Impact of attachment style on types of workplace bullying

Jacqueline N. Hood
University of New Mexico

Elizabeth A. Hood
Brandeis University

Kathryn J.L. Jacobson
University of New Mexico

ABSTRACT

Workplace bullying is the exhibition of repeated, hostile behaviors towards one or more individuals. The topic has become increasingly important in today’s workplace as managers seek to retain the most productive employees. Attachment to one’s primary caregiver has been shown to result in externalizing (e.g., aggression) behaviors for children and adolescents. Workplace bullying may be explained, in part, by the early relationships one has with one’s primary caregiver. The type of attachment to one’s primary caregiver, either secure or insecure, may impact whether the individual exhibits bullying behavior. Individuals who are securely attached are less likely than those with insecure attachments to exhibit bullying behavior. The paper suggests further that the type of insecure attachment, whether anxious or avoidant, impacts the type of bulling behavior exhibited in the workplace. Specifically, we argue that adults who have insecure avoidant attachment styles will exhibit active aggressive bullying behavior and those with insecure anxious attachment styles will exhibit passive aggressive bullying behavior.

Keywords: Bullying, Attachment, Aggression
INTRODUCTION

Bullying is increasingly prevalent in organizations and has become an important area of study in the management literature. In the U.S. workforce 50% of employees have reported either personally fallen victim or been witness to acts of bullying in the workplace (Workplace Bullying Institute, 2010). Bullying research (both in the schoolyard and the boardroom) has increased dramatically within the past quarter of a century. However, while organizational scholars have created comprehensive models of workplace bullying (e.g., Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf, & Cooper, 2003) there is a paucity of research in the etiology of the bullying behaviors. One area of study that may provide insight on the origin of bullying behaviors is attachment theory.

Attachment theory (Bowlby, 1973, 1980, 1982, 1988) has increasingly become an important framework for understanding interpersonal processes in adulthood. It has been studied in the work context in regards to adjustment to change, leader-follower relations, socialization, and performance (Kahn, 1995; Keller, 2003; Nelson, Quick, & Joplin, 1991; Simmons, Gooty, Nelson, & Little, 2009). Attachment theory has also been found to be related to individual’s perceptions of threat in the environment (Mikulincer, Orbach, & Iavnieli, 1998) and to perceptions of others (Mikulincer & Horesh, 1999). This paper will provide a discussion and research propositions on the expected impact of attachment styles on bullying behavior at work.

Workplace Bullying

Bullying is a form of employee mistreatment that is receiving increasing attention in Western nations. Bullying is defined as repeated, malicious, and health-endangering mistreatment of an employee by one or more other employees (Namie & Namie, 2000). It is an unwelcome and intentional form of aggression and/or violence that causes harm to one or more individuals (Keashly & Neuman, 2005). Although bullying has been studied fairly extensively in the European working population since the mid-1990s, it has been less studied in the United States. However, the United States has studied bullying under a variety of similar names, such as workplace incivility, emotional abuse, workplace harassment, and hostile workplace behaviors (Keashly & Jagatic, 2003).

In order to be formally classified as bullying, the behaviors must be persistent and enduring, or continuous and long term (six months or more). Workplace bullying is carried out on 10 percent of the workplace population at any one time, with 25-30 percent of workers being subject to bullying at some time in their careers (Keashly & Neuman, 2005; Lutgen-Sandvik, Tracy, & Alberts, 2005). The outcomes of workplace bullying behavior are negative for both the individual and the organization. Individuals often have heightened levels of anxiety, depression, burnout, frustration, helplessness, and negative emotions such as anger, resentment, and fear (Keashly & Neuman, 2005). Workplace bullying can cause the individual to have difficulty concentrating and lowered self-esteem and self-efficacy (Keashly & Neuman, 2005). It has been associated with psychosomatic illness (Djurkovic, McCormack, & Casimir, 2004), reduced productivity (Hoel, Einarsen, & Cooper, 2003), alcohol abuse (Richman, Flaherty & Rospenda, 1996), and post-traumatic stress disorder (Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2004). Negative outcomes for the organization can include decreased job satisfaction, reduced organizational commitment, and greater intention to leave the organization (Tepper, 2000).

Bullying behavior can take many forms, including physical abuse or harm to the individual or group (Brodsky, 1976; Einarsen, 1999). Other types of bullying can include threat
to professional status (e.g., public humiliation), threat to personal standing (e.g., name calling), isolation (e.g., withholding of needed information), overwork (e.g., impossible deadlines), and destabilization (e.g., given meaningless tasks) (Rayner & Hoel, 1997). The intent of the bully is of less importance than the outcomes or effects of the bullying. Indeed, the motivation or intent of the bully is not always obvious or apparent and it has been argued that bullies will sometimes engage in aggressive behavior that allows them to conceal any hostile intentions (Einarsen, et al., 1998).

Put simply, bullying is aggressive behavior towards others. Aggressive behavior in the workplace can consist of both physical aggression and emotional aggression. A significant amount of aggressive behaviors in the workplace consists of nonphysical, indirect, and passive actions (Neuman & Baron, 1998). Although physical abuse is an obvious bullying behavior, emotional abuse can also be clearly evidenced in instances of bullying. Emotional abuse involves “repeated hostile verbal and nonverbal, often nonphysical behaviors directed at a person(s) such that the target's sense of him/herself as a competent worker and person is negatively affected” (Keashly & Jagatic, 2003). In a study of the United States Department of Veterans Affairs, Neuman and Keashly (2004) found the top ten hostile behaviors in the workplace included the following:

* glared at in a hostile manner
* not given praise to which felt entitled
* treated in a rude/disrespectful manner
* delayed actions on matters of importance
* interfered with work activities
* failed to give information needed
* given the silent treatment
* lied to
* given little or no feedback about performance
* prevented from expressing self

As noted by Logsdon, Hood, and Detry (2007), hostile behaviors are often subtle, not easily observable by others, and often involve the withholding of information, recognition, or acknowledgement from the other person. The repeated and prolonged exposure to these behaviors that devalue the individual can be perceived as attempts to remove the individual from effective participation in the workplace (Keashly & Neuman, 2005).

For the purpose of this research study, bullying is divided into two types: active aggressive and passive aggressive. Active aggressive bullying involves direct aggression against an individual that may be verbal or physical. Examples of active aggressive bullying include the following:

- **Verbal bullying**: slandering, ridiculing, or maligning a person or his/her family; persistent name calling which is hurtful, insulting, or humiliating; using a person as butt of jokes; abusive and offensive remarks
- **Physical bullying**: pushing, shoving, kicking, poking, tripping, assault or threat of physical assault, damage to a person's work area or property

Passive aggressive bullying, on the other hand, is more subtle, involving non-verbal behaviors and/or behaviors designed to make the individual feel isolated and excluded. Examples of passive aggressive bullying include:

- **Gesture bullying**: non-verbal threatening gestures or glances that can convey threatening messages
- **Exclusion**: socially or physically excluding or disregarding a person in work-related activities

**Attachment Theory**
Attachment theory was developed in analyzing infants’ interactions with a primary caregiver (Bowlby, 1982). These studies found that infants develop internal working models in close relationships that shape an individual’s self-image. The Strange Situation studies by Ainsworth and others (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978; Ainsworth & Bell, 1969; Blehar, Lieberman, & Ainsworth, 1977; Tracy & Ainsworth, 1981) were designed to observe infant behavior when presented with an unfamiliar playroom, allowing the child an opportunity to explore new toys as well as to interact with an unfamiliar adult, both when the mother was present and when she was absent. Although Ainsworth and her colleagues originally wanted to study the exploratory behavior of infants without the mother in this strange situation, it was found that the behavior of infants upon being reunited with the mother were of surprising interest. Upon the mother returning to the room, some infants approached her and sought physical contact with her if they had been distressed, while others who were not distressed simply returned to the mother and sought some form of interaction. However, in some cases the infant would seek out contact with the mother alternating with tantrum-like behavior towards the mother. This pattern of behavior was found to be related to inconsistent responses of the mother to the infant’s needs in his or her first year of life (Ainsworth, et al., 1978). There were other infants who avoided or disregarded the mother upon her return (Ainsworth, Bell, & Stayton, 1971). Infants whose mothers had been insensitive to the infants’ needs in the first three months of life, and whose mother had indicated both verbally and nonverbally that she disliked physical contact in the first quarter, tended to exhibit avoidant behavior (Ainsworth, et al., 1978).

Attachment theory has been used to understand interpersonal processes or, specifically, one’s relationships in adulthood (e.g., Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Little, Nelson, Wallace & Johnson, 2011; Mikulincer, Florian, Cowan & Cowan, 2002). The self-regulation process has been found to differ according to attachment styles (Fuendeling, 1998). In addition, attachment theory has been related to reactions to others’ needs (Mikulincer, Gillath, Halevy, Avihou, Avidan, & Eshkoli, 2001).

An important component of attachment theory is that individual’s develop schemas or styles of attachment that continue throughout their lives (Bowlby, 1982). These “working models” of the self, one’s relationships, and relationship partners include secure, anxious, and avoidant styles. A secure attachment is one in which another individual is available, sensitive, and responsive to an individual’s needs. The quality of the interactions in times of need is a key variable in determining if the attachment will be secure (Bowlby, 1956). Those who are securely attached are able to perceive the world as generally safe, trust others to be available to them in times of need, and believe that interaction with others will be rewarding.

An insecure attachment has at its roots an inadequately available or responsive attachment figure, and at least two distinct types. An insecure attachment classified as “anxious” is one in which the attachment figure is sometimes responsive and sometimes not responsive. The individual is thus reinforced sometimes for seeking closeness and sometimes not. The attachment style then becomes increasingly demanding to force the attachment figure’s attention, love and support. This can create relationship conflict and emotional distress. An insecure attachment classified as “avoidant” is one in which the attachment figure is generally rejecting and unavailable. The individual then learns to hide or suppress their needs and generally tends to avoid having to rely on others.

**Attachment and Bullying Behavior at Work**
Insecure attachment, in general, has been linked to externalizing (e.g., aggression) and internalizing (e.g., anxiety and depression) behaviors in children and adolescents. Attachment difficulty was defined as a lack of emotional closeness to the child (Abiden, 1995). Bowlby (1982) believed that failing to form an emotional bond with a caregiver increased the child’s risk for interpersonal difficulties. Insecurely attached individuals show higher rates of behavioral issues due to increased levels of anger, mistrust, and chaos because of insecure attachments to the early caregiver (Greenberg & Speltz, 1988; Shaw & Bell, 1993; Sroufe & Fleeson, 1986). Insecure attachment has been found to be associated with anxiety disorders (e.g., Warren, Huston, Egeland, & Sroufe, 1997), depressive symptoms (e.g., Graham & Easterbrooks, 2000), and disruptive behavior disorders (e.g., Greenberg, Speltz, DeKlyen & Endriga, 1991; Troy & Sroufe, 1987).

In terms of disruptive behaviors, children who are not securely attached do not have the opportunity to learn empathy and thus, tend to exhibit higher levels of childhood aggression (Lyons-Ruth, Alpern, & Repacholi, 1983). Indeed, in a study on parental stress, parents who reported attachment difficulties also reported that their children exhibited psychopathic traits, specifically narcissistic and callous/unemotional features (Fite, Greening & Stoppelbein, 2008). A basis for developing empathy for others is a secure attachment with the caregiver (Fite, et al., 2008). Thus, a failure to have a secure attachment to the caregiver, can lead to psychopathic-like traits as well as internalizing symptoms, such as depression and anxiety.

Attachment security or insecurity has been related to how individuals regulate intimacy-related affect and how they manage stress (Fuendeling, 1998; Mikulincer, Shaver, & Pereg, 2003; Wei, Vogel, Ku, & Zakalik, 2005). In addition, interpersonal conflict and conflict management have been found to be related to attachment style (Creasey & Hesson-McInnis, 2001; Lopez, Gover, Leskela, Sauer, Schirmer, & Wyssmann, 1997; Pistole & Arricale, 2003). Securely attached individuals tend to exhibit low levels of interpersonal problems with insecurely attached individuals reporting higher levels of interpersonal concerns (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). In addition, Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) found that the type of attachment insecurity affected the type of interpersonal problems, with those who reported anxious attachments having excessive sensitivity to criticism and those reporting avoidant attachments having problems of aggression.

Insecure avoidant attachment has been found to predict teacher ratings of behavior problems for disadvantaged high-risk preschoolers (Sroufe, 1983). In addition, individuals who use avoidance to cope with stress are assumed to have underlying anger (Main & Weston, 1982). The insecure avoidant attachment style is related to problems with hostility and aggression (Cummings-Robeau, Lopez, & Rice, 2009). The insecure avoidant individual has been linked to the projection of unwanted self-traits onto others (Mikulincer, 1998; Mikulincer & Horesh, 1999). In a study of male undergraduates, Bookwala and Zdaniuk (1998) found that insecure avoidant attachment was related to coercive sexual behavior. Those who have insecure avoidant attachments are likely to exhibit active bullying behavior as they project their own anger and hostility onto others.

A high level of attachment anxiety has been found to be related to emotional reactive behaviors (Wei et al., 2005), excessive reassurance seeking (Davila, 2001; Wearden, Perryman, & Ward, 2006), and hypersensitivity (Weems, Berman, Silverman, & Rodriguez, 2002). In a study by Williams and Kennedy (2012), females were found to exhibit more relational aggression when they had higher levels of attachment anxiety with their mothers. Insecure
anxious attachment was also found to be related to experiences of intense anger and those individuals tended to ruminate on their anger (Mikulincer, 1998). Thus, insecure anxious attachment is likely to lead to more passive aggressive bullying behaviors.

**PROPOSITIONS**

Various types of bullying behavior can be exhibited in the workplace. This paper has categorized these types of bullying into two types: active aggressive and passive aggressive. This paper argues that bullying behavior or the lack thereof will vary according to an individual’s attachment style. Secure individuals, or those who believe that others are trustworthy, that they will be there to help them when in need, and who are able to share their feelings with others, are not likely to exhibit bullying behavior at work. However, those with an insecure attachment style, or those with difficulties in interpersonal relationships due to hostility and anger, are likely to exhibit bullying behavior. Thus, the first proposition states,

Proposition 1a: Individuals with a secure attachment style will not exhibit bullying behavior.

Proposition 1b: Individuals with an insecure attachment style will exhibit bullying behavior.

Infants who avoided their mothers upon their return to the mother in the Strange Situation also showed unpredictable episodes of aggression toward her at home (Main & Weston, 1981). Additional studies showed that mothers who were deemed avoidant tended to be low in emotional expressiveness, even when the infant was being highly aggressive (Main, Tomasini, & Tolan, 1979; Main & Stadtman, 1981). The person who has the insecure avoidant attachment style is likely to exhibit overt aggression at work when stressed. Thus,

Proposition 2: Individuals with an avoidant attachment style will exhibit active aggressive bullying behavior.

Maternal inconsistency resulted in patterns of infant behavior that include a combination of seeking closeness to the mother and exhibiting tantrum-like behavior (Ainsworth, et al., 1978). These individuals tend to develop an anxious attachment style. Individuals with an anxious attachment style would be excessively sensitive to criticism, causing the individual to react with anger and aggression. However, their anxiety is generally around loss of the individual, thus their aggression would be exhibited in a more passive manner. Thus,

Proposition 3: Individuals with an anxious attachment style will exhibit passive aggressive bullying behavior.

**CONCLUSION**

Workplace bullying or the repeated, malicious, and health-endangering mistreatment of an employee by one or more other employees results in a multitude of negative individual and organizational outcomes. However, even as these behaviors become increasingly relevant to today’s workplace, studies on the underlying origins of the behavior are still undetermined.
Attachment theory provides a framework in which to understand the etiology of bullying. The type of bullying behavior, whether active aggressive or passive aggressive, is likely to be related to the type of attachment. Specifically, it was proposed here that those with a secure attachment will not exhibit bullying behavior, those with insecure avoidant attachment are likely to exhibit active aggressive bullying behavior, and those with insecure anxious attachment are likely to exhibit passive aggressive bullying behavior. Understanding of the foundations of bullying behavior will assist individuals and organizations in managing this counterproductive behavior in the workplace.
REFERENCES


