to victims regarding disciplinary action taken with the bully. “He indicated that he was ‘monitoring’ what was going on and was ready to come to my aid if I had needed it…maybe too little, not soon enough? His goal was to calm down. I think.” Another respondent characterized “a variety of excuses” such as “‘I am sure they didn’t do it on purpose.’ ‘I’ll look into it’ – and no action is ever shared back as to what came of a situation.” Other women stated “I’m uncertain of the resolution,” “He didn’t know how to address the situation since he and I were new to the team and the bully was established in the department,” and “I personally provided feedback to the person’s manager. Unfortunately this person still behaves poorly even today and seems to get away with it.”

A successful management approach was for unhesitating direct reaction to the bully by making it clear that bullying behaviors are not condoned. Of the 58 self-labeled targets, 32 responded to the open-ended questions. Of those 32, 100% (6 successes/6 management direct approaches) success rate in mitigating or eliminated the bullying. Examples of some positive results of this direct approach are illustrated below.

- Luckily, I’ve got support from the management who witnessed BULLYING expressed in e-mail communications from team member…She tried very hard to establish proper communications with me, invited me for lunch and apologized. I feel that it was not because she started [to] like me but she was scared to lose her job. I gave her my hand, and the situation was resolved.
• Went to upper management to complain. Perpetrator was instructed to apologize to me.

• She sent another nasty e-mail and by accident, cc-ed number of people inclusive above managers. Management’s reaction came immediately expressing no tolerance to such attitude. She was told that this type of communications is not acceptable at workplace. Her manager conducted number of meetings with her, and she even was put on probation. These change her attitude completely: she apologized many times and was trying to make friendly connections all the time.

Eighteen respondents left her company (either terminated or initiated the action) or changed positions due to bullying. Of those respondents, 3 left even though management actions mitigated bullying, 2 left after management actions exacerbated bullying, and 13 left after no or unperceived management action. Other respondents, who stayed told of other women who had taken extended leave-of-absence and leaving the company; the other respondents (40) did not leave the company. Some of their statements suggested that it was easier to let the perpetrator have her way. Examples of these responses include:

• Basically the entire group of people I work with has decided that the path of least resistance is to let her do what she wants – to let her take the lead and produce the end information which is always late, subpar and not inclusive to the process we are aiming at but not worth the struggle to have in any way.

• After consulting with others I decided to let her have her way and let the organization correct the behaviour which hasn’t to my eyes happened yet.
When the target brings this to the attention of management she is told she is being too sensitive and therefore there is yet again no resolution except for the target to move on... The bully always wins.

Three of the respondents who left her company or changed positions were due to management being the problem. Examples of bullying behavior by management included: new management coming in and removing responsibility, micromanagement, management demanding that specific actions be taken then criticizing a subordinate for wasting time and company money, and management requiring that work be redone without explanation. In another case, in which the respondent admitted to being the perpetrator, management condoned the reported behavior by explaining “Because I am new and young and doing well, which causes older women to perceive me as a threat and take opportunities to ‘knock me down a few notches.’” In a third case, management would give poor performance reviews and then block the subject from leaving the department.

Woman was given very low score "Not Meet Expectations" during yearly performance evaluation without proper justification that adversely affect her compensation (she didn’t get yearly bonus and salary increase), and that most importantly, moral damage was irreversible. That woman was trying to fight unfair decision seeking help from HR, but unfortunately, HR took manager’s side. The woman who was BULLIED asked to transfer her to the different team, but the request was denied. Finally she left on long term disability and re-join the company few years later under another management. Note that that
woman had many years of experience and very good working record. She was a master level expert in her area.

Fortunately, 17% of the respondents said that management actions resulted in positive results. In the best cases, effective management reaction occurred immediately, with zero tolerance for bullying attitudes and behavior, with support, understanding and positive advice to the victim on how to deal with the situation. Other effective management actions included working with the perpetrator to correct their behavior. For example, the perpetrator was put on probation, asked to apologize, had direct reports reassigned, or moved to a new group. Some perpetrators were eventually terminated, while others apologized and made friendly overtures to their targets.

Another means of coping among respondents was based on their belief that their hard work would speak for itself and, as a result, the bullying behavior would stop.

- I chose to ignore it and hope that my work spoke for itself…I worked feverishly and successfully to find a new position.
- Worked hard, but then quit
- I continued to do my job as well as I could, worked long hours and overtime and constantly tried to prove myself worthy/capable…I became detail obsessed in an effort to ensure nothing went wrong ever and then reproached myself considerably when things did go wrong.

Unfortunately, this coping mechanism did not resolve the bullying problem according to the participant’s responses. Of those recipients who self-labeled as bullied, 6 respondents out of 28 who responded to the open questions (21%) used this method of coping. In fact,
of the participants who tried to have their work speak for itself, 1 respondent changed position within the company and 2 others quit. From the total group of responders (45), 4% (2/45) were terminated, 20% (9/45) quit, and 13% (6/45) changed positions.

Woman-to-woman support was one of the coping strategies 14% (4 out of 28 self-labeled as bullied responders). Woman-to-Woman support was observed in the qualitative data and was mentioned when the respondent was either the bullying target or was helping another woman cope with bullying. In both cases, there was a preference for woman-to-woman support. Support often was sought by sharing their feelings about the situation with coworkers, friends, and family and having others act as a barometer of what type of behavior was acceptable. In instances where bullying behavior occurred in front of an audience (e.g., in a meeting or in front of management), witnesses were able to observe objectionable behavior first-hand. In several of these out-in-the-open cases, witnesses would suggest to the victim that bullying behavior was not acceptable and should be reported to HR. In other cases, the observer would inform the management or HR about the situation. On the other hand, some respondents admitted feeling guilty that, in feeling good about not being the target of the bully, they did not come to the victim’s defense.

What was successful, according to the respondents who experienced positive results (i.e., an end to the bullying) was a third coping behavior: direct and immediate communication with the perpetrator. More frequent engagement was also found to help minimize gossip and allegations of the victim working at a level below expectations. In other words, making their hard work evident appeared to be more effective than hard work itself with respect to putting an end to bullying behavior. Ten respondents used
direct communication with the perpetrator. Of those 10 respondents, 80% (8 successes/10 direct coping methods) were successful. Interestingly, 5 of the respondents did not consider themselves bullied. Their responses are listed below.

- I was aware that women were talking about me and/or my work. I stuck it out and went the extra mile to prove I can be a better worker...I engaged with them more frequently so they got to know me. Eventually the talk went away and they began to trust (me).
- I confronted the person and she backed down.
- Find humorous ways to throw the situation back on the bully especially in public….if you find that small way to get humor on your side use it. Also ”kill them with kindness.”
- My response is to lower my voice and ask her to calm down. I ask for the facts and indicate that I will look into the issue and get back to her.
- I realized my behavior was in appropriate and worked hard to treat the other woman evenly and fairly.

One of the emergent themes from the open-ended-question responses was that even though direct communication was the least used method of coping, this method resulted in a greater incidence of success, i.e., women who resorted to immediate, direct and consistent action as their coping strategy were rewarded with a decrease in bullying behavior by their nemesis. Table 7 shows that direct communication success percentage (80%) is significantly higher than the other indirect methods ($p<.001$).
Table 7

*Direct Communication vs. Other Coping Methods (n=44)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Count of Successes</th>
<th>% Success</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct Communication With Perpetrator</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Indirect Coping Methods</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* 44 of the total of 114 respondents completed the open-ended questions. The 7 successes from the other indirect coping methods category were from management and HR positive involvement.

**p < .001

**Influences on Bullying**

The second research question delved into how demographics such as age, organizational rank, years of industry experience, tenure at the company where she may have experienced or witnessed bullying, and level of education influence exposure to bullying. This research examined demographic information of both respondents as well as perceived perpetrators in an attempt to identify factors characteristic of bullies. The answers to such questions are important because they may help management and HR identify bullies so that they might take a more proactive role in minimizing workplace bullying. Demographic questions included age, organizational rank, years of experience in the industry, tenure at the company where she may have experienced or witnessed bullying, and level of education. The NAQ, a commonly used tool to measure bullying, was used to measure the extent of bullying occurring between women at their workplace. Cronbach’s alpha, a measure of sample reliability, was .92 indicating strong reliability.
Degree of bullying, which is calculated from the NAQ responses, was used as the indicator of severity and dependent variable. Demographic variables were the predictor variables. Based on the NAQ results, degree of bullying was based on: (a) how many of the various bullying behaviors were observed, regardless of how often they occurred; and (b) intensity, as measured by how many of the 22 negative behaviors occurred on a daily or weekly basis. Multiple regression analyses revealed that demographic variables did not explain a significant amount of variability in the results ($F(5) = .47$, $p = .792$, $R^2 = .14$). One explanation for these results is that it is more difficult to show statistical significance with small sample sizes. In this case, the sample size was small due to only 51% of the total number of respondents were bullying targets and of those not all completed all the demographic questions.

Differences in job rank between perpetrators and targets were also analyzed to see if they were predictive of bullying. Figure 4 shows that targets tended to be bullied mainly by their coworkers (39%; 16/41) or their first-line supervisor (46%; 19/41), as opposed to their subordinates (0%) or higher levels of supervisors (12%; 5/41). Two percent (1/41) was unsure of the rank of the perpetrator. Therefore, not all differences are equal in predicting bullying. A woman may not need to worry about being bullied by subordinates or high level supervisors, but should be aware that bullying will more often occur at her own corporate level or from her direct supervisor.
Other patterns emerged during further demographic analysis. Figure 5 showed that the frequency of bullying among women at different levels of position within the company experience a similar level of negative behaviors and incidences. Only behaviors occurring monthly were significantly higher for the individual contributor ($p = .03$).
Figure 5. Percentages of incidence of bullying for management and individual contributor. (0s = No, 1s=Very Rarely, 2s=Now and Then, 3s=Several Times Per Month, 4s= Several Times per Week, and 5s=Almost Daily).

*p<.05

Table 8 data, however, suggest other differing patterns between the perpetrator and the target. Perpetrators were generally described as having less industry experience (37.5% ≤ 10 years vs. 25% ≥11 years) but more experience at the company (25% ≤ 10 years vs. 37.5% ≥11 years). Targets, on the other hand, tend to have more industry experience (5% ≤ 10 years vs. 63% ≥11 years) and less company experience (52% ≤10 years vs. 20%≥11 years).
Table 8

Characteristics of the Self-Labeled Targets and Perpetrators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Self-Labeled Targets (N=58)</th>
<th>Self-Labeled Perpetrators (N=8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20s</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30s</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>40s</td>
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<td>50s</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60s</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Indicated</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position in company hierarchy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Contributor</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisor</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Management</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Indicated</td>
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<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest level of education</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; Bachelor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Years of industry experience</td>
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(continued)
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<td>25</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
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Years at company

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<td>25</td>
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<td>25</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>37.5</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* Not all self-labeled targets and perpetrators reported demographic information. Relative frequencies were calculated based on the 58 targets and 8 perpetrators.

To further explore differences between the targets and their perpetrators, the number of years in the company was subtracted from the number of industry years for both the targets and their perpetrators. As seen in Figure 6 and 7, the targets showed values up to 6 years more than their company tenure compared to perpetrator years up to three years more than their company tenure and having more years at the company than related experience. In summary, perpetrators tend to have less experience in the discipline but more years within the company.
Figure 6. Values showing the perpetrators’ difference between years in industry minus years in the company.

Figure 7. Values showing the targets’ difference between years in industry minus years in the company.
**Self-label.** Respondents in this research were asked to self-label whether they had been bullied, witnessed bullying or had bullied others. Furthermore, the NAQ labels for bullied versus non-bullied individuals were also calculated based on the NAQ definition of being bullied, i.e., experiencing at least one NAQ behavior at least weekly. Table 8 summarizes whether the respondents were bullied, witnessed bullying or perpetrated negative actions toward other women. Table 9 shows that only 25% of the respondents were identified as having been bullied using the NAQ criteria compared to 51% of the women self-labeling themselves as having been bullied. The Chi Square test revealed that these frequencies were significantly different ($p < .001$). Based on these results, self-labeled categorization was used because basing the definition of bullying on the NAQ definition (see above) appeared not to reflect what women were feeling. Additionally, 105 women out of 112 women who answered this question either were bullied or witnessed bullying (94%), thus demonstrating that bullying in the PBMD industry is prevalent.

Table 9

**Self-Labeled and NAQ-Defined Bullying Behavior (N=114)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Self-labeled Count</th>
<th>Self-labeled %</th>
<th>NAQ-defined Count</th>
<th>NAQ-defined %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bullied</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witnessed</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perpetrated</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note:* **$p < .001$**
Using the self-labeled categorization, the NAQ results were used to see if bullied and non-bullied women experiences were different. Table 10 and Appendices A and B show that there was a significant difference in responses between women who were bullied and those who were not. Therefore, although there seem to be few characteristics that distinguish bullies and targets, there is a significant difference in the actions experienced in the work place between the two groups.

Table 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Self-labeled condition</th>
<th>Number of negative acts experienced on at least on a weekly basis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullied (n=58)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not bullied (n=56)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. (N=114)
* p = .005, **p < .001

Eight self-identified as bullies out of the 114 women participating. Although this number is small, the bullying literature most often presents information about targets and not bullies (Westhues, 2008); therefore, the data were examined further to see if their profiles agreed or disagreed with the generalizations that bullies have less experience in the industry than their targets but more years in the company than their targets. Additionally, their detailed responses were compared to the other non-self-identified bully responses to ascertain any striking differences. The 8 self-identified bullies’ age spanned from the 20’s through the 60’s. Thus, the observation that age did not seem to be related to the degree of bullying seems to be upheld. From an education standpoint, their
education ranged from some college experience to having a doctorate degree; therefore, the generalization of having less education could not be upheld. Three out of 5 self-labeled perpetrator responses indicated the perpetrator was well-established in the industry and at their company; 2 out of 5 only had 1-5 years in the industry and in the company. Therefore, the generalization that bullies tend to have fewer industry years of experience than their targets but more years in the company could not be upheld with these few individuals.

All 8 self-identified bullies believed that bullying was not justified. Their detailed responses agreed with their justification responses. The self-labeled perpetrators took responsibility for their actions and tried to correct actions. One mentioned that her negative actions were precipitated by being “overworked and frantic.” In contrast to this respondent, 1 respondent of the self-labeled bullies who was 20 and only had only 1 year each industry and company experience after her bachelor degree did not take responsibility for her behavior. She believed that the recipient of her behavior and the woman’s manager “Made a mountain out of a molehill when another (incompetent) employee complained [that] I was too hard on her.” When her behavior was reported to her manager, her “boss and I agreed this was because I am new and young and doing very well, which causes older women to perceive me as a threat and take opportunities to ‘knock me down a few notches’. These responses suggest some of the exacerbating circumstances which cause people to act in negative ways, including job pressure and pressure from others.
• I sat down, admitted to the person what I did when they called me on it and took responsibility. We are still friends and I think I have a better handle on controlling the work stress.

• I think the same perpetrator tried to force a colleague to quit and then made another colleague (though pressure to get ahead in her job) to terminate the employee.

• I was the bully and in this instance was sarcastic and made snide remarks to a woman reporting to me…A frustrated response …I realized my behavior was inappropriate and worked hard to treat the other woman evenly and fairly. The bullying behavior was a poor reflection on my leadership and did not help rectify the situation.

Another is that management, instead of curbing negative behaviors, condone behaviors, make excuses and assumptions and thereby avoid dealing with a bullying situation.

• I requested a meeting with the … HR department and reviewed the PhD's behavior. I was not the first person to do this. She is still employed at … I don't believe that any action was ever taken to address her "Normal" behavior. She is well published.

• This perp. has a bad reputation in regards to the way she treats others and she isn't well-liked but her manager seems to support her so it's a win-lose situation...win for her, lose for everyone else.

• when the target brings this to the attention of management she is told she is being too sensitive and therefore there is yet again no resolution
- I have heard a variety of excuses that are made by male senior managers: "I'm sure they didn't do it on purpose." "I'll look into it"
- let the organization correct the behaviour which hasn't to my eyes happened yet.

Quantitative Analysis Results Compared To Qualitative Analysis Results

Demographic influences identified by qualitative and quantitative data

analysis. Using a mixed-methods design allowed quantitative and qualitative information to be examined together to see whether emergent themes found by one method were reinforced by the other method. For example, although the demographic responses suggested that bullies tend to be more established than their targets, the qualitative data suggest that the bullies may either be more established at the company (i.e., more time at the company than the target) or less established. The qualitative data show that some women were bullied by women new to the company. Iterative examination of the quantitative and qualitative data shows that sometimes the perpetrator had fewer, the same, or more years at the company. In fact, it was found that, of those who reported being bullied, 8 (24%) were bullied by women with fewer years at the company, 5 (15%) had the same number of years at the company, while 20 (61%) reported that the perpetrator had more years at the company. Although the multiple regression model using the gathered demographic predictor variables did not help explain differences between bullied and non-bullied respondents, use of Chi Square did lead to two relational findings. The first is that those women with more years at the company are significantly more apt to bully those who are newer at the company (p < .001). Secondly, those who
have different numbers of years – either more or less years are significantly more apt to bully than those with the same working background. The difference between 85% 
((8+20)/33) vs. 15% (5/33) is significantly different (p < .001). Therefore, not only do women more established in the workplace tend to bully more often than newly-hired women do, but if there is a difference in workplace tenure between two women, bullying is more apt to occur.

Based on this finding, the quantitative data was also evaluated to see whether the difference in years of industry experience (between perpetrator and target) could predict bullying. The data revealed that just as many perpetrators had fewer years of industry experience compared to the target than had more years of industry experience (12 had fewer, 5 had the same number, and 13 had more years of industry experience). This corroborates the earlier finding that the difference between a perpetrator’s and a target’s demographic characteristics may be predictive of bullying. In this case 83% have background difference vs. 17% having the same background. This is a significantly different background experience (p < .001) Therefore, the key factor is not whether the perpetrator has greater tenure than the victim but rather the difference in tenure between the two.

Although quantitative analysis does not indicate that age is predictive in explaining the differences between perpetrators and targets, the qualitative data suggests otherwise. References in the open-response answers to older women knocking younger women down a few notches suggest that there may be assumptions in the workplace that older women bully younger women. However, from this study’s respondents, 17 number
of older women (47%) and 14 number of younger women (39%) bullied others, while only 5 women bullied others within their same age group (14%). Therefore, the evidence suggests that it is the difference in age (86%), rather than age itself, which is predictive of bullying ($p < .001$).

Both quantitative analysis and the qualitative analysis were in agreement that differing education levels between women in the workplace appear not to be predictive in describing the differences between perpetrators and targets and that this difference would tend not to lead to bullying. Of those women who were bullied, 17% had less education than the perpetrator, 43% had the same level of education, and 30% held higher degrees. Comparing those within the same education level with those who had either more or less education, showed that the differences were not significantly different ($p = .78$); therefore, level of education does not appear to be a predictor of bullying.

**Negative behaviors identified from qualitative and quantitative data.** In addition to the themes of (a) managing the bullying situation is important; (b) doing nothing was most common theme (68%) for the respondent’s management when either informed or not; (c) ignoring the bully is the most common coping behavior for the target; (d) coping behaviors such as ignoring/avoiding and support from others/gossip were also commonly used bullying behaviors; and (e) though direct communication with the perpetrator was the method least used, it was significantly more successful than the other coping method, more themes emerged while coding the responses to the open-ended questions. These additional themes included (f) women perpetrators tend to gossip and enlist the support of others instead of bullying others in front of an audience. Eight
respondents (25%) suffered bullying from others gossiping or enlisting a support against them \((n = 32)\). On the other hand, 4 of the bullied respondents (12.5%) were humiliated in front of others; and (g) women tend to use indirect and work-related behaviors most often to bully other women.

NAQ responses were used to more closely identify which negative behaviors were most commonly experienced by respondents. NAQ behaviors were divided into direct versus indirect behaviors and work-related versus non-work-related behaviors to discover what themes might emerge. Indirect actions include actions that could be explained by another motive, such as “Oops, just forgot to include you on the invitation.” or done without the target knowing. Appendix E separated the indirect bullying behaviors from the direct behaviors. Appendix F separated the work-related bullying behaviors. Work-related behaviors include those behaviors that explicitly referred to work, for example, taking away work benefits. Furthermore, the behaviors in each subsection were sorted from the most prevalent behaviors to the least. It is clear from the sorting that indirect work-related negative behaviors are the most common and that bullied women experience their workplace significantly different from non-bullied women.

Ordering the 22 behaviors based on frequency, the behaviors displayed consistently in the workplace include: having information withheld, being ignored or having one’s opinion ignored, and being assigned an excessive workload or untenable deadline. The actions that seldom occurred included teasing, joking and violence, suggesting that women do not use direct behavior when they bully. As a whole, the work
experience described in this study is one of frustration - having a high workload but with information withheld and one’s opinions being ignored.

Qualitative results as shown in Figure 8 also reveal that negative behaviors portrayed by women in this study were predominantly indirect and work-related. Forty-eight respondents completed one or both of the bullying and witnessing questions and some respondents listed more than one negative behavior The NAQ results of the most prevalent behaviors were similar to responses given in the questionnaire. The most prevalent behaviors mentioned in response to the open-ended questions were: unfounded allegations; swearing/abrasive/aggressive comments, public humiliation, withholding information, gossip, ridiculing/insulting/demeaning comments (in private), and being ignored/excluded. The NAQ behaviors with the highest prevalence are listed in descending order in Appendices A and B. These behaviors include: withholding information, ignoring opinions, and ignoring the target through exclusion.

Some negative behaviors reported in the open-ended questionnaire are not listed in the NAQ. These include: giving false information, pressure to do questionable activities, and alienating employees from each other. Both types of analyses agreed that violent behavior towards the target and making jokes about the target were rare.
Figure 8. Percentages of bullying behaviors from the open-ended questions.

Although there were many similarities in terms of the behaviors that were viewed as negative acts in the NAQ and the responses to the open-ended questions, the focus of the responses to the open-ended question differed. For example, the open-ended questions focused on not only who and what happened but what it meant to her and how it affected her. Women appeared to define bullying experiences as those behaviors that happened with regularity and were intentional; the offending behaviors mentioned were focused on them and they were consistent. The bullying behaviors also seemed designed to damage the target’s reputation and/or her self-perception. Some of the public behaviors included mocking the target’s ability to do a task that the target actually taught the perpetrator. This mocking behavior tended to occur ‘whenever my boss and I were around’ or ‘during the meeting’ or ‘each time she came to our department.’ Other bullying behaviors, such as repeatedly mentioning mistakes, can damage a target’s self-esteem or cause her to question her sanity if the target was asked to ‘redo the work...’
without an explanation’ or telling the target she was wasting company resources when she was only doing what her supervisor (the perpetrator) told her to do. This dissonance between action and logic was not captured in the NAQ, because the NAQ lacks the context to explain why certain actions are interpreted as bullying. This may be one possible explanation why the calculated percentage of bullied women based on the NAQ questions (25%) was significantly lower ($p < .001$) than the percent of self-labeled-as-bullied women (51%).

The qualitative data yielded information that was not possible to glean from the NAQ results – for example, the length to which a woman will go to escape bullying. Note that the NAQ does not capture how many targets left their company, how many sought new positions as a result of bullying, and what role, if any, management or HR played. Of the 48 women who completed the open-ended questions, 11 (23%) left the company due to bullying and 7 (15%) changed positions within the company.

**Summary**

An initial finding is that demographics alone do not distinguish bullied from non-bullied people. Some perpetrators are young, some are old; some are new at their job, and some are established. However, bullies do tend to be established in the workplace and older. The second finding is that bullying is more likely to occur when two individuals differ in terms of characteristics such as age, tenure at a company, or years of industry experience. Since there is no easily discernible physical or social indicator of who will become a bully, this finding may alert management to potentially volatile situations and enable them to respond more quickly to negative actions.
Another finding is that women who self-identify as bullied experience more negative actions than those who self-identify as non-bullied. Women use a wide variety of coping strategies to deal with bullying and, if bullying is allowed to persist, will leave the company, change jobs within the company, or go on disability leave. One of the more successful coping strategies found in this study was to respond directly, but respectfully, to the bully. In addition, although hard work tends not to speak for itself, gossip and false allegations can be counteracted by communicating one’s efforts to both managers and perpetrators as indicated by the responses to the open-ended questions.

Seven themes emerged from the qualitative data. These themes were: (a) managing the bullying situation is important; (b) doing nothing was most common theme for the respondent’s management when either informed or not; (c) ignoring the bully is the most common coping behavior for the target; (d) coping behaviors such as ignoring/avoiding and support from others/gossip were also commonly used bullying behaviors; (e) though direct communication with the perpetrator was the method least used, it was significantly more successful than the other coping method; (f) women perpetrators tend to gossip and enlist the support of others instead of bullying others in front of an audience; and (g) women tend to use indirect and work-related behaviors most often to bully other women.
Chapter 5: Summary and Conclusions

The research objectives of this study were to determine: (a) how women in the PBMD industry cope when being bullied or witnessing or perpetrating bullying; (b) whether bullying relates to demographic factors such as age, education, organizational rank, and/or tenure in the industry/company; and (c) what insights can be gleaned from quantitative and qualitative responses.

For the purpose of this study, *bullying* was defined as intentional repeated actions, where there is a perceived imbalance of power, that occur frequently over an extended period of at least 6 months by a person or group directed against an employee in the form of verbal abuse, or behavior that humiliates, threatens, and/or sabotages an individual’s work production or status (Einarsen et al., 1994; Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007; Namie & Namie, 2009a). Isolated acts of incivility were not considered to be bullying, nor were unusual and extraordinary bursts of emotion, socially inept comments or camaraderie-type teasing (Namie & Namie, 2009a).

The findings of this research are compared to the results of previous research conducted in the field of bullying. The second section explores environmental factors contributing to bullying, management influences, and the role of Human Resources (HR) departments in dealing with bullying in the workplace. The final section discusses limitations of this research, future research opportunities, and conclusions.
Findings and Their Comparisons To Other U.S. Studies

In this study, four results point to the fact that bullying is a problem among women in the PBMD industry and that managers need to improve how their organizations manage bullying. First, 61% (70/114) of the respondents in this study had either experienced or witnessed bullying in the workplace. In contrast, Namie’s 2010 study found that only 50% of men and women had experienced or witnessed bullying. The second noteworthy statistic is that 51% (58/114) of the respondents labeled themselves as bullied compared to much lower percentages in previous US studies investigating male and female bullying- 24% in Namie’s 2007 study (Namie, 2007b) and 26% in Namie’s 2010 study (Namie, 2010). Additionally, in Namie’s studies, the number of respondents who self-labeled as bullied was less than the number determined by the NAQ definition of bullying, i.e., having experienced at least one negative act at least weekly. In this study, the percentage of respondents who self-labeled as bullied was significantly higher than that measured by the NAQ ($p < .001$). Third, 38% of women were bullied by their female peers in this study compared to 18% of male and female peers bullying one another as reported by Namie (2007b).

Finally, according to Namie and Namie (2009a) most targets lose their jobs (24%), quit voluntarily (40%), or are transferred out of the department (13%) and that women are more likely to leave a bullying environment than men (45% vs. 32%). Based on qualitative responses in this study, 4% were terminated (2/45), 20% left the company voluntarily (9/45), and 13% changed positions within the company (6/45). Forty-five respondents answered the question on coping with bullying. Since no specific questions were asked about leaving their position, this metric is most likely low. However, this last
finding is worrisome, since it stresses the criticality of management’s role in curtailing bullying so that there is not a loss of talent due to bullying.

In summary, these descriptive statistics suggest that bullying among women is a problem in the PBMD industry, women in this industry are not reticent to admit having been bullied or having witnessed bullying, and they tend to bully their female coworkers more than co-ed groups report. Based on these findings, management training may be necessary in recognizing bullying among women and it may be the first step in learning how to mitigate bullying.

**Women’s Bullying Behaviors**

This study helps define characteristics of women’s bullying behaviors. From this study, women tend to use indirect work-related aggression. The top two strategies used are by withholding information which prevents the target from completing her task satisfactorily and by excluding or ignoring the target. One possible explanation for indirect aggression is that it does not violate the traditional female gender role. Society reinforces behavioral characteristics consistent with maintaining harmonious relationships (Gilligan, 1993, 1995). Despite socio-cultural progress with respect to equality of the sexes, some behaviors are still considered inappropriate for women. Since displays of anger may have a potentially negative impact upon others, women tend to suppress such behavior (Hatch & Forgays, 2001). According to Chesler (2009), women fear being rejected by others, which results in them not being authentic in their relationships. A possibility of why work-related aggression is displayed more often is that Baillien, Neyens, De Witte, and De Cuyper (2009) found that a work climate
characterized by rumor, gossip, and rivalry elicits bullying. In this study, the bullying behaviors most commonly displayed were withholding information from the victim, ignoring the victim’s opinion and asking the victim to work below her ability level under close scrutiny, followed up by gossip, unfounded allegations, and public humiliation.

**Women’s Coping Behaviors**

Women in this study adopted many different strategies to cope with bullying by other women, including the following: (a) turning to management and/or HR when either experiencing or witnessing bullying, (b) ignoring the situation, (c) accepting the situation as part of working relationships, (d) working hard in hopes that their work would speak for itself, (e) seeking support from other women, and (f) respond directly to the bully. The most successful strategies were based on direct, respectful and frequent communication and frequent communication. This approach is similar to the “constructive first steps” (p. 168) approach cited by Dweck (2008). However, Davis and Davis (2007) suggest that this strategy be used only if the target feels safe from retaliation. Davis further suggests that I-messages, those statements that start with “I” for example, “I feel hurt when you talk to me this way,” only work if the perpetrator cares about the target’s feelings. In fact, he calls I-messages “Victim Talk” (p. 59) in that it gives the bully more control over target, the bully can easily say “Who cares,” and target is sending the message that other people are responsible for how she feels.

Some of the coping skills, however, such as seeking support from other women, could be interpreted as retaliatory behavior characterized by gossiping and mobbing against the initial perpetrator (Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2007). In this study ignoring was
seen as a common coping strategy and bullying method. Therefore, coping behavior may perpetuate bullying behaviors. Ignoring, gossiping, and avoiding were dual coping and bullying behaviors identified in this study.

These findings point out the importance of management and HR within a company. After being able to recognize bullying behaviors and behavior patterns of those being targeted, understanding which approaches may mitigate bullying and which ones which may aggravate the situation would be the next step. The next section explores how this study’s findings may help workplace environments be more supportive of targets, for example setting up policies to support targets of bullying and teaching management and targets methods to deal with bullying situations.

**Environmental Factors Contributing to Bullying**

While some women in this study turned to management for support, certain organizational structures or processes actually enable bullying behaviors. In this study, it was shown that when management ignores or makes excuses for bullying behavior, bullying tends to continue. It is important to note that, while both this study and the study by Lind et al. (2009) suggest that personality traits only minimally predict whom a bully will target, the literature is rich in descriptions of what environmental factors encourage or enable bullying. These factors include: (a) a culture of competition between employees (Salin, 2003, 2006); (b) reward systems (Badzmierowski & Dufresne, 2005; Salin, 2003) that reinforce a win-no-matter-what mentality intrinsic to highly competitive cultures (Salin, 2003, 2006); and (c) a failure to hold bullies accountable for their behavior and sometimes rewarding such behavior (Salin, 2003, 2006; Vartia, 1996; Wheeler et al.,
Other researchers such as Varitia (1996) identified weak supervision and poor information flow as factors contributing to workplace bullying. An example, of this poor information flow between management and employees is when managers require specific tasks then question those completed tasks or ask for the tasks to be redone with no explanation.

The role of management. The qualitative information from this study revealed that management played a central role in contributing to bullying. According to Leymann (1990), bullying exists in organizations characterized by deficiencies in work design and leadership within the workplace. In this study, managers and supervisors are those in the organizational hierarchy who lead and direct those people who report to them as well as manage situations. Poor managers come in two forms – an active, abusive type (Di Martino et al., 2003; Tepper, 2000; Tepper et al., 2001; Tepper et al., 2006; Tepper et al., 2008; Zellars, Tepper, & Duffy, 2002) and a conflict-avoidant, passive type who abdicates her responsibilities (Di Martino et al., 2003; Kelloway, Barling, & Hurrell, 2006). Both forms of poor management were identified in this study. Bordone and Sander (2005) and Zapf and Einarsen (2001) posited that if conflict is not managed it can lead to bullying and if bullying is left unmanaged, it tends to escalate. These finding are in line with stories from the qualitative part of this study.

Leader member exchange (LMX). Poor leadership is also a strong predictor of aggression according to Crothers et al. (2009). Additionally, Crothers found significant associations between relational aggression and work-related indices such as poor leader-member exchange (LMX), which refers to the quality of the relationship between the
employee and her manager, resulting in decreased job satisfaction (Crothers et al., 2009; Lutgen- Sandvik et al., 2007; Williams & Govan, 2005), increased job stress (Crothers et al., 2009; Lutgen- Sandvik et al., 2007; Williams & Govan, 2005), less adaptive responses to problems, and decreased ability to regulate emotion which may lead to antisocial responses (Crothers et al., 2009; Williams & Govan, 2005).

Research has also shown that high-quality leader-member exchange (LMX) and honoring psychological contracts (PC) have a significant positive impact on work attitude and behavior along with decreasing an employee’s desire to quit. Dulac et al. (2008) defined LMX as the perceived quality of the social exchange relationship between a leader and his/ her subordinates. Dulac et al. (2008) also stressed the importance of employees perceiving implicit commitments made by the organization to them. Dulac et al. (2008) provided empirical evidence that strongly supports the idea that individuals reciprocate high-quality LMX relationships. High LMX moderates the negative responses that include lack of trust, intent to quit, low job satisfaction and low commitment to the organization. Low LMX significantly correlates with low affective commitment, low trust and an increase in the intent to quit. In fact, the study by Wager et al. (2003) of female healthcare assistants in the U.K. showed that their perception that their supervisor was acting fairly was the strongest predictor of healthy changes in their blood pressure.

In this study, it was found that if management confronted the perpetrator early on, improved behavior was often the result. Dulac et al. (2008) agree on the importance of dealing with conflict situations early on, maintaining relationships between the parties in dispute and discussing differences before positions become set in stone. Bell and Song’s (2005) conflict study demonstrated that it is critical for management to focus on
safeguarding relational positivity, i.e., not assigning blame but rather encouraging both parties to accept responsibility for their actions. This was shown to reduce hostility, protect relational positivity and increase the likelihood of cooperative resolution. Bell and Song (2005) found that management should not attempt to extract emotions such as shame, guilt or humiliation from the perpetrator. Research by others along with this study has shown that people respond in a conciliatory manner if they are treated with respect and are allowed to save face (Corina, 2008; Kivimaki et al., 2005; Nugent & Broedling, 2002; Tepper et al., 2006; Thurston Jr & McNall, 2010; Wilson, 2010; Zellars et al., 2002). Instilling concern for opponents rather than encouraging self-blame leads to less anti-social behavior (Saunders, Huynh, & Goodman-Delahunty, 2007). In fact, Buon and Buon (2007, p. 8) suggest that the first step toward open communication is to change the term *bullying* (because of the emotional negativity surrounding the term) to something less charged, such as *generic harassment*. This thinking seemed to be internalized by one of the respondents from this study who self-labeled herself as a perpetrator. She characterized her bullying behavior as a reflection of her “poor leadership.” Perhaps by characterizing these negative behaviors as bullying behavior as being reflective of poor leadership, the perpetrator might be more receptive to behaving differently and feeling less blamed.

**The role of the human resources department (HR).** Respondents from this study sometimes turned to HR as well as management for support. In the study done by D’Cruz and Noronha (2010), some female employees assumed that the HR department is part of an organizational support system for company’s employees. However, targets of
bullying were met with disbelief and avoidance by HR personnel when they shared their perceptions of bullying within the organization. Lewis and Orford (2005) called the lack of action by HR a form of denial, which does not bring a sense of justice (MacIntosh et al., 2010).

If an organization makes a commitment to creating a workplace which respects everyone, cares for its employees, and does not tolerate bullying, HR would be in an ideal position to facilitate processes to ensure the protection of employees from bullying. Some of the roles HR can play include drafting, implementing, and monitoring an anti-bullying policy; creating an easy-to-navigate grievance process; and intervening when bullying does occur. Once such policies and processes are in place, revising hiring and firing procedures as well as clarifying job descriptions can help minimize the level of bullying. An educational program can also serve to enhance understanding of what constitutes a healthy work environment as well as teach the skills necessary to effectively communicate and negotiate concerns and needs. Finally, with a focus on positive organizational support and healthy leader-member exchange relationships, HR can take a proactive role in controlling bullying.

**Anti-bullying policy.** A number of authors posit that every organization as a matter of policy should explicitly state that bullying will not be tolerated (Badzmierowski & Dufresne, 2005; D'Cruz & Noronha, 2010; Girardi et al., 2007; MacIntosh et al., 2010; Nelson et al., 2010; O'Donnell et al., 2010; Sander & Bordone, 2005). Such a policy requires follow-up processes and the support of senior management. One such process might be to train peer listeners (MacIntosh, 2005) to act as informal, compassionate experts. Such peer listeners would listen to and advise targets on what medical and/or
psychological resources are available. This would allow for informal intervention before bullying escalates to the point of requiring more formal intervention. Bullying tends to escalate in the absence of intervention, a consequence of a belief that one-on-one conflict is a private matter, or out of a desire on the company’s part to avoid conflict (Vartia, 1996). As unrest continues to escalate, tempers begin to flair, which impairs overall functioning. If managers are to serve as concerned company representatives, they need to get involved, acknowledge conflicts and grasp the consequences of not intervening. (Crothers et al., 2009; Salin, 2008; Vega & Comer, 2005).

**Grievance processes.** Companies need to have a clear, easy-to-maneuver grievance process which stresses due process and protects the rights of both the bully and target. For example, a neutral party should be provided to listen to both participants. Both parties should be allowed to appeal the resulting decision if due process is not followed. Also, the intent of the grievance process should be to maintain a positive working relationship between the bully and the target after a decision has been made (Rayner & McIvor, 2008; Sutton, 2007). In this study, a successful outcome included both parties ending up on friendly terms.

**Hiring and firing practices.** Sander and Bordone (2005) posit that the hiring process can help control bullying by focusing on soft skills (e.g., how prospective employees relate to people) as well as on hard skills (i.e., skills needed to perform specific job tasks). The consequences of hiring a task-skilled individual who turns out to be a bully include lower productivity, lower creativity, and stress-induced difficulties in decision-making for the target. The company may also lose productive employees and
suffer damage to its reputation, thus adding to the difficulty and expense of hiring replacements (Tarantino, 2006).

An organization must also be willing to terminate recalcitrant bullies who do not respond to cease-and-desist requests, education, or counseling. Policies are only as strong as the willingness to enact consequences after a good faith effort to resolve the problem has failed (Salin, 2008).

**Clear job descriptions.** Conflict and ambiguity of work roles are associated with higher levels of bullying (Baumeister et al., 1996; Einarsen et al., 1994; Fast & Chen, 2009). Organizations should make every effort to ensure that employees know their responsibilities and those of their colleagues.

**Education.** Education about bullying is important for employees, workplace support personnel and the general public (Badzmierowski & Dufresne, 2005; Namie & Namie, 2009b). Education helps targets understand what they are dealing with. Empirical data shows that naming the experience as bullying is an important first step for the target (Crothers et al., 2009; Lewis & Orford, 2005; O’Donnell et al., 2010; Sperry & Duffy, 2009). In theory, education helps decrease women’s feelings of uncertainty and confusion (Lewis, 2006; O’Donnell et al., 2010; Sander & Bordone, 2005). Such uncertainty can contribute to the target’s delay in asking for help. Targets endure bullying for 22 months on average before reporting their experience; given such a delay, bullying tends to be underreported (Namie, 2007a). Educating the public in general (and HR personnel in particular) should be part of a sound intervention plan, including classes on: (a) what to do if bullying is witnessed; (b) open, respectful communication through *constructive confrontation* (Sutton, 2007); and (c) negotiation. Education is especially important when
dealing with W2W bullying, since this study has shown that the coping and bullying behaviors are often the same (e.g., ignoring and seeking support from others/gossiping), and bullying behaviors tend to be indirect and work-related. Early detection would enable third parties to intervene and help mitigate bullying (Colbert et al., 2004; Dulac et al., 2008).

Workplace bullying education is especially important for women because when women bully, they utilize indirect methods which are subtle and insidious in nature (Lewis, 2006). Research has shown that adult women are better than their male counterparts in decoding subtle nuances in voice tone and facial expression, which may lead women to be more sensitive to non-verbal bullying behavior (Salin, 2008). Escartin et al. (2009) showed that, in Spain, bullying victims experienced emotional abuse as being more traumatic than physical abuse.

Others have found certain approaches on the part of support personnel to be particularly helpful to bullying victims. For example, effective therapeutic relationships between the target’s support group and health professionals occur when they understand on a systems level what the target is experiencing (Crothers et al., 2009; Namie & Namie, 2009a; Namie & Namie, 2009b; Namie, 2008). Additionally, Greason and Cashwell (2009) empirically showed that mindfulness (i.e., paying attention by being present in the moment and being non-judgmental), was a predictor of efficacy and a mediator of a healthy relationship.

Even after staff members have been educated about the consequences of disrespectful behavior, regular screening of the work environment would help in the early detection of bullying, thus preventing its escalation, especially when indirect bullying is
difficult to confirm. To make sure that HR policies and procedures are effective, Salin (2008) suggests monitoring and reporting statistics on the incidence of bullying.

**Perceived organizational support (POS).** Fortunately, recent empirical research has been able to identify what organizations and individuals can do to deal with the adverse effects of bullying. For organizations, perceived organizational support (POS) has been found to be important. Dulac et al. (2008) defined POS as the perception that the organization values employee’s contributions and cares about their well-being. Characteristics of POS include acknowledging the existence of workplace bullying, rather than condoning bullying in order to protect institutional interests (Baron-Cohen, 2005). Empirical evidence (Crothers et al., 2009; O'Donnell et al., 2010) strongly supports the premise that individuals reciprocate positively when on the receiving end of high-quality POS.

Organizations have numerous means available to show positive target support. Lewis (2006) and Lewis and Orford (2005) conclude from their qualitative study based on in-depth interviews and grounded-theory methods that the support needed includes access to social resources and processes for supporting targets, such as being able to talk with trained peers and knowing what additional steps to take if the problem is not solved.

**Limitations**

The study’s design had some constraints that may limit the interpretation and generalization of the results. First, researchers should avoid interpreting these results in a causal way. These results were based on self-selection which may prompt concerns about a biased sample. For example, a positive self-selection bias may occur among targets who
have experienced more severe bullying or who were at the time dealing with unresolved issues.

Second, the desire for social acceptance may reduce the likelihood of obtaining accurate responses relating to workplace bullying reports, particularly from perpetrators. This could result in an underestimation of self-labeled perpetrators. Thus, targets’ and perpetrators’ willingness to participate in the study may have skewed the results. For example, this study’s data was heavily weighted toward the characteristics of targets, while characteristics associated with being a perpetrator (from the perpetrator’s point of view) may have been under-represented. In fact, there were so few self-reported perpetrators that it is difficult to know if the 8 perpetrators’ responses are representative of perpetrators in general.

Third, the tools and design of the study could have been improved. For example, the study’s survey was based on the NAQ survey which was developed in Northern Europe, while the study itself was conducted in the U.S.; thus, the survey questions may not reflect the full range of bullying behavior types found in the U.S. Also, the open-ended questions could have been expanded to explore management’s role in more detail. Finally, the study design could have been improved through the use of follow-up questions. For example, following up on why or why not direct communication with the perpetrator was the method used.

Fourth, the sample size was too small to enable a conclusion utilizing multivariate analysis. However, other statistical results suggest possible avenues for future research.
Future Research

Two possible ways of expanding this research would be to repeat the study in a different industry or at a PBMD company where the HR department is interested in determining whether women to women bullying is an issue. Based on this study, any future research should include more open-ended questions about the roles of management and HR as relates to bullying and what reasons targets use to decide whether or not to communicate directly with the perpetrator.

It would be interesting to conduct an individual case study on a self-described perpetrator. Part of the confusion seen among targets is based on an underlying question of ‘Why? – Why act this way? Why were some people targeted and not others?’ These questions, according to Davis and Davis (2007), suggest an assumption that targets are partially to blame—better questions to ask would be “What goals or problems were the bullies trying to solve? What other alternatives could have been used?” (p.155)

Another potential avenue for future research would be to investigate processes that may lead to becoming a target or a perpetrator at the same time. Due to reciprocity, perpetrators may see themselves as targets, and targets perceived as perpetrators (Aquino & Lamertz, 2004). Another process may be that one who has been bullied may seek out another colleague to be the “new” scapegoat (Brodsky, 1976). With better understanding of these processes, women may gain greater insight in workplace dynamics and see which actions may have led to reciprocity or scapegoating.

Another possible topic for future research would be the exploration of defensiveness in relationship to rumors or false allegations. Social customs discourage us from defending ourselves for fear of being labeled as defensive. Therefore, the pain of
being bullied may be exacerbated by the lack of constructive ways to defend oneself. If one does not respond to rumors or allegations, then they may continue unchecked and become more destructive.

Another area for future research would be to combine bullying research with mindset research in order to determine whether the mindset of respondents who have not been bullied or have not witnessed bullying is different from those who experience, witness, or perpetrate bullying actions. According to Dweck (2008), there are two mindsets that determine how we act and react to our environment. A fixed mindset is believing that human traits are set in stone; for example, one is either smart or not and one has to make sure one’s position is clear to others. On the other hand, a growth mindset is based on the belief that one’s qualities can be enhanced through learning and practice. The results of such a study may lead to new approaches in dealing with bullying in the workplace.

Conclusion

This research confirmed that bullying between highly educated professional women as seen in the PBMD industry is a problem; 61% of the women in this study either were bullied or witnessed bullying. Furthermore, in 39% of the cases, management made the situation worse, was the root of the problem, or did not respond to bullying behavior. This research identified this prevalent aspect of dysfunctional organizations and suggested approaches to encourage collaboration, to increase productivity, and to create a harmonious workplace environment by dealing with bullying behaviors.
Furthermore, this research demonstrated that the workplace experience is significantly different if a woman is bullied versus woman who is not bullied. The targets experience more targeted negative behaviors more frequently than those women who do not self-label as being bullied. Some of the targeted respondents, when bullying continued, ended up changing jobs or leaving the company.

The current study identified a number of coping methods which were effective and some which were not, along with the critical role of management in dealing with bullying. One of the successful coping strategies for those respondents who were bullied in the workplace was to directly respond to the bully. Whether or not turning to management or HR for help was successful depended on how management and HR responded. One management approach found to be successful was to respond unhesitatingly and in a direct manner to the bully, making it clear that bullying behavior would not be condoned. Based on my research, a number of approaches can be used by management and HR to decrease bullying, starting with becoming aware of clues to bullying behavior. For example, women tend to use indirect exclusionary work-related behaviors to bully other women and some of the coping strategies are the same as the most common bullying behaviors (e.g., ignoring and talking with support system/gossiping). In addition, management should be aware that differences between the bullied woman and her perpetrator in age, years of experience and years in the company increase the risk of a bullying situation.

Another coping strategy employed by women in this research was to approach HR for help. However, this strategy proved not to be helpful when HR automatically took the side of management. There are a number of ways that HR can support all of its
constituents. These include improved education, implementation of anti-harassment and grievance policies, improved hiring and firing practices, and clear job descriptions.
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APPENDIX A
United States Workplace Environment

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<th>United States Workplace Environment</th>
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<tr>
<td>Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria and Informed Consent Summary</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1. Are you female?</strong></td>
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<td>☐ Yes</td>
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<td>☐ No</td>
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<td><strong>2. Are you 18 years or older?</strong></td>
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<td>☐ Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>☐ No</td>
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<td><strong>3. Are there other women in your company?</strong></td>
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<td>☐ Yes</td>
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<td>☐ No</td>
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<td><strong>4. Do you work and live predominately in the United States for a Pharmaceutical/Biotech/Device-related company?</strong></td>
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<td>☐ Yes</td>
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<td>☐ No</td>
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<td><strong>5. Are you pregnant?</strong></td>
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<td>☐ N/A</td>
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<td>☐ Yes</td>
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<td>☐ No</td>
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</table>
6. My name is Sharon Liu and I am a graduate student in organization change at Pepperdine University, (Graduate School of Education and Psychology) who is currently in the process of recruiting individuals for my study entitled, “U.S. Women Bullying Women in Pharmaceutical/Biotech/Device Industry” The professor supervising my work is Dr. DePorres. The study is designed to investigate 1) How do women cope based on their experience and observations of female targets, witnesses and bullies? 2) How do demographics such as age, organizational rank, years of experience in the industry, tenure at the company where she may have experienced or witnessed bullying and level of education influence her experiences? And 3) Do women’s responses to the Negative Acts Questionnaire (NAQ) (quantitative analysis) agree with women’s responses to open-ended questions in a survey (qualitative analysis)?, so I am inviting individuals who work in or support work in the Pharmaceutical, Biotech, or Device Industry to participate in my study. Please understand that your participation in my study is strictly voluntary. The following is a description of what your study participation entails, the terms for participating in the study, and a discussion of your rights as a study participant. Please read this information carefully before deciding whether or not you wish to participate.

If you should decide to participate in the study, you will be asked to answer questions electronically. It should take approximately 20 minutes to complete the survey you have been asked to complete. Please complete the survey alone in a single setting or in multiple settings.

Although minimal, there are potential risks that you should consider before deciding to participate in this study. These risks include possible fatigue that is usual from working on a computer and some memories may be unpleasant. In the event you do experience fatigue from the answering questions, save and finish at a later time, if desired. If you have unpleasant memories, save your answers and finish at a later time, if desired. If you wish to discuss, ask questions about the research, or receive a copy of this letter, please contact Sharon Liu at 805 907 2296 or by email at Sharon.L.Liu@Pepperdine.edu, or Dr. DePorres at daphne_udem@yahoo.com or Dr. Davis at drkaydavis@att.net. If you decide to pursue your concerns in more depth either in lieu of or after consulting with Sharon Liu, please contact your physician.

There are no benefits to you for your participation in this study.

If you should decide to participate and find you are not interested in completing the survey
in its entirely, you have the right to discontinue at any point without being questioned about your decision. You also do not have to answer any of the questions on the survey that you prefer not to answer—just leave such items blank. There is no incentive to your voluntary participation.

In order to avoid an unnecessary expenditure for postage, the surveys are available via links in the email.

After 2 weeks, a reminder email note will be sent to you to complete the survey.

If the findings of the study are presented to professional audiences or published, no information that identifies you personally will be released. The data will be kept in a secure manner for at least five years at which time the data will be destroyed.

If you have any questions regarding the information that I have provided above, please do not hesitate to contact me at the email address and phone number provided below. If you have further questions or do not feel I have adequately addressed your concerns, please contact either Dr. DePorres at daphne_udem@yahoo.com or Dr. Davis at drkaydavis@att.net. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, contact Yuying Tsong, Chairperson of the GPS IRB, Pepperdine University at Yuying.Tsong@pepperdine.edu.

☐ Yes, I agree to participate in the research study being conducted ☐ No, I do not wish to continue.

by Sharon Liu under the direction of Dr. DePorras
Bullying Experience

WORKPLACE BULLYING is described as the intentional repeated actions that occur frequently over an extended period of time of at least six months by a person or a group directed against an individual employee in the form of verbal abuse, behavior that humiliates, threatens, and/or sabotages an individual’s work production or status and there is a perceived imbalance of power (Einarsen, Raknes, & Matthesen, 1994; Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007; Namie & Namie, 2004)

PERPETRATOR is a person who is judged responsible by a target for performing an injurious action (Aquino & Lamertz, 2004)

7. Please tick a response.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Have you ever been bullied by another woman at work?</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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<tr>
<th>Have you ever witnessed bullying by women toward women at work?</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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<tr>
<th>Have you ever displayed bullying behaviors toward other women?</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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</table>
### NAQ-R (based on Einarsen et al., 2009) - Page 1

8. Please tick a response.

**YD = Yes, almost daily**

**YW = Yes, several times per week**

**YM = Yes, several times per month**

**YN = Yes, now and then**

**YR = Yes, very rarely**

**No = No**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>YD</th>
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<th>YM</th>
<th>YN</th>
<th>YR</th>
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<td>Someone withholding information which affects your performance</td>
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<td>Being humiliated or ridiculed in connection with your work</td>
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<td>Being ordered to do work below your level of competence</td>
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<td>Having key areas of responsibility removed or replaced with more trivial or unpleasant tasks</td>
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<td>Spreading of gossip and rumors about you</td>
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<td>Being ignored or excluded</td>
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<td>Having insulting or offensive remarks made about your person, attitudes or your private life</td>
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<td>Being shouted at or being the target of spontaneous anger</td>
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<td>Intimidating behaviors such as finger-pointing, invasion of personal space, shoving, blocking your way</td>
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<td>Hints or signals from others that you should quit your job</td>
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<td>Repeated reminders of your errors or mistakes</td>
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9. Please tick a response.
YD = Yes, almost daily
YW = Yes, several times per week
YM = Yes, several times per month
YN = Yes, now and then
YR = Yes, very rarely
No = No

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>YD</th>
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<th>YM</th>
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<tr>
<td>Being ignored or facing a hostile reaction when you approach</td>
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<td>Persistent criticism of your errors or mistakes</td>
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<td>Having your opinions ignored</td>
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<td>Practical jokes carried out by people you don’t get along with</td>
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<td>Being given tasks with unreasonable deadlines</td>
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<td>Having allegations made against you</td>
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<td>Excessive monitoring of your work</td>
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<td>Pressure not to claim something to which by right you are entitled (e.g. sick leave, vacation entitlement, travel expenses)</td>
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<td>Being the subject of excessive teasing and sarcasm</td>
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<td>Being exposed to an unmanageable workload</td>
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<td>Threats of violence or physical abuse or actual abuse</td>
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### Perpetrator Demographics (1)

PERPETRATOR is a person who is judged responsible by a target for performing an injurious action (Aquino & Lamertz, 2004).

Describe the woman/women who did any of the 22 behaviors to you that occurred either almost daily or several times per week.

10. **Did you answer any of the prior questions as YD (Yes, almost daily) or YW (Yes, several times per week)?**

- [ ] Skip this section (did not answer YD or YW)
- [ ] Continue to describe the perpetrator
### Perpetrator Demographics

Page to help describe the most significant perpetrator of the prior actions.

**11. Age**
- Younger
- Same Age +/- 2 yrs
- Older
- Unsure

**12. Organizational Rank/Level of Supervision**
- CoWorker
- Subordinate
- Your boss or supervisor
- Your boss's boss or supervisor
- Your boss's boss's boss or supervisor
- Unsure
- Other (please specify)

**13. Years in Pharma/Biotech/Device-related Industry**
- Less than you
- Same as you
- More than you
- Unsure

**14. Years at the Company where you both work(ed)**
- Less than you
- Same as you
- More than you
- Unsure

**15. Highest Level of Education**
- Less than you
- Same as you
- More than you
- Unsure

**16. Would you like to enter Perpetrator Demographics for an additional woman? You may enter up to 3 women.**
- Yes
- No
Perpetrator Demographics (2)

Describe the woman who did any of the 22 behaviors to you that occurred either almost daily or several times per week...

17. Age
- Younger
- Same Age +/- 2 yrs
- Older
- Unsure

18. Organizational Rank/Level of Supervision
- CoWorker
- Subordinate
- Your boss or supervisor
- Your boss’s boss or supervisor
- Your boss’s boss’s boss or supervisor
- Unsure
- Other (please specify)

19. Years in Pharma/Biotech/Device-related Industry
- Less than you
- Same as you
- More than you
- Unsure

20. Years at the Company where you both work(ed)
- Less than you
- Same as you
- More than you
- Unsure

21. Highest Level of Education
- Less than you
- Same as you
- More than you
- Unsure

22. Would you like to enter Perpetrator Demographics for an additional woman? You may add up to 1 more.
- Yes
- No
Perpetrator Demographics (3)

23. Age
- Younger
- Same Age +/- 2 yrs
- Older
- Unsure

24. Organizational Rank/Level of Supervision
- CoWorker
- Subordinate
- Your boss or supervisor
- Your boss's boss or supervisor
- Your boss's boss's boss or supervisor
- Unsure
- Other (please specify)

25. Years in Pharma/Biotech/Device-related Industry
- Less than you
- Same as you
- More than you
- Unsure

26. Years at the Company where you both work(ed)
- Less than you
- Same as you
- More than you
- Unsure

27. Highest Level of Education
- Less than you
- Same as you
- More than you
- Unsure
Open-ended Questions About Experiences

WORKPLACE BULLYING is described as the intentional repeated actions that occur frequently over an extended period of time of at least six months by a person or a group directed against an individual employee in the form of verbal abuse, behavior that humiliates, threatens, and/or sabotages an individual's work production or status and there is a perceived imbalance of power (Einarsen, Raknes, & Mathiesen, 1994; Lutgen-Sandvik et al., 2007; Namie & Namie, 2004).

PERPETRATOR is a person who is judged responsible by a target for performing an injurious action (Aquino & Lamertz, 2004).

28. Please provide specific details regarding any of the BULLYING behaviors experienced between you and another woman/women in the Pharma/Biotech/Device-related Industry that you reported in the prior sections above. For example, the circumstances or context of the actions, what behaviors were displayed, the frequency, relationships, if or how the situation was resolved, etc.

29. Please provide specific details in which you WITNESSED BULLYING between women in the Pharma/Biotech/Device-related Industry that you reported in the prior sections above. For example, the circumstances or context of the actions, what behaviors were displayed, the frequency, relationships, if or how the situation was resolved, etc.

30. Please provide specific details how you were ABLE TO COPE when you experienced BULLYING between you and another woman/women in the Pharma/Biotech/Device-related Industry that you reported in the prior sections above. For example, the circumstances or context of the actions, what behaviors were displayed, the frequency, relationships, if or how the situation was resolved, etc.

31. Please provide specific details how you were ABLE TO COPE when you WITNESSED BULLYING between women in the Pharma/Biotech/Device-related Industry. For example, the circumstances or context of the actions, what behaviors were displayed, the frequency, relationships, if or how the situation was resolved, etc.
32. Do you think that repeated bullying behaviors are ever justified?

- [ ] No
- [ ] Unsure
- [ ] If Yes, please provide specific circumstances
### Demography Questions About You

**33. What is your age?**

- [ ] 20s
- [ ] 30s
- [ ] 40s
- [ ] 50s
- [ ] 60s
- [ ] Prefer not to answer

**34. Number of Years of experience:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>1 - 5</th>
<th>6 - 10</th>
<th>11 - 15</th>
<th>16 - 20</th>
<th>21 - 25</th>
<th>26 - 30</th>
<th>31 - 40</th>
<th>41 - 45</th>
<th>46 - 50</th>
<th>Prefer not to answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Years in Pharma/Biotech/Device-related Industry</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years in company where bullying or witnessing occurred</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**35. Level of Education**

- [ ] Associate Degree
- [ ] Bachelor Degree
- [ ] Master Degree
- [ ] Doctorate Degree
- [ ] Professional Degree (MD, JD)
- [ ] Prefer not to answer
- [ ] Other (please specify):

**36. Organizational Rank/Level of Supervision**

- [ ] Individual Contributor
- [ ] Supervisor or manage people who do not have people reporting to them
- [ ] Supervisor or manage people who supervise one level of people
- [ ] Supervisor or manage people who supervise people who supervise people
- [ ] Supervisor or manage people who supervise people who supervise people who supervise people
- [ ] Prefer not to say
- [ ] Other (please specify):

---

Page 13
**Early Exit**

Thank you for your time.

Unfortunately you do not meet the criteria to complete the survey.

---

**Last Page - Thanks**

Last Page

Thank you for your time.

Click Done when you are finished and have a wonderful day!
APPENDIX B

Message Sent Out

Dear [FirstName],

What is this about? I am conducting research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for my dissertation in Organization Change at Pepperdine University. My research topic is exploring how women treat women in the Pharma/Biotech/Device-related work place. I plan to analyze the data and submit summarized data for dissertation and publication. Questionnaire results are anonymous (I will not have access about who filled out the questionnaire or not). The professor supervising my work is Dr. DePorres.

Who can participate? Non-pregnant women who are 18 or more years of age, live in the U.S., and work predominately in the U.S. at a Pharmaceutical/Biotech/Device-related company with more than one woman.

What will you be doing? I will ask you to fill out an on line questionnaire about your work place experiences with other women. You can stop answering questions at any time, not send in the questionnaire, call me with any questions, or complete questionnaire and send it to me for analysis. For this project, every question and participation is voluntary.

What do you need to do now? Here is a link to the survey:

[SurveyLink]

This link is uniquely tied to this survey and your email address. Please do not forward this message.

Note:

• If you prefer not to use this email address to link into the survey, please send me your preferred email address (work email or non-work email) within 2 weeks in order for me to send you another link.

• Please be aware that this email from is not from OHSUG. This is not part of OHSUG function and answering or not answering this email will not have an effect on present or future interactions with you, your company, OHSUG, or Oracle.

• If you are willing to participate, please let me know if you would like to be sent a copy of the electronic analysis of the results or an electronic copy of the dissertation. If you do not specify, I will assume you are not interested in receiving the analysis nor the dissertation.

• You are entitled to complete a informed consent if desired, beyond the one imbedded the questionnaire. Please email me at Sharon.l.liu@oracle.com if you would like to have the informed consent to be emailed

Please note: If you do not wish to receive further emails from us, please click the link below, and you will be automatically removed from our mailing list.

[RemoveLink]

If you have any questions regarding the information that I have provided above, please do not hesitate to contact me at the email address and phone number provided below. If you have further
questions or do not feel I have adequately addressed your concerns, please contact either Dr. DePorres at daphne_udem@yahoo.com or Dr. Davis at drkaydavis@att.net. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, contact Yuying Tsong, Chairperson of the GPS IRB, Pepperdine University at Yuying.Tsong@pepperdine.edu.
APPENDIX C

Request and Acceptance for Permission to Use Women’s Emails from OHSUG Website

From: Kalinowski, Darlene [mailto:Darlene.Kalinowski@bms.com]  
Sent: Monday, November 22, 2010 8:44 AM  
To: Sharon Liu  
Subject: RE: A special request...

You can use the member list to find people to send the note to but you need to add a disclaimer that this is not from OHSUG directly.

Can't go out in a mass mailer. You OK with that?

From: Kalinowski, Darlene [mailto:Darlene.Kalinowski@bms.com]  
Sent: Sunday, November 21, 2010 1:09 PM  
To: Sharon Liu; linr3@mail.nih.gov  
Subject: RE: A special request...

Hi Sharon,

I'll put it on the agenda for us – we actual have a special meeting tomorrow so I can get you an answer then.

Darlene

From: Sharon Liu [mailto:sharon.I.liu@oracle.com]  
Sent: Friday, November 19, 2010 12:55 PM  
To: linr3@mail.nih.gov; Kalinowski, Darlene  
Subject: A special request...

Hi,

As some of you both know, I am working on a dissertation exploring women to women interactions in the Pharma/Biotech/Device industry. I need some additional help and I am asking you both to see if there is any way that I would be able to invite the OHSUG women (who live in the US) to fill out questionnaire totally confidentially. I realize that this type of thing would need to get clearance from the Executive Committee. If I do not get their ‘OK’,...

I need at least 100 women….AHHH! Help…if I cannot ask the OHSUG women, do you have any ideas?

Sincerely,

A woman in help,

Sharon
APPENDIX D

Requests for Permission to Use NAQ-R and Responses

On June 7, 2011, I looked up Einarsen's website. Einarsen also runs the Bergen Bullying Research Group and the website explains the "Conditions to use the NAQ"

http://www.uib.no/rg/bbrg/projects/naq

Here's what the website says:

**Conditions for use of NAQ**

If you are interested in using the Negative Acts Questionnaire in your research, please contact us. You are welcome to use this scale in your research as long as you agree with the following terms:

1. That you give us a short description of your research project, and some information about yourself (workplace/institution, education/title).
2. That you provide us with the NAQ data (only the NAQ data, not any other data you collect) after you have finished your study, including demographic data and response rate. These data must compatible with SPSS.
3. That the use of the NAQ is for research purposes only (non-profit).
4. That each permission is for one project only.
5. That you provide us with any translation of the questionnaire you may do.

The reason we want a copy of your data is that we are in the process of developing a primary world-wide NAQ data base so that we, in the years to come, can provide new users of the instrument with norm-data for comparing results between countries and between organisations. Hopefully we may also be able to publish cross-cultural comparisons using these data.

For the time being we are not able to answer NAQ-requests. For more information about the questionnaire, please see:


This paper contains all the information needed to use the questionnaire in research.
On June 7, 2011, I wrote an email to Taylor & Francis to help me with obtaining permission to use the NAQ-R. Taylor & Francis is the corporation that holds the copyright of the Work & Stress publications.

From: Sharon Lu  
To: copyright@tandf.com  
Cc: Daphne DePorsas, Daphne DePorsas  
Subject: permission to use NAQ-R [Ticket: 35748, JIRA Key: 911596]

Dear Reviewers,

I am a student pursuing a doctorate at Pepperdine University in California. My department requires me to get permission to use an instrument I would like to use. The NAQ-R questionnaire was published in 2009:


What do I need to do to get permission to use the questionnaire?

Thanks,
Sharon

ORACLE
Sharon Lu | Senior Principal Consultant  
Phone: +1 905 907 2295 | Mobile: +1 905 907 2295  
Oracle HSGBU  
California  
Oracle is committed to developing practices and products that help protect the environment
On June 8, 2011, I spoke with a representative of Taylor & Francis to help me with obtaining permission to use the NAQ-R. Taylor & Francis is the corporation that holds the copyright of the Work & Stress publications. During that call the representative informed me that the content for a dissertation is free of charge contingent on resubmitting for permission if the work is published.
## APPENDIX E

Percentage of Respondents Answering Positively to Indirect Versus Direct Negative Acts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indirect</th>
<th>At least now and then</th>
<th>At least weekly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-bullied (n = 56) (%)</td>
<td>Bullied (n = 58) (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1  Someone withholding information which affects your performance</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>67.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Having your opinions ignored</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>64.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6  Being ignored or excluded</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>57.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  Being ordered to do work below your level of competence</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Being exposed to an unmanageable workload</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Being given tasks with unreasonable deadlines</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>41.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5  Spreading of gossip and rumors about you</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Being ignored or facing a hostile reaction when you approach</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Persistent criticism of your errors or mistakes</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Repeated reminders of your errors or mistakes</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4  Having key areas of responsibility removed or replaced with more trivial or unpleasant tasks</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Excessive monitoring of your work</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Hints or signals from others that you should quit your job</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Having allegations made against you</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-bullied (n = 56) (%)</th>
<th>Bullied (n = 58) (%)</th>
<th></th>
<th>Non-bullied (n = 56) (%)</th>
<th>Bullied (n = 58) (%)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>.001**</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>.02*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>.01*</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>.05*</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>.01*</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>.03*</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** Questions in each subsection were listed in descending percentage order for bullied subset. The classification of non-bullied and bullied was from respondents’ self-labeling. The number in front of each statement is the numerical order that question was asked.

*p < .05. **p < .001.
APPENDIX F
Percentage of Respondents Answering Positively to Work-Related Versus Non-Work-Related Negative Acts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work-related</th>
<th>At least now and then</th>
<th>At least weekly</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-bullied (n = 56)</td>
<td>Bullied (n = 58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>67.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>64.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>41.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>38.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>25.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>23.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>16.7</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-work-related</th>
<th>At least now and then</th>
<th>At least weekly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-bullied (n = 56)</td>
<td>Bullied (n = 58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6</strong> Being ignored or excluded</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>57.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>15</strong> Spreading of gossip and rumors about you</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>12</strong> Being ignored or facing a hostile reaction when you approach</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>8</strong> Being shouted at or being the target of spontaneous anger</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>7</strong> Having insulting or offensive remarks made about your person, attitudes or your private life</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9</strong> Intimidating behaviors such as finger-pointing, invasion of personal space, shoving, blocking your way</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>17</strong> Having allegations made against you</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>20</strong> Being the subject of excessive teasing and sarcasm</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>15</strong> Practical jokes carried out by people you don’t get along with</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>22</strong> Threats of violence or physical abuse</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* Questions in each subsection were listed in descending percentage order for bullied subset. The classification of non-bullied and bullied was from respondents’ self-labeling. The number in front of each statement is the numerical order that question was asked. *p ≤ .05. **p ≤ .001.*