1

BULLYING IN HIGHER EDUCATION

What Current Research, Theorizing, and Practice Tell Us

Loraleigh Keashly and Joel H. Neuman

We begin this chapter with some trepidation. We have both been involved in academia and higher education for close to a quarter century. In Loraleigh Keashly's case, it has always been her working environment, and for Joel Neuman, it has been his second career, after more than a decade managing in the private sector. We are a bit concerned about writing this chapter because we recognize that workplace bullying in academia (and other social settings) is a problem but, at the same time, we sense that there may be an exaggeration among the general public and academic researchers regarding the prevalence of bullying in academe; that is, a band wagon effect that is "the tendency for people in social and some-times political situations to align themselves with the majority opinion and to do or believe things because many other people do or believe the same" (American Psychological Association, 2009, p. 39). This is reflected in the popular perception that universities are hotbeds of conflict and hostility and this, in part, is due to particular contextual variables associated with academic settings. For example, in his discussion of workplace bullying among faculty, Lamont Stallworth (cited in Schmidt, 2010) observes that "big egos, an individualistic ethic, and tolerance for behaviors not accepted elsewhere" are determinants of bullying by faculty. One has only to look at *The Chronicle of Higher Education* over the last several years to detect this line of reasoning, in, for example, Fogg's (2008) "Academic Bullies" and Gravois (2006) piece "Mob Rule." Even in our own conversations as academics, we see these portrayals as common. In short, not only are we on the bandwagon but we have played a significant role in driving it.

In part, our concern arises because we have devoted the better part of two decades to exploring aggression and bullying in work settings and the past three years focusing on bullying in higher education. We have thus played a significant

role in informing the public of bullying in academe. Recently, we explored the stereotypes of hostility and egotistical faculty within our own respective departments and concluded that these common perceptions about academia and academics do not fit with our personal experiences. We have certainly seen (and, heaven forbid, may have contributed to) some of this behavior, but is such conduct inherent in the professoriate and academic settings? Are our own experiences in academia unique? Or, are our personal experiences typical and other departments or institutions the oddities? Presently, we do not have sufficient data to answer this question decisively. To avoid contributing to a self-fulfilling prophecy, in which we frame our research questions based on what we expect to find, propose theories to support these assumptions and, as a result, add to the perception that these are common occurrences, we will attempt to take a more value-neutral position. In short, we will attempt to address the issue of bullying in higher education (and, to some degree, other work settings) within a broader typology of knowledge in which we explicitly test our confidence about what we know, what we think we know, and what we do not know, based on an examination of the empirical literature. On the pages that follow, we will explore conceptual, empirical, and practical issues related to workplace aggression and bullying in higher education. This will include suggestions for closing known gaps and being open to unknown gaps in our knowledge (Stewart, 1997).
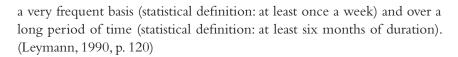
Definitional and Conceptual Issues

Kleinginna and Kleinginna (1981) noted that a major difficulty in exploring the psychology of motivation was a lack of consensus as to its defining characteristics. At the time, these authors identified 140 different definitions for that construct. Although workplace bullying might not seem to be as elusive a concept as motivation, opinions do vary as to the name of the construct, its nature, and its defining characteristics. To illustrate this variety, we thought it would be useful to highlight the conceptualization of these hostile relationships from well-known researchers in the bullying domain.

Beginning with the seminal work of Carroll Brodsky, the phenomenon was labeled harassment and defined as "repeated and persistent attempts by one person to torment, wear down, frustrate, or get a reaction from another. It is treatment which persistently provokes, pressures, frightens, intimidates or otherwise discomforts another person" (Brodsky, 1976, p. 2). In the 1980s, Heinz Leymann referred to the construct using the terms "psychological terror" or "mobbing" behavior in working life and defined it as:

> hostile and unethical communication, which is directed in a systematic way by one or a few individuals mainly towards one individual who, due to mobbing, is pushed into a helpless and defenseless position, being held there by means of continuing mobbing activities. These actions occur on

a very frequent basis (statistical definition: at least once a week) and over a long period of time (statistical definition: at least six months of duration). (Leymann, 1990, p. 120)

In England, the term "workplace bullying" gained prominence with the pioneering work of Andrea Adams. She defined bullying as "persistent criticism and personal abuse in public or private, which humiliates and demeans the person" (Adams & Crawford, 1992, p. 1).

Following Hadjifotiou's (1983) work on sexual harassment, Ståle Einarsen, a prominent scholar in the area of workplace bullying, defined the construct as "all those repeated actions and practices that are directed to one or more workers, which are unwanted by the victim, which may be done deliberately or unconsciously, but clearly cause humiliation, offence and distress, and that may interfere with job performance and/or cause an unpleasant working environment" (Einarsen, 1999, p. 17).

For many researchers, the distinction between mobbing and bullying is purely semantic. For example, Zapf, Einarsen, Hoel, and Vartia (2003) note that the phenomenon of bullying has been labeled "mobbing at work" in some Scandinavian and German countries and "bullying at work" in many English-speaking countries. Others view the distinction as one in perspective—with bullying focused on the actions of one actor and one or more targets and mobbing involving multiple actors and one target (Zapf & Einarsen, 2005). Still other researchers believe that mobbing is distinct from bullying in that there is a "ganging-up" process (a group dynamic) in which the organization plays a role, as compared with bullying, which involves actions by a lone perpetrator (Sperry, 2009).

To complicate matters further, North American research involving related forms of negative workplace behavior has been conducted under an almost inexhaustible list of constructs that includes, but is not limited to, workplace aggression, emotional abuse, incivility, psychological aggression, petty tyranny, abusive supervision, social undermining, generalized work harassment, scapegoating, workplace trauma, insidious work behavior, counterproductive work behavior, organizational misbehavior, and desk rage (for more detail, refer to Einarsen, 2000; Fox & Spector, 2005; Greenberg, 2010). With respect to the different constructs and definitions that have been employed in empirical workplace bullying research in higher education reviewed in this chapter, please refer to Table 1.1.

While there seems to be agreement on the notion that workplace bullying involves persistent forms of workplace mistreatment that endures for long periods of time, the range of behaviors reported in the workplace bullying literature, and the vast array of ad hoc survey instruments used to capture these data, make it difficult—if not impossible—to engage in comparative research. Furthermore, the time frame presented to respondents varies across studies. Some questionnaires ask respondents to report instances of mistreatment occurring during the previous 6, 12, or 18 months and some extend this time frame to 5 years or an entire

TABLE 1.1 Empirical Studies of Workplace Bullying in Academic Settings with Samples, Methods, Constructs, and Definitions

Study	Sample	Method	Timeframe	Prevalence Rates	Actors	Constructs/Definitions
Björkqvist et al. (1994) Finland	Employees at one university; N = 338 (47% response rate)	Mail questionnaire: behavioral checklist	Prior 6 months	Experienced: 20.5%; 24.4% women; 16.9% men Witnessed: 32%	Superior 55.5% Peer 32.1% Subordinate 12.4%	Work harassment/repeated acts of aggression, aimed at bringing mental (but sometimes also physical) pain, and directed toward one or more individuals who, for one reason or another, are not able to defend themselves.
Price Spratlen (1995) USA	Employees at one university; N = 805 (51% response rate)	Mail questionnaire: single item regarding mistreatment	Prior 18 months	Experienced: 23%; 26% women; 19% men Witnessed: 27%	Superior 48.7% Peer 29.7% Subordinate 9.2%	Interpersonal conflict and improper workplace behavior. Respondents were instructed to describe incidents and experiences that were nonsexual in nature and that represented interpersonal conflict, which included mistreatment.
Lewis (1999) Wales	Further/higher ed union members; 32 institutions; N = 415 (50.3% response rate)	Mail questionnaire: single item regarding bullying	Not reported	Experienced: 18% Witnessed: 22%	Not asked	Workplace bullying/no specific definition provided. Study participants provided their own characterizations.
Richman et al. (1999) USA	Employees at one university; N = 2492 (51.6% response rate)	Mail questionnaire: behavioral checklist	Prior 12 months	Experienced: 54.9%; 56.1% women; 53.5% men	Not asked	Generalized workplace abuse/ degrading workplace interactions not explicitly involving gender. These involve psychologically demeaning and physically aggressive modes of aggression.

Study	Sample	Method		Prevalence rates	Perpetrator	Definition
Kinman & Jones (2004) UK	Members of University Teachers Association; 99 institutions N = 1,100 (22% response rate)	Mail questionnaire: single item regarding bullying	Not reported	Experienced: 18%; women report more frequent exposure than men	Not asked	Workplace stressors, including bullying; workplace bullying was simply described as unacceptable behavior.
Simpson & Cohen (2004) UK	Employees at one university; N = 19.8% response rate	Mail questionnaire: respond to definition and behavioral checklist	Not reported	Experienced: 25%; 28.5% women; 19.8% men Witnessed: 33%; 67.5% women; 29.4% men	Superior: 80% Peer: 20%	Workplace harassment and bullying—both harassment and bullying concern unwanted behavior that causes offence to the targeted individual and that is not justified by the working or professional relationship. Behavior could be considered harassment when directed against someone because of their race, sex, disability, age, sexual orientation, or some other physical group-oriented feature. Yet it might be considered as bullying when based on "individual" factors such as personality traits, work position, or levels of competence in the job.
Boynton (2005) UK	Self-selected sample of higher education employees; N = 843	Online questionnaire: respond to definition and behavioral checklist	Not reported	Experienced: over 40% Witnessed: 75%	Not reported	Workplace bullying/respondents were provided with an opportunity to define bullying at the beginning of the survey.

AuQ-1

(Continued)

Study	Sample	Method	Timeframe	Prevalence Rates	Actors	Constructs/Definitions
Raskauskas (2006) New Zealand	Higher ed employees; 7 institutions; N = 1,117	Online questionnaire: respond to definition and behavioral checklist	Previous year	Experienced: 67.7%; of these: 27.4% report 1–2 incidents; 37.8% report 10 or more incidents	Peer: 18.1% 1 bully 38.4% 2 bullies 29% > 5 bullies 9.4%	Workplace bullying is defined as deliberate, repeated, and hurtful acts that take place at work and/or in the course of employment. Bullying may include direct or indirect harassment, professional misconduct, or abuse of power. It is characterized by unfair treatment, rumor spreading, or any repeated action found to be offensive, intimidating, malicious, or insulting. Any actions that could reasonably be regarded as undermining an individual's right or dignity at work are considered workplace bullying.
Keashly & Neuman (2008a) USA	Employees at one university; N = 1,185 (34.3% response rate)	Online questionnaire: respond to definition and behavioral checklist	Prior 12 months	Experienced: 32%; 33% women; 27% men Witnessed: 41%	Superior: 43% Peer: 42.2% Subordinate: 4% Customer/ student: 2% 1 bully 43% 2 bullies 30% ≥ 3 bullies 27% Superior: 44.3% Peer: 40% Subordinate: 6% Customer/ student: 2%	Workplace bullying. All those repeated actions and practices that are directed to one or more workers, which are unwanted by the victim, which may be done deliberately or unconsciously, cause humiliation, offense, and distress, and that may interfere with job performance and/or cause an unpleasant working environment.

AuQ-2

Study	Sample	Method	Time period	Prevalence	Perpetrator	Definition
McKay et al. (2008) Canada	Teaching staff and librarians at one university; N = 100 (12% response rate)	Online questionnaire: define bullying in own words and behavioral checklist	Prior 5 years	Experienced: 52% (32% "seriously")	Superior: 34% Peers: 61% Students: 16%	Workplace bullying. The survey began by asking respondents to define workplace bullying in their own words.
Court (2008) UK Stress survey (April–May)	Members of University and College Union; N=14,270 (9,740 in higher education; 3,190 in further education)	Online questionnaire on stress: single item regarding having been bullied	Not reported	Experienced: 27.3%; further education; 23.4% higher education	Not reported	Bullying may be characterized as offensive, intimidating, malicious, or insulting behavior.
Court (2008) UK Negative behaviors survey	Members of University and College Union; N not specified (48% in higher education; 44% in further education)	Online questionnaire: respond to definition and behavioral checklist	Prior 6 months	Experienced: 25.9%; 15.6% now and then; 10.3% at least several times per month	Can indicate more than one category. Superior: 75.4% Peer: 38.7% Subordinate: 9.7% Clients: 1.6% Students: 6.0%	Workplace bullying as a situation where one or several individuals persistently over a period of time perceive themselves to be on the receiving end of negative actions from one or several persons, in a situation where the target of bullying has difficulty in defending him- or herself against these actions. We will not refer to a one-off incident as bullying.
Fox (2010) USA	Faculty; convenience sample; N = 228	Online questionnaire: behavioral checklist	Prior 5 years	Experienced: 36.6%	Superior: 22.1% Peer: 23.9%	Workplace bullying/workplace bullying is behavior that threatens, intimidates, humiliates, or isolates people at work, or undermines their reputation or job performance.

(Continued)

Study	Sample	Method	Timeframe	Prevalence Rates	Actors	Constructs/Definitions
Neuman (2009) USA	Faculty at one university; N = 241 (55% response rate)	Online questionnaire: respond to definition and behavioral checklist	Prior 12 months	Experienced: 26% Witnessed: 46%	Superior: 24% Colleague: 66% Senior colleague: 37% Equal status: 21% Junior colleague: 8% 1 bully 43% 2 bullies 21% ≥ 3 bullies 36% Superior: 28% Colleague: 71% Senior colleague: 49% Equal status: 15% Junior colleague: 7%	Workplace bullying/all those repeated actions and practices that are directed to one or more workers, which are unwanted by the victim, which may be done deliberately or unconsciously, cause humiliation, offense, and distress, and that may interfere with job performance and/or cause an unpleasant working environment.
Tigrel & Kokalan (2009) Turkey	Faculty at two universities; N = 103 (85.5% response rate)	Mail questionnaire: respond to definition and behavioral checklist	Not reported	Experienced: 11.7%	Not reported	Workplace mobbing/practicing violence by a group and involves psychological terror, emotional attacks, or being against something or someone.

working life (refer to Table 1.1 for methodological differences). Also, although perceived power differences (between actors and targets) is seen as central to many definitions of bullying, this is by no means universal across all studies. In the case of vertical aggression, in which there is a hierarchical relationship between a perpetrator (superior) and victim (subordinate), the power relationship is explicit. However, all bullying and mobbing researchers would agree that actors and targets may be coworkers/colleagues, equal in hierarchical terms (Lester, 2009; Rayner & Keashly, 2005). Although perceived power differences may exist, independent of ascribed formal organizational power, sources of power are typically not assessed in bullying studies.

Another issue exists that has conceptual and practical implications. Many researchers require that psychological, emotional, or physiological harm be inflicted on a target before bullying is said to have occurred. This perspective is captured in the definition provided by Einarsen (1999), shown above, in which negative actions must *clearly cause humiliation, offence and distress*. An interesting question that arises here is if there are no negative effects of exposure to these actions, then has bullying occurred? Other researchers focus more on the nature of the actions and the underlying intentions of the perpetrator, as opposed to the consequences of these behaviors on a target. Consistent with this perspective, *attempts* at harming a target are sufficient to classify the behavior as aggressive or hostile, regardless of the actual outcome (e.g., a failed attempt to get a target fired by spreading vicious and untrue rumors about this person would be sufficient). This point of view also stresses the fact that actor intent is important in distinguishing between acts of malice and actions resulting from ignorance or accident. Unfortunately, even when intent is included as a defining characteristic, the actual intent of actors is often assumed rather than explicitly examined in the workplace bullying literature. As we will discuss below, all of these factors have very practical consequences when it comes to classifying behavior and taking action to prevent or manage such conduct.

Finally, some researchers employ a labeling technique in which respondents are provided with a definition of bullying and then are asked to respond to specific questions, to assess the nature and prevalence of the problem. This phenomenological technique captures the "experience of victimization." Other surveys employ a behavioral approach, in which respondents are presented with specific examples of "negative behavior" and asked to indicate the extent to which they have experienced or witnessed each of these behaviors. This method is more accurately characterized as assessing "exposure" to behaviors. Empirical evidence suggests that these two approaches impact reported prevalence rates. For example, in research conducted comparing both procedures in a single study, Salin (2001) obtained a reported prevalence rate of 8.8% using the labeling approach and 24.1% using a behavioral checklist. However, in two studies that we conducted in university settings, we obtained prevalence rates of 32% and 26% using the labeling approach and 23% and 19% using a behavioral checklist, respectively

(Keashly & Neuman, 2008b; Neuman, 2009). In short, some research suggests that the behavioral approach results in higher reported prevalence rates as compared with the labeling approach, but other studies point in the opposite direction. Since somewhat different wordings were employed in the instructions and survey designs, the reasons for these differences is open to question—as are the implications for the nature of the data collected by each approach.

As noted above, these conceptual and methodological issues result in a wide variety of ad hoc measures presently being employed to explore workplace bullying. Consequently, even when a single measure is used, it is difficult to generalize the results across studies. For example, Hubert and van Veldhoven (2001) surveyed 66,764 employees representing 11 business sectors in the Netherlands but used four items to measure what they characterized as "unpleasant" and "aggressive" behaviors between respondents and their supervisors and coworkers. Since no operational definitions were provided to their study participants, we are unable to align their findings with other measures of bullying. In short, their large sample size and comparative sampling across business sectors is not necessarily generalizable beyond the study sample.

With this brief overview of some of the many challenges confronted by workplace bullying scholars, we trust that you can understand the importance of considering (and questioning) the validity and reliability of the available data when summarizing what we know and what we think we know about workplace bullying within and beyond the academy.

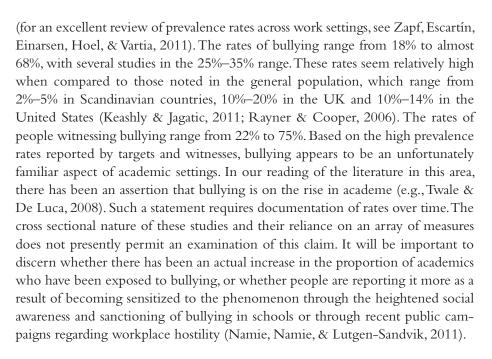## Empirical Data: What We Know and What We Think We Know

Even in the face of the many methodological challenges noted above, studies using behavioral checklists do reveal that academics report witnessing and experiencing "negative/problematic" behaviors from others in their workplace. Furthermore, studies employing the labeling technique find that significant percentages of academics identify themselves as the targets of bullying—using explicit definitions of bullying. So it is possible to develop a picture based on data from specific studies regarding the likelihood of exposure to negative behaviors characterized as part of a bullying experience, as well as some idea of the likelihood of what are considered bullying relationships.

The Prevalence of Bullying in Higher Education

Building from our initial review of empirical studies in academic settings (Keashly & Neuman, 2010), we have captured the findings from several of these studies in Table 1.1. Review of this table reveals several interesting findings. First, like the broader workplace bullying literature, the estimated prevalence of bullying varies depending on the nature of the sample, the operationalization of the construct, the timeframe for experiences, and the country in which the research was conducted

(for an excellent review of prevalence rates across work settings, see Zapf, Escartín, Einarsen, Hoel, & Vartia, 2011). The rates of bullying range from 18% to almost 68%, with several studies in the 25%–35% range. These rates seem relatively high when compared to those noted in the general population, which range from 2%–5% in Scandinavian countries, 10%–20% in the UK and 10%–14% in the United States (Keashly & Jagatic, 2011; Rayner & Cooper, 2006). The rates of people witnessing bullying range from 22% to 75%. Based on the high prevalence rates reported by targets and witnesses, bullying appears to be an unfortunately familiar aspect of academic settings. In our reading of the literature in this area, there has been an assertion that bullying is on the rise in academe (e.g., Twale & De Luca, 2008). Such a statement requires documentation of rates over time. The cross sectional nature of these studies and their reliance on an array of measures does not presently permit an examination of this claim. It will be important to discern whether there has been an actual increase in the proportion of academics who have been exposed to bullying, or whether people are reporting it more as a result of becoming sensitized to the phenomenon through the heightened social awareness and sanctioning of bullying in schools or through recent public campaigns regarding workplace hostility (Namie, Namie, & Lutgen-Sandvik, 2011).

The Relationship Between Actors and Targets

The nature of the relationships between actors (perpetrators) and targets (victims) involves both conceptual and practical issues. First, vertical (hierarchical) bullying seems to characterize the UK and European studies whereas U.S. studies suggest that bullies are equally likely to be superiors or coworkers/colleagues. These findings are consistent with the broader workplace aggression literature (Rayner & Keashly, 2005). The difference in findings is probably due to methodological differences in the way bullying is measured. In the UK and European studies, definitions tend to focus on perceived power differences between actors and targets. Consequently, superior-subordinate relationships may be called to mind. This is not so in the case of North American behavioral checklist measures.

With the exception of Lewis (1999), McKay, Arnold, Fratzl, and Thomas (2008), and Neuman (2009), the study samples involved a number of occupational groups including faculty, administrators, professional and frontline/clerical staff, and in some studies, students. In our own research, we have found that the relevance of the actor–target relationship is strongly influenced by organizational structure. For example, in a recent study that we conducted with 1,185 university employees (Keashly & Neuman, 2008a), colleagues were more likely to be identified as bullied by faculty (63.4%) whereas superiors were more likely to be identified as bullied by frontline staff (52.9%). Looking within the "colleague as bully" category, Neuman's (2009) study found that senior colleagues were more likely to be identified as bullies. These results suggest that an individual's location within the institutional structure, as defined by occupational group and hierarchical

and/or professional status, may leave specific targets vulnerable to abuse from particular actors/agents. These findings may also reflect different dynamics within the dyad and potentially different antecedents and consequences (Aquino & Lamertz, 2004). For example, in our 2008 study, we found that faculty were more vulnerable to bullying from colleagues whereas staff were more vulnerable to bullying from their direct supervisors.

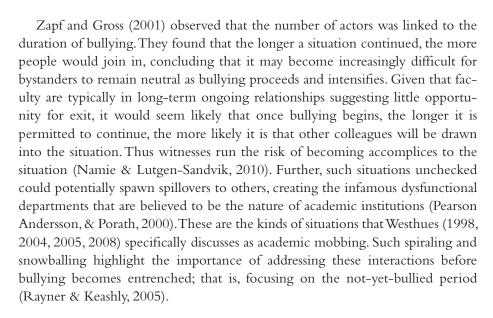### Number of Actors Involved in an Incident

Another observation concerns the number of actors purportedly involved in the incidents. As reported by Raskauskas (2006), and captured in our own research (Keashly & Neuman, 2008b), the majority of situations reported by targets involved two or more actors; that is, these incidents involved acts of mobbing. Westhues (2008), in discussing the mobbing of professors by their colleagues and administrators, has argued that the experience of being mobbed by a number of actors is very different from the experience (however upsetting) of being harassed by a single actor. In our 2008 sample, we found that rates of mobbing differed as a function of occupational group being studied. Faculty members were almost twice as likely as staff to report being the victims of mobbing by three or more actors (14.5% vs 8%, respectively). These figures are higher than previously estimated rates of 2%–5% (Westhues, 2006). Frontline staff members, on the other hand, were 1.5 times more likely to be bullied by a single perpetrator. This differential pattern highlights the need to consider the actor–target relationship as well as the number of actors involved within the broader context of the occupational group, status differentials, and formally (and informally) defined working relationships.

Duration of Exposure to Bullying

Duration of exposure to bullying in academic settings is notable. McKay et al. (2008) found that 21% of their sample reported bullying that had persisted for more than five years. In our 2008 and 2009 projects, we found that 34% and 49%, respectively, reported bullying lasting for more than three years. There are individual cases detailed in the workplace bullying literature that show similar and even longer exposure (Westhues, 2004, 2005), but what is surprising is the number of people who abide with these enduring situations. It may be that academia is a particularly vulnerable setting for such persistent aggression, as a result of tenure, which has faculty and some staff in very long-term relationships with one another. Both the conflict (Holton, 1995, 1998; Pruitt & Rubin, 1986) and aggression (Jawahar, 2002) research note that the longer and more interactive the relationship, the greater the opportunity for conflict and potentially aggression. Further, while ensuring a "job for life," tenure may also restrict mobility so that once a situation goes bad, there are few options for leaving (Berryman-Fink, 1998).

Zapf and Gross (2001) observed that the number of actors was linked to the duration of bullying. They found that the longer a situation continued, the more people would join in, concluding that it may become increasingly difficult for bystanders to remain neutral as bullying proceeds and intensifies. Given that faculty are typically in long-term ongoing relationships suggesting little opportunity for exit, it would seem likely that once bullying begins, the longer it is permitted to continue, the more likely it is that other colleagues will be drawn into the situation. Thus witnesses run the risk of becoming accomplices to the situation (Namie & Lutgen-Sandvik, 2010). Further, such situations unchecked could potentially spawn spillovers to others, creating the infamous dysfunctional departments that are believed to be the nature of academic institutions (Pearson Andersson, & Porath, 2000). These are the kinds of situations that Westhues (1998, 2004, 2005, 2008) specifically discusses as academic mobbing. Such spiraling and snowballing highlight the importance of addressing these interactions before bullying becomes entrenched; that is, focusing on the not-yet-bullied period (Rayner & Keashly, 2005).

Interventions: What We Know and Think We Know

As tentative as some of the findings are with respect to the nature and prevalence of bullying in academic settings, substantially less is known about remediation. In fact, "what we know" is more theoretical than practical in nature because of the limited number of studies designed to systematically evaluate the efficacy of bullying interventions (e.g., Leiter, Spence Laschinger, Day, & Gillon Oore, 2011; Osatuke, Ward, Dyrenforth, & Belton, 2009). The most frequently offered suggestion for dealing with workplace mistreatment is the development and implementation of "effective" workplace bullying policies and practices. Though we certainly agree that such procedures have potential value, we wonder if this common reaction is somewhat premature, given the limits of the data we have just discussed. In particular, what are "effective" policies and practices? Before we suggest or assume the value of specific strategies and practices, we need to understand how individuals have typically responded to bullying and evaluate their judgments about the effectiveness of the strategies they have employed. By learning what they are doing and how effective those strategies have been, from their perspectives, we are better positioned to identify approaches that seem to be working, improve those that are not working, and design new practices based on what we have learned. Consistent with a central theme of this chapter, we are suggesting a data-driven/evidence-based approach.

So What Do Targets Do in the Face of Workplace Bullying?

When targets' responses to bullying are examined, the effectiveness of those responses is typically inferred from their correlation to, and moderation of, indicators

of the individual's stress and strain (e.g., Richman, Rospenda, Flaherty, & Freels, 2001a). What has not been examined is the individual target's own assessment of how effective the actions undertaken have been. Their perception of effectiveness has implications for the outcomes they experience. If they do not think it worked or indeed they perceive it worsened the situation, then the impact of bullying will likely be more negative. Further, their perceptions of effectiveness have implications for their sense of efficacy in their ability to address bullying, as well as a sense of organizational responsiveness to and efficacy in handling these concerns. In our 2008 study, we drew on the extant workplace bullying literature on responding (Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf, & Cooper, 2003; Hogh & Dofradottir, 2001; Lee & Brotheridge, 2006; Rayner, 1999; Richman et al., 2001a) as well as the workplace stress coping literature (Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989) to identify a range of possible responses. Employees who self-identified as being bullied were asked to indicate what responses they had tried and whether the response had improved, worsened, or had no discernible impact on the bullying (see Table 1.2).
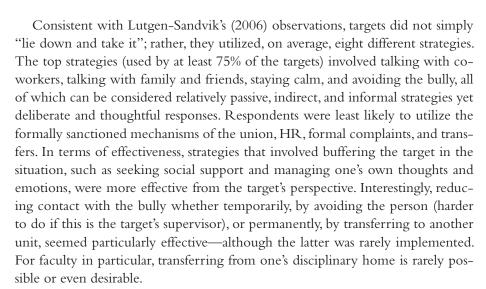
TABLE 1.2 Target Responses to Bullying and the Perceived Effectiveness of Each Approach

Responses to Bullying	*% Using This Approach*	*Effectiveness*	
		Made Situation Worse	*Made Situation Better*
Talk to coworkers	92.1	15.5	***24.4***
Talk with family and friends	88.5	2.5	***36.0***
Stayed calm	79.8	10.6	***26.1***
Avoid the bully	76.4	11.5	***30.9***
Told supervisor/chair/dean	57.1	***26.7***	23.8
Acted as if don't care	54.8	16.5	***18.6***
Asked colleagues for help	52.5	13.7	***31.6***
Ignored it or did nothing	52.3	***17.0***	10.6
Asked bully to stop	40.4	***38.9***	15.3
Behaved extra nice	38.5	***21.7***	14.5
Went along with behavior	36.9	***18.2***	7.6
Lowered productivity	35.6	***29.7***	9.4
Not take behavior seriously	33.3	11.9	***20.3***
Told union	30.8	***23.2***	16.1
Told HR	28.6	***32.7***	15.4
Had someone speak to bully	27.9	***34.0***	16.0
Made formal complaint	16.3	***37.9***	24.1
Asked for transfer	9.5	35.3	***52.9***
Threatened to tell others	7.8	***28.6***	7.1

Note: Percentages are reported for strategies that were viewed as helping or hurting the situation. We do not report data in those instances in which the responses neither helped nor hurt or those instances in which targets were unable to make a judgment. Data are presented in descending order of use. Bold italics indicate the larger of the two effectiveness percentages. Sample sizes varied from 300 to 308.

Consistent with Lutgen-Sandvik's (2006) observations, targets did not simply "lie down and take it"; rather, they utilized, on average, eight different strategies. The top strategies (used by at least 75% of the targets) involved talking with co-workers, talking with family and friends, staying calm, and avoiding the bully, all of which can be considered relatively passive, indirect, and informal strategies yet deliberate and thoughtful responses. Respondents were least likely to utilize the formally sanctioned mechanisms of the union, HR, formal complaints, and transfers. In terms of effectiveness, strategies that involved buffering the target in the situation, such as seeking social support and managing one's own thoughts and emotions, were more effective from the target's perspective. Interestingly, reducing contact with the bully whether temporarily, by avoiding the person (harder to do if this is the target's supervisor), or permanently, by transferring to another unit, seemed particularly effective—although the latter was rarely implemented. For faculty in particular, transferring from one's disciplinary home is rarely possible or even desirable.

Before commenting on the relative effectiveness of different actions, it is important to note that none of the strategies that we will discuss substantively changed the situation for a sizeable proportion of the self-identified victims. This is a point we will revisit later. Attempts to pretend the mistreatment is not bullying by ignoring or going along with behavior or placating the actor were not viewed as particularly effective. Telling the bully to stop was clearly problematic—reflected in the highest percentage of people saying that doing so made the situation worse. Giving voice via more formal strategies of the union, HR, and formal complaints had a greater likelihood of making the situation worse (cf. Cortina & Magley, 2003). This is particularly disturbing given the fact that this is a fairly standard recommendation for addressing bullying and more generally any form of harassment or discrimination in the workplace (Cowan, 2011; Lutgen-Sandvik & Tracy, 2012). Thus, targets appear to try a number of different strategies, with the more successful (at least in the immediate term) being more passive and in some cases employing avoidant strategies of seeking support, comfort, and help from those immediately around them. Managing these situations by themselves or via more formal mechanisms is particularly risky. Evidence that such action actually does worsen the situation for targets has been documented by Richman and her colleagues (Richman et al., 2001a, 2001b) in their multi-wave longitudinal study of university employees. They found that active problem-focused responses, particularly those that involved engaging members of the organization who have the "power" to alter the situation, had a limited effect on ending bullying and when it failed, the effects on the individual were devastating. Research in other work settings finds similar results (Lutgen-Sandvik, 2006; Zapf & Gross, 2001). An interesting exception in our study is that getting help from colleagues did have a beneficial impact. This speaks to the power of the peer (particularly among faculty) and hence, the value in enhancing witness/bystander engagement (Ashburn-Nardo, Morris, & Goodwin, 2008).

Actions of Witnesses/Bystanders

Given the potential for bullying situations to escalate and involve others in the work unit, as well as the evidence that targets look to coworkers for help, consideration of the presence and responses of witnesses becomes important. First, the prevalence rates for witnessing hostile interactions are an indicator of the climate of an organization; that is, that others in the environment are aware of these experiences. Second, data from other settings finds that witnesses experience negative effects, such as, anxiety, stress, depression, and sleep disorders, similar to those of targets (Hoel, Einarsen, & Cooper, 2003; Vartia, 2001). Finally, witnesses can play a very helpful role in the prevention and management of aggression and bullying (Keashly & Neuman, 2007). Unfortunately, there is little in the workplace bullying literature about what witnesses actually do with respect to responding to what they see. In our 2008 study, those who identified as witnessing bullying indicated what actions they took and their perception of the effectiveness of that action in addressing the situation.

As can be seen in Table 1.3, a large percentage of witnesses seemed uncertain of what to do but many did indeed take action. Most frequent responses involved talking to others (coworkers, family and friends) about what they had observed and also talking with the targets, possibly in an effort to understand what was happening. For example, Lewis (2001), in his interview study of academics, noted that colleagues can be significant in terms of legitimizing and validating a target's experiences. Some relatively successful actions involved buffering the victim by advising them to avoid the bully or the witness keeping the bully away. The more successful actions appear to be what Bowes-Sperry and O'Leary-Kelly (2005) characterize as low involvement strategies; that is, the witness not putting themselves out publicly and potentially risking retaliation. As can be seen, some witnesses did become more overtly involved by confronting the bully or reporting to management; actions that appeared to worsen the situation. Just as we saw with the targets, the action of reporting is often perceived as worsening the situation, a very disturbing finding given that institutional policies often prescribe formal reporting for mistreatment and harassment. These findings suggest that such approaches may inadvertently intensify the situation; the question is, why that would be the case? To the extent that witnesses worry about possible escalation, this may result in underreporting and thus, the institution being unaware of the extent of bullying issues. With faculty, underreporting may well be associated with the belief they have that given the autonomous nature of faculty, that they do not have the "legitimacy" to comment on another's behavior (see Keashly & Neuman, 2010, for further discussion).

We recognize that these data are all from one institution and may reflect its unique character and climate. We suggest that as a mechanism for determining the "profile" of a work environment, finding out the experience of people "on the ground" provides important feedback regarding available formal approaches and

TABLE 1.3 Witness Responses to Bullying and the Perceived Effectiveness of Each Approach

Responses to Bullying	% Using this Approach	Effectiveness	
		Made Situation Worse	Made Situation Better
Talked to coworkers or other people	87	15.0	*18.2*
Talked to the victim about what I saw happening	77	5.3	*28.7*
Talked to family or friends	74	4.5	*21.0*
Did not know what to do	57	*11.5*	1.5
Advised the victim to report the incident	55	*17.0*	13.2
Did nothing (ignored it)	53	*22.5*	6.9
Reported incident to management or higher-ups	43	*27.5*	15.0
Advised the victim to avoid the bully	39	7.4	*23.6*
Got other people to denounce the conduct	32	14.9	*22.3*
Tried to keep the bully away from the victim	28	16.8	*23.4*
Told the bully to stop the behaviors	25	*35.8*	24.2
Helped the bully and the victim talk to each other	12	25.0	*31.3*
Went with victim when they reported the incident	11	20.9	*30.2*

Note: Percentages are reported for strategies that were viewed as helping or hurting the situation. We do not report data in those instances in which the responses neither helped nor hurt or those instances in which targets were unable to make a judgment. Data are presented in descending order of use. Bold italics indicate the larger of the two effectiveness percentages. Sample sizes varied from 349 to 392.

potentially more effective informal ones. Similar to the methodological problems in collecting prevalence data, the evaluation of the efficacy of various approaches requires consistency across future studies.

So Where Do We Go From Here?

As evidenced by the studies of aggregated data reviewed here and supported by a developing qualitative literature of individuals' experiences in academia (e.g., Lester, 2009; Nelson & Lambert, 2001; Westhues, 2004), bullying and mobbing exist in academic environments. The prevalence of bullying and the question of whether or not it is changing (particularly as relates to the assumptions that it is increasing) remain empirical questions to be tested. Further, while there are thoughtful conceptual analyses that suggest that the structures and processes operating in academic institutions may make universities particularly vulnerable to bullying and related phenomena (e.g., Bertram Gallant, 2011; Keashly & Neuman,

2010; Twale & De Luca, 2008; Zabrodska, Linnell, Laws, & Davies, 2011), there is insufficient empirical evidence to adequately test this assumption. In order to do so, we need to have consistent measurement of core constructs collected over time and across various institutional contexts. In this chapter, we have identified the current challenges to accomplishing this much-needed research.

Within the extant empirical literature on bullying in academia, there are numerous intriguing questions to be explored. Given space limitations, we will focus on three questions that we believe to be of immediate import because of their implications for prevention and management of bullying and its impact on individuals. First, what is the connection between exposure to behaviors (as assessed by the behavioral checklist approach) and the experience of victimization (as assessed by self-labeling in response to a definition)? It is unlikely to be a perfect correlation as people vary in their evaluations of behavior. These evaluations are influenced by the context within which they occur. For example, critique of one's ideas and contributions may be experienced as particularly threatening to employees in a corporate environment while it is in fact expected in an academic environment and thus, less likely to be experienced as unfair, hostile, or bullying. We do acknowledge that within academic environments, junior faculty members going for tenure are more likely to experience such critique as threatening than would a tenured faculty member. Detailing and understanding this connection opens up places for helping manage the target's experience and thus mitigating negative impact. The second question concerns the issue of actor motive and intent. In the workplace bullying literature (both within and beyond academic settings), there is very little known about actors—beyond their relationship to the targets. Understanding the motive of the actor opens up possibilities for management of bullying. For example, if the faculty member's behavior reflects limited social skill in managing relationships, their emotions, or lack of awareness of impact of behavior on others, actions such as interpersonal skill training and coaching may alleviate the problem (e.g., Avtgis & Chory, 2010). If the academic's motive is removing a rival for a coveted position, then intervention by an organizational authority such as a chair or dean is necessary. The third question concerns the role and effectiveness of formal mechanisms such as HR, unions, and supervisors/department chairs in the response to, and management of, these situations. Given that much appears to be invested in policies and procedures for setting a more productive climate, it is important to understand how and when these will be effective.

We want to be clear that this chapter is not meant to grant a license to those who believe that bullying is not a problem. Rather, we believe that bullying is a significant problem but we must increase the conceptual and methodological rigor with which we explore and discuss the phenomenon. In short, we have not jumped off the bandwagon nor are we urging others to do so. We simply want to be sure that the wagon is headed in the right direction and the passengers have a legitimate reason for being on board.

References

Adams, A., & Crawford, N. (1992). *Bullying at work: How to confront and overcome it*. London: Virago.

American Psychological Association. (2009). *APA college dictionary of psychology*. Washington, DC: Author.

Aquino, K., & Lamertz, K. (2004). Relational model of workplace victimization: Social roles and patterns of victimization in dyadic relationships. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 89*, 1023–1034.

Ashburn-Nardo, L., Morris, K.A., & Goodwin, S.A. (2008). The Confronting Prejudiced Responses (CPR) Model: Applying CPR in organizations. *Academy of Management Learning & Education, 7*, 332–342.

Avtgis, T.A., & Chory, R.M. (2010). The dark side of organizational life: Aggressive expression in the workplace. In T. A. Avtgis, & A. S. Rancer (Eds.), *Arguments, aggression, and conflict: New directions in theory* (pp. 285–304). Hoboken, NJ: Routledge.

Berryman-Fink, C. (1998). Can we agree to disagree? Faculty–faculty conflict. In S. A. Holton (Ed.), *Mending the cracks in the ivory tower: Strategies for conflict management in higher education* (pp. 141–163). Bolton, MA: Anker Publishing.

Bertram Gallant, T. (2011). *Creating the ethical academy: A systems approach to understanding misconduct and empowering change*. New York: Routledge.

Björkqvist, K., Österman, K., & Hjelt-Back, M. (1994). Aggression among university employees. *Aggressive Behavior, 20*, 173–184.

Bowes-Sperry, L., & O'Leary-Kelly, A.M. (2005). To act or not to act: The dilemma faced by sexual harassment observers. *Academy of Management Review, 30*, 288–306.

Boynton, P. (2005). Higher Education Supplement Bullying Survey. Preliminary findings from the Boynton-THES Bullying Survey. Retrieved from http://www.unitetheunion. org/pdf/Preliminary%20Findings%20from%20Bullying%20survey.pdf

Brodsky, C.M. (1976). *The harassed worker*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Carver, C.S., Scheier, M.F., & Weintraub, J.K. (1989). Assessing coping strategies: A theoretically based approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56*, 267–283.

Cortina, L.M., & Magley, V.J. (2003). Raising voice, risking retaliation: Events following interpersonal mistreatment in the workplace. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 8*, 247–265.

Court, S. (2008). *The extent of bullying and harassment in post-16 education*. Paper presented at the meeting of the Union of Colleges and Universities Tackling Bullying conference, London.

Cowan, R.L. (2011). "Yes, we have an anti-bullying policy, but. . .": HR professionals' understandings and experiences with workplace bullying policy. *Communication Studies, 62*, 307–327.

Einarsen, S. (1999). The nature and causes of bullying at work. *International Journal of Manpower, 20*, 16–27.

Einarsen, S. (2000). Harassment and bullying at work: A review of the Scandinavian approach. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 5*, 379–401.

Einarsen, S., Hoel, H., Zapf, D., & Cooper, C.L. (Eds.). (2003). *Bullying and emotional abuse in the workplace: International perspectives in research and practice*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Fogg, P. (2008). Academic bullies. *Chronicle of Higher Education, 55*(3), B10.

Fox, S. (2010, April). *Bullying in academia: Distinctive relations of power and control*. Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for Industrial/Organizational Psychology Conference, Atlanta, GA.
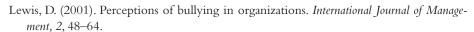
Fox, S., & Spector, P.E. (Eds.). (2005). *Counterproductive work behavior: Investigations of actors and targets.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Gravois, J. (2006). Mob rule: In departmental disputes, professors can act just like animals. *The Chronicle of Higher Education, 52*(32), A32.

Greenberg, J. (Ed.). (2010). *Insidious workplace behavior.* Hillsdale, NJ: Routledge Academic.

Hadjifotiou, N. (1983). *Women and harassment at work.* London: Pluto Press.

Hoel, H., Einarsen, S., & Cooper, C.L. (2003). Organisational effects of bullying. In S. Einarsen, H. Hoel, D. Zapf, & C. L. Cooper (Eds.), *Bullying and emotional abuse in the workplace: International perspectives in research and practice* (pp. 145–161). London: Taylor & Francis.

Hogh, A., & Dofradottir, A. (2001). Coping with bullying in the workplace. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, 10*, 485–496.

Holton, S.A. (1995). And now . . . the answers! How to deal with conflict in higher education. *New Directions for Higher Education, 92*, 79–90.

Holton, S.A. (Ed.). (1998). *Mending the cracks in the ivory tower: Strategies for conflict management in higher education.* Bolton, MA: Anker Publishing.

Hubert, A.B., & van Veldhoven, M. (2001). Risk sectors for undesirable behaviour and mobbing. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, 10*, 415–424.

Jawahar, I.M. (2002). A model of organizational justice and workplace aggression. *Journal of Management, 28*, 811–834.

Keashly, L., & Jagatic, K. (2011). North American perspectives on hostile behaviors and bullying at work. In S. Einarsen, H. Hoel, D. Zapf, & C. L. Cooper (Eds.), *Bullying and harassment in the workplace: Developments in theory, research, and practice* (2nd ed., pp. 41–71). London: CRC Press.

Keashly, L., & Neuman, J.H. (2007, November). Stepping up: Developing peer strategies for managing bullying at work. In S. Dickmeyer (Chair), *Building workplace bullying seminars: Grounding training and development in strong communication scholarship.* Symposium conducted at the meeting of the National Communications Association, Chicago, IL.

Keashly, L., & Neuman, J.H. (2008a). *Final report: Workplace behavior (bullying) project survey.* Mankato: Minnesota State University.

Keashly, L., & Neuman, J.H. (2008b). [Workplace Behavior Project Survey]. Unpublished raw data.

Keashly, L., & Neuman, J.H. (2010). Faculty experiences with bullying in higher education: Causes, consequences, and management. *Administrative Theory and Praxis, 32*, 48–70.

Kinman, G., & Jones, F. (2004). Working to the limit: Stress and work-life balance in academic and academic related employees. Retrieved from http://www.atn.edu.au/docs/workingtothelimit.pdf

Kleinginna, P.R., Jr., & Kleinginna, A.M. (1981). A categorized list of motivation definitions with a suggestion for a consensual definition. *Motivation and Emotion, 5*, 263–292.

Lee, R.T., & Brotheridge, C.M. (2006). When prey turns predatory: Workplace bullying as a predictor of counteraggression/bullying, coping, and well-being. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, 15*, 352–377.

Leiter, M.P., Spence Laschinger, H.K., Day, A., & Gillon Oore, D. (2011). The impact of civility interventions on employee social behavior, distress, and attitudes. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 96*, 1258–1274.

Lester, J. (2009). Not your child's playground: Workplace bullying among community college faculty. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice, 33*, 444–464.

Lewis, D. (1999). Workplace bullying—Interim findings of a study in further and higher education in Wales. *International Journal of Manpower, 20*, 106–118.

Lewis, D. (2001). Perceptions of bullying in organizations. *International Journal of Management, 2*, 48–64.

Leymann, H. (1990). Mobbing and psychological terror at workplaces. *Violence and Victims, 5*, 119–126.

Lutgen-Sandvik, P. (2006). Take this job and. . . : Quitting and other forms of resistance to workplace bullying. *Communication Monographs, 73*, 406–433.

Lutgen-Sandvik, P., & Tracy, S.J. (2012). Answering five key questions about workplace bullying: How communication scholarship provides thought leadership for transforming abuse at work. *Management Communication Quarterly, 26*(1), 3–47.

McKay, R., Arnold, D.H., Fratzl, J., & Thomas, R. (2008). Workplace bullying in academia: A Canadian study. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal, 20*, 77–100.

Namie, G., & Lutgen-Sandvik, P. (2010). Active and passive accomplices: The communal character of workplace bullying. *International Journal of Communication, 4*, 343–373.

Namie, G., Namie, R., & Lutgen-Sandvik, P. (2011). Challenging workplace bullying in the USA: A communication and activist perspective. In S. Einarsen, H. Hoel, D. Zapf, & C. L. Cooper (Eds.), *Bullying and harassment in the workplace: Developments in theory, research, and practice* (2nd ed., pp. 447–468). London: CRC Press

Nelson, E.D., & Lambert, R.D. (2001). Sticks, stones, and semantics: The ivory tower bully's vocabulary of motives. *Qualitative Sociology, 24*, 83–106.

Neuman, J.H. (2009). [Workplace Behavior Project Survey]. Unpublished raw data.

Osatuke, K., Ward, C., Dyrenforth, S.R., & Belton, L.W. (2009). Civility, respect, engagement in the workforce (CREW): Nationwide organization development intervention at Veterans Health Administration. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 45*, 384–410.

Pearson, C.M., Andersson, L.M., & Porath, C.L. (2000). Assessing and attacking workplace incivility. *Organizational Dynamics, 29*, 123–137.

Price Spratlen, L. (1995). Interpersonal conflict which includes mistreatment in a university workplace. *Violence and Victims, 10*, 285–297.

Pruitt, D.G., & Rubin, J.Z. (1986). *Social conflict: Escalation, stalemate, and settlement.* New York: Random House.

Raskauskas, J. (2006). *Workplace bullying in academia*. San Francisco, CA: American Educational Research Association.

Rayner, C. (1999). From research to implementation: Finding leverage for prevention. *International Journal of Manpower, 20*, 28–38.

Rayner, C., & Cooper, C.L. (2006). Workplace bullying. In E. K. Kelloway, J. Barling, J. Hurrell, & J. Joseph (Eds.), *Handbook of workplace violence*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. AuQ-3

Rayner, C., & Keashly, L. (2005). Bullying at work: A perspective from Britain and North America. In S. Fox & P. E. Spector (Eds.), *Counterproductive work behavior: Investigations of actors and targets* (pp. 271–296). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Richman, J.A., Rospenda, K., Flaherty, J.A., & Freels, S. (2001a). Workplace harassment, active coping and alcohol-related outcomes. *Journal of Substance Abuse, 13*, 347–366.

Richman, J.A., Rospenda, K.M., Nawyn, S.J., Flaherty, J.A., Fendrich, M., Drum, M.L., & Johnson, T.P. (2001b). Sexual harassment and generalized workplace abuse among university employees: Prevalence and mental health correlates. *American Journal of Public Health, 89*, 358–363.

Salin, D. (2001). Prevalence and forms of bullying among business professionals: A comparison of two different strategies for measuring bullying. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, 10*, 425–442.

Schmidt, P. (2010). Workplace mediators seek a role in taming faculty bullies. Retrieved from http://chronicle.com/article/Workplace-Mediators-Seek-a/65815/

Simpson, R., & Cohen, C. (2004). Dangerous work: the gendered nature of bullying in the context of higher education. *Gender, Work & Organization, 11*, 163–186.

Sperry, L. (2009). Mobbing and bullying: The influence of individual, work group, and organizational dynamics on abusive workplace behavior. *Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice and Research, 61*, 190–201.

Stewart, T.A. (1997). *Intellectual capital: The new wealth of organizations*. New York: Doubleday.

Tigrel, E.Y., & Kokalan, O. (2009). Academic mobbing in Turkey. *International Journal of Behavioral, Cognitive, Educational and Psychological Sciences, 1*, 91–99.

Twale, D.J., & De Luca, B.M. (2008). *Faculty incivility: The rise of the academic bully culture and what to do about it*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey–Bass.

Vartia, M. (2001). Consequences of workplace bullying with respect to the well-being of its targets and the observers of bullying. *Scandinavian Journal of Work, Environment and Health, 27*, 63–69.

Westhues, K. (1998). *Eliminating professors: A guide to the dismissal process*. Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Westhues, K. (2004). *Workplace mobbing in academe: Reports from twenty universities*. Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Westhues, K. (2005). *Winning, losing and moving on: How professionals deal with workplace harassment and mobbing*. Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Westhues, K. (2006, Fall). The unkindly art of mobbing. *Academic Matters: The Journal of Higher Education*, 18–19. Retrieved from http://www.ocufa.on.ca/Academic%20Mat ters%20Fall2006/Unkindly_art_of_mobbing.pdf

Westhues, K. (2008). *Critiques of the anti-bullying movement and responses to them*. Paper presented at the meeting of the 6th International Conference on Workplace Bullying, Montreal.

Zabrodska, K., Linnell, S., Laws, C., & Davies, B. (2011). Bullying as intra-active process in neoliberals universities. *Qualitative Inquiry, 17*, 709–719.

Zapf, D., & Einarsen, S. (2005). Mobbing at work: Escalated conflicts in organizations. In S. Fox, & P. E. Spector (Eds.), *Counterproductive work behavior: Investigations of actors and targets* (pp. 237–270). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Zapf, D., Einarsen, S., Hoel, H., & Vartia, M. (2003). Empirical findings on bullying in the workplace. In S. Einarsen, H. Hoel, D. Zapf, & C. L. Cooper (Eds.), *Bullying and emotional abuse in the workplace: International perspectives in research and practice* (pp. 104–126). London: Taylor & Francis.

Zapf, D., Escartín, J., Einarsen, S., Hoel, H., & Vartia, M. (2011). Empirical findings on prevalence and risk groups of bullying in the workplace. In S. Einarsen, H. Hoel, D. Zapf, & C. L. Cooper (Eds.), *Bullying and harassment in the workplace: Developments in theory, research, and practice* (2nd ed., pp. 75–105). London: CRC Press.

Zapf, D., & Gross, C. (2001). Conflict escalation and coping with workplace bullying: A replication and extension. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, 10*, 497.