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<tr>
<th>Author:</th>
<th>Purcell, Rosemary; Pathé, Michele; Mullen, Paul</th>
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<td>Gender differences in stalking behaviour among juveniles</td>
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Abstract

There is emerging recognition that stalking is a problem behaviour among juveniles. As gender differences in the nature of stalking have been observed to exist in adult stalkers, it is important to ascertain whether gender differences are also apparent in juvenile perpetrators. This study compared the characteristics and motivations of stalking behaviour in an Australian sample of juvenile perpetrators (n=299), assembled from an archival search of court applications for an intervention order. The majority of juvenile perpetrators were male (64%). The results indicated that there were no significant gender differences in the duration of stalking, the number of stalking methods used, or the frequency of associated threats and physical violence. However gender differences were apparent in the choice of victim, including the rates of same gender stalking, and the motivations for stalking. Implications for the management of stalking behaviours in male and female juveniles are discussed.

Keywords: stalking; harassment; violence; juveniles; gender
Stalking occurs when one person repeatedly inflicts on another unwanted intrusions to such an extent that the recipient fears for his or her safety. Captured under the rubric of stalking are a range of behaviours, from seeking to initiate a relationship or reconcile a past relationship, through to exacting revenge for a perceived slight or injury (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2009). Epidemiological studies in the United States (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998), the United Kingdom (Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Walby & Allen, 2004), Australia (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2002) and Germany (Dressing, Kuehner & Gass, 2005) indicate that stalking is a prevalent form of victimisation in Western industrialised countries, affecting approximately one in ten adults at some time in their lives.

Stalking research to date has predominantly considered this behaviour as a form of adult-only violence. However, media reports and case studies (e.g., Urbach, Khalily & Mitchell, 1992; McCann, 2000; Brewster, 2003) suggest that stalking is a behaviour both perpetrated by, and inflicted upon, children and adolescents. Despite this, few studies have systematically examined the nature of stalking by juveniles aged 18 years or less. The notable exception is the research on relational intrusion, conducted largely with college samples (Sinclair & Frieze, 2000; 2005; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2003), which, though not specifically focussed on juveniles, does concern this group.

Stalking by juveniles has been considered by some to be ‘relatively rare’ or ‘uncommon’ (see Scott, Ash & Elwyn, 2007), despite the absence of any prevalence studies in this population. The lack of scientific and popular attention to juvenile stalking may be explained in part by the tendency to conceptualize stalking behaviours in young perpetrators as merely harmless or otherwise inoffensive. For example, stalking following the termination of an intimate relationship among juveniles has been trivialised, in the popular media at least, as the ‘throes of a broken heart’ (The Age, 2003), while persistent, unwanted efforts to establish a relationship have often been labelled as merely ‘puppy love’ or a ‘crush’ (see Brewster, 2003). The failure of many researchers and clinicians to acknowledge the potential seriousness of stalking in juveniles may also reflect the desire to avoid pathologizing normal and commonplace behaviours in young people. Clinical research suggests that a continuum of behaviour exists, from valid but misguided attempts to rekindle a terminated relationship, or inept efforts to
establish a relationship, through to damaging forms of protracted pursuit that constitute stalking (see Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2001).

That juveniles engage in stalking should not be unexpected. Dating violence is one of the most common forms of violence reported by young people (Carolyn-Olson, Rickert, & Davidson, 2004), certainly in the United States, where estimates during adolescence range from 9% to 65%, depending on the definitions employed and method of ascertainment (Howard, Qiu, & Boekeloo, 2003; Kreiter et al., 1999). There are reasons to believe that stalking behaviour may be even more prevalent in adolescent populations as evidence suggests that their impulse control and social decision-making are still in development (e.g., Elkind, 1998).

McCann’s (2000) influential case series on juvenile stalkers provided the first indication that this behaviour cannot merely be dismissed as ‘teenage infatuation gone awry’. Drawing on legal case reports, mental health evaluations and media articles in the United States, McCann (2000) assembled 13 cases of juvenile stalkers (or “obsessional followers”) in order to characterize, albeit in a preliminary manner, the context and nature of stalking in young perpetrators. In this sample, the stalking was typically confined to seeking physical proximity with victims and making repeated phone calls. The broader range of stalking behaviours observed in adult perpetrators was not reported here, although the rates of threatening (61%) and physically violent conduct (31%) were not dissimilar to those in adult samples (e.g., see McEwan, Mullen & Purcell, 2007). The primary motivation for stalking was the desire for “sexual contact” with the victim, followed by revenge and resentment. These juveniles typically pursued known acquaintances (61%), such as classmates and teachers, although three pursued strangers, and one teenager reportedly stalked his parent.

An Empirical Study of Juvenile Stalkers

While McCann’s (2000) research was pivotal to highlighting the existence of juvenile stalking, the small and selective sample prevents meaningful generalizations. In order to assess systematically the nature of juvenile stalking, Purcell and colleagues (2009) assembled a sample of 299 juvenile perpetrators
from a metropolitan Children’s Court in the Melbourne, Australia (the population of Melbourne is approximately 3.9 million). The sample was obtained by an archival search of consecutive applications for an intervention order (IO) against a juvenile aged 18 years or less. Intervention orders (which are termed ‘restraining orders’ in the United States and ‘injunctions’ in the United Kingdom) are designed to protect the applicant by restricting the unwanted behaviour of the respondent/perpetrator, including approaching, contacting, threatening, harassing or assaulting the applicant (see Stalking Intervention Orders Act, 2008; www.legislation.vic.gov.au). This approach was used as the majority of juvenile stalking cases are managed in the civil jurisdiction via applications for an IO, with fewer than 10 cases of criminal charges of stalking filed annually in the Children’s Court. This reflects the policy in Australia (and the United Kingdom) to avoid bringing juveniles into the adult criminal justice system whenever possible. Intervention orders are frequently recommended by law enforcement and court staff as a ‘first-line’ approach to managing stalking, since the majority of criminal anti-stalking laws, in Australia as well as the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom, require proof that the perpetrators’ unwanted behaviour is intentional (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004a). The breach of an IO provides in theory the basis for establishing intent in a subsequent criminal trial.

**Defining Juvenile Stalking**

Empirical research in adult stalkers suggests that the term ‘stalking’ encompasses at least two separable problem behaviours:

1. brief, self-limiting harassment, which lasts a few days and is largely confined to unwanted approaches and following by strangers, and
2. extended episodes of stalking usually lasting for months, perpetrated predominantly by ex-intimate partners and acquaintances often involving unwanted approaches and communications, as well as threats and violence (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2004b).

The watershed between the two forms is the continuation of the intrusions beyond a period of two weeks. In the study of juvenile stalkers (Purcell et al, 2009), a stalking case was defined as the reporting of multiple unwanted intrusions that persisted for more than two weeks. The unwanted
behaviours were; repeated distressing communications in the form of telephone calls, text messages, letters, notes, emails, unwanted ‘gifts’, and defaming rumours; and repeated unwanted approaches in the form of confrontations, following, maintaining surveillance, and loitering. Associated behaviours of threatening, destroying personal property and assault were also recorded when present, but did not in and of themselves qualify as a defining stalking behaviour.

Given the age group concerned, a distinction was made between bullying and bullying involving stalking behaviours on the (albeit arguable) basis of where the behaviours occurred. Stalking essentially involves imposing oneself on another person in a context where the perpetrator has no legitimate right to be (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2009). Unwanted approaches and communications that occurred entirely within the premises of a school or public institution legitimately attended by both the victim and perpetrator were classified as bullying, but not stalking. When such behaviours extended beyond the school or shared institution into the domestic and wider social situation, this was classified as stalking.

The majority of juvenile stalkers in Purcell et al’s (2009) sample were male (64%), with a mean age of 15.4 years. Almost all pursued known victims (98%), most commonly a current- or ex- school peer, a family or peer acquaintance, an ex-boyfriend or girlfriend, an estranged friend or a neighbour. Juvenile stalkers typically subjected their victims to unwanted approaches, telephone calls and text messaging, and following. The mean number of stalking methods was 2.1 (range 1-5) and the duration of the unwanted conduct ranged from 16 days to 6 years (median=120 days). Rates of associated violence were high, with 75% of victims reporting being threatened and 50% physically assaulted.

Mullen et al (1999) proposed five categories of stalker based on the motivation for the pursuit, the context in which it emerged and the diagnostic status (if any) of the perpetrators. These motivational categories significantly differentiated both aspects of the perpetrators’ characteristics and their methods of stalking.
(1) the rejected, who commence stalking after the termination of an intimate relationship. The purpose of the stalking is to reconcile with the lost partner, or to exact revenge for the rejection;

(2) the intimacy seeker, whose stalking is aimed at establishing a loving union with someone who has engaged their affections and who they often mistakenly (including delusionally) believe already reciprocates their feelings;

(3) the incompetent suitor, who is also seeking a relationship, but in contrast to the intimacy seeker, these individuals are not in love, but merely looking to establish initial contact, or get a date.

(4) the resentful, whose stalking emerges from a desire for retribution for some actual or supposed injury.

(5) the predatory, whose pursuit is preparatory to launching an attack, usually sexual in nature.

In their study of juvenile stalkers, Purcell et al (2009) found that younger perpetrators also engaged in rejected, intimacy seeking and predatory patterns of stalking. However in contrast to adult stalkers, juveniles were also found to be motivated by stalking as an extension of bullying and retaliation for a perceived slight or injury. The latter category contrasts with resentful stalking in adults in that the reprisal against the victim is far more immediate in juveniles, as opposed to adults, whose desire for retribution can be sustained for longer periods of time given rumination regarding their perceived victimhood or injustice, coupled with the satisfaction of feeling powerful and in control (Mullen et al, 2009). A final motivation observed only in the juvenile sample involves disorganized and disturbed harassment by young people who are at war with their environment and usually target multiple (often unconnected) victims (Purcell et al, 2009).

In adult stalkers, important differences in the motivations of pursuit have been observed according to the perpetrator's gender, with females predominantly motivated by the desire to establish an intimate relationship with the victim, in contrast to males who are more likely to attempt to maintain a relationship with a former partner (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2001; Meloy & Boyd, 2003). The nature of
the prior relationship with the victim differed also differed, with females less likely than males to harass strangers (5% vs. 21%), and more likely than males to pursue victims of the same gender (47% vs. 9%). While the contexts for stalking vary between males and females, the intrusiveness of the conduct and its potential for harm do not, with striking similarities in the methods of stalking and the rates of associated threats and physical violence (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2001; Meloy & Boyd, 2003). The notable exception is the tendency for female stalkers to contact their victims via telephone calls, whereas males favour the less direct method of following.

This study is the first to ascertain whether gender differences are also apparent in juvenile stalkers, in terms of their demographic characteristics, as well as the motivations and methods of stalking. Given the paucity of empirical research on juvenile stalkers to date, this study is descriptive and exploratory, and therefore no specific hypotheses are advanced.

**METHOD**

The sample was obtained by an archival search of the court records of consecutive applications for a intervention order (IO) against a juvenile aged 18 years or less in the Melbourne Children’s Court in the Australian state of Victoria (see Purcell et al, 2009, for a detailed study description). Consecutive court records between January 1, 2004 and November 30, 2006 were extracted for analysis. An application may be made in the Children’s Court when either the victim or the perpetrator is a juvenile. An adult may also make an application on behalf of a juvenile, and police officers can make applications on behalf of adults, usually in emergency situations or in cases where the victim is reluctant to initiate the process. Cases that involved an adult accused of stalking a juvenile were not included here.

Data from the court documents was systematically recorded into a data extraction form by a Research Assistant (RA) who was a Clinical Psychologist with Doctoral qualifications. The court documents in all cases contained the gender and date of birth (DOB) of the perpetrator, as well as a victim statement indicating the victim’s demographic characteristics (gender, DOB) and the grounds and context for seeking the intervention order. In most instances, the victim statement provided information regarding
the nature of the prior relationship with the perpetrator, the methods and duration of the stalking
behaviours and the precipitants that gave rise to the behaviour. Witness statements and police reports
could also be included in the court documents and, where available, provided additional sources of
information. In the few instances where the perpetrator had been referred by the Magistrate for
psychiatric assessment at the co-located Children's Court Clinic, data regarding mental health
diagnoses was also available.

The RA was trained by the first author (RP) in the coding of variables, including the characteristics of
the victim and perpetrator, the methods of stalking, and the motivation for the perpetrator’s behaviour
(based on the precipitants and context of the behaviour and the nature of prior relationship). Inter-coder
reliability ratings between RP and the RA were calculated during the piloting phase of the data
extraction form using a random selection of 50 files for the following key variables: stalking motivation
(coded as rejection; intimacy seeking/infatuation; bullying; retaliation/resentment; sexually predatory;
other; unknown); prior relationship between victim and stalker (coded as ex-intimate partner; estranged
friend; school peer; casual acquaintance; neighbour; stranger; other); total number of stalking methods
(range 0-13); duration of stalking behaviours (according to the approximate total number of days); and
the presence of mental illness in the perpetrator (yes/no). The inter-coder reliability scores ranged
between 0.96-0.75, being highest for the prior relationship and presence and nature of mental illness,
and lowest for stalking motivation. To maintain consistency of coding throughout the data collection,
weekly meetings were held with the RA to discuss and resolve cases where data assignment was
unclear. The study was conducted with the approval of relevant institutional ethics committees.

Data Analysis

Data analyses were conducted using SPSS (Version 16). Male and female juvenile stalkers were
compared according to their demographic and stalking characteristics. Discrete variables were
analyzed using chi-square and continuous variables were compared between groups using
independent t-tests. In those instances where the assumptions for parametric statistics were violated,
non-parametric tests were employed. In order to minimise Type I error associated with multiple
comparisons, the error rate required to demonstrate significance was set at 0.01.

RESULTS

Demographic Characteristics

Of the 299 juvenile stalkers, the majority were male (64%;191), although a significant proportion were female (36%;108). Female and male juvenile stalkers did not differ according to their mean age (15.2 vs. 15.6 years, respectively; \( t(297)=1.7, p=0.09 \)), or the proportion currently attending school or work (\( \chi^2=.90, df=1, p=.34 \)). As the bulk of information was provided by the victim in their statement, there were unavoidable gaps in the data relating to other perpetrator characteristics, particularly their mental health status. Where this information was provided, the rates were equivalent between males and females. All six perpetrators with a recorded criminal history however were males.

Nature of the Prior Relationship to the Victim

The nature of the prior relationship with the victim differed significantly according to the perpetrator’s gender (\( \chi^2=44.1, df=5, p<.001; \) Table 1). Male juvenile stalkers were more likely to pursue ex-intimate partners, whereas females most commonly targeted estranged friends. The proportion stalking school peers and acquaintances was equivalent between groups.

While there were no differences between males and females in terms of the age of the victims they pursued (\( t(297)=1.3, p=17 \)), there were significant differences in the victim’s gender. Female stalkers were significantly more likely to engage in same-gender stalking than their male counterparts (86.1% vs. 40.3%, \( \chi^2=58.9, df=1, p<.001 \)).

Stalking Motivation

Male and female juvenile stalkers were compared according to their motivations for the stalking. The most common motivation for stalking in males was rejection, followed by bullying and disorganized and disturbed stalking. Among females, the most common motivation was stalking as an extension of
bullying, followed by retaliation and disorganized and disturbed stalking. Overall, the motivation for stalking differed significantly according to gender ($\chi^2=33.9$, $df=5$, $p<.001$), with juvenile males more likely than females to be motivated by rejection and sexual predation, whereas stalking by females was more likely than males to be motivated by bullying and retaliation (Table 2).

**Stalking Behaviours and Associated Violence**

Male and female juvenile stalkers were compared according to the types of stalking behaviours they engaged in, the mean number of stalking behaviours utilized, the duration of the stalking and the rates of threats, property damage and physical violence.

The duration of the stalking among females ranged between 2 weeks and 5 years (median=3 months). The median duration did not differ significantly from that of males (5 months; range=2 weeks-6 years; \textit{MWU}=8492, $p=0.16$). The methods of stalking are shown in Table 3. Female juvenile stalkers favored harassing telephone calls and spreading malicious rumors, but were significantly less likely than males to loiter. The mean number of stalking methods employed by males (2.1; SD=0.96) did not differ significantly to that of females (2.1; SD=0.93; $t(297)=0.5$, $p=.56$). However, compared to juvenile males, females were significantly more likely to use the tactic of stalking by proxy, whereby they suborned others to harass the victim (43.0% vs. 22.8%; $\chi^2=11.6$, $df=1$, $p=.001$).

The rates of threats and physical assault did not differ significantly according to gender, although males were more likely to inflict property damage than females (Table 3). Overall the rates of threats and physical violence against the victim in this sample were moderate to high, with over half the sample assaulted and three-quarters threatened at some time by the juvenile perpetrator.

**DISCUSSION**

Gender differences have previously been observed in adult stalkers, most notably in the motivations that give rise to the behaviour, the choice of victim and the methods of stalking (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2001; Meloy & Boyd, 2003). However the degree of intrusiveness and the persistence of
stalking have been shown to be equivalent between adult males and females, along with the rates of associated violence. To our knowledge, this study is the first to demonstrate that important gender differences also exist in stalking behaviours among juvenile perpetrators. Most strikingly, female juvenile perpetrators overwhelmingly intruded upon victims of the same gender, usually an estranged friend, acquaintance or school peer who was subjected to stalking behaviours in the context of bullying or retaliation for a perceived injury. They were also significantly more likely than males to recruit or suborn others into their harassment of the victim and to defame their victims via malicious rumours. In contrast, juvenile males were more likely to target a victim of the opposite gender, including ex-intimate dating partners, and were more likely to engage in solitary pursuit of their victims. However the intrusiveness and tenacity of the stalking, as indicated by the range of stalking methods employed and the duration of the pursuit, did not differ according to gender.

The proportion of female perpetrators in this juvenile sample (36%) is higher than that observed in adult stalking cohorts. For example, in community-based surveys, females are identified as perpetrators in approximately 11% (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998; Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2002) to 19% (Budd & Mattinson, 2000) of cases. In clinical forensic mental health settings the reported rates of female stalking are higher, ranging from 21% (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2001) to 33% (Zona, Sharma & Lane, 1993; Harmon, Rosner & Owens, 1995), which likely reflects the greater incidence of erotomania in these samples. Given the different methods of ascertainment across these studies, it cannot be concluded on the basis of the current data that stalking is more prevalent among juvenile females relative to their adult counterparts. Nonetheless, the rates in this sample are sufficient to indicate that stalking by juvenile females is a significant problem behaviour.

The motivations for juvenile stalking differed according to gender, with female perpetrators largely motivated by bullying and retaliation. In the bullying cases, no clear precipitant for the behaviour could be discerned other than the perpetrator’s apparent desire to persecute and torment the victim, whereas in retaliatory cases, a precipitating incident or grievance could be identified in each instance. A significant minority also engaged in disordered and disturbed stalking, whereby they targeted multiple
victims simultaneously, including adults as well as peers (see Purcell et al, 2009). Indeed, anger, vengeance and punishment permeated much of the stalking by juvenile females and is consistent with the notion of relational aggression (Crick, 1995), in which damage to a relationship serves as the primary means of harm, in this instance via individual and group harassment, malicious gossip and ostracism. The association with physical aggression however, was also present in almost half this group, which is not uncommon for young females (Crick & Nelson, 2002). The motivations for stalking in female juveniles also differs from that observed in adult female stalkers, whose behaviour is primarily motivated by the desire to establish a loving intimacy with their victim (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2001; Meloy & Boyd, 2003). However it is important to note that female adult cohorts have been largely derived from clinical forensic mental health settings in which erotomania and morbid infatuation are more likely to be expected.

Juvenile males exhibited a broader range of stalking motivations, which is consistent with their adult counterparts. Rejection following the breakdown of an intimate or dating relationship was the most common context in which the stalking emerged for young males, followed by retaliation, bullying, disorganised and disturbed stalking, as well as sexual predation. Juvenile males also showed a greater propensity than females for targeting a member of the opposite gender, a pattern that is paralleled in adult male stalkers (Harmon, Rosner & Owens, 1995; 1998; Mullen et al, 1999, Palarea et al, 1999).

There were only a handful of cases in this sample in which intimacy seeking was the prominent theme, and all but one of these cases involved a male perpetrator. Furthermore, there were no cases of socially incompetent stalking aimed at establishing a relationship, which contrasts with adult stalking samples in which this motivation is not uncommon (Mullen et al, 1999). We do not believe that these findings reflect a lower frequency of intimacy seeking behaviours among juveniles (be it a product of social awkwardness or infatuation). Rather, relational intrusions, even in their more extreme manifestations, appear to be regarded by their adolescent targets as within the range of normal, if unwanted, experience (Sinclair & Frieze, 2000; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2003). Since they tend to be normalized, relational intrusions in this age group are likely to evoke irritation rather than fear, and
therefore are unlikely to be sufficiently disturbing to induce victims or their parents to pursue civil sanctions (Purcell et al, 2009).

Gender differences were not observed in the persistence or intrusiveness of juvenile stalking behaviours, or the propensity for threats and assault, which parallels findings in adult stalking samples (Purcell, Pathé & Mullen, 2001; Meloy & Boyd, 2003). Both male and female juvenile perpetrators favored intruding upon their victims via unwanted approaches and following, and making contact via text messaging. However females were less likely than males to engage in loitering, demonstrating a greater propensity to make telephone calls to their victims and spread malicious rumours, often via widespread text messaging campaigns or cyberstalking (eg. posting false allegations or damaging images on websites). Females were also more likely to engage in stalking by proxy, which occurs when a perpetrator involves other people or agencies in their attempts to communicate with, contact or track their victim (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2009). The involvement of others can in some cases be unwitting, although many confederates knowingly participate in the harassment, being largely unconcerned with the moral or legal implications of their behaviour or succumbing to inducements or bribes. Others still may be intimidated or otherwise coerced by the stalker to join their campaign of harassment. The higher rates of stalking by proxy in young females compared to their male counterparts perhaps reflect their propensity to offend within the context of a peer group rather than as isolated individuals.

Limitations

This study involved a retrospective file review of consecutive applications for a intervention order against a juvenile perpetrator over a three-year period. As the bulk of information in an application is provided in the victim's statement or witness accounts, there were considerable gaps in the data relating to the defendants' characteristics, particularly their mental health status, substance misuse and history of prior violence. Information regarding these variables would have been desirable, as these are important mediators of offending in adult stalkers (eg. Harmon, Rosner & Owens, 1995; 1998; Mullen et al, 1999; Palarea et al, 1999). Education and family characteristics (e.g., socio-economic status and living arrangements) may also be important mediators of juvenile stalking, but were unable to be
examined here. Despite these limitations, the large sample affords a strong degree of confidence in the representativeness of the applications reviewed and therefore the generalizability of the findings.

Conclusion
While there are important differences in the nature of stalking among juvenile males and females, particularly with respect to victim gender, motivation and the recruitment of third party harassers, the similarities in the severity, persistence and intrusiveness of the behaviour are notable. Regardless of the gender of the perpetrator, stalking by juveniles is a serious and potentially damaging form of victimisation that requires greater clinical and research attention. Future research into juvenile stalking should consider longitudinal follow-up of juvenile stalking samples in order to ascertain their rates of offending in adulthood, including not only stalking, but other forms of interpersonal violence such as threats, assaults and sexual violence. The impacts of juvenile stalking also requires systematic assessment in order to understand the mental health, social and vocational impacts of stalking in young victims.
REFERENCES


*Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 35: 9-16


Table 1

Nature of the Prior Relationship with the Victim according to the Perpetrator’s Gender

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<th>Nature of Relationship</th>
<th>Male (n=191)</th>
<th>Female (n=108)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ex-Intimate Partner</td>
<td>54 (28.3%)</td>
<td>8 (7.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estranged Friend</td>
<td>13 (6.9%)</td>
<td>32 (29.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Peer</td>
<td>47 (24.6%)</td>
<td>27 (25.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquaintance</td>
<td>40 (20.9%)</td>
<td>29 (26.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbour</td>
<td>31 (16.2%)</td>
<td>12 (11.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>6 (3.1%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>191</strong> (100%)</td>
<td><strong>108</strong> (100%)</td>
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Table 2

Stalking Motive according to the Perpetrator’s Gender

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<tr>
<th>Motive</th>
<th>Male (n=191)</th>
<th>Female (n=108)</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rejection</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stalking as an Extension of Bullying</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>21.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Retaliation</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>17.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sexually Predatory</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disorganised and Disturbed</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>20.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Intimacy Seeking</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>191</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
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Table 3

Methods of Stalking and Associated Violence according to the Perpetrator’s Gender

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Stalking Methods</th>
<th>Male (n=191)</th>
<th>Female (n=108)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unwanted Approaches</td>
<td>147 (77.0)</td>
<td>79 (73.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unwanted Telephone Calls*</td>
<td>66 (34.6)</td>
<td>61 (56.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Following</td>
<td>30 (15.7)</td>
<td>18 (16.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loitering*</td>
<td>25 (13.1)</td>
<td>4 (3.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unwanted SMS Messages</td>
<td>28 (14.7)</td>
<td>19 (17.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unwanted Email</td>
<td>10 (5.2)</td>
<td>7 (5.7)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cyberstalking</td>
<td>13 (6.8)</td>
<td>10 (9.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spreading Malicious Rumours*</td>
<td>6 (3.1)</td>
<td>16 (14.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spying/Surveillance</td>
<td>5 (2.6)</td>
<td>2 (1.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unwanted Letters</td>
<td>3 (1.6)</td>
<td>2 (1.9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Associated Violence</th>
<th>Male (n=191)</th>
<th>Female (n=108)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Property Damage*</td>
<td>66 (34.6)</td>
<td>17 (15.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened Victim</td>
<td>138 (72.3)</td>
<td>91 (84.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened Other</td>
<td>31 (16.2)</td>
<td>13 (12.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physically Assaulted Victim</td>
<td>101 (52.9)</td>
<td>49 (45.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physically Assaulted Other</td>
<td>11 (5.8)</td>
<td>4 (3.7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In all cases, chi-square test, p<.01