Understanding Intimate Partner Stalking: Implications For Offering Victim Services

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Abstract

Statement of Purpose: There is a dearth of information to guide best practices in dealing with victims of intimate partner stalking. To help fill this knowledge gap, this study describes the experience of intimate partner stalking, as it occurs over time, addressing a limitation of the largely cross-sectional and retrospective body of research on the topic.

Goals and Objectives: The study had six objectives:
1. Describe the stalking behaviors the participants experienced over the course of the study.
2. Describe participants’ stalking-related experiences in terms of perceived safety and stalking-related distress.
3. Describe participants’ physical and mental health status over the course of the study.
4. Describe the relationships among these experiences and their relationship to stalking behavior over time.
5. Describe the extent of participants’ contacts with criminal justice and victim assistance sources over the course of the study.
6. Describe the relationships between stalking and contacts with criminal justice and victim assistance sources.

Description of Research Participants: An outreach protocol designed to ensure client safety was used to recruit participants experiencing stalking from among those who sought assistance from Safe Horizon programs co-located in police precincts and criminal, family, and integrated domestic violence courts in New York City. Of those who consented to participate in the study (n=101), 88 had experienced stalking by intimates. Six participants had experienced stalking at some point in their past but not during the time frame of the study (beginning one month before baseline and continuing over the next 12 months), and were removed from analyses. The final sample size consisted of 82 women.

Methods: Participants were interviewed at baseline and again monthly, for a possible total of 13 interviews (including baseline).

Data Analysis: Descriptive and single-time point analyses were conducted at baseline and growth curve models were estimated using hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) to examine change over time. The model for this study had a two-level nested structure: time at Level 1 (within-subject variation), and the outcome variables at Level 2 (between-subject variation). The slope at Level 2, our primary interest, reflects the rate of change in the outcome variables in the sample over time.

Results: The findings of the study reveal that even within this help seeking sample, stalking did not significantly decrease over the course of the study even though the trajectory of stalking behavior differs significantly among individual participants. Similar to their individual experiences of stalking over time, the rate of change of perceived safety is significantly different among participants. Moreover, significant relationships
among the trajectories of safety, distress and stalking over time were found. Finally, findings indicate that there is no uniform effect of contact with either criminal justice or victim assistance sources of help.

Conclusions: Victims have a good understanding of their own level of risk; they do not appear to be in denial. There is no consistently effective intervention across time points; neither contact with victim service nor with criminal justice professionals is uniformly effective. What is helpful to victims appears to change over time. Practice should be conducted with an explicit understanding that what works today may not work tomorrow, and contingencies for future contact with sources of help should be outlined.
Executive Summary

Background

Within the past 20 years, stalking has become illegal in all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and at the federal level. The increase in legislation has been accompanied by an increase in research on the topic, which has established some basic facts. Stalking is understood to be prevalent in the general population (from eight to 32 percent for females will experience stalking during their lifetimes), with the majority of stalkers known to victims and the majority of these relationships currently or formerly intimate (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007). Even within relationships that are otherwise abusive stalking signals particular risk, as it has been linked with repeat violence (including lethal violence), increased psychological distress and diminished physical and mental health (Logan & Cole, 2006; Logan, Walker, Stewart & Allen, 2006; Mechanic, Uhlmansiek, Weaver & Resick, 2000).

Despite the understanding that stalking presents particular risks to victims, there is no consensus among victim-assistance providers about standards of practice in how to help them (Logan, Walker, et al., 2006; Spence-Diehl & Potocky-Tripodi, 2001). In identifying best practices, scholarly research in the related field of domestic violence has recently expressed renewed support for a victim-centered assistance model (Goodman & Epstein, 2008; Tax, Vigeant & Botuck, 2008). Researchers argue for an approach that builds on the client’s understanding of her own situation and views service providers as consultants in the client’s decision-making process. A small body of research supports the contention that allowing victims more voice and more control leads to more positive outcomes (Zweig & Burt, 2007; Belknap & Sullivan, 2002; Hotaling & Buzawa, 2003).
Translating these concepts into practice is a challenge, and requires the development of a knowledge base about victims’ experiences. Such information has been lacking in the area of stalking, and there is insufficient knowledge base about stalking behaviors or victim experiences. The field also needs more data about how victim contact with the criminal justice system interacts with stalking behavior. Taken together, such information would provide critical context for how efforts of victim assistance should be modified.

Study Objectives

Safe Horizon is acutely aware of the dearth of information to guide best practices in dealing with victims of stalking. To help fill the knowledge gaps, we designed a study to describe the experience of a sample of crime victims who experience stalking but may or may not recognize it as such. A central aim of the study was to describe these experiences over time, as they occur, addressing a limitation of the largely cross-sectional and retrospective body of research on the topic. The resulting data are intended to inform staff training about what to expect when interacting with victims of stalking; support efforts to seek out appropriate funding, resources, and referral networks; and identify approaches that are more or less likely to help victims deal with particular experiences.

The 13-month study had six objectives:

1. Describe the stalking behaviors the participants experienced over the course of the study.

2. Describe participants’ stalking-related experiences in terms of perceived safety and stalking-related distress.
3. Describe participants’ physical and mental health status over the course of the study.

4. Describe the relationships among these dimensions of participants’ experiences and their relationship to stalking behavior over time.

5. Describe the extent of participants’ contacts with criminal justice and victim assistance sources over the course of the study.

6. Describe the relationships between stalking and contacts with criminal justice and victim assistance sources.

Study Design & Participants

In pursuit of our study goals, we recruited participants from among a cohort that sought assistance from Safe Horizon’s criminal justice programs, which are co-located in police precincts and criminal, family, and integrated domestic violence courts throughout New York City, during 2006 and 2007. An outreach protocol designed to ensure clients’ safety reached 199 women; approximately 75 percent consented to participate. Our final sample totaled 101 women. Data collection began January 2007 and ended June 2008. Trained personnel attempted to interview participants monthly, for a possible total of 13 interviews per participant, and asked questions pertaining to the stalking behavior, participants’ response to the stalking and physical and mental health, and their interactions with victim services and criminal justice staff. All participants received small amounts of financial compensation.

As suggested in prior research, the vast majority of the study participants (86.3%) were stalked by a current or former intimate partner, and our final analysis is thus
restricted to these women (n= 82). This group represents an oversampling of the adult victim Hispanic population that sought assistance from Safe Horizon during 2006-2007 because we wanted to ensure the representation of monolingual Spanish-speaking victims, a traditionally underserved and under researched population (DuBard & Gizlice, 2008). The sample largely consisted of mothers (96.3%), of whom more than two-thirds have a young child in common with the stalker. Nearly 90% were women of color, almost half (44%) were born outside of the US, and almost two-thirds (62%) had a high school education or less. Less than half engaged in paid employment and most suffered from physical and mental health problems.

Results

Objective 1: Describe the stalking behaviors the participants experienced over the course of the study.

- The most commonly reported behaviors in our study included the stalker trying to obtain information about the victim from a family member, friend or acquaintance, and the stalker making unwanted phone calls to the participant.
- Overall, technology-related stalking behaviors were uncommon in this study.
- An overwhelming majority of participants experienced a constellation of stalking behaviors.
- Mean stalking behavior trended downward over time, but the decrease was not statistically significant.
- The trajectory of stalking behavior, however, did differ significantly among individual participants.
Objective 2: Describe participants’ stalking-related experiences in terms of perceived safety and stalking-related distress.

- Average perceived safety among participants increased over time, but not significantly.
- There was statistically significant variation among individual participants in the rate of change of perceived safety.
- The mean level of distress fell over time; here the decrease was statistically significant.
- There was no significant variation among participants in the rate of change of distress.

Objective 3: Describe participants’ physical and mental health status over the course of the study.

- There was a significant downward trend in the number of days participants suffered from poor mental health over the course of the study.
- However, there was no significant variation among participants in this rate of change.
- There was no change in the number of days (eight) participants suffered from poor physical health over the course of the study.

Objective 4: Describe the relationships among these dimensions of participants’ experiences and their relationship to stalking behavior over time.

- As the stalking frequency decreased over time, stalking distress decreased and perceived safety increased.
• The number of days participants suffered from poor physical health and mental health were strongly positively correlated with one another, and their trajectories decreased in tandem over time.

• Among the dimensions of stalking-related experiences, the strongest relationship was between safety and mental health: As safety increased, the number of poor mental health days decreased.

Objective 5: Describe the extent of participants’ contacts with criminal justice and victim assistance sources over the course of the study.

• Nearly all participants reported having an order of protection at least once during the study period; participants on average had an order of protection 45% of the time they were involved in the study.

• A slight majority of participants reported contacting the police at least once during the study and two-thirds indicated they had a case in court at one or more points during the study.

• During these contacts, responses by criminal justice authorities could best be characterized as minimal; that is, they took no action, referred the victim to court services, or suggested she obtain an order of protection.

• Less than one half of the participants reported seeking or receiving help from either a victim advocate or counselor over the course of the study.

Objective 6: Describe the relationships between stalking and contacts with criminal justice and victim assistance sources.
• During months when participants reported contact with criminal justice sources, they also reported significantly higher stalking frequency and lower perceived safety.

• Contact with the criminal justice system had no association with the trajectory of stalking or with the trajectory of perceived safety.

• Contact with victim assistance had no relationship with stalking behavior at the point of contact or over time.

• Victims varied in whether they felt orders of protection were effective, with the majority reporting that stalking remained the same or that the order decreased the behavior without stopping it.

• Victim perceptions of protection order effectiveness were not consistent across time, in that a participant might report at one follow-up that the order of protection was helpful, and at a later follow-up might report that it was counterproductive.

**Discussion and Implications for Research and Practice**

These data echo previous studies in finding that stalking tends to continue over time. It builds on prior work by showing that on average, stalking does not significantly decrease even among a help seeking sample, and that neither contact with victim service nor with criminal justice professionals is uniformly effective. Instead, what is helpful to victims appears to change over time. Because research traditionally has looked at stalking and victim reactions retrospectively (adding up the number of occurrences over a particular time period), the dynamic nature of stalking—the specifics of each episode, the
point-in-time perspective—has not received the attention it requires. Further research should attempt to tease apart what makes an intervention effective at a particular point in time, rather than for a particular case, perpetrator, or victim profile. Practice should be conducted with an explicit understanding that what works today may not work tomorrow, and contingencies for future contact with sources of help should be outlined.

Within this challenging context, where there is no consistently effective intervention across time points, the field needs to gain a better understanding of how it can be useful to victims who are most likely to come for help when they are in high distress, feel unsafe, and are struggling with their physical and mental health. For example, these data support the existence of co-located criminal justice and victim service providers who can collaborate to address these needs, and suggest that physical and mental health barriers to using or following through on referrals should be actively considered.

Finally, these data add to a handful of studies in the domestic violence literature showing that victims have a good understanding of their own level of risk; they do not appear to be in denial. This finding supports the relevance of a victim-centered framework, suggesting that we need to pay close attention to victims’ assessment of their own safety and offer assistance in ways that honor individual victim’s circumstance and personal understanding of risk.
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Introduction

Two recent surveys of professional responses to stalking victims’ service needs found that both victim service providers and criminal justice professionals view stalking as a serious concern for which specific resources and victim services should exist (Logan, Walker, Stewart & Allen, 2006; Spence-Diehl & Potocky-Tripodi, 2001). However, both surveys indicate that among victim service providers there is disagreement about which strategies might best address stalking victims’ risk and safety, which services such clients might need, which approaches work best with which victims, and how to engage stalking victims so that they pursue referrals (Logan, Walker, et. al, 2006; Spence-Diehl & Potocky-Tripodi, 2001).

Some of the differences in perspectives between victim service providers in different settings are dramatic. Depending upon the location of the victim service provider (i.e. co-located in the criminal justice system or in a specialty victim assistance program), they have divergent and at times contradictory ideas about what should be the priority of victim assistance work with stalking victims (Spence-Diehl & Potocky-Tripodi, 2001). This general lack of consensus leaves victim assistance providers without standards of practice that might guide staff training, supervision, and advocacy.

It is possible that the lack of clarity about best practices also accounts for some of the variability among studies examining the efficacy of victim assistance and criminal justice interventions for victims of stalking (Dietz & Martin, 2007; Spitz, 2003). When this literature is considered with studies showing that most victims of crime who do seek assistance do not follow-through with criminal justice referrals or recommendations for other services (Jaycox, Marshall, & Schell, 2004; Smith, Kilpatrick, Falsetti, & Best,
2002), it suggests that the seemingly straightforward task of helping victims to assess their safety and manage their risk remains unclear.

Lack of certainty about best practices is not only a problem among those who provide services for victims of stalking. In the field of domestic violence, a gap in the knowledge about how to best serve victims has recently been noted more generally. Scholars taking stock of the state of the art in this area have written convincingly about the need for a return to a victim-centered model – an approach that puts the client’s understanding of her own situation at the center of victim assistance work, and views service providers as consultants in the client’s decision making process (Goodman & Epstein, 2007). A small body of data now supports the idea that such practice, where clients report a greater degree of voice and control over interventions, is associated with positive outcomes (Belknap & Sullivan, 2002; Hotaling & Buzawa, 2003; Zweig & Burt, 2007). A major challenge facing the field is in translating this theory into best practices.

This translation requires more than staff expertise in criminal justice systems and interventions. It also calls for staff to have knowledge of the range of victim responses to specific victimizations. Most significantly, staff must also possess client engagement skills that enable victims to communicate assessments of their own safety so that they can be assisted to choose options and take actions to reduce their personal risk (Tax, Vigeant & Botuck, 2008). At the heart of a victim-centered model of victim-assistance work is the provider’s ability to let a victim tell her story, listen and assess her safety, respond to this assessment in a nonjudgmental manner, and use a range of criminal justice expertise that honors each individual victim’s circumstance and personal understanding of risk.
However, the need for such a personalized approach does not obviate the need for research on general trends. Indeed, the field needs a knowledge base about what victims’ experiences, difficulties, and responses are likely to be in order to achieve several aims: to inform staff training about what to expect; to support efforts to seek appropriate funding, resources, and referral networks; and to identify approaches that are more or less likely to help victims deal with particular experiences. Ideally, such a knowledge base provides context for practitioners to listen and respond to the stories of individual victims, and provides working hypotheses that can be shared with victims and tested within their particular case. Because stalking is a realm that lacks such foundational understanding, however, practitioners are left to fend for themselves.

As a large agency that provides a range of victim assistance services to approximately 350,000 people each year, Safe Horizon is acutely aware of the lack of information to guide best practices in this area. This study was an effort to contribute to this knowledge base through describing the experience of a sample of crime victims who are experiencing stalking but may or may not have recognized it as such. Before describing our specific objectives and the particulars of the study, we briefly review the literature that informed our work.

The Nature and Prevalence of Stalking Behavior

Over the past 18 years (i.e., since the enactment of the Nation’s first anti-stalking legislation), there has been an increase not only in legislation and criminal justice interventions but also in the attention of researchers to the crime of stalking (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007). In 1990 California enacted the Nation’s first state stalking laws. To date,
all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and the federal government have enacted laws that make stalking a crime.

While stalking is considered a crime throughout the country, definitions of what constitutes stalking vary from state to state. In an effort to offer guidance and legislative language so that states may be better able to define and address the crime of stalking, the National Center for Victims of Crime (1/2007) published the revised Model Stalking Code. The Code defines stalking as:

*Any person who purposefully engages in a course of conduct directed at a specific person and knows or should know that the course of conduct would cause a reasonable person to fear for his or her safety or the safety of a third person or suffer emotional distress is guilty of the crime of stalking.*

Nonetheless, variation in state stalking laws persists and we see a variety of definitions of stalking in the literature. Even with these differences, most definitions incorporate the concept that stalking is a course of conduct directed at a specific person and recognize that stalking is crime consisting of repeated behavior or multiple incidents occurring over time directed at a specific person.

In a recent meta-analysis of 175 studies of stalking, Spitzberg & Cupach (2007) reported that stalking is a relatively common occurrence. The prevalence of stalking by males ranged from two percent to 13 percent over the course of their lifetimes while the prevalence of victimization among women ranged from eight percent to 32 percent, with rates varying for both males and females based on the nature of the sample and the definition of stalking. (Studies using victim fear as part of the definition generally report lower prevalence figures.) While the literature initially focused on cases of stalking by
strangers, there is now a clearly established connection between violence in intimate relationships and stalking behavior (Davis & Frieze, 2000; Davies, Block & Campbell, 2007; Henning & Klesges, 2002; Logan, Shannon, Cole & Walker, 2006; Logan, Walker, et al., 2006; Meloy, Davis & Lovette, 2001; Melton, 2007; Spitz, 2003; Sullivan & Bybee, 2004; Turmanis & Brown, 2006; Wiist & McFarlane, 1998). Spitzberg and Cupach’s (2007) meta-analysis documents the prevalence of stalking within this context: across studies, 80 percent of stalkers were known by the victim, and approximately half occurred in the context of “romantic entanglements” (p.70).

Despite such compelling statistics, research on stalking in the context of current or former intimate relationships is just beginning to emerge. Spitzberg and Cupach (2007) noted in their meta-analysis that only nine percent of their 175 stalking studies were specific to intimate partner violence (IPV). In research that focuses on abuse in intimate relationships, physical violence often takes center stage, with other forms of abuse, such as stalking, receiving far less attention (Stark, 2007). More work is needed, then, to deepen the field’s understanding of the nature of stalking; exploration of the way stalking behavior changes over time would be a significant addition to a largely cross-sectional literature. In the next section we describe the literature on victim responses to stalking, which provides further evidence that the field needs to develop a greater understanding of how to serve this group.

The Experience of Stalking Victims

Emotional and Physical Health Responses. Research has documented far-reaching negative consequences of stalking for victims’ well-being, both in general and within the context of relationships that are abusive in other ways as well. In separate
studies, Davis & Frieze (2000) and Turmanis & Brown (2006) found that stalking victims often report suffering from depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) as a result of being stalked. Spitz (2003) found that the distress stalking victims experience often affects their ability to perform normal daily functions.

Recently, T.K. Logan and colleagues have added substantively to this literature, longitudinally investigating stalking and distress among 662 IPV victims seeking protection orders. In their comparison of women in this group who had and had not experienced stalking, Logan, Walker, et al. (2006) found that those who had been stalked reported greater distress and fear, as has been shown in other studies (e.g. Bjerregaard, 2000; Mechanic, Weaver & Resick, 2000). Specifically, they reported that stalking victims may be overwhelmed with feelings of fear, hopelessness, loss of confidence, insomnia, paranoia, and increased psychological problems, and are often less trusting, more cautious, and more aggressive (Logan, Shannon, et al., 2006; Spitz, 2003). In a follow-up study, Logan and colleagues attempted to disentangle the effect of stalking from the effect of other forms of abuse likely to go with it. They followed up with victims who had filed for protection orders one year after petitioning, and found that baseline stalking was uniquely predictive of psychological distress. One limitation of the work by Logan and colleagues is that stalking was assessed with a single item, which among other things did not allow them to investigate changes in severity over time, and how such changes might be related to distress.

There has been limited research conducted on the physical health consequences of stalking beyond the deleterious effects of battering and abuse that so often accompany it. In a recent study, Carbone-Lopez, Kruttschnitt & Macmillan (2006) found that female
victims of systematic abuse, a type of IPV that is highly associated with stalking, were significantly more likely to report poor health than women who had not experienced abuse. In addition, they were 40 percent more likely to report disability from illness (excluding injury). Such findings support the possibility of an association between stalking and chronic health problems, but this possibility has not been studied systematically.

*Victim Interactions with Sources of Help.* The field of interpersonal violence has moved away from the notion that distress at the level noted above is paralyzing to victims. Instead, the literature on helpseeking has shown consistently that more severe violence (and presumably the distress that goes along with it) is related to greater helpseeking from all sources (Cattaneo & Goodman, 2005; Goodman, Dutton, Weinfurt & Cook, 2003). For example, using a sample of battered women who participated in the Chicago Women’s Health Risk study, Davies and colleagues (2007) found positive relationships among the severity of physical violence between intimate partners and the level of harassment that women experienced with the likelihood that these women contacted the police. Similarly, Wiist & McFarlane (1998) found a positive relationship between police usage and severity of violence and threats in their sample of pregnant Hispanic women surveyed at health clinics. Henning & Klesges (2002) reported that increased severity of violence can also increase helpseeking behaviors that do not involve the police. In a sample of 1,746 women who reported an assault by a male intimate partner, they found a strong positive relationship between the severity of physical violence and the likelihood of women seeking out formal counseling and support services.
While the connection between greater levels of intimate partner abuse and helpseeking seems clear, the connection between distress about stalking in particular and helpseeking is more equivocal. Davis and Frieze’s review of the stalking literature parallels findings in the IPV literature more generally; that is, the more stalking women experience, the more coping strategies they employ. However, Turmanis & Brown (2006) found that distress sometimes adversely affects victims’ perceptions of how serious the stalking behavior might be and can lead victims to minimize the danger of their situation. The relationship among stalking, distress, and helpseeking deserves further attention; as in the research on the nature of stalking, because the phenomenon of interest is a pattern of behavior rather than a one-time event, it is important to explore this relationship over time.

Understanding victim interactions with sources of help requires research both on what leads them to reach out for help, as just described, and on what tends to happen when they do. As mentioned earlier, the general literature on services for IPV raises questions about the effectiveness of current interventions in stopping violence. Recently, in a study of 320 women recruited from hospitals and clinics and reinterviewed an average of 10 months later, Perez & Johnson (2008) reported that PTSD symptoms predicted severity of future violence while helpseeking and social support did not. Within the context of stalking in particular, studies are consistent in finding that stalkers often violate protective orders. The National Violence Against Women Survey (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998) found that 68 percent of protection orders obtained by female victims of stalking were violated. Similarly, 60 percent of women in the study by Harrell & Smith (1996) reported that the order had been violated. In their sample of women seeking
protection orders, Logan, Shannon, et al. (2006) reported that those women with a history of stalking had more protection order violations than did women who reported other kinds of abuse.

Such findings have fueled considerable debate among service providers about the use of orders of protection in protecting victims of stalking, but neither practitioners nor criminal justice personnel have a great deal of clarity about what to do instead of or in addition to seeking protective orders (Logan, Walker, et al., 2006). To inform this critical debate, the field needs more information about how victim contact with the system interacts with the stalking behavior over time. Such information would provide important context for considering if and how our efforts should be modified.

Conclusions and Proposed Study

There is a small but significant body of research suggesting that stalking is widespread, that it happens disproportionately at the hands of current or former intimate partners, and that it is linked to even greater distress than other forms of psychological abuse or physical abuse within such relationships. Few studies have examined stalking as it relates to the experience of the victim over time, and even fewer have focused on interactions between stalking victims and the sources of help they seek, as the longitudinal nature of stalking warrants. Clearly, we need to broaden our understanding in order to develop appropriate and victim-centered services. This study attempts to make a contribution in this area by following a sample of crime victims who are experiencing stalking, who may or may not have recognized it as such, over a 13-month period.

Following this sample over time, the objectives of the study are as follows:

Objective 1: Describe the stalking behaviors the participants experienced over the course of the study.
Objective 2: Describe participants’ stalking-related experiences in terms of perceived safety and stalking-related distress.

Objective 3: Describe participants’ physical and mental health status over the course of the study.

Objective 4: Describe the relationships among these dimensions of participants’ experiences and their relationship to stalking behavior over time.

Objective 5: Describe the extent of participants’ contacts with criminal justice and (victim) assistance sources over the course of the study.

Objective 6: Describe the relationships between stalking and contacts with criminal justice and victim assistance sources.
Method

Procedure

Recruitment. Approval was obtained from Safe Horizon’s Institutional Review Board (IRB) before participants were recruited for the study. An opportunity sample of crime victims seeking assistance was recruited from Safe Horizon’s criminal justice programs, which are co-located in police precincts and criminal, family, and integrated domestic violence courts throughout New York City. The recruitment procedure made use of guidelines Safe Horizon implemented prior to the study in order to ensure the identification of stalking behaviors when they are not initially reported by victims. Particularly in the context of intimate partner violence, victims often report only a subset of multiple victimizations (Turmanis & Brown, 2006; Logan, Walker, et al., 2006). These guidelines set out several ways clients might be identified as stalking victims, which was the first criterion for eligibility for the study: 1) the client is identified as a stalking victim by either NYPD or the courts, 2) the client reports having experienced stalking, 3) the client reports a pattern of two or more unwanted behaviors within the previous six months (behaviors listed in Appendix A).

Clients who met the inclusion criteria above were informed that an intake staff member might be calling them for a more thorough assessment and were asked to provide information regarding safe and convenient times for intake staff to call, whether it was safe to leave messages, and any other instructions about being contacted. For those

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1 These programs serve a racially and ethnically diverse population, the majority of whom are poor women. In addition to offering information and practical assistance to more than 60,000 people annually, Safe Horizon’s criminal justice programs provide approximately 15,000 individuals with actual case services. Approximately 82 percent of the clients are between the ages of 18 and 49, 85 percent of clients are female, and of those 20 percent are monolingual Spanish-speaking.
clients who agreed to be contacted, this information was forwarded to the research team along with any additional information about the stalking behaviors listed in Appendix A.

A member of the team reviewed the information and screened potential participants according to the remaining criteria for eligibility: being female, 18 to 65 years old, English or Spanish speaking, with access to a telephone. Telephone contact was attempted with the first 437 clients eligible for the study. The final sample of 82 women represents an oversampling of the adult victim Hispanic population that sought assistance from Safe Horizon during 2006-2007 (approximately 30-40% overall) because we wanted to ensure representation for monolingual Spanish-speaking victims, a traditionally underserved and under-researched population (DuBard & Gizlice, 2008) that makes up a large number of Hispanic crime victims. Successful attempts to contact a client five times during a two-week period, varying the day and time, at the telephone number(s) and safe times specified by the client, yielded a sample of 199 (46 percent). As can be seen in Figure 1, of those clients reached, 146 (73 percent) answered intake questions. Of the clients who answered the initial intake questions, 101 (69.2 percent) agreed to participate in the research study. Thus, out of all clients who were reached, approximately 50 percent consented to participate in the study.

Data collection began January 2007 and for administrative reasons (i.e., interviewer staffing/scheduling) ended June 2008. As a result, participants recruited in Round 2 completed a total of seven interviews instead of the scheduled 13 (see Figure 1).
**Figure 1.** Procedure Flowchart and Participation

  - 83 baseline interviews completed out of 115 intake interviews conducted
  - 6 participants removed from the analysis because they did not report any stalking behaviors throughout the course of the study
  - 10 participants removed from the analysis because the offender was not a current or former intimate partner

  - 18 baseline interviews completed out of 31 intake interviews conducted
  - 3 participants removed from the analysis because the offender was not a current or former intimate partner

- 82 participants were included in the final analysis

**Safety Protocols.** Potential participants were assigned an alpha-numeric identification number to allow their information to be separate from their name, and interviewers were randomly assigned a list of clients to contact. All interviewers received extensive training on safety protocols, as well as on the study instruments. The safety protocols covered issues related to leaving messages, caller ID, talking to someone other than the participant, how to handle interruptions, clients in crisis, and mandated reporting.
These procedures were developed for this study to integrate both best-practices service provision and IRB-approved funded research practices with Safe Horizon clients.

_Interviewer Training._ To ensure that initial contact was made by interviewers who would be able to engage with participants in various degrees of distress and to ensure the integrity of the protocol, the stalking intake questions and baseline interviews were conducted by experienced intake interviewers. Training included a review of the study instruments, practice with the protocol, and supervised one-on-one role plays that were observed by the project manager.

_Interview Procedures._ Participants were interviewed via phone at baseline and then completed up to 12 monthly follow-up interviews, for a possible maximum of 13 interviews. Intake interviews began with basic information about the victim, her current situation, and her service needs. If the client specifically requested, the interviewer contacted the victim’s case manager on her behalf. To ensure that any issues discussed that needed follow-up were addressed, each victim was provided with the crime victims’ hotline telephone number and/or the address and phone number of a Safe Horizon community office in an area where the victim would be unlikely to encounter the stalker. At the end of the intake assessment, victims were informed about the study, the informed consent was read and explained to interested participants, and the remaining protocol measures were administered (this latter step took approximately 40 minutes).

_Follow-up Interviews._ Telephone interviews took place from private and secure Safe Horizon locations. The interviews took approximately 15 minutes to administer. As part of the interview, each participant was asked whether she would like a case manager to contact her about any issues that had arisen in the previous month. At the end of each
interview, each participant was provided with the crime victims’ hotline telephone
number and/or the address and phone number of the Safe Horizon community office in
the victim’s safe borough.

Follow-up interviews occurred via telephone approximately every four weeks
based upon the date of the baseline interview, with a window of one week before and one
week after the exact four-week due date. If these contacts were unsuccessful (despite five
calls at different hours and on different days within the participant’s specifications), the
interviewer ceased contact for that month and attempted to contact the participant again
during the next appropriate period. When wrong numbers, disconnected telephones, or
out-of-service lines were encountered, a letter was sent to the participant's mailing
address asking her to call a confidential, toll-free telephone line associated with the study
and leave her updated contact information. As a safety precaution, the outgoing message
on the 1-800 line played a generic greeting in case someone other than the participant
called the number. Despite these procedures, participants were “lost to follow-up” at
different points throughout the study. When lost-to-follow-up participants were
subsequently recovered, monthly interviews resumed. If at the final interview the
interviewer failed to contact the participant by the predetermined due date, she attempted
to contact the participant until one month after the original due date. Any interview not
completed by the new due date was considered to be not completed.

Participant Payment. Participants were paid $25 for the baseline interview, $40
for the first, second, and third quarter of interviews (the third month, sixth, and ninth
months), and $60 for the fourth quarterly interview (the twelfth month). Participants
received the full quarterly payment if they completed at least two out of the three
interviews during a quarter, and received half of the quarterly payment if one out of three interviews were completed during the quarter. A postal money order was mailed to a safe address within two weeks of the interview.

Sample

Because the dynamics of stalking by current or former intimates is acutely different from stranger stalking (Sheridan, Blaauw & Davies, 2003) and the vast majority of our participants (86.3%) were stalked by a current or former partner, we restricted our final analysis to those who were stalked by a current or former intimates (N=88) and the remaining participants’ data were removed from further analyses. Additionally, to ensure that participants were recent victims of stalking, only participants who reported stalking behaviors at least once throughout the course of the study were included. Six women did not report any stalking behaviors throughout the course of the study (including the one month prior to participation) and were subsequently removed from the sample, bringing the total number of participants to 82. Figure 1 above shows how the recruitment process resulted in this final sample.

As can be seen in Table 1, our sample largely consisted of mothers (96.3%), of whom nearly 90% are women of color, many of whom were born outside of the US (44%) and have a high school education or less (62%). The sample suffered from worse health than the larger population of women in their age and racial group living in New York City, with nearly 40% rating their health as fair or poor (NYCDOHMH, 2005). Not surprisingly, less than half were engaged in any paid employment (48.8%). In fact, when compared to women in their age and racial group (NYCDOHMH, 2005), they were more likely to be unemployed and unable to work.
To determine if monolingual Spanish-speaking and English-speaking participants differed significantly on baseline demographic or victimization-related characteristics we conducted chi-square and T-tests. After adjusting for family-wise error using the Bonferroni adjustment, no significant differences were found; consequently data from both groups were combined.

Table 1
Baseline Demographic Characteristics and Health Status for Participants Stalked by a Former or Current Intimate Partner (n=82)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean (sd)</td>
<td>33.34 (8.44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median (range)</td>
<td>32.50 (20-53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Children n (%)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have children</td>
<td>79 (96.34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not have children</td>
<td>3 (3.66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Children in common with stalker n (%)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have children in common with stalker</td>
<td>54 (65.85)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not have children in common with stalker</td>
<td>28 (34.15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Race n (%)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>40 (48.78)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>27 (32.93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>8 (9.76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7 (8.54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Language of Interview n (%)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>65 (79.27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>17 (20.73)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Country of Birth n (%)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>46 (56.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>36 (43.90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employment Status n (%)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>40 (48.78)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>31 (37.80)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students, Homemakers, Retirees</td>
<td>11 (13.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education Level n (%)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than high school</td>
<td>24 (29.27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>27 (32.93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College or greater</td>
<td>31 (37.80)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital Status n (%)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ever married</td>
<td>53 (64.63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never married</td>
<td>27 (32.93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>36 (43.90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Self-report of general health n (%)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>10 (12.20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very good</td>
<td>21 (25.61)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Measures

At baseline only, we collected information regarding demographics, the participant’s relationship with the stalker and prior abuse in that relationship and general health. At baseline and at each follow-up, we collected information about offender stalking behaviors/actions and participant stalking-related experiences, i.e., safety, distress, number of days of poor physical or mental health and participant interactions with sources of help. Unless otherwise specified, questions always referred to the 30 days prior to the interview date. All of the measures were translated into Spanish through an iterative process involving translation, back-translation, and review by three different bilingual victim assistance staff members.

Demographics. Demographic information was collected using questions drawn from the New York City Community Health Survey (NYCDOHMH, 2005).

Relationship with stalker and prior abuse. Information regarding any prior relationship with the stalker, whether there had been physical, sexual or verbal abuse in the past month, and whether the participant had a child(ren) in common with the stalker was obtained through open-ended and fixed alternative questions that were based on or directly taken from “The Supplemental Victimization Survey” (SVS) from the 2006 National Crime Victimization Survey (USDOJ, 2006).

Stalking. Behaviors from the SVS (USDOJ, 2006) formed the core of our measure of stalking frequency. To maximize our understanding of the specific types of behaviors individual victims were experiencing over time we created single items for distinct
actions/behaviors perpetrated by the offender. For example, “waiting outside or inside places for you such as home, school, workplace or recreational place” (USDOJ, 2006), became “drive by your home, work, school, etc.” and “come to your home, work, school, etc.” Participant reports of the occurrence and frequency of these 32 possible offender actions/behaviors were obtained by asking participants if they had experienced each of the items during the past month and if yes, to rate its occurrence on a scale of one to four (with one representing 1-2 times per month, two representing weekly, three representing 2-3 times per week, and four representing daily). The sum of the total number of behaviors reported, each multiplied by the frequency of occurrence, was then computed for a total monthly stalking frequency score (Turmanis & Brown, 2006).

Safety. To assess safety in relation to participant’s experience of stalking we asked participants to rate how safe they felt using a seven-point, single-item question: “On a scale from 1 to 7, how safe do you feel these days? Would you say you are: Completely unsafe(1), Somewhat unsafe, Slightly unsafe, Neither safe nor unsafe, Slightly safe, Somewhat safe, Completely safe(7)?” This rating was based on the Life Experiences Survey (LES) rating scale (Sarason, Johnson & Siegel, 1978).

Distress. In any given month it was possible for a participant not to experience stalking but to experience distress related to the stalking experience overall. Therefore each month we asked participant’s to rate their overall distress level in regards to stalking on a scale of one through nine (with one representing not at all distressing and nine representing very distressing). In addition, we asked participants to rate the distress associated with each of the 32-stalking behaviors they may have experienced in the previous month on a scale of one through nine, and calculated the total of these individual
distress items. As the two measures were highly correlated at each time point and in their rate of change over time, we used the single item as the measure of overall stalking distress.

Physical and Mental Health. We used three questions from the New York City Community Health Survey (NYCDOHMH, 2005) to assess physical and mental health:

- “Would you say that in general your health is: Excellent, Very Good, Good, Fair or Poor?”
- “Thinking about your physical health, which includes physical illness and injury, for about how many days during the past 30 days was your physical health not good?”
- “Now thinking about your mental health, which includes stress, depression, and problems with emotions, for about how many days during the past 30 days was your mental health not good?”

Contact with Sources of Assistance. To understand the sources of assistance participants sought or received during the course of the study, participants were asked if they had contacted or received help from a list of criminal justice sources (CJ) (i.e., police, district attorney, prosecutor, lawyer), or victim assistance sources (VA) (i.e., clergy, counselor, victim advocate). A score of 1=assistance or 0=no assistance was given for each category, resulting in two dichotomous items: any contact with criminal justice sources, and any contact with victim services. The list of sources was drawn directly from items in the SVS (USDOJ, 2006).

Interactions with Criminal Justice Authorities. Each month, those participants who answered yes to seeking or receiving contact from criminal justice sources were asked about the authorities’ response after being contacted. Eleven possible responses
(e.g., “Referred you to family court”, “Referred you to criminal court (DA)”) from the SVS (USDOJ, 2006) were read to the participants, who answered yes or no for each response.

Participants were also asked each month whether they had an order of protection (yes/no), which court (criminal, family, don’t know which court) issued the order, if the order had been violated (yes/no), and their perception of the effect of order on their experience of the offenders’ stalking behaviors (1=stopped the stalking, 2= stalking decreased but did not stop, 3=stalking remained the same, 4= increased the stalking). We asked about orders each month because it was possible that participants’ orders at the beginning of the study would not be valid throughout the study (e.g., the order may have expired or a new one was issued). For example, in felony cases, the prosecution may have about six months before they have to proceed with the case; the order of protection is granted at arraignment and is renewed at each adjourned date. In misdemeanor cases, the prosecution must proceed at a much sooner time, adjournments are shorter, and the order is generally valid from one adjournment date to the next.

Data Analysis

SPSS version 16.0 (SPSS, 2007) was used for all descriptive and single-time point analyses. To determine whether interview completion rates were associated with specific baseline demographic and victimization-related characteristics, we examined whether participants who completed baseline interviews only (n=9) differed from participants who completed at least one follow-up interview (n=73) using chi-square and T-tests. All tests were adjusted for family-wise error and no significant differences were found between the two groups. Therefore, we included all participants’ data in the longitudinal analyses.
regardless of the number of interviews they completed and assumed that the data were missing at random.

To describe stalking and participants’ stalking-related experiences (safety, distress, and number of days of poor physical health and mental health) over time, growth curve models were estimated using hierarchical linear modeling (HLM). In order to account for the variability in follow up and missing data (see Table 2), we restricted our growth curve analyses to the baseline interview and first six follow-up interviews. Of the methods available to conduct growth curve analyses, the strengths of HLM include its ability to account for missing data and unequally spaced time points (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2001). These strengths made HLM a good choice for this dataset, since over the course of the study, there was a large amount of missing data and unequally spaced interviews.

To describe the relationship among the dependent variables (stalking, safety, distress, physical health, and mental health), the scores were standardized. HLM was run using Mplus (Muthen & Muthen, 1998-2007). With respect to questions about how the dependent variables changed over time, we utilized a two-level nested structure: time at Level 1 (within-subject variation), and the outcome variables at Level 2 (between-subject variation). The intercept at Level 2 explains the variation between participants at baseline. The slope at Level 2 was our primary interest, in that it describes the variation in the rate of change in the variable between participants. The fixed effect for the intercept depicts the overall mean of the outcome variable at baseline while the fixed effect for the slope describes the change of the outcome variable over time for the group.

Table 2
Number of participants who completed each monthly interview
In order to answer questions about the relationships among dependent variables, the estimated slope for each participant in the prior analysis was saved. This step yielded an estimated trajectory for each participant on each dependent variable, which we then used to calculate correlations among slopes. Since scores on all variables were standardized, we were able to evaluate the relative strength of these relationships.

In order to examine the relationship between stalking and contact with criminal justice (CJ) and victim assistance (VA) sources, both CJ and VA contacts were treated as time-varying covariates. To account for the change of participant contact with CJ and VA over the course of the study, two additional models were developed. The first model included an interaction term between contact with CJ and time and the second model included an interaction term between contact with VA and time. Each model evaluated the relationship between stalking and the respective contact source.
Results

We begin this section by describing the relationship between the participants and stalkers at baseline and then describe the stalking behaviors experienced over the course of the study (Objective 1). We continue by describing the participants’ stalking-related experiences in terms of perceived safety and stalking-related distress (Objective 2). Next we describe participants’ physical and mental health status (Objective 3). The relationship among these dimensions of participants’ experiences and their relationship with stalking are explicated (Objective 4). Contact with criminal justice and victim assistance sources are detailed (Objective 5) and we conclude the section by describing the relationships between stalking and contacts with criminal justice and victim sources (Objective 6).

As can be seen in Table 3, the majority of participants (84%) were stalked by a former intimate partner. Approximately 16% of the participants were being stalked by a current intimate partner. Over half reported their stalker was an ex-boyfriend and 33% reported their stalker was an estranged or ex-spouse. A salient aspect of the relationship between the participants and their stalkers is whether they have at least one child in common. The majority of participants (65.43%) reported having a young child in common with the stalker.

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estranged Spouse (Married but Separated)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex-spouse</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyfriend/Girlfriend</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex-boyfriend/Ex-girlfriend</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>51.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The relationship between participants and their stalkers also includes both past and recent history of intimate partner violence. As can be seen in Table 4, the course of conduct of stalking behavior is part of a larger course of conduct of intimate partner violence. At baseline, a substantial number of participants reported intimate partner abuse occurring within the past month.

Table 4
Number of Participants Reporting Abuse Behaviors at Baseline

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behavior</th>
<th>Number Reporting n(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verbally abuse you</td>
<td>34 (41.46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physically harm you</td>
<td>11 (13.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexually abuse you</td>
<td>6 (7.32)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Objective 1: Describe the stalking behaviors the participants experienced over the course of the study

Behaviors Committed by the Offender

There was a wide range in the amount of time participants were aware of (0 – 264 months), and concerned about (0 – 264 months) the stalking behaviors they experienced. Table 5 displays the 32 stalking behaviors participants experienced over the course of the study, the number of participants who reported experiencing the behavior at any point during the study and the average percent of time in the study they experienced the behavior. As can be seen in Table 5, stalking is a collection of behaviors that include legal and illegal actions. The most commonly reported behaviors were that the stalker tried to obtain information about her from a family member, friend or acquaintance, and that he made unwanted phone calls to the participant. These two behaviors were also most frequently experienced over time. Among participants who reported unwanted phone calls, on average, they experienced this behavior 59% of the time they were involved in the study.
In this sample, technology-related stalking behaviors were uncommon, with 15% of participants reporting stalking through E-mail or Internet and 12.5% reporting other-technology-related stalking behaviors. None of the participants reported being stalked via a GPS locator during the course of the study.

An overwhelming majority of the participants experienced a constellation of stalking behaviors. Over 90% of the participants experienced two or more different stalking behaviors during the study awhile over half (53.7%) experienced 10 or more different stalking behaviors throughout the course of the study.

Table 5
Number of Participants Reporting Ever Having Experienced Specific Stalking Behaviors and the Average Percent of Time in the Study They Experienced the Behavior

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behavior</th>
<th>Number Ever Reporting Behavior</th>
<th>Average Percent of Time Reported</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tried to obtain information about you from a family member, friend or acquaintance</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>55.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Made unwanted phone calls (including hang-up calls) to you or left a message</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>59.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violated an order of protection</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approached you or made face to face contact</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spread rumors or posted information about you</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>41.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driven by your home, work, or school</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Came to your home, work, or school</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engaged or hired others to gather information about you or harass you</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to harm you</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Followed you</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spied on you or watched you from a distance</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to report you or reported you to the authorities (e.g., police, child welfare, other)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>41.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to harm your children, family member, or other person you know</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiated court proceedings against you (e.g., civil court, family court)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened to harm him/her self</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sent unwanted notes, letters, e-mails, or other forms of written communication</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damaged or attempted to damage or destroy your personal property (e.g., home, car, other)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entered or attempted to enter your home without your knowledge or permission</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>34.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6 provides mean stalking experienced for each month. A downward trend can be seen in mean stalking over time. The results of the HLM for stalking (see Table 7 for the parameter estimates) show the trajectory of stalking from baseline to Month 6. It is important to note that the data were standardized and therefore, zero represents the average score. The estimate for the intercept is not significantly different from zero, indicating that at baseline stalking was not different from the average stalking from baseline to Month 6. Although the estimate for the rate of change indicated that in the aggregate, stalking behaviors decrease over time, this decrease was not statistically significant. Considering the amount of variance among participants, the level 2 rate of change parameter estimate ($\sigma^2_1$) demonstrates that the trajectories of stalking frequency among the women are significantly different from each other ($p = 0.021$) and the level 2 intercept ($\sigma^2_0$) shows that stalking at baseline also varies between the participants ($p < 0.001$).
Table 6

Mean Stalking Frequency Over Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Stalking Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>10.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7

Results of Hierarchical Linear Model for Stalking Frequency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>t(280)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fixed Effects Composite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept (initial status)</td>
<td>$\beta_0$</td>
<td>0.127</td>
<td>0.112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Month (rate of change)</td>
<td>$\beta_1$</td>
<td>-0.044</td>
<td>0.027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variance Components Level 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Person</td>
<td>$\sigma^2_\varepsilon$</td>
<td>0.407</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In intercept</td>
<td>$\sigma^2_0$</td>
<td>0.736</td>
<td>0.163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In rate of change</td>
<td>$\sigma^2_1$</td>
<td>0.024</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Goodness-of-fit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Deviance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>713.064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIC</td>
<td>725.064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIC</td>
<td>746.873</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $p < 0.05$.  ** $p < 0.01$.

Objective 2: Describe participants’ stalking-related experiences in terms of perceived safety and stalking-related distress.

Safety and Distress.

The means for perceived safety by interview month are presented in Table 8. As can be seen in Table 8 over time, average safety increases. The results of the HLM for overall safety (see Table 9 for the parameter estimates) also shows that average safety increases over time, but this increase was not found to be statistically significant ($p = 0.633$). Similar to stalking, the course of safety was found to vary significantly among
individuals, both in terms of overall safety at baseline and the rate of change ($p = 0.001$, $p = 0.036$ respectively).

Table 8
Mean Distress and Safety Over Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Safety</th>
<th>Distress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>8.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.58</td>
<td>7.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.26</td>
<td>6.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>6.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>6.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>5.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.31</td>
<td>6.45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9
Results of the Hierarchical Linear Model for Perceived Safety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>$t(280)$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fixed Effects Composite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept (initial status)</td>
<td>$\beta_0$</td>
<td>-0.045</td>
<td>0.104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Month (rate of change)</td>
<td>$\beta_1$</td>
<td>0.014</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variance Components</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1 Within Person</td>
<td>$\sigma^2_e$</td>
<td>0.588</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2 In intercept</td>
<td>$\sigma^2_0$</td>
<td>0.474</td>
<td>0.149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In rate of change</td>
<td>$\sigma^2_1$</td>
<td>0.025</td>
<td>0.012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Goodness-of-fit

| Deviance | 761.392 |
| AIC      | 773.392 |
| BIC      | 795.2   |

*$p < 0.05$.  **$p < 0.01$.  

The means for distress for each interview month are displayed in Table 8. Similar to stalking, a decreasing trend can be seen in the mean distress as time progresses. Table 10 shows the parameter estimates from the HLM for distress. The intercept is significantly different from zero ($p < 0.001$), indicating that the average distress at baseline was significantly different from the average distress from baseline to month 6. Unlike stalking, distress over time significantly decreases ($p < 0.001$). Additionally,
distress at baseline and the rate of change of distress are not significantly different among
the women \( (p = 0.567, p = 0.06 \) respectively).

Table 10

\textit{Results of the Hierarchical Linear Model for Distress}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>( t(277) )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fixed Effects Composite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept (initial status)</td>
<td>( \beta_0 )</td>
<td>0.347</td>
<td>0.072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Month (rate of change)</td>
<td>( \beta_1 )</td>
<td>-0.135</td>
<td>0.029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Variance Components</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1 Within Person</td>
<td>( \sigma^2_\varepsilon )</td>
<td>0.542</td>
<td>0.057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2 In intercept</td>
<td>( \sigma^2_0 )</td>
<td>0.048</td>
<td>0.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In rate of change</td>
<td>( \sigma^2_1 )</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Goodness-of-fit

\begin{align*}
\text{Deviance} & = 705.745 \\
\text{AIC} & = 717.745 \\
\text{BIC} & = 739.489 \\
\end{align*}

\(*p < 0.05. \quad **p < 0.01.\)

**Objective 3: Describe participants’ physical and mental health status over the course of the study.**

Table 11

\textit{Mean Number of Days of Poor Physical Health and Poor Mental Health Over Time}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Physical Health</th>
<th>Mental Health</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>8.89</td>
<td>15.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.58</td>
<td>14.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.24</td>
<td>12.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.50</td>
<td>11.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.92</td>
<td>10.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.38</td>
<td>14.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.97</td>
<td>10.90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{Number of Days Suffering from Poor Physical and Poor Mental Health}

As can be seen in Table 11, the number of days participants suffered from poor
physical health was similar from baseline to Month 6. The parameter estimates of the
HLM for number of days participants suffered from poor physical health are displayed in
Table 12, and show that that the slope is negative, but the decrease is not statistically
significant ($p = 0.251$). Although physical health differs among the participants at baseline ($p < 0.001$), the rate of change of physical health does not ($p = 0.593$).

### Table 12

**Results of the Hierarchical Linear Model for Physical Health**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>$SE$</th>
<th>$t(277)$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fixed Effects Composite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept (initial status)</td>
<td>$\beta_0$</td>
<td>0.051</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Month (rate of change)</td>
<td>$\beta_1$</td>
<td>-0.027</td>
<td>0.023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variance Components</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Person</td>
<td>$\sigma^2_\varepsilon$</td>
<td>0.555</td>
<td>0.066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In intercept</td>
<td>$\sigma^2_0$</td>
<td>0.583</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In rate of change</td>
<td>$\sigma^2_1$</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.008</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Goodness-of-fit**

- Deviance: 728.743
- AIC: 740.743
- BIC: 762.487

* $p < 0.05$.  ** $p < 0.01$.

As can be seen in Table 11, the mean number of poor mental health days participants experience decreases over time. Similar to the experience of distress, days suffering from of poor mental health decreases significantly over time ($p = 0.001$).

Additionally, the individual rate of change of poor mental health between the participants is not significant ($p = 0.693$), revealing that change in mental health over time does not vary significantly among participants (see Table 13).

### Table 13

**Results of the Hierarchical Linear Model for Mental Health**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>$SE$</th>
<th>$t(277)$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fixed Effects Composite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept (initial status)</td>
<td>$\beta_0$</td>
<td>0.132</td>
<td>0.113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Month (rate of change)</td>
<td>$\beta_1$</td>
<td>-0.062</td>
<td>0.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variance Components</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Person</td>
<td>$\sigma^2_\varepsilon$</td>
<td>0.399</td>
<td>0.049</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Objective 4: Describe the relationships among these dimensions of participants’ experiences and their relationship to stalking behavior overtime.

In evaluating the relationships among slopes, we found that all of the dependent variables were significantly correlated with one another and with stalking frequency (see Table 14 for correlation results). The results indicate that as the rate of change of stalking frequency decreased over time, the rate of change of stalking distress decreased and safety increased. The number of days participants suffered from poor physical health and mental health were strongly positively correlated with one another, and their trajectories decreased together over time. The strongest relationship among the dimensions of stalking-related experiences we examined was between safety and mental health. As the slope of overall safety increased over time, the slope of the number of poor mental health days decreased. In fact, 32% of the variance in the rate of change of poor mental health days can be accounted for by the change in safety.

Table 14
Pearson Correlations for Stalking, Distress, Safety, Number of Days with Poor Physical Health and Mental Health

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Safety</th>
<th>Distress</th>
<th>Physical Health</th>
<th>Mental Health</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Safety</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distress</td>
<td>-0.474**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Health</td>
<td>-0.396**</td>
<td>0.270*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Health</td>
<td>-0.564**</td>
<td>0.416**</td>
<td>0.476**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stalking</td>
<td>-0.366**</td>
<td>0.364**</td>
<td>0.311**</td>
<td>0.280*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < 0.05. **p < 0.01.
A visual representation of the relationships among the trajectories of stalking, safety, distress, physical health and mental health can be seen in Figure 2. The greatest change over time was in distress, followed by mental health. The other trajectories, safety, stalking and days suffering from poor physical health, remain relatively stable and do not exhibit a large change over time. These results mirror the HLM results discussed above.

*Figure 2. Stalking Frequency, Safety Distress, Poor Physical Health, and Poor Mental Health over Time*

---

**Objective 5: Describe the extent of participants’ contacts with criminal justice and victim assistance sources over the course of the study.**

Each month participants were asked if they sought or received help from various agents, e.g., the police, district attorney/prosecutor, lawyer, counselor, clergy, victim advocate, and other. Table 15 shows the number of participants who reported seeking or
receiving help from a criminal justice or victim assistance agent at any point in the study.

Somewhat surprisingly, less than one-third of the participants reported seeking or receiving help from either a victim advocate or counselor. In contrast, the majority of participants (57%) reported contacting the police regarding stalking at least once during the study. Moreover, two-thirds of the participants (67%) indicated they had a case in court at one or more points in time during the course of the study.

Table 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Number of Participants ever receiving help</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>57.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Attorney</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counselor</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergy</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim Advocate</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>32.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16 displays the number of participants who sought or received help at any time over the course of the study from criminal justice sources or victim assistance sources, and the number of participants who ever had an order of protection (OP). Almost all the participants (92%) reported having an order of protection at one or more points in time during the study. Furthermore, participants had an order of protection for 45% of their participation in the study. Forty-nine participants indicated that they had contact with CJ sources and of those 46 (93.8 %) indicated that they initiated that contact at least once in the study. As can be seen in Table 16, fewer participants sought or received help from criminal justice or victim assistance sources than had an OP. Further, the percentage of time during the study that they received help from these sources was also less than that for which they had an order of protection in effect.
Table 16

Number of Participants Ever Seeking a Particular Type of Help and the Average Time in the Study the Participants Received Help

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Help</th>
<th>Number reporting ever receiving help (%)</th>
<th>Average percent of time in study received</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Justice</td>
<td>49 (59.76)</td>
<td>24.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim Assistance</td>
<td>37 (45.12)</td>
<td>20.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OP</td>
<td>75 (91.46)</td>
<td>45.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Objective 6: Describe the relationships between stalking and contacts with criminal justice and victim sources.

During a month when participants reported contact with criminal justice sources, they also reported significantly higher stalking frequency than participants who did not have such contact ($p < 0.001$). However, as can be seen in Table 17, help from criminal justice sources was not associated with the trajectory of stalking ($p = 0.075$). There was no association between seeking help from victim services and stalking (see Table 18), either during the month of contact ($p = 0.633$) or over time ($p = 0.141$).

Because of the correlated changes among stalking, safety and distress over time, and our interest in how changes in one may affect the others, after examining the relationship between stalking and contact with CJ sources, we performed a post-hoc analysis to examine the association between contact with CJ sources and safety over time. Contact with CJ sources and safety was similar to Contact with CJ sources and stalking: months when participants had contact with CJ sources, safety was lower ($p<.001$) and contact with CJ sources had no impact on the trajectory of safety. A similar analysis with distress could not be conducted because there was no variation in the rate of change of distress between participants.

Table 17

Results of the Hierarchical Linear Model for Stalking Frequency with Help from CJ Sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>$t(280)$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

35
As we described in Objective 6, throughout the course of the study, 46 participants (56%) reported having contacted criminal justice sources (e.g., police, district attorney, lawyer). Table 19 displays the response of these sources, as well as the number
of participants who reported the specific response. Most frequently, the authorities responded by taking a report of the stalking behaviors. Of the participants in contact with criminal justice sources, over 20% indicated that the authorities “took no action”.

Criminal justice sources also frequently responded by referring participants to court services or recommending that the participant obtain an order of protection.

Table 19
Responses of Criminal Justice Sources When Contacted by Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Took report</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>47.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Told to get an order of protection</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrested the offender</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Took no action</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referred to family court by authorities</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referred to criminal court by authorities</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provided advice</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asked for more information</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referred to victim services</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talked to the offender</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referred to another location</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3 presents participant reports of the perceived change in offender behavior.

In many instances, having an OP was perceived by the participants either as having no influence or decreasing the stalking behaviors they experienced. There were, however, in 16% of the overall cases, participants who reported that the OP was associated with increased stalking behaviors.
Figure 3. Perceived Change in Stalking Behavior
Discussion and Future Research

This study attempts to add to the knowledge base practitioners have available when considering how best to assist victims who have experienced intimate partner stalking. It augments the current literature by echoing some findings and expanding others. Similar to prior literature on this topic, the findings from this study show that in a sample of urban women seeking assistance in courts and police precincts throughout New York City, the vast majority of stalking victims (86 percent) were stalked by current or former intimates (Davis & Frieze, 2000; Davies, Block & Campbell, 2007; Henning & Klesges, 2002; Logan, Shannon, et al., 2006; Logan, Walker, et al., 2006; Meloy, Davis & Lovette, 2001; Melton, 2007; Spitz, 2003; Sullivan & Bybee, 2004; Turmanis & Brown, 2006; Wiist & McFarlane, 1998). Moreover, within this group, at baseline there was considerable individual difference in the amount of time study participants were aware of the stalking behavior and had been concerned about it. Notably, neither the length of time a victim was aware of the stalking nor the length of time she was concerned about the stalking was related to the stalking behavior over time.

The data reveal considerable variation in the types of behaviors and frequencies perpetrated by the stalkers, e.g., a single behavior perpetrated daily, multiple behaviors perpetrated monthly or multiple behaviors perpetrated at varying frequencies. While both legal and illegal stalking behaviors were reported, the most commonly reported behaviors in our study included the stalker trying to obtain information about the victim from a family member, friend or acquaintance, and the stalker making unwanted phone calls to the study participant; technology-related stalking behaviors were uncommon in this study. An overwhelming majority of study participants experienced a constellation of stalking behaviors.
This study describes stalking behavior at a series of points in time, during which the aggregate trajectory moves downward. And yet, stalking does not stop; for individual victims, the level of stalking behaviors may rise, persist, or fall during the 13 months of the study. This suggests that victims’ actual experience with stalking varies from one point in time to the next, and that the behaviors participants experienced were not static; they are equally likely to be the same or different from one time to the next.

This study adds to the literature that questions the impact of common interventions in intimate partner violence. Overall, contact with the criminal justice system was not associated with the rate of change in stalking behavior over time in the aggregate. When participants in our sample had contact with criminal justice sources their stalking frequency was higher than when they had no contact. However, contact with sources of help did not have a statistically significant effect on the stalking behavior they experienced overtime. This finding further suggests that stalking is dynamic—that different sanctions and interventions may work at different points in time but overall, the result of contact with the justice system is inconsistent. For researchers, this suggests the need to examine explicitly the instances where something worked and the instances where it did not work. Future research on stalking involving intimates will need to be designed to identify and understand what those differences are rather than focus exclusively on predictions based on offender or case profiles that are predicated on a pattern of behavior occurring systematically over time. The findings from this study indicate the need to shift away from research which predicts a stable pattern of behavior from static risk factors over a course or trajectory to one that drills down at discrete moments across a trajectory.
The study’s findings with respect to orders of protection also deserve emphasis. During the course of the 13-month study, 91 percent of the study participants had an order of protection (OP). On average, participants had a protective order 45 percent of the time; in other words, the average participant had an order of protection for 45 percent of the interview time points. The efficacy of an order of protection as a means to increase stalking victim safety is a question that has created considerable debate among service providers. Study participants commonly attributed a slight decrease or no change in stalking behavior to the order of protection. Some, however, reported an increase in the behavior and some reported that the OP stopped the behavior. Taken together with the findings of other researchers (Logan, Shannon, et al., 2006; Logan & Walker, 2009; Nicastro, Cousins, & Spitzberg, 2000; Spitzberg; 2002), this study confirms that there is no systematic impact of orders of protection on stalking behavior, although at the individual case level there is a potential effect at different points in time. Victims reported feeling that an OP was effective sometimes and other times not. This result supports the need for a victim-centered, individualized approach to addressing stalking risk, as it is unclear when an order of protection will have the desired impact. Moreover, when victims have children in common with the offender, as over 65% of this study’s participants had, there are more avenues for the offender to gather information, attempt or succeed in unwanted contact, and make threats that impact the effect of an order.

Over the course of the study less than half of the participants (45%) reported contact with a victim assistance agent and there was no effect of such contact on the stalking they experienced. Taken together with the findings on the effects of contact with criminal justice sources the question we might ask is: How do victims of intimate partner
stalking have any confidence that the assistance they seek will have a beneficial effect? It is possible that over time they lack an experiential predictive foundation for "helpseeking". Without a history of successful risk reduction, will they have little incentive to turn to seek help?

Thus far our discussion has focused on the stalking behavior and the effect of criminal justice and victim assistance contact on the behavior. The implication is that stalking is episodic and that the nature and quality of stalking behavior is neither consistent nor predictive of what will happen next, and is as much a part of the victim’s experience as the behaviors themselves. We now discuss the findings regarding the victim’s experience in terms of her safety, distress, physical and mental health and the challenges we face as victim assistance providers to meet her needs.

The results of the study clearly demonstrate that victims are not in denial about their safety. In fact, the findings reveal that the rate of change among victim safety, distress, mental and physical health fluctuate along with the stalking behavior. From the victim services perspective, the finding of this significant interrelationship suggests that we need to pay close attention to victims’ assessment of their own safety. This finding supports the findings from several recent studies that victims of domestic violence are acutely aware of their risk (Cattaneo & Goodman 2007, Cattaneo, Bell, Goodman & Dutton, 2007; Heckert & Gondolf, 2004; Kropp, 2004; Weisz, Tolman & Saunders, 2000). Victims surely know they are in danger and live with the reality that they know best when, whether, or how the stalker’s behavior will escalate, change, or diminish.

For victim assistance providers the challenges in working with victims of IPV and stalking are great: What interventions work, and under what circumstances? What type of
“assistance” can be provided in the absence of any consistent expectation of reprieve if help-seeking had no effect the last time or inconsistent effect over time? The findings of this study indicate that to respond effectively to victims of intimate partner stalking we need more information on the individual case level to understand what strategies work, and identify when why and how they work. Future research will be most beneficial if it is conducted at discrete points in time longitudinally.

The findings from this study also reveal important health disparities for participants in this study. Consideration of statistics from the New York City Community Health Survey (NYCDOHMH, 2005) reveals that when compared to a subsample of Black and Hispanic women aged 20-50, with similar levels of education, the participants in this study suffer from significantly more days of poor physical and mental health.

The strongest relationship among the dimensions of stalking-related experiences was between safety and mental health: As perceived safety increased over time, the number of poor mental health days decreased. Safety accounted for more than 30% variance in the rate of change of mental health over time. These findings have ramifications for both research and practice. On the research side, there is an urgent need for increased cross-disciplinary collaboration to understand the immediate and prospective consequences of stalking on the physical and mental health of victims of intimate partner violence, particularly with regard to interplay among distress, safety, physical illness and mental health. On the victim services side, the findings suggest that the victim’s health is a factor to consider when listening to her needs and assessing her safety concerns. Assessing a client’s health, particularly poor health, through questions
like the three in this study, provides important information about her day-to-day functioning.

The large number of days participants reported suffering from poor physical and mental health each month could easily present obstacles to helpseeking or following through with risk-management options (e.g., follow-up with referrals and court appearances, and/or the commitment and ability to maintain a journal that could help prosecutors prove stalking had occurred). Such potential barriers should be part of the conversation between client and victim services provider.

Examination of the trajectories of safety, distress and stalking over time reveal that they are moderately correlated with one another. This suggests that when victims present for services at criminal justice agencies they are feeling particularly unsafe and distressed, which fits with prior research showing that victims tend to reach out for multiple types of help at once (Bennett Cattaneo et al., 2007), and underlines the importance of co-located victim service providers within criminal justice agencies. Indeed, some victim services organizations have built strong and long-standing alliances within the criminal justice system; examples include partnering with police departments, probation and parole offices, and the courts. Although prosecutors typically hire staff within their offices to provide counseling and case management services for crime victims, some service agencies like Safe Horizon share locations with prosecutors but operate independently when offering their services to victims.

Our findings suggest that victims who seek help from programs co-located with criminal justice agencies may present with high levels of distress, a self-assessment of low safety, and high frequency of stalking behaviors. While the expectation of victim
distress within the criminal justice setting is not news, this study’s documentation of the distress associated with stalking at the time of criminal justice contact has implications for staff training. Specifically, staff members should be prepared to address all of these issues for a victim population that is culturally diverse and spans a wide range of ages. Taken together the findings from this study suggest the need for ensuring ongoing relationships between victims and sources of help are built into the service structure. An integrated, coordinated victim-centered standard of practice among all systems involved should expect for there to be repeated contact over time. And, within the constraints of our current knowledge base, realize that risk management strategies will change over time and expect that what works today might not work in the future.

Limitations

Several limitations to this study deserve attention. First, the survey sample reflects a particular demographic profile: urban and poor. Although we captured data from a cohort found in many jurisdictions throughout the country and that seeks services at a high rate, it is certainly not representative of all victims of IPV stalking who seek services; more research is needed to generalize the results. A study in other locales seeking to replicate the health status of our sample would be of particular interest.

Second, our study participants sought services within the criminal justice system. It is likely that women who experience stalking but do not have contact with the criminal justice system differ from our sample in important ways. Also, contact in this study was assessed by asking about formal system-level agents, e.g., police, district attorneys, victim advocates, etc. It is quite likely that participants accessed informal supports and developed individual risk-management strategies about which we did not inquire and
which may have had over time an effect on the trajectories. Finally, as with most longitudinal work with a transient population, the level of attrition must be acknowledged as having a possible impact on results; women who were lost to follow-up may have differed from those who were retained in ways that we did not measure.
Bibliography


APPENDIX A: STALKING BEHAVIORS IN SCREEN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How often has the offender done the following:</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Once</th>
<th>2-3 Times</th>
<th>4+ Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violated an order of protection?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Followed the client?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waited outside someplace client frequents (home, school, work, etc.), spied on client, other surveillance?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unwanted phone calls, pages, faxes, letters or e-mail?</td>
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<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approached client or made face-to-face confrontations?</td>
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<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Made threats against client?</td>
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<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalized or destroyed property?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gathered information about client?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contacted client’s family members or friends?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B: INTAKE INTERVIEW

Stalking Journey Intake

1. Introduction Script

"Hello, my name is [Your Name]. I am a stalking intake staff member at Safe Horizon, and I am following up about your visit to [Name of Program] on [Date] to ask you a few more questions. Your case manager may have mentioned that I would be calling."

"Is this a good time to talk for a few minutes?"
"Are you able to talk privately at this time?"
"Is this a safe time for you to talk, a time when you will not be overheard or interrupted?"

INTERVIEWER: If she says no, tell her you will call back at another time and ask what time would be best.

2. Intake Information

INTERVIEWER: Once you have determined that it is a safe time for the woman to talk, fill in these fields based on the information provided to you by the Research Department.

1. Date of Interview

The Case ID Number consists of Month + Year + Number.

Please enter the Case ID Number using the following format [Please do not enter any dashes]:
___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

2. Case ID Number

3. Interviewer Name

4. Language of Interview
   • English
   • Spanish

3. Safe Horizon Program Information

INTERVIEWER: Fill in these fields based on the information provided to you by the Research Department.

5. Program Name (i.e., program where client is seeking services)

6. Program Borough (i.e., borough where program is located)

7. Safe Horizon Staff Name

4. Client Demographics I
We would like to start by asking you a few questions about yourself.

Can you tell me the year and month you were born?

8. Month
9. Year

INTERVIEWER: If she was born after December 1988, check her age. If she is under 18, continue with the Intake, but do NOT seek her participation in the research study (as a minor, she is not eligible to be a part of the study).

5. Client Demographics II

10. Are you Hispanic or Latina?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Don't know/Not sure
   - Refused

11. Which one or more of the following would you say is your race...
   - White?
   - Black or African American?
   - Asian?
   - Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander?
   - American Indian, Alaska Native?
   - Don't know/Not sure
   - Refused
   - Other (please specify)

6. Client Contact Information

INTERVIEWER: If client says that she's already given someone all of this information, assure her that you are just making sure that all of the information we have is current and up-to-date.

12. Safe number for contact
13. Best time to contact you at this number
14. Safe cell phone number at which to contact you
15. Best time to contact you at that number
16. Safe alternate contact number
17. Best time to contact you at that number

7. Client’s Address

18. What is a safe address to mail you information if needed?
   - Street Address
   - City
   - Zip Code
19. What is your living situation (e.g., live alone, with family, etc.)

20. What is a safe alternate address to mail information to you if needed?
   - Street Address
   - City
   - Zip Code

8. Any Children?

INTERVIEWER: Please note, this question asks about ANY children the client has -- not just children with the stalker.

21. Do you have any children?
   - Yes
   - No

9. Children

22. Do they live with you?
   - Yes
   - No

23. What are their ages?

10. Presenting Problems

24. Why did you come to Safe Horizon?

25. What kinds of services do you need right now?
   - Advocacy
   - Information
   - Referrals
   - Child services (e.g., child care, custody assistance, visitation assistance, child protection)
   - Concrete services (e.g., food voucher, transportation, clothing, crime victim compensation)
   - 911 cell phone
   - Lock change
   - Counseling (e.g., individual or group)
   - Safety planning
   - Accompaniment (e.g., sexual assault forensic accompaniment, court accompaniment, law enforcement accompaniment)
   - Shelter (e.g., domestic violence or homeless shelter)
   - Housing transfer (e.g., emergency or other subsidized housing transfer)
   - Subsidized housing application
   - Physical health services
   - Mental health services
   - Substance abuse services
   - Legal services
   - Court services
   - Other (please specify)

11. Relationship With Stalker
INTERVIEWER: Please note, you should already know this information based on the information provided by the Case Manager. But please confirm these pieces of information with the client.

26. Based on information provided by your case manager, it sounds to me like your stalker is...
   - Male
   - Female
   - Other (please specify)

27. It also sounds to me like your stalker is your...
   - Spouse
   - Estranged spouse (married but separated)
   - Ex-spouse
   - Boyfriend/Girlfriend
   - Ex-boyfriend/Ex-girlfriend
   - Family member
   - Non-relative or non-intimate partner
   - Unknown to victim/stranger

12. Relationship to Stalker: Duration

28. When did you first become aware of the stalking behavior? (INTERVIEWER: Specify number of weeks, months or years)

29. When did this behavior become a concern to you? (INTERVIEWER: Specify number of weeks, months or years)

13. Stalking Background

30. Please tell me a brief background of the stalking you've experienced.

INTERVIEWER: Prompt for history of abuse if the stalker was an intimate partner of the victim.

31. Have there been threats made?

INTERVIEWER: Include a description of threats including how they were made.

32. On a scale of 1 through 9, with 1 being not at all distressing and 9 being very distressing, how would you rate your overall distress level in regards to the stalking behaviors you have experienced?

14. Stalker Weapon Information

33. Does s/he own or have access to a weapon?
   - Don't know/Not sure
   - No
   - Yes. What type of weapon?

15. Order(s) of Protection

34. Do you currently have an order of protection against him/her from the Criminal Court or the Family Court?
   - Yes, with Criminal Court
• Yes, with Family Court
• Yes, but doesn't know which court
• No
• Don't know/Not Sure

16. Criminal Justice Intervention

Now I will ask you about police, courts, or any other assistance you may have received in the last month.

35. In the last month, have you, or anyone on your behalf, contacted the police or any other authorities about the stalking?
   • Yes
   • No

17. Criminal Justice Intervention: Actions

36. Which of the following actions did the authorities take when you contacted them...
   • Referred you to family court?
   • Referred you to criminal court (DA)?
   • Referred you to services, such as victim assistance?
   • Gave you advice on how to protect yourself?
   • Took you to another location such as a hospital or shelter?
   • Asked you for more information or evidence?
   • Took a report?
   • Talked to or warned the perpetrator?
   • Told you to get a protection order?
   • Arrested the perpetrator?
   • Took no action
   • Other (please specify)

18. Criminal Justice Intervention: Court Case I

37. Is this case in court now?
   • Yes
   • No

19. Criminal Justice Intervention: Court Case II

38. What happened in that case? What was the outcome?
   • Case is still pending
   • Case was dismissed
   • Case went to trial
   • ACD (Adjournment in Contemplation of Dismissal)
   • S/he was found not fit to stand trial
   • S/he was found not guilty by reason of insanity
   • S/he was committed to a psychiatric institution
   • S/he pled guilty to charges
   • S/he was acquitted
   • S/he was convicted
   • S/he was sent to jail or prison
   • Don't Know
• Other (please specify)

20. Stalking Documentation

39. Have you been documenting stalking incidents and/or collecting evidence? If so, please describe this for me.

21. Offender Information

Now I am going to ask you a few questions about the person who is stalking you, as far as you know.

INTERVIEWER: If the client does not know who is stalking them, or does not know this information, please type "Don't Know" in the spaces below.

40. Please tell me the full name of the stalker and any other names used.

41. Please tell me the date of birth of the stalker if you know it.

42. Please tell me the age of the stalker if you know it.

22. Participate in Study?

"Thank you for taking the time to talk to me today. I would also like to tell you a little bit about a study we are conducting. Would you be interested in hearing about the study and what it involves?

"The study is being conducted by Safe Horizon about women's well-being, specifically about stalking and harassment. It is funded by the National Institute of Justice. We would really like to talk to you about your experience.

"The purpose of the study is to get a better understanding of the patterns of behavior of people who stalk others. We also want to learn whether different strategies are effective in discouraging or stopping stalkers. This would involve asking some questions now (or as soon as possible), and having a Safe Horizon researcher following up with you once per month for 12 months with short phone calls. You will be paid $25 for completing this interview, $40 after 3 months, $40 after 6 months, $40 after 9 months, and $60 after 12 months – that is, $205 for completing the entire study. These monthly follow-ups would last about 15 minutes and would be done by phone.

"Participation in this study is entirely confidential. We will not share the information you give us with anyone outside of the research team, unless a child is being hurt or someone is in current danger of serious harm. Whether you decide to participate or not will have no impact on the services you receive. If you feel this is something you could participate in, I'd like to do the first interview right now. Or we can arrange a safe time for me to call back."

43. Would you be interested in participating in this study?
   • Yes
   • No (If reason is given, please include)

23. Informed Consent

"The first thing we need to do is to get official 'informed consent,' which is required for all research studies to protect your rights as a participant. I will read you the full consent form word for word.
Please feel free to interrupt me and ask questions as we go along."

INTERVIEWER: Read through a hard copy of the Informed Consent, indicate whether the client consents or not, and provide your signature on the hard copy.

44. Client has been read the informed consent and agrees to participate in the study.
   • Yes
   • No (If client gives reason for declining, please include)

24. Next Steps

INTERVIEWER: After obtaining her informed consent, thank the participant for agreeing to participate in the study.

Assure the participant that her contact information will be stored by code number and kept separate from all other materials. This is the main way we keep an individual's answers from being connected to her name.

Ask the participant if she would like to answer the Baseline Interview questions right now -- it will take about 40 minutes. Make sure she understands that this is different from her monthly follow-up interviews (which will be about 15 minutes in length). If she is amenable to doing the Baseline Interview immediately, go right ahead.

If she is not able to do the interview right away, set up the time and number for the baseline interview and be sure to record it in the space provided. Ask the participant for a variety of days and times she would be available for an interview. If she does not want to schedule an appointment, tell her that she can call you when it is convenient for her. End the initial contact by thanking the participant for her willingness to participate in the study, remind her of your name and phone number, and review again when you will talk by phone for the Baseline Interview.

45. The client wishes to continue with the Baseline Interview now.
   • Yes
   • No. The Baseline Interview will be conducted on:

25. Conclusion for Participating

INTERVIEWER: Please scroll through the next few pages until you the link for "Done". Click this link. Open up another browser to conduct the Baseline Interview.

26. Conclusion for Non-Participating

INTERVIEWER: The Intake is now complete. Please ask the following two questions, and then thank the client for her time.

If a client would like to be contacted by Safe Horizon, please send an e-mail directly to the case manager and cc: the program director. In the e-mail, please indicate the client's name, phone number, and any other relevant information.

Please request that the case manager e-mails or calls you back when they have contacted the client. This is so we know that the feedback loop has been closed. If you don't hear back from the case manager of program director, please contact them again to see the status of the information.

46. Is there any information about Safe Horizon that you need?
47. Would you like someone from the [Safe Horizon program client is receiving services from] to call you to talk about anything that has come up during our discussion?
   - No
   - Yes. Please specify who:
APPENDIX C: BASELINE INTERVIEW

Stalking Journey Baseline Interview

1. Baseline Interview Information

INTERVIEWER: Please complete this information again, even if you are immediately continuing from the Intake.

1. Date of Interview

The Case ID Number consists of Month + Year + Number.

Please enter the Case ID Number using the following format [Please do not enter any dashes]:

__ __ __ __ __ __ __

2. Case ID Number

3. Interviewer Name

4. Language of Interview
   - English
   - Spanish

2. Client Demographics I

I would like to start off by asking you a few questions about yourself.

5. Are you...
   - Married?
   - Divorced?
   - Widowed?
   - Separated?
   - Never married?
   - A member of an unmarried couple?
   - Don't know/Not sure
   - Refused

6. Are you currently...
   - Employed for wages?
   - Self-employed?
   - Out of work for more than one year?
   - Out of work for less than one year?
   - A homemaker?
   - A student?
   - Retired?
   - Unable to work?
   - Refused

3. Client Demographics III

7. What is the highest grade or year of school you completed?
   - Never attended school or only attended kindergarten
- Grades 1 through 8 (Elementary)
- Grades 9 through 11 (Some high school)
- Grade 12 or GED (High school graduate)
- College 1 year to 3 years (Some college or technical school)
- College graduate
- Graduate school
- Don't know/Not sure
- Refused

8. Where were you born? Please tell me the country. (We do not want to know your legal status.)
- Refused
- USA
- Other country (please specify)

4. Health / Mental Distress

9. Would you say that in general your health is: Excellent, Very Good, Good, Fair or Poor?
- Excellent
- Very Good
- Good
- Fair
- Poor
- Don't know/Not sure
- Refused

10. Thinking about your physical health, which includes physical illness and injury, for about how many days during the past 30 days was your physical health not good?

11. Now thinking about your mental health, which includes stress, depression, and problems with emotions, for about how many days during the past 30 days was your mental health not good?

5. Stalking Background

12. You've already told me a little bit about the stalking you are experiencing. Can you tell me your theory on why s/he is stalking you?

6. Relationship With Stalker

Now I'd like to ask you a little bit more about the person who is stalking you.

INTERVIEWER: Based on the Intake with the participant, please mark the appropriate box.

*Only ask the question again if you do not recall this information from the Intake.*

13. The stalker is the participant's...
- Spouse
- Estranged spouse (married but separated)
- Ex-spouse
- Boyfriend/Girlfriend
- Ex-boyfriend/Ex-girlfriend
- Family member (INTERVIEWER: Checking this box will prompt you to specify type of family member)
• Non-relative or non-intimate partner (INTERVIEWER: Checking this box will prompt you to specify type of non-relative or non-intimate partner)
• Unknown to victim/stranger

7. Relationship to Stalker: Intimate Partner/Former Intimate Partner

14. Have you ever lived together with him/her?
   • Yes, still living together.
   • Yes, but not living together anymore.
   • No, never lived together.

15. Do you have any children in common with him/her?
   • Yes
   • No

8. Relationship to Stalker: Children

16. Are the children living with you?
   • Yes
   • No

17. Does s/he have ongoing contact with the child(ren)?
   • Yes
   • No

9. Relationship to Stalker: Family Member

18. Type of family member:
   • Parent or stepparent
   • Child or stepchild
   • Brother/sister, stepbrother, stepsister
   • Other relative (please specify)

19. Have you ever lived together with him/her?
   • Yes, still living together.
   • Yes, but not living together anymore.
   • No, never lived together.

10. Relationship to Stalker: Non-Relative or Non-Intimate Partner

20. Type of non-relative/non-intimate partner:
   • Someone dated casually/a couple of times
   • Friend
   • Co-worker
   • Boss/supervisor
   • Classmate, someone from school
   • Neighbor
   • Roommate, housemate, boarder
   • Acquaintance
   • Person otherwise known to victim (please specify)
21. You've told me that the person who is stalking you is your [RELATIONSHIP]. Is this a current or former relationship or situation (for example, no longer work at same place, neighbor moved, etc)?
   - Current
   - Former

22. Have you ever lived together with him/her?
   - Yes, still living together.
   - Yes, but not living together anymore.
   - No, never lived together.

11. Relationship to Stalker: Unknown or Stranger

23. You said that the stalker is someone unknown to you. Would you be able to visibly identify the stalker?
   - Yes, victim could identify stalker.
   - No, victim is unable to identify the stalker.

12. Relationship to Stalker: Duration

24. How long have you known this person?
   - The stalker is a stranger.
   - INTERVIEWER: Specify number of weeks, months, or years

13. Stalker Information I

Now I’d like to get some information about this person, as far as you know.

25. As far as you know, is s/he employed...
   - Full time?
   - Part time/temporary employment?
   - Unemployed?
   - Don't Know

14. Stalker Information II

26. Does s/he have reason to be in your vicinity, such as live or work near your home, workplace or other places you go often?
   - Don't know/Not sure
   - No
   - Yes. What is the reason s/he has to be in your vicinity?

27. Where was s/he born? Please tell me the country.
   - Refused
   - Don't know/Not sure
   - USA
   - Other country (please specify)

15. Stalker Information III

28. Do you know how long (in years) s/he has lived in the US?
• Don't know/Not sure
• No
• Yes. How long?

16. Stalker Information IV

29. To your knowledge, has s/he ever been diagnosed with a mental illness?
   • Yes
   • No
   • Don't know/Not sure

30. To your knowledge, has s/he ever had a substance abuse problem (including alcohol, prescription, non-prescription or street drugs)?
   • Yes
   • No
   • Don't know/Not sure

17. Stalker Information V

31. Has s/he served in the military or police or other organization that provided him/her training in firearms, explosives, etc.?
   • Don't know/Not sure
   • No
   • Yes. What type of organization (e.g., military or police)?

18. Stalking Behavior, Frequency, & Distress

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about his/her behavior toward you. I will read through a range of possible ways s/he may have stalked you, harassed you or tried to get information about you.

For each behavior or incident, please tell me if it happened in the LAST MONTH. If it did happen in the last month, I will ask you how often it happened (Never, 1-2x/month, Weekly, 2-3x/week, Daily) and how distressing it was for you (on a scale of 1 to 9, where 1 is "not at all distressing" and 9 is "very distressing").

I want to remind you that you can skip any question, and that your answers are confidential.

32. In the past month, has s/he...

Frequency

Distress
   • Made unwanted phone calls (including hang-up calls) to you and/or left messages?
   • Sent unwanted notes, letters, e-mails, or other forms of written communication?
   • Followed you?
   • Spied on you or watched you from a distance?
   • Driven by your home, work, school, etc.?
   • Come to your home, work, school, etc.?
   • Approached you or made face-to-face contact?
• Left unwanted items, gifts, or flowers for you?
• Spread rumors or posted information about you?
• Tried to obtain information about you from a family member, friend, or acquaintance?
• Entered or attempted to enter your home without your knowledge or permission?
• Stolen something of yours?
• Damaged or attempted to damage or destroy your personal property (e.g., home, car, other)?
• Engaged or hired others to gather information about you or harass you?
• Enrolled you in activities you did not want (e.g., a dating service, mailing list, subscription, etc.)?
• Gone through or tampered with your mail?
• Called your bank or a utility to try to obtain information about you?
• Used/attempted to use your personal information to open/close an account in your name (e.g., bank account)?
• Threatened to report you or reported you to authorities (e.g., police, child welfare, other)?
• Initiated court proceedings against you (e.g., Civil Court, Family Court)?
• Reported you to the police or had you arrested?
• Used the internet to stalk or harass you?
• Used a website, blog, bulletin board, or other to harass or stalk you?
• Posted information about you on list serves, electronic message boards, online personal dating site, etc.?
• Sent e-mails about you to your friends, family, co-workers, etc.?
• Monitored your phone calls (bug, scanner, etc.) or computer use (hacking, spyware, or other method)?
• Installed hidden cameras or other recording devices in or around your home?
• Used Global Positioning Systems (GPS) to track your location?
• Injured or killed your pets?
• Threatened to harm him/her self?
• Threatened to harm you?
• Threatened to harm your children, family member, or other person you know?
• Violate an order of protection?
• Verbally abused you?
• Physically harmed you?
• Sexually abused you?
• Other

19. Stalking Behavior: Other

INTERVIEWER: If other behaviors were listed on previous page, please describe them here.

33. Please describe Other

20. Criminal Justice Action I

INTERVIEWER: Based on the Intake with the participant, please mark the appropriate box.

*Only ask the question again if you do not recall this information from the Intake.*
34. In the last month, has the participant, or anyone on the participant's behalf, contacted the 
police or any other authorities about any of the behaviors previously mentioned?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know/Not sure

21. Criminal Justice Action II

35. You mentioned earlier that you, or someone on your behalf, has contacted the police or other 
authorities in the past month. What led you to contact the authorities?

22. Criminal Justice Action III

36. In the past month, specifically, what behaviors did you contact the authorities about?

- Made unwanted phone calls (including hang-up calls) to you and/or left messages
- Sent unwanted notes, letters, e-mails, or other forms of written communication
- Followed you
- Spied on you or watched you from a distance
- Driven by your home, work, school, etc.
- Come to your home, work, school, etc.
- Approached you or made face-to-face contact
- Left unwanted items, gifts, or flowers for you
- Spread rumors or posted information about you
- Tried to obtain information about you from a family member, friend, or acquaintance
- Entered or attempted to enter your home without your knowledge or permission
- Stolen something of yours
- Damaged or attempted to damage or destroy your personal property (e.g., home, car, 
other)
- Engaged or hired others to gather information about you or harass you
- Enrolled you in activities you did not want (e.g., a dating service, mailing list, subscription, 
etc.)
- Gone through or tampered with your mail
- Called your bank or a utility to try to obtain information about you
- Used/attempted to use your personal information to open/close an account in your name 
(e.g., bank account)
- Threatened to report you or reported you to authorities (e.g., police, child welfare, other)
- Initiated court proceedings against you (e.g., Civil Court, Family Court)
- Reported you to the police or had you arrested
- Used the internet to stalk or harass you
- Used a website, blog, bulletin board, or other to harass or stalk you
- Posted information about you on list serves, electronic message boards, online personal 
dating site, etc.
- Sent e-mails about you to your friends, family, co-workers, etc.
- Monitored your phone calls (bug, scanner, etc.) or computer use (hacking, spyware, or 
other method)
- Installed hidden cameras or other recording devices in or around your home
- Used Global Positioning Systems (GPS) to track your location
• Injured or killed your pets
• Threatened to harm him/her self
• Threatened to harm you
• Threatened to harm your children, family member, or other person you know
• Violate an order of protection
• Verbally abused you
• Physically harmed you
• Sexually abused you
• Other

23. Criminal Justice Action IV

INTERVIEWER: If other behaviors were listed on previous page, please describe them here.

37. Please describe Other

24. Criminal Justice Action V

38. In terms of his/her stalking behavior, what do you think his/her response was to this/these criminal justice action(s) -- do you think it increased the stalking, decreased it, stopped it, or had no effect at all?
   • Increased stalking.
   • Stalking remained the same.
   • Decreased stalking, but stalking has not stopped.
   • Stopped the stalking.
   • Other (please specify)

25. Order(s) of Protection I

INTERVIEWER: Based on the Intake with the participant, please mark the appropriate box.

*Only ask the question again if you do not recall this information from the Intake.*

39. Does the participant currently have an order of protection against the stalker from the Criminal Court or the Family Court?
   • Yes, with Criminal Court
   • Yes, with Family Court
   • Yes, but doesn't know which court.
   • No
   • Don't know/Not sure

26. Order(s) of Protection II
40. Has s/he violated this/these order(s)?
   • Yes
   • No
   • Don't know/Not sure

41. What do you think his/her response was to this/these order(s) in regard to the stalking -- do you think it increased the stalking, decreased it, stopped it, or had no effect at all?
   • Increased stalking.
   • Stalking remained the same.
   • Decreased stalking, but stalking has not stopped.
   • Stopped the stalking.
   • Other (please specify)

27. Services & Advocacy I

Now I am going to ask you a few questions about any services you may have received.

42. In the past month, has anyone (other than a family member or friend) helped you with the stalking?
   • Yes
   • No
   • Don't know/Not sure

28. Services & Advocacy II

43. What kinds of services have you received in the past month to help you with the stalking?
   • Advocacy
   • Information
   • Referrals
   • Child services (e.g., child care, custody assistance, visitation assistance, child protection)
   • Concrete services (e.g., food voucher, transportation, clothing, crime victim compensation)
   • 911 cell phone
   • Lock change
   • Counseling (e.g., individual or group)
   • Safety planning
   • Accompaniment (e.g., sexual assault forensic accompaniment, court accompaniment, law enforcement accompaniment)
   • Shelter (e.g., domestic violence or homeless shelter)
   • Housing transfer (e.g., emergency or other subsidized housing transfer)
   • Subsidized housing application
   • Physical health services
   • Mental health services
   • Substance abuse services
   • Legal services
   • Court services
• Other (please specify)

29. Services & Advocacy III

44. Which of the following people or agencies have provided the services you just mentioned...
   • Police officer/detective?
   • DA/prosecutor?
   • Lawyer?
   • Counselor or therapist?
   • Clergy, religious, or spiritual leader?
   • Victim advocate?
   • Other? (please specify)

30. Services & Advocacy: Needed

45. Is there any kind of assistance that you need that has not been available or that you have not received?
   • Don't know/Not sure
   • No
   • Yes (please specify)

46. On a scale from 1 to 7, how safe do you feel these days? Would you say you are...
   • Completely unsafe
   • Somewhat unsafe
   • Slightly unsafe
   • Neither safe nor unsafe
   • Slightly safe
   • Somewhat safe
   • Completely safe

31. Safe Horizon Information

INTERVIEWER: If a client would like to be contacted by Safe Horizon, please send an e-mail directly to the case manager and cc: the program director. In the e-mail, please indicate the client's name, phone number, and any other relevant information.

Please request that the case manager e-mails or calls you back when they have contacted the client. This is so we know that the feedback loop has been closed. If you don't hear back from the case manager of program director, please contact them again to see the status of the information.

47. Is there any information regarding Safe Horizon that you need?

48. Would you like someone from the [Safe Horizon program client is receiving services from] to call you to talk about anything that has come up during our discussion?
32. Conclusion of Baseline Interview

We have reached the end of the Baseline Interview. Thank you for taking the time to answer our questions.

[Monthly Follow-up Interviewer Name] will be calling you in about a month for your first monthly follow-up call. As a reminder, that phone call will last for about 15 minutes, and she will be calling you once a month for 12 months.

49. Can she reach you at the phone number(s) you provided during our Intake?
   • Yes
   • No

50. Are there any special instructions you have on how and when she can get in contact with you?
   • No
   • Yes (please specify)
APPENDIX D: MONTHLY INTERVIEW

Stalking Journey Monthly

1. Introduction Script

INTERVIEWER: Please note that the following script is only necessary during the FIRST monthly follow-up. After you have established a rapport with the client, the script provided here is not necessary. However, you do need to ask the three safety questions before beginning any conversation.

"Hello, my name is -----. I am a researcher at Safe Horizon. [Name of Stalking Intake Staff] told me you were interested in participating in our study on stalking.

"Is this a good time to talk for a few minutes?"
"Are you able to talk privately at this time?"
"Is this a safe time for you to talk, a time when you will not be overheard or interrupted?"

INTERVIEWER: If she says no, tell her you will call back at another time and ask what time would be best.

"Just as a reminder, the purpose of the study is to get a better understanding of the patterns of behavior of people who stalk others. We also want to learn whether different strategies are effective in discouraging or stopping stalkers. This would involve following up with you once per month for 12 months with short phone calls. You will be paid quarterly: $40 after 3 months, $40 after 6 months, $40 after 9 months, and $60 after 12 months – that is, $205 for completing the entire study. These monthly follow-ups will last about 15 minutes and will be done by phone.

"Are you able to complete the monthly follow-up interview now?"

INTERVIEWER: If she is able to complete the monthly follow-up, go right ahead. If she is not able to do the monthly follow-up right away, set up the time and number for the monthly follow-up and be sure to record it on the Call Log.

2. Monthly Follow-Up Information

INTERVIEWER: Once you have determined that it is a safe time for the woman to talk, fill in these fields based on the information provided to you by the Research Department.

1. Date of Monthly Follow-Up Interview

Please enter the Case ID Number using the following format [Please do not enter any dashes]:
______

2. Case ID Number

3. Interviewer Name

4. Language of Interview

3. Client Contact Information
INTERVIEWER: Briefly run through the contact information you have for the client, and then ask her if any of it has changed.

5. Has your contact information (i.e., phone numbers or mailing addresses) changed since the last time someone from the study spoke with you?
   - Yes
   - No

4. Client Contact Information II

INTERVIEWER: If the client's contact information has changed, please update the fields which have changed.

6. Safe number for contact

7. Best time to contact you at this number

8. Safe cell phone number at which to contact you

9. Best time to contact you at that number

10. Safe alternate contact number

11. Best time to contact you at that number

5. Client Contact Information III

INTERVIEWER: If the client's contact information has changed, please update the fields which have changed.

12. What is a safe address to mail you information if needed?
   - Street Address
   - City
   - Zip Code

13. What is your living situation (e.g., live alone, with family, etc.)

14. What is a safe alternate address to mail information to you if needed?
   - Street Address
   - City
   - Zip Code

8. Stalker Weapon Information

15. As far as you know, has s/he had access to a weapon in the last month?
   - Don't know/Not sure
   - No
   - Yes. What type of weapon?

9. Recognition by Authorities

16. Currently, is your situation recognized as stalking by... ...the NYPD (DIR, police reports, etc.)?
   - Yes
10. Health / Mental Distress

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about your health.

17. Would you say that in general your health is: Excellent, Very Good, Good, Fair or Poor?
   - Excellent
   - Very Good
   - Good
   - Fair
   - Poor
   - Don't know/Not sure
   - Refused

18. Thinking about your physical health, which includes physical illness and injury, for about how many days during the past 30 days was your physical health not good?

19. Now thinking about your mental health, which includes stress, depression, and problems with emotions, for about how many days during the past 30 days was your mental health not good?

11. Stalking Behavior, Frequency, and Distress

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about his/her behavior toward you. I will read through a range of possible ways s/he may have stalked you, harassed you or tried to get information about you.

For each behavior or incident, please tell me if it happened in the LAST MONTH. If it did happen in the last month, I will ask you how often it happened (Never, 1-2x/month, Weekly, 2-3x/week, Daily) and how distressing it was for you (on a scale of 1 to 9, where 1 is "not at all distressing" and 9 is "very distressing").

I want to remind you that you can skip any question, and that your answers are confidential.

INTERVIEWER: If a behavior did not occur, you still need to indicate the frequency as "Never".

20. In the past month, has s/he...

Frequency

Distress

- Made unwanted phone calls (including hang-up calls) to you and/or left messages?
- Sent unwanted notes, letters, e-mails, or other forms of written communication?
- Followed you?
- Spied on you or watched you from a distance?
- Driven by your home, work, school, etc.?
- Come to your home, work, school, etc.?
- Approached you or made face-to-face contact?
- Left unwanted items, gifts, or flowers for you?
• Spread rumors or posted information about you?
• Tried to obtain information about you from a family member, friend, or acquaintance?
• Entered or attempted to enter your home without your knowledge or permission?
• Stolen something of yours?
• Damaged or attempted to damage or destroy your personal property (e.g., home, car, other)?
• Engaged or hired others to gather information about you or harass you?
• Enrolled you in activities you did not want (e.g., a dating service, mailing list, subscription, etc.)?
• Gone through or tampered with your mail?
• Called your bank or a utility to try to obtain information about you?
• Used/attempted to use your personal information to open/close an account in your name (e.g., bank account)?
• Threatened to report you or reported you to authorities (e.g., police, child welfare, other)?
• Initiated court proceedings against you (e.g., Civil Court, Family Court)?
• Reported you to the police or had you arrested?
• Used the internet to stalk or harass you?
• Used a website, blog, bulletin board, or other to harass or stalk you?
• Posted information about you on list serves, electronic message boards, online personal dating site, etc.?
• Sent e-mails about you to your friends, family, co-workers, etc.?
• Monitored your phone calls (bug, scanner, etc.) or computer use (hacking, spyware, or other method)?
• Installed hidden cameras or other recording devices in or around your home?
• Used Global Positioning Systems (GPS) to track your location?
• Injured or killed your pets?
• Threatened to harm him/her self?
• Threatened to harm you?
• Threatened to harm your children, family member, or other person you know?
• Violate an order of protection?
• Verbally abused you?
• Physically harmed you?
• Sexually abused you?
• Other

12. Stalking Behavior: Other

INTERVIEWER: If other behaviors were listed on previous page, please describe them here.

21. Please describe Other

13. Overall Stalking Distress

22. On a scale of 1 through 9, with 1 being not at all distressing and 9 being very distressing, how would you rate your overall distress level in regards to the stalking in the past month?

14. Criminal Justice Action I

Now I will ask you about police, courts, or any other assistance you may have received in the last month.

23. In the last month, have you, or anyone on your behalf, contacted the police or any other authorities about the stalking?
15. Criminal Justice Action II

24. You mentioned earlier that you, or someone on your behalf, has contacted the police or other authorities in the past month. What led you to contact the authorities?

16. Criminal Justice Action III

25. In the past month, specifically, what behaviors did you contact the authorities about?

- Made unwanted phone calls (including hang-up calls) to you and/or left messages
- Sent unwanted notes, letters, e-mails, or other forms of written communication
- Followed you
- Spied on you or watched you from a distance
- Driven by your home, work, school, etc.
- Came to your home, work, school, etc.
- Approached you or made face-to-face contact
- Left unwanted items, gifts, or flowers for you
- Spread rumors or posted information about you
- Tried to obtain information about you from a family member, friend, or acquaintance
- Entered or attempted to enter your home without your knowledge or permission
- Stolen something of yours
- Damaged or attempted to damage or destroy your personal property (e.g., home, car, other)
- Engaged or hired others to gather information about you or harass you
- Enrolled you in activities you did not want (e.g., a dating service, mailing list, subscription, etc.)
- Gone through or tampered with your mail
- Called your bank or a utility to try to obtain information about you
- Used/attempted to use your personal information to open/close an account in your name (e.g., bank account)
- Threatened to report you or reported you to authorities (e.g., police, child welfare, other)
- Initiated court proceedings against you (e.g., Civil Court, Family Court)
- Reported you to the police or had you arrested
- Used the internet to stalk or harass you
- Used a website, blog, bulletin board, or other to harass or stalk you
- Posted information about you on listservs, electronic message boards, online personal dating site, etc.
- Sent e-mails about you to your friends, family, co-workers, etc.
- Monitored your phone calls (bug, scanner, etc.) or computer use (hacking, spyware, or other method)
- Installed hidden cameras or other recording devices in or around your home
- Used Global Positioning Systems (GPS) to track your location
- Injured or killed your pets
- Threatened to harm him/her self
- Threatened to harm you
- Threatened to harm your children, family member, or other person you know
- Violate an order of protection
- Verbally abused you
- Physically harmed you
- Sexually abused you
• Other

17. Criminal Justice Action IV

INTERVIEWER: If other behaviors were listed on previous page, please describe them here.

26. Please describe Other

18. Criminal Justice Actions V

27. Which of the following actions did the authorities take when you contacted them...
   • Referred you to family court?
   • Referred you to criminal court (DA)?
   • Referred you to services, such as victim assistance?
   • Gave you advice on how to protect yourself?
   • Took you to another location such as a hospital or shelter?
   • Asked you for more information or evidence?
   • Took a report?
   • Talked to or warned the perpetrator?
   • Told you to get a protection order?
   • Arrested the perpetrator?
   • Took no action
   • Other (please specify)

19. Criminal Justice Action VI

28. In terms of his/her stalking behavior, what do you think his/her response was to this/these criminal justice action(s) -- do you think it increased the stalking, decreased it, stopped it, or had no effect at all?
   • Increased stalking.
   • Stalking remained the same.
   • Decreased stalking, but stalking has not stopped.
   • Stopped the stalking.
   • Other (please specify)

20. Court Case I

29. Is this case in court now?
   • Yes
   • No
   • Don’t Know

21. Court Case II

30. What is the current status of your case? What is/was the outcome?
   • Case is still pending
   • Case was dismissed
   • Case went to trial
   • ACD (Adjournment in Contemplation of Dismissal)
   • S/he was found not fit to stand trial
   • S/he was found not guilty by reason of insanity
• S/he was committed to a psychiatric institution
• S/he pled guilty to charges
• S/he was acquitted
• S/he was convicted
• S/he was sent to jail or prison
• Don't Know
• Other (please specify)

22. Order(s) of Protection I

31. In the past month, have you had an order of protection against the stalker from the Criminal Court or the Family Court?
   • Yes, with Criminal Court.
   • Yes, with Family Court.
   • Yes, but doesn't know which court.
   • No
   • Don't know/Not sure

23. Order(s) of Protection II

32. Has s/he violated this order in the past month?
   • Yes
   • No
   • Don't know/Not sure

33. What do you think his/her response was to this/these order(s) in regard to the stalking -- do you think it increased the stalking, decreased it, stopped it, or had no effect at all?
   • Increased stalking.
   • Stalking remained the same.
   • Decreased stalking, but stalking has not stopped.
   • Stopped the stalking.
   • Other (please specify)

25. Services and Advocacy I

34. In the past month, has anyone (other than a family member or friend) helped you with the stalking?
   • Yes
   • No
   • Don't know/Not sure

26. Services and Advocacy II

35. What kinds of services have you received in the past month to help you with the stalking?
   • Advocacy
   • Information
   • Referrals
   • Child services (e.g., child care, custody assistance, visitation assistance, child protection)
   • Concrete services (e.g., food voucher, transportation, clothing, crime victim compensation)
   • 911 cell phone
   • Lock change

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• Counseling (e.g., individual or group)
• Safety planning
• Accompaniment (e.g., sexual assault forensic accompaniment, court accompaniment, law enforcement accompaniment)
• Shelter (e.g., domestic violence or homeless shelter)
• Housing transfer (e.g., emergency or other subsidized housing transfer)
• Subsidized housing application
• Physical health services
• Mental health services
• Substance abuse services
• Legal services
• Court services
• Other (please specify)

27. Services and Advocacy III

36. Which of the following people or agencies have provided the services you just mentioned...
   • Police officer/detective?
   • DA/prosecutor?
   • Lawyer?
   • Counselor or therapist?
   • Clergy, religious, or spiritual leader?
   • Victim advocate?
   • Other (please specify)

28. Services and Advocacy: Needed

37. Is there any kind of assistance that you need that has not been available or that you have not received?
   • Don't know/Not sure
   • No
   • Yes (please specify)

38. On a scale from 1 to 7, how safe do you feel these days? Would you say you are...
   • Completely unsafe
   • Somewhat unsafe
   • Slightly unsafe
   • Neither safe nor unsafe
   • Slightly safe
   • Somewhat safe
   • Completely safe

29. Record Keeping

INTERVIEWER: Based on your records, please mark the appropriate box.

* Do NOT ask the client this question. You should use your records to mark the appropriate box. *

39. Which monthly follow-up are you currently conducting?

30. Monthly Follow-up Conclusion
INTERVIEWER: The Monthly Follow-Up interview is now complete. After asking the following two questions, remind the client you will be calling her again in one month. If possible, arrange an appointment for the next interview.

If a client would like to be contacted by Safe Horizon, please send an e-mail directly to the case manager and cc: the program director. In the e-mail, please indicate the client's name, phone number, and any other relevant information.

Please request that the case manager e-mails or calls you back when they have contacted the client. This is so we know that the feedback loop has been closed. If you don't hear back from the case manager of program director, please contact them again to see the status of the information.

40. Is there any information about Safe Horizon that you need?

41. Would you like someone from the [Safe Horizon program client is receiving services from] to call you to talk about anything that has come up during our discussion?
   • No
   • Yes. Please specify who: