

THE TACTICAL TOPOGRAPHY OF STALKING VICTIMIZATION AND MANAGEMENT

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A meta-analysis of 108 samples across 103 studies of stalking related phenomena, representing more than 70,000 participants, reveals an average prevalence across studies of 23.5% for women and 10.5% for men, with an average duration of almost 2 years. The average proportion of female victims across studies was 75%, and 77% of stalking emerged from some form of prior acquaintance, with 49% originating from romantic relationships. New typologies of stalking behavior, coping responses to stalking, and symptomology due to stalking victimization are reported. Across 42 studies, the average physical violence incidence was 33%, and 17 studies produced an average sexual violence incidence of slightly greater than 10%. A summary of 32 studies of restraining orders indicated that they are violated an average of 40% of the time and are perceived as followed by worse events almost 21% of the time.

Key words: stalking, interpersonal violence, sexual violence, coping, symptomology, restraining orders

THE CRIME OF STALKING did not exist until 1990. It was in this year that the first antistalking legislation took effect in California. Although stalking was not a crime prior to 1990, the activity of stalking dates to days of antiquity. Obsessive pursuit of another, whether for purposes of romance or revenge, is evident in accounts of both romantic and historical literary traditions (e.g., Kamir, 1995; Lloyd-Goldstein, 1998; Meloy, 1999). In the contemporary era, stalking evolved from a phenomenon associated almost exclusively with celebrity victimization to a woman's issue to a facet of a broader spectrum of interpersonal violence (see Lowney & Best, 1995; Way, 1994), which includes new media of intrusion (Finkelhor, Mitchell, & Wolak, 2000; Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002).

Given the relatively recent criminalization of stalking, it is not surprising that social scientific research on the topic has been relatively scarce until only recently. Research on stalking types of behavior began under different rubrics (e.g., Herold, Mantle, & Zemitis, 1979; Jason, Reichler, Easton, Neal, & Wilson, 1984) and has grown from only a handful of studies by the mid-1990s to more than 100 studies as of this writing. It is important in

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the context of such rapid expansion of research to map the progress to date and chart the more appropriate courses for the future. This will be accomplished by defining stalking and identifying some of the dominant perspectives toward understanding stalking and stalking-related phenomena. Next, the methodology of a descriptive and interpretive meta-analysis is described. The results are reported in terms of summary statistics as well as typologies of the tactics of stalking, coping, and symptomology. Finally, the important points and implications of these results are specified.

DEFINING STALKING AND STALKING-RELATED PHENOMENA

In general terms, stalking occurs when a person is pursued or harassed in an intentional, ongoing, unwanted, and fear-inducing manner. Stalking can be defined more specifically in legalistic or more conceptual ways. Although these definitional approaches share much in common, they are not necessarily the same. For example, stalking statutes vary somewhat from state to state and country to country, but most legislation identifies stalking as an intentional pattern of repeated or ongoing unwanted pursuit that a reasonable person would find fearful or threatening (Miller, 2001). States vary in the extent to which such activity must be considered intentional and the extent to which specific behaviors are specified as constituting the crime (American Prosecutors Research Institute, 1997).

Legally, stalking tends to be defined from a structural approach. That is, stalking occurred if the evidence indicates a certain pattern of behavior occurred. For example, Miller (2001) noted that most state laws identify three crucial elements to stalking: intentionality of action, explicit or implicit threats, and resultant victim fear. Each of these presents specific evidentiary requirements for the definition of stalking. In contrast, researchers and theorists are often interested in stalking as defined by the objects of stalking pursuit. For example, Mullen, Pathé, and Purcell (2000) described stalking as "a situation in which one individual imposes on another unwanted and fear-inducing intrusions in

KEY POINTS OF THE RESEARCH REVIEW

1. By summarizing research by concept across many studies rather than summarizing each study's results separately, meta-analyses such as this are likely to produce more reliable and valid conclusions.
2. Based on the data of this meta-analysis, approximately
 - one fifth of people have been stalked,
 - 24% of women have been stalked,
 - 10% of men have been stalked,
 - 75% of victims are female and 25% of victims are male,
 - half of all stalking emerges from prior romantic relationships,
 - 75% of all stalking emerges from some type of prior acquaintance and 25% from strangers.
3. Stalking behavior appears to take one of seven basic forms:
 - hyperintimacy, or behaviors displaying excessive interest in developing a relationship;
 - proximity/surveillance, or following types of behavior;
 - invasion, in which the stalker trespasses on the victim's property, space, or privacy;
 - proxy, in which the stalker involves associates of the victim or third parties to pursue the victim;
 - intimidation and harassment, whereby the stalker threatens or otherwise attempts to psychologically manipulate the victim;
 - coercion and constraint, through which the stalker controls the victim through extortion, threat, or force; or
 - aggression, which takes the form of violence, whether sexual or nonsexual.
3. Stalking victimization has any of several possible effects on victims, including the following symptoms: general disturbance, affective health, cognitive health, physical health, social health, resource health, or resilience health.
4. Victims can attempt to cope with their predicament through any of several means, including the following:
 - moving away, or trying to avoid contact with the stalker;
 - moving with, or negotiating a more acceptable form of the relationship;
 - moving against, or attempting to harm, constrain, or punish the stalker;
 - moving inward, in which the victim seeks self-control or self-actualization; and
 - moving outward, in which the victim seeks the assistance of others.
5. One of the most common law enforcement tactics for stalking management is the restraining order. A summary of studies indicates that approximately 40% of restraining orders are violated and as much as a fifth are perceived to make matters worse.

the form of communication or approaches" (p. 3). This is similar to Cupach and Spitzberg's (1998) notion of obsessive relational intrusion, which "is the repeated and unwanted pursuit and invasion of one's sense of physical or symbolic privacy" (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2002, p. 193). Thus, scholarly research often asks people if they have been obsessively pursued in an unwanted way, if they would label what happened to them as stalking, and how fearful or threatened they felt as a result of their perceived pursuit. This is a more perceptual approach and locates the definition of stalking in the mind of the victim (Mullen, Pathé, & Purcell, 2000). The extent to which these approaches produce different estimates of stalking is itself a matter of investigation (Tjaden, Thoennes, & Allison, 2000).

The use of the term *stalking* typically presupposes a level of fear associated with the activity of unwanted pursuit. Other perceptual research traditions are interested in the process of unwanted pursuit independent of the level of fear. Cupach and Spitzberg (2000; Spitzberg, Marshall, & Cupach, 2001; Spitzberg, Nicastro, & Cousins, 1998; Spitzberg & Rhea, 1999) and others (e.g., Coleman, 1997; Jason et al., 1984; Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Palarea, Cohen, & Rohling, 2000; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000) have investigated unwanted romantic pursuit as a product of a distorted courtship process. Research shows that relatively minor levels of obsessive relational intrusion are normatively perceived as threatening and fearful (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2000) and that most stalking originates from, or is in the pursuit of, a relationship with the object of pursuit (Cupach, Spitzberg, & Carson, 2000; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001a, 2002, in press). Thus, the difference between stalking and mere annoyingly persistent romantic pursuit is a relatively fine line and makes the definition of stalking problematic.

PERSPECTIVES TOWARD STALKING

The structural and perceptual approaches to defining the phenomenon of unwanted pursuit suggest distinct agendas for these research traditions. The parallel is far from exact, but the

structural approach tends to be associated with research that has more clinical, counseling, therapeutic, risk management, and law enforcement objectives. This clinical/forensic perspective is typified by studies of case files from clinical or forensic sources. Implicit in much of this tradition is the assumption that stalking results from psychopathology, disturbed attachment histories, or serious personality disturbances of the pursuer (Meloy, 1996, 1998). A natural extension of this assumption is the penchant in these literatures for developing typologies of stalkers (see Holmes, 2001). Also implicit is the objective of managing risk to victim and society through risk prediction. This objective is illustrated by the attempt to identify characteristics of the perpetrator or the victim that distinguish the nature of victimization (e.g., whether there was violence; see Meloy, Davis, & Lovette, 2001).

In contrast, the perceptual approach tends to be affiliated more with basic rather than applied research traditions. The perceptual approach views stalking-related phenomena as emerging, in large part, from deviant forms of otherwise culturally endorsed courtship rituals (e.g., Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001a, 2002). Cultures often reinforce persistence in pursuit even in the face of rejection. The process of courtship is mired in ambiguity (Metts & Spitzberg, 1996). As such, stalking is viewed as an interactional process, as an aberration of relational processes, rather than primarily an individual's pathology (Cupach et al., 2000; Emerson, Ferris, & Gardner, 1998; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001a, 2002, in press). This interactional view is also more oriented toward basic theoretical objectives than interventionist objectives (e.g., Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000; Langhinrichsen-Rohling, & Rohling, 2000).

An increasingly important question, therefore, is the extent to which research is cumulative across these research traditions. Studies to

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date have tended to use disparate measures of stalking, its tactical process, and its related variables such as type of relationship (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001a). Furthermore, most literature reviews to date lack practical utility because they summarize research findings on a study-by-study basis across time rather than a concept-by-concept basis across studies. In contrast, this systematic review reports a descriptive meta-analysis of concepts across studies along with inductive-interpretive methods to develop a descriptive profile of the stalking process as well as typologies of stalking tactics, coping tactics, and victim symptomology. By increasing the number of studies and size of collective sample, there is greater likelihood that resulting estimates will be more valid and reliable than more interpretive reviews.

METHOD

Study Selection

Traditional methods of literature search (i.e., searching for derivations of the term *stalking* in psychological and legal search engines) were combined with involvement in stalking associations (i.e., Association of Threat Assessment Professionals, San Diego Stalking Strike Force, Rutgers Research Conference on Stalking, etc.) and standard tracking of references in existing literature to compile as comprehensive a pool of studies on stalking and stalking-related phenomena as possible. Studies of people's interpretations of hypothetical situations (e.g., Hills & Taplin, 1998) were excluded unless they also had questions pertaining to respondent's personal experiences with stalking. Studies of sexual harassment or mere threatening behavior (e.g., Guy, Brown, & Poelstra, 1992) were excluded on the grounds that the interpretive frame for these studies generally do not presume either fear or persistence in the pursuit of an ongoing relationship. An effort was made to exclude, or merge when feasible, studies using the same data set (e.g., Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 1999, vs. 2000; or Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998, vs. Davis, Coker, & Sanderson, 2001).

Coding

Two processes of coding were employed in this review (see Appendix B for the Coding Form). First, each study was examined for certain descriptive variables. Specifically, year of publication, sample size, sample composition (i.e., male only, female only, or mixed), sampling method (i.e., probability, nonprobability), nationality of sample(s), average duration of stalking (i.e., mean, if reported, or median, in months), overall incidence or prevalence, and incidence by gender were coded. Incidence was further separated by victim and perpetrator when possible. Two additional variables were coded when available. Sample type was coded initially into 1 of 10 possible forms: clinical, forensic, homicide, college, victims only, domestic violence, general population, organizational, adolescent, and other. Sample types were subsequently reduced into three supracategories: clinical/forensic (including clinical, forensic, homicide, domestic violence), normal (including general population, college, adolescent, organizational), and victim only (i.e., studies soliciting "victims" of stalking). Relationship origin was also coded. This variable represents the type of previous or extant relationship context from which stalking emerged. Across the sample of studies, more than 250 labels were identified in the stalking literature. This list was interpretively reduced through successive coalescence of terms into the following two variables. First, a simple dichotomous code indicated how much stalking occurred by strangers or people who had some degree of prior relationship with the object of pursuit. Second, a more elaborated code identified what percentage of stalking emerged from any one of the following relationship types: miscellaneous, stranger, colleague (e.g., coworker, manager, fellow student, etc.), service related (e.g., teacher-student, counselor-patient, etc.), acquaintance, intimate nonromantic (e.g., family member, close friend, etc.), or intimate romantic (e.g., dating partner, spouse, ex-spouse, etc.). Finally, given the interest in examining coping tactics, similar search processes were applied to the identification of relational violence studies

TABLE 1: Descriptive Summary Statistics of Studies (N = 68,615)

	n	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation
Studies	103				
Samples Across Studies	108				
Sample Size		14.00	16000.00	652.26	2032.69
Mean/median duration (months)	21	3.69	85.00	22.41	20.73
Female victim prevalence	21	1.00	89.00	23.48	19.13
Female perpetrator prevalence	7	.00	33.00	9.21	11.37
Male victim prevalence	15	.00	29.00	10.50	9.05
Male perpetrator prevalence	7	1.00	53.00	16.29	18.81
Overall victim prevalence	30	.00	85.00	21.35	18.31
Overall perpetrator prevalence	4	3.50	50.00	22.38	19.80
Female victim proportion stalked	43	13.00	100.00	74.72	20.94
Female perpetrator proportion stalker	48	.00	92.00	19.53	18.90
Male victim proportion stalked	42	.00	87.00	25.31	20.47
Male perpetrator proportion stalker	47	8.00	100.00	79.35	19.60
Acquainted	47	38.00	100.00	77.27	16.41
Unacquainted	43	.00	53.00	21.22	14.73
Miscellaneous	9	2.50	29.00	10.50	8.03
Stranger	28	0.00	48.00	17.75	12.15
Neighbor	2	5.00	16.00	10.50	7.78
Colleague	18	2.00	30.00	12.64	9.08
Service related	10	2.00	100.00	27.60	26.71
Acquaintance	29	8.00	50.00	22.48	10.86
Intimate nonromantic	20	2.00	78.00	17.25	19.51
Intimate romantic	40	13.00	100.00	49.18	24.12

in which restraining or protective orders were investigated. Any estimate of the percentage of orders violated was noted. Furthermore, any estimates indicating whether the orders were perceived to have made matters worse or were followed by escalated violence were coded as well. Every coded estimate was subsequently verified by one of two undergraduate students, and all discrepancies were resolved through conference.¹

A second process of coding was more interpretive in nature. Each study reporting percentages of victims or stalkers engaging in types of stalking tactics, coping tactics (i.e., responses to manage victimization), and victim symptomology was identified. These tactics and symptoms were semantically and syntactically simplified to their more elemental features. These phrases were then further simplified in a variety of ways, including removing unnecessary qualifiers (e.g., "persistently," "unwanted," etc.), converting into present tense, and grouping obviously common tactics (e.g., "calls," "phone calls," "telephone calls"). The resulting lists were then successively coalesced into higher order content categories or function. The resulting

typologies thus emerged from an inductive process of examining all available empirical studies as well as an interpretive process of looking for functional and content commonalities in the data.

RESULTS

A total of 103 studies of stalking or stalking-related phenomena, representing 108 samples, were located (see Table 1).² Sample sizes ranged from 14 to 16,000. Across all 108 samples, 68,615 participants were examined or asked questions about stalking or stalking-related phenomena. Most of the studies derived from college ($n = 27$, 25%) or forensic ($n = 27$, 25%) samples, with most of the balance consisting of victim-only ($n = 12$, 11%), clinical ($n = 10$, 9%), general population ($n = 10$, 9%), or organizational ($n = 7$, 7%) samples. There were relatively few studies of domestic violence ($n = 4$, 4%), homicide ($n = 2$, 2.1%), or adolescent populations ($n = 2$, 2%), with 4 "other" studies (e.g., studies that combined multiple sampling strategies). If bundled into broader categories, however, the populations are relatively evenly dis-

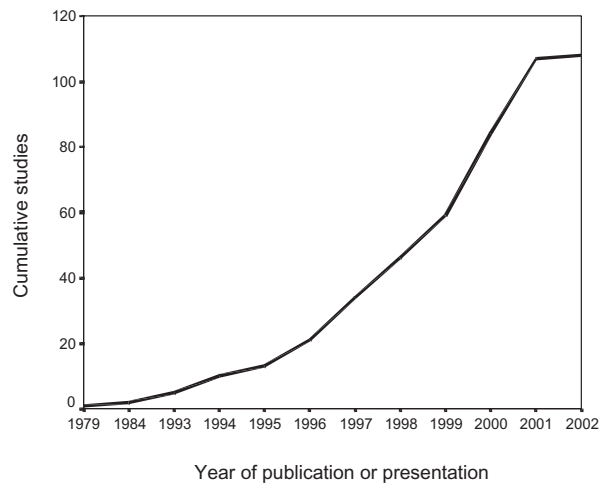


Figure 1: Stalking Studies by Year of Publication (N = 108)

tributed across clinical/forensic ($n = 43$, 40%), general population ($n = 36$, 33%), and college ($n = 26$, 24%) populations.

A graph of studies over time, by year of publication through October 2001, illustrates a relatively steady trend of increasing empirical attention to the topic of stalking (see Figure 1). This trend is especially pronounced starting in the mid-1990s, consistent with the interpretation that the passage of antistalking legislation

There were no significant correlations between any of the prevalence means and year of publication, suggesting that although stalking research has been increasing, there is no evidence yet that stalking victimization has been increasing.

gave rhetorical force to the pursuit of scholarly inquiry, as well as the requisite financing that is often involved. There were no significant correlations between any of the prevalence means and year of publication, suggesting that although stalking research has been increasing, there is no evidence yet that stalking victimization has been increasing.

The gender distribution lends credence to Lowney and Best's (1995) claim that the issue of stalking was co-opted by the women's movement during much of the 1990s. Although most studies were of both males and females ($n = 74$, 69%), there were almost 4 times as many women-only studies ($n = 25$, 23%) than

male-only studies ($n = 5$, 5%). Most male-only studies were clinical/forensic studies. In contrast, most female-only studies were general population studies. The fact that general population studies are generally funded by public agencies further suggests that the larger social agenda views stalking victimization as more a women's problem than a man's problem.

The vast majority of studies on stalking are convenience-based nonprobability samples ($n = 96$, 89%) rather than random or probability-based samples ($n = 9$, 8%). This supports the conclusion that most studies cannot be assumed to be representative. On the other hand, it also supports the importance of conducting meta-analyses in order to enhance the sample size reflected in stalking research and the claims that need to be derived from such research.

Given that stalking legislation began in the United States, it is not surprising that more than 70% of stalking-related studies are based in the United States ($n = 71$). Virtually all research on stalking thus far derives from Anglo populations (11 Australian, 8 British, 8 Canadian, 6 other—mostly mixed populations, and 2 European studies). Only recently have there been studies in Japan (Suzuki, 1999), Iran (e.g., Kordvani, 2000), and the Caribbean (Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002).

The average duration of stalking was 22.41 months (see Table 1). This reflects the extent to which stalking can infiltrate a person's life. It further implies the degree to which stalking can be difficult to stop. Prevalence estimates across studies revealed that 23.5% of women and 10.5% of men have experienced stalking, indicating a ratio of female-to-male victimization of 2.5. Some studies report overall prevalence, and in others, it could be estimated by simple calculation. Across these studies, about 21% of the population reported being stalked (see Table 1). The largest and most representative study of stalking in the United States to date by Tjaden and Thoennes (1998) found that by conservative estimates, 2% of men and 8% of women have been stalked. By their more liberal estimates, 4% of men and 12% of women have been stalked. The fact that the majority of studies produce substantially larger estimates of stalking than this nationally representative study suggests

that stalking assessment is sensitive to methodological design. Studies differ in whether they employ restrictive behavioral criteria (e.g., frequency or persistence of pursuit) or high levels of fear (e.g., very vs. somewhat fearful). Other studies merely ask respondents to self-label themselves as having been stalked. Such nuances of stalking definition and operationalization need to be investigated in future research (e.g., Tjaden et al., 2000).

Far fewer studies reported perpetration rates. Across those that did, 9% of women and 16% of men reported, or are reported by researchers, as stalking, with an overall prevalence of perpetration of 22% (see Table 1). These studies suggest that despite the potential social undesirability of such reports, perpetration can be self-reported. However, less than half as many men report stalking as women report being stalked. Although same-sex stalking is reported in the literature and is generally found to be more common when men are stalked (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998), this difference suggests either that men significantly underreport perpetration or that some men stalk multiple partners over time. There is scant evidence that some stalkers do stalk multiple partners and that some victims have been stalked by multiple pursuers (Burgess et al., 1997; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Sheridan, 2001), but such evidence provides little basis for resolving the disparities of such estimates. In contrast, the estimate of female stalking perpetration (9%) is quite comparable to the male victimization rate (10.5%).

Further information regarding gender differences is available across studies by examining the proportion of stalking by gender. For example, across 43 studies, almost 75% of stalking victims are female, and 25% of victims are male. The studies on perpetration, based on fewer studies, are close but not exactly mirror images, with 79% of perpetrators reported as males and almost 20% of perpetrators as female (see Table 1). These proportions suggest stalking victimization gender ratios of 3:1 to 4:1, which are larger ratios than the 2.5 ratio suggested by the prevalence data reported above. The reason for such differences suggests that stalking victimization is clearly gendered, but the extent to

which it is gendered is contestable and needs further investigation.

Stalking was originally made a crime in large part due to the rhetorical force of celebrity stalking (Lowney & Best, 1995). But scholars since have continued to demonstrate that most stalking victimization emerges from the decay of preexisting relationships. This meta-analysis revealed a similar picture (see Table 1). Across studies, an average of 49% ($n = 32$) of stalking emerged from relationships that were previously romantic, whereas almost 18% of stalking was perpetrated by strangers. Service-related (e.g., professor-student, doctor-patient, etc.) were the source of an average of 28% of stalking, and collegial relationships (e.g., classmates, coworker, etc.) were the source of 13% of stalking. Intimate nonromantic relationships such as familial stalking were reported in an average of almost 17% of stalking relationships. Finally, prior acquaintances represented 22.5% of stalkers.

The fact that these averages sum to well more than 100% reflects that different studies employed different relational categories, which suggests caution in overgeneralizing the results. A more methodologically consistent estimate is produced when relational labels are bundled across studies into one of two categories: acquainted and unacquainted. Across more than 47 studies, 77% of stalking is reported to have emerged from relationships in which there was prior acquaintance, whereas only 21% was perpetrated by strangers (see Table 1). Both the finer and rougher grained analyses evidence that stalking is largely a product of prior relationships of some sort. That some studies suggest a sizeable proportion of stalking emerging from familial (McCann, 2000) and service-related (Romans, Hays, & White, 1996) relationships suggests the need for greater attention to such potential sources of stalking.

Although the cell sizes often restrict the statistical power of such analyses, the possibility

Across studies, an average of 49% ($n = 32$) of stalking emerged from relationships that were previously romantic, whereas almost 18% of stalking was perpetrated by strangers.

TABLE 2: Incidence and Proportion of Stalking by Victim Gender and Sample Type

Sample Type	Prevalence						Proportion				
	FV	FP	MV	MP	V	P	FV	MV	FP	MP	
Clinical/forensic	M	2.50	16.50	2.00	27.00	27.30	50.00	82.43	17.65	18.82	80.40
	N	2	2	2	2	5	1	21	20	30	29
	SD	2.12	23.34	2.83	36.77	29.48	—	14.53	13.57	18.88	19.00
General population	M	26.09	2.50	9.79	30.00	21.32	—	65.23	34.15	14.18	83.36
	N	11	1	7	1	14	—	13	13	11	11
	SD	22.90	—	10.17	—	20.05	—	27.64	27.21	13.13	17.72
College	M	27.71	7.25	14.17	7.50	18.68	13.17	68.63	31.38	34.33	65.33
	N	7	4	6	4	11	3	8	8	6	6
	SD	10.95	4.65	7.63	3.87	8.75	8.89	17.76	17.76	24.55	24.26

NOTE: F = female; M = male; V = victim; P = perpetrator. There were no significant differences between columnar means.

TABLE 3: Incidence and Proportion of Stalking by Victim Gender and Sampling Method

Sample Type	Prevalence						Proportion				
	FV	FP	MV	MP	V	P	FV	MV	FP	MP	
Nonprobability	M	26.87	9.21	10.32	16.29	23.43	22.38	75.65	24.39	19.26	79.97
	N	15	7	11	7	22	4	37	36	44	43
	SD	20.92	11.37	8.13	18.81	20.75	19.80	21.46	20.95	19.13	19.12
Probability	M	16.60	—	11.00	—	15.63	—	65.80	34.00	26.33	67.33
	N	5	—	4	—	8	—	5	5	3	3
	SD	11.33	—	12.73	—	6.82	—	17.99	18.13	20.55	29.84

NOTE: F = female; M = male; V = victim; P = perpetrator. There were no significant differences between columnar means.

that methodological differences account for some of the prevalence or proportion variance was explored through analysis of variance. Prevalence and proportion estimates were treated as the dependent variables, and sample type and probability status of the sampling method were treated as independent variables. Sample type revealed no significant differences for any prevalence or proportion estimates (see Table 2).

There were no statistical differences in any prevalence or proportion estimates based on whether the sampling design was representative or convenience based. The presumed superiority of representative sampling methods is not evidenced in this comparison of data across studies, although again limitations of statistical power constrains conclusions in several cell comparisons (see Table 3).

A Typology of Stalker Tactics

To date, stalking research has emerged from a wide variety of disciplines in response to a wide variety of investigative objectives. Studies have employed widely varying lists of tactics. In short, there is no consensus regarding the tactical profile of stalking. In an effort to correct this situation, 43 studies were located that listed prevalence of tactics. When these tactics were simply listed separately, they produced a list of more than 440 separate tactics. This list was successively reduced through semantic and syntactic smoothing by removing unnecessary qualifying terms. Then tactics were subsumed under increasingly broader common content and functional categories. Prevalence estimates (i.e., percentages of the sample reporting having experienced each tactic) were retained and estimated

when the data were reported in complex form (e.g., estimates divided by gender or type of relationship). The resulting scheme produced three levels of tactics. Specific behaviors are micro-tactics (e.g., "leaving tokens of affection where they can be found"), which combine into mezzo-tactical clusters (e.g., "gifts"), which in turn combine to form macro-tactical categories (e.g., hyperintimacy). When a given study listed multiple items under the same broad category, those incidence percentages for those items were averaged to form a single estimate so that each study would have only one tactic per mezzo-category.

The result was a seven-category typology of stalking strategies, which are ordered roughly by the normative severity of the tactics comprising them (see Table 4). The first strategy was labeled *hyperintimacy*, which consisted of tactics such as expressions of affection; attempts to intensify the relationships; deviant sexual acts; gift giving; favors suggesting ingratiation; and various media of contact, such as persistent calls, personal contact, e-mail, and leaving notes or sending letters. Overall, the mean incidence of hyperintimacy tactics across studies was 37% (see Table 4).

The second strategy cluster was labeled *pursuit, proximity, and surveillance* and consisted of efforts to get closer to and keep tabs on the object of pursuit. Tactics such as intruding in conversations; moving closer to the victim; appearing in public, work, or home; lying in wait; surveillance; and following around and driving by the person's home or workplace illustrate various forms of spatial pursuit. The average incidence of pursuit and proximity across studies was almost 34%.

Invasion tactics represent violations of legitimate privacy, such as stealing mail or other information, breaking and entering, and theft of property. Unlike the spatial forms of pursuit, proximity, and surveillance, which can occur in relatively legitimate public space, invasion tactics break laws and abrogate normative standards of personal privacy. Invasion occurred on average 24% of the time across these studies.

A relatively unstudied strategy of unwanted pursuit and harassment is stalking by proxy

pursuit and intrusion (Sheridan & Davies, 2001). Stalkers pursue information about their actual object of pursuit by attempting to elicit information from associates of the target or by actually involving third parties in the process of stalking or harassing the target. The extent to which such third parties are knowingly complicit or merely unwitting accomplices is not always clear from the research on tactics. Across the relatively few studies examining proxy pursuit, an average of 54% of stalking victims experienced some degree of third-party pursuit or harassment.

One of the most common assumptions about stalking is that it consists of constant intimidation and harassment. This strategy is illustrated by physical, oral, and written attempts to intimidate a person, efforts to besmirch the target's reputation, attempts to involve the target in legal or administrative complications, and involvement of the target's social network. Perhaps the most central and prototypical tactic of this cluster is the use of threats. To some extent, all of the tactics of this strategy suggest an intent to threaten the object of pursuit. Across these studies, almost 28% of stalking victims experienced intimidation and harassment.

The next strategy is coercion and constraint, which is constituted by the two tactical categories of coercion and physical restraint and kidnapping. These tactics are forceful efforts to restrict the behavioral options of the object of pursuit. In these studies, almost 20% of victims were coerced or constrained to some extent. The more extreme version of this strategy, kidnapping, illustrates a form of violence but one that by itself falls short of physical injury. It suggests possession of a valued object rather than aggression against someone despised. However, it is clear that tactics of coercion, constraint, and restraint are only a step away from the next strategy.

The final strategy is one of aggression. Technically, violence is a separate type of crime, and yet it clearly represents one of the means by which stalkers attempt to pursue and control their object of pursuit or the remnants of rage or revenge that perceived justification or relational rejection has left in the mind of the pursuer. Thus, property assault, harming victim pets,

TABLE 4: Stalking Typology Derived From Stalking Studies (N = 43)

- I. Hyperintimacy ($M = 37.36\%$, $SD = 14.41$; $n = 36$)
- A. Affection expression ($M = 54.00\%$, $SD = 12.83$) (LeBlanc, Levesque, & Berka, 2001; Meloy & Boyd, 2001; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b): exaggerated affection, expressed affection, physical contact
 - B. Bids for relational escalation ($M = 42.00\%$, $SD = 19.80$) (Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000): ask him or her out as friends, ask out on date, refusing to accept (prior) relationship is over
 - C. Hypersexuality ($M = 19.83\%$, $SD = 16.61$) (Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Huffhines, 2001; Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Kienlen, Birmingham, Solberg, O'Regan, & Meloy, 1997; McLennan, 1996; Meloy et al., 2000; Morrison, 2001; Nicastro, Cousins, & Spitzberg, 2000; Purcell, Pathé, & Mullen, 2000; Sheridan, Davies, & Boon, 2001; Sheridan et al., in press): obscene/offensive messages or materials, obscene and/or threatening inappropriate language, physical approaches, physical touch or grab, sexual act, sexual proposition
 - D. Ingratiation ($M = 23.76\%$, $SD = 16.49$) (Blackburn, 1999; Brewster, 2000; Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Burgess, Harner, Baker, Hartman, & Lole, 2001; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 1999, 2000; Harris, 2000; Huffhines, 2001; Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Kienlen et al., 1997; Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Palarea, Cohen, & Rohling, 2000; Logan, Leukefeld, & Walker, 2000; Mechanic, Weaver, & Resick, 2000; Meloy & Gothard, 1995; Meloy et al., 2000; Morrison, 2001; Mullen, Pathé, Purcell, & Stuart, 1999; Oddie, 2000; Purcell, Pathé, & Mullen, 2000, 2001; Sheridan & Davies, 2001; Sheridan, Davies, & Boon, 2001; Sheridan, Gillett, & Davies, 2000, in press; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b): agreeing with everything, favors, gifts/items/unsolicited goods
 - E. Calls ($M = 57.01\%$, $SD = 27.18$) (Blaauw, Winkel, & Arensman, 2000; Blackburn, 1999; Brewster, 2000; Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Burgess et al., 2001; Fisher et al., 1999, 2000; Gill & Brockman, 1996; Hall, 1997; Harris, 2000; Huffhines, 2001; Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Jason, Reichler, Easton, Neal, & Wilson, 1984; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Kienlen et al., 1997; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000; LeBlanc et al., 2001; Logan et al., 2000; McLennan, 1996; Mechanic et al., 2000; Meloy & Boyd, 2001; Meloy & Gothard, 1995; Meloy et al., 2000; Morrison, 2001; Mullen & Pathé, 1994b; Mullen et al., 1999; Nicastro et al., 2000; Oddie, 2000; Purcell et al., 2000; Purcell et al., 2001; Sheridan & Davies, 2001; Sheridan et al., 2000; Sheridan et al., 2001; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998): calls at work/office/school, calls at home; calls and hang ups or is silent; makes obscene calls
 - F. Contacts in person ($M = 47.89\%$, $SD = 24.25$) (Burgess et al., 2001; Gill & Brockman, 1996; Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Kienlen et al., 1997; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000; Morrison, 2001; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Sheridan & Davies, 2001; Sheridan et al., 2000): contact at home/work (personal), contacts in public places, conversation in person
 - G. Electronic contacts ($M = 26.30\%$, $SD = 27.13$) (Fisher et al., 1999, 2000; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000; LeBlanc et al., 2001; McLennan, 1996; Mechanic et al., 2000; Meloy & Boyd, 2001; Meloy et al., 2000; Oddie, 2000; Purcell et al., 2000; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000): e-mail, mail, or contacted electronically; stalked by Internet; computer
 - H. Notes/messages/photos sent ($M = 37.86\%$, $SD = 18.94$) (Blaauw et al., 2000; Blackburn, 1999; Brewster, 2000; Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Burgess et al., 2001; Fisher et al., 1999, 2000; Hall, 1997; Huffhines, 2001; Jason et al., 1984; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Kienlen et al., 1997; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000; LeBlanc et al., 2001; Logan et al., 2000; Mechanic et al., 2000; Meloy & Boyd, 2001; Meloy & Gothard, 1995; Morrison, 2001; Mullen & Pathé, 1994b; Mullen et al., 1999; Nicastro et al., 2000; Oddie, 2000; Purcell et al., 2001; Sheridan & Davies, 2001; Sheridan et al., 2000; Sheridan et al., 2001; Sheridan et al., in press; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998)
- II. Pursuit, proximity, and surveillance ($M = 33.85\%$, $SD = 13.03$, $n = 36$)
- A. Interactional intrusions ($M = 28\%$, $SD = 0.00$) (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b): intruding in interactions, invading personal space
 - B. Synchronizing activities ($M = 9.00\%$, $SD = 13.86$) (Sheridan et al., in press; Sheridan et al., 2001; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000): alter class/office/activity to be near, moving (house) closer to where victim lives or places victim frequents, visiting places victim visits
 - C. Appearances/approaches ($M = 47.36\%$, $SD = 28.08$) (Blaauw et al., 2000; Blackburn, 1999; Fisher et al., 1999, 2000; Hall, 1997; Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Jason et al., 1984; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Kienlen et al., 1997; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000; Logan et al., 2000; Mechanic et al., 2000; Meloy & Gothard, 1995; Meloy et al., 2000; Mullen & Pathé, 1994b; Mullen et al., 1999; Oddie, 2000; Purcell et al., 2000, 2001; Sheridan et al., 2000, 2001; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b): appear/visit at home, appear/visit at work/school, show up at events, pestered at work/home, approaches in public
 - D. Loitering/lying in wait ($M = 34.90\%$, $SD = 28.42$) (Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Fisher et al., 1999, 2000; Harris, 2000; McLennan, 1996; Mullen & Pathé, 1994b; Purcell et al., 2000; Sheridan et al., 2000; Sheridan et al., 2001; Sheridan et al., in press; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000): loitered at home, work, social activities, neighborhood, and so forth; lying in wait, waited outside victim's place of work
 - E. Surveillance/watching ($M = 33.45\%$, $SD = 26.73$) (Blaauw et al., 2000; Brewster, 2000; Burgess et al., 2001; Fisher et al., 1999, 2000; Hall, 1997; Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Kienlen et al., 1997; Logan et al., 2000; McLennan, 1996; Mechanic et al., 2000; Morrison, 2001; Mullen et al., 1999; Nicastro et al., 2000; Purcell et al., 2000; Sheridan et al., 2000; Sheridan et al., 2001; Sheridan et al., in press; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b; Tucker, 1993): photographs of the target without knowledge; surveillance, watching, monitoring, spying; watch/observe (from afar, without knowledge); stood and stared
 - F. Following ($M = 46.94\%$, $SD = 25.56$) (Blaauw et al., 2000; Blackburn, 1999; Brewster, 2000; Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Burgess et al., 2001; Fisher et al., 1999, 2000; Gill & Brockman, 1996; Hall, 1997; Harris, 2000; Huffhines, 2001; Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Kienlen et al., 1997; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000; LeBlanc et al., 2001; Logan et al., 2000; McLennan, 1996; Mechanic et al., 2000; Meloy & Boyd, 2001; Meloy et al., 2000; Morrison, 2001; Mullen & Pathé, 1994b; Nicastro et al., 2000; Oddie, 2000; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Purcell et al., 2000; Purcell et al., 2001; Sheridan et al., 2001; Sheridan et al., 2001; Sheridan et al., in press; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998; Tucker, 1993)
 - G. Drive-bys ($M = 37.30\%$, $SD = 28.30$) (Brewster, 2000; Hall, 1997; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000; Logan et al., 2000; Meloy & Boyd, 2001; Nicastro et al., 2000; Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Sheridan et al., 2000; Sheridan et al., 2001; Sheridan et al., in press)

(continued)

TABLE 4: Continued

- III. Invasion ($M = 24.12\%$, $SD = 8.70$, $n = 30$)
- A. Information theft ($M = 29.13\%$, $SD = 31.18$) (Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Logan et al., 2000; Mechanic et al., 2000; Sheridan et al., 2001; Sheridan et al., in press; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b): information, covertly obtaining; information, find out; intercepting mail/deliveries
 - B. Property invasion ($M = 34.36\%$, $SD = 24.05$) (Blaauw et al., 2000; Brewster, 2000; Burgess et al., 2001; Hall, 1997; Huffhines, 2001; Logan et al., 2000; Mechanic et al., 2000; Meloy & Boyd, 2001; Morrison, 2001; Nicastro et al., 2000; Sheridan & Davies, 2001; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b; Tucker, 1993): breaking and entering, attempted; breaking and entering, actual; breaking into car; invading personal property; trespass on property
 - C. Property theft/damage ($M = 19.30\%$, $SD = 12.30$) (Brewster, 2000; Harris, 2000; Huffhines, 2001; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000; Morrison, 2001; Nicastro et al., 2000; Purcell et al., 2001; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000; Sheridan et al., 2000; Sheridan et al., in press; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b): steal items, belongings, or property; damage possessions; vandalism
- IV. Proxy pursuit/intrusion ($M = 54.14\%$, $SD = 9.19$, $n = 14$)
- A. Victim associates ($M = 50.00\%$, $SD = 25.64$) (Brewster, 2000; Burgess et al., 2001; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000; LeBlanc et al., 2001; Nicastro et al., 2000; Sheridan, 2001; Sheridan & Davies, 2001; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b): ask/inquiry friends/family, contact; family contact; intruded upon friends/coworkers/family; involving victim's friends
 - B. Third parties ($M = 47.75\%$, $SD = 23.39$) (Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Kienlen et al., 1997; Logan et al., 2000; Sheridan & Davies, 2001): contacted third party, talked to others to get information
 - C. Stalking by proxy ($M = 64.67\%$, $SD = 21.94$) (Boon & Sheridan, 2001; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Sheridan, 2001): enlisted (stalking by proxy), involved others
- V. Intimidation and harassment ($M = 27.51\%$, $SD = 9.91\%$, $n = 39$)
- A. Nonverbal intimidation ($M = 20.14\%$, $SD = 13.45$) (Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Harris, 2000; Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Nicastro et al., 2000; Sandberg et al., 1998; Sheridan et al., 2001; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000): anger/rage, displayed; approached in threatening/harassing manner; intimidate, physically; leave items; unusual parcels; bizarre or sinister items at home or workplace; nonviolent physical harassment; scare; staring
 - B. Verbal/written harassment ($M = 40.60\%$, $SD = 20.94$) (Morrison, 2001; Sheridan & Davies, 2001; Sheridan et al., 2001; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000; Tucker, 1993): harassing phone calls or other verbal harassment; making obscene, threatening, mysterious calls remaining unknown; abusive calls; abusive and conversational calls; letters, written harassment (signs, etc.); verbal abuse, attempted; verbally abuse
 - C. Reputational harassment ($M = 31.88\%$, $SD = 29.73$) (Brewster, 2000; Hall, 1997; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000; Meloy et al., 2000; Nicastro et al., 2000; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000; Tucker, 1993): harass; harassment; telling lies to victim's friends/family/coworkers, canceling credit cards, and so forth; harassment, gossip, rumors, lies spread; harassment, sabotaging employment; slandering and letter writing; release harmful information
 - D. Regulatory harassment ($M = 14.80\%$, $SD = 12.52$): harassment, false charges (Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Mullen et al., 1999); regulatory harassment (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b); harassment, involving in activities (Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b); harassment, ordered items and charged them to victim's account (Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001); signatures (Oddie, 2000);
 - E. Network harassment ($M = 22.43\%$, $SD = 7.66$) (Harris, 2000; Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Morrison, 2001; Sheridan & Davies, 2001; Sheridan et al., 2000; Sheridan et al., 2001; Sheridan et al., in press): harassment, uncontrolled, aggressive, insulting with friends/partners; spoke to family
 - F. Threats ($M = 35.18\%$, $SD = 22.38$)
 1. Threaten, general (Blackburn, 1999; Harris, 2000; Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Logan et al., 2000; Mechanic et al., 2000; Morrison, 2001; Mullen et al., 1999; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Purcell et al., 2001; Sandberg et al., 1998; Sheridan et al., in press; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000): threaten (verbal), about loved ones, new partner; threaten emotionally; threatening language
 2. Threaten violence to victim, both physical and property damage (Bjerregaard, 2000; Blaauw et al., 2000; Brewster, 2000; Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Burgess et al., 2001; Fisher et al., 1999, 2000; Gill & Brockman, 1996; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Kienlen et al., 1997; Logan et al., 2000; Mechanic et al., 2000; Meloy & Gothard, 1995; Nicastro et al., 2000; Palarea et al., 1999; Sandberg et al., 1998; Sheridan & Davies, 2001; Sheridan et al., 2000; Sheridan et al., 2001; Sheridan et al., in press; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b; Tucker, 1993): threaten followed by actual violence against person or property; threaten harm; threaten of death or bodily injury and assault; threaten of harm, oral, written, or telephone calls; threaten physical implied; threaten property damage; threaten to harm or kill victim; threaten with physical assault/injury/violence; threaten, death; threaten/attempt harm;
 3. Threaten with weapon (e.g., Gill & Brockman, 1996; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000; Nicastro et al., 2000)
 4. Threaten information release (Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000)
 5. Threaten self-harm, suicide (Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Mechanic et al., 2000; Logan et al., 2000; Sheridan et al., 2000; Sheridan et al., in press; Sheridan et al., 2001; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b)
 6. Threaten others (Brewster, 2000; Hall, 1997; Huffhines, 2001; Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Kienlen et al., 1997; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000; Mullen et al., 1999; Nicastro et al., 2000; Purcell et al., 2000; Purcell et al., 2001; Sheridan & Davies, 2001; Sheridan et al., 2001; Sheridan et al., in press; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b): threaten pets, family, friends, third party/others; ex-partners

(continued)

TABLE 4: Continued

7. Threat modes: obscene/threatening (Harmon et al., 1998; Harris, 2000; Huffhines, 2001; Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Jason et al., 1984; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000; Meloy & Boyd, 2001; Morrison, 2001; Mullen & Pathé, 1994b; Nicastro et al., 2000; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Purcell et al., 2000; Sheridan et al., 2000; Sheridan et al., in press; Sheridan et al., in press; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998): threaten verbally; verbal/written; explicit threats; overt threats; vague threats; verbal/physical threats or hit; written threats; written/verbal threats against target, property of target, or someone known to target; threatening/sinister/odd objects; threatening phone calls/letters/gifts
- VI. Coercion and constraint ($M = 19.67\%$, $SD = 8.03$, $n = 9$)
- A. Coercion ($M = 30.00\%$, $SD = 9.90$) (Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000): refuse to take no for an answer, force to talk, coerce/manipulate into dating
- B. Extortion ($M = 14.00\%$, $SD = 0.00$) (Morrison, 2001)
- C. Physical force ($M = 22.00\%$, $SD = 0.00$) (Budd & Mattinson, 2000)
- D. Physical restraint/kidnapping ($M = 12.67\%$, $SD = 12.96$) (Hall, 1997; Kienlen et al., 1997; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000; Nicastro et al., 2000; Sheridan et al., 2001; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b): restrain/kidnap/hold/confine against will; restraining, physically; restraining/endangering, physically
- VII. Aggression ($M = 19.31\%$, $SD = 10.48$, $n = 31$)
- A. Assault on property ($M = 19.25\%$, $SD = 13.96$) (Blaauw et al., 2000; Brewster, 2000; Hall, 1997; Jagessar & Sheridan, 2002; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Kienlen et al., 1997; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000; Logan et al., 2000; McLennan, 1996; Meloy & Boyd, 2001; Meloy et al., 2001; Mullen & Pathé, 1994b; Mullen et al., 1999; Nicastro et al., 2000; Oddie, 2000; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Sheridan et al., 2001; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998; Tucker, 1993): property damage, destruction, violence, vandalism; property, damaged new partner's property
- B. Property/pets ($M = 29.00\%$, $SD = 45.13$) (Hall, 1997; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000; Morrison, 2001; Sandberg et al., 1988; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998; Tucker, 1993): arson/attempted arson; harm/kill/injure family/pet
- C. Assault on self ($M = 18$) (Logan et al., 2000; 6%: Sinclair & Frieze, 2000; Meloy & Boyd, 2001; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000): hurt self, attempt to hurt self
- D. Assault on other(s) ($M = 30.35\%$, $SD = 20.19$) (Logan et al., 2000; Mechanic et al., 2000): physical attacks on loved ones, harmed new partner
- E. Assault/violence ($M = 30.35\%$, $SD = 20.19$):
1. Assault/attack, battery, physical violence (Blaauw et al., 2000; Brewster, 2000; Gill & Brockman, 1996; Hall, 1997; Harmon et al., 1998; Harris, 2000; Huffhines, 2001; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Kienlen et al., 1997; Meloy & Boyd, 2001; Meloy & Gothard, 1995; Meloy et al., 2001; Mullen & Pathé, 1994a; Mullen & Pathé, 1994b; Mullen et al., 1999; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Purcell et al., 2001; Sandberg et al., 1998; Sheridan & Davies, 2001; Tucker, 1993)
 2. Assault/harm with weapon (Gill & Brockman, 1996; Morrison, 2001; Nicastro et al., 2000)
 3. Attempt to harm (Logan et al., 2000; Mechanic et al., 2000; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000)
 4. Harmed physically, injure, hurt, hit or beat (Burgess et al., 2001; Fisher et al., 1999, 2000; Hall, 1997; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000; Mechanic et al., 2000; Meloy & Boyd, 2001; Nicastro et al., 2000; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b)
- F. Sexual coercion/assault ($M = 11.22\%$, $SD = 10.58$) (Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Hall, 1997; Kienlen et al., 1997; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000; Meloy et al., 2000; Morrison, 2001; Mullen & Pathé, 1994a; Mullen & Pathé, 1994b; Nicastro et al., 2000; Sandberg et al., 1998; Sheridan & Davies, 2001; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b)
- G. Endangerment ($M = 7.75\%$, $SD = 6.24$) (Kienlen et al., 1997; Sheridan & Davies, 2001; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b; Tucker, 1993): murder of victim; attempted murder, tried to kill, solicitation of murder

NOTE: The specific percentages and authors for the coding process are available from the author, School of Communication, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92182; e-mail spitz@mail.sdsu.edu.

physical and sexual assault, and severe endangerment represent the lengths to which stalkers' rationalizations can extend. Studies indicate that violence against victims is not uncommon in stalking situations (e.g., Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001a; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). However, across studies, including several studies that had overall measures of violence, physical (see Table 5) and sexual (see Table 6) violence rates vary considerably (see Table 5). The averages across studies reviewed here suggest that stalkers indeed often do engage in physical (33%, $n = 42$) or sexual (11%, $n = 17$) violence. Thus, stalking and violence appear at least partially intertwined (see Tables 5 and 6).

Whether this typology is comprehensive will await further research. However, given the extensiveness of the studies included—despite widely disparate methods, investigators, and research objectives—the typology appears reasonably broad in scope, and the categories suggest both a continuum of severity and mutually exclusive categories. This typology suggests a framework within which valid measurement schemes can be formulated. For example, few studies have comprehensively sampled from all of these categories, so initially the typology suggests a need for researchers to create greater breadth in their assessments. Furthermore, items frequently reflected poor psychometric

TABLE 5: Illustrative Findings of Percentage of Sample

<i>Physical Violence</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Physically harmed (Bjerregaard, 2000)	23
Physical assault (Blaauw, Winkel, & Arensman, 2000)	56
Physically hurt (Blackburn, 1999)	4
Acts of violence (Brewster, 2000)	46
Physical force (Budd & Mattinson, 2000)	23
Beat face (Burgess et al., 1997)	56
Violence (serious woundings, lesser assaults) (Farnham & James, 2000)	37
Involved some injury (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 1999, 2000)	30
Injured (Gallagher, Harmon, & Lingenfelter, 1994)	9
Physical violence (Gill & Brockman, 1996)	14
Physical abuse (Hall, 1997)	49
Physical assault, contact, damage of property (Harmon et al., 1998)	46
Violent behavior (Harris, 2000)	15
Physical violence (Huffhines, 2001)	38
Verbally or physically threatened or hit (Jason, Reichler, Easton, Neal, & Wilson, 1984)	30
Physically assaulted (Kienlen, Birmingham, Solberg, O'Regan, & Meloy, 1997)	24
Physical assault (Kileen & Dunn, 1988)	52
Physical injuries (Kohn, Flood, Chase, & McMahon, 2000)	24
Physical injury (Kong, 1996)	5
Violence (McCann, 2001)	38
Physically harmed (Mechanic, Weaver, & Resick, 2000)	89
Victims of violence against self or self and property (Meloy & Boyd, 2001)	60
Violence (Meloy et al., 2000)	52
Physically violent (Meloy, Davis, & Lovette, 2001)	60
Physically assaulted (Meloy & Gothard, 1995)	25
Physical assault without weapon (Morrison, 2001)	28
Assaulted (Mullen & Pathé, 1994a)	50
Assaulted (Mullen & Pathé, 1994b)	36
Assault (Mullen, Pathé, Purcell, & Stuart, 1999)	6
Minor physical harm (Nicastro, Cousins, & Spitzberg, 2000)	38
Physical assault or harm of object of pursuit or other (Oddie, 2000)	25
Violence against person (Palarea, Zona, Lane, & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 1999)	19
Assaulted (Pathé & Mullen, 1997)	34
Assaulted (Purcell, Pathé, & Mullen, 2000)	18
Assault (Purcell, Pathé, & Mullen, 2001)	34
Attacks (Sandberg, McNiel, & Binder, 1998)	38
Assaulted/injured (Schwartz-Watts, Morgan, & Barnes, 1997)	39
Assault (physical, attempt to kill) (Sheridan & Davies, 2001)	40
Physically harm slightly (Sinclair & Frieze, 2000)	6
Physically endanger (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001b)	1
Murder (Tucker, 1993)	8
Personal violence (Zona, Sharma, & Lane, 1993)	3
Mean	33.29
Standard deviation	18.39
Range	1-89

NOTE: All percentages have been rounded. In cases of grouped percentages (e.g., Bjerregaard, 2000, reports percentages by gender of victim), percentages are either calculated or averaged as the sample description permitted.

TABLE 6: Illustrative Findings of Percentage of Sample Reporting Experiencing Sexual Violence Across Studies.

<i>Sexual Violence</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Attempted rape/rape (Blackburn, 1999)	4
Forced sexual act (Budd & Mattinson, 2000)	6
Sexual assault (Burgess et al., 1997)	19
Sexual assault (Hall, 1997)	22
Sexual assault (Kienlen, Birmingham, Solberg, O'Regan, & Meloy, 1997)	4
Sexual assault Kileen & Dunn, 1998)	10
Forced sex after break-up (Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Palarea, Cohen, & Rohling, 2000)	1
Sexual assault (Morrison, 2001)	7
Sexually assaulted (Mullen & Pathé, 1994a)	32
Sexual assault (Mullen & Pathé, 1994b)	29
Sexually coercing (Nicastro, Cousins, & Spitzberg, 2000)	13
Sexual assault (Purcell, Pathé, & Mullen, 2000)	2
Sexual assaults (Sandberg, McNiel, & Binder, 1998)	7
Pursuer also charged with rape (Scocas, O'Connell, Huenke, Nold, & Zoelker, 1996)	5
Sexual assault (Sheridan & Davies, 2001)	3
Force sexual contact (Sinclair & Frieze, 2000)	4
Sexually assaulted (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998)	31
Mean	11.71
Standard deviation	10.70
Range	1-32

NOTE: All percentages have been rounded. In cases of grouped percentages (e.g., Bjerregaard, 2000, reports percentages by gender of victim), percentages are either calculated or averaged as the sample description permitted.

quality. Items often mixed attempted and actual behavior (e.g., violence and attempted violence), modes of expression (e.g., unwanted letters, calls, or e-mails), and levels of abstraction (e.g., “changed name” vs. “went underground”). Thus, this typology could guide both the development of items for self-report measures as well as a potential coding scheme for analyzing stalker and stalking victim narratives.

A Typology of Symptomology

Stalking lasts for an average of almost 2 years (see Table 7). The typology of tactics above indicates the potential depth and breadth of harassment that can dominate this person’s life for this amount of time. With the exception of the aggression strategy, stalking is distinct from more violent types of interpersonal aggression. Stalking is rarely a thing exclusively of the past. Instead, stalking is potentially an omnipresent possibility in a victim’s life. The stalker, short of

TABLE 7: Typology of Stalking Symptomology (N = 19)

I. General disturbance ($M = 64.38$, $SD = 29.56$) (Blaauw et al., 2000; Blackburn, 1999; Brewster, 2000; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Hall, 1997; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Romans, Hays, & White, 1996): injured emotionally or psychologically, personality changed, posttraumatic stress disorder, psychiatric disorder (i.e., somatic symptoms, anxiety/insomnia, social dysfunction, and severe depression), psychomedical symptom; quality of life costs of some sort, very negatively affected
II. Affective health ($M = 57.83$, $SD = 24.47$) (Boon & Sheridan, 2001; Brewster, 2000; Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Hall, 1997; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Kohn, Flood, Chase, & McMahon, 2000; McLennan, 1996; Mullen & Pathé, 1994a; Nicasastro, Cousins, & Spitzberg, 2000; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Pathé, Mullen, & Purcell, 2000; Sheridan, 2001): anger; anger, annoyed, irritated, upset, anxious, nervous, depression, distress, fear, distress, terror, fright, frustration, feeling imprisoned, intimidated, jealous, paranoid, stress, terrified, feeling being watched
III. Cognitive health ($M = 23.00$, $SD = 15.36$) (Blackburn, 1999; Boon & Sheridan, 2001; Brewster, 2000; Fisher et al., 2000; Nicasastro et al., 2000; Sheridan, 2001): confused; distrustful, suspicious, cynical; loss of self-esteem, sense of helplessness/powerless; suicidal, felt in direct response to the stalking
IV. Physical health ($M = 20.20$, $SD = 17.25$) (Blackburn, 1999; Brewster, 2000; Nicasastro et al., 2000; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Purcell, Pathé, & Mullen, 2000): alcohol problems, appetite disturbance, cigarette smoking to stalking, insomnia, nausea, physical illness, suicide, attempted in response to stalking
V. Social health ($M = 46.88$, $SD = 22.62$) (Boon & Sheridan, 2001; Brewster, 2000; Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Hall, 1997; McLennan, 1996; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Pathé & Mullen, 1997; Purcell et al., 2000; Sheridan, Davies, & Boon, 2001): aggressive, avoided certain places/people, cautiousness, going out less than before, intimate relationship deterioration, lifestyle changes, lifestyle disruption, questioning choice in partners, school/work disruption, worsening family relations
VI. Resource health ($M = 40.00$, $SD = 30.07$) (Brewster, 2000; McLennan, 1996; Mullen & Pathé, 1994a; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998): disruption of work or school, financial costs, lost time from work
VII. Resilience (e.g., develop stronger relationships with family or friends, develop greater personal caution, develop stronger self-concept, etc.)

dying or being in prison, could forever be the voice on the next phone call or the person around the next corner. Furthermore, much of stalking originates in the form of a disjunctive relationship in which one person devotes single-minded efforts toward influencing the

The level of trauma experienced by stalking victims is suggested by a study of Dutch stalking victims: 59% reported symptoms “comparable to those reported in samples of victims of generally recognized traumata . . . very similar to the proportion recently reported among victims of the Boeing 737-2D6C crash in Coventry.”

reported among victims of the Boeing 737-2D6C crash in Coventry” (Kamphuis & Emmelkamp,

object of pursuit (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2002). The lack of clear horizon and potential psychological terrorism of stalking suggests that victimization could be highly traumatizing. The level of trauma experienced by stalking victims is suggested by a study of Dutch stalking victims: 59% reported symptoms “comparable to those reported in samples of victims of generally recognized traumata . . . very similar to the proportion recently reported

2001, pp. 796-797). If stalking victimization can be as traumatizing as a plane crash, the nature of this trauma bears closer examination.

Studies examining symptoms and effects of stalking victimization were submitted to the same process as applied to stalking tactics. A seven-cluster typology emerged. The first cluster was labeled *general distress*, reflected by posttraumatic stress syndrome and other vague or omnibus collections of health and quality of life. The second cluster was composed of symptoms such as anxiety, paranoia, stress, and anger. This cluster was labeled *affective symptoms*. The next cluster, labeled *cognitive health*, consisted of a variety of mental and self-conception problems, such as suicide ideation, loss of self-esteem, and confusion. Rounding out this traditional triumvirate is *physical health*, which includes a variety of somatic symptoms such as sleep and eating disorders. The fifth cluster was labeled *social health*, which represents the social death that can occur when a person is traumatized or isolated by relentless and potentially threatening pursuit. The sixth cluster of *resource health* suggests that stalking victimization carries with it several tangible costs in the realms of career and general costs (e.g., spending money on home security). Across these categories of

symptomology, an average of 42% of victims experience one or more of these symptoms. Finally, the last cluster showed up in only one study (Spitzberg & Rhea, 1999) and not with incidence figures. It is conceivable that victims of stalking sometimes empower themselves, discover stores of unknown personal capability, or develop more realistic orientations to life and relationships. Victims may occasionally tap into or develop their personal resilience. The fact that this possible outcome has seldom been investigated suggests an ideological bias in stalking research that presupposes negative outcomes, which diverts attention to those victims who find productive rather than counterproductive pathways through their victimization. Resilient victims clearly bear further investigation.

A Typology of Coping Tactics

As stalkers illustrate substantial creativity in the breadth and depth of their tactics of pursuit, so the objects of pursuit must delve deep into their repertoires of coping strategies to locate means of mitigating the onslaught. A number of empirical typologies of coping strategies have been derived in the context of responding to stress and trauma (see Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001a). To date, however, virtually all research on stalking has simply listed a variety of coping tactics. This meta-analysis proceeded with the same method employed with the stalking tactics and strategies above. A total of 15 studies were located that examined coping tactics. These tactics were listed, semantically and syntactically smoothed, and subsequently grouped according to higher order content and functional categories. As the tactical groupings began to emerge, it was apparent that the basic functional typology formulated by Spitzberg and Cupach (2001a) was sufficient at the strategic level but was not entirely similar at the tactical level. The strategic clusters represent the fundamental interpersonal orientations of moving away, moving toward or with, moving against, moving inward, and moving outward (see Table 8).

Victims of stalking appear to cope by attempting to (a) avoid contact with the stalker

(i.e., moving away); (b) renegotiate the relationship with the stalker (i.e., moving with or toward); (c) deter, attack, or seek third-party action against the stalker (e.g., moving against); (d) engage in therapeutic self-actualization or empowerment (i.e., moving inward); or (e) seek assistance from or connection with others (i.e., moving outward). Certain coping tactics do not appear well represented in these studies, such as some of the inward tactics of meditation, exercise, religion, drug use, and so forth (see Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001a). In other instances, tactics display potential crossover functions. For example, contacting police could be a form of moving outward to seek assistance and protection, or it could be moving against the stalker by seeking retribution or arrest. Nevertheless, the strategic typology appears reasonably comprehensive and suggestive of tactics that current many tactical lists do not include. Finally, the fact that none of these tactics reveal strong majority endorsement or use by victims suggests that victims are at a relative quandary in regard to managing stalking victimization or their stalker.

A particular coping tactic, seeking a restraining order, has received particular attention in the domestic violence and stalking literatures. The restraining order is one of the few structural tangible options available to victims with potential *gravitas* commensurate to the crime itself. All available studies that have produced any figure of protective order efficacy were identified and summarized to obtain an average estimate (see Table 9). Across 32 studies, the research suggests that restraining orders are violated approximately 40% of the time. Threat management experts are often suspicious of restraining orders, suspecting that such public and serious actions may escalate or enrage the

The fact that this possible outcome has seldom been investigated suggests an ideological bias in stalking research that presupposes negative outcomes, which diverts attention to those victims who find productive rather than counterproductive pathways through their victimization. Resilient victims clearly bear further investigation.

TABLE 8: Coping Tactic Typology Derived From Stalking Studies (N = 15)

I. Moving toward/with ($M=25.09\%$, $SD = 14.73$)

A. Reasoning ($M = 35.50\%$, $SD = 15.32$) (Bjerregaard, 2000; Blackburn, 1999; Brewster, 2000; Jason, Reichler, Easton, Neal, & Wilson, 1984; Nicastro, Cousins, & Spitzberg, 2000; Sheridan & Davies, 2001): communicate face to face, by phone, or by writing attention was unwanted; did not want to see person, not accept calls; reason or argue with; remain friends, were unclear in message; request person stop

B. Affect ($M = 14.67\%$, $SD = 8.39$) (Brewster, 2000; Jason et al., 1984; Nicastro et al., 2000): be nice (politely talk, tried to reason), cry in front of perpetrator, pleading with

II. Moving away ($M = 24.77\%$, $SD = 13.54$)

A. Change name ($M = 2.00\%$, $SD = 0.00$) (Morrison, 2001)

B. Location/time avoidance ($M = 32.67\%$, $SD = 17.67$) (Bjerregaard, 2000; Blaauw, Winkel, & Arensman, 2000; Brewster, 2000; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 1999, 2000; Fisher et al., 1999, 2000; Jason et al., 1984; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Kohn et al., 2000; Kohn, Flood, Chase, & McMahon, 2000; Meloy & Boyd, 2001; Morrison, 2001; Nicastro et al., 2000; Pathé, Mullen, & Purcell, 2000; Purcell, Pathé, & Mullen, 2000): altered habits, activity patterns, routines; alter lifestyle; changed daily travel routes; curtail or restrict going out of house; changed careers, job; quit job or worked less; relocate or change address; change phone number, went "underground"

C. Ignore ($M = 24.50\%$, $SD = 18.59$) (Brewster, 2000; Fisher et al., 1999, 2000; Morrison, 2001; Nicastro et al., 2000): did not acknowledge messages, ignore, ignore legal action

D. Protection ($M = 36.67\%$, $SD = 26.62$) (Bjerregaard, 2000; Blaauw et al. 2000; Brewster, 2000; Fisher et al., 1999, 2000; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Meloy & Boyd, 2001; Nicastro et al., 2000; Pathé et al., 2000; Purcell et al., 2000): home/work security, security enhancement

E. Message screening/masking ($M = 28.00\%$, $SD = 24.55$) (Bjerregaard, 2000; Blaauw et al. 2000; Blackburn, 1999; Brewster, 2000; Fisher et al., 1999, 2000; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Meloy & Boyd, 2001; Morrison, 2001; Nicastro et al., 2000; Purcell et al., 2000): phone number, changed; phone, changing number or call blocking; caller ID; caller ID/*69; unlisted phone; phone, screened calls; communicated attention unwanted via not returning calls; phone: hung up when called

III. Moving against

A. Aggression/attack ($M = 19.00\%$, $SD = 10.37$) (Blaauw et al., 2000; Blackburn, 1999; Brewster, 2000; Fisher et al., 1999, 2000; Morrison, 2001; Nicastro et al., 2000): assault, confrontation; harm in self-defense, negative affect (e.g., angry calls, cursing, hostile voice, angry letters, yell; threaten verbally, threaten to call police)

B. Document/collect evidence against stalker ($M = 18.00$, $SD = 0.00$) (Morrison, 2001)

C. Police ($M = 59.63\%$, $SD = 29.12$) (Blaauw et al. 2000; Blackburn, 1999; Bjerregaard, 2000; Kohn et al., 2000; Morrison, 2001; Nicastro et al., 2000; Pathé et al., 2000; Purcell et al., 2000): call/contact, filed report with police

D. Judicial/law enforcement intervention ($M = 34.00\%$, $SD = 23.70$) (Bjerregaard, 2000; Blaauw et al. 2000; Bjerregaard, 2000; Blackburn, 1999; Fisher et al., 1999, 2000; Kohn et al., 2000; Meloy & Boyd, 2001; Morrison, 2001; Nicastro et al., 2000; Sheridan & Davies, 2001; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998): court charges, civil charges; criminal charges; grievance; press charges; lawsuit; restraining/restraining order/temporary restraining order

IV. Moving inward

A. Empowerment ($M = 6.75\%$, $SD = .6.24$) (Bjerregaard, 2000; Kohn et al., 2000; Fisher et al., 1999, 2000; Meloy & Boyd, 2001): self-defense class, training; carried, obtained, bought, or purchased gun

B. Cognitive hardening ($M = 27.00\%$, $SD = 0.00$) (Blackburn, 1999): think of harming or killing

V. Moving outward

A. Friends/family/loved ones ($M = 32.33\%$, $SD = 27.54$) (Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Morrison, 2001; Nicastro et al., 2000)

- friends/family, asked for protection;
- told friend, relative, or neighbor;
- told partner or boyfriend/girlfriend;

B. Professional help ($M = 32.50\%$, $SD = 33.19$) (Bjerregaard, 2000; Blaauw et al. 2000; Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Fisher et al., 1999, 2000; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2001; Pathé et al., 2000; Purcell et al., 2000; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998): counseling, legal counsel/professionals, medical/health care profession(al), lawyers, health professionals, told doctor/social worker

stalker (de Becker, 1997). Across nine studies reviewed here, estimates suggest that restraining orders are followed by escalation of violence or stalking approximately 21% of the time. In one study of abused women seeking restraining orders, 23% expected retaliation and an increase in the level of violence as a result of seeking or obtaining a restraining order (Gist et al., 2001). Thus, although restraining orders may be a

management tactic of choice among law enforcement, evidence of their relative efficacy is lacking.

CONCLUSIONS

This meta-analysis has several advantages relative to existing stalking literature. First, much of the existing literature is based on rela-

TABLE 9: Gross Noncompliance Estimates From Studies of Protective Orders

<i>Study</i>	<i>Sample (type of order)</i>	<i>Noncompliance</i>	<i>Escalation</i>
Adhikari, Reinhard, and Johnson (1993)	41 domestic violence victims (PO)	56.0	17.0
Blackburn (1999)	83 F stalking victims (RO)	48.5	18.5
Brewster (2000)	19 F stalking victims (TRO)	63.0	21.0
	96 F stalking victims (PFA)	62.0	16.0
Buzawa, Hotaling, and Klein (1998)	356 F DV victims (RO)	26.0	
Carlson, Harris, and Holden (1999)	210 F (Civil PO) applicants	23.0	
Chadhuri and Daly (1992)	30 F (TRO) applicants	37.0	10.0
Fischer and Rose (1995)	287 F DV victims (PO)	60.0	60.0
Gill and Brockman (1996)	601 criminal harassment cases (RO)	18.0	
Grau, Fagan, and Wexler (1985)	270 DV (RO) cases	56.0	
Hall (1997)	145 F stalking victims	52.0	21.0
Harmon, Rosner, and Owens (1995)	78 stalking cases	51.0	
Harmon, Rosner, and Owens (1998)	175 stalking cases	66.0	
Harrell and Smith (1996)	355 F DV victims (TRO) applicants	75.0	
Horton, Simonidis, and Simonidis (1987)	820 DV victims & (TRO) applicants	46.0	
Huffhines (2001)	40 Stalking cases (RO)	28.0	
Kaci (1992)	224 DV victims (TRO) court records	18.0	22.0
Kaci (1994)	42 DV (TRO, Permanent ROs)	21.0	2.5
Kane (2000)	818 DV incidents (RO)	16.0	
Keilitz (1997)	177 F (PO) applicants	16.0	
Kienlen, Birmingham, Solberg, O'Regan, and Meloy (1997)	25 stalkers	36.0	
Langford, Isaac, and Adams (2000)	121 intimate homicide cases (RO)	40.0	
Logan, Leukefeld, and Walker (2000)	130 college stalking victims	3.0	
Lyon (1997)	54 stalker cases (breaches)(Canada)	24.0	
Marshall and Castle (1998)	1855 DV and (RO) applicants (Australia)	15.5	
Mechanic, Weaver, and Resick (2000)	114 DV F victims (RO)	36.0	
Meloy, Cowett, Parker, Hofland, and Friedland (1997)	200 domestic civil (PO) defendants	18.0	
Nicastro, Cousins, and Spitzberg (2000)	55 stalking (PO) cases	67.0	
Sheridan and Davies (2001)	95 stalking victims (civil injunction)	12.0	
Sheridan, Gillet, and Davies (2000)	19 stalking victims with civil injunction	79.0	
Tjaden and Thoennes (1998)	182 stalking (PO) victims	70.0	
Tjaden and Thoennes (2000)	485 DV (RO) cases	35.0	
Tucker (1993)	90 Florida police agencies	57.0	
Range		3-79	2.5-60
Standard deviation		21.81	15.94
Mean		40.07	20.89
Sample total			23,799

NOTE: PO = protective order; RO = restraining order; TRO = temporary restraining order; PFA = protection from abuse.

tively small samples of clinical or forensic cases. This study is based on results from more than 70,000 respondents across 103 studies. Although there are significant ranges of estimates and significant differences in types of methodologies, the sheer breadth of this review provides far more reliability than the typical sequential review in which the results of a handful of studies is sequentially reviewed with little basis for cumulative generalization. Such a collective sample size and range of studies help avoid the "hit-or-miss laundry list method of measurement" that currently "limits the comparison of the types of pursuit behaviors" (Fisher, 2001, p. 224).

There are several significant practical implications of this meta-analysis. First, the typologies produced in this research offer by far the most systematic and comprehensive picture to date of the tactical topography of stalking tactics, coping tactics, and symptomology. From these typologies, it is a short step to development of new assessment instruments that would provide comparable categories, items, and concepts across past and future studies. Such new instruments will provide for significantly greater comparability across studies than is now possible, and with such comparability, sounder clinical and law enforcement interventions can be investigated.

Second, most stalking emerges as a remnant of a previously intimate relationship. Research also demonstrates that stalking in which the previous relationship was sexual in nature is significantly more likely to be violent than stalking resulting from nonintimate or nonromantic relationships (Meloy et al., 2001). This provides at least one clear risk factor for purposes of clinical and forensic threat management. It also demonstrates the relevance of interpersonal, relational, and interactional approaches to understanding the phenomenon of stalking. Stalking tends to emerge from relationships, not merely sick individuals.

Third, stalking is significantly traumatizing and is traumatizing in ways that display a broad array of potential symptoms. It appears that stalking is at least as traumatizing as other forms of interpersonal violence. It is easy for practitioners to view stalking as a relatively mild trauma because there is often a lack of obvious physical harm or threat. Consequently, stalking victims often do not receive the same sense of urgency from law enforcement and counselors than victims of domestic violence or assault (Spitzberg, in press). This research indicates that stalking victimization is on a par with other crimes that are taken far more seriously by society.

Fourth, although it has rarely been studied, one possible symptom of stalking victimization

is a response of resilience. Without diminishing the typical trauma of stalking, recognition of the possibility of resilience becomes an essential research priority. If resilient victims are found to engage in distinct types of coping strategies or if they display distinct cognitive and affective characteristics, therapeutic and law enforcement interventions can be much better informed than at present.

Fifth, one of the primary means of law enforcement and coping, the restraining order, shows limited efficacy and at least some degree of risk. Consequently, protective orders should be obtained only after a careful consideration of the particular characteristics of a particular case. Otherwise, such orders risk raising false expectations of security and may even enrage or escalate the risk to the victim.

Finally, the review of coping strategies and tactics suggests a broader repertoire of stalking management than any of the previous single studies available. Such a list by itself may provide guidance to counselors and victim advocates by way of advising victims of their options. Combined with other recent reviews (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2001a), a relatively comprehensive schema is available for educating victims and enhancing their repertoire of coping skills and options.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE, POLICY, AND RESEARCH

- The new typology of stalking behavior should serve to promote more consistent and comprehensive measurement efforts in developing risk assessments for research, intervention, and law enforcement.
 - Stalking primarily emerges from prior acquaintance, specifically romantic relationships, rather than strangers. One implication of this is that stalking resulting from intimate relationships, especially sexually intimate relationships, is significantly more likely to be violent than stalking that emerges from stranger relationships.
 - The new typology of stalking victimization symptomology suggests that (a) significant proportions of stalking victims experience a broad array of possible negative symptoms; (b) stalking legislation, which only recognizes "fear" as a criterion of stalk-
- ing, needs broadening to include other potential threats to health and safety; and (c) it is possible that some victims identify "silver linings," and such resilience needs to be identified to differentiate those most in need of victim services, that is, those lacking such resilience.
 - Restraining orders are often violated and sometimes make the situation worse, but to date, there is insufficient basis for identifying the conditions under which their effects can be predicted.
 - The new typology of coping responses suggests the possibility of (a) better assessment of victim behavior and its potential connection to escalation or de-escalation of stalker behavior and (b) producing more comprehensive advice and intervention for victims.

APPENDIX A

Additional Studies Included in the Meta-Analysis

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NOTE: See References for more studies included in the meta-analysis.

APPENDIX B Coding Form

**Stalker Typology
Categories:**

Brief Description

Stalking stages:

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

Percentage of stalkers diagnosed with Axis I/Axis II:

Diagnosis:

%

%

%

%

%

%

%

Notable Factors (i.e., key variables or concepts of note):

MICRO-TACTICS/BEHAVIORS	<u>STALKING TACTICS</u>		MACRO-TACTICS
	MEZZO-TACTICS		
	%	%	
_____	_____	_____	Hyper-Intimacy: ___%
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	Pursuit-Proximity ___%
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	Invasion: ___%
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	Proxy-Pursuit: ___%
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	Intim./Harassment: ___%
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	Coercion/Constraint: ___%
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	Aggression/Violence: ___%
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	

VICTIM SYMPTOMOLOGY

MICRO-TACTICS/BEHAVIORS

MEZZO-TACTICS

MACRO-TACTICS

Gen. Disturbance: ___%

Affective Health: ___%

Cognitive Health: ___%

Physical Health: ___%

Social Health: ___%

Resource Health: ___%

Resilience Health: ___%

COPING TACTICS

<u>MICRO-TACTICS/BEHAVIORS</u>	<u>MEZZO-TACTICS</u>	<u>MACRO-TACTICS</u>
_____	_____	Moving With: ____%
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	Moving Away: ____%
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	Moving Against: ____%
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	Moving Inward: ____%
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	Moving Outward: ____%
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	

Percentage of victims who called police: ____% Percentage stalkers convicted: ____%

Percentage of victims who obtained PO: ____% Percentage satisfaction with police: ____%

Percentage of PO's violated: ____%

Percentage of PO's perceived to have made, or expected to make, situation worse: ____%

Stalker Typology Categories:	Brief Description
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Stalking stages:

1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
4. _____	_____
5. _____	_____
6. _____	_____
7. _____	_____

Percentage of stalkers diagnosed with Axis I/Axis II:

Diagnosis:	%
_____	_____%
_____	_____%
_____	_____%
_____	_____%
_____	_____%
_____	_____%
_____	_____%
_____	_____%

Notable Factors (i.e., key variables or concepts of note):

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

NOTES

1. The author acknowledges the valuable assistance of the two communication students, Linda Baron at the University of California at Santa Barbara and Sara Linn at San Diego State University, for confirming coding of data across studies. These students were unread in the topic of stalking and were only given minimal explanation of the coding system in the process of verification.
2. Researchers are encouraged both to investigate their own interests in the data set as well as expand as desired. The data set is available to researchers as a continuously updated SPSS file. The studies included in the data set are designated by an asterisk in the reference section. Some of the studies reflected multiple samples.

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