Children and Stalking

by Mary P. Brewster, Ph.D.*

Editor's Note: *While most stalkers and victims are adults, there are also numerous stalking cases involving children and adolescents. Author Mary P. Brewster offers insight into the prevalence and incidence of stalking among youth. She examines theories of stalking that point to the causes of what the author cites as a "variant of intimate [partner] violence" (Logan et al., 2000, p. 91). She includes suggestions aimed at improving society's detection of and response to stalking among young people.*

INTRODUCTION

Most of what is known about stalking pertains to situations in which both the stalker and victim are adults. Relatively little is known about the involvement of children (i.e., those 12 and under) and adolescents (i.e., those 13 through 18) in stalking situations. Like adults, children and adolescents can be involved in stalking situations in two ways: as stalkers (of other children and/or adults) and as victims (of child or adult stalkers). The importance of considering children and adolescents as distinct from adults is clear when one considers the obvious developmental (i.e., cognitive, social maturity, etc.) differences between youth and adults (see McCann, 2001).

This article presents an overview of issues related to children and adolescent stalking, including discussions of the prevalence and incidence of stalking among youth, the nature of youthful stalking, theories of stalking behavior, the impact of stalking on young victims, and appropriate responses to young stalkers and victims (legal and otherwise). The article includes a discussion of youth who are primary targets of stalking (e.g., those who are repeatedly bullied at school; youth stalked by a former love interest), as well as those who are secondary victims (e.g., youth who are stalked/harassed by the former love interest of a parent).

In addition to covering the stalking of children and adolescents, this article includes a discussion of child-related issues in adult stalking cases.

---

*Mary P. Brewster, a professor of criminal justice at West Chester University, in West Chester, PA, has conducted a great deal of research on stalkers and victims, including a federally funded research study, "An Exploration of the Experiences and Needs of Former Intimate Stalking Victims."

An earlier version of this article appeared in *Stalking: Psychology, Risk Factors, Interventions and Law*, edited by Mary P. Brewster (Civic Research Institute, 2003).

Langhinrichsen-Rohling and Taylor (2003) point out that greater intensity in a relationship, such as that which occurs when the stalker and victim share children, makes the relationship even more dangerous. Finally, this article also includes a discussion of three specific issues that may exacerbate the problems already suffered by stalking victims who share children with their stalkers. These issues are child custody, visitation, and child support.

PREVALENCE AND INCIDENCE OF STALKING

Stalking of Children

Findings of stalking research have indicated that victims and perpetrators of stalking tend to be older than victims and perpetrators of other crimes (Meloy, 1998, p. 4). Although most research has focused on adult stalkers, some of the stalkers and/or victims identified in the extant research on stalking have been found to be juveniles (e.g., Evans & Meloy, 2011; Hall, 1998; McCann, 2000; Mullen & Pathé, 1994; Purcell, Flower, & Mullen, 2009). For example, in her research on stalking victims, 3 percent of Hall's (1998) sample was under the age of 18. In another study, Purcell, Flower, and Mullen (2009) found that of 906 applications for intervention orders (IOs), about one-third involved stalking.

Although it is clear that at least some stalkers and victims are under the age of 18, little is known about the prevalence and incidence of stalking among children and adolescents. This is the result of both the lack of empirical research and of access to juvenile court data pertaining to adolescent stalking (McCann, 2001). This lack of data, however, has not precluded the emergence of estimates of juvenile stalking. For example, McCann (2001, pp. ii–xiii) argues that the limited data that do exist suggest that 12 percent of stalking victims were victimized prior to the age of 18.

Although it is clear that at least some stalkers and victims are under the age of 18, little is known about the prevalence and incidence of stalking among children and adolescents.

Stalking of Adolescents

The recent proliferation of research on stalking perpetration and victimization among undergraduate student samples may provide some insight into the prevalence (and nature) of stalking among juveniles. In a survey of undergraduate college students, Fremouw, Westrup, and Pennypacker (1997) found that 30 percent of female students and 17 percent of male students reported having been stalked (i.e., "having someone knowingly and repeatedly following, harassing, or threatening you," p. 667) at some point in their lives. The average age for the sample of students was 19. Presumably, several of the students had experienced stalking while under the age of 18, although

Fremouw and colleagues (1997) do not indicate whether or not this was the case. Similarly, Haugard and Seri (2003) found that 24% of females and 15% of males in a sample of 631 college students reported having had "intrusive contact following the breakup of a dating or romantic relationship" (p. 292). In another study, 24 Canadian youth ages 14 to 19 participated in focus group interviews regarding dating and violence (Lavoie, 2000). The youth described aggression and violence within intimate relationships, including threats of violence in the event of a breakup. Additionally, at least one member of the focus groups reported an instance of repeated harassment following a breakup. The harassment, in this case, would perhaps more aptly be called stalking. It involved harassing telephone calls as well as acts of vandalism to the victim's home.

Knowledge of the prevalence and incidence of stalking is also impacted by the likelihood that many cases of stalking among youth are minimized by parents, teachers, and criminal justice practitioners as merely representing romantic "crushes." For example, a 16-year-old girl reported the following:

> When I told my parents that [my ex-boyfriend] was scaring me, and that I wanted to switch schools because he was scary, they told me not to be ridiculous. My parents had no idea how scared I really was. They said I was being "melodramatic." That's my mom's favorite word. They totally didn't listen to me. They kept saying, "X still likes you. He can't help it." Stuff like that. And they'd laugh like it was cute or funny or something. It was like they were on his side or something. They didn't realize what a psycho he was until they caught him sneaking around our backyard late at night. They thought he was a burglar. They were about to call the police. That night, I think they finally understood why I was so scared of him. (Author's files)

Anecdotal evidence suggests that youthful stalking occurs at least at a minimal level. In fact, one of the cases that served as the impetus for the passage of early stalking statutes in California was the murder of 21-year-old actress Rebecca Schaeffer, who had been stalked by obsessed fan Robert Bardo since Ms. Schaeffer was a teenager. McCann (2001, pp. 28–29) offers additional examples of stalking cases involving youth ages nine through 11. These cases, which had been publicized in the media, include a 9-year-old boy who was stalking a 10-year-old girl by telephone with the hope of initiating a relationship, and a 10-year-old boy who responded with assaults, threats, and vandalism to the rejection of his overtures made towards an 11-year-old girl. Other individual case examples are found in clinical research (see e.g., McCann, 1998; Urbach et al., 1992). These are often cases in which the behavior of the stalker becomes so irrational and extreme that the parent(s) or other adults resort to mental health professionals to help solve the problem.

Dating Violence

Although there are no conclusive statistics on the rates of stalking cases that involve children, research in two related areas—dating violence and bullying—might provide some sense of the prevalence of stalking among children and adolescents. Stalking and domestic violence have been linked in much of the general stalking literature (e.g., Brewster, 1998; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998; Tjaden, 2003; Langhinrichsen-Rohling & Taylor, 2003; Mechanic, 2003). We might then consider dating violence among adolescents as a way to gain some insight into some stalking victimization. Data from a survey of Massachusetts public high school students indicate that about 20 percent of teenage girls report having been physically or sexually hurt by a dating partner (Silverman et al, 2001). Results from the 1999 National Crime Victimization Survey reveal that 13 percent of girls aged 12 to 15 and 1.54 percent of girls 16 to 19 had suffered violence at the hands of a current or former intimate partner. Rates of homicides of girls by intimate partners were .01 percent for 12 to 15-year-olds and .08 percent for 16 to 19-year-olds (Rennison, 2001).

Bullying

Like research on dating violence, bullying research also provides some insight into childhood stalking. Bullying can be viewed as a variation of stalking behavior among children and adolescents. Much, though not all, bullying would qualify as stalking behavior (e.g., when there is repeated, threatening behavior toward peers). Unlike other types of youthful stalking, there has been empirical research conducted on bullying among children and adolescents (e.g., Beck, 1994; Biggam & Power, 1999; Slee, 1993). Bullying has been defined in various ways. Nansel et al. (2001) offer a fairly precise definition that closely parallels definitions of stalking:

> Bullying is a specific type of aggression in which (1) the behavior is intended to harm or disturb, (2) the behavior occurs repeatedly over time, and (3) there is an imbalance of power, with a more powerful person or group attacking a less powerful one. This asymmetry of power may be physical or psychological, and the aggressive behavior may be verbal (e.g., name-calling, threats), physical (e.g., hitting), or psychological (e.g., rumors, shunning/exclusion). (Nansel et al., 2001, p. 2094)

While "shunning" and "exclusion" would not fit within the parameters of most stalking definitions, this definition closely resembles stalking, particularly when the bully's aggression is verbal and physical.

Results of the 1998 World Health Organization's Health Behavior in School-Aged Children survey of 15,686 sixth through 12th graders in U.S. schools found that almost 30 percent of the youth reported having been involved in bullying—13 percent as a bully, 10.6 percent as a victim, and

6.3 percent as both. Male youth were more likely to be involved in bullying than were female youth. Youth in grades six through eight were more frequently involved in bullying than were students in ninth and 10th grades (Nansel et al, 2001). Almost one-tenth of the youth surveyed reported that they had been bullied at least weekly (Harvard Mental Health Letter, 2001). In a slightly younger sample of fifth graders in a rural area of Georgia, Pelligrini and Brooks (1999) found rates of 14 percent and 18 percent for rates of bullying and victimization, respectively. In another survey of over 4,000 middle-school students in a Maryland school district, 31 percent of the youths reported having been victimized three or more times during the past year (Haynie et al., 2001).

COMPARISON OF YOUTHFUL STALKING TO ADULT STALKING

While there have not been studies that have compared the experiences of juvenile and adult stalking, a review of the literature regarding both groups reveals that there are several similarities as well as differences between them. The characteristics of stalking are fairly similar (telephone calls, following, etc.), and youth can also fit into the stalking typologies that have been developed for adult stalkers. For example, in his research on adolescent stalkers, McCann (1998) documented cases of erotomania, love obsessional, and simple obsessional stalking subtypes among juveniles. Case studies provided by McCann also suggest that, like adult stalkers, adolescents may exhibit "delusional fixations, efforts to 'become known' to the love object, narcissistic injury over rejection, abandonment rage, and threats of violence" (McCann, 1998, pp. 673–674). Unlike case studies of adult stalkers, a case study presented by McCann suggests that adolescent obsessional followers "may have weaker identity formation" and may have "multiple delusional object fixations" (i.e., more than one object of their delusions) (McCann, 1998, p. 673).

An example of a young stalker is J, a 17-year-old boy who had been trying to initiate relationships with two 17-year-old girls from his high school. His behavior had been going on for over a year. The telephone calls and driving by the girls' houses had steadily increased over the past year.

> I like these two girls. They used to say "hi" to me at school, so I'm sure they like me, but they don't say hello any more. They don't know each other, which is good because I like both of them. They are a lot alike, you know, really pretty and nice and really smart. M is in my bio[logy] class and I see R in math. M has a boyfriend, but he's an asshole. I keyed his car once [i.e., scratched paint on the car with a key]. I was gonna put sugar in his gas tank, too, but I thought I might get caught. I call M and R, depending on who I feel like going out with more. They tell me they're busy and stuff and not to call. One time R talked to me for about ten minutes. I could tell she was interested. She was really nice.

> But she's been busy ever since then, you know, every time I call her. That was last year [when she spoke to me]. I know if I keep calling, eventually they'll break down. I won't give up, they'll find out what a great guy I am. I know they both would really like me if they would go out with me just one time. Is that too much to ask?!
>
> Sometimes I get so mad that M is still with [her boyfriend]. I wish he would disappear. If something did happen to him, I know M and I would end up together.
>
> I usually drive by their houses every day, if I can. I pull right around the corner from M's house and I can watch her from when she gets off the bus 'til she goes in her front door. . . . R works at [a grocery store] and she gets off the same time every night. It's easy to park on her street and watch her when she gets home. The street has a lot of cars parked there. I just make sure I don't park under a streetlight. (Author's files)

The type of behavior described above can be unnerving if the victim is aware of the stalker's behavior. When the stalker is a former intimate, especially one who has been physically abusive in the past, the victim may experience even greater fear. A 15-year-old had the following to say about her experiences with her former boyfriend:

> He would call constantly. He kept asking me to go back out with him. He'd sit with me at lunch even when I said I didn't want him to. Sometimes I'd find notes in my locker. He'd write stuff like he couldn't live without me. He said he'd never let me be with anyone else. I was babysitting these kids I watch all the time. It was pretty late, the parents were at a party. The kids were asleep and I was watching a movie with all the lights off in the den. All of a sudden I hear this banging on the front door. It's like 2:00 in the morning. It totally freaked me out. I opened the door with the chain on and said, "Go home. You can't come here." He starts screaming, "Let me in! You have to talk to me! I love you! Don't you understand?! I am not letting you go!" He was still screaming at me through the door when the people came home from the party. They told him to go away or they'd call the police. He did leave, but when the man drove me home, I could see [the stalker's] car parked around the corner. I ran in the house and locked the doors. My heart was racing for like two hours. (Author's files)

According to McCann, youthful stalkers are similar to adult stalkers in terms of motivation (e.g., anger, revenge, or desire for sexual contact), the rate of making threats (just over half), the rate of physical violence (31 percent), and the characteristics of the stalking (physical approach, telephone calls, letters) (McCann, 2001, p. 61). One of the key differences between juvenile and adult stalking, according to McCann, is the "perpetrator–victim pattern." Based on a small clinical sample, McCann (2001) found that

64 percent of the stalkers and victims were acquaintances, 21 percent were strangers, and 14 percent were former intimate partners, whereas the latter type has been found to be the most common pattern in adult stalking (McCann, 2001, p. 62; see also Purcell, Flower, & Mullen, 2009; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Of the self-reported female stalking victims in a college student sample surveyed by Fremouw and colleagues (1997), 18 percent reported that their stalkers were strangers, while the remainder reported having been stalked by a friend (18 percent), casual date (16 percent), or a serious date (47 percent). Male victims reported about the same rate of stranger stalking (17 percent) and stalking by casual dates (17 percent), but more stalking by a friend (43 percent) and less by a serious date (24 percent). Though these data are from a slightly older sample, it is likely that patterns of stalking among adolescents resemble those of slightly older subjects. McCann (1998) claims that adolescent stalkers are typically youth who suffer from psychoses and personality disturbances as opposed to those who started out as merely having been infatuated with the object of their affections.

One of the key differences between juvenile and adult stalking, according to McCann, is the "perpetrator–victim pattern." Based on a small clinical sample, McCann (2001) found that 64 percent of the stalkers and victims were acquaintances, 21 percent were strangers, and 14 percent were former intimate partners, whereas the latter type has been found to be the most common pattern in adult stalking.

Children and Adolescent Stalkers Separate From Adults

Children and adolescent stalkers and victims should be considered separately from adults due to the differences in levels of social maturity and cognitive development between the groups (McCann, 2001). Adults have typically had several intimate relationships in their pasts. Juvenile stalking may occur following the breakup of the stalker's and/or victim's first experience of an intimate relationship. Also, as compared to adults, youths tend to be more vulnerable to and influenced by the idealized notion of stalking as portrayed in the media. Movies, soap operas, and other media often demonstrate to viewers that stalking equals love and affection, and that persistence pays off; the stalker wins (or wins back) the desired object of their "affection." The media very often paint a picture of the stalker as a kind and decent person who is simply misunderstood. It is likely that these messages leave a greater impression on juveniles than on adults.

Pursuit Behaviors

In considering stalking among children and adolescents, it is important to understand that some of the initial pursuit behaviors may be considered reasonable (McCann, 2001, p. 17). Those working with youth must try to determine at what point the behaviors become intrusive and unreasonable.

The youth's inexperience may be the culprit largely responsible for the stalking behavior. Sinclair and Frieze (2000) describe the difficulty in "drawing the line" between normal courtship behavior and stalking. Based on their survey of undergraduate college students at the University of Pittsburgh, the researchers suggest that intimidation may be "an appropriate place to draw [such a] line between courtship and stalking" (Sinclair & Frieze, 2000, p. 23).

BULLYING

Bullying among youth (especially in middle school, preadolescent years) is perhaps a more common form of stalking behavior than cases in which the stalker is pursuing an intimate relationship with the victim. The characteristics of bullying vary, but often include verbal taunts, threats, and physical aggression towards the victim (see, e.g., Purcell, Flower, & Mullen, 2009). Following is an excerpt from an interview with a 10-year-old victim of bullying who was repeatedly intimidated by three of his classmates.

> I don't know why the kids don't like me. I didn't do anything to them. They're always calling me names and stuff. When I fight back, they gang up on me. I tried to ignore them, but they just get meaner and meaner. At lunch they walk by and drop stuff in my food like straw wrappers or other garbage. And they try to knock over my milk. They think it's funny. When I go to use the boys' room, B tells [the teacher] that he has to go and he follows me to the bathroom and makes fun of me in there. One time, he held the stall door shut so I couldn't get out. I try not to use the bathroom at school if I don't have to. He and his friends took my social studies homework and crumpled it up and stuck it back in my desk. I got in trouble for sloppy work. I tried to tell the teacher on them a couple of times. She kept saying, "You boys are old enough to settle this yourselves." (Author's files)

THEORIES OF STALKING

The theories that have been developed to explain adult stalking may be equally applicable to children and adolescents. Since so much stalking behavior involves former intimates, stalking may be viewed as a "variant of intimate [partner] violence" (Logan et al., 2000, p. 91). Most of these theories covered here have been applied generally to explain domestic violence. Theories of intimate partner violence and stalking include psychological, sociological, and feminist theories. Some of the psychological explanations for domestic violence that are equally applicable to stalking include theories that propose that the behavior is the result of childhood trauma (e.g., having been abused as a child), personality traits such as a high need for power, borderline

personality disorder, head injury, poor impulse control, or substance abuse (see e.g., Dutton, 1994; Hart, Dutton, & Newlove, 1993; Hamberger & Hastings, 1988; Hotaling, Straus, & Lincoln, 1989; Rosenbaum et al., 1994; Simonetti, 2000). Research on dating violence has identified typical risk factors for dating violence such as alcohol and drug abuse, childhood attachment problems, and attitudes accepting of violence (see e.g., O'Keefe, 1997; Wekerle & Wolfe, 1998; Wolfe & Feiring, 2000). These factors may equally apply to stalking behavior committed by children and adolescents.

Some research suggests that unhealthy attachment to one's parents as a child may lead to unhealthy attachment in adult relationships.

Children and Batterers

In a study of batterers, Dutton and Starzomski (1993) found that borderline personality and anger were correlated with psychological abuse of intimate partners. In another study, Gondolf (1999) found that two-fifths of batterers exhibited narcissistic or antisocial personalities. Other researchers have found that batterers had feelings of low personal control or the need to maintain or regain control (Campbell, 1993; Dutton, 1988; Stets, 1988; 1992). Research has shown that violence worsens in situations of separation or divorce (Reiss & Roth, 1993). This may apply to relationship breakups among youth as well. A 15-year-old girl described her abusive boyfriend's reaction when she tried to break up with him:

> He says, "You ain't leavin' me. We belong together. I'm good for you. You can't leave. I won't let you. Nobody else is ever gonna be with you. I can guarantee you that." He was, like, rantin' and ravin' like a freakin' crazy man. I was scared because he hit me and punched me before. I was afraid he was really gonna hurt me this time. It's like I ain't got no choice in the matter. Like, he gets to decide whether we stay together. It don't matter that I don't want him no more. He gets to decide for both of us. (Author's files)

Traumatic Bond Theory

Another psychological theory that has frequently been applied to domestic violence and to stalking is traumatic bonding theory. Proponents of this theory propose that domestic violence (and stalking) is due to intimate emotional bonding and unhealthy attachment (see e.g., Bowlby, 1988; Dutton & Painter, 1993). According to Bowlby (1988), sometimes strong, but unhealthy, attachments develop between intimate partners. These attachments are based on anxiousness and fear of abandonment. Each partner creates ways to control the other (and prevent abandonment). Some research suggests that unhealthy attachment to one's parents as a child may lead to unhealthy

attachment in adult relationships. Those who have healthy or secure attachment styles have been found to perpetrate and suffer less emotional abuse than those with insecure or anxious attachment styles (O'Hearn & Davis, 1997; Holtzworth-Munroe, Stuart, & Hutchinson, 1997). McCann (2001, p. 24) states that "[b]ecause the causal factors of attachment disturbance and narcissistic fantasy exist in children and adolescents, these factors may help to explain why children and adolescents develop patterns of stalking behavior."

Object Relations Theory

One popular explanation of stalking that might be applied to juveniles is object relations theory, a psychodynamic theory proposed by Meloy (1998). According to this theory, people naturally seek out relationships, and our "identity, our sense of the world, our view of others, our language, and our ability to identify what we are feeling developed through our connection with others" (Lipson & Mills, 1998, p. 267). Meloy describes how stalking might result from rejection:

> . . . such individuals form a narcissistic linking fantasy with their victims, which is then met with rejection when acted upon. The rejection stimulates shame, which is defended against with rage, and thus fuels the pursuit of the victim. If the victim is sufficiently devalued, the narcissistic linking fantasy, which idealizes the victim, can be restored (Meloy, 1989, 1992, 1996). (Meloy, 1998, p. 6)

The very public lives that youth often live among their peer groups within their school may intensify the feelings of shame experienced by the stalker when rejected by the victim. Boys will often tease other boys who have been "dumped" by their girlfriends or rejected by their "crushes." The public humiliation may set off the stalking committed by the jilted ex-boyfriend or rejected suitor.

Social Learning and Family Systems Theories

Sociological theories that may be applied to stalking behavior include social learning theory and family systems theory. In his family system's theory, Bowen (1978) addresses how boundary-maintaining processes and "differentiation" are intergenerational. Specifically, Bowen's theory addresses the issue of differentiation of self, which "allows individuals to have a sense of self that is both separate from and connected to another or to the family system as a whole" (Rosen et al., 2001, p. 127). Those who are able to differentiate themselves are able to maintain boundaries within relationships. They have a sense of self as distinct from their intimate partners, and accept the same in their partners. Those who are unable to differentiate themselves end up having fusion in their intimate relationships. They are unable to separate the self from the couple. A dependence on the partner and on maintaining the status of couplehood is of utmost importance (Rosen et al., 2001). While Bowen's

differentiation has been applied to dating violence, it has not been utilized in explaining stalking among children and adolescents. Its application in this arena, however, is clearly worth exploring.

Social Learning Theory

Social learning theory is another theory that is clearly applicable to stalking among children and adolescents. This theory is based on the premise that people learn behavior by watching others and by modelling the behavior that they observe. If the results of the behavior are positive (e.g., scaring one's partner into submission), the behavior is likely to be repeated. Children who have been abused or who have observed domestic violence within their homes are likely to model that behavior when interacting with others (Doumas, Margolin, & John, 1994; see also Crowell & Burgess, 1996; Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986). A 15-year-old girl described how she perceived her ex-boyfriend picked up his attitudes toward girls.

> He thinks that just because his father beats his mother, owns his mother, that he owns me. He learned this whole attitude from his dad. In their culture, men are supposed to dominate women. Men are in charge. And it's okay to do whatever you want to keep your woman. She's never allowed to leave. So neither was I. (Author's files)

Feminist theorists would argue that stalking is an attempt by men to use physical, emotional, or sexual violence to maintain control over their female partners. Chornesky (2000), who has applied this theory to domestic violence among adults, would likely suggest examining the patriarchal structure of society and, more specifically, the power differential between boys and girls. By its very nature, the social structure may permit or even encourage stalking types of behavior on the part of boys. This theory, however, clearly does not explain situations in which a boy is stalked by a girl.

CHILDREN AS SECONDARY VICTIMS IN ADULT CASES

In stalking situations, the stalker may sometimes extend the stalking to friends and family of the victim (see, e.g., Brewster, 1998; Hall, 1998). This is an attempt to heighten the intensity of the behavior and place increased pressure on the victim to bow to the desires of the stalker. So, in addition to cases in which a youth may be the primary target of a stalker, in other cases a youth may become a secondary victim of stalking, especially in cases in which the primary stalking victim is his/her parent. In these cases, the stalking of children occurs with the desire to harass and possibly terrorize the true target. The stalker may be the youth's noncustodial parent or stepparent, the primary stalking target's (i.e., parent's) ex-boyfriend/girlfriend or acquaintance, or a complete stranger to the primary target of stalking. The stalking of a youth as a means to terrorize the primary target may include many of

the same behaviors that have been committed against the primary target. Following, threatening, making harassing phone calls, etc., are all typical ways in which this occurs. In cases in which the child knows the stalker, this may be particularly difficult and stressful on the youth due to having had a prior relationship with the stalker. The youth, who may already have been distraught over the loss of a significant person in his or her life (e.g., parent's live-in partner), is now also experiencing fear and confusion about the stalking behavior. One mother reported her children's experiences with their former stepfather:

> They used to love him dearly. Now they're terrified of him. He'll drive by their bus stop in the morning a few times a week. He doesn't even live near here any more. But he'll drive by, and if the kids are playing in the street near the curb, he'll cut the corner so close that they have to jump up on the sidewalk out of his way. Then he makes a U-turn and shouts out the window as he passes them by, "Tell your f---ing bitch of a mother to return my calls. Three f---ing years together and she won't return my f---ing phone calls!" I've called the police a couple of times, but nothing's been done about it. I don't know . . . do I quit my job so that I can drive the kids to school? Sometimes he'll catch them walking home from the school bus. They are home by themselves for two hours before I get home from work. He was standing on the front porch when they got home one day. He told them that we were back together. As soon as they opened the door, he forced his way into the house. When my son told him to leave, he slapped him. I was so angry when I found out. I called the police. They talked to him but didn't arrest him or anything. He was just a stepparent, but the police acted like my kids were his or something. My kids are scared. I'm scared. I'm thinking about moving and trying to find a new job. I just don't know what to do. It's one thing for him to give me a hard time, but when he goes near my kids, it scares me to death. You know, you always hear these stories about psycho ex-husbands who kill the ex-wife and kids. It's sick, but I wouldn't put it past him. (Author's files)

In situations such as these, in which the perpetrator directly stalks the children, the stalker often succeeds in his desire to increase the impact on the intended, or primary, victim who is often a former intimate. Unfortunately, the child suffers along with the parent in these cases.

THE IMPACT OF STALKING ON YOUNG VICTIMS

Protection From Bullies

It is likely that the impact of stalking on young victims is often equal to or greater than that on older victims. As compared to adult victims, children

It is likely that the impact of stalking on young victims is often equal to or greater than that on older victims. As compared to adult victims, children may have fewer options in protecting themselves from their stalkers.

may have fewer options in protecting themselves from their stalkers (e.g., greater difficulty moving, changing schools, purchasing a weapon, obtaining a restraining order, etc.). The perception of limited resource availability for dealing with their stalkers may heighten the effects of stalking on children. A twelve-year-old male victim of a bully described his frustration:

> What am I gonna do? Drop out of school?! Every day I come to school, he's standing right by the side door. That's the door the sixth and seventh graders have to use. Once I tried to sneak in the door for the younger kids, but I got in trouble and the teacher sent me back outside to come in the side door like I'm supposed to. X was laughing his head off. I hate that kid. He waited until I got to the door and blocked me from getting in. Then he pushed me backwards and I almost fell. His friends were laughing. Then the bell rang and a teacher came out and yelled at us and told us to get late passes. X was late, too, but he didn't care. All he cared about was being mean to me. He made me late to school so many times. When I got my report card, my mom wanted to know how come I was tardy all these days when I left the house so early. I didn't tell her anything. What could she do anyway? It's not like she would let me switch schools or anything. (Author's files)

Powerlessness

The sense of powerlessness experienced by the victim is obvious in the excerpt above. The following excerpt describes another situation in which the victim's parents had him switch schools after over a year of being bullied.

> I don't know why X always picked on me. I pretty much mind my own business. I have some friends at school, but I'm definitely not one of the popular kids. He just started pushing me around one day. First, he'd call me names like "gay boy" and stuff. Other kids—friends of his—would laugh. Then he'd push me down the steps of the bus. He always made sure that he could get right behind me on the school steps or on the bus, and then he'd try to push me over. When I'd fall, he'd say something stupid like, "Oops, sorry [sarcastically]."
>
> I started trying to miss the bus so that my dad would drive me to school on his way to work. My parents started to catch on and so I told them about X. My dad said that it's just part of going to school. One time X took my math book and dropped it out the school bus window in the

rain. It was ruined and my mom wanted to call X's parents. I had to beg her not to. X'd really kill me then.

I joined the school newspaper so that I could stay after school for meetings and not have to ride the bus home with X. Finally, in ninth grade, my parents sent me to a private school. Things are really good there. (Author's files)

The effects of bullying on the victim are varied. Weir (2001) reports that, as compared to children who are not bullied, bullied children are more likely to have trouble sleeping, feel sad, have headaches and stomachaches, and wet their beds. In a study of bullying in a correctional setting, Biggam and Power (1999) found that victims of bullying had higher levels of distress and hopelessness than other incarcerated (bullying and nonbullying/nonvictimized) youth.

Former Boyfriend/Girlfriend

Those who are stalked by a former boyfriend or girlfriend, or by someone who is trying to initiate an unwanted relationship with the victim, also suffer various consequences. Trauma, anxiety, and depression may be experienced by these stalked youth. Some of the effects of stalking are apparent in this excerpt from an interview with a 16-year-old girl who had broken off her six-month relationship with her boyfriend five months earlier.

The telephone calls, the following, the spying . . . it's all driving me crazy. I wish that he would just leave me alone. He threatens me any time he finds out that I've been with someone new. I'm scared 99 percent of the time. I'm constantly watching out for him at school. If I see him coming down the hall towards me, my heart starts beating really hard and I turn or something to avoid him. I feel like I'm completely paranoid. I watch for him at work all the time because he came there twice and just stood in the corner and acted like he was interested in buying something. As soon as my boss left the front of the store, X came over and started calling me a whore and stuff. Now I always am nervous at work and stuff. I hate being home alone. I can hardly get to sleep at night. When I finally do, I'm tossing and turning all night. I'm afraid to start dating new guys because I think that X'll really do something then. (Author's files)

Although little research has been conducted to assess the impact of stalking among young people, it is likely that many of the same effects suffered by adult victims are experienced by children and adolescents (Knox & Roberts, 2003; Mechanic, 2003).

RESPONDING TO YOUNG VICTIMS AND STALKERS

Communication

Children may deal with stalking victimization in a number of ways. Some examples of avoidance and discussing the problem with one's parents have

been described in the interview excerpts provided earlier in this article. Like adults, young victims may try to reason with their stalkers or threaten to get them in legal or other types of trouble. Fremouw and colleagues (1997) found that college students most often attempted to ignore the stalker or change their schedule so as to avoid the stalker. The college students were much less likely to call the police or file for a restraining order. Again, it is unclear whether these approaches are similar to those used by younger victims, but the data are not yet available for children and adolescents. National Crime Victimization Survey data show that girls between the ages of twelve and fifteen are the least likely of any age group to report their experiences of intimate partner violence to the police (Rennison, 2001). Only 28 percent of 12 to 15-year-olds reported the violence, as compared to 46 percent of 16 to 19-year-olds, and over half of 20 to 49-year-old victims (Rennison, 2001).

Prevention

While it is important to design practical and effective responses to the stalking of children that can be implemented by family, school, community, and criminal justice professionals, ideally, prevention efforts should also be in place to help reduce the likelihood of the occurrence of stalking in the first place. Such prevention programs have been designed and evaluated for the prevention of general dating violence (e.g., Avery-Leaf et al., 1997; Macgowan, 1997; Weisz & Black, 2001). For example, Foshee and colleagues (1998) evaluated a program called Safe Dates in several randomly selected high schools in a county in North Carolina. Safe Dates consists of various components including a theater production, 10 45-minute classes, and a poster contest. The program attempts to prevent dating violence by changing norms related to dating violence, reducing gender stereotypes, and improving conflict management techniques (Foshee et al., 1998, p. 45). Following the program, as compared to students attending a comparison group of schools, those youth whose schools participated in the Safe Dates program reported greater reductions in psychological abuse, sexual violence, and general violence (Foshee et al., 1998). Presumably, a component might be added to dating violence prevention programs such as Safe Dates that specifically addresses the inappropriateness and unacceptability of stalking behaviors.

Safety

In cases where prevention efforts have been ineffective, parents, teachers, guidance counselors, principals, mental health professionals, and criminal justice professionals should address the safety needs of the victim as the first priority. In particular, schools are increasingly being viewed as liable for the behavior of children during the school day. It is the responsibility of school personnel to provide a safe learning environment for students. Bullying and/or obsession by a "crush" should not be viewed as merely a rite of passage for children and adolescents. If a youth is in danger, police contact and further action are appropriate.

Needs of Victim and Stalker

Once the victim's safety is assured, the needs of both victim and stalker should be examined. Whether the stalker was a peer who repeatedly bullied and intimidated the victim, or a former boyfriend/girlfriend who stalked the victim for the purpose of reconciliation or revenge, the victim's emotional needs must be addressed. Typical symptoms of victims include fear, self-blame, low self-esteem, anxiety, sleep problems, depression, and even suicidal thoughts. Roberts' seven-stage crisis intervention model may prove useful in initially assisting young victims of stalking (Roberts, 2000; Knox & Roberts, 2003). It is important to approach crisis intervention and long-term treatment with the child's developmental level and relatively short life experience in mind. For example, an adolescent former intimate stalker and his victim may have shared their first sexual experience with one another during their prior relationship. The significance of that first sexual relationship may be important to consider when working with these youth. The victim and stalker may both have thought of the former partner as "the one" during the relationship. It is difficult for youth to move on from their first failed intimate relationship.

It is important to approach crisis intervention and long-term treatment with the child's developmental level and relatively short life experience in mind.

Those working with young victims should realize that children and adolescents don't typically have the same ability and power to make decisions that adult stalking victims might have. Few children would be permitted to change their home telephone numbers, switch schools, or change residences to minimize contact with the stalker and to protect themselves. In cases where a youth is identified as the victim of bullying, the youth should be assessed for "separation and general anxiety disorders, dysthymia and depression using DSMIV criteria" (Weir, 2001, p. 1249). Victims may also be susceptible to bullies because of inadequate social and problem-solving skills. Counselors can work on these skills with youth for whom this is the case.

Effects of Stalking by Gender

Those assisting young victims of stalking should be aware that the effects of stalking vary by gender. Although, as stated earlier, victims of bullies are more likely to be boys than girls, girls appear to suffer a greater long-term emotional impact (Curriculum Review, 2001, p. 3). Anxiety and depression are two likely symptoms for both male and female victims, although "a history of victimization predicts the onset of anxiety or depression, especially in adolescent girls" (Bond et al., 2001, p. 483). Counselors should take this into account when trying to assess the impact of the stalking and when estimating the time it will take for victims to "recover" from their ordeal.

Mental Health Assessment

Part of helping the victim and potential victims is to prevent the future occurrence of stalking by the young stalker and/or bully. For youth who have perpetrated bullying, mental health assessment should be completed to identify and appropriately treat any neurological disorders, bipolar disorder, schizophrenia, and/or trauma from child abuse (Harvard Mental Health Letter, 2001, p. 5). Counselors may explore with the youth their reasons for their behavior and address those in some meaningful way. The counseling should focus on the development of empathy in order for the youth to consider the impact of their behavior on others in the future. Social skill development, self-control, and behavior therapy should be additional elements of the counseling. Family counseling is also recommended since family dynamics often play a role in creating a bully. For example, research has shown that maltreated children are more likely to bully than are nonmaltreated children (Shields & Cicchetti, 2001). In particular, children who have been physically or sexually abused (more so than neglected) have been found to have the highest rates of bullying others. In turn, as compared to nonbullies, bullies were more likely to self-report physical aggression and social aggression (e.g., spreading rumors, social restrictions) with their dating partners (Connolly et al., 2000). Intervention with adolescent and preadolescent children is especially critical because, if left alone, the behaviors may be carried with them into adulthood.

> The bullying pattern may include not only aggressive taunting and intimidation of other children but also habitual lying, stealing, running away from home, cruelty to animals, vandalism, malicious mischief, smoking, drinking, drug use, and early sexual activity. In their families, corporal punishment, marital conflict, alcoholism, and uncontrollable tempers are common. [T]hey also have a surprisingly high rate of depression, almost as high as the rate among their victims. And the prospects are not good. In one study, one out of every four highly aggressive eight-year-old boys had a criminal record by age thirty, compared with one out of twenty boys in general. (Harvard Mental Health Letter, 2001, p. 5)

In cases of bullying, there is sometimes more than one perpetrator involved. Simultaneous individual treatment of the bullies may increase the overall deterrent effect. Group treatment has not been recommended (Harvard Mental Health Letter, 2001), especially since bullies are often seeking attention through their negative behaviors. The group setting might encourage oneupmanship among the bullies. Obviously, it is also prudent to intervene in bullying cases early, rather than waiting until the taunts and threats escalate to pushing and hitting and perhaps even more serious violence.

School-Wide Prevention Programs

School-wide bullying prevention programs might also prove to be an effective approach in dealing with bullying. Twemlow and colleagues (2001) report that one such program has been found to be effective in an elementary school. The key elements of the program were zero tolerance for behavioral problems such as bullying (and for those merely watching), modelling of appropriate behavior, development of self-control skills, and mentoring of youth and adults working in the school (to help them avoid being a victim, offender, or apathetic onlooker). Likewise, Glover and colleagues (2000) suggest that "[s]uccessful intervention requires a change of attitude on the part of both pupils and the community, a willingness to report events, and an understanding of respect for personal space" (p. 1469).

Another area for consideration is the lack of universal legal protective measures that can be taken by youth who are stalked.

Counseling

In terms of stalking cases in which the stalker has a desire for initiating or reinstituting an intimate relationship with the victim, the counseling might focus on anger management, improving gender attitudes (more egalitarian views), education on appropriate relationship dynamics, and coping with (and accepting) the end of an intimate relationship (or the inability to initiate a new one with the stalking victim).

LEGAL RESPONSE TO STALKING OF CHILDREN

McCann argues that current anti-stalking legislation may not effectively address stalking among children (McCann, 1995; 2001). He suggests modifying existing laws to take into account the age of the child. The "credible threat" element of most stalking legislation is clearly impacted by the age and developmental stage of the victim. McCann supports the treatment of child victims as an aggravating factor in the offense. In addition to stiffer penalties for stalkers of children, McCann argues for the increased use of mental health evaluation and treatment and civil commitment of stalkers.

Another area for consideration is the lack of universal legal protective measures that can be taken by youth who are stalked. States that have not already done so should make provisions for children to obtain orders of protection in stalking situations, whether the perpetrator is a bullying peer, a former intimate partner, an acquaintance, or a parent's former stalker.

Finally, when a stalking case does go to trial, it may be extremely difficult and confusing for children to testify against an adult perpetrator, especially one who was or still is loved by the children. When the perpetrator is a parent or former stepparent, provisions should be made whenever possible for the

use of videotaped testimony, or some other alternative to the child's actual physical presence in the courtroom with the stalker. This may also be useful in alleviating fear in cases in which the perpetrator is not well known to the children.

CHILD-RELATED ISSUES IN STALKING CASES OF ONE PARENT BY ANOTHER

Long-Term Connection With Stalker

Female stalking victims who have had children with their stalkers often are "forever linked" with the father of their children. (The same problems regarding sharing children with one's stalker may occur for men as well as women. Due to the disproportionate number of women in these situations, the author has used the female gender in references to the victim and the male gender in references to the perpetrator of stalking. It should be understood that these issues can apply to male victims as well.) This long-term connection with the stalker makes it difficult for women to distance themselves from the perpetrator. Three specific areas related to the sharing of children that exacerbate an already difficult situation (i.e., stalking) are child support, visitation, and custody.

Child Support

Female stalking victims who have children may be at a distinct disadvantage when it comes to filing for child support and any type of public assistance. Since Congress passed the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunities Reconciliation Act (PRWORA), life is particularly difficult for lower-class, single mothers who are being stalked (Pearson, 2001). Those women seeking public assistance are required to first cooperate with child support agencies in order to be eligible for public assistance. They are requested to complete the process of filing for child support, which unfortunately means revealing their (often secret) whereabouts to their stalkers. In addition, applying for child support may require face-to-face contact with the stalker and may also further anger him, resulting in the increased potential for violence. Exceptions or "good cause exemptions" may be made to this policy but, in many instances, women are unaware of this option (Pearson, 2001). The direct result of completing the paperwork for child support may be renewed stalking.

> I don't want his money, but I can't get assistance if I don't file [for child support]. So, I went to all this trouble to find a place to live where he couldn't find me and the kids. He ain't allowed to see them anyway because of the abuse and stuff. But if I file, he'll know exactly where to find me again. And then it'll be a living hell again. (Author's files)

At the time of this writing, most states had already adopted the Family Violence Option (FVO), which allows exemptions to welfare policies for

victims of domestic violence. States that have initiated programs and policies that help protect domestic violence victims have increasingly included universal notification of domestic violence exemptions to policy. That is, every applicant is told of the exemptions to the welfare policies for domestic violence victims. Then a brief screening usually takes place to determine whether the applicant falls into the "exempt" status. If she does, good cause exemptions are provided (see, e.g., Griswold, 2000).

Child Visitation and Custody

Problems may also arise when the stalker requests child visitation rights or custody of the children. While some stalkers may sincerely be interested in obtaining custody of their children, others will use the request for custody to force face-to-face contact with the victim and to further harass the victim.

> He don't want the kids! He just wants to get at me! He could never take care of them. But he uses that to get to me. He knows I'm terrified of losing my babies. He figures that's my weak spot—if he can get me there, I'll take him back. If he ever did get custody, I would *have* to take him back. I couldn't live without my babies. And every hearing, he busts me . . . he calls me names, threatens me like, "You ain't gonna be around to watch the kids." Now, what's that supposed to mean?! (Author's files)

Regardless of the sincerity of the stalker in seeking custody of the children, the case is likely to result in a stressful custody dispute.

There are jurisdictions in most states that require the use of mediation in visitation and custody battles (Newmark et al., 1995; Thoennes et al., 1995). The use of mediation to determine custody and visitation in cases in which there has been a history of violence or stalking is controversial, especially in cases involving domestic violence and/or stalking (see, e.g., Newmark et al., 1995; Thoennes et al., 1995). Thoennes and colleagues (1995) report that evidence indicates the occurrence of prior spousal abuse in over half of custody and visitation disputes that are referred to mediation programs. Many cases also involve continued abuse following separation. In a survey of 422 parents involved in court-mandated mediation or evaluation services to settle child custody and/or visitation disputes, 80 percent of the women and 72 percent of the men reported abuse, typically in the form of intimidation (Newmark et al., 1995). More than half of the men and two-thirds of the women also reported physical abuse. Women who were abused felt less empowered in the mediation process than those who had not reported abuse. Abused and nonabused men, on the other hand, did not differ in their reports of empowerment (Newmark et al., 1995).

Safety of Battered Women and Children

Thoennes et al. (1995, p. 9) have stressed the importance of designing mediation practices that try "to ensure the safety of battered women and children."

The Association of Family and Conciliation Courts conducted a survey regarding mediation practices in cases of alleged spousal abuse. The survey was sent to 200 courts and programs that provided family and divorce services, resulting in 136 surveys completed by courts that offer mediation programs for disputes involving child custody and/or visitation. Most (60 percent) of the programs responding to the survey reported that mediation was mandated by law or court rule. About 70 percent reported that mediators underwent some type of special domestic violence training. When asked about the screening of cases, one-fifth of the programs reported no screening of referrals for mediation. While the majority of the programs did conduct screening, another one-fifth of this group did not include any screening specifically for domestic violence. The remaining 63 percent screened for domestic violence through questionnaires, individual interviews, or joint interviews. Clearly, the use of joint interviews to screen for domestic violence (used in 4 percent of the programs) places the victim in an uncomfortable, if not outright dangerous, position.

Options for those cases in which domestic violence has been identified include exclusion from mediation, the use of special mediation techniques, and the use of a custody evaluation (Thoennes et al., 1995). Despite the large number of cases in which domestic violence has been indicated, fewer than 5 percent of the cases in the study had been eliminated from mediation for this reason (Thoennes et al., 1995). In these cases, a battle may ensue in court, requiring frequent court appearances during which the victim is again forced into contact with the stalker.

A more common alternative to exclusion from mediation is the provision of special mediation techniques. The most attractive of these include conducting additional screenings, allowing the presence of a support person during mediation sessions, using co-mediators, mediating by telephone, conducting separate (private) sessions, and shuttle mediation (Thoennes et al., 1995). A final alternative to mediation is the custody evaluation. During this process, information is gathered that will "allow a judge or hearing officer to make a decision about the custody and visitation arrangement that will serve the child's best interests" (Thoennes et al., 1995, p. 22). Typically, part of the custody evaluation includes gathering information about whether there is a history of domestic violence, drug or alcohol problems, arrests, child abuse, and/or restraining orders (Thoennes et al., 1995).

Once custody and a visitation schedule are established, the result may be a scenario in which the victim is forced to face her stalker on a regular basis. The stalker may use this situation as a regular opportunity to threaten, verbally abuse, or even physically harm the victim.

> Every Thursday he comes by to get them for dinner. Even though I send them out to the car—I wait by the window and push them out the door when he comes—he still comes up to the door just to yell things at me and call me names. I don't know if I can take this for six more years of visitation. (Author's files)

Regardless of which parent is granted custody of the children, the courts sometimes take into account the difficult situation and order special procedures for the visitation. For example, a neutral third party may be able to deliver the children to the noncustodial parent for visitation and return them to the custodial parent at the end of the visit.

Even when arrangements are made so that direct contact between stalker and victim does not occur when the children are picked up or dropped off, visitation may be particularly difficult on the children if the stalking parent drills the children for information about the victim (i.e., the other parent). Information regarding her work schedule, dating activities, and other details of her personal life may be used by the stalker to later increase the terror imposed on the victim. Children are also impacted by being placed in the awkward and conflicted position of having to divide their loyalties, and knowing that divulging information to one parent may be harmful to the other.

CONCLUSION

Despite the lack of research on stalking among children and adolescents, it is clear that the phenomenon does exist. The information that is available suggests that stalking likely has a great effect on young primary and secondary victims. It is important to protect the victims and to assess the psychological and emotional needs of victims and stalkers to prevent any long-term psychological and/or behavioral impact.

This chapter has also addressed the other child-related issues of child support, visitation, and custody involving stalkers and victims who share children. Those working in family court, domestic relations, and public assistance should be aware of the unique difficulties faced, especially by single mothers who are being stalked. Accommodations should be made in light of the victims' special circumstances.

References

AveryLeaf, S., Cascardi, M., O'Leary, K. D., & Cano, A. (1997). Efficacy of a dating violence prevention program on attitudes justifying aggression. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *21*, 11–17.

Beck, G. (1994). Self-reported bullying among Scottish young offenders. *Inside Psychology*, *2*, 16–21.

Biggam, F. H., & Power, K. G. (1999). Social problem-solving skills and psychological distress among incarcerated young offenders: the issue of bullying and victimization. *Cognitive Therapy and Research*, *23*(3), 307–326.

Bond, L., Carlin, J. B., Thomas, L., Rubin, K., & Patton, G. (2001). Does bullying cause emotional problems? A prospective study of young teenagers. *British Medical Journal*, *323*(7311), 480–484.

Bowen, M. (1978). *Family therapy in clinical practice.* New York: Jason Aaronson.

Bowlby, J. (1988). *A secure base: Parent-child attachment and healthy human development*. New York: Basic Books.

Brewster, M. (1998). *An exploration of the experiences and needs of former intimate stalking victims* (Project #: 95WTNX0002). Final Report submitted to the National Institute of Justice.

Bullies and their victims. (2001). *Harvard Mental Health Letter*, *18*(5), 4–6.

Campbell, A. (1993). *Men, women, and aggression*. New York: Basic Books.
Chornesky, A. (2000). The dynamics of battering revisited. *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work*, *15*(4), 480–501.
Connolly, J., Peplar, D., Craig, W., & Taradash, A. (2000). Dating experiences of bullies in early adolescence. *Child Maltreatment*, *5*(4), 299–310.
Crowell, N. A., & Burgess, A. W. (1996). *Understanding violence against women.* Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
Doumas, D., Margolin, G., & John, R. S. (1994). The intergenerational transmission of aggression across three generations. *Journal of Family Violence*, *9*(2), 157–175.
Dutton, D. G. (1988). *The domestic assault of women: Psychological and criminal justice perspectives*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
Dutton, D. G. (1994). The origin and structure of the abusive personality. *Journal of Personality Disorders*, *8*(3), 181–191.
Dutton, D. G., & Painter, S. (1993). Battered woman syndrome: Effects of severity and intermittent of abuse. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *63*, 614–627.
Dutton, D. G., & Starzomski, A. J. (1993). Borderline personality in perpetrators of psychological and physical abuse. *Violence and Victims*, *8*(4), 327–337.
Evans, T. M., and Meloy, J. R. (2011). Identifying and classifying juvenile and stalking behavior. *Journal of Forensic Science, 56*(S1), S266–S270.
Foshee, V. A., Bauman, K. E., Arriaga, X. B., Helms, R. W., Koch, G. G., & Linder, G. F. (1998) An evaluation of Safe Dates, an adolescent dating violence prevention program. *American Journal of Public Health*, *88*(1), 45–51.
Fremouw, W. J., Westrup, D., & Pennypacker, J. (1997, July). Stalking on campus: The prevalence and strategies for coping with stalking. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, *42*(4),666–669.
Glover, D., Gough, G., Johnson, M., & Cartwright, N. (2000). Bullying in 25 secondary schools: Incidence, impact and intervention. *Educational Research*, *42*(2), 141–156.
Gondolf, E. W. (1999). A comparison of reassault rates in four batterer programs: Do court referral, program length and services matter? *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *15*(6), 566–586.
Griswold, E. A. (2000). New directions for child support agencies when domestic violence is an issue. *Policy and Practice of Public Human Services*, *58*(1), 29–36.
Hall, D. M. (1998). The victims of stalking. In J. R. Meloy (Ed.), *The psychology of stalking: Clinical and forensic perspectives* (pp. 113–137). San Diego: Academic Press.
Hamberger, L. K., & Hastings, J. E. (1988). Characteristics of abusive men suggestive of personality disorders. *Hospital and Community Psychiatry*, *39*, 763–770.
Hart, S. D., Dutton, D. G., & Newlove, T. (1993). The prevalence of personality disorder among wife assaulters. *Journal of Personality Disorders*, *7*(4), 328–340.
Haugaard, J. J., & Seri, L. G. (2003). Stalking and other forms of intrusive contact after the dissolution of adolescent dating or romantic relationships. *Violence and Victims, 18*(3), 279–297.
Haynie, D., Nansel, T., Eitel, P., Crump, A. D., Saylor, K., Yu, K., & Simons-Morton, B. (2001). Bullies, victims, and bully/victims: Distinct groups of at-risk youth. *Journal of Early Adolescence*. *21*(1), 29–49.
Holtzworth-Munroe, A., Stuart, G. L., & Hutchinson, G. (1997). Violent versus nonviolent husbands: Differences in attachment patterns, dependency, and jealousy. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *11*, 314–331.
Hotaling, G. T., Straus, M. A., & Lincoln, A. (1989). Intrafamily violence and crime and violence outside the family. In L. Ohlin & M. Tonry (Eds.), *Family violence* (pp. 315–376). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Hotaling, G. T., & Sugarman, D. B. (1986). An analysis of risk markers in husband to wife violence. *Violence and Victims*, *1*, 101–124.
Knox, K., & Roberts, A. R. (2003) Crisis intervention for victims in stalking cases. In M. Brewster (Ed.), *Stalking: Psychology, risk factors, interventions and law* (pp. 10-1–10-18). Kingston, NJ: Civic Research Institute.
Langhinrichsen-Rohling, J., & Taylor, J. (2003). After the break-up: Relationship factors associated with intimate relationship stalking. In M. Brewster (Ed.), *Stalking: Psychology, risk factors, interventions and law* (pp. 8-1–8-13). Kingston, NJ: Civic Research Institute.
Lavoie, F. (2000). Teen dating relationships and aggression. *Violence Against Women*, *6*(1), 6–36.

Lipson, G. S. & Mills, M. J. (1998). Stalking, erotomania, and the *Tarasoff* cases. In J. R. Meloy (Ed.), *The psychology of stalking: Clinical and forensic perspectives* (pp. 257–273). New York: Academic Press.

Logan, T. K., Leukefeld, C., & Walker, B. (2000). Stalking as a variant of intimate violence: Implications from a young adult sample. *Violence and Victims*, *15*(1), 91–111.

Macgowan, M. J. (1997). An evaluation of a dating violence prevention program for middle school students. *Violence and Victims*, *12*, 223–235.

McCann, J. T. (1995). Obsessive attachment and the victimization of children: Can anti-stalking legislation provide protection? *Law and Psychology Review*, *19*, 93–112.

McCann, J. T. (1998). Subtypes of stalking (obsessional following) in adolescents. *Journal of Adolescence*, *21*, 667–675.

McCann, J. T. (2000). A descriptive study of child and adolescent obsessional followers. *Journal of Adolescence, 45*(1), 195–199.

McCann, J. T. (2001). *Stalking in children and adolescents: The primitive bond*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Mechanic, M. B. (2003). Responding to the psychological impact of stalking victimization." In M. Brewster (Ed.), *Stalking: Psychology, risk factors, interventions and law* (pp. 11-1–11-22). Kingston, NJ: Civic Research Institute.

Meloy, J. R. (1998). The psychology of stalking. In J. R. Meloy (Ed.), *The psychology of stalking: Clinical and forensic perspectives* (pp. 2–27). San Diego: Academic Press.

Mullen, P. E., & Pathé, M. (1994). The pathological extensions of love. *British Journal of Psychiatry*, *165*, 614–623.

Nansel, T. R., Overpeck, M., Ramani, S. P., Ruan, W. J., Simons-Morton, B., & Scheidt, P. (2001). Bullying behaviors among US youth: Prevalence and association with psychosocial adjustment. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, *285*(16), 2094–2100.

Newmark, L., Harrell, A., & Salem, P. (1995). Domestic violence and empowerment in custody and visitation cases. *Family and Conciliation Courts Review*, *33*(1), 30–62.

O'Hearn, R. E. & Davis, K. E. (1997). Women's experiences of giving and receiving emotional abuse: An attachment perspective. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *12*, 375–391.

O'Keefe, M. (1997). Predictors of dating violence among high school students. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *12*(4), 195–223.

Pearson, J. (2001). Balancing safety and self-sufficiency: Lessons on serving victims of domestic violence for child support and public assistance agencies. *Violence Against Women*, *7*(2), 176–192.

Pellegrini, A. D., & Brooks, F. (1999). School bullies, victims, and aggressive victims: Factors relating to group affiliation and victimization in early adolescence. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, *91*(2), 216–224.

Purcell, R., Flower, T., & Mullen, P. E. (2009). Adolescent Stalking: Offence characteristics and effectiveness of intervention orders. *Trends & Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice, No. 369*. (March).

Reiss, A. J., & Roth, J. A. (1993). Understanding and preventing violence. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

Rennison, C. M. (2001, October). *Intimate partner violence and age of victim, 1993–1999* (Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs.

Roberts, A. R. (2000). An introduction and overview. In A. R. Roberts (Ed.), *Crisis intervention handbook: Assessment, treatment and research* (2nd ed., pp. 3–21). New York: Oxford University Press.

Rosen, K. H., Bartle-Haring, S., & Stith, S. M. (2001). Using Bowen theory to enhance understanding of the intergenerational transmission of dating violence. *Journal of Family Issues*, *22*(1), 124–142.

Rosenbaum, A., Hoge, S., Adelman, S. Warnken, W., Fletcher, K., & Kane, R. (1994). Head injury in partner-abusive men. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *62*, 1187–1193.

Shields, A., & Cicchetti, D. (2001). Parental maltreatment and emotion deregulation as risk factors for bullying and victimization in middle childhood. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology*, *30*(3), 349–363.

Silverman, J. G., Raj, A., Mucci, L. A., et al. (2001). Dating violence against adolescent girls and associated substance use, unhealthy weight control, sexual risk behavior, pregnancy and suicidality. *Journal of the American Medical Association, 286*(5), 572–579.

Simonetti, S. (2000). Dissociative experiences in partner-assaultive men. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *15*(2), 1262–1283.

Sinclair, H. C., & Frieze, I. H. (2000). Initial courtship behavior and stalking: How should we draw the line? *Violence and Victims*, *15*(1), 23–40.

Slee, P. T. (1993). Bullying: A preliminary investigation of its nature and the effects of social cognition. *Early Child Development and Care*, *87*, 47–57.

Stets, J. E. (1988). *Domestic violence and control.* New York: Springer-Verlag.

Stets, J. E. (1992). Interactive processing in dating aggression: A national study. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *54*, 165–177.

Thoennes, N., Salem, P., & Pearson, J. (1995). Mediation and domestic violence: Current policies and practices. *Family and Conciliation Court Review*, *33*(1), 6–29.

Tjaden, P. (2003). Prevalence and characteristics of stalking. In M. Brewster (Ed.), *Stalking: Psychology, risk factors, interventions and law* (pp. 1-1–1-19). Kingston, NJ: Civic Research Institute.

Tjaden, P., & Thoennes, N. (2000). *Extent, nature, and consequences of intimate partner violence*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice.

Twemlow, S., Fonagy, P., Sacco, F., Gies, M., Evans, R., & Ewbank, R. (2001). Creating a peaceful school learning environment: A controlled study of an elementary school intervention to reduce violence. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, *158*, 808–810.

Urbach, J. R., Khalily, C., & Mitchell, P. P. (1992). Erotomania in an adolescent: Clinical and theoretical considerations. *Journal of Adolescence*, *15*, 231–240.

Weir, E. (2001). The health impact of bullying. *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, *165*(9), 1249.

Weisz, A. N., & Black, B. M. (2001). Evaluating a sexual assault and dating violence prevention program for urban youths. *Social Work Research, 25*(2), 89–100.

Wekerle, C., & Wolfe, D. A. (1998). The role of child maltreatment and attachment style in adolescent relationship violence. *Development and Psychopathology*, *10*, 571–586.

What the numbers say. Bullied students are more likely to develop anxiety, depression. (2001). *Curriculum Review*, *41*(4), 3.

Wolfe, D., & Feiring, C. (2000). Dating violence through the lens of adolescent romantic relationships. *Child Maltreatment*, *5*(4), 360–363.