"LIVING IN NO MAN'S LAND"
THE EXPERIENCES OF MALE VICTIMS
OF STALKING

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ABSTRACT

Recent years have seen the development of a body of research on stalking behaviour. However, this research has primarily focused on the experiences of female victims creating an identifiable gap in exploring the experiences of male victims. This thesis seeks to address this gap by examining the experiences of 23 male victims of stalkers.

In examining the experiences of male victims, this thesis begins by identifying the dominant discourses that have evolved around stalking. Then, by the adoption of a grounded methodological framework, common meanings and understandings in the male participants' narratives are identified. These themes reveal that the men's understanding and experiences of being stalked are at odds with the view that being stalked is not a problem for men. This perspective is confirmed by the participants' experiences within the criminal justice system as they seek to accomplish victimisation. By drawing on a constellation of sociological theories, my study reveals the problematic experiential nature of being stalked. This includes the effect a stalking experience can have on a masculine identity, so much so that a man may respond by 'reclaiming' his masculinity. For some men, a stalking experience can threaten their identity even to the point that their identity can appear to be on the verge of collapsing. My study also shows how men try to make sense of their stalking experiences by drawing on stalking discourses from popular culture.

As my study reveals the problematic nature of being stalked for men, there is the need for all those researching and developing policy for stalking victims to adequately take into account the experiences of male as well as female victims.
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# Contents

**ABSTRACT** .......................................................................................................................... 2  
**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS** ......................................................................................................... 3  
**CONTENTS** .............................................................................................................................. 4  
**LIST OF FIGURES** ................................................................................................................... 7  
**CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER** ............................................................................... 8  
  1.1 INTRODUCTION .................................................................................................................... 8  
  1.2 MY PERSONAL STORY ........................................................................................................... 8  
  1.3 STALKING RESEARCH - AN INTRODUCTION ..................................................................... 12  
  1.4 AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM ......................................................... 20  
  1.5 BEING STALKED IS A PROBLEM FOR WOMEN ..................................................................... 22  
  1.6 THE DOMINANT ACADEMIC DISCOURSES OF STALKING BEHAVIOUR ............................. 34  
  1.7 CONCLUSION ....................................................................................................................... 41  
  1.8 MY RESEARCH QUESTIONS .................................................................................................. 43  
  1.9 OUTLINE OF THIS THESIS .................................................................................................. 44  
**CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW - THE EXPERIENCES OF STALKING VICTIMISATION** ....... 47  
  2.1 INTRODUCTION ..................................................................................................................... 47  
  2.2 EXPERIENCES OF STALKING VICTIMISATION ................................................................... 47  
  2.3 STALKING BEHAVIOURS ....................................................................................................... 54  
  2.4 THE IMPACT OF BEING STALKED ....................................................................................... 56  
  2.5 HELP SEEKING BEHAVIOUR ............................................................................................... 60  
  2.6 MALE VICTIMS OF STALKING ............................................................................................. 65  
  2.7 CONCLUSION ......................................................................................................................... 74  
**CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY** ............................................................................................... 77  
  3.1 CHOICE OF METHODOLOGY .............................................................................................. 77  
  3.2 RECRUITING THE PARTICIPANTS ....................................................................................... 78  
  3.3 INTERVIEWING THE PARTICIPANTS ................................................................................... 85  
  3.4 DATA COLLECTION ............................................................................................................... 90  
  3.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS ............................................................................................... 91  
  3.6 DATA ANALYSIS .................................................................................................................... 93  
  3.7 INTRODUCING THE PARTICIPANTS OF THIS STUDY ......................................................... 95  
  3.8 REASONS FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY ................................................................ 102
LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES 1 AND 2 - THE RESEARCH ADVERTISEMENTS ________________81 AND 83
FIGURE 3 - THE PARTICIPANTS IN THIS RESEARCH STUDY ____________100-101
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The objective of this thesis is to explore the experiences of male victims of stalking within a sociological framework. To fulfil this objective, I interviewed 23 male victims and then employed a grounded approach to analyse their interview data.

In this introductory chapter, I set the background and context to my study and I provide the reasons why I undertook this research study. Following on from this, my aim is to fulfil two objectives. Firstly, I provide a brief introductory overview of the research literature. Secondly, I explore how stalking behaviour has been constructed as a problem behaviour and identify the dominant discourses that have evolved around it. Upon considering these two objectives, it should become very clear to the reader that the study into male stalking victims is currently a neglected area of study. I then turn my attention to the research questions. In addition, a chapter outline will be provided to give an indication of the subsequent components of this thesis.

1.2 MY PERSONAL STORY

In common with other researchers, my own interest in undertaking research emerged from my own personal experience (see Scarce, 1997; Orion, 1997; Bradfield, 1998; Lang, 2001). As my thesis grew out of this experience, I begin by telling my own story. In doing so, I provide a thick description of a stalking experience (Geertz, 1973; Miles & Huberman, 1994).
In 1999 I left my employment in Hong Kong and relocated to Manila, the capital of the Philippines. I had moved to Manila as a result of an offer of employment as a lecturer at a university, coupled with opportunities to work with a local charity organisation in the squatter settlements that crowd Manila. I remember arriving in Manila excited by the opportunities that awaited me. Initially, I moved into temporary accommodation and on my second night in the hostel I went downstairs to the public canteen. After I finished my dinner, I watched the television which was situated in the corner of the spacious room. After about twenty minutes, a woman to whom I have given the pseudonym of ‘Susan’, also sat down and started to watch the television. Over the course of the programme, which was entirely in Filipino, we started to talk about the programme; a soap opera called ‘Pangako sayo’ (‘My promise to you’). Once Susan informed me about the nature of the programme, our conversation led naturally into what we were both doing at the university. I found out that Susan was also a lecturer at a university in the far south of the country and was attending the university in Manila to take a number of exams. Our conversation, which lasted for about an hour was stimulating and I was grateful to have met someone who was happy to talk to me. This was especially true as I knew no-one else in Manila. Over the next two weeks, I saw Susan a number of times usually whilst eating or watching the television, and on most occasions we would talk. One evening, she introduced me to three of her work colleagues who were also students; they invited me to eat with them, and I accepted. During the course of the meal, Susan and her colleagues were very friendly. However, they frequently spoke in their own dialect which was often interrupted by giggles. This made me feel slightly uncomfortable as I had the impression that they were talking about me.

During the next weeks, Susan and I had a number of conversations together. On one occasion, she commented that she was interested in working for a charity particularly one that specialized in caring for street children. Since arriving in Manila, I had made contact with a number of these charities as I too was interested in working with street children. I told her that I would be happy to introduce her to some of the contacts I had made in particular connections I had made at an orphanage for street children in Quezon City. A few days later, I accompanied her to this orphanage and she seemed to enjoy it. Upon leaving the orphanage, we stopped at the local mall for lunch. Whilst we were sharing a crowded table, she asked me to “ask her the question”. When I told her that I did not know what she was talking about, she kept repeating that “I should ask her”. I felt very uncomfortable by her repeated questions. By this time, I had picked up from her demeanour and questions that she was interested in more than a friendship with me. I was not interested in developing a relationship over and beyond being friends, so I made my excuses and speedily left her company.

After leaving her at the local mall, I returned to my home (by this point in time I had moved into permanent accommodation). However, the following day, she arrived at my home at seven o’clock in the morning requesting, via the internal tannoy system, that I meet her in the communal lounge. When I arrived, she asked me if we could go somewhere private to talk and eat the breakfast she had brought me. I suggested that we walk to the adjacent garden where she presented me with a very long and detailed letter in which she outlined her perceptions of our relationship. She had interpreted our conversations and, in particular, our visit to an orphanage and the subsequent lunch we had as a ‘date’ and now wanted to put our relationship on a firmer ground. More specifically, she wanted to marry me! The letter went on to detail her plans for us: this included moving to her town where she envisaged us working together at the local university. I found the whole situation laughable and told her so. I ended our conversation informing her that we could no longer be friends and that I wanted nothing more to do with her. I then left my home and went to work. However, as I walked to my first lecture, I could see that she was following me. On a number of occasions, I stopped and told her to go away but she took no notice of me. After my lecture, I arrived at my office which I shared with a colleague and she was there waiting for me. After entering the office, I closed the door but at the same time she tried to enter my office. For a brief moment, there was a tussle as I tried to close the door whilst she tried to open it. Concerned that others passing by the
door would see what was happening, I let her in. Once inside, she then repeated to me the content of her letter and her hope that we could one day get married. She also invited me out for dinner. Again, I told her I was not interested in pursuing any kind of intimate relationship with her. I asked her to leave my office and thankfully she did. However, she was not one to give up and for the remainder of the day she followed me around the campus.

In the following days, her stalking behaviour towards me continued, and in fact a routine soon developed. She would arrive at my home at about seven in the morning and then follow me to my lectures. On occasions I tried to reason with her, explaining how I was not interested in an intimate relationship with her. I worked on the premise that the more I told her the more likely she would understand what I was trying to say. However, this did not work. In fact, on one occasion, I purposely met up with her near her own residence because I wanted to give her the opportunity to get everything off her chest. I hoped then that once she had had this opportunity she would be able to move on. At this residence, I listened to her, and I apologised if I had given out any wrong signals at all that might have suggested I wanted anything more than friendship. I left believing that everything had been finally resolved. However, ten minutes later she was again at my home asking me if we could go out to eat together; it seemed that nothing was going to stop her.

After about three weeks of her behaviour, I was called into my Head of Department’s office where we were joined by two senior members of the faculty. They informed me that Susan had complained about my behaviour and was specifically requesting the university to terminate my employment. Specifically, Susan said that as a westerner I should not treat a Filipino woman in the way that I had. Rarely have I been as embarrassed as on this occasion. I was a foreigner who had just started a new job yet was already causing trouble. During my time in the Philippines, I was very conscious of the reputation of foreigners; in particular, the reputations of western men who come to the Philippines to either find a mail order bride or to exploit the sex trade. I did not want to be tarnished in the same way. After explaining my situation to the Head of Department and her colleagues, and hoping that they believed me, I went home. By informing them, I hoped that the university would also assist me in stopping Susan stalking me. However, although the faculty did initially try and help, for example, they recommended her for counselling, their well intentioned plans did not deliver my hoped for results.

In fairness to the faculty, I do not think they had any idea how to deal with her and rather annoyingly they too became tired of her. For example, one female faculty member intervened on one occasion when Susan was hanging around my office. At the time, she offered her an understanding ear and allowed her to air her problems and grievances against me. She was aware of my side of the story and was sympathetic to my situation. At the end of their time together, she suggested to Susan that if she ever wanted to chat to her again, she would be happy to meet her. Susan took this offer of assistance very seriously and in fact she started to turn up every day to meet her to discuss her situation. In the end, the faculty member also started to hide from Susan, as she quickly realized that Susan would not listen to any of the advice that she gave her. Susan’s stalking behaviour continuing unabated despite the faculty’s attempts to stop her.

The ineffectiveness of official assistance was epitomized early one morning. The faculty had agreed that if she approached my lecture room (she was banned from entering the main lecture building, but no-one seemed to enforce it), the Head of Department would come along with appropriate assistance to request that she move on. So, on this one occasion as I left my lecture followed by Susan I could see a trail of people following her. This included the Head of the Department who was trying to talk to Susan, another lecturer, two security guards, a cleaner and a couple of interested students! As time progressed, I realised their non-intervention strategy was characteristic of a Filipino trait. In general, they avoid confrontation and I later found out that the faculty was concerned about any repercussions that my stalker might initiate against them if they intervened forcibly. They wanted to deal with any conflict situation in a non-threatening manner, but, to me,
this clearly had limited value.

During the next two and a half years, Susan continued to stalk me. Sometimes her behaviour was relentless including arriving outside my home at seven in the morning and staying until late evening. At other times she disappeared for a few days, only to reappear again. She became a regular at my lectures as she stood outside the door. She also joined the social clubs I attended and seemed to purposely socialize wherever I was. On most mornings I swam, so she also started to swim every morning as well. As a result of this, I soon gave up swimming. She also knew that I visited a couple of restaurants fairly regularly as well as frequenting a nearby cinema. I lost count how often I saw her at these venues. Everywhere I went, she appeared. This was clearly illustrated on one particular occasion. One Saturday afternoon, I fell asleep in a park near to my home. When I woke up she was lying next to me, staring at me!

In this two and a half year period, she sent me just over one hundred and fifty letters, all of which I copied and gave over to my university department to keep as a record of what was happening to me. The content of these letters covered a range of subjects. She wrote to me about her feelings towards me and her plans for 'us'. On one occasion, she included a detailed outline of our wedding and sent an accompanying brochure plus the details of the church we would be marrying in. Other letters were more like notes, in which she asked me to meet her at five o'clock in the afternoon for a swim, for example.

On certain occasions in this time period, she employed more vindictive measures. On one occasion, she lodged an official complaint about me to the Chancellor of the University and then did the same to the Immigration Service. In both instances, she requested that my employment contract and my visa be rescinded. In her letters to both parties she outlined how I had upset her and that this was not an appropriate way for a foreigner to act against a Filipina. I was embarrassed and also concerned that these officials would not believe me. In fact, it was through the intervention of two faculty members who responded on my behalf that these allegations were rightly put aside.

Initially, I reported the vast majority of these various incidents to the police. My first visit to the police station for which I was accompanied by a faculty member, was characterised by the interviewing officer probing me about the possibility of the existence of a sexual relationship between me and Susan. When I denied his accusation, he repeatedly ribbed me, suggesting that it was otherwise. The faculty member said that I would have to let him make his jokes as it was the ‘Filipino’ way of dealing with a situation. This initial interaction with the police characterised the majority of the subsequent interactions; quite simply I thought that they never took my complaint really seriously. Therefore, I had to experience various jokes and snide comments made at my expense. Their view, which they often voiced, was that I was a 'lucky guy' to have such attention.

Whilst I sought official assistance, I still had to interact with Susan on a day to day basis. Consequently, I developed a number of ways to avoid her, including hiding behind vehicles and buildings, changing the route that I normally used and even running away. In one particular intense period, I flew to Hong Kong for a couple of weeks to get away from her, I needed a rest from her. I also used to hang out with friends in places that I knew she would not go to as they were on the other side of town. Most of my close friends were very supportive of me during this time. Unfortunately, they also became involved in my stalking experience. On one occasion, Susan followed my friend around the campus questioning him about me. On another occasion, she spoke with a girl friend of mine for about two and a half hours about me, this resulted in my friend being pretty shaken up by this experience, and from that moment on she determinedly avoided her. However, on some occasions friends were not sympathetic and indeed found some amusement in it. Although I could see the funny side, I felt that they were also laughing at me because I could not seem to get control of the situation that I faced. Sometimes my feelings bubbled over: angry and frustrated I swore and shouted at Susan to leave me alone.
During this whole period I believed that Susan needed clinical intervention. My thoughts were confirmed to me at least by the fact that she also seemed to develop a framework by which to understand my refusals to engage with her. She put it down to the fact that she was not wearing the correct outfit. She believed that her outfit had to be colour coordinated with the cars that were parked outside her home which she believed I owned. If her clothes colour co-ordinated with the cars, she thought that I would like to see her. I knew this, because in the letters she wrote to me, she referred endlessly to these cars and her outfits.

As a result of the lack of support from the police and the university, I developed a number of ways of dealing with her, one of which was to write a journal of being stalked. I did this for two reasons. Firstly, I was instructed to record the stalking behaviour in the hope that this would provide the necessary evidence for a criminal case. It was also a place where I could record my feelings. I include a short abstract from my journal:

"This is crazy and more to the point so is she! She was waiting for me this morning, she was here at 7am, saying that she wanted to talk to me, I had a message from the front desk so I knew it was her. I couldn’t face her this morning so I went round the back. I had to hide behind some fences so when she looked away I quickly ran out. Does anyone else experience this, do other men? (My journal; 23 June 2001)

Looking back at my diary entry, these thoughts about other men’s experiences of stalking became the impetus for this study.

1.3 STALKING RESEARCH – AN INTRODUCTION

Research into stalking first surfaced in America in the mid 1980s. Since this date a small body of research has emerged (Boon & Sheridan, 2002; O'Connor & Rosenfeld, 2004; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007). In reviewing this body of work, I will consider the key questions with which research has grappled. Firstly, what is stalking? Secondly, what are the prevalence rates of stalking victimisation? Thirdly who are the stalkers and their victims? Finally, what is the relationship between stalkers and their victims?

As this study seeks to explore the experience of the victim of stalking, it would be appropriate to begin with a definition of stalking. However, stalking has proven to be a difficult term to define (Malsch, 2000; Sheridan & Davies, 2001). Although dictionary
definitions of stalking exist, which focus on individuals “obsessively harassing another person” (Oxford English Dictionary, 1997), researchers have concentrated on developing their own definitions. Consequently, several definitions of stalking now exist (Ogilvie, 2000).

The central problem in developing a definition of stalking is which components should be included in it. For instance, to define stalking Spitzberg and Cupach (2003) identified two hundred plus behaviours that comprise stalking. These behaviours include: following a victim, loitering, various means of communication - phone, letters and email are all used - vandalism of property, killing of friends and pets and even the murder of the victim themselves. Developing a definition of stalking is problematic because the above behaviours are a combination of both lawful and unlawful actions (Mullen et al 2000; Boon & Sheridan, 2002). In addition, researchers have argued that the frequency with which these behaviours are experienced by the victim and, ultimately, the duration of the stalking experience should be included in the definition (Pathe & Mullen, 1997; Sheridan et al 2003a; Jagessar & Sheridan, 2004). Research studies have also identified a host of stalking motivations which can be included in the definition. Some examples of these stalking motivations are as follows: relational break up, expression of love, sexual preoccupation and road-rage (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007). Finally, researchers have argued that the psychological, social and economic impact of stalking victimisation should also be included. However, other researchers disagree (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007). Agreeing upon a definition that comprises all of these features has proven to be difficult as there is a lack of agreement as to the essential aspects to be given priority. Nonetheless, definitions of stalking continue to be developed largely and particularly from clinical and legal research. I
will now explore the definitions from these two areas in detail.

In their definition of stalking, clinicians have concentrated on the perceived and actual threat to or harassment of an individual (Meloy & Gothard, 1995). For instance, Mullen et al (1999:1244) defines stalking as a "constellation of behaviours in which one individual inflicts on another repeated unwanted intrusions and communications and/or contacts". While other definitions from clinicians have been proposed (see Pathe & Mullen, 1997; Mullen et al 2000; Sheridan, 2001) no consensus amongst clinicians exists. For example, some argue a definition should include the prerequisite that a victim must experience fear to be truly stalked but others disagree (Westrup, 1998). Adding to this confusion some clinicians have developed their own definition of stalking yet they have rejected the label of stalking altogether. For example, Meloy (1996) chooses to call stalking 'obsessional following' in order to distinguish it from legal and non-technical ways the term stalking is used. His definition of stalking emphasizes the obsessional nature of the behaviour directed towards another person over a long period of time. Other clinicians have decided the term 'obsessional behaviour' is preferable to stalking; however, there is a lack of consensus as to what is meant by obsessional (Meloy, 1996; Westrup, 1998). While clinicians continue to develop definitions of stalking, all have found it difficult to define (Westrup, 1998). To resolve this issue, clinicians Sheridan and Davies (2001) suggest that 'stalking' should be considered in the same way as 'great art', it is difficult to define but you know it when you see it.

Legislatures have also struggled to develop a definition of stalking. This is illustrated in anti-stalking legislation in the United States of America, England, Australia, Canada, New
Zealand and continental European countries. All of these countries have adopted different definitions. This lack of consistency in defining the term stalking is highlighted in America and Australia. Across their respective states different definitions of stalking exist in spite of guidelines existing for legislators to follow (Mullen et al 2000).

Here in England, legislators have also not been able to define stalking. This is in spite of MP Janet Anderson’s Private Member’s Bill including a definition of stalking. The definition of stalking in this Bill made it an offence to “follow, watch, approach by telephone, interfere with property, leave offensive materials or regularly visit so that the other person is likely to be harassed, alarmed, distressed or to fear for their own safety” (Independent 11 May 1996:35). In spite of cross party support in both the Commons and the Lords, the Conservative Government rejected the Bill and its definition of stalking. Michael Howard, the then Home Secretary, stated that the Bill was unworkable as it criminalised many innocent activities. However, in rejecting this Bill, the backlash from the media and campaigners continued until the Conservative’s own proposals for anti-stalking legislation were published (Finch, 2002). Yet, the Government’s proposals outlined in their public consultation document ‘Stalking, the Solutions’ contained no definition of stalking at all (Home Office, 1996). Instead the consultation document focused on the problems of defining stalking:

"The term stalking does not apply to a particular action or kind of action which can easily be defined in legal terms and prohibited. There is a risk that if the scope of the new legislation to deal with stalking is not carefully defined it will criminalise everyday behaviour of innocent people." (Home Office, 1996: paragraph 4.1)

A legislative response finally came in the form of the Protection from Harassment Act (1997) which was enacted a year after the public consultation on anti-stalking legislation
ended, although the question of what constitutes stalking was still left open and indeed the term stalking was not included in the Act, so complex were the problems of definition (Guardian, 11 July, 1996). So, in spite of a definition of stalking in Janet Anderson's Private Members Stalking Bill, developing a legally acceptable definition was problematic:

"Legislation enacted to combat stalking and cases involving conduct that was labelled stalking have not generated generally applicable definitions of the conduct." (Finch, 2001:1)

This lack of clarity on how to define stalking has severely affected the estimates of how many people are stalked (Sheridan et al 2001a). One of the earliest research studies into stalking was the National Violence against Women Survey (1998) in which 16,000 American women and men were contacted by telephone and asked about their experiences of stalking victimisation. The survey utilised a definition of stalking as: "a course of conduct directed at a specific person that involves repeated (two or more occasions) visual or physical proximity, non consensual communication, or verbal, written or implied threats, or a combination thereof, that would cause a reasonable person fear" (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998: 2). To be classified as a victim of stalking, respondents were required to feel a "high level" of fear. With this prerequisite, this study estimated that 8.2 million women and 2 million men were likely to have been stalked during the previous year and 8% of women and 2% of men in America will experience stalking victimisation at some point in their lives. These figures were much higher than previous guesstimates (Dietz, 1991; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). However, when the researchers utilised a broader definition of stalking, where respondents only had to feel "somewhat" or "a little" frightened by their stalkers' behaviours, the putative lifetime stalking prevalence rose to 12% for women and 4% for men. Interestingly, when respondents were asked "Have you ever been stalked?", stalking prevalence rates doubled for women and tripled for men. This finding illustrates how
definitions of stalking and framing of survey questions can influence prevalence rates (Tjaden et al 2000; Mullen & Pathe, 2002).

In spite of these difficulties, international research continues to estimate the prevalence of stalking in both community and special samples. The first ever epidemiological community study into stalking asked Australian women about their experiences of victimisation. Sampling 6,300 women, it concluded 15% of women are likely to be stalked during their lifetime, and 2.4% of them had been stalked the previous year (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1996). The first ever large scale survey into stalking in Britain, the British Crime Survey (1998), concluded that 16.1% of women and 6.8% of men had been subject to stalking during their lifetime and in the previous year 2.9% of adults had been stalked (Budd & Mattinson, 2000). In successive British Crime Surveys (2001; 2004/5) the number of women and men stalked during their lives rose to 19% and 12% in 2001 and 23% and 15% in 2004/5 (Walby & Allen, 2004; Finney, 2006). Finally, Purcell et al’s (1999) random survey of 3,700 Australian adults found that one in four of these individuals had experienced stalking during the course of their lives, 75% of which were women and 2.9% of adults had been stalked the year before. Across these large scale studies prevalence varies, with lifetime risks of females experiencing stalking victimisation ranging from 8% and 32% and between 2% and 7% for men (Pinals, 2007).

In non-representative samples, a higher prevalence of victimisation is often illustrated. This is highlighted in Spitzberg and Cupach (2003) meta-analysis of research studies. Their study concluded that in general populations an incidence rate of 13.9% exists. However, clinical and forensic populations have an incidence rate of 32.6%. Higher stalking
prevalence rates have also been illustrated amongst other non-representative groups including trade union members, college undergraduates, politicians, public figures, university staff and counsellors. The prevalence rates in these samples range from 5.6% to 33% (Fremouw et al 1997; Romans et al 1996; Sheridan et al 2001a; Malsch et al 2002). This skewing of prevalence results in specific populations may be for a number of reasons, for example: a sample of college students may be more likely to be aware of the issue of stalking and therefore more likely to report victimisation (Pinals, 2007).

Whilst there is some confusion over prevalence rates, what is clear is that women are far more likely to be stalked than men - 75% to 80% of all stalking victims are women. These women are usually aged from twenty to thirty years of age (Fremouw et al 1997; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998; Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Douglas & Dutton, 2001; Sheridan et al 2001a; Spitzberg, 2002; Purcell et al 2002; Brown, 2003; Sheridan, 2005). So whilst stalking is a gender neutral crime i.e. both women and men can be stalked; women have a far greater chance of being stalked than men. One study claims that one in three English women will be stalked at some point during the course of their lives (Sheridan et al 2001a).

Consequently, it is clear that the model victim of a stalker is a woman (Meloy, 1999; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2000). Whilst a woman is the model victim, the model stalker is nearly always male. Commonly, he is aged between 35-40 years of age, he possesses an above average education, is often unemployed and has a history of psychiatric problems (Mullen & Pathe, 1994; Harmon et al 1995; Burgess et al 1997). Normally, the male stalker is the female victim’s former intimate partner and it is this particular characteristic of stalking - the relationship between the stalker and their victim- that has been the focus of a great deal of research attention and the development of a number of classifications.
One of the most widely cited classifications is based on a forensic sample of stalkers. Zona et al’s (1993) classification categorises stalkers as either erotomaniacs or love obsessionals or simple obsessionals. The erotomaniac is usually a female, who holds onto the delusion that their male victim (for example, a male celebrity figure) is in love with them. The next category is the love obsessional. These stalkers, who are again usually women, have had no actual relationship with their victim. Yet the stalker continues to love the object of their affection. The final category is the simple obsessionals. These individuals have had an intimate relationship with their victim however they are unable to accept that the relationship has ended. Consequently, they stalk their victims in an attempt to rekindle their relationship. In prevalence terms this is the commonest of the three categories. While this classification is widely cited in research studies, other classifications exist including: Harmon et al’s (1995) bi-axial clinical classification which categorises stalkers according to the nature of the prior relationship with their victim and the nature of the attachment between the stalker and the victim, and Mullen et al’s (2000) multi-axial classification which is based on the stalkers’ motivation to stalk, the prior relationship between the stalker and the victim and the psychiatric diagnosis of the stalker. Although I have referenced the most commonly cited classifications, other classifications exist. In fact Spitzberg and Cupach (2007) identify over 24 classifications. Such a number has resulted in widespread disagreement on their use, development and conceptualization (Mullen & Pathe 2002). Consequently, how to classify stalkers and their victims is now considered one of the most controversial areas of research into stalking (Meloy, 1996; Douglas & Dutton, 2001; Sheridan & Davies, 2001; Brewster, 2003a; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007).

From this introductory review of the literature, the problems of how to define stalking, how common it is, and how to classify stalkers and their victims has been shown to be
problematical (Westrup & Fremouw, 1998). However, what is clear is that, women are far more likely to experience stalking victimisation than men and these women are usually stalked by their former male intimate partners. In the following section, I now want to explore this theme further, as to who are the victims of stalkers. In particular, I want to focus on how stalking has been constructed as a problem behaviour for women as victims and the dominant discourses that have evolved around this. By way of introduction to the next section, I briefly introduce the ideas associated with social constructionism.

1.4 AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM

The research literature states that stalking is a serious social problem (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998; Bjerregaard, 2000; Rosenfeld, 2000; Infield & Platford, 2000; Sheridan & Davies 2001). In the following section, I am interested in exploring how stalking has been constructed as a serious social problem. In accomplishing this, I will draw on the work of philosopher Michel Foucault and sociologist Howard Becker amongst others to explore the dominant discourses that claims-makers – campaigners and activists - make about stalking, as they seek to provide the truth about stalking (Spector & Kitsuse, 1977; Foucault, 1980). I will also explore the surfaces stalking has emerged on, and what and who has the authority to talk about it. In doing so, I will illustrate what can and what cannot be discussed about stalking (Foucault, cited in Anderson, 2003). As I explore the construction of stalking as a problem it will become clear how my own study differs from the existing body of research into stalking. To begin this endeavour I present an introduction to social constructionism theory, which is particularly important in understanding activities undertaken by campaigners and activists.
Social constructionist theorists argue that social problems are activities undertaken by campaigners and activists. They put forward a definition of a problematic condition and try and convince others of the seriousness of a “repugnant” issue (Spector and Kitsuse, 1977:78; Kennedy & Sacco, 1998). As Spector and Kitsuse (1977:75-76) state:

“Our definition of social problems focuses on the processes by which members of a society define a putative condition as a social problem. Thus, we define social problems as the activities of individuals or groups making assertions of grievances and claims with respect to some putative conditions. The emergence of a social problem is contingent upon the organisation of activities asserting the need for eradicating, ameliorating or otherwise changing some conditions.”

Claims about a problem are asserted as social facts, prioritized, and organized into stories through activities such as a newspaper story or a television programme. Spector and Kitsuse (1977) draw heavily on the work of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966) to understand how a social problem is constructed. Berger and Luckmann (1966) argue that knowledge reflects the common sense world for the man on the street as people have both a subjective reality which is reflective of the ideas of those who construct it and an objective reality which is perceived to be as true. Berger and Luckmann (1966) argue that the social construction of reality is created through interaction between actors, society itself and the concepts within it which are then created:

"And in so far as all human knowledge is developed, transmitted and maintained in social situations, the sociology of knowledge is developed, transmitted and maintained in social situations, the sociology of knowledge must seek to understand the processes by which this is done in a way that a taken for granted "reality" congeals for the man in the street. In other words, we contend that the sociology of knowledge is concerned with the analysis of the social construction of reality." (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 15)

In relation to stalking, I am interested in exploring how the problem of stalking -- the subjective experiences of stalking victimisation -- has been transformed into a serious social problem which cannot be denied and must now be reckoned with (Berger & Luckmann,
1.5 BEING STALKED IS A PROBLEM FOR WOMEN

As stated before, prevalence rates illustrate that women are far more likely to be stalked than men. Indeed women are model victims (Meloy, 1999; Kamphuis & Emmelkamp, 2000). However, whilst statistics on stalking illustrate that women are far more likely to be stalked, campaigners and activists have also made stalking a problem primarily for women thereby creating a common societal understanding that it is only women who are stalked.

As a result of this male victims are considered an exception to the rule, and an "aberration" (Finch, 2001: 58). This dominant typification – women as the victims of stalkers- is illustrated in Lowney and Best’s (1995) review of American news reports from 1980-1993.

Lowney and Best’s (1995) review identified three stages of media coverage. During the first stage from 1980 to 1988 the media described stalking-like behaviours as psychological rape and obsessive following. Behaviours such as following an individual, letter writing and nuisance telephone calls were all recorded. However, in this stage the word ‘stalking’ was barely used. In the following stage from 1989-1991 the word stalker was used far more often, primarily to describe celebrity stalkers. The news coverage of the stalking and then murder of TV star Rebecca Schaeffer by fan Robert Bardo typified the problem of the celebrity stalker. The murder of Schaeffer was particularly important in the understanding of stalking as a serious social problem as it precipitated a public outcry, which resulted in the first example of anti-stalking legislation in America. In the final stage from 1993 onwards, the term stalking was commonly used. However, the victims of stalkers were not celebrities, rather they were ‘ordinary’ women stalked by a former male partner. And it is
this typification - women stalked by a former partner - that now dominates anti-stalking campaigns in America (Lowney & Best, 1995). Resonating strongly with their American neighbours, the problem of stalking, in Canada, also emphasized ordinary women as stalking victims whilst also highlighting the violent nature of stalking victimisation (Cavicchi, 2005). Here in England, Finch (2001) argues that the problem of stalking was not simply exported to England from America, yet there were clear similarities. Mirroring the campaigns in America and Canada, the media coverage in England moved away from celebrity victims to ordinary women (Finch, 2001). However, there was a difference. In America and Canada the stalker was more likely to be stalked by an ex-intimate while in England the stalker was more likely to be characterised as a mentally disordered individual (Mullen et al 2000).

To provide context to my own study, I reviewed several English newspapers’ anti-stalking campaigns. Whilst reviewing these newspapers it was clear that the problem of stalking was, and still is, typified as a problem for women.

In the early to mid nineties media articles in England focused on female celebrities’ experiences of stalking victimisation (Spitzberg & Cadiz, 2002). For example, the media reported on the stalkers of singer Madonna and Princess Diana (this interest in celebrity stalking is also reflected in academic research, see for example Meloy, 1998). However, at the same time the English press also began to report on stories of ordinary women’s experiences of victimisation:
"Women are stalked, harassed and pestered to the point of severe depression and anxiety yet cannot rely on the criminal law to come to their rescue." (The Guardian September 26 1996:17)

Campaigners and activists provided a number of typifying examples of ordinary women’s experiences of stalking victimisation. These examples of stalking victimisation became "mini portraits" with which the public become familiar with (Surette, 2007: 42). One such "mini portrait" is Tracey Morgan’s experience of stalking victimisation (Surette, 2007: 42). Her experience of victimisation began when she befriended Anthony Burstow, a fellow employee at the naval base at which she worked. However, Burstow soon became obsessed with Morgan. This resulted in his bombarding her with phone calls, sending her poison pen letters, her underwear being stolen, oil poured over her car and following her everywhere she went (Sunday Mirror 9th November 2003). Later on he moved into a house 500 yards from her home and legally took the surname of her boyfriend (source: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/150718.stm). Although Morgan did inform the police, and this resulted in Burstow being arrested over twenty times, he continued to stalk her. Even when Burstow was sent to prison, he continued to stalk her by sending letters. Only when Burstow was found guilty of murdering another woman and was sentenced to life imprisonment did the stalking finally stop.

Morgan’s frustration at the lack of legal protection for herself resulted in her seeking greater legislative protection for all victims. Working alongside others, she became a moral entrepreneur crusading to right a society evil and, in doing so, she converted her personal trouble into a public issue (Becker, 1963). Her campaigning work has been widely recognised through the Network for Surviving Stalking which she founded. Indeed when anti-stalking legislation was enacted, Lord Falconer, the then Lord Chancellor, said the
following of Morgan and her work to combat stalking victimisation:

"Tracey Morgan's own experience of stalking and subsequent campaign for legislation helped to bring about the introduction of the Protection from Harassment Act 1997." (Source: www.secure.nss.org.uk/3933/lord.html)

The media has also recognised Morgan's campaigning work to protect victims, with the Daily Mail naming her as one of their 'Woman of Achievement' in 2004:

"Tracey Morgan, 35, lived in the shadow of a stalker for four years. She was distraught to find the law could not protect her and, thanks to her determination, he became the first person to be convicted of causing psychological grievous bodily harm in 1996, making legal history." (Daily Mail March 11, 2004: 44)

Diana Lamplugh, who at the time was the Chief Executive of the Suzy Lamplugh Trust was another influential voice in the construction of stalking as a serious social problem (Daily Mirror May 9, 1996). The still unsolved disappearance of her daughter Suzy was used as another typifying example of an innocent victim stalked by a predatory stalker. However, when Suzy originally went missing in 1986, media reports of her abduction described a man named Mr Kipper as her possible kidnapper (The Sun 2 August 1986). At the time of Suzy's disappearance the term 'stalking' was not commonly used. However, ten years later the term 'stalking' existed and provided Diana Lamplugh with a word which helped her to make sense of what may have happened to her daughter:

"We had never heard of stalking. Maybe if we had, our lives might have been quite different." (Daily Mirror, May 9, 1996: 9)

She goes on to say that:
"Suzy was stalked by the man who most likely killed her. She had told us about the constant phone calls, the man who kept asking her out, who offered to buy a house for her, and the man she felt was so scary. This went on for six months." (Daily Mirror May 9 1996: 9)

Diana Lamplugh was able to retrospectively interpret the disappearance of her daughter as 'stalking', as a new publicly understandable term had evolved. This development facilitated a shared understanding of stalking in a publicly understandable way (Searle, 1999). As Suzy's disappearance was interpreted as an example of stalking, it fitted with her mother's campaign for better protection for all potential and actual female victims of stalkers.

Another voice campaigning for anti-stalking legislation was Evonne von Heussen, who founded the National Anti-Stalking and Harassment Campaign (NASH). NASH's contribution to the campaign for improved protection for victims was to illustrate the prevalence of the problem. NASH reported that from January 1994 to January 1996, 6,072 stalking victims had contacted their crisis line and that 17 stalking related deaths had taken place between 1994 and 1995 (von Heussen, 2000). Campaigning organisations, such as NASH, produce statistics to illustrate the size of the problem, which helps to shape public opinion about the need for intervention, and their statistics are frequently cited in Government papers (Home Office, 1996: 1.8) and in the media (see for example Guardian 30 September 1996). Together Morgan, Lamplugh and von Heussen campaigned for better legal protection for female stalking victims. For them, whilst individual legal statutes could deal with the separate components of stalking, for example the receipt of malicious phone calls could be prosecuted under the Telephone Communications Act (1984), the repetitive use of behaviours in stalking scenarios made it cumbersome and difficult to prosecute individual offences. Consequently, the legal response to stalking victimisation was
perceived as piecemeal and failed to deal with the sum total of victims' experiences (Infield & Platford, 2002; Petch, 2002). As a result of this, Morgan, Lamplugh and Von Heussen launched an anti-stalking legislation campaign for women during International Women's Week (Daily Mirror 11 May 1996). Although the success of any campaign is determined not only by the range of campaigning activities but also by how much the wider community share the goals of the campaigners and activists, it is the media that helps to communicate key campaign messages.

The media can be both primary claims-makers, for example when they seek out information and write stories for campaigns, and/or secondary claims-makers when they translate the claims made by campaigners and activists (Best, 1999; Loeske, 2003). Whilst the media facilitates campaigners and activists' aims to reach a wide audience, the media do not just tell their audience about the problem, they can also cultivate perceptions about the nature of the problem (Spitzberg & Cadiz, 2002). Thus they may shape the ways in which their audience define situations and interpret the world around them (Altheide & Michalowski, 1999; Jordan et al 1999-2000).

The influence of the media, in the construction of stalking as a social problem, has already been noted in countries, such as America, where the media "played no small part in the avalanche of political activity" and in Australia, where stalking has been constructed and refined as a result of the public response to the media (Ogilvie, 2000; Spitzberg & Cadiz, 2002: 133).
Here in England, the media response to stalking victimisation has been characterised as "media hysteria" (Conaghan, 1999: 205). Consequently, anti-stalking legislation was considered "a piece of ephemera built on media hype" (Mullen et al 2001a: 14). Therefore, the response to the problem of stalking was more a response to media attention than a response to the problem of stalking. Consequently, there was a "danger in the Government's proposals [for anti-stalking legislation] that they are a precipitate response to the problem resulting from recent media attention" (Allen, 1996). Without a doubt the English media were extremely influential in shaping stalking into a serious problem and I will explore the role of the media in more detail in the following pages.

In England, the media reported typifying examples of female stalking victims. These examples focused on the innocence and helplessness of victims, versus stalkers who pose a threat to established norms and values. For example, media articles on Tracey Morgan describe her as "pretty" (The Sun, 28 November 1998: 35) and someone who had greatly suffered because of stalking victimisation:

[She]"suffered serious clinical depression as a result of his obsessive three year campaign." (The Guardian September 26 1996: 17)

In contrast to Morgan, her stalker Burstow is described as "twisted" (Daily Mirror March 4 1999: 22) and "sinister" (Mail on Sunday September 3 2000: 13). Generally, the media reports constantly compare Morgan’s goodness to Burstow’s evil nature. More recently the stalking and murder of Clare Bernal in 2006 received extensive media coverage. Media descriptions of Bernal’s stalker are very similar to Morgan and her stalker. Media reports described Bernal as "gentle and sensitive" and a "trusting angel" (The Sun September 27 2005: 22) who had a "beautiful smile and kind eyes" (Mail on Sunday September 18 2005:
16). In contrast, Clare's ex-boyfriend is described as a "deviant" who was a "psycho" and "lunatic" (The Sun September 19 2005: 13; The Sun September 17 2005: 1). The media framing of the stalking problem constantly reinforces the images of an innocent female victim stalked by a mentally ill and dangerous man. This typification is a prominent feature of all anti-stalking campaigns (Kappeler et al 1996; Loeske, 2003).

The campaigns for anti-stalking legislation in 1996 drew extensively upon victims' stories. Several newspapers also asked their readers to send in their own stories of stalking victimisation and readers responded in their thousands. For example the Daily Mirror (May 15 1996: 2): was "inundated with letters and phone calls of support" from female readers who shared their own experiences of victimisation:

"About 4 years ago Barbara Green was shot whilst working in a library in a Yorkshire village. She was a victim of a stalker. He had pestered her to go out with her and sent her flowers. At first she treated the whole thing as a joke but eventually sought police protection when he threatened to kill her unless she went out with him. He still managed to shoot her. That lady was my cousin and I am amazed that after all this time, nothing seems to have changed and that stalking still goes on. Well done, Daily Mirror and Janet Anderson MP for highlighting this problem. Brenda Brown, Chatham, Kent." (Daily Mirror May 21 1996: 29)

The media was deluged with stories of innocent women targeted by predatory stalkers. This dominant typification was widely used in anti-stalking campaigns and it helped to successfully secure anti-stalking legislation in the form of the Protection from Harassment Act (1997).

As I have illustrated, pressure for anti-stalking legislation came from the media, victims, and campaigning organisations. Together they helped to typify the problem of victimisation as a problem for women, trying to escape predatory and violent stalkers. In contrast to how
stalking was constructed as a problem; anti-stalking legislation in the form of the Protection of Harassment Act (1997) was drafted in broad strokes, and did not prescribe any specific framing of the problem. The Act made no mention of who the victims of stalkers are; instead the Act adopts a general approach to the conduct that was prohibited (please see Appendix A for a copy of the Protection from Harassment Act (1997) in full). As I have already discussed earlier on in this chapter, the legislation does not define stalking at all such is the complexity of developing a satisfactory definition. However, neither did the Act define harassment or prohibit any stalking behaviours (Finch, 2002). Rather it states that a person must not pursue a course of conduct that amounts to harassment which causes distress and alarm (Finch, 2002).

In summary, the Act created a number of new offences and also new court orders to help protect victims. The key components of the Act include a Section 2 offence which is the offence of committing a course of conduct which amounts to harassment of another. This offence is punishable by six months' imprisonment and/or a fine. More serious is the offence set out in Section 4, of putting people in fear that violence will be used against them. This is punishable by five years’ imprisonment and/or fine. Section 3 of the Act included the provision that enables a victim of harassment to take civil proceedings against the perpetrator. The purpose of this section was to provide an alternative means of protection for them in cases where the criminal sanction is inappropriate or not available. Finally, section 5 of the Act includes one of the more important features introduced by the legislation, it allowed the courts to impose a restraining order. Given that stalkers have a strong motivation to continue to distress victims, the introduction of a restraining order aimed to prevent further harassment. As this thesis progresses I will further explore these
provisions in more detail. Suffice to say here that although the Protection from Harassment Act (1997) was enacted, many campaigners deem it to be inadequate as it fails to sufficiently protect victims.

The inability of the legislation to protect victims was clearly seen when Clare Bernal was stalked and then killed by her former boyfriend in spite of her calls to the police to protect her. In response to her murder The Sun newspaper initiated another anti-stalking campaign - "The Sun says stamp out stalking: Sun campaign" (The Sun February 27 2006: 31). As with earlier campaigns, The Sun asked their female readers to send in their stalking stories (The Sun February 28 2006). For this campaign, The Sun united with Bernal's mother, Tracey Morgan and Refuge (a domestic violence charity) to "tackle this terrible crime" with the aim of providing victims of stalkers with a national helpline (The Sun February 27, 2006: 31; The Sun February 28 2006). What is interesting in this particular campaign is the alignment of stalking with domestic violence, a connection which is strongly reflected in the empirical research literature (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998; Harmon et al 1998; McFarlane et al 2000; Walker & Meloy, 2002; Walby & Allen, 2004; Swanberg et al 2006). The connection between stalking and domestic violence explores how a wide range of (stalking) behaviours can be used by a man to either instigate a relationship or rekindle a relationship after it breaks down (Jason et al 1984; Spitzberg, 2002 (Carins-Way, 1994; Walker & Meloy, 1998; Farnham et al 2000; Mechanic, 2000; Rosenfeld, 2000; Burgess et al 2001; Finch, 2001, Mullen & Pathe 2002; Melton, 2005).

Over the years, research supporting the connection between stalking and domestic violence has grown rapidly. Research has explored abusers’ motivations (Burgess 1997), power
relations in intimate stalking relationships (Brewster, 2003b) the trajectory of the
domestic/stalking male abuser through the criminal justice system (Dunn 2002), and
treatments to resolve a domestically violent stalking situation (Roberts & Dziegielewski,
1996). Descriptions of domestically violent stalkers have also been suggested, as has a
‘batterer’ typology (Dziegielewski & Roberts, 1995; Walker & Meloy, 1998). This
association has also been reinforced in police policy, which frames stalking as a component
doing violence rather than a criminal behaviour in its own right (Spence-Diehl &
Potocky-Tripodi, 2001). My own review of research databases also illustrates how this
connection between stalking and domestic violence continues to be an area of prolific
research as researchers seek to understand the experience of partner violence and stalking
(Swanberg et al 2006). However, some researchers question how much stalking can be
considered a form of domestic violence (Brewster, 1998; Walker & Meloy, 1998; Douglas
&Dutton, 2001; Baldry, 2002; Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 2006).

Mirroring the wider body of research, the relational literature has also struggled to define
stalking. For example, Haugaard and Seri (2004:38) label stalking behaviours as “intrusive
contact which may or not be obsessional in nature”. In contrast, Spitzberg and Cupach
(2003) developed the concept of ‘obsessive relational intrusion’ which are behaviours that
are considered frustrating and annoying but not necessarily threatening. However, if the
behaviours do become threatening, they are then considered stalking behaviours.
Meanwhile Langhinrichsen-Rohling (2000) focuses on the concept of unwanted pursuit
behaviours which occur after an intimate relationship has ended and which can culminate in
stalking. In spite of the problems of defining stalking in relation to domestic violence,
research connecting stalking and domestic violence continues to grow as I have illustrated
and there seems to be an overlap between domestic violence and stalking.

For campaigners, this connection between stalking and domestic violence provided a vehicle for women's groups to demand greater protection for women as well as providing a means of keeping the issue of violence against women in the public domain (Lowney & Best, 1995). The connection between stalking and domestic violence has contributed to the acceptance of stalking as a problem. Linking stalking with domestic violence raised the concern and the public profile of the “linked” subject i.e. stalking (Surette, 2007: 38). On the other hand, by connecting stalking to an already established form of female victimisation it reiterates how stalking victimisation is viewed as a problem solely for women.

Campaigners and the media have typified the victim of stalkers as women who are usually escaping a violent relationship. They have repeatedly produced a discourse about women as stalking victims, and it is their voices that are heard in media discourse. This construction has resulted in men's experiences being much less visible in the media and academic literature (Spitzberg, 2002). This study, in a small way, seeks to address this, by exploring male experiences.

I have now established females are perceived as the victims of stalkers and conversely men are not. I now want to turn to the two dominant discourses that have evolved around stalking victimisation. In doing so, I will identify both the surfaces of emergence on which stalking behaviour has appeared and who has authority to speak about stalking (Foucault, 1974). In doing so, it will become clear that my study differs from the established
discourses surrounding stalking.

1.6 THE DOMINANT ACADEMIC DISCOURSES ON STALKING BEHAVIOUR

Clinical discourse

A phrase that is often repeated in the research literature is that "stalking is an old behaviour but a new crime" (Meloy 1999: 5). This statement is supported by expert opinion that argues that stalking behaviour has a lengthy fictional history (Brewster, 2003a). For example, Dr Meloy, a leading psychologist in the field of stalking, argues that Othello stalks Desdemona in Shakespeare's Othello (Meloy, 1998). Similarly, Dante Alighieri's love for Beatrice in La Vita Nuova has been interpreted as stalking, although Dart (2003), a lecturer in English and a stalking victim himself, has questioned this reading and argues that this poem is an illustration of courtly love rather than stalking (Mullen et al 2000; Mullen et al 2001a). Other fiction is also said to include stalking, for example The Long Fatal Love Chase (1868) a novel by the author of Little Woman Louisa May Alcott, Tempest's pursuit of Rosamund around Europe is also supposed to represent stalking behaviour (Finch, 2001). All of these accounts, which have been retrospectively interpreted as stalking, illustrate that, whilst stalking appears to be an old behaviour, the public worry associated with stalking is new (Loeske, 2003).

While stalking-like behaviours have been identified in historical fiction, it is in the clinical literature that stalking has truly found its home (Badcock, 2002). The clinical disorder regularly associated with stalkers is erotomania - a mania of love - which is caused by
unrequited love (Zona et al 1993). Individuals who suffer from this disorder obsessively think about the one they love which can result in the following behaviour:

"Under the influence of such obsession, the erotomaniac becomes an amorous stalker he can mercilessly pursue the object of his love, and from writing and mild importuning he may progress onto direct approaches, aggression and criminal acts." (Berrios & Kennedy, 2003: 391);

and

"Following, loitering, pursuing the person in public and spending their income and most of their waking hours taken up with their quest." (Goldstein, 1987: 267)

Up until the ‘discovery’ of stalking, erotomania was considered relatively rare. Consequently, very little clinical attention was given to this disorder (Berrios & Kennedy 2003). In more recent times, the only notable interest in erotomania was by the French psychiatrist De Clerambault (erotomania is sometimes also called De Clerambault syndrome), in the early part of the twentieth century. He presented a number of case studies including a case study of a French woman who, in love in with the King, loitered outside Buckingham Palace waiting for a sign from him (De Clerambault, 1942). However, it was not until the ‘discovery’ of stalking that clinicians gave more serious thought to erotomania, with the similarities in behaviour and high prevalence rates of stalkers, suffering erotomania, facilitating this connection (Meloy, 1996; Rosenfeld, 2000). However, whilst erotomania is the most commonly associated clinical disorder with stalking, stalking has also been connected with other disorders including Axis 1 disorders - mood and psychotic disorders and sexual and gender adjustment disorders - and Axis 2 disorders which include mental retardation and personality disorders (Meloy, 1996; Mullen et al 1999; Rosenfeld, 2000).
In spite of the evidence linking stalking with various clinical disorders, other researchers argue that the connection has been greatly exaggerated (Badcock, 2002). They argue that the evidence substantiating this link is based on rare case studies, anecdotal reports and unrepresentative research samples that are made up of in-and/or out-patients of mental institutions. They make a case that, due to the unrepresentative nature of these samples, it is unsurprising that a connection between stalking and various disorders has been made (Westrup & Fremouw, 1998; Emerson et al 1998; Finch, 2001; O'Conner et al 2004).

In spite of these criticisms, clinical research continues to be undertaken. This research tries to understand the genesis of this behaviour i.e. what causes individuals to stalk other people (Mullen et al 2001b). What is the explanation of a behaviour that continues in spite of a victim’s protestations, family and friends’ pleas, the intervention of the criminal justice system and even the imprisonment of stalkers? (Dunn, 2001). And what can be done to stop them? The clinical discourse seeks to answers these questions by drawing upon the expertise of scientists to find out what motivates stalkers:

"Stalking is bad (anti-social) behaviour done by mad (angry or psychotic) or both people." (Meloy 1997: 181)

and

"I deal with mentally disordered offenders from the more violent end of the spectrum: murders, rapists, sometimes even killers he [Dr Edward Petch, a forensic psychologist] says. But in terms of my own safety, it is the stalkers who keep me up at night. I find myself worrying about what they are capable of, and the degree of disturbance, trying to establish what is driving them." (The Guardian 29 January 2000: 26)

According to Becker (1967), scientific discourse produced by (psy) experts is a discourse of 'official' truth. As science is based on an objective search for knowledge, people believe
scientists (Loeske, 2003). Consequently, psy-experts who are (psy) chiatrists and (psy)
chologists enhance campaigns, because they are further up the hierarchy of credibility. So when
they speak about stalking, for example, the media, the general public and victims, take notice
because they "know more about things than laymen" (Becker, 1967: 242). As scientific experts
espouse 'official truth' in the form of hard facts and universal truths it is unsurprising that (psy)
experts are frequently asked by the media for their professional views (Gusfield, 1984,
Gergen, 1999). For example, the media often ask Dr Edward Petch and Dr Lorraine
Sheridan for their opinion. These two (psy) experts leave no doubt as to how stalking
behaviour is to be understood:

"Stalking is behaviour, not a condition. A very high proportion of stalkers will be mentally ill;
maybe 75% will have a psychological abnormality. It's common sense, but it needs to be
stated. All psychiatric diagnoses are possible - schizophrenia, mood disorders, morbid
infatuation, even substance abuse." (The Guardian 29 January 2000: 26)

Dr. Lorraine Sheridan, a psychologist working from Heriot Watt University, is a leading
academic researcher into stalking and her opinion is often sought out by the media (for
example, The Sun 24 September 2005). She has also collaborated with campaigning
organisations, such as the Suzy Lamplugh Trust and the Network for Surviving Stalking, to
produce research (2001b; 2005). From a social constructionist perspective, Sheridan's
collaboration with both these charities establishes a beneficial relationship for both of them.
By aligning themselves with an academic, the charities' campaigns are presented in unison
with an authoritative voice, a voice that is near the top in the hierarchy of credibility. Who
Sheridan is, and what she knows, means that her opinion is more likely to be believed,
which supports the charities' respective anti-stalking campaigns. For Sheridan, her
association with these charities has enabled her to access stalking victims whose stories she
has used in her large body of research into stalking (Loeske, 2003).
The aim of campaigners and activists, via the media, is to persuade people to think and feel about a social problem in a specific way. The clinical discourse espoused by psy-experts is faithfully (re) produced in media descriptions of stalkers, with terms such as ‘oddball’ and ‘crazy’ used to describe them. Victims of stalkers also leave no-one in doubt as to how stalking behaviour should be understood. For example, campaigner and chief executive of the Network for Surviving Stalking Tracey Morgan would like to see the introduction of mandatory psychiatric assessment for all those accused of stalking (Finch, 2001).

Kamir (2001) in her review of the evolution of stalking as a problem behaviour provides an explanation as to why a clinical discourse quickly established itself as the means to explain stalking behaviour. She draws on Foucault's article on "The Dangerous Individual" (1978) to explain the rise of a clinical discourse around stalking in recent times. Kamir describes how Foucault reported how a psychiatric discourse grew up around the mental disorder Monomania, a type of insanity that can result in murder. According to Foucault, the (public) demand to explain Monomania resulted in the development of a psychiatric discourse to explain the behaviour and helped to (re) establish security and social order. The analogy made between Monomania and stalking is that stalking resulted in the need for a public explanation and a clinical and scientific discourse provided the answers the public demanded.

During this section, I have illustrated that clinical discourse has evolved around stalking and that this scientific discourse is presented as truth in the literature with experts in the field expressing this truth (Foucault, 1980). I now want to turn my attention to the second dominant discourse developed around stalking - a legal discourse.
Legal discourse

Reviews of legal documents illustrate that stalking has been a problem for many centuries, with legal reports of stalking as far back as the Roman era. (Sheridan et al 2003a). More recently, a legal discourse that constitutes stalkers and their victims in terms of legal wrongdoing and harm against the victim has become established as the means of addressing the problem of stalking. Together with its corresponding processes, for example the trial of a stalker this discourse facilitates the construction of stalking as a criminal justice matter:

"As stalking emerged as a serious and prevalent social problem, the presumption that the criminal justice system was the most appropriate means of addressing the problem appeared to emerge simultaneously." (Finch 2001: 254).

As a legal discourse is deemed to be the most appropriate means to deal with the stalking problem, criminal justice actors are often asked to comment on stalking cases reported in the media. For example, Detective Inspector Hamish Brown who set up an anti-stalking unit for the Metropolitan police force frequently comments on stalking cases (see Daily Mail 11 May 1999; Mail on Sunday 9 January 2000). Legal research into stalking has focused on two areas: how do you define stalking in anti-stalking legislation and does anti-stalking legislation protect victims of stalkers?

Mirroring the clinical discourse, the legal discourse has also found it difficult to define stalking in anti-stalking legislation. Should it be defined through a list of acts, which, if carried out by a person, amount to stalking, or, should a general statement that tries to encapsulate what stalking is be included in the legislation (Mullen et al 2000)? For example, most US states and Australian territories adopted the former. This method simply lists acts
which, if carried out by a person amount to stalking. For instance, the American state of Michigan states that stalking includes the following prohibited behaviour: approaching the individual, appearing at their workplace, entering or remaining in a property where the individual is, contacting the individual by phone, sending mail or electronic communications to the individual or sending mail or placing an object on that individual’s property (Mullen et al 2000). Other anti-stalking legislation adopted the general prohibition approach to stop stalking behaviour. For example, in Holland, the legislation defines it as: "He who unlawfully repeatedly wilfully intrudes upon a person’s privacy with intent to force that person to do something or to instigate fear in that person" (Malsch, 2007: 203).

Unsurprisingly, criticisms have been made of both these approaches. So, whilst the former approach – listing stalking acts - makes it easier for the courts, offenders and victims to know whether the behaviour is stalking, it can be rigid (a behaviour is stalking or it is not) and it can become outdated very quickly and so not accommodate new forms of stalking e.g. cyber-stalking. In contrast, general prohibition creates flexibility with the courts deciding what is understood as stalking or harassment at the time. However, this approach brings an element of laxity and uncertainty into the proceedings.

Aside from the legal debate as to how to define stalking as illustrated above, the principal area of legal research into stalking seeks to answer the question, of whether anti-stalking legislation makes a difference to stalking victims. Answering this question has resulted in a plethora of research ranging from Government departments' reviews of anti-stalking legislation (Harris, 2000); legal professionals' commentaries and explorations of the Act (Infield & Platford, 2002), and lastly, academics' reviews of anti-stalking legislation (Finch,
2001). I will explore this literature in far more detail in the following chapter suffice to say here that anti-stalking legislation does help victims, but only sometimes (Finch, 2001).

1.7 CONCLUSION

In this first chapter of my thesis I have provided the backdrop to my own study - a study that focuses on male stalking victimisation. I began this chapter by recalling my own experience of being stalked by a woman. This experience provided the impetus for me to develop an academic study into other men’s experiences of stalking victimisation.

In the second section of this chapter, I provided an introduction to the literature concerning stalking. Concentrating on key areas of research – the definition of stalking, prevalence figures and who are the victims and stalkers together with the relationship between the two – I have presented an overview of these components of research. Even in this initial review, an unclear picture of stalking has evolved. This was exemplified by how to define stalking - what is stalking? How stalking is defined dominates the research literature. Yet, in spite of questions posed around what stalking is, what it actually is, is not always clear. This lack of clarity regarding the definition of stalking has clearly had an impact on research, for example on prevalence rates. Nonetheless, what prevalence rates do illustrate is that women are far more likely to be stalked than men, who are commonly stalked by a former male partner. In my own study, given the difficulties of definition, I specifically focus on men who self-define as having been stalked.

Following on from the discussion of the key tenets of the stalking literature, I turned my attention to how stalking has been constructed as a problem. In doing so, I identified how
the problem of stalking has been constructed as a problem for women. I also identified the
dominant discourses that have evolved around it. In the *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1974)
Foucault argues that an object emerges on specific surfaces. I have identified that the object
‘stalking’, surfaced within clinical literature and the legal field. Stalking has been primarily
shaped by these discourses, with both of them delivering truth, either through the
breakthrough and interrogation of knowledge or the deliberations of court cases (Danaher et
al 2000). Stalking has also surfaced in the relational literature and is now recognised as a
fundamental component of the women’s experiences of domestic violence. Reflecting this
construction, female experiences are used as ‘mini portraits’ of stalking experiences;
consequently, it is females voices that have been given the right to speak about their
experiences. However, it is not only victims that speak about stalking experiences.
Reflecting the surfaces that stalking has emerged on, (psy) experts, who use a specialised
knowledge and language to explain why stalking occurs, for example: erotomania,
schizophrenia, paranoid personality disorder and so on, are also regularly quoted in the
media as are legal experts who seek to deter and punish stalkers and provide protection for
victims. Together, these discourses are produced again and again so that they are
parameters within which stalking is understood and research literature published (Danaher
et al 2000; O’Connor & Rosenfeld, 2004).

Having spent this chapter providing the backdrop to this research, I have barely mentioned
the chosen focus of my own research, male victims of stalking. This absence largely
reflects existing research as male victims sit outside the dominant discursive formation
(Danaher et al 2000; Spitzberg, 2002). Research utilizing a sociological perspective does
not have a strong presence either and, where it does exist, its focus is often on women or
solely hypothetical case studies of stalking which include male victims to gauge people's perceptions of them (Dunn, 2002; Cass, 2007).

As far as I am aware, no research currently focusing on the experiences of male victims utilising a qualitative and sociological framework, exists. This is especially surprising when research from England suggests that one in twenty men will be stalked during the course of their lives (Sheridan et al., 2002). Other research also warns that the experiences of male victims of stalking should not be ignored (Budd & Mattinson, 1998) because "many men are victims" (Mullen & Pathe, 2002:288). Summaries of research studies including *What do we know about stalking and where do we go now?* (Davis & Frieze, 2000) and *Known and Unknowns of Stalking* (Sheridan et al., 2003a) both suggest further research is undertaken into victimisation. This is what I am doing by studying the experiences of male victims of stalking.

### 1.8 MY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Berger (1963), in his classic text on sociology, states how a sociologist (and sociology) can open up doors to understand new voices. This is what I want to do, to give men an opportunity to tell their stories; giving them the same opportunity as women victims of stalking have already received (Logan et al., 2006). In doing so, my aim is to draw on a constellation of sociological theories to explore male experiences of stalking and to explore what this reveals via a sociological framework. Having already drawn on social constructionism I will go back to this theme and illustrate how this construction impacts on the participants' experiences. I will also draw on symbolic interactionist theorists and an ethnomethodological framework and the concept of discursive space (Willig, 2002) to...
understand the male victims' experiences. To provide a focus for this thesis I seek to answer the following two questions:

- What are the experiences of male victims of stalkers?
- How can we understand their experiences within a sociological framework?

1.9 OUTLINE OF THIS THESIS

This thesis consists of this introductory chapter followed by one literature review chapter and a methodology chapter. Following on from this chapter are five chapters of data analysis. The last chapter of this thesis is a discussion chapter that draws all the themes together and considers the results from my data analysis.

Chapter 2 examines the experiences of stalking victimisation. This review draws on the pertinent research to illustrate the behaviours experienced when being stalked, the impact of stalking on victims, and the help received. The final section of this chapter focuses on male victims of stalking. In this section, I firstly review quantitative literature and secondly, focus on media sources and research literature.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology and research design of this study. It builds on the emerging arguments from the literature review about the paucity of research into male victims. As very little is known about these victims, I adopted a grounded theoretical approach, as it supports researching a new area of study. I describe this approach. This chapter goes on to describe how the data was collected through a series of interviews with men who identified themselves as male victims of stalking. I discuss how I achieved this sample and the ethical issues involved in developing this research. I also explore some of
the challenges and limitations I faced in conducting this research.

Chapter 4 explores what the male participants in this research mean by the term 'stalking'. As defining stalking has proven to be problematic I have used the men's narratives to explore what they meant by stalking based on their own experiences. Utilizing concepts from a symbolic interactionist framework, amongst others, I seek to understand how men define stalking which is grounded in their own experience.

Chapter 5 discusses the participants' experiences of the criminal justice system. I identify the various strategies the men employ to engage with officials in order for their claims of stalking victimisation to be taken seriously; indeed how the participants attempt to accomplish victimisation. I also explore what taints these presentations.

Chapter 6 explores how the participants describe and understand their own masculine identity, and how this shapes their stalking experiences.

In Chapter 7 I explore how the participants use popular cultural depictions of stalking as a sense-making device for their own experiences. In particular, I look at two films referenced by the men, *Play Misty for Me* (1971) and *Fatal Attraction* (1987) exploring how they use the images of the fictional stalkers and apply them to their own experiences.

Chapter 8 focuses on how stalking impacts on some of the participants' identities. I consider how an individual's identity can be threatened and can even collapse by being stalked. I also consider the various strategies participants develop to counter the threats to
their identities.

Chapter 9 concludes this thesis by recapping the core findings of my research and then developing a discussion around them. This is followed by a reflection on the research experience and recommendations for the direction of future research.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW-THE EXPERIENCES OF STALKING VICTIMISATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

There is minimal research into stalking victims. This is in spite of the central role victims have in stalking because in its essence stalking is a “victim-defined phenomenon.” (Mullen et al. 2002: 277; Douglas & Dutton, 2001). Nonetheless, the aim of this chapter is to focus on this small body of research. In doing so, I will explore victims’ experience of stalking, for both female and male victims.

My own exploration of this research reflects existing commonalities considered key components of stalking victimisation. These are the stalking behaviours, the impact of being stalked on the victim and the victims’ help-seeking behaviours (Budd & Mattinson, 1998). In addition to the above, towards the end of this chapter I will solely focus on the experiences of male victims. My review of the literature begins by considering how the experiential reality of stalking victimisation has been conceptualised in the literature.

2.2 EXPERIENCES OF STALKING VICTIMISATION

"Louisa’s life turned into a living hell when she dumped her boyfriend, weeks later to her horror, she realised Carl was following her. She received calls, the emails, and one dead cat... stalking is a deadly business..." (Middleton, 2006: 39-40)

and

"One [victim] sustained a fractured collarbone, one was dragged across a parking lot, one was
The above two quotes reflect a common theme of stalking victimisation - stalking can have devastating consequences (Ingrassia & McCormick, 1993; Lardner, 1995; Vignovich, 1996). This is clearly illustrated in books with titles such as *Stalked to Death* which tells the story of two women violently killed by their former partners, and *The Stalking of Kristen* a book written by the father of a murdered stalking victim. Readers of these two books are left in no doubt what a stalking experience can entail, especially for women (Ingrassia & McCormick, 1993; Lardner, 1995; Vignovich, 1996, Schlesinger, 2002; Morrison, 2007). This dominant representation of stalking victimisation is typified in the book *Stopping a Stalker - a Cop's Guide to Making the System Work for You*, written by Robert Snow (1990), a former American Police Captain. All of the stalking experiences recounted in this book follow a similar narrative of the victim and the stalker meeting, the obsessive unwanted behaviour of the stalker and the attempts by the victim to stop their stalker, which are usually unsuccessful. Nearly all of the experiences end with devastating results:

"For one victim of a stalker, Kim Springer, being stalked by a fellow employee Matt Hillburn ended ... with two people murdered and seven others shot, after ten months being stalked by a man who confessed to be her lover." (Snow, 1998: 1)

To encapsulate the (horrible) experiential reality of being stalked, clinical and legal discourses have compared stalking victimisation to rape. Barristers who specialise in prosecuting stalkers describe stalking as "rape without sex" (Infield & Platford, 2002:221). Police officer Robert Snow describes stalking as "prolonged rape" (1998: 239) and, clinicians, drawing on victims' accounts of stalking, describe stalking as "emotional rape" (Mullen et al 2000: 64; Pathe & Mullen, 2002: 11). Unsurprisingly, the connection between
stalking and rape is also made by campaigners as they seek to establish the effects of stalking victimisation (Loeske, 2003):

"Being stalked is like mental rape. I can't live the rest of my life looking over my shoulder... I have been simply trying to preserve my sanity and live my life. Stalkers don't allow you to do this." (Tracey Morgan cited in Gibbons, 1998: 134)

Stalking victimisation is not particularly well understood, however, the effects of rape are (Finch, 2001). Therefore, by linking stalking with rape, researchers and campaigners have found a powerful way to convey the reality of a stalking experience to those individuals who have never been stalked. However, linking stalking with rape reinforces the gendered nature of stalking victimisation, as women are far more likely to be raped than men:

"Stalking is like sexual assault; it is almost exclusively a crime against women and is often perpetuated by an ex-husband or ex-boyfriend." (De Becker, 1997: 84)

This connection is strengthened by women who have been both stalked and raped, with NASH claiming "that of 5,500 victims of stalking, 30 per cent have been raped" (The Guardian January 30 1996: 3). One such woman Mary even found that her stalking experience was more traumatic than rape because of the repetitive nature of stalking victimisation:

"She [Mary] explained that being stalked was more emotionally intense than being raped because the stalking just kept going on and on and on." (Drauker, 1999: 478)

Other words used to describe the effects of being stalked are 'terror' and 'terrorism'. The use of these words may originate from the crime of making a "terrorist threat", which was used to prosecute stalking behaviour prior to anti-stalking legislation in America (Saunders, 1998: 36). Therefore, a stalker may run a "campaign of terror" (Serant 1993: 78) which leaves the victim in "terror" (Snow, 1998: 138). Similarly, clinicians describe being stalked
as akin to "psychological terrorism" (Hall, 1998: 133) with stalkers "mastering the art of psychological terrorism" (Bradfield, 1999: 235). Similar to using the word 'rape', 'terror' and 'terrorism' help to convey the magnitude of a stalking experience, where language often struggles to convey the devastating effects of stalking victimisation (Snow, 1998; Burgess et al 1997; Nadkarni & Grubin, 2000).

In labelling stalking behaviour akin to the experiences of rape and terrorism it helps to make visible a phenomenon whose constituent behaviours are often perceived as innocuous and harmless. By describing stalking in such evocative terms, it shows how stalking can be framed as an experiential phenomenon, which is difficult to convey to others who have never been stalked:

"Since I began writing this book, I have often thought about what it must feel like to be a stalking victim, to experience the uncertainty and terror of it. I have tried many times to imagine living with this intense fear for months or even years and then only to find it gets worse and worse. For those individuals who have never been stalked it is difficult to imagine or comprehend how people can function under the level of stress, how they can get through their daily lives knowing there is an obsessed and likely dangerous person walking and following them at any moment." (Snow, 1998:10)

However, as females are far more likely to be stalked, it is their experiences of victimisation in research and the media which are compared to both rape and terrorism.

As I have illustrated above, stories of stalking victimisation focus on extreme cases of stalking victimisation although the majority of cases may not be like this at all (Meloy, 1999; Mullen et al 2000). Nonetheless, it is probably unsurprising that sensational stories are regularly featured in research studies and the media. Clinical researchers, usually psychologists/psychiatrists, have a worldview that constructs crimes as non-routine and products of sick individuals who need their help via clinical interventions (Spitzberg and
Campaigners and activists have had a central role in discursive constructions. To support anti-stalking campaigns they have successfully typified stalking as a devastating experience for victims, who need better protection through anti-stalking legislation (Kennedy & Sacco, 1998; Loeske, 2003).

The popular culture discourse on stalking victimisation also mirrors this pre-eminent typification. Predatory stalkers are illustrated in the book *Enduring Love* (2002) and soap operas *Coronation Street* and *EastEnders*. Predatory violent stalkers are also depicted in the films *Sleeping with the Enemy* (1991), *Single White Female* (1992) and *Enough* (2002). In these three films, obsessive stalkers (for example, an ex-partner or flat sharer) stalk their (female) victims (Meloy 1998). This leaves the victim running for their lives. With no support from the police, victims have no choice but to try and outwit their stalker. This usually fails. Consequently, the female victims have no choice but to kill their stalker.

In contrast to the wider literature on stalking victimisation, where male victims are largely invisible, in popular culture male victims have received more attention. The films *Play Misty for Me* (1971), *Fatal Attraction* (1987), *The Fan* (1996) and *Enduring Love* (2007) all illustrate that stalking can "happen to males too" (Smartt 2001: 211). All of these stories focus on men who are obsessively stalked by another individual. Stalking victimisation results in their personal and work lives being threatened. Without any assistance from the police, all of the male protagonists are left with no choice but to kill their stalkers. However, as with media stories, these depictions of stalkers in films may not reflect the more widespread and average experiences of stalking victimisation:

"Predatory stalkers constitute a small salient subset of stalkers who have been
disproportionately represented in their most ostentatious and dramatic forms in fictional portrayals of stalking." (Mullen et al 2000: 98)

Stalkers and their victims have an additional presence in popular culture, through celebrity stalking. For example, the singer Madonna testified in court against Robert Dewey after her security guards injured him trying to enter her property. After he had threatened that he would slit her throat from ear to ear, she refused to attend court as she was terrified by him. Only when the Judge assigned to her case informed her that she would be arrested with a $5 million bail being set did she agree to testify (Meloy, 1996; Snow, 1998). In spite of vast financial resources that enabled Madonna to have considerable security arrangements in place, Dewey was still able to cause the singer considerable distress (Snow, 1998). More recently, Jonathan Norman was arrested for stalking the film director Steven Spielberg. Norman’s aim was to rape him. Unsurprisingly, this distressed Spielberg:

"A fearful Spielberg, 58, testified in court that, "It was the most chilling experience of my life. He had carried out extensive research about me and my family. I genuinely feel that if I had been at my home I would have been raped, maimed or killed. The same would have happened to my family." (Daily Mirror 26 November 2004: 8-9)

Whilst celebrities often have their own protective security arrangements, stalkers are able to breach them (DeBecker, 1998). Consequently, celebrity figures may be as ‘vulnerable’ as ‘ordinary’ victims who are without protective security. This vulnerability was illustrated in the murder of the American actress Rebecca Shaeffer by a 'fan' of hers. Similarly the assassination of John Lennon in 1984 by a ‘fan’ of his, which has been cited the modern genesis of stalking as a problem behaviour, also illustrated the perils of celebrity stalking (Daily Mirror May 1 2000). Whilst popular culture considers a stalker a prerequisite to the status of a celebrity (Snow 1998) and for a celebrity a stalker is the ultimate fashion
accessory (The Guardian 29 January 2000) the experiential reality of being stalked may be very different for any celebrity victim (see for example, De Becker, 1997).

Reviewing the research literature, popular culture and the media, it is clear that stalking victimisation can be devastating. Whilst I do not doubt this, this discourse is so dominant that it would seem to preclude any alternative discourses appearing. For example, a stalking experience that may be perceived as funny, or that someone might even enjoy, rarely surfaces in the literature. Obviously, such a discourse will not support any campaigns for the protection of stalking victims. This 'norm' of stalking experiences also reflects an endpoint analysis that researchers often utilise that retrospectively reinterprets hazy, ambiguous and confusing behaviour as stalking.

Emerson and his colleagues (1998), made a case against this approach in their research On Being Stalked. Describing stalking as an intricate social process, they found that stalking frequently occurs when people come together at the start of a relationship or when they split up. They label this kind of stalking as 'relational stalking', when an individual is trying to impose a relationship on an uncooperative/resistant other. Through this research the authors construct a natural history of stalking which includes an individual persistently following another person, acquiring information about them, pursuing them, and in spite of numerous rejections, proposing a relationship. The situation can escalate and develop into full-blown stalking which can be characterised by threats and violence. In identifying these behaviours, Emerson et al (1998) highlight a continuum of escalating behaviours, which are used against a person, which they may come to recognise as stalking.
In this section, I have considered the graphic depictions of stalking victimisation across research, popular culture and media sources. These depictions focus on the very serious experiences of stalking victimisation which may not be the norm. In the following section, I want to turn to what is commonly understood as a stalking experience - the stalking behaviours experienced by the victims, the impact of stalking on the victims and finally, their help-seeking behaviours. Firstly, I consider the stalking behaviours themselves from the victims’ viewpoint.

2.3 STALKING BEHAVIOURS

Victims identify stalking behaviours. For example, a woman who is asked out by a man may refuse him his offer and think nothing more of it. However, if the same man waits for her outside her work and follows her home, she may then possibly classify his behaviour towards her as stalking. On the other hand she may not. Individuals who experience exactly the same kind of behaviours may classify their experiences very differently (Jordan et al 1999-2000). As victims define stalking behaviours, research papers often list hundreds of them and their corresponding prevalence rates (see for example, Sheridan et al 2001b). Consequently an array of stalking behaviours are identified which are categorised and then broken down into sub categories. For example, a category of telephone calls is broken down into unwanted calls, unsolicited calls, obscene calls, repeated calls and so on. Adopting this method, whilst illustrating the wide range of stalking behaviours, often results in a failure to explore the significance of these behaviours to the victims themselves; how do they experience these different behaviours and what do they mean to them?
Although stalkers can potentially use hundreds of behaviours, stalkers commonly use between five and twenty-five behaviours, with some of them used more frequently than others (Cupach & Spitzberg, 1998; Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Sheridan, 2005). For example, the British Crime Survey (1998) reported that the most common form of stalking was being forced to talk to their stalker, followed by receiving silent phone calls (45%); physical intimidation (42%); being followed (39%); the stalker waiting outside their home (33%) and touching or grabbing them (34%).

One important feature of these behaviours is that they can be a mix of both lawful and unlawful behaviours. For example, Perry Southwall, a 20 year old dental nurse regularly received gifts from her stalker (The Guardian September 25, 1996). Chris Jones also received gifts from a female colleague (The Guardian April 17, 1998). Both of these cases illustrate how stalking includes lawful and seemingly innocuous behaviours. This in itself can make it difficult for victims to convey the seriousness of their situation. However, some stalking behaviours are clearly unlawful. Jonathan Norman was arrested trespassing on Director’s Steven Spielberg’s property after a campaign of stalking him. On his arrest he was found with a rape kit which he intended to use on Spielberg (Daily Mirror 19 December 1997). The actress Jodie Foster’s stalker shot President Reagan to get Foster’s attention, and ensure their stories would be forever linked (Perez, 1993). And in Australia it was the death of women, stalked and murdered at the hands of predatory stalkers that resulted in campaigns for anti-stalking legislation (Ravensberg & Miller, 2003; Goode, 1995). Evidently, stalking can include dangerous and unlawful behaviours, as I have illustrated.
Regardless as to whether the stalking behaviours are lawful or not, they are always unwanted:

"You know it got to the point where finally I would pick up and say "Would you please just quit calling!" "I love you. Talk to me." Click. The phone would ring again. Finally we turned off all the ringers and unplugged all the phones." (Dunn, 2002; 46)

Whilst stalking behaviours can be experienced as individual intrusions there is also a cumulative component to them, especially as the behaviours are repeated (Sheridan 2001). For many victims, these behaviours are experienced again and again over months and sometimes even years (Canter & Young 2004; Blaauw et al 2002; Sheridan, 2001). As Orion (1997) recognises, it is extremely difficult to stop a stalker from pursuing their victims:

"Trying to talk someone out of something he or she totally and completely believes is as futile as saying superman can’t fly." (Orion, 1997: 11)

and

"He [her stalker] would hide in the hedge outside my house every night, watching me and my family…and it got worse. He started to call and text my mobile phone repeatedly - one night he called 152 times…I was living in fear." (The Sun February 28 2006: 34)

As stalking can go on for months and even years it can have a detrimental effect on the victims' mental and physical health and their social and economic wellbeing. In the following section I will consider these themes.

2.4 THE IMPACT OF BEING STALKED

Mental health effects

Clinicians have reported that stalking is strongly connected to mental ill health in the
victim. This has resulted in the psychological and counselling bias in the research literature (Cupach & Spitzberg, 1998) Therefore, stalking victimisation can result in "chronic mental ill health" (Davis et al 2002: 439); "poor long term psychological health" (Kuehner et al 2006: 89); a "diagnosable psychiatric disorder" (Blauw et al 2000: 8); can be "psychologically crippling" for the victim (Orion, 1997: 239) and is akin to "psychological abuse" (Logan et al 2006: 37). Unsurprisingly, this can result in anxiety, depression, symptoms of post-traumatic stress, stress disorders and interpersonal difficulties (Mullen et al 2000). The poor mental health of victims can also affect their physical well being with sleepless nights, lack of appetite and stress related physical symptoms such as headaches and stomach ulcers all being reported (Mullen et al 2000). The cumulative effect on victims can mean victims seriously contemplating suicide (Pathe & Mullen, 1997; Saunders, 1998):

"most victims of stalking go through the kind of torment that battle-weary soldiers suffer."
(Daily Mirror July 9 1996: 11)

Ironically, mental health professionals who try to clinically control stalkers’ behaviours have a higher chance of being stalked than other men and women. This is because their clients have a greater propensity to stalk (Romans et al 1996; Gentile, 2002; Ashmore et al 2006). Consequently, their own mental health may suffer. One very clear example of this is documented in I Know You Really Love Me’ A Psychiatrist’s Journal of Erotomania, Stalking and Obsessive Love by Doreen Orion (1997), in which she describes being stalked by a former patient of hers for eight years (still ongoing at the time her book was published). Characteristic of other books of a similar nature, it is largely descriptive in nature. It begins with the genesis of stalking as a problem, its subsequent development, the behaviours experienced and their effects. She also reviews the clinical and legal literature, a common feature of autobiographical literature of a similar ilk (see Dart, (2003) for example). As
stalking is difficult to understand, reviews of clinical and legal research literature provide Orion with an opportunity to try and understand why she is being stalked and how it can be stopped. Whilst understanding her rationale for doing so, I did the same - these reviews of the clinical and legal literature constantly reiterate the lens and parameters by which stalking victimisation is understood. Consequently, these discourses then become increasingly entrenched as the dominant framework to understand stalking.

Social Effects

The social impact of being stalked is considered in the research literature, although it is often in the clinical and legal literature, not sociological research per se. Indeed, research into the social effects of stalking is extremely limited (Blaauw et al 2000). The social effect of being stalked, which, in the literature, is also called the social damage of being stalked (McEwan et al 2007) focuses on the tactics that are adopted by stalking victims to either avoid their stalker, or at least dissipate the effects of being stalked (Budd & Mattinson, 2000; McEwan et al 2007). For example, victims may change their routine, withdraw from certain activities and decrease or even cease going to work or school. Some victims go to the extent of changing their names and appearance (putting on weight/breast reduction) in an attempt to put the stalker off from stalking them (Hall, 1998). Other victims may feel forced to move home, although this is futile as they are often tracked down by the stalker. Finch (2001) notes that one victim moved 14 times in three years to rid herself of her stalker. For the victim, repeatedly moving home can have serious financial repercussions (Brewster, 1998). Other victims just disappear by going "underground" (Hall 1998: 134). Clearly, victims employ a whole range of actions in their attempts to stop their stalkers and
may employ more as the stalking experience continues (Nicastro et al. 2000). However, whilst the research literature illustrates the wide range of behaviours victims initiate to stop their stalkers, it often fails to explore which methods are effective or not.

A very rich source of data, that attempts to encapsulate the social experience of being stalked, can be found in *Courting Disaster, Intimate Stalking, and Culture and Criminal Justice* by Jennifer Dunn (2002). This research utilizes a sociological framework which draws on the work of symbolic interactionist theorists in exploring how women achieve an identity as a victim of stalking. This scholarly work begins by tracing the development of stalking behaviour as a problem and the development of anti-stalking legislation. Once this has been established, the focus of this work is on the experiences of female stalking victims, all of whom have come into contact with an American city's Domestic Violence Unit (Dunn spent two years interviewing women who came into contact with the Unit and reviewing their court records). This study explores how women trying to escape from their stalking ex-intimate partner manage. The study identifies the behaviours the women experience, demonstrating that stalkers employ courtship behaviours, surveillance, threatening and violent behaviours, and the women's responses to them. These include trying to avoid their stalker, help-seeking behaviours, compliance and various resistance techniques which include stating clear boundaries and attempts to enforce restraining orders themselves. Whilst managing their ex-intimate's stalking the women also try to get help from the police. In doing so, they attempt to accomplish victimisation. As I will discuss further on in this thesis accomplishing victimisation proves to be difficult. In her research, Dunn also includes a questionnaire of two hundred and sixty seven women from a Mid-Western University about their perceptions of forced interaction with men; interaction
which can be perceived as stalking. Such interaction can leave women feeling flattered, but also can leave some women feeling annoyed and frightened. This illustrates how symbols of courtship, romance and love are all used by those paying unwanted attention to women, and can be potentially used by a stalker. What is revealed in this study is the difficulty of stopping a stalker, and coping with the stalking experience whilst also trying to secure help from the criminal justice system by accomplishing a victim identity.

2.5 HELP-SEEKING BEHAVIOUR

Victims often seek help and the research literature explores the help they receive. Rather surprisingly, research reveals that the requirements laid out in the Protection from Harassment Act (1997) seem to hinder victims receiving the help they need. As laid out in the legislation, police have to establish a course of conduct that amounts to harassment before they can make an arrest for stalking (Harris, 2000). So, even when victims ask for assistance, the police may not be able to intervene immediately as they have to establish a course of conduct against another individual and evidence substantiating a course of conduct takes time to compile (Harris, 2000; Jasinski & Ehrhardt-Mustaine, 2001). However, even when evidence is assembled, usually by the victim themselves, the police may not intervene (Spitzberg, 2002). The death of stalking victim Rana Faruqui in 2004 clearly illustrated this. She was stalked and then murdered by her ex-boyfriend in spite of her frequent requests for assistance from the police. Her death and the death of Tania Moore, again a female victim stalked and killed by an ex-boyfriend, were the subject of a BBC Panorama television programme (source: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/panorama/6435733.stm).
The *Panorama* programme was critical of the police response to these two women, cataloguing calls for help from them that were either ignored or not dealt with as seriously as they should have been. The programme then compared the experiences of female victims in England with victim of stalkers in America, where dedicated anti-stalking police forces exist. For example, a Threat Management Unit exists, within the Los Angeles Police Department, which undertakes assessments of stalkers and actively monitors their behaviour, always seeking to intervene sooner rather than later. The police response here in England, which is estimated to lag fifteen years behind the American response to stalking, compares unfavourably with the Los Angeles system (source: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/panorama/6431605.stm).

Confidence in the police to assist the victim of a stalker, may not be helped by the fact that police officers are unsure in using the provisions of the Protection of Harassment Act (1997), in spite of a training pack developed to educate the police on the Act (Gibbons, 1998). Harris (2000) found that the police’s understanding and knowledge of the Act was poor. For example, the police were unsure what constituted a course of harassment. They were also confused differentiating between a Section 2 criminal offence, and a Section 4 criminal offence. Due to this confusion, police officers made their decisions on how best to proceed with cases, not based on the legal framework. Instead they relied on informal knowledge acquired through their work. More recent developments, such as police guidelines on the Harassment Act (Brown, 2003) and Sheridan and Boon’s (2002) classification system, which has been specifically developed for the police, may facilitate a better understanding of stalking and the legislation. However, the literature does not make clear how effective the guidelines are, or how many police forces have adopted this
classification system.

However, even when the police do take a case forward and submit it to the Crown Prosecution Service, a high percentage of these cases are dropped. This is usually because of insufficient evidence or because the victim did not want to proceed with the case (Harris, 2000). If a case proceeds to trial, and bail conditions are set, in 20% of cases they are breached and if a stalker is sentenced, they are rarely sentenced to prison, and more often than not, they are awarded a conditional discharge. This discharge can include the provision of a restraining order; these orders are considered the 'teeth' of the Protection from Harassment Act (1997), but these orders are commonly breached (Harris, 2000; Finch, 2001).

Spitzberg’s (2002) meta analysis of 32 studies illustrated the ineffectiveness of restraining orders. He concluded that restraining orders are violated 40% of the time. The ineffectiveness of restraining orders resulted in Walker (1993:121) describing them as "paper shields" and Geberth (1992:138) as "orders of illusion". In fact, a restraining order may antagonize the stalker and simply confirm to them the validity of their relationship (McGuire et al 2004). Greg Boles, of the Los Angeles police anti-stalking department advises victims not to seek a legal injunction or restraining order against their tormentor as this can simply antagonize them (The Guardian January 5 1998). There are cases of stalkers who, in spite of a restraining order, breach them and go on to kill their victims (Geberth, 1992; Pathe & Mullen, 1997; Sorokin, 2000). Also, in reality, a stalker who is suffering from a mental (delusional) disorder is probably not going to be deterred from approaching their victim, regardless of a restraining order (Goode, 1995). Due to the
ineffectiveness of restraining orders, many victims believe that nothing will be able to help them (Orion 1998; Bradfield, 2002).

A full review of the legal response to stalking is the *Criminalisation of Stalking: Constructing the Problem and Evaluating the Solution* by Emily Finch (2001), a work that has already been referenced during the course of this chapter. Whilst this study argues that stalking is best resolved through legal channels, Finch is critical of the legislation as it missed the opportunity to define what stalking is. In terms of victims' experiences, Finch argues that in spite of the original aims of the Act to halt stalking conduct at an early stage, this does not always occur, with the police often failing to intervene. The police response to stalking victimisation is perceived to be poor, with police demonstrating a lack of sympathy towards victims, especially male victims, and a lack of police training, resulting in victims not being made fully aware of the provisions in the legislation (Finch, 2001).

However, whilst some victims of stalkers go to the police, many of them do not, and the evidence from quantitative surveys in Britain suggests that this may comprise a large number of people (Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Walby & Allen, 2004). International research suggests a similar finding. The National Violence against Women (1998) study found that only 55% of female victims and a smaller percentage, 44%, of male victims, reported their stalker to the police. Other research has shown lower reporting rates, for example Bjerregaard (2000) found in her research sample that only 35% of females and 10% of men contacted the police. Kamphuis and Emmerlkamp (2000: 207) comment that criminal stalking cases merely reflect the "tip of the iceberg" because many victims do not report stalking victimisation to the police. The reasons why victims do not go to the police
include the belief that stalking is a private matter and should be dealt with privately.

Victims also fear reprisals, if their stalkers were to find out that the police had been informed (Bradfield, 1998). As a gay woman described during the course of being stalked by her former lover:

"I don't dare go to the police for fear she might go completely mad." (Smartt, 2001: 222)

Many victims also fear the police’s reactions to their claims. When victims do go to the police, their own definition as a victim of a stalker has to match the police's definition of a victim as well. For example, if a gay male victim approaches the police but the police adhere to a particular classification system i.e. victims of stalkers are females, they may be met with an unfavourable response. Consequently, their requests for help are dismissed. This is worrying for all those who need official assistance (Finch, 2001; Smartt 2001).

The lack of formal support means that victims also often seek assistance from their family and friends, usually unsuccessfully. Where there are everyday stalking behaviours utilised by the stalker, these trivialise the magnitude of any stalking experience. Consequently, it is difficult for victims to convey the enormity of being stalked to others, including their families (Finch, 2001):

"It is difficult to overstate the fear produced in victims... simply by repeated intrusive behaviours... instead of receiving sympathy and assistance victims are often confronted with suspicion... "(Orion, 1989: 132)

As a result of this, victims of stalkers often continue to face their stalkers alone.
2.6 MALE VICTIMS

In this section, I will explore how common male stalking victimisation is and secondly explore what is known about their experiences.

How common is male stalking victimisation?

As I explored in the opening of Chapter 1, women are far more likely to be stalked than men. In relation to men, 4% to 17% of them will be stalked during the course of their lifetime (Fremouw et al 1997; Tjaden & Thoennes 1998; Budd & Mattinson, 2000; Sheridan, 2001; Sheridan, 2005).

Looking specifically at the prevalence of stalking victimisation of men in Britain, the British Crime Survey (1998) concluded that, whilst women are generally more likely to be stalked than men, it is estimated that 6.8% of men had been subject to stalking attention during the course of their lives and 270,000 of men had been stalked in the previous year. The British Crime Survey (2001) identified that 12% per cent of men had experienced stalking at some point in their lives and almost 900,000 men had been stalked in the previous year. The more recent British Crime Survey 2004/5 illustrated that, over a lifetime, 15% of men were stalked, in comparison to 23% of women. However, in the previous 12 months there was parity between men's and women's stalking experiences with 9% of both groups experiencing stalking (Finney, 2006). This parity between men and women goes against the grain of the wider body of research which clearly shows women are far more likely to be stalked than men. Other official Government figures, for example, statistics on the use of the Protection from Harassment Act (1997), found that 21% of those who made use of the provision of the law were men, although all of these cases may not be technically
considered as stalking per se, as the legislation is being used to prosecute a wide range of situations, such as neighbourhood disputes (Harris, 2000).

Whilst there is widespread agreement that men are less likely to be stalked than women, some (international) convenience samples illustrate higher than expected prevalence figures for men (Cupach & Spitzberg, 1998; Gentile, 2002). For example, research into mental health nurses shows that 32.4% of the male respondents experienced stalking victimisation (Ashmore et al 2006). In another study, 60% of male counsellors, in America, in comparison to 40% of female colleagues, admitted stalking victimisation (Romans et al 1996). These results have to be treated with some caution, however. In relation to the first piece of research, nurses/clinicians are at a higher risk of being stalked, regardless of their gender, owing to the relationship they develop with the people they care for, many of whom have a greater propensity to stalk. In relation to the latter piece of research this convenience sample was based only on ten respondents.

However, it has been argued that research studies do not truly reflect prevalence rates of male victimisation at all. The stereotype of masculinity may result in men being reluctant to define themselves as a victim of a stalker and so do not admit it, for fear of being ridiculed or perceived as less of a man (Spitzberg & Cadiz, 2002; Philipps et al 2004; Nicastro et al 2000).

This theme-the ridiculing of men because they admit to stalking victimisation-is considered by Du Pont-Morales (1999). She states that female stalkers and male victim roles are alien to the legal system and this makes it problematic for male victims to present their
complaints to officials. This reluctance may be further accentuated if the victim comes from a stigmatised group, for example gay men, who experience prejudicial reaction from the police. This is of particular concern, because gay men have a greater risk of being stalked than heterosexual men (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998).

The reluctance of men to come forward may be further compounded by how stalking has been constructed as a problem. For instance, if stalking is considered a women's issue, male victims may be considered as an "aberration and departure from the norm" (Finch 2001: 58). Therefore, men will be reluctant to come forward. There is support for this argument in the research on domestic violence and male victimisation. When male victims admit to being a male victim of domestic violence it opens them up to ridicule (George, 1994; Davies, 2007). Revealing themselves as a male victim of domestic violence is problematic for their self-identity and for others who interact with them. Therefore, they may prefer to suffer silently. For similar reasons, a male victim of a stalker may be reluctant to come forward, and admit their own victimisation.

**Male experiences of stalking victimisation**

I will now review the experiences of male victims captured in the media and the academic literature. Media reports of male stalking victimisation exist; but the focus is on male celebrities. The assassination of singer John Lennon outside his New York home by Mark Chapman, has received extensive media attention, especially as it’s considered the modern genesis of stalking *(Daily Mirror May 1 2000)*. Other stories reported in the media include the stalking of American talk show host David Letterman by Margaret Ray and Jonathan
Norman's stalking of the film director Steven Spielberg, an example I have already referenced earlier on in this chapter (Perez, 1993). The media has also reported on American actor Brad Pitt's stalking experience by 19 year old Athena Rolando. She carried out a campaign of stalking that included climbing through an unlocked window of his home and sleeping in his clothes, while he was away (Daily Mirror January 16 2003).

The British media has also reported on home-grown male celebrities experiences of stalking victimisation: for example, Darren Day (Daily Mirror March 2 1996), Chris Evans (Daily Mirror May 10 1997) and Bruce Jones who played Les Battersby in the soap opera Coronation Street and who described his stalking experience as a "nightmare" (Sunday Mirror 23 August 1998: 12-13). Television host and prankster Jeremy Beadle's stalking experience was reported on, with the headline "Watch out...there's a stalker about!" (Daily Mirror March 1 1996: 3), and singer Chris de Burgh's experience of being stalked included the headline "Lady he Dreads", a pun on his song "A Lady in Red" (Daily Mirror 4 August 1999: 7). Whilst both of these headlines are a play on phrases that made both of these men famous, they do undermine the magnitude of their experiences by aiming to give a humorous edge to their stories. This is common in media stories of male victimisation. For example Cook (1997) also found news stories of male victims of domestic violence aimed to give amusing headlines and media ribbing was common.

A feature absent from many of these media stories is fear. In fact many of the victims are remarkably sympathetic to their stalker's behaviour. David Letterman felt great compassion towards Margaret Ray and refused to press charges against her, in spite of her intrusive behaviour towards him (New York Times November 22 1998). He also tried to get help for her:
"[I had] tried to get her some psychiatric help because the State has let her case fall through the cracks." (source: www.faqs.org/faqs/qa/femoral/qa/)

Similarly, George Michael was sympathetic towards his stalker’s loitering around his house. He admitted that he “never felt frightened [but then] I just felt sad for them” (Moore, 2004: 82). These stories are particularly interesting. Firstly, the fear element, so prevalent in many female stories is absent. This could be because either the men are genuinely not frightened of their stalker or because notions of masculinity and what it means to be a man may prevent men from admitting such fears and appears to fit in with cultural perceptions of how men should act i.e. men should be strong and tough. If this is the case, then it suggests that men’s experiences of being stalked are filtered and experienced through their masculine identities. Also, a male celebrity may be able to afford their own security which may dissipate the fear surrounding a stalker, but as I have already illustrated, this still may not always stop a stalker.

Other media stories of male stalking victimisation focus on 'ordinary' men. Gregory Dart, an English Lecturer at London University, and Dr. Robert Fine, a Sociology Lecturer at Warwick University, have both received considerable press attention. They have also published books on their stalking experiences (1998; 2003). Gregory Dart’s book follows the trajectory of meeting Lucy, her desire for something more than friendship and her subsequent stalking of him. During the course of the book he wrestles with how to handle her to ensure she leaves him alone for good. There is a sense throughout Dart’s book, which is also reflected in other books of similar nature, see Orion (2000) for example, that he is trying to make sense of what is happening to him. Reviewing one media article of his book, there is an underlying theme that he was to blame for being stalked, that he was naïve "after
all he is an academic" and failed to think about the consequence of his interactions (Daily Mail 19 May 2003: 56). Reading this article, I found the tone of it is slightly unsettling. His presentation as a victim was questioned. The tone and suggestion of this article seems to be that they are uncomfortable with the notion of a successful man complaining of the attention from a woman, and then claiming he was stalked.

The stalking experience of Sociology lecturer Robert Fine, by a former disgruntled mature student - 'Mrs M' - is explored in his memoir Being Stalked. Describing his experience in detail, he reflects on the genesis of his experience, how it developed and its impact on him. His recollection of events is informed by his own diary of events which details his experience:

"I cannot describe how annoying this woman is... she is severely interrupting the enjoyment of my home and property; she is deeply disturbing many of my friends; she poses a threatening presence for my daughter; and is constantly and directly violating the terms of her undertaking to the court." (Fine 1998:71)

Fine’s narrative provides a rare glimpse into the social reality, for a man, of being stalked and feeling persecuted by his stalker, as Mrs M set about persistently securing his misery. Fine’s experience of stalking victimisation clearly shows that stalking can affect a man.

Other books also include stories of male victimisation. These include, 'T'll be Watching You' by Richard Gallagher (2001). Included in this book is Malcolm Stewart’s stalking experience by a former girlfriend. After he ended their relationship, she stalked him for 14 years. This included: numerous communications, a tonnage of letters, his property vandalised, accusations of rape and even an implication in a murder enquiry (The Daily Telegraph 15 May 1999).
In contrast to media sources, male victims have received scant attention in the research literature (Mullen et al 2000). This reflects how stalking has been constructed as a problem behaviour, with more funding given to researching women's experiences than men's (Spitzberg, 2002). The research that exists primarily comes from quantitative research studies, yet this research is not particularly conclusive about men's experiences. Research studies suggest male experiences of stalking can be both similar and also quite different to women's experiences.

Sheridan et al (2002) explored the opinions of 210 British men, regarding the extent to which a range of behaviours were considered stalking behaviours. The researchers found that out of 43 behaviours, 23 were considered exemplars of stalking behaviours. This included a cluster of threatening behaviours, for example criminal damage of the target's property. A cluster of dysfunctional attachment behaviours were also identified. These included loitering behaviours, and driving by the target's home and workplace. Finally, the classic cluster of stalking behaviours included following the target, watching them and taking photographs of them. This study illustrated how males are aware of the boundary of behaviours and, like females, do recognise stalking and non-stalking behaviours. However, the participants' actual experience of stalking behaviours was far less common compared to women's, an unsurprising finding considering current prevalence figures. Nonetheless, Sheridan and associates estimated that up to 1 in 20 men may experience stalking at some point in their lives (Sheridan et al 2002).

Other similarities between men and women's experiences include their experiences of stalking behaviours (Langhinrichsen- Rohling, 2000) the avoidance activities they adopt...
(Walby & Allen, 2004), the extent and severity of violence (McFarlane et al 2000), the effects on their social lives (Du Pont-Morales, 1999) and their mental health (Davis et al 2002).

Other research suggests that men’s experiences of victimisation are quite different from women’s experiences however. For example, men are more likely to be stalked by either known persons (usually acquaintances) or strangers with the aim of intimidating and controlling them. In contrast, females are more likely to be stalked by former intimates who frighten them to keep them in a relationship (Tjaden, 1997; Tjaden & Thoennes 1998; Hall 1998; Walby & Allen 2004). How men react to stalking victimisation can also be quite different from women. For men, they have to act according to cultural images of masculinity and this may result in them denying their own victimisation. The general consensus seems to be that males should be able to look after themselves and be able to defend themselves. For this reason, men are not even supposed to be stalked in the first place (Lowney & Best, 1995). Owing to these expectations, a man may not define himself as a stalking victim (Tjaden et al 2000).

Research into male victims’ experiences of the criminal justice system is minimal (Cupach & Spitzberg, 1998). What is known is that, if male stalking victims do turn to the police for assistance they can be mocked, belittled and trivialised and their requests for help dismissed (Hall, 1998; Dupont-Morales, 1999; Purcell, 2001; Phillips et al 2004). Reasons for such a response seem to be because most police officers are male and they ridicule other men who seek such assistance from them. Amongst police officers there is the belief that men should be able to look after themselves and, therefore, should not define themselves as a victim.
Even when stalking cases are pursued through the court, the reaction of criminal justice officials mirrors the reaction of the police to victims. For example, a judge told a scared young man who had tried to obtain a restraining order against his ex-girlfriend that he should be “flattered by all the attention”. Several weeks later his ex-girlfriend killed him (Hall 1998: 119). This trivialization of stalking cases is also illustrated in other research (Pathe & Mullen, 1997; Purcell et al 2001; Smartt, 2004). All of this compounds male victimisation and will prevent them from coming forward (Pathe & Mullen, 1997; Sheridan et al 2002).

While some men find stalking problematic others do not. Emerson et al (1998) and Hall (1998) both suggest that some males who are stalked by a female are unconcerned by it, and certainly may not see it as a crime, rather that it is just something that happens (see also Budd & Mattinson, 2000). Some men may even enjoy being stalked and the attention they receive (although it could be argued that this is not stalking as some commentators suggest that stalking behaviour is always unwanted (Finch, 2001; Hills & Taplin, 1998; Dunn, 2002):

"Honest I'm not being sarcastic. I thought it was cute. After 18 months I got to know her better and went out with her. I married her 18 months after that." (Sheridan et al 2002: 308)

One final point - although stalkers and victims can be either a male or female, the consistency of style in research texts refers to males as stalkers and females as victims
(Dupont-Morales 1999). The numerous case studies in the existing literature reinforce this perception that females are always victims and males are always perpetrators. Even when pictorial depictions of victims of stalkers appear they are of women (Geberth, 1992). Some research also explicitly states at the beginning of the article that stalking of women by men is the "conventional situation" (Badcock, 2002:125), and research has been undertaken which concentrates on "female members of the public (the potential victims of criminal stalking)…" (Sheridan et al 2001b: 216). This theme is repeated across the research literature helping to prove that stalking is a gender-linked phenomenon experienced by women. This approach continually sidelines male experiences, with their experiences being dealt with as an appendage to the real problem of female victimisation, if they are dealt with at all.

2.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have focused on what is known about the experiences of stalking victimisation. In both media and research, the experiences of victimisation focus on the more extreme depictions of stalking. This focus is reflected in the use of words commonly used to describe a stalking experience, i.e. comparing it to 'rape' and 'terrorism'. Using these words facilitates a common understanding of what the experience of being stalked can be like. Across the literature, the experience of victimisation focuses on unwanted repeated stalking behaviours, which can range from innocuous behaviours such as receiving a letter and/or phone call, to being followed, and assaulted, the impact of being stalked and the victims' help seeking behaviours. Taken together, all these elements of research do provide insight into the experiences of victims, but the data is usually either presented in a descriptive form which lacks analysis, or in a statistical form, which lacks a narrative (Von
In the latter half of this chapter, I explored the experiences of male victims. Firstly, I explored how common male stalking victimisation is and secondly, I went on to review data from quantitative research and autobiographical accounts of stalking. This information illustrates that, for some men, stalking can be a problematic experience. Overall, the data on male victims from academic research is minimal and, where it does exist, it is quantitative in nature. Reviewing the experiences of stalking victimisation, stories from the media, popular culture, and academic research do exist. Whilst media and popular cultural accounts are descriptive, existing research designs do not facilitate the giving of an in-depth picture of stalking experiences. Current research primarily consists of quantitative research, with stalking experiences presented in statistical form or relatively small insights from the free text of surveys. More often than not, research concentrates on women's experiences.

My concern in relation to this methodology is captured by Bogdan and Taylor (1975) who expressed the fear that when we reduce people to statistical aggregates we lose sight of the subjective nature of human behaviour. Their argument is that research methods need to remain faithful to the experience of the individuals being studied and allow us to know them personally as their social world is explored; I believe this can only be captured by a qualitative research. Up until this moment in time, the only published in-depth sociological study into the experiences of stalking victimisation is Dunn's study (2002), which captures what stalking victimisation is like for women. Whilst this study gives a picture of what it is like to be stalked, it cannot be used as an illustration of all stalking experiences of victimisation. A criticism of studies into victims is the assumption that experiences are the
same for all people, regardless of their subject positions (Spalek, 2006). Dunn's study of female victimisation is set within the wider context of the patriarchal society women inhabit. Therefore, such a study may not suffice to understand men's experiences, which, because of their gender, and their view of their social world and how others' interact with them, may be different from that of women. In this thesis, I hope to capture a similar in-depth picture of stalking victimisation for men as Dunn has undertaken for women but focus on the reality of male stalking victimisation.
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 CHOICE OF METHODOLOGY

The aim of this study is to explore the experiences of male stalking victims. For the following reasons I chose to employ a qualitative approach to this study. Miles and Huberman (1994: 10) state, qualitative research provides a way of focusing on naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings so that we have a strong handle on "real life". Through this research study I wanted to get a handle on the realities of male victims of stalking. Therefore by adopting a qualitative approach I planned to investigate the men's accounts to discover: how they lived through their experiences and how they reacted to being stalked? How it affected their relationships with others, and the responses they received from both informal networks and professional agencies and the impact it had on them, if any. Indeed, I wanted to understand something of their social reality. Ultimately, I wanted to hear the men's voices - many of them whom, I believed, have probably not been given an opportunity to be heard. To achieve this, at a theoretical level, I drew upon aspects of grounded theory to inform my collection of data.

The grounded theory approach was first developed by Glaser and Strauss in the 1960s. The principal objective of grounded theory is to explain how a population may resolve a concern, in this case stalking victimisation. The methodology utilises an inductive approach whereby a “systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon” (Strauss & Corbin 1990:24). This means that theory is inductive, evolving and developing out of research, rather than a predetermined theory which the researcher has gone into the field to develop or disprove (Creswell, 1998). Therefore
procedures involved in developing the research are based on the “systematic generating of theory from data, that is systematically obtained from social research, and offers a rigorous, orderly guide to theory development that at each stage is closely integrated with a methodology of social research” (Glaser 1978: 2). The aim of this research was to allow the major constructs or categories in grounded theory terms, their relationships, and the contexts to be developed. Consequently, if this methodology is followed a theory of the phenomenon develops, which is much more than a descriptive account. For this study, this grounded approach seemed particularly suited since the concepts in this field had not yet been fully identified or explored and in following procedures genuinely new knowledge about a phenomenon is developed that is grounded in the data.

3.2 RECRUITING THE PARTICIPANTS

The nature of the subject raised particular problems for developing a sample. Quantitative surveys of adult populations have shown that stalking experiences that involve a male victim often go unreported to agencies including the police (Hall, 1998). In addition to this even if a man had been stalked it did not mean he would be willing to talk to me about it. Getting men to talk about victimisation is not straightforward (Walklate, 2006). Therefore, I knew it would be difficult to locate and interview male stalking victims. My aim was to use a variety of methods for collecting the sample, including negotiating access via charitable organisations. I then planned to approach the participants directly to see whether they would be agreeable to participate in this research. The problem of accessing participants via charitable organisations is worth a short discussion.
I identified charities via the internet and media articles. I was particularly interested in joining or attending a support group for victims of stalkers. At the time this seemed to be the easiest way to locate participants. I initially contacted all of them by phone, which was followed by with a letter addressed to their Chief Executive (see Appendix B for a copy of this letter). The letter explained the nature of the research, who I was trying to recruit, and the safeguards I had put in place to ensure anonymity and the welfare of the potential respondents. I contacted five charities in total. The largest two charities responded to me by telephone - The Suzy Lamplugh Trust and the Network for the Stalking Survivors. Their representatives could not put me in touch with any male victims. When I probed a little further, it was clear that they did not regularly come into contact with male victims of stalking and no support group existed, although a media article I had located stated that a support group was in the process of being set up (Daily Mirror July 7 2001). I got the impression that the function of these two charities was to campaign for victims’ rights rather than offering a one-to-one service to victims.

I also received telephone responses from three smaller charities all of which provide support for male victims of crime. I spoke to their respective representatives on a number of occasions. One of the representatives was particularly keen for me to interview a number of male victims of stalking he knew personally. I spoke to this man on three further occasions. During these conversations, although he expressed interest in my research, he made several derogatory comments about female victims of crime and specifically disparaging comments about several leading feminist academics. He also thought that my research could be used to further his charity’s “cause” and that I should name and shame female stalkers who according to him were always the stalking victims’ respective ex-wives. Also, during the
course of our successive conversations he was quite happy to discuss in detail some of the men's experiences and seemed to have no understanding of client confidentiality. The tone and content of both these conversations was particularly unpleasant and he was also quite aggressive, raging about the "injustices" against men. Consequently, after seriously thinking about my involvement with his organisation, I made the decision not to pursue his offer of putting me in touch with the male victims he said that he knew. In rejecting his offer, I could not help but think his organisation was a dubious self help and pressure group. However, at this time I found this situation very difficult as in effect I was turning my back on a pool of potential participants.

Another charity's representative also said he wanted to be part of this research project and we spoke on the phone a couple of times. He was pleasant enough and was interested in the research but I must admit I was rather concerned by his views. I wrote down my thoughts in my journal regarding his conceptualization of the problem of violence against men. He seemed to think that societal power was now in favour of women and this was the underlying cause of violence against males. At the beginning of our communications he was very interested in taking part in this research and was happy to advertise it in his hostel for abused men. However, his commitment wavered and communication between us petered out in spite of my leaving numerous messages for him.

Finally, I also contacted a charity with help lines for gay men in a large metropolitan town. This resulted in a number of interesting conversations. On a number of occasions the workers managing their helpline gave me snippets of victims' stories I was actually looking for. For example, one of their workers told me about a man who had been stalked by his
landlord for a number of months. However, for reasons of confidentiality, I obviously could not make contact with this individual. Nonetheless, they did have a newsletter, and I placed an advert in it which included details about my research. This newsletter was distributed at their meetings where the facilitator of each meeting also discussed my research project. Their newsletter was also sent out to their nationwide membership. Please see a copy of the advert below. Three men who participated in this study, Reuben (his pseudonym name), Lloyd (his pseudonym name) and Darren (his pseudonym name) contacted me through this method.

**FIGURE 1 - FIRST ADVERTISEMENT FOR MY RESEARCH**

![Advertisement for Research on Male Stalking](image)

At this time I also reviewed the experiences of male stalking victimisation in the print media. After I completed this review I approached five men who had received some media attention because of their stalking experiences (see Appendix C for a copy of this email). Two of the men agreed to be interviewed - John (his pseudonym name) and Simon (his pseudonym name).

Despite my efforts, over several months I had only been able to locate five participants. Consequently, I thought about slightly changing the emphasis of my study and looked to
also explore internet experiences of male stalking victimisation in chat rooms and online communities. In fact, I spent several months looking at this particular area of study and located some material which was useful in providing further insight into male victims' experiences. However, even whilst looking for material on the internet, I kept thinking about how I could get hold of participants that I could actually interview. It was during one occasion of surfing the internet that I saw an article about using a freephone number coupled with a media advertising strategy in research and I decided to adopt this method.

Recruiting participants via the media occurred through a wave of advertising which ran in late 2004. Given my limited budget the adverts were small and concise. The advert appeared in a gay magazine and London wide/nationwide newspapers. The advert requested men who wished to participate in the research to contact a freephone number. My decision to use a freephone number, which I discuss in further detail later on, was based on providing an easy way to contact me. I did not want them to be inconvenienced in any way. Potential participants could also contact me via email.

As I have already discussed in earlier chapters, defining stalking is extremely problematic, consequently, I was unsure as to how the term stalking would be interpreted by the general public. Do people use the term stalking and/or harassment interchangeably? Would I be missing out on participants if I used one term and not the other? In the literature there is undoubtedly a conflation of the terms stalking and harassment (Scottish Parliament Information Centre, 2000) and this is implied in legislation (Protection from Harassment Act, 1997), and identified in research (Pathe et al 2002b) and campaigns (source: www.nss.org.uk/main/home/html). This was a predicament. Eventually, I used the
term stalking and harassment together in the advert. I decided once potential participants had called me I would then clarify to them that the focus of my research was on stalking and their experiences of being stalked (see Appendix D for a copy of this advert).

**FIGURE 2 - SECOND ADVERTISEMENT FOR MY RESEARCH**

Are you a man who has been harassed or stalked? Would you be willing to contribute to a study that will highlight the experiences of men? Your input would be valuable. Please call free-phone 0800 783 8465 or email: mensresearch @hotmail.com. Totally confidential.

To further publicise my research I also discussed my study and my experience of being stalked on a London wide radio station. A contact number for men interested in participating in this research was broadcast across the airways and also placed on the radio station’s website. Two men contacted me via this method - Jeff (his pseudonym name) and Steven (his pseudonym name).

The men who responded to the adverts and radio interview were asked to call a freephone number. During this initial phone call I discussed the nature of this study - a study into stalking, and why I was recruiting participants and what it would involve for them. From the outset of the research they were guaranteed that their true identities would be anonymized throughout the study. In these initial discussions I always made sure each potential participant had the opportunity to ask questions about the nature of the research. However, the men who did call the freephone often launched themselves into their stories. Initially I thought that this was good as it gave me an opportunity to instantly hear their
stories, but I was eager for them to have time to think about their involvement in my research and so I would gently stop them to see if we could arrange another time to talk. I felt that this was particularly important since I thought any interview could be difficult as it could potentially touch on sensitive subjects. As Lee (1993: 103) argues, qualitative interviewing on sensitive subjects can pose an acute problem for the interviewer and interviewee:

"The person from whom a depth interview is sought must agree at the behest of a relative stranger to give a considerable amount of time and effort to the interview. They may be asked to reveal a great deal about themselves, perhaps at some emotional cost. Moreover, there is no guarantee that informants will realize before an interview begins what they might reveal, in what ways, and at what risk. Nor may it be easy for the researcher to convey all of this in an informed manner before beginning the interview".

Due to the nature of the subject I tried to make sure that they had time to think about their involvement and if they agreed to be interviewed (two men who called the freephone number decided not to be interviewed). I then either arranged to meet them face to face or set a time to phone them back. However, it was clear early on in the study that the majority of the participants did not want to meet with me face to face; rather they seemed to be very happy to be interviewed by telephone. As has been pointed out participating in a qualitative interview for a participant can be "time consuming, privacy endangering, and intellectually and emotionally demanding" (McCracken, 1988: 27). As a researcher, whilst maximizing data quality, I did not want to place on participants any further imposition, and so I was happy to conduct a telephone interview with them.

Out of the entire sample only five interviews were conducted face to face. If I personally interviewed the participant I considered carefully how I presented myself during the course of the interview, knowing that I could make a considerable impression on the interviewer,
and the outcome of the interview. So I considered my dress and manner and particularly how I could present myself as being both warm and friendly whilst also trying to preserve some social and intellectual distance which is necessary for analytical purposes (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1985). Finally, if I did interview them face to face I always carried a mobile phone and a home call back safety system was employed.

3.3 INTERVIEWING THE PARTICIPANTS

Participants' reluctance is a well known fact of interview studies (Creswell, 1998). Therefore by giving the interviewees the option of having a face to face interview or a telephone interview I provided options to this hard-to-access group as to how they wanted to undertake an interview. It had taken me many months to develop this sample of participants whose views had not been represented in other research. Consequently I wanted to facilitate their participation in this study and, as far as possible to make sure that they did not chose to drop out of this research project.

Finch (1984) argues that when women interview other women in social research, female participants are more enthusiastic with female researchers because they share a social experience and they can easily understand each other. Conversely, when women interview men for social research, male participants are more reluctant to talk to them. Explanations for such responses from men when interviewed by women include contrasting social experiences, as men are less used to being questioned in their social lives than women. For my research, as a male interviewing male participants, I was hopeful that there would be identification between both me as the interviewer and the participants as interviewees. I
thought that this would be facilitated by three features. Firstly, our sex; as Deatrick and Faux (1991:215) believe that “the sex of the interviewer becomes crucial as the subject matter becomes more sensitive”. Secondly, I hoped that my own experience of being stalked might have a positive effect. Krueger (1994) has suggested that people are more inclined to share information with others like themselves; obviously we (the participants and I) had a common shared experience. This in fact helped to create an ease between myself and the various participants. Finally, the very nature of this subject is unusual. So much so that some of the participants were genuinely amazed that anyone was actually interested in their stories of being stalked. The lack of interest by others about the participants’ experiences resulted in the men in this study being very keen to discuss their experiences with anyone who was willing to listen to them, in this instance me.

However, having had an experience of being stalked and interviewing stalking victims did also complicate this research process. One of my concerns prior to conducting the research interviews was how would I respond if I was asked by one of the participants as to why I was researching this particular topic. After deliberating on this matter for a while, I made the decision to share part of my stalking story with the participants; however, only if they asked me. In fact, many of the participants did ask me why I was conducting this research. Consequently, I gave participants a snapshot of my own experience but purposively stuck to the bare facts of my own case. For example, I gave them information about the duration of my stalking experience, who the stalker was, and some of the characteristics of the stalking experience. I did not venture into how I felt about my experience. After I had shared my own story, several of the participants visibly relaxed, one participant – Adrian – even said when I told him my story that for him, having this knowledge made telling his
In doing so the men related to me in a different manner. I was no longer only a researcher but also someone who had had a similar life experience as them. I believe this made a difference. Had I maintained an artificially distant posture in my research and had been remote in the interviews I am sure that I would have elicited poorer data. Equality between the researcher and the participants in deeply personal matters can only yield richer and more significant data (Oakley 1981; Finch 1984). The participants certainly seemed to relax more and the interview developed more into a conversation. They were willing to talk about a very sensitive aspect of their lives and considering that I was a stranger, they quickly opened up about intimate aspects of their lives. I took on the advice of Creswell (1998) who noted that the best interviews are based on listening rather than talking. This is what I tried to do.

Obviously, for those participants who preferred anonymity, calling a freephone and talking to a stranger may have eased any apprehension they may have felt. However, most of the men seemed to be very pleased to discuss their thoughts and feelings with me. Such a finding links in with Newburn and Stanko's (1994) suggestion that academic research has assumed that men are reticent to talk about victimisation and admit their weaknesses. I found that when the men in this study were given the opportunity to share their experiences they were very forthcoming.

Interviewing men about their experiences of being stalked includes focusing on sensitive areas of their lives. They divulged stories of relationship breakdown, domestic violence and
being ostracised from their children. They also told me how angry and frustrated they were, even stories of their desire to murder their stalkers. Interviewing men by telephone may have facilitated this, due to the relative anonymity of the telephone (Fenig & Levav, 1993) and the participants' perception of anonymity.

Interviewing using a grounded approach intends to gain firsthand data. Originally, I had thought of using a rigid interviewing guide as a tool to interview participants. However, after reading the research literature, and discussing my research with others it felt more appropriate to allow the participants to tell their story in their own way. The principal strategy of grounded theory interviewing is constituted by a passive approach to listening. The passive approach is less likely to constitute a dynamic interplay between the interpretations of interviewer and interviewee. As such, when the interview guide forces and feeds interviewee responses then [the data] is constructed to a degree by the interviewer imposing interactive bias. In my research this pattern of directed passive listening was systematically attempted. Therefore, interviews were conducted using a very informal structure and style, a story-telling approach.

Each interview began with the same opening, “Can you tell me about your experience of being stalked?” This method gave participants more room to answer in terms of what was important to them in a way which they had some control, instead of being interrupted by the interviewer's questions (Cornwell, 1984). By using this opening, “Can you tell me about your experience of being stalked?” I also believe that I symbolically passed the interview over to the interviewee, or gave them the perception that I did. Therefore they could plunge into their story at any point they wanted to. I did not direct them to where they
wanted to start. Nonetheless, I had a source of questions that I had written down that I
could slip in at appropriate times if I felt themes merited further discussion (Breakwell &
Millward, 1995). Such an approach seems to echo Breakwell’s (1990) comment that
although interviews are often categorized as structured or unstructured, in reality very few
interviews fall right at one end of the continuum between them. During the course of the
interview I tried very hard to pick up on the ebbs and flows of the interviews, giving the
interviewees times to express matters that were important to them. Although I intervened
and asked questions I always wanted to make sure that I did not interrupt their flow. I tried
to facilitate them to become the ‘expert’ in their own stories.

This sense of control was also facilitated by a number of the interviews being conducted on
the phone. I think that this gave interviewees a certain degree of confidence. There was no
need for pleasantries, no nervousness prior to the interview beginning, because they were
meeting a new person. They could simply get on with telling their stories. Some admitted
deep secrets and shameful situations, and showed their emotional and vulnerable side. One
participant even cried on the phone.

The way the interviews developed depended on each participant’s individual agenda. Some
participants gave long preambles to their story, a category I have labelled as ‘setting the
scene’. Others began at a certain event which seemed to be the catalyst of their experience.
One participant began with the phrase “my story began” which gave the impression he had
actually shared his experience on a number of other occasions. This approach also allowed
them to tell their stories in a way with which they were comfortable, for example, when
they were ready they could tell me about a painful memory, for instance, being assaulted, or
in other cases they could veer away from certain memories. Adopting this method allowed the interview to unfold in an informal manner, taking the form of a discussion and a “conversation with a purpose”, rather than an interview (Burgess, 1984:102; Mason, 1996). This loose framework allows the researcher to explore many facets of the interviewee’s concerns, areas which the interviewee thinks are important to them. This method also allowed to present reflective descriptions of their experiences in the person’s own words, and allowed them to describe their experiences as fully and deeply as possible until they had nothing else to say.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION

The data collection of interviews was made through audio-taped interviews. This was quite problematic at times. Since the freephone was set at my home, I had to quickly put the tape recorder on and then get into research mode once the telephone call came through on the freephone. After the interviews were completed, the tapes were transcribed. My original aim was to make a copy of the transcript available for each participant to comment on and whilst I did offer, the majority of the participants were not interested in receiving a copy of their interviews. Nonetheless wherever possible I forwarded a transcript of their respective interviews onto them. Their reluctance to receive a transcript of their interviews seemed to be partly based on the possibility that checking the transcript could be time consuming. I assured them that this was not necessarily so. I also got the impression that once some of the participants had told their story, and that was it. As Jeff said, “he got everything off his chest”. Nevertheless an email address was provided if participants wanted to add to their stories or clarify points. The freephone number was also available for a one year period, so they could also call me to add to their stories if they chose to. In fact several of the
participants did call the freephone number to update their stories. In spite of the participants' reluctance to be further involved in the practical aspect of the research, many of them were interested in receiving regular updates about this project and have been in contact. On a number of these occasions they have told me further details about their experiences which I recorded in my research journal. Nearly all of them wanted to see a copy of the completed research and left their email addresses with me to facilitate this.

3.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Prior to the interviewees' participation the research project was fully explained. Participants were assured that the interviews would not only be confidential but their names and biographical details would be modified to guarantee anonymity. Participants were told that it was their prerogative not to answer any question if they so desired and that they could terminate the interview at any time.

Interviewing stalking victims can involve them touching upon sensitive areas of their lives and although I had once worked in clinical settings (rehabilitation centres) where informal counselling had been undertaken, I could not claim to be a professional counsellor. I was very aware of these ethical issues and considered this matter in great detail with my supervisors. Therefore, resources were available for participants if they required any emotional support. These resources included information about charities working specifically with stalking victims, and organisations working with victims of crime who offered counselling services. These services were chosen firstly because of their appropriateness to the study and secondly because all of these services were free or would be of a minimal cost to the participants. I also called the charities and explained about my
research and asked them that if I encountered anyone who needed support I could pass on their details. They all agreed. In fact only one participant needed any of these services.

During his interview, this particular participant, Reuben, became increasingly distressed as he described being stalked by neighbourhood youths. At his request, I stopped the interview. I offered to end the interview there and then. He refused. Once he had composed himself I offered information about support services available to him. He seemed to be genuinely touched by this. He then asked if the interview could continue. It also became clear that some of the participants were not aware of the Protection from Harassment Act (1997) and the provisions in it to protect stalking victims, which is a research finding in itself (Harris's (2000) review of the Act also found victims of stalking were unaware of the provisions available in the Act). As a result of this, I passed on two web addresses and phone numbers where they could receive further information about the Act.

During any of the interviews, if the participants were struggling to maintain their composure as they explored their personal stories, I asked them if they wanted to continue. This point was also stated at the start of the interview. I also stated that they could withdraw from the research at any time. Fortunately, none of the participants even suggested they wanted to do this. My overriding impression of the majority of participants was that they found being interviewed a positive experience; this was confirmed when I elicited informal feedback from them after the interview. For those who were looking back at being stalked, it was a chance to reflect on a side of their lives they had kept quiet about, or even secret, or thankfully resign it to history. In fact it seemed that the interview was quite cathartic for them. For those who were still being stalked, the interview gave them a chance to explore their own experiences, something they were frequently very keen to do as they had a
listening and attentive ear. In fact the participants seemed to be very pleased to have an opportunity to tell someone about their story.

After the interviews had been completed and transcribing finished, all transcripts were given a code and names and all locations were changed. I also devised pseudonyms for all the participants and for anyone else mentioned in their stories. However, and somewhat surprisingly, a number of the men were quite happy for me to use their real names although I decided against this approach. Punch (1986) observed that no researcher could ever be sure what use research will be put to. I was concerned that using real identities could one day result in others seeking out the participants for purposes such as creating a media story. Some of the men in this study seemed to want this, but I thought that it would be best if they initiated this themselves rather than the media finding it out through this research. Plummer (2001) writes in matters of confidentiality, names are changed, places are shifted and sometimes fictional events are added to participants’ stories; indeed readers are deceived in a small way. In this study, I have given participants different names and changed the locations in which they lived. I did this because I knew that some of the men lived in fear of their stalker and I thought that the best strategy would be to keep as much information as confidential as possible. All I can hope is that I have done as much as possible to hide their identities without losing the authenticity of their narratives.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

The central theme of a grounded methodology is to read and re-read the data to discover or label variables (called categories, concepts and properties) and their interrelationships. To help facilitate this, the data needs to be coded. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990)
grounded theory is based on three types of coding procedures: open, axial and selective coding. The first type of coding that occurs is open coding. This coding is the part of the analysis concerned with identifying, naming, categorizing and describing phenomena found in the text produced through the interviews records. After open coding has been completed axial coding, where one systematically codes with respect to a core concept, begins. Strauss and Corbin (1990:123) describe axial coding as the "process of relating categories to their subcategories, linking a category at the level of properties and dimensions". The final stage of the coding process is termed as selective coding. This analysis involves the process of selecting and identifying the core category and systematically relating it to other categories. Selective coding is “the process of selecting the central or core category, systematically relating it to other categories, validating those relationships, and filling in categories that need further refinement and development” (Strauss and Corbin,1990:116).

To code effectively, Strauss and Corbin (1990) suggest the researcher uses a number of analytic tools, devices and techniques. These analytic tools include the use of questions such as Who?, When?, Why?, Where?, What?, How?, How much?, and With what results? The questions are used throughout the coding process, although they are a particularly useful tool in getting the research project off the ground. Also, when the researcher gets stuck in an “analytic rut”, they can turn to examining a single word, phrase or sentence analyzing for multiple meanings and assumptions. Another tool that is vital for the development of a grounded theory is through the regular writing of memos. Strauss and Corbin (1990) describe memoing as a process for recording the thoughts and ideas of the researcher and is, "the core stage of grounded theory methodology". They describe memoing as a means of providing a way to further the researcher’s thinking process, to
raise data to a conceptual rather than descriptive level, to present hypotheses about
correlations between categories and their properties, and to help integrate clusters to
generate theory. By writing memos the researcher is able to develop ideas about naming
concepts and relating them to each other. Again, early in the process, these memos tend to
be very open while later they tend to focus increasingly in on the core concepts. Integrative
diagrams are also used to pull all of the detail together to help make sense of the data with
respect to the emerging theory: so a concept map as a summarizing device can be very
useful in helping to organize data and develop categories. Finally, they suggest further
analysis through comparisons to promote new ways to look at the data. By using these
analytic tools and techniques, a grounded theory can be developed.

To achieve this type of data analysis, the transcripts of each interview were read at least
five times to ensure that I was familiar with the story. I then transcribed the interviews
myself. Although this was a laborious task it did provide an invaluable opportunity to
become familiar with the texts. I then began to identify themes and flesh them out using the
grounded methodological framework outlined above.

3.7 INTRODUCING THE PARTICIPANTS OF
THIS STUDY

Twenty three men were interviewed for this study. The men have all been allocated
pseudonyms and they will be referred by these pseudonyms throughout the study.

Adrian responded to an advert placed in a magazine. He is 42 years of age. He is a
businessman. He has been stalked by an ex-boyfriend.

Alan responded to an advert placed in a newspaper. He is 53 and unemployed. He has been stalked by neighbours/members of his local community.

Andrew responded to an advert placed in a newspaper. Originally from Australia, he has been living in London for the last five years. He is 28 years of age and works as a video producer. He has been stalked by a female work colleague. He never had a relationship with her.

Ben responded to an advert placed in a magazine. He is 32 years of age and he is a shop worker. He has been stalked by an ex-boyfriend.

Carl who is also known as Carla; s/he responded to an advert placed in a magazine. S/he is 26 years of age and is a transsexual man. S/he works as a sex worker and has been stalked by his/her clients.

Charles responded to an advert placed in a newspaper. He is 52 and works in the medical sector. He has been stalked by his ex-wife.

Darren responded to an advert in a newsletter. He is 29 years of age and works as an administrator. He has been stalked by a friend.
Gregory responded to an advert placed in a newspaper. He is 61 years of age, and now retired from a successful business. He has been stalked by a neighbour.

Jason responded to an advert placed in a newspaper. He is 29 years of age and is employed as a nurse. He has been stalked by an ex-girlfriend.

Jeff responded to an interview I did on the radio. He is 38 years of age. He is employed as a chef. He has been stalked by a neighbour.

Joel responded to an advert placed in a newspaper. He is 47 years of age. He is married and has three children and is a policeman. He has been stalked by two women who live in his neighbourhood.

John replied to an email I sent to him after reading about his story in the print media. He is 63. He is retired businessman. He has been stalked by a family relative.

Joseph responded to an advert placed in a magazine. He is 34 years of age. He is employed in social services as a case worker. He has been stalked by a female work colleague.

Justin responded to an advert placed in a London wide newspaper. He is 21 years of age and is a student. He has been stalked by an ex-girlfriend.

Lloyd responded to an advert placed in a newsletter. He is 49 years of age. He works as a lecturer and has been stalked by local youths from his neighbourhood.
Nick responded to an advert placed in a newspaper. He is 43 years of age. He is unemployed and has been stalked by an ex-boyfriend.

Paul responded to an advert placed in a newspaper. He is 47 and works as a taxi driver. He has three children. He has been stalked by his ex-wife. He now lives with his two sons. His daughter lives with his ex-wife.

Peter responded to an advert placed in a newspaper. He is 43 and is a mature student. He has been stalked by an ex-girlfriend.

Reuben responded to an advert placed in a newsletter. He is a 39 year old man and is an officer worker. He has been stalked by local youths from his neighbourhood.

Scott responded to an advert placed in a magazine. He is 69 years of age and retired. He has been stalked by a male stranger.

Simon replied to an email I sent to him after reading about his story in the print media. He is 64 years of age and works as a business manager and has been a Disc Jockey. He has been stalked by a female listener to his radio show.

Stefan responded to an advert placed in a newspaper. He is 40 years of age and is a policeman. He has been stalked by his ex-wife.

Steven responded to an interview I did on the radio. He is 53 years of age and is employed
in the airline business. He has been stalked by two female work colleagues. He is married with children.
FIGURE 3: THE PARTICIPANTS IN THIS STUDY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Relationship between Stalker and Victim</th>
<th>Gender of Stalker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adrian</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>Ex-boyfriend</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alan</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Neighbours/members of local community</td>
<td>Male (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Video producer</td>
<td>Work colleague</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Shop worker</td>
<td>Ex-boyfriend</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carl/a</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Sex worker</td>
<td>Clients</td>
<td>Male(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Medical professional</td>
<td>Ex-wife</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darren</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Administrator</td>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>Retired businessman</td>
<td>Neighbour</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jason</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Nurse</td>
<td>Ex-girlfriend</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeff</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>Neighbour</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbours</td>
<td>Female(s)</td>
<td>Male(s)</td>
<td>Female(s)</td>
<td>Male(s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Policeman</td>
<td>47</td>
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<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>63</td>
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<td>Joseph</td>
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<td>Justin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lloyd</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nick</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paul</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Renben</td>
<td>39</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scott</td>
<td>69</td>
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<tr>
<td>Simon</td>
<td>64</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Stefan</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steven</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Airline employee</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
3.8 REASONS FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY

At this point it is appropriate to reflect why the men wanted to participate in this study. For the men in this study when this opportunity was opened up to them a number of men responded to the advert, in fact they welcomed it. Indeed they wanted an avenue to share their experiences of being stalked. Although some participants may have felt that they were contributing to a worthwhile sociological study, the majority of them seemed to want to raise awareness of male stalking victimisation. It was a way to help others and to put their experience to use. It was also a means by which their experience could be heard, recorded and (hopefully) believed by others, initially by me as the researcher but also by others who also may read this work. These particular themes are illustrated in a number of ways.

I met Adrian at an underground station near his office. He had agreed to be interviewed about his experiences of being stalked. During the ten minute walk from the station to his office, he twice repeated the phrase “I can’t believe anyone is interested in my story.” Later on in the interview, he said he wanted to participate in the research to raise awareness around this issue, especially as this problem had “never been addressed in the gay community.” Similarly, at the end of interviewing Joel, I asked him whether I could send him a transcript of the interview for his comments. He replied, “No, there’s no need to do that. I just wanted to tell my story, tell people that it occurs, that it’s now!” Two other participants asked me to fashion their story into a newspaper article to publicize their situation. This sentiment was echoed in other participants’ stories, many of them wanted to tell others that male victimisation of stalking occurs:

"You don’t see stories like this. I want to raise awareness, it needs to be recognised."
(Ben)
For others, this study was clearly an opportunity to tell another person about their experience. Gregory said, that "people don't believe me" when he tells them that he is being stalked. Therefore he appreciated someone listening to and believing in his entire story in a non-judgemental way. Other participants were socially isolated and so the interview gave them an opportunity to tell their stories in minute detail.

In contrast to the other participants, Carl/Carla seemed to positively enjoy being stalked. S/he called the free phone at 11.45pm on a Friday night. S/he described how as a transsexual sex worker s/he was stalked on three different occasions. During his/her descriptions of his/her experiences, s/he also described in graphic detail how they were either "fantastic", "lousy" or "useless". S/he also described all of them as "fucks". Throughout his/her interview, s/he constantly bragged about his/her stalking experiences and seemed to celebrate his/her success in being stalked and therefore perceived as attractive by others.

3.9 THINKING REFLEXIVELY

As I made clear in Chapter 1, my own biography is strongly connected to this research. My experience of stalking victimisation provided the impetus for this study. Yet, as the research progressed, I was aware that my own experience of stalking victimisation had the potential to shape the decisions I made and I began to actively reflect on this. As Mason (1996:109) states, "a reflective reading will locate you as part of the data you have generated and will seek to explore your role in the process of generation and interpretation of data" and this is what I have attempted to do throughout the duration of this project.
me, this was facilitated by keeping a research journal. Keeping a reflective research journal is a common practice in qualitative research, and I found it assisted me in developing an ongoing conversation with myself, as the research progressed (Etherington, 2004). Keeping a journal became a 'safe' place where I could discuss anything and everything about my study. For example, it included reflections on different methodological problems, my frustrations about the lack of progress at certain points of time and my reactions to participants' disclosures. I found regularly reviewing my journal also helped me to critically reflect on both my role and the decisions I made as the research went on. In what follows, I provide examples of this reflection that took place during the life of this research project.

I started this research study having only just left the Philippines and thereby finally removing myself from the geographical vicinity of the woman who was stalking me. In the first year and a half of this research project, I was very reluctant to draw on my own experience of being stalked. This reluctance to delve into my own experience also meant I was not interested in exploring and investigating participants' thoughts and feeling about their experiences. This reluctance is reflected in jottings in my research journal. I have notes on wanting to develop an approach to this study that would allow me to concentrate only on the facts of a stalking case, that is what behaviours were used, where the stalking took place, by whom, for how long and so on. This position is clearly illustrated in early write-ups of this study, where data was presented using statistics. Early drafts contained no narratives and no discussion of the participants' feelings. Concentrating only on the facts of a stalking scenario is a fairly cold and clinical way of approaching any area of research, and I am not sure if it would have added anything to the existing body of research. Reviewing
my journal, I began to realise how much my own stalking experience had taken an emotional toll on me. Consequently, I was very reluctant to hear other stories that may mirror my own. Also, because in the process of trying to secure some assistance from the police and University, I seemed to have to endlessly tell my case to various officials, I was reluctant to tap into my own experience again. In all honesty, I had become very bored with my own story, but, both time and distance between me and my stalker really did help me to gain some much needed perspective on my experience. Over time, I felt that I could engage and think about my own experience of being stalked which I extensively recorded in my journal. I then began to tease out and reflect on some of the elements that made up my own ordeal. After quite a long period of reflection, I began to actively look at researching and exploring men's experiences in a more in-depth manner. Therefore, I decided on adopting a qualitative approach to this study. By the time I began interviewing participants, I felt I was in a position to share my own stalking experiences if any of them asked, and several of them did. As they were sharing their life experiences with me, who in reality was a stranger to them, I wanted to reciprocate this and share something of my own story. I know this made a difference to some of the participants and certainly put them at ease. I reflected on this in my research journal, believing that it helped to cultivate an interview amongst equals who were having a conversation together rather than what I feared prior to commencing the interviews, a hierarchical relationship between researcher and participant. Adopting this stance was not without some risk. I was concerned in that sharing my experience participants would compete with me as to who had the more extreme stalking experience. Men watch other men, and compete with each other (Kimmel, 1994). In fact this did not happen except in the case of Carl/a. When I felt this occurring, I just stopped talking about my experience, and re-focused on his/her experience which s/he was very happy to
continue to talk about. During all of the interviews, I listened intently to the participants’ stories, aware that some of their experiences resonated with my own and I considered how I responded to these stories in my research journal.

Nonetheless some of the interviews were harder than others to do, and this surprised me. This was especially true when the participants bragged about their experiences. This riled me. Reflecting on this, and speaking to a trusted friend about it, at the time I was thinking that they were devaluing their experience, somehow taking the gravitas away from my victimisation. It took a while to understand that some people may enjoy being stalked and as this was so far away from my own experience, I was aware of my thoughts and feelings and discussed them with trusted people. On other occasions, participants called the free phone at inopportune moments. In particular, when I was at home I wanted to relax and spend time with my family. For example, on one occasion a participant called as I was bathing my eldest son, which meant that I instantly had to take up the role of a researcher and get into an interview mode very quickly. This was difficult to do. On another couple of occasions, a participant called very late at night when all I wanted to do was go to bed. Again, I had to put aside my thoughts and emotions caused by this inconvenience and concentrate on the interview at hand. Any feelings about these experiences were later written down in a journal.

After all of the interviews had been completed, I began transcribing and analysing the interviews. This was undertaken during an intensive six month period. Once transcribing began I listened and re-listened to the interviews to make sure I accurately recorded words and thoughts and not how I interpreted them. This was not always easy to do. On several
occasions, I transcribed a sentence or thought, only to realise that what I had written was not what they said at all. Rather, it was what I thought they said. Re-listening and reviewing transcripts helped me to counter instances of this before it became a habit. One particular method also helped me. Each time I began analyzing a participant’s transcript I started a new note book. Symbolically, I wanted to start a new one each time I began transcribing as I did not want to be encumbered and influenced by my own experience and earlier analysis of participants’ stories. Once I completed transcribing and analysing all of the interviews I then began to make comparisons between them. Throughout the stages of transcription and data analysis I made extensive notes and kept analytic memos (often on the transcribed material itself) which facilitated the reflective process. My notes include thoughts on my role, the questions I asked and my reaction to the participants’ answers. I found that writing notes and memos helped me to maintain an internal dialogue throughout this stage of the research process.

All the way through the research, I have reflected on my role and, for me, keeping a research journal was particularly helpful. Lengthy discussions with my supervisors, writing extensive notes and memos, reading other research into sensitive areas and talking to trusted friends all helped me to be aware of my role in the research (Mason, 1996). All of this helped me to be systematic and rigorous in reflecting on my role throughout the research process.
3.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter dealt with the research design, methods of collection and analysis for this study. It has also described some of the ethical considerations and difficulties associated with the research process.

Overall, I found undertaking this research a huge learning curve. What it has revealed is that although as a researcher you can plan, but they do not always bear fruit. Although I had a strategy, it was almost by accident that I found a way to locate participants. The fact that I had to develop the sample myself illustrated my difficulty of finding a gatekeeper who could help to recruit participants. However, once I had made use of adverts and a freephone the research seemed to develop some momentum. This method provided an opportunity for the men to share their intimate experiences. Although I am confident that this was the best I could have done, I would have liked to have run a more extensive advertising campaign which may have resulted in additional participants. However, this was impossible given the financial constraints I was under as a self-funding student.

Overall, by using the methodology and the method of data analysis I have chosen, I hope to reveal and explore the accounts of the participants, drawing out the various elements that make up their stories.

Finally I can state that during the course of this study I have followed to my best abilities Mason's (1996) statement that data generation and analysis have been not only appropriate to the research question, but also thorough, careful, honest and accurate.
PRESENTATION OF DATA

Please note in the following data analysis I have used the words ‘some’, and ‘many’ when reporting how many men reported particular behaviours/actions or views. These judgments are based on the rough counts of mentions in the participants' narratives.
CHAPTER 4: WHAT IS STALKING?

4.1 INTRODUCTION

As I have illustrated in Chapter 1, legislators, clinicians and others have all struggled to agree upon a definition of stalking. Due to the lack of clarity as to what is stalking, rather than utilizing an existing definition in this study, I have explored the participants' narratives to identify what they actually mean by being stalked. In doing so, I have identified common themes existing across their narratives in spite of the wide range of contexts stalking victimisation can occur in. And these themes help to explain why the participants identified their experience as stalking. I begin this chapter by identifying the stalking behaviours in the participants' narratives. I will then highlight a number of overriding characteristics of these behaviours. Firstly, these behaviours are repeated again and again. Secondly, there is a pervading sense of menace and threat attached to the behaviours which the men find distressing. Lastly, these threatening behaviours, which are repeated again and again, comprise a course of conduct against the victim. I then go on to consider how these behaviours are experienced by the participants. Following on from this, I identify how these behaviours are experienced within four different realms; the emotional, mental, bodily and social realms. Finally, I posit that these experienced behaviours have an impact on the men and they can be interpreted as harms.

The first harm I explore draws out the participants' experiences of the emotional harm associated with being stalked. Focusing on the men's descriptions of their feelings, it reveals the largely negative feelings the participants experience whilst being stalked. Other participants' accounts also described how their mental health is affected by being stalked;
this is explored in this next section. I then discuss the threat of, and the experiences of bodily harm. The final harm focuses on the social harm of being stalked. This is an area I found to be rarely recognised in other research into stalking behaviour, yet, in this study it was a strong theme throughout many of the participants' accounts. Concentrating on the themes of embarrassment and stigma, this section on social harm explores how the experience of being stalked affects others' perceptions of the participants. In relation to the stigma associated with being stalked, a stalking experience can result in a man's reputation being permanently tainted. For some participants this can even result in them being ostracized from their local communities.

4.2 THE BEHAVIOURS

In this section, the principal question to be answered is, what behaviours have stalkers used to stalk the participants in this study? During the course of their narratives, the men identify a number of behaviours.

Across the participants' narratives, their experience of repeatedly being followed was the most common. Their experiences of being followed can be broadly categorised as either being followed from a distance, although, interestingly, the stalkers were often still clearly visible to the participants, or their experiences of being followed with their stalker in close proximity:
"One of them would follow me around my work place and then she and her friend would follow me all the way home. At the beginning [of being stalked] I would look around and see them there. They would both be staring at me, not saying anything just looking at me." (Steven) and

"Every time I came back into the area they [his stalkers] would start again, following me everywhere that I went. If I turned around, I could have touched them they were that close to me." (Alan)

On occasions, stalkers would also use their cars to follow the men. This could be either whilst the participants were walking or were in their own cars:

"I would walk home; as I was walking he would then draw alongside me in his car and then inch by inch follow me home. He would stop when I stopped and then carry on when I did." (Gregory)

On some occasions, being followed by a stalker can evolve into a direct approach. For the participants this could be very alarming as the stalkers would try and initiate a conversation with them. However, some approaches could be far more confrontational, as their approaches could be pregnant with the threat of potential violence:

"I could be anywhere, in front of my home, in the high street, anywhere, and he comes up to me. He's always got something to say." (Gregory) and

"He would come towards me, shouting at me, telling me what he thought of me." (Jeff)

Sometimes this threat of violence was actually realised:

"He walked toward me and then he hit me." (Adrian)

Stalkers can follow their victims because they watch and wait for them. This is illustrative of another common stalking behaviour in the participants' narratives. In front of the
participants' homes and work places stalkers watch and wait for their victims. Then, when
men leave these places and enter public space again, their stalkers once again follow them:

"These two women always watched me, they watch from the front and back of my house.
One of them paced around the front and the other one marched around the back. Back and
forth they go. You can see into the house from the road. They've watched me whilst I was
even doing the ironing!" (Joel)

and

"Hanging around outside [my home] I can always see them [his stalkers], and then as soon as
I step outside it starts all up again, as they follow me to the station." (Reuben)

When in the physical vicinity of their stalkers, stalkers would often try to verbally
communicate with the participants in this study. These communications ranged from
heartfelt confessions of love, to communications saturated with hate towards them:

"She turned up another time and asked me what I was doing as she wanted to go out with me
for the day. She said that she loved me and that we could go out on a date together." (Simon)

and

"He shouted across the street that he was going to kill me." (Adrian)

Many of the stalkers in this study want to be physically near their victims. However,
stalking behaviours are not entirely dependent on the stalkers being physically co-present
with their victims. Stalkers can find other means of maintaining contact with the
participants. They do so by utilizing various means of communication, including phoning,
sending texts, letters and emails:

"She was sending me letters. She always found my address. After changing jobs she would
always find me and then I got them [letters] again." (Simon)

Another common stalking behaviour in the participants' narratives was gossip. In the
ensuing chapters, I will illustrate how gossip instigated by a stalker can have serious repercussions on the men's identities:

"They have spread all these rumours and lies about me, gossiping and telling management about my alleged behaviour, all of which is untrue." (Steven)

During the course of this introductory section I have illustrated the common stalking behaviours in this study. Their stalking behaviours include, following, approaches, threats of violence and actual violence, watching and waiting, various communications and gossip. These behaviours were the most common stalking behaviours across the participants’ narratives. However, other stalking experiences were also used, although much less frequently. These behaviours included vandalism of the participant’s property, and trespass.

In his narrative, Gregory described his stalker repeatedly coming onto his private property which he feels powerless to stop:

"I am often in my property, and then the house’s intruder’s lights would go on, and so I know he has entered my grounds. This warns me that he is near. It has been exhausting. I have been taking antidepressants for it. I have been trying to get off them. For me this was the trigger point, when he started to intrude onto my property." (Gregory)

Adrian, a businessman, described how his former boyfriend vandalized his property. These behaviours included vandalism of his car and the shop he owned:

"He slashed my car tyres on two occasions and then he scraped a knife along the paintwork ruining it." (Adrian)

Other stalking behaviours also exist in the participants’ narratives. For example, Andrew returned home one evening to find photographs of himself all over his front garden. On another occasion, the photographs had been replaced by condoms; unsurprisingly this was very embarrassing. Finally, Joel on one occasion returned home from work and found his
two stalkers had ordered the delivery of pizzas to his home. Rather than ordering from one establishment the stalkers had called a number of restaurants, which obviously made it more difficult for Joel to stop them.

In this first section, I have described the most common stalking behaviours plus illustrations of rarer stalking behaviours. During the course of their stalking experiences, the participants experienced a number of these behaviours:

"She called me on the phone...the next day I received a letter from her, and then she turned up outside my house" (John)

These behaviours are also often repeated. I consider this theme in the following section.

**Repeated behaviours**

A distinct characteristic of the men’s experiences, that contributes to them labelling their experience as ‘stalking’ is that the behaviours are repeated:

He [his stalker] does it again [waiting for him to leave his home] and then the next day he does it again. It can go on for weeks." (Gregory)

It is this repetitive nature of stalking victimisation that drives many of the participants “mad”. Simon mentioned this particular theme in his interview; he described how the stalking behaviours used against him were repeated “again and again”. Similarly, Adrian described the repetitive elements of stalking victimisation. He described how it was the “drip drip drip” of stalking behaviours that drove him “crazy”. During the course of his interview, Adrian reviewed the diaries he kept of his stalking experience. As he did so, he highlighted the repetitive nature of stalking victimisation. For example, he mentioned that
many of his diary entries described his ex-boyfriend following him to and from work. He also noted the numerous telephone calls he received from his ex-boyfriend “day in and day out”. Other participants also recounted similar stories:

"Sometimes I would receive about 100 calls from her a week. She kept ringing me. I had to change my phone number five times, but she kept getting my number.” (Paul)

**Threat**

One theme which merits initial discussion here, but which is also picked up further on in the thesis, is the nature of many of the stalking behaviours. The stalking behaviours in this study are often made up of normal everyday behaviours, behaviours that are not considered unusual or problematic by other people. Although this is not always the case, as a number of individuals in this research receive threats of violence, including death threats. Nonetheless, the majority of the behaviours are commonly perceived as harmless and unproblematic. For example, receiving a letter is usually perceived as fairly normal and harmless, and this in itself illustrates the ambiguous nature of stalking behaviours. In themselves, these behaviours do not appear anything out of the ordinary. Yet, for the participants in this study, these mundane behaviours are perceived very differently, as they are often viewed as pregnant with threat. A letter which may appear to be innocuous to others, family, friends and work colleagues, is understood as a threatening communication, one that can provoke a strong reaction in its recipient:

"When she found me [Paul had moved house to get away from his ex-wife/stalker] and I received a letter from her... I felt as if my heart stopped..." (Paul)

While the behaviours in themselves may be considered as innocuous, the participants
perceive them very differently. These behaviours can threaten their personal, work and social lives. Stalked at home and work by his stalker, John’s personal and work life was seriously affected by his stalker:

“Her actions against me and my family could have meant that I could have lost everything”. (John)

This was echoed across the participants’ narratives. Reuben said the effect of stalking can be devastating because “You just don’t know what they can do”. Consequently, any action can be potentially threatening to the victim. As Lloyd said, a stalker and their actions against their victim can “rock the very foundations of your life”. This can result in a sense of foreboding and generalised fear pervading the participants’ narratives because of what the stalker can do to them.

**Course of conduct**

Altogether, these repeated and threatening behaviours are acts which comprise a course of conduct committed by one person [the stalker] against another [their victim]. Reviewing the men’s narratives, the stalkers certainly show fortitude and determination in stalking them. This is illustrated in the number of times these behaviours are repeated, often over a number of years. This course of conduct against a victim can even go on in spite of a stalker being sent to gaol. John admitted this. He regularly received letters from his stalker in spite of her being imprisoned for a number of years. As Paul said of his ex-wife, she stalked him “morning, noon and night”. Undoubtedly, there is continuity in the stalkers’ actions, which they regularly commit against their victims. From the participants’ perspective, they believe their stalkers have an objective in stalking them, for example, to begin a relationship, rekindle a relationship, or to make their lives as miserable as possible.
so that they move away from them. As Andrew said she [his stalker] was determined to “get what she wanted from me” i.e. rekindle their relationship. Jeff said that his stalker wanted to “blot him out for good” Therefore stalking comprises a course of conduct consisting of behaviours which are often perceived as threatening and which are repeated over a period of time against their victim, with the aim of the stalker (s) achieving their perceived objective (s).

4.3 'EXPERIENCING' STALKING BEHAVIOURS

Reading across the participants' narratives, it is clear the repeated and often threatening behaviours are 'experienced' by the men. Unsurprisingly, the experience of being stalked can provoke a strong emotional reaction in the men. This strong emotional reaction includes strong feeling of anger about their situation:

"Her campaign against me just wore me down, it was relentless and it made me really angry with her." (Andrew)

and

"This has been going on and on. I get angry about it but at the same time I fear for my own physical safety." (Lloyd)

At the opposite end of the spectrum, a stalking experience can occasionally result in feelings of great happiness. This feeling is evident when the men feel that they have been able to outwit their stalker or dare to believe that the stalking has finally ended. For example, when Adrian lost his stalker on the way home and he felt "chuffed". Or when Gregory believes that the stalking may have finally stopped because he has not seen his stalker for a while he felt "light-headed". However such an emotional high can be cruelly dashed when their stalker reappears. When this happened to Gregory he was left feeling
"devastated". Reflecting on his experience of being stalked, Charles described his experience as an "emotional rollercoaster", with "ups and downs", a theme echoed in many of the participants' narratives.

Whilst stalking is experienced in the emotional realm it is also experienced in the participants' mental realm. The experience of being stalked involves mentally engaging with their problem. For example, many of the men contemplate the 'why' question - why am I being stalked? They then develop their own explanations as to why they are stalked. This will be explored further on in this thesis. On a much more practical level, participants also attempt to resolve the daily predicament of being stalked. For example, they have to think about how they will avoid their stalker. Therefore the participants have to engage mentally with their problem:

"I've thought about it a lot. Trying to work out why someone would act like this towards me. Why do people behave like this?" (Gregory)

and

"If he is there [near his work] I used one of the routes [home] that had a better chance of losing him." (Adrian)

This constant mental engagement with being stalked can lead to deterioration in the participants' mental health:

"You just can't help thinking about it; I turn it over a lot, it’s just made me feel depressed." (Charles)

Exploring the emotional and mental realms of being stalked throws a light on the internal world of the participants and confirms that there is an internal dimension to being stalked, as their inner life can be consumed by being stalked. In contrast, the bodily and social
realms of being stalked focus attention onto the external world in which the men live in. The bodily realm of being stalked focuses on the physicality of being stalked. This realm includes the participants' awareness, reflections on and experiences of their own bodies during their experience of being stalked. For example, several participants spoke of trying to present to their stalker a presentation of self that was deliberately bolder and stronger than they truly felt. Therefore, participants attempted to present a display of strength and their bodies became a resource they could use to help shield themselves from their stalkers:

"If I saw him I didn’t want to give him the satisfaction of knowing how I felt so I just tried to lift myself up and looked blankly ahead." (Jeff)

At other times it was an awareness that their bodies could either protect them or more commonly could let them down in any physical altercation:

"I could look after myself; I wasn’t scared of her when she hit me." (Jason)

and

"I was fearful, I couldn’t fight them [his stalkers] they would have killed me if I had." (Reuben)

Finally, the experience of being stalked is also lived out in the participants' social realm. Being stalked involves an interaction between the participants and their stalkers, although the participants attempt to avoid any such interaction as I will illustrate in due course. A stalking experience can also involve the participants interacting with a wide range of other social actors including family members, friends, neighbours, work colleagues and criminal justice professionals. Any of these individuals can contribute to participants' experiences either positively or much more commonly negatively, as I will illustrate in due course. Not only do these actors play a significant part in shaping the participants' experiences,
collective groups also play a role. For example, the participants' neighbourhoods and their wider communities can either provide vital support or provide limited support for those individuals who are stalked:

"After a while everyone seemed to know about it [being stalked]. Every time I met them [a particular group of friends] I had to talk about it. It became a bit of a joke with them, sometimes, I felt as if I should produce an up-date sheet for them." (Joseph)

and

"After they knew about the situation the neighbours were quite helpful, telling me if and when she had been around." (John)

In this section, I have identified the different realms in which a stalking experience can be played out and are experienced. These four identified realms in themselves give a clear indication of how stalking is an experience that can invade a victim's life-world in their emotional, mental, physical and social realms. In the next section I explore more specifically how these behaviours are experienced in these four realms and can be categorised as 'harms'. They are conceptualised as 'harms' because stalking victimisation is an unwanted experience and it negatively impacts upon them. The fact that stalking is an unwanted experience is clearly seen in Reuben's and Lloyd's narratives. Stalked because they are gay men, they have done their utmost to avoid their stalkers' behaviours, many of which are violent and threatening. However, in spite of the men's endeavours and intervention by others including the police, the unwanted attention continues. As Peter said about his female stalker - "Nothing stops her. And I mean nothing. I tell her to go away, but she continues. And on and on she goes." However, in participants' Carl/a's, Peter's, and Scott's narratives, if their stalkers' behaviours are unwanted is more ambiguous. On certain occasions they like being stalked and they enjoy the attention they receive, a theme
I return to further on in this thesis. However, these three participants do eventually turn against their stalkers’ attentions as they gradually perceive them as potentially dangerous. Consequently, all three of them seek informal and formal sources of assistance to stop their stalkers.

I will not consider how stalking impacts upon on the male participants in this study. I have conceptualised this as a series of harms which include: emotional, mental, physical and social harms. These harms reveal previously unknown features about male stalking victimisation, all of which will be illustrated during the next section of this chapter.

### 4.4 EMOTIONAL HARM

As I have already illustrated above, the participants’ experiences of stalking behaviours elicit a strong emotional reaction. Describing the totality of their experience the men described being “upset” and “emotional” and “at a loss” because of their stalkers' actions. This emotional experiential dimension is experienced by the participants as a harmful because of its negative effects on them. I identified that this experiential dimension has two particular components. Firstly, it relates to the general characteristics of stalking and secondly, to specific stalking behaviours. I will address these two themes in the following sections.
General characteristics of stalking

The frequency of stalking behaviours

Several of the participants found the frequency of the behaviour a particularly emotionally distressing aspect of their stalking experience. Stefan described receiving phone calls throughout the day and night. On one day alone he received "over ninety calls". Predictably, this left him "emotionally exhausted". He was not alone. Frequent phone messages that constantly disrupted their lives were common across the participants' narratives:

"It just got worse and worse. The volume of phone messages was immense. She would leave dozens and dozens of them. If she couldn't be near me the phone seemed to be the next best thing for her." (Stefan)

and

"I could forget about him for a while and then I would be reminded again by him calling me." (Adrian)

For some of the participants, the frequency of the stalking behaviours simply became too much to bear. Joseph had, over a number of months, tried to stop a female work colleague from stalking him. His colleague's stalking behaviour towards him consistently involved her trying to get assigned to Joseph's projects; following him as she attempted to interact with him and constantly calling him. Together, these stalking behaviours completely wore Joseph down. One day it came too much for him to bear, and he broke down in front of her:

"I just had enough. I asked her what she wanted from me, why are you following me. Why do you ring me all the time? I told her again I was gay and not interested in her." (Joseph)

The duration of the stalking experience

The frequency of stalking behaviours is also accentuated by the length of time a stalking
experience can continue. In this study the participants' stalking experiences ranged from five weeks to over fifteen years. Many of the participants' stalking experiences are still ongoing. This realisation that the stalking may never stop can have an emotional effect on the participants leaving some of them feeling exhausted:

"It's [stalking] been going on for years, I feel completely exhausted by it...I am physically and emotionally drained." (Charles)

**The arsenal of stalking behaviours**

The arsenal of stalking behaviours can also compound the emotional effect of being stalked on the participants. For example, on one day a stalker could threaten to kill their victim yet the next day they could tell them that they loved them. This lack of consistency in behaviour resulted in participants being unsure of what to expect from their stalker and this can be emotionally draining. This theme is clearly illustrated in Adrian’s story. In 1995 Adrian began a relationship with Paolo. Although he was initially happy with him, the relationship soon became characterised by Paolo’s aggressive behaviour towards him:

"He was a very aggressive person. I did not want to be with someone who was so aggressive, it was not for me. We talked about buying a house together but I realized that it was a mad idea. But I still moved in with him in April 1995...in May 1996 we split up and that was all to do with his aggressive behaviour towards me." (Adrian)

Once Adrian ended the relationship Paolo started to stalk him. His stalking behaviour included repeated phone calls, watching and waiting for him, vandalizing his property, verbal abuse and physical violence. He even threatened to kill Adrian. However, whilst he utilised all these behaviours to stalk him, at the same time he also tried to persuade Adrian to go out for a drink with him. Adrian believed that he did this with the aim of rekindling
their relationship:

"He tried to persuade me to have a drink, and I thought about it for a bit, was he interested in me again? He then got aggressive on the phone and I did not want to fuel it." (Adrian)

Paolo's apparent desire to rekindle their relationship confused Adrian. On occasions, Adrian entertained his suggestion. If he did befriend him again, would it stop him from stalking him?

"A couple of times I thought about going but then decided not to. My friends thought I was mad to even think about meeting him." (Adrian)

This radical change in tactics by the stalkers often flummoxed participants and this was especially true when their stalker was a former ex-partner, who often oscillated between aggression and kindness towards their victim:

"He is very good at making you feel guilty. He was always trying to stop me from walking away from our relationship. He talks, well he tries to talk to me, and at first he may be very aggressive and then he'll try another tactic, reminiscing about our past. That is why he is walking around and following me, he wants to talk about it and wants to be with me." (Ben)

This change in tactic often lulled the participants into the false belief that they should maybe begin a dialogue with their stalker again. Perhaps this change in tactic could mean that the stalking would stop? During these times, the men took the opportunity to tell their stalker how they felt about the stalking behaviour against them:

"I tried to talk to him. I told him I was not interested and that he had to stop." (Ben)

**Feeling imprisoned**

"I felt trapped, the kids felt trapped. I didn't want to go out." (Joel)
Because of the risk of interacting with their stalker several participants became increasingly reluctant to leave their homes. During the initial stages of the participants' stalking experiences their home is perceived by them as a 'safe' place. It is a place they can be free from surveillance, where they can relax and be themselves, where they are off-stage (Saunders, 1989). However stalkers do approach their victims' home. In doing so their victims' immediate environment is threatened. Consequently, there is a greater sensitivity to their "umwelt" - "the sphere around the individual within which potential sources of alarm are found" (Goffman 1971:8). This results in increased vigilance and watchfulness:

"We had just moved to a village, it was beautiful, picturesque and lovely. My wife loved it and we both enjoyed the garden, but she [his stalker] found out we had moved in and she started to hang out down the road. We could see her from the kitchen so we kept an eye on her..." (John)

Trying to protect their home address from their stalker usually failed and this was distressing. In response to his stalking experience, Paul moved house in an attempt to hide from his stalker. However, his stalker soon found him:

"Within two weeks [of moving away] she found me and was calling and writing to me there, how did she find me?" (Paul)

Once the stalkers had located their homes, the stalking began here. Stalkers would either wait for them at the bottom of the road or by their front gate or would constantly patrol around their property. Some stalkers ventured nearer, shouting through their letter box, knocking on their door or ringing their doorbell. As a result of these behaviours, participants felt they were besieged in their own home and imprisoned by their stalker. Joel described his experience of being stalked by a mother and daughter team:
"They were watching us at our home. The mum was also watching my children from the back of the house. I would have to tell my children to get down in front of the windows in case they saw us... how stupid was I to change everything we did..." (Joel)

and Jeff said the following:

"I was stalked at my own home. I couldn’t even walk outside. You try and ignore it but it was impossible. He was watching me, I felt very invaded. You can avoid a stalker, but you can’t avoid a stalker who is also your neighbour... you need your own space, when you are being stalked, it is so important to have your own space. So I shut my curtains so I could keep him out." (Jeff)

As a result of being stalked near or at their home this once secure and private space is transformed, in the participants’ mind’s eye, into something more like a prison. Fear of interacting with their seemingly ever-present stalker resulted in them not leaving their homes because inside their homes they feel safe. However, as some of the participants found, a stalker can even breach this space and by doing so they smash the perceived safety of the home. Consequently, this space, perceived as secure and safe, is threatened because physical walls do not stop a stalker. For example, a telephone call into their home, or an email, is a route into the participants’ homes:

"She would call me again and again at my home; I couldn’t get away from her." (Peter)

Justin said the following:

"She got hold of my email address so not only was I getting phone calls and texts, she also started to clog up my email account at home." (Justin)

This inability to protect his home from his stalker resulted in Gregory avoiding his home. Instead, he preferred to stay at a flat he had in town. He was fortunate that he had another place to stay; others did not. Consequently, they had to take more drastic action. In his interview, Jeff described being stalked by his neighbour. The severity of the stalking towards him resulted in him staying inside as much as possible. When it became too much for him he moved. Consequently, Jeff now lives in a secret location. In moving home, in
his own mind, he has restored the image of a home as a safe place. However, in finding a new safe place there is always the risk for him that he will be found by his stalker. To protect himself, he has had to retreat from interacting with his new neighbours in case they leak information of his whereabouts to his stalker. Still, at the moment he is safe:

"Now I have my own corner of the world. A little part of the world in a safe place completely closed off from it all. My new house is a safe place." (Jeff)

**A lack of support**

Another component of a stalking experience which can add to the participants' emotional distress is the lack of support from others during their experience. Lloyd described how he had moved from the south of England to a northern town because of a change in employment. Moving into this community, he had encountered homophobic prejudices from this new community which he believed had resulted in his being stalked by a number of its residents. He described the previous Friday night to me:

"They call me on my phone; these calls are very distressing. Last Friday, I received 17 calls from one person. I don't know their name but I know them by sight." (Lloyd)

This incident, coupled with numerous other incidents, had left him feeling "fearful". These feelings had been exacerbated, as he had unsuccessfully tried to secure assistance from both his family and the police. He said that, although he regularly informed the police, they have repeatedly been of no assistance to him. One police officer said the following to him:

"What do you want us to do; there is nothing we [i.e. the police] can do to help you." (Lloyd)

Even when he told his only brother about his experience he received no help from him. His
brother told him that he should go to his Doctor for a medical consultation as he was the one who needed help! So in Lloyd’s case we see a theme that will reappear in subsequent chapters; the men’s difficulty to secure assistance from expected sources of help. This compounded Lloyd’s feelings of being alone throughout his experience. As a result of this, he seemed to be desperate for the stalking to end:

"It does worry me, it is very difficult. It’s really getting to me, I need a break. I want to get on with my life... I don’t know what avenue to follow, or if there is anything I can do to stop it. It’s just me on my own, me against them." (Lloyd)

This theme of the lack of support from expected sources of help was illustrated in nearly all of the participants’ stories, and is a theme that is addressed further on in this thesis. However, it is worth noting now because of the link between this part of their experience and associated feelings of emotional distress.

**Stalking behaviours that result in strong emotional reactions**

**Approaches**

Jeff described leaving his home as this always left him feeling "churned up". Prior to being stalked, public space was considered relatively safe and he had given “no thought about going out”. However, since being stalked, any move into a public space had to be carefully managed in case his stalker (s) approached him. This was a frequent occurrence in the participants' narratives as stalkers often waited for them:
"He was regularly coming around, waiting for me between 6-6.30 pm, the shop would close and then he would start to follow me home." (Adrian)

and

"He sleeps in his car outside my home. He is always waiting for me to appear. When he sees me he starts to follow me and then he tries to talk to me." (Ben)

Unsurprisingly, the participants tried to avoid these approaches. According to Goffman (1967) interaction can be focused and unfocused. When the interaction is focused there needs to be some common ground in order to make it effective. Whilst the stalkers would often try doggedly to get the participants to talk to them, for example Ben’s stalker would often reminisce about their past together and thereby try to open up an encounter with him, the participants perceived that there was absolutely no common ground between them. Any face to face engagement or encounter with the stalker was problematic and was to be avoided at any cost. Gregory used the following phrase in his narrative which generally reflects other participants’ reactions to their stalkers approaching them: “he would try and talk to me, but I ignored him”. The participants in this study never wanted to reciprocate or ratify their encounter, thereby signalling to the stalker that they were willing to open themselves up for interaction. This determination not to interact with the stalker, however, often fuelled the stalker to try even harder to interact with the participants to get them to talk to them. Therefore, the participants’ non-reaction to their approach could further incite the stalker as they sought to goad the participants to react, despite their failure to adhere to face-to-face interaction. What can result is a vicious cycle of the stalker trying to get a reaction from the participants and the participants’ attempts to ignore them:

"When they [his stalkers] come towards me, I would put my head down and try and get away from them, but this gets them angrier." (Reuben)

and
"I could receive 15-20 miscalls a day. I didn't answer them...when I ignored him he would get really pissed off...one day I refused to talk to him and then he smashed my car up" (Adrian)

**Surveillance**

A specific stalking behaviour which incited a strong emotional reaction in the participants was the stalker's ability to watch and monitor them. Jeff complained that, as his stalker was unemployed, he could devote all of his time to stalking him. This resulted in the stalker watching Jeff at home, whilst at work, and even whilst socialising, although Jeff eventually stopped socialising because of his stalker's presence:

"He was watching me from his house across the road. Again and again I would see him watching me, waiting for me to go out." (Jeff)

Other participants also mirrored Jeff's comments:

"He must have been watching me. He was always turning up. He turned up at my college, my home and wherever I went. He turned up in the swimming pool and then he would turn up at the campus and suddenly appear behind me." (Carl/a)

The surveillance of the participants is a powerful form of communication in itself. For, in being watched, the stalkers were repeatedly reminding their victims that they could not escape them. This belief that they cannot escape is highlighted by the very nature of the monitoring. This monitoring is not covert, rather, as Joel described it, his stalkers "wanted to be noticed." Joel described how a number of months after the death of his wife in a tragic accident, Joel had started to date again. However, his two female stalkers, one of whom was romantically interested in him, stalked him everywhere; they even followed him out on various dates. Of course, this level of surveillance fanned conflict between Joel and his stalkers:
"They would be there and I would be trying to talk to her [his girlfriend] and they would be staring at me or they would try and brush by me." (Joel)

and

"They would see me [on a date with a girlfriend]. The next day I would receive a letter about it; it was full of filth about my girlfriend and me." (Joel)

Yet convincing others of the effects of being under constant surveillance and how upsetting it could be was often very difficult, as it appeared to be a fairly innocuous behaviour:

They would watch me at my house, and I'd have to duck when I passed windows in case they saw me. Some of my mates at work would laugh about it but more than anything else they did I found it to be very intrusive." (Joel)

Surveillance invokes a strong emotional reaction in the men because surveillance results in stalkers collecting information about them. Through surveillance stalkers collect identity knowledge about their victims (Marx, 1999). Identity knowledge such as name, home and work address, employment details and daily behavioural patterns is collected by stalkers. This knowledge is used by them to further facilitate their stalking of victims, for example through surveillance a stalker learns the "timescales" of their victim's life. Thus they know where to be at the right time. This surveillance undermines the expectation that individuals can maintain privacy and control information about themselves, something they have previously taken for granted. Unsurprisingly, for many of the participants this invokes a strong emotional reaction.
4.5 MENTAL HARM

Several men described how the daily grind of being stalked, affected their mental health. Adrian admitted that being stalked had heavily impacted on his mental health. Feeling depressed at times, he could no longer think rationally about his own circumstances. This was pertinently illustrated on one occasion. He explained that whilst at home one night, he became absolutely convinced that his ex-partner, who was stalking him, was in his home. Despite a wide range of precautions, including a concierge service aware of his stalker, a newly installed security system and front door with a new lock, he was convinced that his stalker had entered his home; so much so that he called the police:

"One time I was completely paranoid. I was so convinced that he [his former boyfriend who was stalking him] was in the building. I called the police to look throughout the building. I got them looking under the beds, everywhere." (Adrian)

Jeff described "it’s the constant looking over my shoulders" that resulted in his living in a constant state of hyper vigilance. This in itself resulted in strong feelings of anxiety, which is also mirrored in other participants' experiences.

"It was the first thing I thought about when I got up, and the last thing I thought about as I went to bed...it constantly goes over and over in my mind, this low level of anxiety goes on and on..." (Paul)

and

"It something you get used to, this anxiety, this living on the edge." (Charles)

Finally it’s the pressure of being stalked for long periods of time that can affect the participants’ mental health:
"Everyone says I should leave but why should I move? Why should I move? I have been here over 20 years. The most amazing thing is that I think it has stopped and then I run into him, and then it starts again. It is as if he’s saying- "I got you" and this has made me really anxious." (Gregory)

4.6 BODILY HARM

"He put an envelope through the door. It said he wanted to kill me." (Adrian)

and

"He would walk behind me [his ex-boyfriend/stalker] he was always waiting for me outside the shop. Once he walked behind me, and then he came round in front of me and he hit me in the face. A friend said to me this had gone beyond jilted lover." (Adrian)

Threats of physical violence or actual experience of it permeated several of the participants' narratives. As I have illustrated in Chapter 1, the research literature strongly suggests there is a link between a relationship breaking down, domestic violence and stalking. This literature reflects the number of women who experience stalking within the context of domestic violence. In this research study, the male participants also make their own link between stalking and domestic violence. Ben and Adrian, in their respective narratives address how the issue of domination and control was a strong aspect of their former relationships with their ex-boyfriends; a theme identified in other research into gay relationships (Cruz & Firestone, 2002). Their desire to dominate and control them eventually culminated in violence against them. Whilst they were still in their respective relationships, this element of control was played out through stalking behaviours. The stalking behaviour included constantly checking up on them:

"Anything he could do he would use to check on me. Checking on who I was with, where I was going and for how long and he constantly phoned me when I was out."(Ben)
Gay men grow up in a predominantly heterosexual world where they learn the standard language of masculinity, one that clearly indicates that men are socialized and expected to behave in a certain way. The general societal portrayal of masculinity appears intertwined with violence and aggressive domination of others (Connell, 1995). Ben and Adrian's stalking ex-partners lived up to this presentation of masculinity in their relationships, as their former partners attempted to dominate and control them:

"When we were together he used to constantly be needling me, telling me what I should do."
(Adrian)

and

"It [the violence] started when we were together. Getting frustrated with me he started to lash out. ")(Ben).

This aggressive violent stalking behaviour was also evident once their respective relationships had ended as their ex-partners tried to maintain contact with them and control them (Donovan et al 2006). After leaving his violent relationship Ben found a new place to live but his former partner found him again. Once his ex-boyfriend/stalker had found his new address, he was a constant presence at his new address. Consequently, he was again living with this threat of violence and despairing of his situation:

"He was often violent, he used to hit me. Our relationship ended about a month ago. So I moved. It's now got so bad that he now sits outside the house. He follows me from my work to home, trying to talk to me; he says he wants me back. He knows the timescales of my life. He is well known around here. I think people are scared and they don't want to get involved. I go to a local pub and he recently assaulted me, but the doormen were hopeless, they did not 'see' anything." (Ben)

Reflecting other participants' narratives, Jason's experiences of being stalked within the context of domestic violence was an established pattern of behaviour whilst he still lived
with his ex-girlfriend:

"She became very possessive. She would ring me constantly to check where I was and what I was doing. I know that she would follow me. Sometimes she would follow me around the high street. She would be aggressive and so possessive it was like anything I had, or I was involved in, she wanted." (Jason)

Whilst they were still living together Jason's girlfriend would constantly check where he was and who he was with. When the relationship ended, his ex-girlfriend continued to act as if nothing had actually changed between them. She still wanted to be part of his life and stalking was a means by which she could be; stalking behaviour was a means of retaining a physical and emotional link with him. Similarly when Paul had left his wife and moved out of the family home because of domestic violence amongst other things, his wife's stalking behaviour towards him escalated. The stalking behaviours comprised of following and watching him and calling him on the telephone; he estimated that she called him sometimes up to one hundred times a week. He was desperate to be free of her. Consequently, he moved with their two sons (his daughter stayed with his wife) to a large metropolitan city.

His plan was to hide in the city but his plan failed:

"I gave up my job and moved away, some hundred miles away, I just wanted to disappear. Within two weeks she found me, and she was calling me and writing to me at the new address." (Paul)

Paul found out through a friend that his wife had hired private detectives to follow him. Frequently, he would come home to find two men waiting and loitering outside his home. Paul knew she had sent them to watch him. In doing so, she was effectively asking others to stalk on her behalf. So, even though she was not physically present, her presence was still very much felt by him:
"Later, I went to the petrol station and again I was followed by these two guys. They stalked me for about another three months. I know that she was behind it all." (Paul)

On two occasions these men attacked Paul:

"I came home one night and there were two men outside my house, as I started to get out of the car they started to kick the car and they started to drag me out and hit me. I jumped back in and sped off, but they then started to chase after the car." (Paul)

In this study, violent stalking behaviour did not solely occur where there had been a prior intimate relationship between the two parties. Jeff described being stalked by his neighbour. The genesis of his stalking experience began after Jeff had requested his neighbour to move his car from Jeff's allocated car parking space. In response to his request he received a curt reply telling him to "fuck off". The following day, Jeff was outside of his house when this occurred:

"There I was washing my car; he started to shout at me. He then attacked me with a cricket bat. This stemmed from the original incident about the car parking space, but it was all an excuse to get me." (Jeff)

Similar to other participants in this study, Jeff tried to understand why this "incomprehensible" behaviour was happening to him. His only explanation was that his neighbour was homophobic and this physical attack was rooted in his prejudicial attitudes towards gay men. As a result of this violent incident Jeff was hospitalized. From that point on, he had to manage the daily threat of violence, re-evaluating his relationship to his own personal safety (Stanko, 1993). Previous to this incident he had always taken his safety for granted but he now had to engage with it prior to leaving his house. Eventually he decided it was easier and far safer to stay inside his home:
"I couldn't even walk outside my own home... he was watching me from his house. It just became easier to stay in as much as possible." (Jeff)

Finally, at other times, stalkers left powerful messages about their capabilities of violence: attacks on their property - vandalizing their home or cars – all added to the men's anxiety:

"I saw her driving past my house about midnight. The next morning there was a slash in my tyre and someone had dragged a knife down the side of the car, she had obviously done it." (Charles)

I believe that Goffman's (1967) work on interaction ritual and the development of a character contest provides a framework to understand interactions between both parties that can culminate in the threat of violence or a violent altercation. Goffman (1967) describes a character contest as a special kind of moral game whereby every day and in many ways an individual will to score points against another. In doing so, the person initiating the character contest will try and establish a definition of self at the expense of the other. The common goal being to demonstrate whose character is the strongest. By bargaining, threatening, promising and using violence, one actor attempts to get another actor to react to them. How the recipient of this behaviour reacts depends on their strength of character.

As the contest continues it begins to resemble a game where one actor continually tries to provoke the other. Gregory described his stalking experience in this manner:

"It's like a game of 'cat and mouse'; one in which he [the stalker] was constantly trying to get me, to get me to react. This has caused me a lot of anxiety. It's very distressing. I have been trying to avoid him for the last 15 years but, he goes out of his way to get me. He always has something to say. If I see him across the road or the field he tries to get close to me. If I see him and I am in my car I will go in an opposite direction, but he follows me and tries to make contact. He has followed me dangerously in the car and then has tried to flag me down. It's like a game with him, the more determined I try to avoid him and not to have contact, the more determined he seems to get." (Gregory)

Gregory went onto remark that his stalker's behaviour revealed to him "what kind of man
he is." Therefore, his stalker's actions towards him facilitated the collection of discrediting information about his stalker's character. Gregory went onto describe him as a "bully." In a character contest the aggressor, in this instance the stalker, commits behaviour that the victim, "cannot scarcely overlook... they goad him with increasing implacable acts we speak here of "baiting" "rankling" "goading" or "getting a rise" (Goffman, 1982: 240). The various stalking behaviours in this study, the constant phone calls, the following, the watching and waiting and so on, can be construed as 'goads' that cajole the men to react to their stalkers:

"They [his two stalkers] came to my work place making a big fuss to get me to react to them, it was hard not to." (Joel)

and

"She waited outside my house, shouting at me, trying to get me downstairs to talk to her." (Simon)

For the majority of the time, most of the participants in this study did not visibly react to the stalkers' behaviour against them (in spite of wanting to) as Ben said, he "did not want to give him the satisfaction of knowing how he felt." In doing so, Ben demonstrated and provided evidence of his own strength of character. This is indicative of one of the defensive tactics of many participants, they impression manage their presentation of self in front of their stalker (Goffman, 1959). They need to ensure that their presentation of self does not 'leak' information of the inner anger/distress they feel because of their stalker. However, reading across the narratives violence (or the threat of violence) is the behaviour towards them that can entice a reaction from participants as they refuse to back down:
"He kept going at me, he keeps trying to get me, and I just had enough, after it (an assault) I hit back." (Alan)

and

"He was shouting at and then this guy catapulted two large stones they literally missed me by a whisker. This time I retaliated and I threw stones back at him. I was so frustrated." (Lloyd)

Unsurprisingly in the face of physical violence, the impression management technique of appearing indifferent towards their stalker and/or ignoring them becomes too difficult to maintain and the men's true disposition towards their stalker is revealed:

"They [the men hired by his wife] were outside my house again as I was coming in [to his house]. Again they tried to ambush me, but this time I managed to hit back at one of them." (Paul)

and

"He was standing in front of me, shouting at me, I began to lose it myself. I told him what I thought of him and what he was doing." (Jeff)

However, there is a 'cost' for displaying any such reaction. For in reacting to their stalkers' behaviour, the stalker will know that they are 'getting' to their victim which undermines their victim's strength of character. After one particular altercation with his stalker in which Jeff felt threatened by him, he went home and the following happened:

"When I got home I saw him [they were neighbours] at the window and he was laughing at me." (Jeff)
4.7 SOCIAL HARM

A theme outlined in all the participants’ stories is how being stalked can affect an individual man’s identity; particularly how it can be both embarrassing and stigmatizing.

Embarrassment

A common emotional reaction to impression mismanagement is embarrassment, the spontaneous feeling individuals will experience when the identities they present are discredited in front of others (Goffman, 1967). Several of the participants spoke of their stalkers intentionally embarrassing them thus calling into question their presented image in front of their family, friends and work colleagues. Intentionally embarrassing another person calls into question the other person’s presented identity. As a result of this the person who is embarrassed may be harmed unless they take actions to 'save face'. However, even when they do try to 'save face’, the men in this study found that in doing so they could escalate the situation causing them to lose their poise in front of others:

"She [one of his stalkers] came to my work. It was very embarrassing. I had to tell my boss. As they say, “there is no smoke without fire.” My work colleagues kept asking me what I had done to her. On a couple of occasions she made such a fuss that I had to go and talk to her, try and calm her down in front of everyone else… I couldn't handle her.” (Joel)

and

"I tried to reason with her but she wasn't having any of it; she just got more and more worked up.” (John).

During the course of his interview, John recalled his female stalker frequently coming to his place of work where she often "caused a great deal of trouble." This included her approaching his staff as they were leaving work where she would bombard them with
questions about John, as well as revealing personal details about his home life.

Embarrassed by her and worried about what his employees thought about her presence,
John felt compelled on several occasions to intervene in an attempt to stop her from talking
to his employees, through his attempts often failed as she would "cause a scene." This
harmed John as he believed that the frequently embarrassing interactions with his stalker in
front of his work colleagues and employees undermined him and his ability to "deal with
situations." As a result of his stalker's behaviour John's acceptable image of self to others
was clearly compromised, leaving him discredited. This was confirmed to John through the
rumours that circulated amongst his work colleagues about his stalker and "what had he
done to her." John believed his stalker's intention was to deliberately embarrass him and
discredit him in front of others. What John found was that as his stalking experience
continued his stalker's strategies to embarrass him continued to develop which persistently
called into question his projected identity:

"She sent letters to my staff about me... she told the neighbours I was friends with the IRA.
She harassed the neighbours. She went to the pub in the village where everyone knows me
and would write on the outside wall about me. Some of the neighbours would look at me in
disgust; others would think what a good life I had! But it was all highly embarrassing." (John)

and

"Now my wife did not understand this and she did not know my background and, so she
thought is there something in this?" (John)

Embarrassment can also be caused through association. This occurs when one feels
embarrassed by being associated with another individual's inappropriate behaviour. When
this occurs there is the possibility of the negative attributes of the individual committing the
inappropriate behaviour also being applied to the person who is embarrassed. For example,
Joseph described some of the "weird behaviour" his stalker engaged in as she tried to
interact with him. As she did so, Joseph wondered what other people thought of him:

"She said that she wanted to talk to me. Then on the tube she got in my carriage. She started talking at me. She was talking very loudly. She said that she wanted to talk to me in an African language. I just tried to ignore her. It was all becoming increasingly bizarre, it was very embarrassing as everyone was staring at us." (Joseph)

and

"People used to stare at what was going on, they [his work colleagues] thought I was to blame." (Joseph)

Across the narratives in this study it was common for stalkers to approach the participants in socially-unacceptable ways. For instance, Simon's stalker frequently approached him in public places with a can of yellow paint with which she repeatedly tried to douse him. Unsurprisingly his strategy was to run away from her. However, he was conscious of what other people would think of him as he was running away from a woman. His reaction reveals that Simon was clearly aware of failing to live up to his expectations of what he considers a 'man', hence his embarrassment.

Another cause of embarrassment that I will explore further on in this thesis is linked with the perceived undermining of the masculine identity because it is men who are experiencing stalking victimisation. Jason complained that his former ex-female partner would scratch his face leaving visible signs of her violent behaviour towards him. These physical signs embarrassed him so that he had to "try to explain it away"; he did not want others to know that he had been hit by a woman. Stefan picked up on this theme believing that his stories of domestic violence and stalking would be regarded as a joke by friends. Consequently he kept his story a secret. This is not surprising; men who experience
domestic violence at the hands of a female partner are often portrayed negatively and thought less of a man (Stitt & Macklin, 1995; Brogden & Harkin, 2000). As Malcolm George (1994) states, there is a taboo status connected to male victimisation in relation to domestic violence, with male victims not admitting victimisation because of the stereotypes associated with being a man, and because of the unwillingness of others to acknowledge them as victims. This is a theme I return to in the following chapters.

**Stigma**

Erving Goffman’s definition of stigma is an “attribute that is deeply discrediting” that reduces the bearer “from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one” (Goffman, 1963:3). He goes on to describe a stigma as a negative reaction to all those who do not match societal expectations of normality. Some stigmatized characteristics are readily visible, for example facial disfigurement. In contrast to the stigma of facial disfigurement, other stigmata can be concealed, for instance a concealed discreditable stigma is sexual orientation. Those individuals with a discreditable concealable stigma may seek to avoid the negative reaction of others by trying to conceal their stigmatizing condition. However, others may choose to self disclose to another about a concealable stigma although this can place the individual at a heightened risk of negative sanctions. According to Goffman (1963), once a stigma is revealed an individual may experience stereotypical names being applied to them, social ostracism, discrimination and physical attack. For example, Lloyd described being stalked for a number of months by a gang of youths from his local community. Lloyd believed his gay identity in his neighbourhood was a dangerous liability (Jenkins, 1996) as "people are not very accepting here". Therefore, Lloyd believed he was
stalked because he was gay. Lloyd described the community he lives in as comprising of people from a "working class background" who have lived all their lives in the same place and where "men are men" in a way that is seen as socially significant. As a gay man he was marked out as different and 'other' and therefore experiences stigmatisation. The subsequent stalking behaviour instigated against Lloyd resulted in his stalkers primarily watching and waiting for him outside his home, and his being followed to and from work. However, as a means of displaying their dislike for Lloyd, when he entered public space, he was met with a barrage of insults and taunts from his stalkers. This stalking behaviour which is loaded with stereotypes about gay men constantly re-affirms to him how he is perceived by others. He is seen as other; different from the majority. This reaction to his otherness is supported by the wider community:

"Even the neighbours, they know what is going on, but there has been no support from them. They do not like gay men. They have done nothing to help me." (Lloyd)

Due to his fear of his stalkers, once in a public space, Lloyd also chooses to avoid specific places and potentially adverse situations for his own personal safety.

During the course of his interview, Lloyd repeatedly stated that he did not 'belong' to his local community. He has no links into his community so he was not a "local", which in itself made him feel unsafe (Merry, 1981; Walklate, 1996). Consequently, he had no-one who could support his definition of self as a gay man who was not perceived as a pervert. He perceives himself as an outsider; a man devoid of strategic resources, for example friends, to counter the stalkers' allegations and behaviours against him; consequently; he felt powerless to stop the stalkers behaviour while the tight-knit community label had the
power to enforce their definition of him:

"I've only recently moved here, so I don't know many people, so it's been very difficult to stop it. I don't know anybody, so I have no-one to go to for help." (Lloyd)

Other men in this sample also found that their stalkers' actions against them resulted in a deviant and stigmatising label being placed on them. Joel, a single father of three children described how he had resisted the attentions of a woman named Jeanette who "fancied" him. When he refused Jeanette's advances, Jeanette and her mother began to stalk him. The stalking behaviours in this case study included the stalkers watching and waiting for him outside his home and work, following him to and from his home, regularly shouting at him and sending abusive letters to him. On one occasion, upon returning from a three-week family holiday, Joel received a visit from the Social Services children's department:

"I took my kids away on holiday, when we returned I had a visit from the Social Services. There had been allegations that I had an alcohol problem and that I had abandoned my children, nothing was further from the truth. I found out that there were further allegations about me because my daughter's school was also investigating these claims, I found out that they [his two stalkers] had reported me to Social Services." (Joel)

Further on in his narrative, his stalkers had also started to spread rumours about Joel around the estate in which he lived. This time they spread the lie he was a drug pusher:

"They were telling people that I was involved with drugs and that I was plying people with them." (Joel)

In spreading lies about Joel, the stalkers attempted to present him as 'different'; a neglectful father and a potentially dangerous member of the community. In a tight knit neighbourhood these lies soon spread. However, in order to mitigate the effects of his spoiled identity, Joel tried to tackle it straight on and addressed it with his friends and neighbours. This involved
him in giving an account of his story to others - "telling it like it was, not what they thought it was". In undertaking this task he was completing aligning actions (Stokes & Hewitt, 1976). However, despite his best efforts to address his spoiled identity; there was always the risk that his version of events (in effect his aligning action) would not be believed:

"They would scream and rant about me. It was scary stuff. They would wait outside, trying to catch people's attention so they could spread more of their rubbish. I would have to tell neighbours and friends, it was always like "Yeah right, what did you do to them. It was very embarrassing." (Joel).

4.8 CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter was to answer the question of what is stalking from the point of view of the participants in this study. Exploring the narratives, it is clear that being stalked has several interconnecting parts that are present in all of the men's narratives. It is these features that enable the participants to label their experiences as stalking. These features are the stalking behaviours themselves which have particular characteristics, and how these behaviours are experienced by the participants, across four different realms - the emotional, mental, physical and social. The impact on the men across these four realms can be interpreted as harms. This finding has revealed how being stalked can affect every area of a person's life. As Adrian commented in his narrative; being stalked "completely consumes you".

In the opening section of this chapter, I began by firstly, exploring the various behaviours the men identified as constituents of stalking. These behaviours include, following, watching and waiting, approaches, threats of violence and actual violence, communications
and finally gossip. I then identified key characteristics of these behaviours which enable the men to label their experiences as 'stalking'. Firstly, the behaviours are repeated. Secondly, although many of the stalking behaviours in this study appear to be quite ordinary, for the participants in this study, the behaviours are pregnant with threat. This in itself is an important finding. Whilst stalking behaviours are often perceived to be ordinary and innocuous to others, and can be described nebulously they are not experienced nebulously at all. In fact they are powerfully experienced, often provoking a strong reaction in the participants. This finding is neatly summed up when Gregory described that every time he saw his stalker moving towards him, it was like "being winded". Finally, these behaviours comprise a course of conduct against the men, as the stalkers seek to achieve their objectives. The participants perceive the objectives of their stalkers, and these objectives include rekindling a relationship with them, and to make their lives "hell".

As I have already explored in Chapter 1 and 2 of this thesis, ‘stalking’ has proven notoriously difficult to define. Consequently, clinical and legal definitions of stalking are vague, and in the case of the Protection from Harassment Act (1997), it is non-existent. As a result of this, the research literature frequently refers to the nebulous nature of stalking and the complexity of defining it (Boon & Sheridan, 2002; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2003). Not surprisingly then, stalking as a distinct behaviour lacks both shape and form. For this reason it could be argued that some of the behaviours the men in my study experienced spring from domestic violence or homophobia and naming them as stalking obscured that. However, my study has been focused on the ways in which the things people do — following, contacting, threatening, are named as stalking by the men who contacted me to take part in my research, and the ways in which the label of stalking can be said to have
sufficient coherence to be treated as phenomenon in its own right. Whilst it is the case that
the constellation of behaviours identified in this research could be viewed in a number of
different ways, and as a component of already established and recognised behaviours, my
exploration of the men’s narratives has revealed key commonalities. These commonalities
enable the men to label their experience as ‘stalki ng’. By identifying the behaviours and the
key characteristics of them i.e. the repetitive nature and the threat associated with them, and
then arguing that these behaviours comprise a course of conduct instigated by the stalker
against their victim, I have been able to provide some shape and form to the phenomenon
known as ‘stalking’. Whilst the research literature provides some definitions of stalking,
very few of them are grounded in victims’ experiences. My research has shown that by
interviewing victims, and by exploring their experiences what stalking is, is more clearly
revealed.

Stalking behaviours are also experienced and impact on various realms of the participants’
lives - notably the emotional, mental, physical and social realms. By identifying where
these behaviours are experienced - in these four different realms of the participants’ lives
the emotional, mental, physical and social realms - I have been able to establish and
illustrate the impact of stalking behaviours that permeate the personal experiential reality of
the participants in this research. This experiential dimension to being stalked, which is
largely absent from the current body of research is clearly identified in the four ‘harms’ the
participants in this study identified. They can be conceptualised as harms because they are
unwanted and the participants do their utmost to stop them. Emotionally, being stalked left
many of the men distressed and upset. Similarly, many of the men admitted that they their
experiences had affected their mental health. Men blamed their stalking experiences for
ailments such as depression and anxiety, whilst the bodily 'harm' associated with being stalked highlighted how the use of violence or the threat of it was commonly employed by the stalker. The final section, explored the impact of being stalked in the social realm. The focus here was on how being stalked can result in participants being acutely embarrassed by both the stalkers' presence and their actions, in various social settings. The social harm of being stalked is largely absent in the current literature, yet my study has clearly revealed that, for the men, being stalked can be both very embarrassing and stigmatising for them.
CHAPTER 5: PARTICIPANTS' EXPERIENCES OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

5.1 INTRODUCTION

"I really needed help so I had to report it [being stalked] to the police." (Andrew)

and

"I spoke to a friend who encouraged me to go to the police to see what they could do to help me." (Darren)

A theme illustrated in the two quotes above, which was also a recurrent theme in many of the participants' narratives, was that they asked the police for assistance. In seeking police support the participants seek to accomplish a victim status (Dunn, 2002). During the course of this chapter I will explore this theme - accomplishing victimisation - and in particular highlight the various strategies adopted by the participants as they endeavoured to make a consistent presentation of self as a victim. However, as the chapter progresses it will become clear that actually achieving this presentation is problematic, because the police seem to consider their presentations as tainted (Innes, 2003). The reasons why their presentations are considered tainted is the second theme of this chapter which will be explored in the latter half of this chapter.

The main theme of this chapter, male stalking victims and their experiences of the criminal justice system, has not been explored in any substantial way in any other research. Whilst female stalking victims' experiences of the criminal justice system have been given serious academic attention, the same cannot be said for the experiences of male stalking victims (Dunn, 2002; Spitzberg, 2002). Their invisibility reflects the social construction of stalking behaviour as a problem for women but not for men. This focus on female victims reflects
the research literature into victimology - the study of victims - which has often focused on female experiences of crimes; for example their experiences of rape. This focus on female victims has been promoted by the women's movement which, inspired by the civil rights movement of the 1960s, has been the primary force in seeking greater recognition and support for victims. This has resulted in numerous campaigns by women's groups as they have sought to alleviate the plight of female victims (Viano, 1990; Fattah, 1994; Spitzberg, 2002). Consequently the experiences of men as victims of crime have not always been given serious consideration within victimology and have largely been considered invisible in terms of being considered victims (Davies, 2007). This is coupled with the fact that there has been very little interest from researchers into the experiences of male victims (Spalek, 2006). As a result of this, very little is known about male victims and their experiences within the criminal justice system (Newburn & Stanko, 1994; Newburn, 2007). This chapter seeks to address this theme. However, I begin this chapter exploring why the participants' approach the police in the first place.

5.2 SEEKING HELP - "I GOT REALLY DESPERATE, I JUST COULDN'T GET RID OF HER"

Participants developed various tactics to thwart their stalker's behaviour against them. Some of these tactics clearly worked. For example, Nick employed the latest technology to stop the numerous communications from his stalker:

"I ignored his contact via the phone by either switching off the phone, or sending him a message by voicemail. I would then delete the message. Since then I have employed Spinvox which removes 141 or any other masking numbers to reveal the real number. This makes it difficult to make anonymous calls. This has really helped." (Nick)
As illustrated above, participants can develop various strategies to thwart their stalkers' behaviour against them. These strategies are developed by reflexively monitoring their stalkers and their behaviour and by developing a response to them:

"I was stalked by an ex-boyfriend who wanted to set up house with me. I managed to get rid of him, but I needed to keep my wits about me, I had to outsmart him and I always kept an eye out for him." (Nick)

As Berger and Luckmann (1966) recognize, knowledge is generated by experience and everyday type constructions and generalizations. On a daily basis knowledge is built up through trial and error as the participants try to solve their stalking 'problem'. This knowledge helps them to develop avoidance strategies:

"I have found that I could lose him if I went home a certain way and if I slipped into the shopping centre...I used to go home another way but it was too easy for him to follow me." (Adrian)

Over time these avoidance strategies can become routines, cast into patterns. These patterns can then be reproduced with an economy of effort. Berger and Luckmann (1966) call this kind of accumulation of information recipe knowledge which individuals can tap into, and then put to practical use. This allows them to accomplish their daily tasks. Many of the participants in this study use such avoidance recipe knowledge as soon as they see their stalker:

"As soon as I saw her I would go another way, I had different routes to work I could use." (Simon)

After finishing work, Adrian had to focus on negotiating his route to his home. Therefore, he had to concentrate on the physical route home whilst also keeping an eye on his stalker's movements. As he walks home via a route that is familiar to him, along the high street and...
past the canal and the coffee shop, these familiar landmarks are symbolically important to him. They share a history together. This shared history means that this familiar space becomes an ally which can assist him in avoiding his stalker:

"I know this area well so on the way home I'd use it to help me. I know that if I took a couple of particular short cuts I'd have a better chance of losing him." (Adrian)

Adrian went on to describe how he tried to protect the space surrounding him from his stalker. He did this by developing what he calls an 'antenna' which alerted him to his stalker's presence. This concept of an antenna feeds into the imagery of overseeing space which ensures that the spatial areas surrounding him are not breached by his stalker.

Drawing on his analogy, if Adrian can ensure that he does not pick up a signal i.e. that his stalker has not entered any physical space near to him, he is safe. Therefore, this guarding of space as 'far as the eye can see' becomes 'his' space to protect. In undertaking this activity, Adrian is attempting to maintain his ontological security, surveying what is around him, noting places of danger (where his stalker is) and doing his utmost to avoid these dangerous places (Walklate, 1998).

A characteristic of many of the avoidance tactics used by the participants to thwart their stalkers is how they all merge into everyday routines. For example, avoiding their stalker by walking an alternative route, contributes to the maintenance of the participants' social order:

"I would see her near the market and in a pub which wasn't my local. There was always the fear that she would do something...I avoided her as much as possible." (Joseph)

In employing these tactics the participants attempt to preserve the social order around them.
However by preserving the social order, others (for example, family and friends) do not see the true significance of their actions.

In spite of these strategies to thwart their stalker, the participants' spoke of their ultimate failure to stop them. Reviewing the men's narratives, this sense of failure is because none of the participants' actions do what they really want them to do i.e. to permanently stop their respective stalker's behaviour towards them. In the participants' narratives, the phrase "nothing seems to work" or a variation on this phrase was commonly used by the men and is a sentiment echoed in other research on stalking victimisation (Blaauw et al 2002:29):

"I had to go ex-directory and I had changed my phone number four times, but she knew people at British telecom and so she always got my new numbers." (Peter)

and

"It's useless, nothing stops them; everywhere I am so are they, what can I do?" (Reuben)

Indeed any tactics used to thwart a stalker can actually make a situation much worse. For example, Jeff, fearful of his violent stalker carried a baton/weapon with him at all times. Whilst carrying this baton/weapon he called the police following an altercation with his stalker. The outcome for him was that he was arrested for the possession of a dangerous weapon:

"I was scared and I started to carry around a baton. I was arrested because I was found carrying a weapon. I was in the police station for seven hours. While I was there, I told the police about the stalking from my neighbour again but they still charged me." (Jeff)

Whilst Reuben was so desperate to stop his stalkers he went to his local newspaper to complain about them. Whilst this endeavour successfully exposed his stalkers and the reality of his life to others, in the long run this strategy to actually stop his stalkers failed:
"I went to the paper because of this; they published a verbatim account about it. Things quietened down for a while, but then they [youths stalking him] came to my house and shouted at me again calling me a “nonce and pervert”. This started it up again." (Reuben).

Clearly many of the participants' strategies fail to achieve their objective i.e. stop their stalker(s) for good. This failure to stop their stalker(s) is linked to a unique feature of the stalking experience; the persistent nature of the stalkers who repeat behaviours again and again. As I have already mentioned, Adrian described his experience of being stalked as the “drip, drip, drip” of stalking behaviours against him. This constant unremitting pursuit of the men by their stalkers can go on for many years. Therefore this relentless pursuit is a constant reminder to the participants that their actions to stop their stalker are largely futile. This is a contributory factor in the participants turning to the police for assistance:

"It got so bad her coming around shouting and everything, so I went to stay at my mother’s house and I called the police about it.” (Stefan)

and

"She would ring me up at the flat night after night; crying, always crying, over time she got really nasty on the phone, after that I decided to get the police involved.” (Joseph)

I now turn to the participants' experiences of the police.

5.3: SEEKING POLICE ASSISTANCE

Even though participants may acknowledge that they need official intervention from the police, actually physically going to them may not be easy; this is especially true for the gay men in this study. Gay men have had reservations about going to the police for a long time as homophobic attitudes in the police have been well documented (Mason & Palmer, 1996; Walklate, 1996). The attitudes held by some of the police see gay men and women as
problematic and "distasteful" (Reiner, 2000:93). In this study, participant Adrian was particularly reluctant to go to the police because of his own perceptions of police attitudes towards gay men. He based his attitude on his past experience with them:

"In a previous incident [a burglary] they treated me pretty badly, their comments were out of order and so I've been wary of them ever since." (Adrian)

However, he overcame his reluctance after one particular stalking incident. One day walking home after work his stalker assaulted him. After this incident he knew that he needed help. Whilst he had been stalked by his ex-boyfriend for a number of months, this stalking behaviour was the breach in behaviours that was too much for him. It is a moment that could be described as an “epiphany”, a realisation that he could not carry on being stalked yet he could not resolve this situation without official assistance. So his personal trouble had to become a public problem (Denzin, 1989:15):

"When he hit me it was like a catalyst to get some help, I couldn’t bury my head in the sand; it was time to deal with it." (Adrian)

For Darren his reluctance to go to the police was different. He was afraid of going to them because he had not come out as a gay man to his family. So in effect, in seeking police assistance he was 'coming out' to them which could also mean that he may have to possibly 'come out' to his family. For this reason, he wrestled with his decision:

"I did not know what to do. My dad is a Christian pastor of a big church in ----. He doesn’t know about me and I was scared he might find out." (Darren)

Ultimately, in going to the police, the participants were looking for official assistance to stop their stalker. However, to get the police to intervene on their behalf, the participants have to evidence their claims.
Evidencing their stalking claims

Previous research has illustrated the ability of the police to define a situation as criminal or not. Therefore, the police can either respond to a crime like incident; one that has been reported to the police and defined by the police as a crime, or define out an incident (Ashworth, 1984). In this research, to convince the police to act on their behalf, the participants have to produce supporting evidence of their stalking experience. Without this evidence they know that the police will not assist them:

"Police said that they could not do anything, until I had proof, and then I could get a restraining order. It was very difficult because I couldn’t prove it was this guy making the phone calls, the phone company said they could not trace them because of some rules and nothing came back from the police." (Darren)

Across the narratives providing the evidence of their stalking experience comprises of two courses of action. Firstly, they regularly telephone the police to tell them what is going on. Secondly, they compile written evidence for the police:

"I went to the police station again and filled in a report...I have also called the police a few times; I reported him [the stalker] to them on a number of occasions." (Darren)

However regularly reporting incidents but receiving no help from the police can soon become frustrating:

"Before I moved into the area I was always calling them a lot. I have called the police out on three or four occasions since moving here but I got fed up of telling them about what was going on." (Ben)

In some of the participants’ narratives the police specifically asked them to record stalking incidents. This is unsurprising, police best practice recommends victims to record all such stalking incidents as it can help to build a legal case against a stalker, clinicians also
advocate a similar course of action (Meloy, 1997; Brown, 2003).

During the course of his interview with me Adrian discussed the compilation of his evidence. He gave the impression to me that he was very proud of this collection of data, urging me on a number of occasions to have a look at his stalking diaries. He told me that over a two year period he had compiled over nine diaries of stalking incidents:

"He [the investigating officer] told me to keep a diary, I have nine diaries full of the events, every single phone call, and the damage to my tyres and shop is all documented." (Adrian)

Adrian compiles this evidence at the bequest of the police and is in effect learning how to please them:

"I felt that keeping this record would keep them [the police] on my side." (Adrian)

In accumulating this evidence, Adrian is learning how to play the role of the victim and is being coached by the police as he is told what he should do. For Adrian, playing the role of a victim involved him regularly liaising with the police, heeding their instructions and presenting his evidence to them:

"I kept my diary and wrote down that I thought my phone was being tapped. They told me to use a mobile which I did, at the same time they did some checks on my phone line." (Adrian)

Other participants in this study were also similarly coached by the police; they too learnt how to play the role of a victim:

"The police were helpful; they asked me to keep the letters and cards especially after she was warned. It was my word against hers, so it was important to keep them." (Simon)

In collecting evidence against his stalker, Charles went further than any other participant in
this study. A medical professional by training, the evidence Charles collected against his stalker, his ex-wife, was meticulous. So much so that when reading his record of events it reminded me of a police log, complete with date, time and location of every incident. For each incident he wrote a note, one particular entry of a stalking incident reads as follows:

"The night after the date I saw Jane [his ex-wife's name] following me home, the inside sidewall of the right tyre of my car was punctured about midway up the tyre, ruining it. There was no bruising on the tyre around the inch long slash which was approximately the size of the knife blade or similar implement." (Charles)

His own record of his stalking experience fits in to Charles taking on the identity of a 'detective' whilst being stalked; a theme I return to in the following chapter.

During the course of interviewing the participants several of them repeatedly emphasized to me that they had evidence of being stalked. They even urged me to review it; Jason and John wanted to arrange a later date to view their documentation of their stalking experiences:

"You can have a look at the letters if you want. I still have the letters...you can have a look at them and go through them." (John)

This desire for me to look at their evidence of stalking victimisation is another means by which they can have their experience validated by another individual. When stalking experiences are not believed by others, and words are inadequate to convey their own reality, their own evidence becomes absolutely vital.

Earlier in this thesis, I discussed how male stalking victims' experiences can be met with a negative response because they are experiencing a criminal behaviour that has been socially
constructed as behaviour against women. Indeed the men in this sample feel the full brunt of this construction in their interaction with others. Their stories of being stalked are met with a negative response, principally "how can a man be stalked'? This is a theme I return to in the following chapters. Nonetheless, if stalking victimisation is constructed as unproblematic for men, providing evidence of their victimisation helps to prove to officialdom and others that their experience is genuine. Indeed it facilitates discussion that as victims they can use to persuade the police and others (including me as a researcher) to believe their stories and assist them:

"If you want the evidence about him [his stalker] you can have a look at it, I have all the supporting evidence." (Gregory)

and

"You can check with — hospital, they have a record of the violence."(Jason)

Finally, this necessity of needing evidence to get the police to act on behalf of the participants was also illustrated in Stefan's case, although it is somewhat ironic. Stefan described how his wife accused him of stalking her when in fact she was stalking him. However, when the police requested Stefan's wife to evidence her claims she was unable to do so. Without any evidence against Stefan they could not pursue her allegation:

"She said that I was stalking her, she said that I was following her. The police asked for evidence, but she could not prove it. She was stalking me, she would be at the places where I would be; including the judo club, I got friends to witness this. She would not come in the hope of reconciliation; instead she wanted to cause a scene." (Stefan)

5.4: MAKING USE OF RESOURCES

The literature in the sociology of deviance has focused on ways of resisting or influencing
the process of stigmatization if an individual is labelled as a deviant. For instance, Schur (1971) suggested the idea of 'resources' available to resist circumstances in which (deviant) labelling might occur. However, Schur (1971) indicates that a problem exists in trying to identify what is meant by resources. Nonetheless, he suggests that individuals/groups with 'high' resources are more likely than those with 'low' resources to avoid or resist negative labelling. I would argue that in this study a 'resource' relates to the participants' status characteristics; who they are, and who are their work colleagues and friends. These resources can mitigate negative labelling/stigmatization associated with stalking victimisation. This is illustrated in Joel's narrative. Joel is a long serving policeman who, after the death of his wife, began to date again. After refusing the attention of one particular woman, this woman and her mother stalk him. After several months of enduring their stalking behaviour, including neighbourhood gossip instigated by his stalkers that he was a drug pusher amongst others stigmatising labels, Joel initiated an informal strategy to communicate a message to this mother and daughter stalking team (his three children labelled his two stalkers 'Doom and Gloom'). To make his position clear Joel utilizes a resource specifically available to him. He called upon his own police colleagues to informally assist him:

"I asked my police colleagues to help me. Therefore, we arranged a time to have a drink after work at the pub they [his stalkers] used to hang out. About 50 colleagues went down there. I hoped they would get the message from all of us there." (Joel)

So, in spite of the fact that he symbolically represents the law he initially circumvents official channels to end his stalking experience. Research has illustrated how the police are socialized into a group with strong norms that evolve because of the pressures associated with their employment. This results in an internal solidarity amongst police officers and
consequently they can rely on their colleagues to help them out (Reiner, 2000). This is clearly seen in Joel’s story. His police colleagues told him what he should do about his stalkers. In their collective eyes stalking as a problem was perceived as a relational disorder that was quite easily solved:

"I am a policeman I was told by colleagues that I had to confront them [his stalkers]. Unless you confront them they think that you are interested in them." (Joel)

This informal measure of 'warning' his stalkers was later supported by a more conventional measure; two of his colleagues officially visited "Doom and Gloom". Together these two measures had the desired effect:

"Police colleagues then gave them a stalking harassment warning, that if their behaviour continued they would be liable to arrest. Two police officers went to their home. They said that if they did not leave me alone they would be liable for a harassment order. Since this date we have had no further contact" (Joel).

Other resources available to some of the men include, in this study, influential employers who acted on their behalf to curb their stalkers' behaviour. Their intervention again adds much needed gravitas to participants' claims and again opens up a discussion space to facilitate telling their stories:

"The police have only acted on behalf of my employer rather than me, only when my employers contacted them [the police] did they act." (Simon)

In contrast to the vast majority of participants in this study, two of the men did successfully engage with the police. They did this by drawing on one particular resource - friendships they formed with police officers. Adrian’s reluctance to inform the police was based on his previous interaction with the police and the perceived homophobic attitudes he believed they possessed. However, this concern was allayed when he met the detective assigned to
his case as he too was a white gay man. According to Adrian, their shared background of a gay lifestyle resulted in his allegation being taken seriously:

"I got on really well with the Detective in charge. I spent a lot of my time with the police and lawyers... the police did everything in their power to help me..." (Adrian)

Sociologist Donald Black (1976; 1980) provides a framework that can be used to explain Adrian’s successful interaction with the police. Black discusses how the characteristics of the police officer(s) handling of a case and the nature of their relationship with the victim helps to predict police responses to victims. Where the race, ethnicity and sex of the offender or the victim mirror that of the police officer(s), officers are more inclined to sympathise with individuals most like themselves. This clearly occurred in Adrian’s case. Throughout his stalking experience he found the police very supportive and was always welcomed by them. In fact the police station became the safe physical space that protected him from his stalker and he spent increasing amounts of time in it - “I only felt safe in the police station, it was a place I could get away from him.”

Similar to Adrian’s experience, Simon’s experiences of the police was also largely favourable. His positive experience was again due to his friendship with the officer in charge of his case. For example, the police officer regularly updated him on the court proceedings:

"My friend told me the Judge asked her [his stalker]:”Why do you keep pestering this man in this way?” She said [to the Judge] that I was sending telepathic messages. The Judge asked, "What do these messages say?” She told him ”That he wants to tamper with certain parts of my body.” This time she got a week in Holloway." (Simon)

Therefore, through his friend, he learnt valuable information about his stalker, information
which supported his belief that his stalker was "mad". Ironically one criticism of police interaction with stalking victims is that the victims are not aware if the case is proceeding through the criminal justice system (Sheridan, 2005). However, for those participants who are effectively 'sponsored' by police officials this is not a problem. Indeed being 'sponsored' by a police official can help transform the experience from being a largely negative one to an experience that is bearable:

"Without the police I wouldn't have got through it, overall they have been brilliant." (Adrian)

5.5 TAINTED PRESENTATIONS OF A VICTIM

As I have illustrated in the previous section, the participants need to collaborate with the police and produce evidence to ensure that their allegations of stalking victimisation are pursued by the police. However, as I will explore in this section, many of the men undermine their victim presentation in spite of the evidence they produce for the police. When this occurs, their presentation as a victim becomes a tainted one (Innes, 2003). I will now illustrate how this tainting occurs.

If a victim of a crime asks for assistance from the police, they need to present a consistent presentation of a victim to these actors working in the criminal justice system. As they convey this presentation they are identified as a victim and this helps them to secure the help they need. Christie's (1986) stereotype of an 'ideal' crime victim is weak, female, sick and so on. And this victim will receive the help she needs. However, in reality, being viewed as a victim can be problematic, for example, 'deviant' individuals struggle to get the police to take their claims for assistance seriously (Carrabine et al 2004). Dunn (2002)
in her study of female victims of stalking found that their complaints of stalking did not automatically result in them being viewed as a victim by the police. Dunn (2002) reported that if a woman was too aggressive or if they continued to interact/communicate with their stalkers this undermined their requests for police assistance. The men in this study also found that interacting with their stalker undermined their credibility as a stalking victim in need of police assistance, and this resulted in police officers re-evaluating their claims of stalking victimisation as I will illustrate in Joseph's story. As this section proceeds I will also illustrate how other men in this research taint their presentation as a victim because of who they are, the lifestyle they lead, and the context of their stalking experience. As a result of this the men are not considered as deserving victims in need of help.

Joseph was stalked by a female work colleague. Prior to her stalking him he had worked alongside this colleague without any problems. However, one afternoon she shared with him that she had recently suffered a miscarriage. Sympathetic towards her situation, Joseph listened to her story and gave her the phone number of two organisations that he thought could help her. He also gave her his mobile number so that she could talk to him if she needed to. Later that night she called him to discuss her problem. The following day, she told him that she “loved him” which at the time he thought was amusing and as a gay man he told her that he was not romantically interested in her. In spite of this she began to stalk him. Her stalking behaviour towards him included making phone calls, following him and changing her workload so that she could be near to him at work:
"She got a transfer so that we could work together. She would then make excuses so that she could work with me. I had a client to visit and she made an excuse to visit this woman with me. Then as we got to the train station she started going on how I wanted to kiss her!" (Joseph).

Joseph repeatedly tried to convey to her that he was not interested in her, but all of his efforts failed and she persisted in stalking him. Therefore he had to increasingly employ avoidance strategies to "keep out of her way." This included avoiding her at work by changing his workload and even, when the stalking intensified he changed his job. When these actions still did not stop her from stalking him he moved away from the area.

However, one evening prior to moving away, he received a phone call from her:

"One night, it was raining. I got a phone call. She had been mugged on the way from home and was now near my house. She asked me to meet her. So I went because I thought that she was in trouble. But her clothes were dry; she was not wet at all. She wanted to come back to my house but I said no. But I did accompany her to the police station." (Joseph)

When Joseph met his stalker he initially wanted to help her but in doing so he clearly broke the normative expectations of being a victim. On one hand he claimed to be a victim of her stalking behaviour; yet on the other hand, he assists her at the police station. This latter act is obviously inconsistent with the normative behaviour expected of a victim who should not have anything to do with the perpetrator of the stalking. In helping her, he in effect undermined his own narrative. The effect of this interaction with his stalker was clearly seen in his subsequent dealings with the police, especially as the one of the police officers on duty was also the policeman to whom Joseph had reported his stalking victimisation.

This resulted in the following reaction from the police:

"The first police officer who took down the report [of the alleged mugging] I had also reported being stalked by this woman too. He laughed at me when she reported the mugging. He was chuckling throughout it. Then an older and senior officer said "I will take this", as he
could see that it was not been treated seriously." (Joseph)

As Joseph was interacting with his stalker there was a shift in the perception of the police about him being a ‘victim’. Rather than seeing him as a victim, the police, according to Joseph, saw him as someone who was in his own words “just mucking around.” His request for assistance to stop his stalker had been re-interpreted in light of his interactions with her which seriously affected his relationship with the police:

"My case officers found out about it and I felt that they [the police] did not take my case seriously from this point onwards." (Joseph)

Joseph found that his interaction with his stalker resulted in his victim status being withdrawn; his behaviour had given the police a new ‘understanding’ of his situation and they had reinterpreted his claims in the light of his behaviour (Holstein & Miller, 1997). Therefore he was no longer considered a credible victim. Joseph’s experience clearly illustrates that someone claiming to be a victim will not voluntarily interact with their stalker. However, whilst a victim will not interact with their stalkers some participants in this study had no choice but to do so. This occurred when the participants in this study had children with the person (a former intimate) now stalking them. The participants in this situation have to breach normative behaviours of a victim as they need to continue to interact with their stalker because of their children. The participants who found themselves in this situation found that their (serious) stalking situation would then be classified by the police as simply a domestic incident and this would result in the police failing to intervene. Therefore, the context of their stalking experience undermined their stalking claims, a theme I return to in the next section:
"Then it [the stalking] stopped for several months, although we still had to communicate with each other because of the house [which he owned] and our son. It stopped for a while, however by Christmas 2003 it all started again...when the police eventually got involved they would always try and negotiate a solution." (Stefan)

Undoubtedly, participants learnt often to their peril, that if their allegations of stalking were to be pursued by the police, their case had to be consistent with the police's understanding of who the victim is and how a victim should act. However, this is clearly difficult to do.

**Tainted victimisation - domestic relationship stalking**

The reluctance of the police to intervene in some of the participants' allegations of stalking seems to be linked to the context of their stalking experience, a breakdown of a domestic relationship. The attitude of the police towards domestic violence has been well documented in the research literature. Reiner (2000) found that many police officers regard domestic incidents negatively and are reluctant to deal with them. This reluctance to deal with domestic incidents results in the police tending to minimize the importance of conflict in domestic situations; consequently, the police try to avoid exercising their authority as much as possible. This is because the police usually do not want to intervene in a civil matter, one that is perceived as family trouble or a domestic dispute where they may have to take on a social work role (Black 1980; Hoyle, 1998). This was certainly true in Paul's experience:

"The police have been very reluctant to intervene, I need witnesses, need people to back me up, other witnesses to confirm what is going on. The police don't believe it's a problem they can help you with." (Paul)

Categorising the incident as a domestic dispute the police perceive that it should be sorted
out immediately and within the home. This is seen as the best solution, as the police believe that the two complainants are unlikely to make a formal complaint against each other (Ashworth, 1984):

"They [the police] listen to both of us, but weren’t interested in us. It was all lip service. They wanted us to sort it out there and then." (Paul)

However, even when claimants want to pursue their allegations, the nature of domestic incidents can make this difficult. With the police often facing claimants and defenders making claims and counter claims against each other, it may be difficult for the police to work out who is right and who is wrong and then apportion blame. Consequently, the situation can evolve into a tit-for-tat between the parties. Therefore, it becomes increasingly important for victims to prove their allegations to the police. Indeed the police need evidence to take an allegation forward (Hoyle, 1998). In this study, however, even when one party has supporting evidence to prove their allegations, the police are seen to be reluctant to intervene in a domestic case:

"I said I had all the evidence to support all of my claims about what she was doing but they were not interested." (Paul)

Whilst the police are generally reluctant to intervene in a domestic incident, the men in this study faced a further obstacle; they needed to convince the police that they were the victims. This was not easy:

"I went to the police station. I filled in a report, but they did not do anything. They were not interested in me; they were interested in helping my wife, a woman, but not me. I hired a solicitor, but he did not do anything either." (Paul)

The cultural assumption alluded to in their interaction with the police is that men cannot be
a 'victim' of domestic violence and so they are not believed. This also reflects society's belief that males cannot be considered as victims of domestic violence (Stitt & Macklin, 1995). This cultural assumption that men cannot be the victims of violence from a female partner results in men keeping quiet about their situation because of the stigma associated with the position in which they find themselves. Admitting it may mean that others will consider them wimps and not real men (Cook, 1997). Stefan was ashamed of his own victimisation and so kept his experience quiet, the cultural perception of masculinity preventing him from admitting his situation to others:

"They [the police] don't believe you are a victim of domestic abuse; for the first few years I never pressed charges. I didn’t tell the police. I had to 'take it like a man'.” (Stefan)

Participant Jason had also, for a number of years, experienced domestic violence victimisation by his female partner. On one particular occasion he called the police but rather than his stalker being arrested, he was arrested - "they [the police] couldn't believe this small woman could hurt me". He went on to say the following:

"The police were very much involved. But the police didn’t believe it was her fault. They don’t listen to my side and did not believe me. They think I am responsible, that’s not fair at all. They think a woman can’t smack you with a radio, or smash a TV or a woman can’t smash things up but they can..." (Jason).

Arresting male victims of domestic violence in spite of evidence that they are the victim is not entirely unheard of in domestic violence cases, because police work is structured around female victims and male abusers (Stitt & Macklin, 1995; Brogden & Harkin, 2000; Grady, 2002). For Jason, the police's interaction with him confirmed, that the police could not believe that he was the victim. He concluded that to get the police to believe that his story was genuine and to act on his behalf was "nigh on impossible".
Tainted victimisation - gay men as victims of stalking

"There is no point in going to the police, as they are not very supportive to gay people. Just on this level it's all very difficult." (Lloyd)

Research has illustrated that gay men's and women's experiences of the police service has been largely negative as confirmed in the above quote. In his book, the Politics of Policing Reiner (2000) argues that a 'cop culture' orientation exists in the police force which is expressed during the course of police's work. This cop culture comprises amongst other features traits such as machismo, racial prejudice, and pragmatism. Machismo can result in some policemen exhibiting contempt for deviance such as homosexuality accompanied by “routinized sexual boasting and horseplay” (Reiner, 2000:19). Although Hoyle (1998) argues that cop culture evolves according to changing social conditions and polices, Grady (2002) contends that any changes have benefited female victims and not male victims who are seen, if they are seen at all, by police officers as pathetic. The evidence from this study supports this view and was certainly true in Jeff's experience:

"I went to the police... eventually they got involved, but they were so slow and not really interested in me. They were full of negative comments about me because I am a gay man. The police do not like gay men. The police did not believe me. The local bobby didn't believe that I was being stalked, I was interpreted as being a 'bitch', something to laugh at." (Jeff)

Similarly Darren described reporting stalking incidents to the police. However, when he informed them of his sexuality he perceived that the information about his sexuality became the information that shaped all of the subsequent interaction with them:

"I went to the police, they (the police) were very cynical about my story; they made a note that I was gay. From that moment on I don't know if they took it that seriously." (Darren)
Whilst police culture may stigmatise gay men, traditionally they are not likely to be constructed as innocent victims. They are presented as tainted victims and therefore are stigmatized because of their lifestyle choices (Innes, 2003). Consequently they are complicit in their circumstances:

"I have told the police, I regularly contact them, but they always say, "What do want us to do, there is nothing we can do." It's like they [the police] think that I'm to blame for it." (Lloyd)

Consequently, for gay men, their sexuality becomes their dominant social characteristic and results in them being discriminated against. This is in spite of the gay men in this study doing exactly what the police asked them to do - recording stalking incidents, collecting any evidence and reporting stalking incidents to the police. Therefore, it is clear that who and what they are negatively colours their interaction with the police. It is because of this negative interaction with the police that many of the gay male stalking victims in this study turned away from the police and, without support, they attempt to manage their situation as best as they can on their own:

"After a while you give up, how many times can you call the police and still they never respond?" (Jeff)

However, it is not only the police in this study who are prejudicial towards gay stalking victims. For example, when Adrian, a gay man, attended court to testify against his stalker he heard the two defending barristers describe him as a "handbag". In this study this is the only data focusing on the men's interaction with criminal justice actors other than the police. This is a finding in itself as the majority of the male victims in this study cannot get their individual cases past the police and into the wider criminal justice system.
Tainted victimisation - a sex worker as a stalking victim

Who is the victim of a stalker, and how this affects their interaction with the police, is also illustrated in Carl/a’s story. A transsexual man Carl/a described his/her experience of working as a sex worker and his/her experience of being stalked by his/her clients. This resulted in him/her seeking assistance from the police. However, they did not help him/her in spite of his/her fears of violence from his/her clients who s/he described as "crazy fucks":

"The police knew about the stalking, but they did not give a fuck. That goes for anyone who is a sex worker. Sex workers don't expect any help from the police. I did go to the police, I was scared. But I was told, that there is nothing we can do about it [clients stalking him], it’s something expected for someone working in this industry."(Carl/a)

In spite of the behaviour of his clients towards him/her which included following him/her, accosting him/her, threats of violence and assault, the police did not respond to Carl/a calls for assistance. According to Carl/a nothing would induce the police to help him/her. This is not altogether surprising as who s/he is blights subsequent interaction with others. Carl/a as a transsexual prostitute has to overcome prejudice from the police because of who s/he is. The police may perceive him/her to be disreputable and in fact they are more likely to arrest him/her because of the nature of his/her work (Black 1980; Perkins et al 1985; Reiner 1997). Therefore s/he is subjected to particularly harsh treatment, particularly, as Carl/a also occupies a doubly stigmatized position due to what s/he does and who s/he is, s/he suffers from the stigma of whore and freak (Perkins et al 1985). Therefore, s/he can be punished for who s/he is and his/her occupation (Perkins et al 1985). Goffman (1963:3) says that a stigmatized individual is “reduced in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one”, inspiring various strategies for negotiation of treatment that is not fully human. Carl/a certainly experienced this stigma during his/her interaction with the
police, reporting how they would laugh and cajole him/her when s/he called them making
out that his/her experience was just a "laugh". Up until now, the police have never taken
any of his/her complaints seriously. From this information, it would appear that the police
exercise discretionary powers as to how and if they should proceed with allegations of
potential crimes. This discretionary aspect of police work has been discussed at length in
academic research (for example, Reiner 1997; Ashworth 1998) which has illustrated that
"policing practice routinely departs from the principles of the rule of law" (Reiner
1997:1013). And this discretion is often exercised in a discriminatory way (Carrabine et al
2004) which can result in minority group's claims not being taken seriously; Carl/a
certainly found this to be accurate in his/her interaction with the police. S/he summarises
his/her experience of the police in the following manner:

"They might as well have told me to "fuck off" right away considering the way they have
treated me." (Carl/a)

Tainted victimisation - the 'clever' stalker

Up until this point in this chapter I have illustrated how male stalking victims' presentation
of self can be tainted because of who they are, and the actual context of their stalking
experience. However, another characteristic of their stalking experience, which also taints
their presentation as a victim, is due to the perceived cleverness of their stalker. This is
illustrated in Darren’s story.

Darren was stalked by a former friend who he believed started to stalk him because he was
jealous of a relationship with another man. The stalking behaviour instigated against him by
his friend included making repeated phone calls and repeatedly knocking on his door and then running away. After a while he reported these incidents to the police, but he found they were unhelpful. On one particular afternoon he received a number of silent phone calls. Then he opened his front door to find the police in front of him:

"I looked out through the peep hole and I could see the police there. Someone had called the police and told them that there were gunshots coming from my flat, so the cops came in. By this time I had clocked that this guy [his stalker] was involved." (Darren)

Later on in the same evening he had two further visits, the first visit from the police and the second visit from the fire service:

"Twenty minutes later again there was another report that there was a domestic incident in our flat. The police came again. Another knock and this was the time fire brigade, my flat was now on fire; this was all in just one evening." (Darren)

In Darren's story, his stalker uses the police against him. Yet the police are the very officials to who Darren made his claims of stalking victimisation. Consequently, his stalker's strategy undermined his own stalking narrative with the police. In fact he was blamed by the police for taking them away from what they considered 'real' police work:

"It happened two other times, the second time they came they were pissed off and said that they had to come all the way across town because of these reports. They said that if anyone got injured, or they were needed somewhere else to answer a genuine call, it would be on my head." (Darren)

Undoubtedly Darren's stalker's actions sabotaged his own narrative. Others also found their stalkers undertook similar actions against them. According to the participants, their stalkers were aware of how to "work the system". The participants believed that their stalkers outsmarted the police:
"But she was in a strange place and did not think logically, and was clever, and she would tie the police and magistrates in knots and they did not stand a chance." (Simon)

John too was particularly frustrated how his female stalker outsmarted the police:

"They did try and get hold of her, and they interviewed her, but as soon as she knew the police were coming, she would admit herself as a voluntary patient in the mental hospital, knowing that she could come and go as she wanted and the police could not touch her. When she was interviewed by the psychiatrists, they said that she was perfectly sane." (John)

So in spite of the men doing what the police requested them to do i.e. collect evidence, the men still found their respective narratives were undermined by their 'clever' stalkers.

**Tainted victimisation - liking the stalker and liking the attention!**

Whilst some participants request assistance from the police, they also display inconsistent attitudes towards their stalker. They complained about their stalker but also seemed to like their stalker and sometimes even liked their stalker’s attention, features which are inconsistent with the presentation of a victim. Liking their stalker was particularly true where participants once had an intimate or family relationship with their stalker. For example, in spite of John’s cousin stalking him for a number of years, which even ended in her being imprisoned such was the severity of her stalking, he still cared for her:

"I was probably her favourite relative and then my wife and I broke up and this was the beginning probably of her getting obsessive. I liked her as a kid and I still like her and her kids." (John)

Scott described his experience of being stalked an experience that he still dwells on, in spite of it being a number of years ago - "the whole experience struck me as being very weird". He admitted that he was still disturbed by it. Yet this particular theme is clearly at odds
with another theme in his narrative that he actually enjoyed being stalked. For Scott, being stalked was a clear indicator to him that he was still attractive and desirable. Other men still wanted him. Scott's stalker used to wait for him at the bottom of his road and then follow him around town. However, his stalker, who Scott described as a "very slim, attractive college boy", never tried to interact with him. Scott seems to regret the reluctance of his stalker to interact with him:

"When he [his stalker] was sitting next to me in the cinema, it could be a hairy experience. I have had countless times of sexual advances in the cinema, I was expecting it. There is nothing like a sense of danger, but he never made any kind of move." (Scott)

On another occasion in the cinema the stalker was so close to him that he stole one of his possessions:

"I had a habit of taking my shoes off in the cinema this time as usual I took my shoes off.. When the film had finished, he had taken one of my shoes. I never saw him after this." (Scott)

From the above, it would appear that the stalker got what he wanted - the shoe being a 'trophy' from following Scott. Returning to the main theme, whilst Scott sought help, he still very much liked his stalker's attention but it still disturbed him - "it was really like a bad dream".

5.6 EVEN IF YOU GET HELP IT DOESN'T ALWAYS WORK

Up to this point my analysis has primarily focused on the participants' interaction with the police. This has been my focus because the majority of the participants were unable to get past the 'gatekeepers' of the criminal justice system unless they were sponsored by the police. However, even this sponsorship does not guarantee success. For example, Adrian
obtained a restraining order against his former boyfriend yet it failed to stop his ex-boyfriend’s stalking:

"I got a restraining order, but this had absolutely no real effect. It made no real difference. He still kept coming, trying to get to me. Eventually, three or four months later the Crown Prosecution Service and court found him guilty for breaching it, but he received a suspended sentence." (Adrian)

For some participants in this study, official intervention may only provide some temporary relief:

"I went to them [his solicitors], they wrote to him. He had to give an undertaking that he would not stalk me and for three months he did this. For three months it was quiet. It was much more peaceful. Then one day out of the blue he ambushed me again, he approached me, he was very emphatic, and it all started again." (Gregory)

This inability of the criminal justice system to stop the stalker permanently can have a potentially devastating effect on the participants. Paul spoke of his experience of being stalked by his wife. After telling me his stalking story he told me how he had migrated to England over 20 years ago. Prior to moving here he had always esteemed the British justice system. However, as a result of his stalking experience and the ineffectiveness of the system to help him, his views had changed permanently:

"I am African and where we come from everyone would hold up Britain and the law. I always had faith in it. But I have no faith now in the system." (Paul)
5.7 CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter was to explore the participants’ experiences of the criminal justice system. Overall, my analysis has revealed a complex interaction with the police. Their interaction with the police primarily focuses on the participants' attempts to accomplish a victim presentation to the police. To accomplish this presentation of a victim they undertake two principal activities. Firstly, they regularly call up the police informing them of the stalking incidents they experience and secondly, they collect evidence of being stalked. This collection of evidence is either undertaken as a result of their own initiative or at the request of the police. The latter example illustrates how a stalking victim can be coached by the police. This evidence is perceived as vital to get the police to act on their behalf, whilst also proving their reality to others. Evidence about their stalking experience facilitates the opening up of a discussion space when they engage with others.

However, the vast majority of the participants in this study were unable to be successfully viewed as a victim who needed help by the police; rather, they were perceived as tainted victims and the authenticity of their stories were questioned. In this section I illustrated how the context of the stalking experience and who the victims of a stalker can potentially taint any victim presentation. Other factors such as the perceived cleverness of the stalker also detrimentally affect their victim presentation as does sometimes liking the attention of the stalker. All of these factors negatively impact on the impression of self that they are trying to create as a victim. Participants who interacted successfully with the police were those individuals who formed key friendships with police officers and in effect these police officers sponsored them through the criminal justice system. However, these participants
are the exception to the rule with most of the men unable to convince the police to help them, as Ben said the police would only intervene in his situation "if he [his stalker] injured me or murdered me would they do something."
CHAPTER 6: MASCULINITY AND STALKING

6.1 INTRODUCTION

"I'm a bloke therefore I should be able to deal with it [being stalked]."

Andrew's comment above exemplifies a view expressed by many of the participants in this study that men should be able to deal with being stalked. This is a dominant theme in many of the participants' narratives. What is also clear is that the participants' perceptions of their own masculinity and how others view them as men influences how they act in the face of stalking victimisation. This is felt more acutely by some of the participants in this study because they believe that men should not be stalked. For some of the participants stalking is only a problem for women; I explore this theme in the first section of this chapter. As the chapter progresses it will become clear that the participants use their masculinity to order their social world; their stalking experience is viewed through the lens of their own gender. For example, participants use the perceptions of their own masculinity as a means of creating social distance between their stalkers and themselves. So, whilst they build up their own perception of their masculine self, they portray their stalkers in quite the opposite way, as deviant individuals. I explore this theme in the second section of this chapter. I then go on to explore how they describe their own masculinity and how they employ it to reclaim their masculinity in the midst of victimisation. My subsequent argument is that the men feel that they have to reclaim their masculinity, because, via self-reflectivity, they recognise that a conflict exists between what it means culturally to be 'men' and their experience of being stalked. However, I begin this chapter by looking at how the participants consider stalking victimisation as a problem only for women.
6.2 BEING STALKED IS A PROBLEM FOR WOMEN

From the participants' narratives, it is clear that they are aware that stalking is a problem for women. During the initial stage of my meeting with Adrian I sensed that he seemed embarrassed by his experience of being stalked. Probing him further, he said the following about his "problem":

"It's a woman's problem isn't it? I've read about it, it's about women and celebrities, it's not about men. That's why I was so surprised by the advert." (Adrian)

The link between celebrities and women as stalking victims is well established in the research literature and the media as I have discussed in the opening chapter of this thesis. Adrian was also aware of this dominant construction of stalking as a social problem and recognised that he sits outside of this prevailing frame. Discussing this theme with Adrian, he went on to explain that two categories of victims have inherent resources to thwart their stalker and secure help; resources that he did not possess. Firstly, celebrities can pay for security and protection, indeed a specialised security industry has developed around the protection of celebrities from stalkers (see De Becker, 1997). Secondly, a woman complaining of stalking victimisation is believable because she is a woman and "the police would listen to her." In contrast, he argued that stories of male victimisation are surrounded by disbelief. Other men also echoed Adrian’s thoughts:

"I never thought that men could stalk men...I never thought it could happen to a man..." (Gregory)

and

"How can someone be single and a man and be stalked. It is not supposed to happen to me." (Peter)
According to Gregory and Peter, men cannot be stalked. For them, being a man should disqualify them from being victimised. Yet, ironically, they find themselves being stalked and people not believing them:

"Being stalked for a man is like a homosexual who says that he has been raped, no-one believes you." (Peter).

How do the men reconcile this disbelief, and indeed make sense of their experience?

Across the collective narratives I am not sure that they do. Their experience of victimisation does not make sense to them (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983) and so they find themselves in an "unbelievable situation." Acutely embarrassed by being stalked as it is a "woman's problem", and by their inability to stop it, men can suffer in silence as they fear what others may think of them because they are being stalked:

"I didn’t really talk about it; it’s not something you talk a lot about with your mates… what would they think of me?" (Justin)

This fear of what others may think of them resulted in a number of participants in this study keeping quiet about their on-going stalking experience. This theme was clearly illustrated in Stefan’s narrative. He described why he kept his experience of domestic violence which included stalking behaviours by his ex-wife a secret:

"I kept it all a secret for many years. I kept it a secret out of loyalty. I’m ashamed I did not want to look weak. It’s natural to be proud. We [men] have to be strong." (Stefan)

Stefan concealed his experience because of the shame associated with being a man who is victimised by his wife; this is not an uncommon response amongst male victims of domestic violence (Stitt & Macklin, 1995; Brogden & Harkin, 2000). For Stefan, he did not
want to appear "weak" to other people because of his experience, rather he wanted to live up to the cultural expectation of being a "strong" man. Other participants in this study were also aware that their experience of stalking victimisation conflicted with others' understanding of being a 'man':

"They laughed at me because of it, as a man I should have been able to sort it out." (Joel)

Reflecting on Joel's remark above, stalking can become a threat to masculinity. A man's masculinity may be called into question because they are being stalked. Because of their stalking experiences participants became aware of not living up to the cultural expectations of being men, and this is stigmatising. Consequently, they set about 'reclaiming' their masculinity. Prior to exploring how the participants reclaimed their masculinity, I want to explore another way the men mitigate the threat their stalkers pose to them and their masculinity. They do this by the 'othering' of the stalker.

### 6.3 OTHERING THE STALKERS

Many of the participants use their masculinity to bring order to their social worlds. This order facilitates the creation of social distance between themselves and their stalker. Whilst being stalked, the primary method of achieving this social order and distance was by labelling their stalker as a 'deviant' and they do this by giving the stalker derogatory and deviant names, labels which mark them out as 'different' and 'other' (Rock, 1973). This helps the participants to resist the discrediting effects of being stalked. As stalker's attempt to spoil the participants' identities, the men retaliate by trying to spoil the identities of their stalkers (Goffman, 1963). The deviant labels they give to their stalkers are developed over
time as participants learn identity information about them. How the men describe their stalkers contrasts acutely with their perceptions of themselves as men. During the course of their narratives the men describe themselves with ('manly') adjectives such as "strong" "hardworking", "successful", "rational" and perceiving themselves as "well mannered" and "civilised." These descriptions are in sharp contrast to the labels they give their stalkers.

**Deviant physical characteristics**

Physical abnormalities or abominations of the body are one of the three general categories of stigmatizing attributes developed by Goffman (1963). Several participants described the perceived deviant physical characteristics of their stalkers in an attempt to 'other' them.

A few of the men's descriptions of their stalkers feed into the stereotypical images of a deviant woman, for example, describing their female stalker as a "witch" and a "prostitute". They were able to give the women these labels because of their female stalkers' physical appearance. Simon described being stalked by a woman for a number of months. He described her in the following way:

"I told them she was a very dangerous woman. I remember that she had nicotine stained fingers and bitten down nails and a spooky stare..." (Simon)

Throughout Simon's interview he described his female stalker as "spooky", and as a "witch". The language he used makes her out to be abnormal and not part 'of this world', part human and part inhuman (Rock, 1973). Joel also focused on the physical characteristics of his two female stalkers, comparing them to prostitutes:
"They looked like hookers... they were like cartoon characters... they used to dress themselves up and wear lots of make up." (Joel)

Joel went on to emphasize that the two women's looks made them different with their physicality confirming to him, that they were "weird" and therefore 'other'. The appearance of his stalkers was also reflected in Joel's description of their behaviour. Both of these women aggressively pursued him, and were often given to emotional outbursts. Such characteristics feed into the stereotypical constructions of a deviant woman who breaks the norms of femininity, and so is stigmatized by her actions (Perkins et al 1985).

When participants were stalked by a male stalker, they also emphasized their stalker's perceived deviant physical appearance. Throughout Gregory’s narrative he emphasized his stalking neighbour’s physical features describing him as “disgusting”, “repulsive” and “gross”:

"He's a very repulsive looking man... nothing in his psyche makes him attractive. We did not hit it off basically, no-one likes him in the street." (Gregory)

Gregory uses his stalker's deviant physical appearance to inform his assessment of his stalker’s character, both characteristics underlining the stigmatising attributes that are deeply discrediting to its possessor (Goffman, 1963). Similarly, Carl/a, a sex worker, who was stalked by a number of his/her paying clients, also focused on his/her clients' physical appearance. S/he went on to describe them in the following manner:

"When I leave the house, men would follow me. They were fat, ugly guys, disgusting men." (Carl/a)
The stalkers' characters

As well as the perceived physical defects of the stalkers, participants also focused on their stalkers' negative character traits. These character-logical stigmas were again a further device to emphasize the difference between them. In some instances this was quite simple, as the participants linked their stalkers' behaviour into already established deviant behaviours:

"They [the police] raided their property, and they found drugs." (Jeff)

and

"She [his neighbour] told her drug user daughter. I found out later both the mum and daughter were taking drugs." (Reuben)

Identifying obvious deviant behaviour in their stalkers was sometimes problematic and participants had to 'work up' deviants character traits. For example, occupational achievement is a key method of accomplishing masculinity; consequently, it is a key characteristic of what it means to be a man (Archer, 1994). Several of the participants in this study had very successful careers and gave the impression of being hard working which had resulted in considerable material success. This success, brought about by hard work, contrasted with their stalkers who they perceived as lazy individuals. This impression of laziness is illustrated by their stalkers' lack of full time employment. The participants believed that this lack of employment could facilitate stalking behaviour:

"He had no job, so he had all day to do it [stalk him]." (Adrian)

and

"Where I was living before, many of the residents were council tenants. They have more time to look. Those who work don't have time to stalk. I wouldn't have the time. It takes time to stalk. The unemployed have more time. And he had no job, so he could follow me." (Jeff)
The men found other ways to illustrate their superior characters as well, in particular by drawing on issues of class and ethnicity. Gregory went into detail about the life in his neighbourhood prior to his stalker moving into the area. His lifestyle consisted of having Sunday lunch with his neighbours at the local pub and playing bridge with them; all characteristics of a particular shared lifestyle. As he admitted he had a very privileged lifestyle which he shared with his neighbours. So amongst them there was an awareness of what Weber described as a "style of life" (Weber et al 1993:191-193). However, this changed when the stalker moved in who, according to Gregory, has been "imported" via a relationship with a female neighbour:

"the neighbourhood is very sociable but the husband [and his stalker] has now been imported in and now we all have minimum contact. He is troublemaker." (Gregory).

As Gregory is a very successful businessman (who considered himself as "middle class") it enables him to create further distance between himself and his stalker - "second hand car dealers are notoriously scum aren't they?" He went on to say:

"This new man [his stalker] was very grandiose, centre stage; he talked about how much property he owned and how wealthy he was. However, he is a second hand car dealer and he started to use the property as a car dealer site, using it for commercial purposes." (Gregory) and

"He is an extraordinary man. Others in the neighbourhood have noticed what he is like. He likes power. He is very complex, a very verbal man. He seems to have an inferiority complex; he never had a 9-5 job. He gives the impression as being very important, but he is a second hand car dealer." (Gregory).

Another means which participants used to create a social distance between themselves and their stalkers was by labelling the stalkers as racists. In labelling their stalkers as racists, the participants emphasized their own superior moral framework which helped them to set
themselves apart from those they considered as deviant. For example, Alan believed that he has been stalked because of his ethnicity. Due to a long-standing disagreement with his former Muslim landlord he had been made a scapegoat by others in the local community. He went on to say:

"I am Irish and they see me as trouble. They want me, an Irish bastard, to go home." (Alan)

However, their stalkers' racist taunts provided a route for him to claim a moral superiority over his stalkers as he was determined not to sink to their level i.e. be racist. Similarly, Steven spoke about being stalked by two female colleagues at his work. These two work colleagues, both senior members of staff, took to intimidating and stalking him. Their behaviour included listening to his telephone calls and following him around the workplace. They even stalked him at his home. He believes this intimidation had its origins in their racist attitudes towards him, something to which he would never resort. Consequently, he could claim a measure of superiority over them:

"They don’t like me because I am Muslim, they make racist attacks, and they would say things like “we don’t like pakis”...but I won't stoop to their level." (Steven)

Reading across the participants' narratives, labelling their stalker as a deviant was a way to belittle their stalker; a quick and easy way to ‘score a point’ against them. They use these derogatory terms as a form of shorthand when interacting with others. Joel neatly illustrated this point for me:

"My friends at work [police colleagues] would laugh about them [the stalkers] coming near here [his workplace]. I called them the “stalking slappers” and they became known as the "stalking slappers." (Joel)
Becker (1967) in his labelling theory describes deviance not as a characteristic of an individual; rather, the labelling of a person is a result of communicative interaction between deviants and non-deviants. To successfully label an individual as a deviant requires the support of others who have the power to enforce the deviant definition. In this instance, this support was facilitated by Joel establishing a powerful strategic alliance with his work colleagues. These colleagues (who were in the police force) could all support his definition of his stalkers, and were able to collectively perpetuate and enforce the deviant label on these women as the "stalking slappers" which, was also their name in the neighbourhood Joel lived in, as he told his neighbours about the 'true' character of these two women.

**Stalkers as the 'mentally ill'**

"I am not a psychiatrist but she was mad." (Stefan)

Another method the participants adopted to explain their stalkers' behaviour was to label their stalkers' troublesome behaviour as symptomatic of a mental disorder, which in itself contrasted with their rational minds. Scheff (1966) utilized labelling theory to explain mental illness which he framed as a result of the violation of social norms. Put simply, those who do not follow social norms and for whom it is hard to find a label, for example, they cannot be labelled as a criminal or pervert, find themselves being labelled as mentally ill. The participants identified their stalkers as mentally ill because of their failure to adhere to normative expectations of behaviour. This was illustrated in the participants' descriptions of their stalkers, saying how they had "lost their senses" or they were "not a full shilling" and that they were "out of control". At a loss to explain the stalking behaviours against them, participants could only explain it as being illustrative of a mental illness: Carl/a said
this about one of his/her stalkers:

"He was tragic. I think that he was psychologically disturbed, these gay boys just don't get the message...I felt unsafe; they would come to the bar and hang out. They were weirdoes." (Carl/a)

and

"It's a pain; these nutters must be strung up and castrated!!" (Carl/a)

As illustrated above Carl/a called his/her stalkers "nutters". Other participants in this sample also employed a similar vocabulary to describe their stalkers. For example, they used words such as "weirdo", "wacko" or "mental". The use of this language feeds into Lemert's (1967) observation that people often use vernacular categories of mental illness to define troublesome individuals and their behaviours. By using this language, they connect their stalkers with more observable outsiders in society, in this case popular observations about the mentally ill. I believe this strategy is necessary because unlike other more easily recognizable 'deviants' such as prostitutes, drug addicts, rapists and robbers, stalkers are often found in the same social networks as their victims. They are not structurally removed from those who are considered as 'normal' which the participants claim to be. The stalkers are their victims' former intimates, their work colleagues, and their neighbours. They share the same social space and social structures. Consequently, labelling them in this way helps the participants to establish social distance.

John also labelled his stalker as being mentally ill. As his stalker was also his cousin he developed a fairly comprehensive theory as to why she was stalking him. He believed his stalker's mental instability had its genesis in her family's history:
"On that side of the family there's a bit of instability. I am not stressing it enough... seventy percent of the time she was okay, normal, but the thirty percent of the time she went off the rails." (John)

His knowledge about his stalker's family helped him to develop a fully realised theory that helped to explain her behaviour towards him:

"The theory I have behind it, is that her [his stalker's] mother married a man who worked in the hospital, a hospital technician, and they had two children [one of who is his stalker] and they lived in Sellafield and the girls would play on the beach... Her mother exposed her children to radiation at Sellafield and that affected her..." (John)

John identifies that his cousin's family background coupled with specific environmental factors resulted in her mental instability. In doing so, he provides a readymade explanation for her behaviour, an explanation that he can use when telling others his story of being stalked. This story provides further supporting evidence of his stalking experience. During the course of his interview with me he described how he had used this evidence in his discussions with the police. The deviant mentally ill label serves as an important distinguisher between the victim and the stalker, as it continually reinforces the stalker's 'otherness'.

6.4 RECLAIMING THEIR MASCULINITY

According to the participants in this study men should not be stalked and so when they find themselves in this position, they set about othering their stalker. I now want to consider that, in response to being stalked; the men also seek to 'reclaim' their masculinity. As I have already illustrated earlier on in this chapter, participants were embarrassed by being stalked. As a man they should not be stalked (as it's a problem for women) and if they are stalked
they should be able to stop it or if not at least consider it unproblematic. Consequently, when a man is being stalked and they cannot stop their stalker's behaviour towards them and it is considered problematic, a man's masculinity may be called into question by others. In response to this threat a man may 'reclaim' his masculinity. In reclaiming his masculinity, I am drawing on a dramaturgical model in relation to masculinity. In this model, individuals are seen to be 'doing' masculinity. In 'doing' masculinity, an individual has to accomplish masculinity - actors are usually convinced that there is a standard of masculinity to achieve - a continued work of presentation management (Francis-Murphy, 2004). Therefore 'doing' masculinity is something to be achieved and worked at by the person to ensure that they sustain and present as a gendered person to others. This approach which draws on the work of Goffman (1959) resonates with Studies in Ethnomethodology, in which Garfinkel (1967) explores the experience of inter-sexed Agnes who engages in constant gender work so that s/he appeared as a normal and natural female. By doing so, s/he seeks to accomplish the task of passing as a normal woman (Rogers 1992). Garfinkel (1967) argued that gender is a seen but unnoticed background of our everyday affairs as they set out performing their masculine/female roles. Agnes and people like her have to focus on the accomplishment of gender which is an overt and abiding concern. This interpretation of gender explores how men and women behave and 'do' gender in accordance with normative expectations, attitudes and activities which are appropriate to the sex category. Drawing from the above works, my forthcoming argument is that when masculinity is perceived to be at risk, masculinity has be achieved and worked at by the person who believes their masculinity is being called into question. As stalking victimisation often results in the men's masculinity being questioned men have to achieve and strive for it when it is threatened and in doing so they 'reclaim' it.
At one point during his narrative, Adrian said that he "knew what was expected of me in this [stalking] situation." What he thinks is expected of him is to portray an acceptable cultural image of a man whilst being stalked. Similarly, during the course of his interview Simon spoke about "being a man" in the face of his stalker. During the course of their interviews, others participants also mentioned phrases such as: "a man should..." and a "man has to be..." during the course of being stalked. There was a consensus amongst a number of the participants about the standard of masculinity they thought they had to achieve (Francis-Murphy, 2004). From my analysis it is clear that in ‘reclaiming’ their masculinity, the men attempt to achieve a very high standard of masculinity as they draw on winning styles of masculinity in the face of their victimisation. These 'winning' styles draw on the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1985). Hegemonic masculinity encapsulates what is considered as the dominant presentation of masculinity: representations and practices of being a male at a particular time and place (Jefferson cited in Walklate 2007). Connell (1985) who coined this phrase hegemonic masculinity stated that hegemonic masculinity includes strength (physical, intellectual, of character and/or of will power), rationality and supremacy over (perceived) inferiors. Others have also added to this list of hegemonic masculinity traits including being strong, successful, capable, reliable and in control (Herek, 1995). Horsfall (1991) and Mills (2001) have also included sport, work, alcohol, risk taking and power over women as important signifiers of dominant masculinity. As hegemony relates to cultural dominance itself, 'real' men successfully reflect hegemonic masculinity. Consequently, men who can mirror this presentation dominate, whilst other men who fail to live up to this presentation of self are perceived as subordinate. These subordinate presentations include being gay, being camp and acting effeminately; presentations that are usually associated with women and their role and
responsibilities in society, so men who portray these traits are perceived as marginal. Other academics have put forward the argument that instead of hegemonic masculinity dominating, multiple masculinities exist (Brittan, 1989). These masculinities that are based on sexuality, class, race, religion and so on. In focusing on multiple masculinities, there is a move away from the homogenous picture of hegemonic masculinity which reduces masculinity to a simple set of characteristics. Nonetheless, in my research, in the face of being stalked, and when masculinity is being called into question by others, many of the men in this study focus on the winning styles of masculinity. In doing so, they focus on 'passing' as culturally acceptable men as they adhere to dominant masculine characteristics and by doing so they help to consolidate their own masculine identities. However, as I will illustrate, in some cases, some of the participants fail to live up to these high standards of masculinity. I begin this exploration by focusing on one of the participants, Peter. His story epitomizes a presentation of self that characterises a dominant form of masculinity.

**Peter’s story**

The genesis of Peter's stalking experience originated in his employment as a motor cycle courier. One day whilst driving around a large town, he saw a woman on the other side of the road and he immediately "fancied her". Unsurprisingly, he approached her:

"I saw this woman, she had very long hair and gorgeous, I liked her, so I parked my bike near her and I knew I could look like a jerk but I went up to her, we started talking and I got her phone number. On Tuesday I went on the same route, I thought that I might see her again, and then I did. I thought I would seize the day, so anyway I stopped her again and told her how good she looked." (Peter)

Peter enjoyed the challenge of approaching this woman, especially, as she was very
different from the girls he normally pursued:

"I was determined to get her for myself in spite of the fact that she was married and had three children." (Peter).

Throughout his narrative he emphasised their differences, for example this woman was a highly educated and successful professional who earned a considerable amount of money. She was also married. In contrast to this Peter had no formal qualifications and who "did not earn very much." According to Peter her characteristics (in contrast to his own) made her at least initially "unreachable." Yet because Peter regarded her as seemingly unreachable, there was an added mix of risk and excitement to their subsequent affair:

"I saw her one morning before she went to her high flying job; sometimes we sneaked lunch together in between her meetings. Occasionally, she would come home with me if she could get away." (Peter)

As his story progresses, Peter also emphasized another facet of his masculinity; his sexual prowess and his virility. In doing so he linked the constitution of his masculinity through his body experience (Connell, 1995). He went on to describe in detail his physical relationship with his girlfriend, describing how they would often secretly meet together to have sex. For example, during the "whole of October, we met up early mornings to have sex" and later on in his interview he described having "hard sex".

This secret relationship went on for several months before Peter ended it, because he got "bored" with her. However, his ex-girlfriend still wanted to carry on seeing him and consequently she started to stalk him. The stalking behaviour against him included numerous communications from her to him, coming to his place of work and home, and also following him:
"After this time, I got strange calls and then I started to receive letters. Sometimes she was writing letters as someone else. The letters stated things only she would know. The style of letters, the writing style was all her. They were passionate letters about me."

However, unlike the vast majority of the other participants in this study who wanted to avoid any kind of confrontation with their stalker, Peter wanted to face his stalker. As he described it he wanted to “take her on”. Rather than try to meet her on her own, he decided that he wanted to confront her at her home and in front of her husband. Unsurprisingly, when he actually tried to do this he antagonized her husband whom, he emasculates by describing him as a “gone to seed” and a "house husband":

"I went down to where she lived. I parked the motorcycle near her home and then went right up and knocked on her door. He [her husband] answered, looking at this guy, we were about the same age but he was bald, he was wearing an old sweater and trousers, he looked like he had gone to seed real bad."

Further on his narrative Peter also said the following about her husband:

"What kind of man stays at home while letting their wife go out to work?"

When her husband refused to let him see her Peter went for a walk. When he returned to her house he found that his motor cycle had been damaged and suspecting his ex-girlfriend’s husband, he called the police. In a game of one-up-man-ship with the husband he was determined not to lose face. Eventually, the police gave her husband a warning because of the damage to Peter’s motorbike, and this pleased Peter:

“But someone had damaged my bike, the police came down, I knew the husband had damaged the bike. I called the police; and they warned him.”

Whilst Peter, found the experience of being stalked undoubtedly problematic, viewing it through a lens of masculinity he found a way in which he could use his experience as an opportunity to employ and demonstrate winning styles of masculinity. This resulted in him
being admired by others - "I spoke to friends about it [being stalked] and they said I did the right thing. They liked hearing about it". Indeed this experience seems to help him to consolidate his identity, an identity that is an exemplary version of masculinity.

**Reclaiming masculinity through physical strength**

For some of the participants a key resource to rely on whilst being stalked was their own physical (masculine) strength. It is a resource that they can use to protect themselves from their stalker. In exemplifying this trait, the participants highlight the single most evident marker of manhood (Kimmel, 1996). However, interestingly, it is only the men who face a female stalker who acknowledge their own physical superiority:

"The physical stalking has not been a problem for me, I can look after myself. I never took the physical threat seriously..." (Simon)

and

"My wife was petrified, I was never particularly frightened of her; it was male against female." (John)

In contrast to the above examples, several of the men faced up to the limitations of their physical bodies. They seemed to acknowledge that, in any physical altercation with their male stalker, their physical strength may be perceived as inadequate. This is illustrated in Adrian’s story. As outlined in previous chapters, he was stalked by a former boyfriend who assaulted him. During this experience he did not retaliate. In his interview he reflected on his perceived inability to fight back:

"As a man I was supposed to be a hunter fighter so I should be able to deal with it." (Adrian)
Adrian at this point feeds into a popular image of masculinity in everyday consciousness that of a man as hunter-fighter, which is a picture of a ‘real’ man (Brittan, 1989). Culturally, acceptable images of masculinity places great value on physicality (Connell, 2000) yet Adrian perceived himself as physically inadequate and therefore, he disqualified himself from being able to fight back physically. The reason he is unable to do so lies in his own sexuality, “if I were straight, I would beat the shit out of him”. His sexual orientation shapes his perceived physical response to his stalker determining what he can, or in this case cannot do. His perception of a gay man is that he does not physically retaliate, although his statement is ironic. I met Adrian for a face-to-face interview. At our agreed meeting point I met a very softly spoken man but what struck me initially was Adrian’s physical appearance which seemed to resemble that of the body builder’s/actor’s Arnold Schwarzenegger (a comment I made in my research journal). Adrian was obviously a man who regularly worked out and who had developed a hugely muscular physical frame which reflected a competitive body builder’s physique. His physical presence was accentuated by a tight white t-shirt and tight jeans; he presented an image of a ‘clone’, a popular gay identity in the 1970s and 1980s (Levine & Kimmel, 1998). Yet in spite of his powerful physical self he felt physically unable to protect himself.

Other participants also seemed to recognise that they felt physically inadequate in comparison to their stalkers; but they still found other ways to ‘physically’ overcome their stalkers. Darren too complained about his male stalker and wanted to physically lash out at him. However, rather than actually doing this, he liked to imagine what he could do to his stalker. He could hurt him in his imagination where there was no possible risk of failure:
"If I saw him in a dark alley I would have...I've imagined what I'd like to do to him
countless of times, I would have liked to knock him out." (Darren)

Reclaiming masculinity though mental strength

As illustrated already in earlier chapters, many of the men tried to stop their stalker from
continuing their behaviour against them. In order to do so they had to mentally engage with
the problem:

"It creeps up on you. You begin to think about him all the time, trying to work out how to get
rid of him." (Jeff)

For one participant, Charles, his determination to engage with his 'problem' stalker resulted
in him developing a role for himself. He saw himself as a detective in his own story, and a
detective who was trying to solve his own case. In response to my advert Charles described
being stalked by his ex-wife in the aftermath of an acrimonious divorce. After talking to
him about his experience he sent me an email record of his stalking experience. This record
is very detailed and stylistically it reads like a novel; here is an extract from it:

"It was late twilight and light snow was falling. However, it was possible to see the car was a
four door and the lights seen on the car driven away resembled Jane's [his wife's name] Ford.
Therefore, a few minutes later I took a flashlight out and examined the tracks left in the snow
by the front tyres of the car we had seen. Though the turnaround had been made in a hurry,
thus somewhat smearing the tracks, in places distinct tread marks were visible matching the
front tyres seen on Jane's car in October 2002. The tracks left as the car hurriedly backed up
indicate the car was a front wheel drive vehicle. Thread characteristics seen in the snow
included a triangular pattern in the centre with a curved pattern like a right mark on the outer
margin. Photographs using flash were taken that night."

Charles’s account is highly storied and reads like fiction. Portraying himself as a detective,
like a Raymond Chandler fictional character, he uses his detective skills and reasoning
skills to solve his case. The author Raymond Chandler describes the role of the detective in
his stories as a real man:

"The detective in this kind of story must be such a man. He is the hero. He is everything. He must be a complete man, a common man and yet an unusual man, a man of honour by instinct by inevitability without thought and certainly without saying it." (Chandler cited in Mandel 1984:88)

Charles had found a role to play whilst being stalked, a role that emphasized his own masculinity.

Some of the participants reinforced their masculine identities through their own mental strength as they demonstrated restraint under difficult circumstances. So whilst several of the participants described the physical abuse they had experienced at the hands of their stalkers, they emphasized to me that they had not retaliated. Accordingly, Jason said the following:

"I never ever lifted a finger against her; – what kind of man would I be if I did retaliate? I wanted to tell you that... I am well able to look after myself. It’s a woman for goodness sake. It looks like it’s a joke." (Jason)

Due to the size and physical differential between Jason’s girlfriend and himself, Jason thought that others would think his experience was just a "joke". Consequently, Jason concealed his experience. Reading through his narrative however, Jason did find another way to counter his girlfriend’s actions against him by adopting a superior moral position. His decision not to physically retaliate under provocation reaffirmed his masculinity; he could demonstrate control and resist the urge to retaliate, thereby facilitating his ability to retain his masculine status (Brogden & Harkin, 2000).
**Reclaiming masculinity through financial success**

Some of the male participants' ability to present a successful presentation of self is inexorably linked with their employment and the monetary rewards they receive from it. This ability to provide financially for their families links manhood to paid work and has been labelled as “the good provider role” (Messerchmidt, 1993:70). Put more explicitly, the size of a man’s pay cheque is an illustration of his masculinity “in our society the main focus of masculinity is the wage” (Tolson cited in Connell 1995: 93).

The most common way of expressing their financial achievement was through monetary success (Archer, 1994). Adrian spoke of the various shops that he owned around a large town. As the sole Director of a company his lifestyle was very comfortable. The rewards of this employment were also clearly illustrated in the location of his home; he lived in an exclusive block of penthouse flats that boasted a 24 hour concierge, gym and valet service. He also spoke of holidaying in exclusive resorts. Similarly, Gregory emphasized his business success. He spoke of the large import-export business he had founded. He also went on to describe the two homes he owned; one in the country and another in a large city. So his success afforded him a safe location away from his stalker when he became too much for him. Also, both John and Simon were financially successful, both being at the top of their professions in large organisations. These men emphasised their monetary success in their narratives through the houses and cars that they owned and the lifestyles they lived, going to restaurants, theatres and so on. For all of the men, their masculinity was not just defined by having a job; it was the possession of a good job that brought them wealth and status, proof that they live up to the big wheel of masculinity (David, 1978). Their financial
success is also a resource that could be used to rid themselves of their stalker:

"If she had said that she was desperately short of money, or the kids needed shoes I would have sent her some money. It might have stopped her [from stalking him]. I would have even helped the kids." (John)

At one point during his stalking experience Adrian contemplated hiring a hit man to kill his former boyfriend who was stalking him. This was a service he could pay for, and whilst he knew that he would not eventually go through with this idea, the fact that he could do so was in some way reassuring to him:

"I have never told anyone this; I really thought about getting someone to kill him. I never went through with this, but I knew someone who could kill him. I thought about it...sometimes when it was really difficult I thought about it more often." (Adrian)

Whilst many of the participants were financially successful, in their opinion their stalkers were quite the opposite. Some of the participants were able to juxtapose their monetary success with their stalkers' more meagre financial means although interestingly, only participants who had male stalkers did this. In these instances, the participants complained that their stalkers were unemployed - or "sponging off benefits" as Jeff described it, or "no good layabouts" as expressed by Lloyd. This finding seems to feed into a perspective of men as workers; hence, not working seemed to signal that the stalker was of a man (Connell, 1995). A superior presentation of masculinity is therefore informed by having financial resources.
"At times I've been really worried about my family and tried to be around as much as possible in case she got to them." (John)

Some of the men clearly identified themselves as the protector of their families. In doing so, they slot their presentation of self into a traditional masculine role. This was particularly true when they perceived respective family members were feeling vulnerable because of their stalkers’ actions:

"I was not particularly worried but my wife was as she was on her own [at home]. I did not take the physical threat seriously, but my wife did. So I wanted to be around more." (John)

and

"They [two stalkers] accosted two of my children and gave them alcohol. It was all very disconcerting and so I started taking them to school and picking them up." (Joel)

For some of the participants their role as the protector of their family was brought into conflict when their stalker was also their former wife or girlfriend with whom they also had children. Consequently, if they wanted to see their children they still had to interact with their former partners. Invariably, this resulted in the children being caught in the middle of their warring parents:

"If the wife stalks the man she could be arrested and she may get a fine. If she is also a mother you have got to think of the child but the bigger problem is what your wife will say to the child like “Now look what your father has done, he got me arrested.” It was very difficult." (Stefan)

Paul in his description of being stalked by his ex-wife described in detail how he tried to keep his family together despite his ex-wife’s accusations against him:

"I was determined to see my daughter whilst she was trying to turn her away from me... all the time she was seeing this other man, she was cheating on me, yet she was accusing me of..."
having affairs. I said to her, "I work six days a week to support our three children, I do not have time to have an affair as I am completely exhausted." (Paul)

Paul worked hard at trying to explain to his children what was going on, making sure that they knew he was in charge of the situation in spite of events seemingly getting out of control. Therefore, the protection of his family was a very active engagement on his part as he clearly did not want to show any fracture in his presentation of self in case they thought that it illustrated masculine weakness (Kimmel, 1996).

Reclaiming masculinity- adopting a masculine role

For Stefan his negative interaction with the police resulted in him changing his career; he actually became a police officer. In taking up this role, he adopted a very masculine role. His experience of domestic violence and stalking made him feel very "uncomfortable"; he recognised the tension between being a man and also experiencing domestic violence and stalking. Consequently, he was spurred on to adopt a role that is both more useful (and I would suggest) more masculine. In effect whilst his stalking experience was very difficult he has tried to make it a positive experience and try and find some meaning in it (Taylor et al 1983). This resulted in a new career as a police officer. Interestingly, through the police training he has received, he quickly has learnt who is a victim:

"I am now a police officer partly because what happened because no-one really believes you. Even in the police training, there is an assumption that women are always the victim; but that is not always the case."

Through his police training he sees that there is an underlying assumption amongst the police that it is only a woman who can be a 'victim' of a crime. Stefan's anecdotal
observation is supported by research into the police which confirms that females are constructed as victims whilst men are not (Reiner, 2000). This has obvious repercussions for any male stalking victim presenting themselves to the police, looking for their assistance.

**Celebrity stalking**

At this point I want to explore one particular participants' narrative – Carla’s. Carl/a, as a transsexual s/he does not want to reclaim his/her masculinity. Nonetheless s/he does use his/her stalking experience to his/her advantage. Like the men who reclaim their masculinity and use their experience in a favourable way, in their case to further consolidate their masculine identity, Carl/a interprets his/her stalking experience in a way that is also favourable to him/her. S/he uses his/her stalking experience to consolidate his/her identity as a 'celebrity'. Carl/a works as an internet sex worker, this involves him/her performing sexual acts for clients who dial into his/her home via the internet:

"I started working in the porn industry; I was involved in cyber sex [internet] site called —. They offer you free accommodation and then you stay in a house. Men then dial in through the internet and I perform for them. Twenty people would log into my room and ask me to perform." (Carl/a)

However, a number of her/his clients had found out where s/he lived. Consequently s/he was being stalked in his/her private life. After s/he had finished his/her work, clients would try and meet him/her at a local bar he frequented. At this bar the men would present him/her with "letters, presents and gifts". These gifts plus the men’s adulation, provides him/her with the means to interpret his/her stalking experience as interactions with his/her fans. By doing so he reformulates his/her stalking experience as fan-staged encounters with
herself/himself as a celebrity figure. Social commentators have said that for celebrities a stalker is a fashion accessory (Guardian 29 January 2000). Carl/a plays up to this, being stalked provides him/her with an opportunity to channel the attention s/he receives into celebrity-like interactions:

"Some evenings I would meet them in the bar; they would buy me drinks and give me presents. I loved it." (Carl/a)

However, whilst s/he likes the attention from his/her clients/fans, and even thinks about dating one of the stalkers, s/he described being stalked by one client as "sweet" at one point, s/he is also frightened by some of his/her clients' stalking behaviours. So much so that on occasion s/he has had to call the police for assistance:

"His messages were really sweet, another time I might have been interested but it was too much at that particular time.... "(Carl/a)

and

"One of them [his clients] has been aggressive with me, pulling at me, trying to grab me; I've had to call the police because of him." (Carl/a)

As illustrated in the quote above, on occasions Carl/a is frightened of his/her stalker(s). As with some well documented accounts of celebrity-stalkers, stalkers can either cast themselves in the role of potential lover, or they can also threaten their victims (Dietz et al 1990). Such approaches can have tragic repercussions. Musician John Lennon and actress Rebecca Schaeffer were both killed by fans/stalkers. There is a risk that any encounter with a celebrity fan/stalker can develop into both a menacing and dangerous situation. Carl/a soon realises that a celebrity-like lifestyle can be problematic, as s/he does not have the resources to protect himself/herself as celebrity figures do.
This re-conceptualisation of interaction with his/her stalkers as characteristic of fan-celebrity interaction helps Carl/a to cope with the chaotic effect of his/her employment whilst still continuing to flaunt his/her identity. In flaunting his/her identity s/he is acting like a celebrity who “flaunts not hides his or her identity in order to see how large a crowd or followers she or he can accumulate” (Gardner, 1995: 219). Whilst s/he is living a celebrity life s/he has also become a spectacle for the entertainment of others. Yet as Carl/a admits s/he finds himself in a dangerous situation with no boundaries between Carl/a and his/her clients/fans/stalkers. In spite of recognising this potential danger, s/he also seems to thrive on his/her perceived celebrity status and loves the attention resulting from it.

6.5 CONCLUSION
This chapter has explored the theme of men’s presentation of masculinity, particularly the men’s ability to reclaim masculinity in their experiences of stalking. I began by exploring how the men perceive the problem of stalking as a problem for women and not for men. Consequently when they find themselves stalked they are embarrassed by it especially as they cannot stop the stalker. Following on from this I explored how the men sought to create a deviant image of their stalker, to present an image of a deviant whose character and even looks were diametrically opposed to their own. They then went on to emphasize various aspects of masculinity, an area of their lives over which they still had some control, unlike much of their stalking experiences. This included emphasizing their jobs and financial rewards, their ability to care for and protect their family, and their physical and mental strength. In emphasizing these traits, the majority of the men in this sample tried to live up to the standards of dominant masculinity and live within the parameters of what a
'real' man should be whilst being stalked.

It was through this presentation of self and their masculine traits that they were able to navigate their experience of being stalked and present roles with which that they were comfortable, for example a detective role. Therefore, although their masculinity was called into question because they were being stalked, many of the men in this study found a way to use their experience in a favourable way. Consequently, in striving to reclaim their masculine identity they also consolidated it.

Undoubtedly, participants' engagement with hegemonic masculinity was used to boost their own sense of masculinity (as Carl/a boosted his/her sense of being a celebrity figure through his/her stalking experience) because their masculinity was questioned. However, I wonder if their demonstrations of masculinity were also for myself as the researcher. Kimmel (1994) writes that manhood is demonstrated for others' approval and that it is other men who evaluate their performance. Indeed men need other men's approval.

Participants in this study were worried about what other people thought about them during their stalking experience. I also wondered, during the course of the interviews, if they felt pressurized to emphasize their success as a man not only to distance themselves from being considered a victim, but also to seek my approval so that I could affirm them as men. The experience of being stalked can ‘taint’ the masculine self, so in telling their story there is always the danger that their masculinity will be called into question. Therefore, in telling their stories they have to carefully consolidate their own image of being men. For example, prior to telling me his stalking story, Peter told me about the kind of man he is: he told me
he was a fun loving man who positively enjoys risk taking and "living on the edge." He also has no problem attracting females and is determinedly stubborn and so on, all of which are characteristics of dominant masculinity; characteristics he likes to display to others (Brannon, 1976):

"I live by the seat of my pants; I haven't got money. But I don't mess about... I am a single guy and I duck and dive. I like trouble and having fun." (Peter)

Peter began his narrative by describing his background; he saw himself as very much a working class man from a second generation Latino background:

"I was born in the east end from a Latino heritage. My dad came here and we were a family with loads of working class kids."

Mirande (1997) argues that a macho ethos in Latin culture is defined through various traits - physical strength, vitality, bravery, stubbornness - and through a man's assertion of control of people and things and even violence and death. Peter spoke of his heritage a number of times and it was obviously important to him because it offered him the opportunity to reinforce the masculine presentation of self he seemed eager to display during the course of the interview. Indeed, the interviews afforded all of the male participants the opportunity to display their masculinity to me to counter any thoughts I may have had they were less of a 'man' because of their experience of victimisation.
CHAPTER 7: USING A POPULAR CULTURE DISCOURSE TO MAKE SENSE OF BEING STALKED

7.1 INTRODUCTION

"The girl developed an obsession with me. She started leaving photos of me on the front garden and she then started following me and calling my parents. She was a proper bunny boiler." (Andrew)

Describing his stalker as a "bunny boiler" Andrew is drawing on a phrase that has its origins in the 1987 film *Fatal Attraction*. During the course of their interviews, other participants in this study made direct reference to this film, while another of the participants, Simon, drew on Clint Eastwood's 1971 directorial film *Play Misty for Me* when describing his stalking experience to me. Consequently, the objective of this chapter is to explore what the men draw on from these two films and to suggest reasons why they do. Prior to addressing the main objectives of this chapter, I will provide a short synopsis of these two films which will then provide the background to my analysis.

7.2 A SUMMARY OF THE FILM 'FATAL ATTRACTION'

"On the other side of drinks, dinner and a one night stand lies a terrifying love story."

The above tag line used to promote the film *Fatal Attraction* indicated to prospective film audiences what was in store for them. It was described by the respected American film critic Robert Ebert as a "psychological thriller" (Ebert, 1987). When audiences did see the film, it certainly grabbed their attention, with *Time* magazine declaring that "people just
can't stop talking about this movie", (Faludi, 1991: 113). In fact it has been called the "zeitgeist hit of the decade" (Corliss, cited in Davis, 1992: 52) and the "magnum opus" of stalking films (Lloyd-Goldstein 1998: 193). The association between this film and stalking is so strong that anti-stalking legislation in America is sometimes called Fatal Attraction legislation (Kamir, 2001). Upon its release, a furore eventually enveloped the film which resulted in it being a huge commercial success: in America alone it grossed US$156.6 million (source: www.imdb.com/title/tt0093010/). It was also a critical triumph resulting in eight Oscar nominations including for best picture, best actress and best supporting actress (source: www.imdb.com/title/tt0093010/). It placed a spotlight on the three principal actors in the film; Michael Douglas who played the role of ‘Dan Gallagher’, Anne Archer who played the role of Gallagher’s wife ‘Beth’, and Glenn Close, the woman with whom Douglas's character has an affair, ‘Alex Forrester’.

The film's storyline, which dramatically captures its audience's attention, focuses on the consequences of a short affair between two individuals, Dan and Alex. The narrative begins by depicting what appears to be the perfect American family comprising of Dan a successful corporate lawyer, his wife Beth and their young daughter, Ellen. In the initial stages of the film the family is portrayed as a loving and caring family. This perfect picture begins to unravel whilst Beth and Ellen are visiting her mother and father upstate to identify another property to move into. Whilst his family is away, Dan attends a meeting. Alex Forrester, a book editor, is also there, and quite clearly they are attracted to each other. When the meeting is finished Dan and Alex have coffee together. Coffee leads to both of them returning to Alex's apartment where they have sex. After spending the weekend together Dan becomes adamant that their affair must end and in response to this Alex
unsuccesfully attempts to commit suicide. However, Alex refuses to take 'no' for an answer, despite Dan's departure to his home and family. She then begins to stalk him. The stalking behaviour includes calling him on the phone and turning up unannounced at his work and home. Though Dan doggedly sticks to reiterating that there is no future in their relationship and in spite of her claiming to be pregnant, Alex's stalking behaviour becomes increasingly violent. This includes vandalizing his car, and then infamously killing his daughter's rabbit by boiling it on their stove. Eventually due to Alex's behaviour Dan confesses to Beth about the affair with Alex, resulting in Dan and Beth separating.

However, Alex continues to stalk Dan and his family, and this culminates in her kidnapping Dan and Beth's daughter Ellen. This kidnapping begins the final segment of the film as Beth, frantic with worry because of Ellen's disappearance, has a car accident and is hospitalised. Upon her release from hospital Dan returns home with Beth to look after her and care for Ellen, who was safely returned by Alex. Whilst the police look for Alex on suspicion of the kidnapping of Ellen, unbeknown to anyone she has entered Dan's house where she tries to kill Beth who is running a bath upstairs. Dan, who is downstairs, eventually hears Beth's screams and races upstairs where he wrestles with Alex. After a tremendous struggle Dan drowns Alex in the bath. An eerie silence descends upon the scene which is shattered by Alex rising from the bath wielding a knife, which she lunges at Dan. At this point Beth appears in the bathroom doorway, gun in hand, and shoots Alex dead. The last scene of the film sees the police arriving at the house to remove Alex's body, whist an embracing Dan and Beth watch. The camera lingers on both of them and finally rests on a family portrait of Dan, Beth and Ellen.
7.3 A SUMMARY OF THE FILM 'PLAY MISTY FOR ME'

The poster for *Play for Misty Me* depicts the actress Jessica Walter's character 'Evelyn Draper' screaming as she wields a knife behind the lead protagonist of the film 'Dave Carver', played by the actor and director Clint Eastwood. Eastwood's face is turned away from Evelyn yet clearly he knows she is approaching as his face is full of fear. The tag line for this film reads, "the scream you hear may be your own", and offers its audience an "invitation to terror."

*Play Misty for Me* is set in Carmel, California. It is 1971, and late night DJ radio host, Dave Carver, regularly receives a request by a female caller to play the love song 'Misty'. The female caller is Evelyn Draper who, wanting to meet Dave, goes to the late night bar he frequents when his show finishes. They meet at the bar, and end up sleeping together. For Dave, sleeping with Evelyn is a one night stand, but Evelyn wants more from him and, unhappy with his decision not to pursue their relationship, she begins to stalk him. Her stalking behaviour towards him includes following him, arriving unexpectedly at his home and work, and interrupting his business meetings. In spite of her endeavours to be with him, he is not interested in her. This results in an unsuccessful suicide bid, plus increasing acts of violence culminating in the vicious murder of Dave's cleaner. In the aftermath of this act of extreme violence, she is arrested by the police and sent to a mental institution. When she is eventually paroled she resumes stalking Dave.

Upon her release, and unknown to Dave, Evelyn moves into an apartment with Dave's on-off girlfriend Tobie. When David finds out, he immediately requests police assistance. When the attending police officer arrives at the apartment, Evelyn murders him. With Toby
tied up, Evelyn waits for Dave to arrive, which he duly does. After a prolonged fight, the scene culminates in Dave punching Evelyn so hard that she is sent through the balcony and onto the rocks below. Now dead, the last scene of the film focuses on Dave and Tobie together again as they walk hand in hand along the nearby beach.

7.4 "SHE WAS LIKE GLENN CLOSE"

During the course of their interviews, several of the participants compared their own female stalker to Glenn Close, the actress who played the part of Alex Forrester in the film *Fatal Attraction*. Whilst the participants in this study referred to Glen Close by name in their narratives, none were referring to the actress per se, but to the role with which she has become synonymous with - Alex Forrester. This blurring of Glenn Close with this role is not surprising considering the media interest surrounding Alex Forrester; a character who has been voted as one of the greatest movie characters of all time (source: http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0093010/). The actress Glenn Close even found this blurring between fact and fiction unsettling when she found pictures of herself splashed across the tabloids with the headlines 'The Most Hated Woman in America' (Levy, 1987).

In utilizing the name 'Glenn Close' during the course of their interviews, the participants use her synonymy with the character Alex Forrester to explain their own experience of being stalked. In doing so, they draw on a readymade and well known popular cultural image of a female stalker that exists in society's stock of knowledge (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). The name Glenn Close is used by the participants as a verbal shorthand to convey the perceived threat that they face from their stalker. They also draw on a dominant popular
cultural discourse to explain staking behaviour, for example, during the course of his interview Joseph said his stalker "was bonkers like Glenn Close." Stefan commented that his female stalker, who was also his ex-wife, was "mad" and compared her to Glenn Close. Participants thought that the behaviour of Glenn Close's character was mad as a result of a psychiatric disorder, a commonly held view within popular cultural discourse about the character of Alex Forrester (Joshiel, 1992), which is also mirrored in the participants' layman's diagnosis of their own stalkers' behaviours.

The mental state of Alex Forrester is directly addressed in the film Fatal Attraction. During an argument Dan shouts at Alex "You need help...you need a shrink!" and "I'll pity you, because you're sick". There has also been much commentary written about Alex Forrester's mental state. The film critic Roger Ebert comments that Alex grows "pathological", while academics have also deliberated on her mental condition (Ebert, 1989; Kamir, 2001). Even the actress Glenn Close, prior to taking the part, considered the mental stability of her character. To assess her she gave the script to two psychiatrists and challenged them as to whether the character of Alex was realistic. They confirmed to Close that Alex's problem was a result of her being “abused before memory” (Fatal Attraction Documentary DVD, 2002). Like Close, the victims of stalkers in this study also want to know why their stalkers act in the way they do. They need an explanation for their stalkers' behaviour. In fact, Peter pursued a similar course of action to Close. Desperate to find out why he was being stalked (by a former ex-intimate) he too asked mental health professionals why his former girlfriend was stalking him. Although he did not get a definite answer from them, he used what they said to help label his stalker as mentally ill:
"They said she had some kind of mental health problem. There was something wrong with her, a syndrome of some sort. I read about it and I think that she has a disassociate personality syndrome, she has a split personality. She was clearly damaged." (Peter)

For the men who make use of the name of Glenn Close in their narratives, situationally improper behaviour by their stalkers, including shouting at them in public, barging into their workplace, vandalizing their cars, plus a disregard of the generally accepted rules of interaction, results in the men labelling their stalkers as "mad" and "like Glenn Close". Indeed, for many of the participants in this study, a mental disorder is the only explanation of stalking behaviour, reflecting the major discourse that has developed around stalking.

Stefan said the following about his stalker:

"I just can't understand her behaviour at all, it is completely, unbelievably off the wall. She's mad." (Stefan)

Jason made a similar comment:

"I know that she drinks heavily but still...her behaviour towards me was completely irrational, it was beyond anything I'd ever known..." (Jason)

At the release of the film the character of Alex Forrester was also described in the media as a 'bunny boiler'. The phrase derives from the now famous scene in Fatal Attraction where Alex seeks revenge on Dan by boiling his daughter's pet rabbit. Originating in the stalking actions of Alex, the phrase ‘bunny boiler’ is now synonymous in the United Kingdom with a woman who obsessively pursues a man and is perceived as emotionally unstable and vengeful (source: www.collins.co.uk). Carl/a draws on this term in his/her narrative.

However in his/her case s/he uses it to describe not a woman stalker which is the original application of the name, but to the male clients s/he has met through his/her work as a sex worker. S/he uses the term to describe male clients who according to Carl/a "overstep the
mark." These men breach normative expectations of behaviour associated with a client/sex worker relationship:

"I've had to deal with one or more 'bunny boilers'; in my time, you meet a guy, you shag, and next thing he's got the church and the cake organized." (Carl/a)

In Carl/a’s situation the term bunny boiler is used not in relation to a malicious or vengeful stalker, rather Carl/a uses the term to describe men who actually want too much of a commitment from him/her, as Alex Forrester did in Fatal Attraction. Using the phrase bunny boiler in this way also fits into Carl/a’s framing of his/her entire stalking experience as an appendage of a celebrity life – his/her clients are like fans who want too much of him/her.

7.5 “I THOUGHT, GOD THIS IS JUST LIKE 'PLAY MISTY FOR ME'”

"Around this time I went to see a film called 'Play Misty for Me' about Clint Eastwood who had a relationship with some woman, obviously I had not [had a relationship with his female stalker]. In this film he is stalked by this woman and she then becomes homicidal. I remember talking to friends and saying this was all a bit farfetched and that it couldn’t happen. And then it happened to me. I thought God this is just like 'Play Misty for Me.'" (Simon)

Simon drew on the Clint Eastwood film Play Misty for Me in his narrative. This is not surprising; like Dave Garner, the male stalking victim in Play Misty for Me, Simon was also once a disc jockey who was stalked by a listener/fan. He could also relate to Eastwood's character which he said was a "real man"; or as Simon described himself a "man's man" which is the usual portrayal of a man in Hollywood films (Sparks, 1996). As in the story of Play Misty for Me, Simon believed that his stalker had "connected" with him
through his radio show.

Simon finds similarities between his own story and this fictional popular culture narrative which he then compares with other real yet more extreme experiences of stalking victimisation:

"The worry is if you are in someone's head they could potentially do anything, you may end up like an extreme case like in the film or John Lennon." (Simon)

In his own narrative he also finds differences with the film and his own experience, for example, unlike the character Dave Garner, Simon never had a relationship with his stalker. Therefore, he can use the film to say what his experience was, and what it was not:

"At other times it was like it [the film *Play Misty for Me*] but obviously at other times it was subtler." (Simon)

Simon's own experience of being stalked occurred during the 1970s and 1980s when there was little understanding and awareness of what stalking behaviour is. He recognises this with some of the phrases he uses when he reflects on his experience:

"It was only later when I read about it I called her a stalker." (Simon)

In Simon's narrative, the word 'stalker' was not available to him when he was actually being stalked in the 1970s. It now is and it provides him with a way to describe what his experience was (Searle 1999). Prior to the contemporary use of this word, Simon struggled to name and label his experience, but now he has a word which he can use to describe his experience.
However in spite of being able to label the behaviour as stalking, on occasions during the course of his interview he described how he is still lost for words when re-telling his experience. He laughed about this, particularly as words are the "bread and butter" of his employment. Consequently, he is in a position where he still cannot adequately explain his stalking experience so that others will understand it. Therefore, the film *Play Misty for Me* is important as it provides him with a tool to facilitate a shared understanding with others. For Simon this film provides a discursive space to facilitate a shared understanding which helps others to understand and comprehend something of his social reality (Willig, 2002). With few discourse narratives (and statements) for him to make use of from the social world, the popular cultural narratives become the narratives he can use to convey something of his own reality to others:

"I had seen the movie and so knew about it [stalking]. So, when discussing it I would relate my experience to *Play Misty for Me* so they would get a 'picture' of it."

### 7.6 IS THERE A HAPPY ENDING?

In spite of the fictional characters in *Fatal Attraction* and *Play Misty for Me* facing challenging odds, both male leads are successful in finally expelling the stalkers from their lives, and by doing so they both fulfil the narrative arcs of Hollywood films - they have a happy ending. The fictional success of men who permanently rid themselves of their stalker, contrasts acutely with the real life experiences of the participants in this study. Again and again the participants reiterate that they cannot rid themselves of their stalkers:

"I do not know how I will ever stop him." (Gregory)

and

"It's a winter period but that does not mean that in a week or a month's time she won't be
Among the participants' narratives there is a bubbling anxiety about how their stories will end. They hope that one day it will, yet they seem resigned to the possibility that it may not; a common theme amongst victims in the wider literature "it's a nightmare, which I am unable to stop" (Bradfield, 1998:232).

This desire for a happy ending in stalking narratives which entails the participants ridding themselves permanently of their stalker was clearly illustrated in Fatal Attraction. As I have already discussed, the final scene of the film sees Alex dead and Dan and Beth reunited. This, however, was not the original ending for the film. In its original ending Dan was implicated in the murder of Alex who, unknown to him, had slit her throat with the knife with which he had threatened her. At the same time Beth finds a tape recording in which Alex threatens suicide, which would appear to exonerate Dan. This quieter ending, which made Alex less of a monster, was axed because, according to the producers of the film, test audiences were "unsatisfied" with it as the "ending felt flat" (Fatal Attraction DVD, 2002). Instead of this quieter ending, the test audiences wanted Alex to be punished for her behaviour. Subsequently, the producers decided to re-shoot the ending that was finally released to give the audience the ending they wanted. This new ending worked. At the end of the test film, audiences were heard to scream "Kill the bitch! Kill the bitch!" (Levy, 2004). Audiences had the ending that they wanted with all the strands of the story neatly tied up. This contrasts acutely with many of the participants ongoing and seemingly never ending experiences of being stalked:
"In spite of everything I've done nothing has changed. It's a fucking nightmare." (Ben)

7.7: CONCLUSION

Some of the participants in this study drew on these two popular cultural depictions of stalking in their own narratives. In doing so, they use phrases and themes from both *Fatal Attraction* and *Play Misty for Me* as a sense making device for their own experiences. By utilising these two films they make reference to both the similarities and differences in their own stalking experiences with these popular cultural depictions and in doing so, the participants can explain to others what is going on around them. These films are particularly important as the participants in this study are without other informational sources on male stalking victimisation.

During the course of their interviews several of the men mentioned media accounts of female victimisation, but not media stories of male victims. This finding reflects the dominant discourse surrounding stalking behaviour which focuses on female victimisation. So, while a discourse has opened up around female stalking victimisation the same cannot be said about real life accounts of male victimisation. Consequently, *Play Misty for Me* and *Fatal Attraction* were important to the participants in this study. While the dominant discourse about stalking behaviours is formed of a limited number of statements, in this instance recurring statements about women as victims of stalking, these two films provide a discursive space which the male participants can use to explain to others their own stalking experiences. It gives them a language and discourse to talk about their stalking experiences, a language and a discourse which exist outside of the normal parameters of how stalking is
understood (Willig, 2002; Danaher et al 2000).

So while the predominant discourse on stalking says that stalking behaviour is a phenomenon experienced by women and not men, which is reflected by the discursive formations around stalking, these films, although they are fictional, provide examples illustrating stalking does happen to men, whilst also providing men with a tool to make sense of their own stories for example, the films supports their argument that their stalker is "mad". Indeed these popular cultural discourses make male stalking victimisation 'visible', acutely contrasting with the invisibility of real life male victim stories. To the male victims of stalking, these forms of popular culture provide evidence that male stalking victimisation does exist, in spite of the disbelief surrounding it as I illustrate in the quote below, which I have used once before in this study:

"Being stalked as a male is like being a homosexual who has been raped; no-one believes you." (Peter)

Therefore these two films help to inform a discursive reality around stalking into which the participants in this study can tap into as sense-making devices to understand their own stalking experiences as well as using the films to help others comprehend something of the reality of stalking victimisation.
CHAPTER 8: STALKING AND ITS IMPACT ON IDENTITY

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter Five of this thesis, the social harm of being stalked was identified. Due to its pervasiveness across a number of the participants’ narratives in this chapter I further develop this theme to posit that an experience of being stalked can have serious effects on the participants’ identities. Specifically, I argue that how the participants ‘see’ themselves and how others ‘see’ them can change during the course of a stalking experience. In exploring this theme I draw on the concept of identity and in particular how identity can be threatened and even collapse because of stalking victimisation. I then turn to the management techniques some of the men typically employ to protect their identities. My subsequent argument will be that while these techniques provide some relief they are not always entirely successful. Consequently, some men take more drastic action to rid themselves of their stalker. I will argue that in doing so they seek to protect their identities.

In addressing identity, my central argument is that the experience of being stalked can affect how the participants in this study view themselves and how others see them (Jenkins, 1996). In exploring this theme among the participants’ narratives, I am making a connection between the ‘self’ and ‘society’, a relationship that is very well established in sociological literature. Cooley (1902:5) addresses the subject when he says that “self and society are twin born” The connection between society and the self results in subjective feedback about the self from society, and this source of data influences self. Mead (1964)
argues that the concept of the self arises from the individual's concern about how others react to him/her. Included in Mead's understanding of the self is the idea of the generalized other which acts as an internal regulator of behaviour. The individual will come to respond to himself and to develop self attitudes consistent with the response and attitudes that others in his/her world have towards him/her. Contemporary sociologist Richard Jenkins in his book *Social Identity* (1996), also makes this link between the individual and others/society arguing that identity is social process in which the individual and the social world are inextricably related. Drawing on the work of sociologists Mead and Erving Goffman amongst others he argues that identity concerns internal and external definitions of the self which are generated and consolidated in interaction with others. It is this reflection on self and interaction with others and how this impacts on identity during a stalking experience that I explore during the course of this chapter.

Prior to exploring this, I will begin by reflecting on the participants' descriptions of their stalkers, which provides an insight into how stalkers can entwine with their victims' identities. Ben described his former partner who was stalking him as a "parasite" and his "shadow" because of his stalker's ability to follow him. In using these two descriptions, Ben implied that his stalker was somehow attached to him. However, there is a more sinister element to his stalking metaphor. One cannot escape one's shadow, and the implication is that one cannot escape one's stalker. Ironically, the response by significant others can, at least symbolically, reinforce this connection between the participant and stalker. Participants spoke about the jokes made by others about their "relationship" with their stalker and how they were continually placed together in other people's minds. Justin described how some of his friends would always ask after his stalker. Although it was
gentle ribbing, Justin still found it "very annoying", because they (Justin and his stalker) at least in the minds of others seem to be symbolically attached. The necessity of explaining their stalking experience again and again, to other people as they seek help also perversely metaphorically joins them together; to others the identities of the victim and the stalker seem to become increasingly blurred.

8.2 THE THREATENED IDENTITY

In Chapter 5, I considered how being stalked can result in a social harm due to the embarrassment and stigma associated with being stalked. In the following section I will further develop this theme and consider how a stalking experience can potentially threaten an identity, a threat that suspends itself over some of the participants' personal worlds. I now turn to Steven's story, to explore how his identity is threatened by his stalkers.

The threatened identity - Steven’s story

Steven contacted me on the freephone number I had set up to undertake this research. In his early fifties, and married with two teenage daughters, he spoke at length about his experience of being stalked. His stalking experience began in his workplace but had subsequently spilled over into his private life. Consequently, Steven believes that his stalkers have "taken over" his whole life.

Stalking in the public realm

During our phone call, Steven described how he was currently being stalked by two work
colleagues. Eighteen months ago Steven joined a new company, where two senior work colleagues had taken a dislike to him. Steven believed that their dislike of him was partly because they were jealous of his skills. He also believed that they were racist:

"They would go around saying things against pakis. It was very difficult because I was a new employee and didn't know what to do at the time." (Steven)

This dislike of Steven resulted in them stalking him throughout the workplace. The behaviour included following him around the workplace while making derogatory comments, listening to his telephone calls and initiating and spreading rumours and gossip about him. More seriously they had also "messed" with his work for senior management. This had resulted in his reputation at work being re-evaluated by management. For Steven this has been a particularly hurtful element of his stalking experience as he has always taken great pride in his work; a common tenet of a man's identity (Brannon: 1976).

"They [his stalkers] stole documents that I had handed into them for senior management approval but they [senior management] never received them and I got into a lot of trouble for that. It was the first time I'd ever been in trouble at work..." (Steven)

Gossip as a stalking behaviour has been identified in the research literature (see for example Hall, 1998; Sheridan, 2005) although it does not have a particularly strong presence. Yet in my research it was perceived by a number of participants as a particularly potent stalking behaviour. For Steven, gossip as a component of stalking behaviour, was deeply pernicious and had serious repercussions for his own identity. The gossip about Steven, including comments about him being "lazy", "not up to his job" and a "troublemaker", pushed him to the very periphery of his group of work colleagues. Because of gossip, Steven’s relationship with work colleagues and management has been re-evaluated and is now very strained. Groups can forge an identity through gossip as it
facilitates close social relationships because gossipers are consolidating their relationships and creating group unity (Rapport & Overing 2000). In contrast to the gossipers, those individuals who are gossiped against are denied access to any such group. Steven pointedly experienced this:

"I'd walk into the office and then it would go silent. Or I would come into canteen and I knew that they were talking about me...most days they would ignore me".

Handleman (1973) suggests that gossip in the presence of others can establish the person gossiped about as a "non-person" (1973:213). This feature seems particularly pertinent to Steven's story. Steven complained that while he was situationally present in incident after incident the gossipers would act as if he was not there: - "they talk about me in front of me, gossiping about me". At the time of writing this chapter Steven is waiting for his case to go to an employment tribunal as he has been suspended from work. However, he is doubtful that the tribunal will find in his favour as his two stalkers are both "friends of management."

Facing the possibility of losing his job and little prospect of finding employment at his age that pays as well, gossip as a stalking behaviour has effectively ruined his career (Levin & Arluke, 1987). Consequently, he now worries how he will continue to provide for his family, which is a key characteristic of masculinity (Kimmel, 1996).

**Stalking in the private realm**

This stalking behaviour has also spilled into his private life. Steven spoke about being stalked at his home by his work colleagues. Stalking behaviour at this location includes colleagues repeatedly driving past his home and often parking at the bottom of his road to "watch his house". While this last action emphasizes the perfectly lawful nature of some
stalking behaviour, (obviously, there is nothing wrong sitting in a car outside his home as Steven acknowledges) the significance of their actions is not missed:

"For about 6 months they’ve been coming here. They know other people down the road but it’s a sham. They’ve come here to spy on me." (Steven)

The presence of his stalkers directly outside Steven's own home particularly upsets him. As I have previously illustrated, stalking victimisation is played out in both private and public spaces. However, for Steven it is this invasion of space near his home that he considers 'his' and 'belonging' to him which threaten his identity. In Steven's own mind at least, the presence of his stalkers near his own home also raises questions about his ability to protect his family and he worries about his children's safety with stalkers lurking outside his home. He reads their presence as a direct challenge to his ability to protect his family, and so, his situation becomes a test of his masculinity (Kimmel, 1996).

Steven's experience of stalking is a threat to his own identity as it challenges the continuity and distinctiveness of his self-definition as a provider (employee) and protector (of his family). Therefore, the continuity associated with his own identity is interrupted because of his stalking experience, leaving him in a position that he says, he "cannot believe he would ever be in." His stalking experience has resulted in him reflecting on the 'me then' and the 'me now', recognizing that his identity has changed because of his experience of being stalked. Everything he held dear to him and that he saw as important to his sense of self has been undermined, and subsequently his sense of self is threatened (Breakwell, 1986):

"Because of this, I have been called a liar, my work rubbished, and I've been suspended from my job. And throughout it all they [his stalkers] have been carrying on. I am stuck in a nightmare with no way out."
Several times during the course of his narrative Steven mentioned how he felt "stuck." The repetitive daily routine of the stalkers and the participants' responses to them can result in a feeling of living a 'groundhog day'. This repetition of action and reaction, often over long periods of time means that biographical time is consumed by being stalked, and this encroaches upon their future hopes and dreams (Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

Consequently, when a stalking experience has gone on for years, the participants' past, present and future can be overshadowed by the presence of their stalkers. This in itself can heavily impact on men's identity. Identity is a dynamic feature of social life, one that constantly evolves and changes, yet a stalking experience can de-rail this. Steven believes that who he wanted to be - his own dreams and ambitions - has to be put on hold until his stalking experience ends. Then, and only then, can he go on to be who he wants to be. So not only are his daily plans interrupted because of his victimisation (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze 1983) but so are his life plans - his career trajectory and his hopes for his future - are interrupted because of his stalker and the risks associated with being stalked. Due to his stalking experience Steven could not maintain the desired narrative of his life which has resulted in feelings of anxiety about who he is (Giddens, 1991). Therefore being stalked and his own planned narrative of his life has been (maybe permanently?) interrupted.

8.3 THE 'COLLAPSING' IDENTITY

"I don't know if I can continue like this." (Reuben)

For some of the participants in this study the process of being stalked results in their self...
identity 'collapsing'. Their identity 'collapses' in the face of tremendous pressure to redefine themselves according to the views of generalised and significant others. This is illustrated in Reuben’s story.

Recently, Reuben moved into a small town in the North of England. During this time he built up a friendship with a neighbour called 'Tracey' (her pseudonym name). Over a two month period he leaked information about his gay status to her; disclosing it "bit by bit" and gauging her reaction to it; by doing so he was testing her reaction because he knew of the potentially stigmatising nature of his gay identity (Schneider & Conrad, 1980). Although Reuben was aware that his wider neighbourhood did not like gays, an opinion picked up through small talk, he thought Tracey was “different”. He was wrong. His full disclosure to her resulted in his friend turning against him. She then told the neighbourhood of his gay status, with the result that among his neighbours his sexuality has become his master status (Becker, 1963). This has coloured all information about him. As a result, neighbours and friends “fell away.” As Reuben said "they were probably scared [of knowing him]", a concept Goffman (1963) identifies as a courtesy stigma. This occurs when a person is stigmatised or devalued based on his or her association with the stigmatized individual. Reuben’s neighbours turned away from him in spite of him trying to explain his situation to them. This included knocking on neighbours' doors (only to have them slammed in his face) and writing letters to them. In failing to engage with him, his neighbours are rejecting who he says he is (Jenkins, 1996).

As a result of Reuben’s original disclosure, he found himself living in a local community hostile to his presence. This is illustrated in the stalking behaviour he has had to endure.
Reuben is frequently stalked when entering a public space by a group of older teenagers who follow him on their bikes. This occurs when he goes to and from work. When he is followed he is "always" met with a torrent of verbal abuse, including name calling such as "queer", "cunt" and fucker". These verbal assaults shatter Reuben's ontological sense of security as they are constant markers that he is perceived as different by those around him. These verbal assaults are also deeply effective, leaving him anxious and upset because of this barrage of abuse he encounters every time he leaves his house which leaves him "shaken and upset"; it is claimed that verbal assaults can result in psychological effects that can certainly be as bad as a physical assault (Garnets et al 1992). However, in Reuben’s case, this 'otherness' of his being gay has also been further exaggerated; his gay status has been linked to paedophilia:

"She [Tracey] knew about my sexuality and she started to spread malicious rumours about me. She told everyone including her drug addict daughter, she told everyone on the estate. They were accusing me of being a paedophile. If they were accusing me why didn’t they produce the evidence? This went on for months and months. I was increasingly threatened by this, fearful that they were going to have a real go at me, you just don’t know what these people are capable of." (Reuben)

Connecting a gay status to paedophilia is a connection that is commonly used by homophobic people of all ages, but has resulted in continuous fear of physical violence against gay men (Janoff, 2005). This label, which according to Reuben has been readily accepted by his neighbourhood, leaves him ostracised from them. Merry (1981) states that notions of danger are related to who one knows or does not know. As Reuben is a fairly new resident to the area, he is generally speaking an ‘unknown’ presence in his community. He is a stranger in the midst of his community. He has no shared history with them, and no evidence to discount these rumours. It is his word against theirs and the community clearly
have the power to enforce their own definition of him (Link & Phelan, 2001). Paedophiles are considered "the most evil men in the world" (Plummer 1995:119) and are "neighbours from hell" and are perceived as a "dangerous menace" in the neighbourhood (Cross, 2005:285). Reuben is treated in a manner reflecting these phrases, this results in his self being vilified, a conclusion which is reinforced when he enters a public space and is met with verbal abuse by his stalkers and the menace of physical abuse. Due to the label placed on him, community attitudes towards him have changed - he is now perceived as a deviant - and he is subject to ostracism and segregation (Rock, 1973). His awareness of his devalued social identity had resulted in feelings of hatred towards himself as he feels "worthless" (Crocker et al 1998). Plus he lives in a constant height of anxiety repeatedly going over his own internal definition of self and the definition of himself given by others (Jenkins, 1996). As Mead (1964) argues the consciousness of self emerges from "taking the position of others". An individual can become particularly self conscious seeing themselves as others see them. Reviewing Reuben's statement, the external definition of how others perceived him has impacted powerfully on his own definition of self, as he was clearly struggling with self loathing during the course of the interview. So what is going on inside of him reflects what is going on around him (Jenkins, 1996):

"It's hateful the whole thing and everything I've done to sort it out has not worked. I know they [the neighbours] hate me. I feel really ashamed of myself that I cannot do anything to stop it [the stalking]." (Reuben)

For Reuben seeing himself as others see him can be a painful experience. For stigmatized individuals such as Reuben, realizing that others' representations of you differ from your own may lead to feelings of being a stranger even to yourself, resulting in the question "who am I?" (Goffman, 1963). An experience such as stalking can result in you not making
sense anymore, because you are not who you thought you were. As Reuben’s interview
drew to a close, he said that he felt that there was "nothing more left of him". In exploring
this statement with him he described that his internal resources’ of self were depleted.
Stalking has worn out the self as was confirmed by his own suicidal thoughts.

My own fear for Reuben is that in being such a hated outsider, he remains in a precarious
and dangerous position not only in relation to his physical safety but also his very identity.
The image of self needs to be backed up and validated by others and when such support
does not exist there is a danger that in this stigmatized position an identity that is constantly
seen as different can 'collapse'. During the course of his interview he seemed to be
precariously near to this and asked me about what resources were available to him that
could help him. I suggested two charities which had relevant services he could contact for
support.

8.4 STALKING AND GROUP MEMBERSHIP
Identity is about belonging (Cohen, 1994), knowing that you have something in common
with other people helps to create and maintain identity. For example a group will share
similar values and beliefs (Cohen, 1994; Jenkins, 1996), which will provide those within
the group security as they know that they belong. However, all groups will have borders
(Cohen, 1994) and a stalking experience can test some of the participants’ membership of
any group they belong to. Indeed, their membership of any group can be questioned by
family, friends, colleagues and neighbours. They pose two questions; first is stalking a ‘real’
problem? and second if it is a ‘real’ problem then shouldn’t a ‘real’ man be able to sort it out?
"My mum said that I was big enough and old enough to sort out the problem. She made a joke about it. But I think she was serious. My brothers were even worse saying that [insert their family name] men dealt with things." (Justin)

Joseph received the following reaction from colleagues:

"My friends were often laughing about it especially girlfriends, they had a sort of lads culture about it. They couldn't believe it was happening to me. To them it wasn't a problem. It was hurtful because they did not take it seriously." (Joseph)

The external dialogue from other groups is a constant stream of comments that constantly belittles a stalking experience. Fundamentally, while stalking is a very real problem for the participants, significant others do not view it in the same light:

"My new flatmates found it funny and had a laugh about it." (Ben)

Some of the male participants' social groups disparaged their experiences. Consequently, how the men responded to their experience or, more frequently how they failed to respond raised fundamental questions about their membership of these groups. As illustrated above it is the participants' inability to present an image of self that is consistent with the appropriate gender stereotype that results in tensions in group membership. Being stalked reveals to family, friends and work colleagues the kind of man they are, which can be very different from the kind of man the groups they inhabit accept. So the stream of dialogue from the groups is that only a certain presentation of a masculinity identity is accepted. As their identities are questioned - are they actually who they say are? - the membership of the groups they inhabit is questioned.

Perversely, whilst some of the participants drifted out of their groups because they were being stalked, it would appear that stalking other people can facilitate group membership.
This occurs with participants in Reuben’s and Lloyd’s narratives, as discussed earlier on in this thesis. In their stories, their presence as an outsider seems to play a role in consolidating a group of stalkers. In both these instances, the violent expression of homophobic attitudes towards both of these participants seems to consolidate their stalker’s group membership.

Hamner (1992) argues that young men’s expressions of homophobic sentiment serve to prove conclusively that they are not gay, thus proving they are men. Consequently, they promote their self esteem by promoting their group evaluation; they know they belong to their respective groups (Herek, 1995). Both Reuben and Lloyd appear to be targets of homophobic prejudice as a means for local youths to establish what they are not i.e. gay, with anti-homophobic stalking acting as a springboard to consolidate the group membership’s understanding of what it means to be a man. This type of stalking also acts as a warning to others in their respective communities that gender difference is not accepted and that stalking is the outcome for people who do not live according to their cultural norms. So it appears that Reuben and Lloyd are both victims of stalking not only because of who they are, but also because of what they represent.

8.5 SUSTAINING GROUP MEMBERSHIP

As I have illustrated, an experience of being stalked can put at risk the continued membership of groups. To ensure ongoing membership of their social groups, some of the participants adopt the strategy of minimizing their experiences and thus downplay their own stalking experiences to others. Downplaying the experience means that their identities are accepted by others (Jenkins, 1996) and they can ‘pass’ as a man. However, downplaying their experiences sets up a tiring juxtaposition that must be sustained; on the one hand they
must identify themselves as a victim to secure official assistance from the police, but at the same time they have to devalue the validity of their experiences to others. This allows them to sustain their in group membership whilst hiding their real experiences (and how they really feel).

This self-awareness that membership within their groups is jeopardised leaves some of the participants undertaking vital identity management work through direct face to face interaction. They need to convince groups that they still belong to them, that their identities are still the same. In presenting their identities in face to face interaction they are seeking for their identity to be confirmed by others as they give an account of themselves. In doing so, the men try and illustrate to others their commitment to the authenticity of their own identities. Goffman (1959) following on from Mead developed the concept of impression management to describe how to convey images. Through the process of impression management individuals manipulate the interpretation of a social situation. In this instance, an individual voluntarily presents particular images of their social identity - their public self - to convey a particular definition of a situation. Their 'front' manages sign vehicles via an individual's appearance (how they look), manner and temperament and setting (physical layout). Goffman (1959) argues that it is through this role-play that social actors gain the acceptance that they desire. Therefore the participants in this study have to try to create the right impression in order to ensure a favourable outcome. In this instance, through impression management some participants have to present a front to others that their stalking experience is actually not bothering them to ensure ongoing group membership:

"I thought about it a lot and inside I felt like shit, but my family were not interested in it, anything to do with me being gay makes it difficult, and so I had to pretend everything was
However, being stalked can also result in impression management work that needs to be undertaken to multiple audiences. This work can result in a situation that I have termed ‘performance fatigue’. The constant need to convince the audience (family, friends and work colleagues for example) that your version of events is true, a conviction which has to be confirmed by your identity and which ensures ongoing group membership can result in fatigue:

"She was always there and colleagues would talk about it a lot... I would then have to try and talk to them about her." (John)

Impression management also requires a receptive audience, but this is also not always guaranteed. When a stalker has successfully spread gossip and lies, any performance by participants to repair their identity must be undertaken before a supportive audience.

However, these performances are often played out to others in circumstances that could be considered as strained as the audience can get bored of hearing about the participants’ stalkers or they simply do not believe them. Significant others, for example family and friends, can also get stuck in the middle of claim and counter claim by the participants and their stalkers. This also takes its toll on the audience and they can experience ‘audience fatigue’:

"After a while some people got annoyed about me going on about it so I just didn't talk about it." (Darren)

Trying to manage the stalker while also sustaining group membership can be problematic.

Whilst some individuals, may simply decide not to talk about their problem anymore to ensure ongoing group membership and the continuity of their identity, permanently moving
away from the geographical location of the stalker is also a method to protect them from the threat to their identity that a stalker poses. Jeff, stalked by a neighbour, moved away not only to find a safe space away from his stalker but he “wanted to be like the person he was before” he was stalked. Reflecting on his actions and reactions whilst being stalked Jeff described the effects of being stalked as “tough on him.” He stated that this included hiding inside his home too frightened to go out. It was clear that Jeff did not like the person he had become while he was being stalked, so moving to a new area not only provided a new safe physical space, it also gave him the opportunity to reclaim his pre-stalking experience identity.

8.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have analysed how being stalked can affect an individual's identity. In particular how stalking affected how the men in this study see themselves and are seen by others. I began this chapter by introducing the concept of the identity and how in the course of their stalking experience identity is affected. This was clearly illustrated in Steven's narrative. Stalking by a number of work colleagues it had resulted in his identity being tainted. How he sees himself as provider and protector for his family and how others see him, have all changed because of his stalking experience. In Steven's story gossip also plays an important part in tainting his identity and establishing him as different. Features of Steven's own identity, particularly his own perception of his masculinity, have been shaken by his stalking experience. His assumptions about himself and who he thinks he is have been challenged by his experience of victimisation (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983). Being stalked in fact can cause a radical disturbance in identity as it forces the stalked victim to
reassess who they think they are as stalking reveals the strengths and weaknesses of their character (Nicol, 2006).

As the chapter progressed I also considered Reuben’s story. I argued that his identity is affected by being stalked to the point that his identity seems to be on the verge of collapsing. Without any means of group support, and labelled a paedophile by the community he lives in, he feels “worthless”. His ongoing definition of himself and the definition of himself by others has left him in a precarious position regarding his identity. He is in a very difficult and painful situation. Clearly “others views really matter” (Jenkins 1996:52).

In the latter sections of this chapter, I also considered how group membership can be threatened by being stalked. Many of the participants seem to be very concerned about what other people think of them as a direct consequence of their experiences of being stalked and what it reveals about them to others and themselves. Being stalked can make them appear different, and the threat that they will be defined out of the groups they inhabit hangs over them (Jenkins 1996). Consequently, they activate strategies to ensure their continuing membership, this includes not talking about their experience and devaluing their experience and relying on impression management as a means to protect their identities and ensure their identities are accepted by others (Jenkins, 1996).
CHAPTER 9: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

9.1 INTRODUCTION

In the current literature there is agreement that little is known about the experiences of male victims of stalking. This study, which has focused solely on the experiences of male victims, has provided an insight into their reality and in doing so has illustrated the problematic nature of stalked victimisation.

In the existing body of research, stalking is often described as a serious social problem and like other social problems stalking has a subjective reality. The subjective reality of stalking is the personal experience of stalking victimisation. This study has clearly illustrated this for the male participants in this study. However, the subjective experience has a social context which reflects how things really are and is the taken for granted knowledge that exists in society, on this occasion, what is commonly known about stalking and stalking victimisation. For example, other people clearly state to the participants in this study that being stalked should not be a problem for men. This finding is at odds with the participants' own reality which clearly states that stalking is a problem for them. This finding raises essential questions about how stalking behaviour has been constructed as a social problem. These two themes - the subjective reality of the participants and the social context of the subjective experiences and the tensions between them are the key themes which inform the following discussion. Prior to beginning this discussion I want to begin by summarising my own research findings.

At the beginning of this thesis, I established the genesis of my research; my own
experience of being stalked which spurred me on to develop this thesis. I then considered how stalking has been constructed as a problem for women resulting in male victims being largely invisible. In Chapter 2 I then explored the existing literature into stalking behaviour. This review of literature established that while a number of discourses do exist around the 'object' stalking, two academic discourses dominate; the clinical and legal discourses. These two discourses have helped to shape stalking into a problem behaviour. In my review of the literature I discovered that the focus is on the experiences of female victims who are forced to flee an often violent stalking ex-partner. The examination of stalking behaviour utilising a sociological perspective is unusual, and where it does exist its focus is primarily on the experiences of women. Therefore, sociological studies into the experience of male victims are very rare, and studies utilizing a qualitative methodology, as far as I can discover, are non-existent. This finding enabled me to undertake this original piece of research in a manner that was not guided by prior research. Although, I was limited by financial resources I was able to develop a methodology that facilitated serious engagement with the male participants in this study, who, when given an opportunity, were eager to discuss their experiences in frank, open and honest interviews. Once the interview data was analysed my sociological analysis revealed the following key features about the experience of male victims of stalking:

- Stalking victimisation is a problem for men. The relentless pursuit by another individual often over a long period of time left the majority of the men in this research study desperate to find a way to stop their stalker. In contrast, the social context of the men's subjective experiences confirmed through interaction with others, for example family and friends and the police, clearly
states that stalking is not a problem for ‘real’ men.

- Commonalities across the participants’ narratives help them to identify the principal characteristics of stalking. These differences exist in spite of the wide range of circumstances stalking victimisation occurs in. These common features are: the behaviours are unwanted, they are repeated and can be threatening and/or there is a pervading sense of threat associated with them. This threat can jeopardise the participants’ work and social lives and even their identity. Altogether, these behaviours can be viewed as a course of conduct committed by a stalker against their victim.

- More specifically, the participants’ definition of stalking includes a wide range of behaviours, ranging from being followed by the stalker to physical assault. These behaviours are also experienced by the male participants in this study, seeing their stalker approach them can make a man’s “heart sink” for example. The effects of these experienced behaviours I label as emotional, mental, physical and social harms. A particular component of these harms worth highlighting is the physical harm of stalking. For some of the men this is entwined in the male experiences of domestic violence which is also a feature of women’s experiences of stalking victimisation. The social harm of stalking also featured strongly in the male participants’ narratives; yet this does not have a strong presence in existing research. Employing a sociological lens facilitated exploring the social harm of embarrassment and the stigma associated with being stalked. The participants’ experiences of the criminal justice system were largely negative, with most of the participants unable to accomplish victimisation in their interaction with the police. In fact, whilst
most of the men attempted to accomplish victimisation they found that who
they were and what they did tainted their presentation as a victim. The
exception to this was illustrated where the police effectively sponsored a
participant through the criminal justice system.

- The male participants' own perceptions' of their own masculinity and other
  people's perception of what a man is, and how they should act, strongly
  influenced their stalking experiences. As they were not able to stop the
  stalking behaviour against them, or complained about being stalked, many of
  the participants' masculinity was questioned by others. Consequently they set
  about attempting to reclaim their masculinity in the face of stalking
  victimisation.

- Many of the participants struggled to find a language and discourse that
  facilitated sharing and conveying their experience of being stalked to others.
  However, they did find one discursive space and made use of it in retelling
  their stories. This discursive space drew on the popular cultural discourse
  surrounding stalking behaviour. In particular the films *Fatal Attraction* and
  *Play Misty for Me* were used by the men as sense making devices and to
  communicate their own stalking experience to others.

- The experience of being stalked heavily impacted on some of the male
  participants' identities. Due to their stalking experiences how the participants
  see themselves and how others see them can change. This can have a
  potentially devastating consequence on those being stalked, resulting in their
  identities being threatened and even collapsing.
9.2 THE SUBJECTIVE REALITY OF BEING STALKED

My study has revealed the subjective reality of being stalked for the male participants in this study. The reality of their experience connects the internal - what the men think and experience - to the social world in which they live, an area of research that is currently absent in the literature into male stalking victims' experiences. I now want to explore in more detail the subjective reality of the participants' experiences.

Echoing other research in this field, the behaviours employed by the stalkers in this study are varied, ranging from following and waiting for their victim to physical assault. As I have illustrated these stalking behaviours comprise, more often than not, innocuous everyday activities. However, what occurs in the participants' narratives is that the mundane and the ordinary actions of everyday life are transformed into threatening and potentially dangerous behaviours. While these stalking behaviours nestle in the fabric of everyday life they also hide ominous significance. The fact that these stalking behaviours are largely innocuous everyday behaviours also undermines the men's ability to convince others of the genuine nature of their stories. So while the victim of a stalker will use their knowledge about these behaviours to build up character-implicative assessments and judgements about their stalkers, for other people, these behaviours are perceived as harmless. This ability of stalking behaviours to camouflage their true significance in the mundaneness of everyday life characterises the 'osmotic' nature of stalking behaviours that blend in to normal behaviours. A stalker can incite an extreme emotional reaction in another individual by acting out everyday behaviours that are experienced in the fullest sense. This reveals the extraordinary nature of stalking behaviours which are subjectively lived in bright but yet also conversely dread filled technicolour by the stalking victim. For
the victim of a stalker, catching the eye of the stalker is so much more significant than the action itself. One tiny action, completed in a second, has a depth and vastness to it that is hidden to others. The subjective experiences of these 'small moments' can be shattering experiences for the men yet for others who may see these experiences, they appear perfectly normal. So whilst there is widespread agreement on the nebulous nature of stalking behaviours, my research has illustrated that the experiences of stalking behaviours are not experienced nebulous at all. In fact, being stalked is experienced in the very fullest sense. Although stalking has been described as an elusive crime i.e. it is hard to define and describe, for those who experience stalking behaviours it is not; stalking victims really know what stalking is because they experience it.

For the victim of a stalker, these often normatively appropriate everyday behaviours become sources of complaint as they are experienced as illegitimate breaches of the boundaries of their private and social worlds. In breaching their worlds (and repeatedly breaching it) they break the men's own ontological security, and their sense of order and safety disappears (Giddens, 1984). These stalking behaviours draw the victims into an acute sensitivity towards the world that they inhabit. The social world they live in becomes more 'real' to them, more risk filled and more dangerous. Whilst other people fail to see the true significance of the stalkers' behaviours the men in this study do, and the social world the men inhabit is experienced differently to that of others around them. Consequently, a tension evolves around the men's own experiences. Other people do not necessarily 'see' what is happening to them, nor do other people understand what they are experiencing; this in itself led participants of this research to feel increasingly isolated.
Garfinkel (1967) describes how events that upset commonplace assumptions have the effect of annoying people. It also helps to discover the underlying taken for granted assumptions that help mould social action. The reaction of the participants to stalking behaviours reveal taken for granted assumptions in the domains associated with privacy, distance and interactional behaviour and how a small and seemingly inconspicuous infraction of a norm can disrupt the taken for granted social order. Its only when the stalked individual perceives that these taken for granted norms have been broken, that they recognise what is valuable to them. Suddenly, the once taken for granted norms of everyday life, for example walking to work unhindered, becomes the participants' 'treasure', and something worth fighting for. Therefore, their strategies to rid themselves of their stalkers during everyday activities are in fact attempts to (re)establish their fragile social order. They want to establish once again what they now consider as treasured. In doing so, avoidance strategies become the means by which they seek to restore a sense of ontological security which become part of their everyday behaviour and thought, as they seek to minimise the threat from their stalker(s) (Giddens, 1991).

What is the aim of the stalker in undertaking these perceived transgressions of normative behaviour? Obviously I did not engage with the stalkers reported in my study to ask them why they stalked the men. However, from the narratives most of the stalkers in the study want to be noticed, they want the participants to know that they are being watched. This finding helps to combat the image of the stalker in the shadows, stealthily watching their victim. However, there is more to these breaches in behaviour than simply being noticed. My research indicates that these actions can be read as public shows of intimacy towards their victims, which in turn become a source of great desperation for the participants. The
display (and sight and sounds) of behaviours produced by the stalkers seeks to accomplish intimacy with their victims, to draw them towards them and to get them to react to them. In spite of their varied motivations the stalkers seek to be physically close to their victims to get and retain their attention and to engage with them. So stalkers attempt to cultivate shared moments of intimacy through the various actions they perform towards their victims, for instance the catch of the eye, and an approach towards them. These moments of intimacy are expressions of intent towards their victim. Whilst the participants develop strategies to deflect, ignore and avoid such intimate gestures these signals, performed by the stalker are in effect intimacy traps. If they do engage with their stalker, or catch their stalker's eye, they validate and encourage this intimacy. Therefore, non-engagement and avoidance strategies are in effect intimacy rebuttals against their stalkers' intentions.

However, the changing nature of the participants' social reality is not only because of the behaviours themselves, but is also because of their frequency. Adrian described it as the "drip drip drip" of stalking behaviours and the never-ending repetitive nature of them that drove him "mad". If, as I have argued above, these behaviours are intimacy traps, the never-ending nature of them requires a consistent presentation of non-engagement towards the stalkers; this in itself is hard to achieve. This repetitiveness of these behaviours is compounded by the stalkers' ability to stalk their victims anywhere and everywhere. During the course of their stalking experience no place is off-limits to the stalkers. Stalkers stalk the participants both at their work and homes and therefore these locations are transformed into potential stalking sites. I call this infiltration by the stalkers into the participants' private and social worlds so it feels that they are a constant presence, stalking 'creep'. The stalkers infiltrate every part of their victims' lives, or at least it feels like they do. This
creep is undertaken under the camouflage of everyday behaviours in spite of the participants’ best efforts to stop it. My study has also revealed that this creep also occurs in some of the participants’ minds. In their minds they go over and over their stalking experiences usually thinking about how to stop the stalker, but they can also imagine their stalkers’ presence even when s/he is not there. Even after the stalker experience has stopped they can still dwell on it. For some participants it appears that they can become as obsessed about their stalker as their stalker is about them. This creep can result in the feeling (and the actuality) that there is nowhere to hide from their stalker. As I have clearly illustrated, being stalking can undoubtedly dominate a victim’s life.

In my research the experiential reality of being stalked can be viewed through the lens of four harms. In identifying the four harms, I explored the emotional and mental harm in relation to being stalked. I also identified the physical harm associated with being stalked. The participants, who spoke about this theme in their narratives, perceived stalking as a component of a wider experience of domestic violence against them. They believed that stalking was used to exact control over them. It is clear across the pertinent narratives in my study that stalking was used as a further method to control and possess male participants as heterosexual and gay relationships ended. This study clearly reveals that men’s experiences resonate with some of the literature exploring women’s experiences of domestic violence and its relationship with stalking.

A major finding of this study is the social harm associated with being stalked. This has been explored in the sections on embarrassment, stigma and social identity. What it has revealed is that stalking behaviour can be undertaken because the men occupy a position
that is perceived by others to be 'discrepant' for example a gay man or sex worker. Thus stalking is a tool used by stalker(s) to emphasize difference, and that the stalkee is 'other'. However, stalking behaviours also draw further attention towards the participants and so provoke questions as to why are they being stalked. When others do discover the reasons for the stalking this can result in them not wanting to associate with them. This leaves the men further stigmatised. Any stigma can have an impact on self, as I have illustrated in Chapter 5 on stigma and in Chapter 8 on social identities. For example, when a man finds himself experiencing stalking behaviour, this can be stigmatising in itself, as many of the men in the sample believed that they should be able to resolve this problem. This stigmatisation can be felt more poignantly if an individual already occupies a position in society that may be considered stigmatised. When this happens it can severely impact on identity and can lead to the situation where an individual's identity 'collapses'.

It does appear from the narratives in my study that both heterosexual and gay men commonly 'experience' the stigma associated with stalking. This finding is not a prevalent theme in the existing body of research. Perhaps this is unsurprising as the existing body of research concentrates on women and this implies that the stigmatising effect of being stalked is not a problem for women. Yet, as I have illustrated, the stigma associated with being stalked is a problem for men. Men experience the stigma associated with being stalked because of who they are. It is clear is that a 'real' man should not be stalked or they should be able to sort it out/cope with it, so when they are stalked, they are stigmatised. In relation to other gendered crime such as male rape, King (1992:10) states that "the stigma for men may be even greater, however, in a society which expects its male members to be self sufficient physically and psychologically" and Pino and Meier (1999:981) state "that
male victims may experience being raped as even more humiliating than female victims.”

When a man experiences a crime that has been constructed as a gendered crime against women, it may have more impact on them and so be more fully experienced because they should either not be experiencing it, or if they do, it should not be a problem for them and should be able to cope with it. Therefore, there may be an added experiential level to being stalked for a male than for a woman.

This stigma is felt more because of their failure to get others to believe them and support them during their experience. Gender and cultural expectations of masculinity plus the innocuous nature of stalking itself offers the men little support in their search for others to stand and sustain them during their stigmatising experience (Jones et al 1984). This support is sorely lacking in the participants stories and again is linked to the incongruity between being male and being stalked.

In this thesis, a common theme of the narratives is that male participants feel threatened and undermined by their stalkers' actions and their own inability to prevent their stalker. The common perception is that as a man they should be able to handle being stalked. My study has revealed the complex interplay between being a man and the experiences of victimisation, an area of currently limited research and study (Walklate, 2004). It has revealed that to offset the connotations with victimisation (which is incongruous with being a man), men go about reclaiming their masculinity. The men, both heterosexual and gay, seem to be aware of the compulsory norms of (heterosexual) masculinity and the behaviour associated with it. So whilst the essential nature of gender results in natural signs that are given off, a stalked man may resort to exaggerate his own masculinity as a means of
combating the stalkers actions against him as well as combating others people's negative perceptions of him because he is being stalked, he cannot stop it, and it is considered a problem.

Kimmel (1994) writes that masculinity has to be proven to others. To be perceived less of a man because they are being stalked and they cannot stop it or perceive their experience as problematic cuts across many of the participants' narratives, whether the men are successful, wealthy, married, single heterosexual or gay. The men do not want to be seen as less of a man because they are being stalked so they set about 'reclaiming' their masculinity. However, the task of reclaiming their masculinity in the face of stalking is problematic. There is a tremendous pressure on the men to illustrate that they measure up to being a 'man' while being stalked. Therefore, every stalking incident (behaviour/action by the stalker and reaction by a victim) can become a situation where their masculinity has to be proven again and again as the men seek to accomplish moment by moment, masculinity. These displays of masculinity must also be performed for other people, for example the police and family members, all of whom seem to expect the participants in this study to act in line with the brittle construction of what it means to be a man. As identity is constantly open to re-interpretation failure to replicate displays of masculinity in interaction with their stalkers and others may lead to their identities being re-evaluated (Jenkins, 1996). The result of this is that the men may be 'found out' as not living up to this high standard of dominant masculinity. Any interaction with their stalker and others can potentially result in slippage so they can easily find themselves in a position of not being able to achieve culturally acceptable masculinity.
As I have illustrated, in chapter 5 the men seek to accomplish victimisation through their interaction with the police, but my research has illustrated the extreme difficulties in achieving this in spite of the various strategies the men employed. This includes the regular reporting of stalking events to the police and the collection of evidence. One important finding from this study was that the majority of the men in this sample actually did go to the police for assistance. The research literature into the male victimisation commonly states that men are reluctant to go to the police (Reiner, 2000) and whilst this is clearly true in most instances, in spite of their reservations most of the men in my research did go to the police. This clearly indicates the desperate impact the stalker can have on their victim. Yet even though they do go to the police, men struggle to accomplish victimisation because of the various tainted presentations of a victim they present. In their interactions with the police, the participants understand how the police see them but they also receive a perception of what is happening to them and what kind of man they are supposed to be, i.e. they have to 'take it like a man'. Not surprisingly, after a largely negative interaction with the police most of the men fail in accomplishing victimisation. This failure to convince the police results in their case not being taken forward and being investigated and consequently, the participants retreat from official sources of help. The two cases in which the participants are able to engage with the police is through informal friendships with police officers. In both these cases, these men are white men, articulate (as illustrated in their interviews) and financially successful. Clearly, these men had the skills to engage with the police (Reiner, 2000) and were willing to be coached by the police.

Overall, the experience of being stalked can be very problematic for a man. So while there are clear differences to the context of stalking victimisation in my research it is the
common features in the behaviours and the experience of being stalked that are the
common themes across the sample. In the research literature it is argued that there is little
commonality between stalking cases in terms of the stalkers, conduct involved, the
motivation of the stalker, or the relationship between the stalker and their victim; indeed
there are great differences amongst stalking scenarios (Budd & Mattinson, 2000).

DeBecker (1995) says the following about classifying stalkers:

"Simply put, assassins and other public figure attackers and stalkers are not a type unto
themselves with necessarily common features... There certainly are commonalities but there
are just as many differences...They are as complex and as various as people in
general..."(DeBecker cited in Goode, 1995:30)

I agree with the above and the wider point that it is hard to characterise stalking situations
unless it is by victims’ experiences. Undoubtedly there are differences in the men's
narratives. However, this study has revealed that for the men in this sample, there are
common features in their narratives which help them to label their experience as stalking.
These include the behaviours are unwanted, repeated and can be threatening. Altogether,
these behaviours can be viewed as a course of conduct committed by a stalker against their
victim. It is these commonalities combined with the ongoing experience of being stalked
for example, the inability of many of the participants to effectively engage with the police
that unites the narratives. It is how the stalking shapes and impacts on the reality of the men
that draws the stories together. It is how stalking can dominate an individual man's life as
he seeks to understand what he is experiencing, why it is happening to him, and how it can
be stopped. Some research into stalking suggests that the distinction of being stalked
between men and women is minimal, for example, the health impact of being stalked can
have serious repercussions on both male and female victims (Davis et al 2002). In other
research fields it has been revealed that male and female experiences are similar for example their similar reactions to sexual assault and their use of the same language to describe their experiences (Walklate, 1995, 2004). This study echoes these points, that the experience of being stalked for a man and a woman is not necessarily dissimilar. It can have a very negative impact of the lives of men, and this mirrors the existing literature of women's experiences as I illustrated in chapter 1 and 2 of this thesis. For the men in this study, the experience of being stalked left many of them feeling isolated and desperate, a situation which is still ongoing for many of the participants in this research which again is not unlike some women's experiences of being stalked.

9:3 THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF SUBJECTIVE EXPERIENCES OF STALKING VICTIMISATION

Whilst undertaking this research, I have discussed it with family, friends and work colleagues. When I have described my study to them, the stand alone term of 'stalking' immediately presumed a male perpetrator and female victim. In expressing their perceptions of stalking situations, they illustrate the traditional expectation of who is the victim. In one conversation I had with a female work colleague she laughed at my suggestion that a man can be stalked. When I expressed that men can and are stalked, she said "it [stalking] couldn't be that bad and in any case they [men] probably enjoyed it". Whilst this may be true in some instances (on certain occasions Carl/a, Peter and Scott at times all seemed to enjoy being stalked) it was certainly not the case for the majority of the participants in this study. As demonstrated during the course of this thesis, the reality of male stalking victimisation is extremely demanding, and challenging. However, whilst
their subjective reality is tremendously problematic, conveying the nature of the experience to others, and for others to recognise that stalking is an actual problem, results in the men's stories never being transformed from a private trouble to a public issue (Wright-Mills, 1959). So what is clear in this study is that although the men in this study are victimised by their stalkers it always remains a private problem and their victim status is not transformed into the public domain. This is in spite of the men's interaction with official actors who have the ability to validate their stories and help transform their stories. Gregory neatly summarised this predicament during the course of his interview. His subjective reality of being stalked is a "living hell"; however, the reality conveyed to him through interaction with others, is that being stalked is not a problem. As stalking is not constructed in a social vacuum, participants seek out and receive the perception of their problem through interaction with families, friends and officials and these opinions are extremely influential. For Gregory, his situation has often been dismissed as unproblematic. Consequently, Gregory describes his stalking experience as "living in no man's land". On one hand is his own experiential reality of being stalked, what Gregory and the other participants know as the experience of being stalked, and on the other hand, the world he/they live in that 'says' to them that stalking for a man is not a problem. Therefore, there seems to be a line of fault between what the participants know and what is commonly and officially known and told to them.

Their subjective reality is constructed from outside a flow of discourse that says women can and are stalked, and that men cannot be stalked or that it should not be problematic for them; this sidelines the participants in this study's own reality. This particular finding is not altogether unique. This disbelief surrounding male stalking victimisation mirrors other
gender based crimes such as male rape and domestic violence. This is seen in interaction with officialdom and particularly with the police who can disbelieve them, mock them and generally be hostile towards male victims of rape and domestic violence (Scarce, 1997; Abdullah-Khan, 2008), treating them as "pathetic figures of fun" (Grady, 2002:96; Graham, 2006). Undoubtedly cultural stereotypes exist about male rape and male victims of domestic violence; dominant stereotypes about what it means to be a man fail to recognize men as targets of victimisation and minimizes the costs of victimisation; men have to be 'men' i.e. cope effectively in the face of adversity and should not be a victim or distressed about their situation (Mezey & King 2000). My research confirms that there seems to be a parallel between male stalking victimisation and the experience of men who have endured crimes that are widely considered gendered crimes against females as they too experience disbelief, are mocked, fail to have their requests to be taken seriously and are expected to cope.

The social context of the men's subjective experiences is that stalking should not be a problem for them. My study illustrates how a dominant construction can negatively influence those who sit outside of this construction. Sociologist Denise Loseke (2003:14) explains that a social construction approach to social problems states that, "conditions might exist, people might be hurt by them, but conditions are not social problems until humans categorize them as troublesome and in need of repair." With stalking behaviour this has clearly happened but it has been constructed as a problem for women which has been supported by arguments, statistics and strong narratives based around personal (female) stories (Gusfield, 1984).
Malcolm Spector and John Kitsuse (1977) argue that the identification of a social problem is part of a subjective process, a process that can be split into several stages. Stage 1 is defined when an influential group - activists, or advocates - call attention to and define an issue as undesirable and a problem; in this case a private trouble and transform it into a public issue. In Chapter 1 of this thesis, I explored how stalking behaviour has come to be defined as a problem, firstly, as a private trouble for celebrities and secondly as a problem for women especially for those escaping domestically violent situations. Through campaigning activities, private problems of ordinary women have become a public issue (Schneider, 1985). In this transformation, stalking behaviour has been constructed as a social problem for women who need protecting with agenda setting and advocacy by activists such as Diana Lamplugh, Tracey Morgan and Evonne von Heussen. It is through their campaigns that a private problem has become a public issue (Newburn & Stanko 1994). Through campaigning they have lobbied for better protection for stalking victims spurred on by their own personal and sometimes tragic biographies. The efforts of campaigners and advocates, coupled with the media making use of women's stories and political support, resulted in the Protection from Harassment Act (1997). In achieving this, it fulfilled Stage 2 of Spector and Kitsuse's (1977) model which is the legitimization process: this formalizes the manner in which the social problems or complaints generated by the problem are handled. However, in spite of the Protection from Harassment Act 1997 being enacted, pressure still continues for better protection for victims of stalking. In this stage, activists, advocates, and victims of the problem experience feelings of distrust and cynicism toward the formal response, in this case believing that the Act does not provide the legislative protection they need. Consequently, campaigners and activists continue to undertake activities in relation to stalking victimisation.
This construction of stalking as a problem for women has been supported by the media who have undoubtedly been influential in moulding stalking into problem behaviour for women. The stories reiterate a narrative that focuses on essentially the same type of story. The female character of the story is usually richly rounded out so that the reader can see what it is like for the (female) victim. Reporting personal stories gives them life, helping the stories to become a public issue (Plummer, 1995). This is easier to do because stalking also feeds into pre-established cultural themes about violence against women. The mass media legitimizes this social construct by defining and distributing knowledge on a societal scale and this construction about female stalking victims becomes widely disseminated because people rely on the media to tell them about issues (Loeske, 2003). In disseminating information, the media help to define the reality of who is stalked and what it means to be stalked. In an age when the media’s gaze is brief, narratives of female stalking victimisation that are firmly constructed within the parameters of innocent female victims versus a mentally ill stalker, are an easy ‘sell’ to the public and easier to campaign for. This is true especially when women’s experiences of stalking are situated within an area of existing campaigns against domestic violence. Such images of criminality and victimisation are well established in the media, and enable them to convey their message about stalking effectively and simply (Castrells, 1997). In reiterating these narratives that say stalking is a problem (for women), the media help to convey the reality of stalking and who is worthy of help and sympathy and who is not.

Finch (2001) acknowledges this predicament and recognises the dangers for male victims if stalking is classified as a women’s issue resulting in the popular perception of the victim of a stalker as a female and not a male. This dominant construction, supported by campaigners
and activists, which has included making strategic alliances with those in parliament to influence government policy, has helped to define the problem of stalking as a problem for women and not for men. Such is the dominance of this construction that men's experiences in this study are blotted out because 'real' men cannot be stalked or if they are it should not be a problem for them. This supports Berger's and Luckmann's (1967:127) argument that those with the "bigger stick have the better chance of imposing their definition of reality". This construction obviously impacts on the participants' interaction with others in their narratives. So much so that when they present their construction of their problem to others, it is repeatedly stressed that they are not worthy of help nor sympathy.

This unwillingness by others to provide help for the men was starkly illustrated in the participants' interaction with the police. Generally speaking, the attitude of the police towards all of the participants, bar two, seemed to be dismissive of their repeated requests for help. Yet the men clearly needed their assistance. The social stock of knowledge provides detailed information of everyday activities and information on more remote activities and experiences (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Whilst this social stock of knowledge is taken for granted, when problems arise the social stock of knowledge may be inadequate to deal with the problem at hand. However, there may be others who can assist, and this includes experts in the field. The collective stock of knowledge guides those who need official help in suspected criminal behaviour against them to go to the police. Nearly, all of the male participants in this research do so. They go to those who should provide assistance. However, whilst they do go to the police, the police as 'experts' do not recognise their problem as a problem and in most instances do not assist them.
The treatment of victims of stalkers who seek the police assistance has long been questioned for both male and female victims. The October 2000 issue of ‘The Police Chief’, the official publication of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, featured the results of a survey conducted by the Police Foundation on stalking offences. The survey concluded that:

"The lack of knowledge and the divergence among officers' responses suggests that much confusion exists about stalking, demonstrating a need for basic police training on the crime. Such training should make officers aware of the law and procedures relating to stalking and also show them how to recognize the crime and how to utilize the portfolio of responses available to them."
(Source: http://www.nycop.com/Nov_00/Stalking_the_Stalker/body_stalking_the_stalker.html)

The inadequacy of police response to stalking victimisation has been well publicised as it has resulted in the death of a number of stalking victims. For example, the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) report into the stalking and subsequent death of Tania Moore in 2003 at the hand of her former boyfriend, catalogued a series of fundamental errors including the failure to take statements from Tania herself, and to obtain forensic samples. The report stated:

"The findings of the IPCC managed investigation have indicated that the response of the Derbyshire police was abysmal."

There has been extensive media coverage of other victims being killed by their stalkers, for example the death of Clare Bernal killed by a stalking ex-boyfriend who shot her at point blank range. The Chairman of the Conservative Party, Theresa May MP, wrote to the BBC about the inadequacies of stalking legislation and police practices following the murder of one of her female constituents, Rana Faruqui, by a stalker. Whilst I agree with May's general argument that victims of stalkers need better police and legislative protection, her
focus is solely on female victims, no mention was made of male victims (source: news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/panorama/6435733.stm). This perpetuates the construction of stalking as a problem for women, but it also raises another important point.

If female stalking victims cannot get the help they need in spite of being considered "natural victims" (Stanko 2001:18; Renzetti, 1999:49) and the problem of stalking has been constructed around women, how can any man get the official help he needs when he sits outside the dominant construction of what is considered a stalking victim?

Police practices towards the victims of stalkers needs addressing. This is in spite of Police Officer Hamish Brown in 2003 producing national guidance on stalking for police forces. Contained within this guidance are instructions that the police should give to victims of a stalker. This includes, victims should collect evidence and report their concerns to the police, "no matter how trivial" (Brown, 2003:2). As I have already illustrated, many of the participants in this study actually do this; in fact they repeatedly call the police about their concerns. The guidance reiterates a number of times that all victims' stories must be taken seriously. Specifically, in relation to male victims, it goes on to state that "men can be stalked and their allegations must be taken seriously" (Brown, 2003:3). In spite of this guidance and all the efforts of the men to accomplish victimisation, the police in this study do not offer the majority of the men in this study assistance. Their requests for help are continually rebuffed and their claims are not taken seriously. A research project looking at police reactions to male experiences of stalking merits further exploration.

Certainly in their interaction with the police and with others, including family, friends and the communities in which they live, very little sympathy is shown to them. Why is this?
This has to link with another finding from this study, men and the cultural stereotype of what is a man and how he should act, cannot accommodate any notion of (stalking) victimisation. Most cultures encourage little sympathy for men especially if the dominant culture sees men as tough, strong and capable of looking after themselves. This is a common perception received by the participants in this study through their interaction with others. Because of this construction, the men in this study were less likely to receive any sympathy from others. Candace Clark (1997) argues that sympathy is a social commodity and that individuals need to present certain characteristics if they are to receive it. To claim sympathy a person must be in need because they are in a troublesome situation. As I have illustrated during the course of my thesis, many of the participants in this study are clearly in dire need of help as their situation is troublesome. Over a number of months and years and often with no end in sight, the participants grapple (usually unsuccessfully) with their problem of being stalked. Unable to stop their stalker the intrusion into their social and private worlds causes them numerous problems that they have to negotiate. For some participants this has resulted in their identities nearly collapsing, clearly, stalking can have very serious negative consequences. Clark (1997) goes on to say that to receive sympathy victims should not be complicit in their situation; so, do victims provoke their own victimisation? My research clearly indicates that most of the male participants do not; they are not responsible for the situation they find themselves in. In fact, many of them have no idea why the behaviour against has been initiated against them and most of them try their best to avoid their stalkers. Finally, are the victims morally worthy? Some of the men clearly are, they conform to expected behaviour and try and do the right thing even while being stalked. However stereotypes about perceived ‘deviant’ populations for example, gay men and sex workers contribute to these men receiving little sympathy. The wider cultural
reluctance to accept a man as a victim means that if society expects men to be "tough, strong and capable" (Clark, 1997:118) they will be shown very little sympathy. Clearly whilst women may be perceived as naturally victims (Stanko, 2001), and so can invoke sympathy from others (Clark, 1997) the same cannot be said about men. If the cultural presentation of the masculine self should be in control, any of the men's actions to accomplish victimisation that may invoke sympathy can have the result that both feelings and responses of (kind) actions towards them will fail. As men can never be perceived as 'helpless' they cannot be offered or afforded help.

While the men may not evoke sympathy from others or be offered help, it does not negate their subjective experiences. Schwartz (1996:5) argues that society doesn't "envision men's pain as a key issue" especially when that society expects its men to live up to (hegemonic) expectations of masculinity; clearly my study confirms this. What it comes down to in the end is that the cultural construction of masculinity is superior to a victim identity, so a man cannot be allowed to be a victim and show vulnerability. In interaction with others (and especially with other men) they cannot show weakness, admit their difficulties or share their true feelings, as they have to continually prove that they are men and so must always demonstrate toughness in spite of their experience heavily impacting upon them (Mezey & King, 2000). Perhaps this was why the men were so keen to share their stories with me as a researcher; I was willing to listen to them and believe their stories. Plummer (1995: 120) argues that sexual stories can be told when they can be "heard... [they] come into their time when a community has been fattened, is rendered ripe and willing to hear such stories." This means that the social world must be waiting and willing to hear these stories and be empathetic towards them. The individuals and the communities with whom the
participants in this research interact - part of their social world - are largely not interested in their stories. Drawing on Plummer's (1995) work perhaps these stories about stalking are too uncomfortable, too difficult to hear that a man can be made vulnerable by behaviours and actions that are often seen as innocuous. As these stories do not fit into widely accepted narratives about men and these stories threaten patriarchal authority, it may be easier not to hear them at all.

This inability to convince others is not helped by the men not having the language to tell their stories. A social construction framework gives explicit attention on the factors that shape stalking as a problem behaviour. These factors include the construction of narrative to tell a plausible story, a story by which to communicate their reality to others. The only way to transmit knowledge is through discourse which facilitates a comparison and understanding of individual realities and provides a means of telling stories (Gergen, 1999). A finding from this study is that the male participants in this study have great difficulty communicating their experience to others. In fact they cannot find a suitable discourse and corresponding language to convey their own stalking stories to others. Kelly (cited in Allen 2002:3) argues, in relation to rape "in order to define something, a word has to exist with which to name it... and the name, once known, must be applicable to one's own experience." Drawing on from this point, the men in this study recognise their experience as stalking and label it as such, but this does not negate the difficulty of conveying the reality of their experience to others. So, whilst they may have a word to describe their experience, conveying the reality of their experience is problematic as there are limited discourses or societal stories on which to hang their own narrative (Plummer, 1995). If there is no established narrative how can you tell your story? (Gusfield, 1984).
Consequently, the men in this study find it difficult to formulate the nature of their stalking experience in an appropriate manner due to the inadequacies of the discourse available to them which does not allow them to admit stalking victimisation and yet still present themselves as men.

Therefore, in retelling their stories some of the men draw on what is available to them and this is the popular culture discourse of the Hollywood male stalking victim. Whilst these film depictions are very different from their own stories, they are an available discourse to draw on when they tell other people about their experience. The stories become sense making devices, stories that they can use in an attempt to create coherence in their own narratives. However, these fictional stories' endings, in which the males successfully rid themselves of their stalkers, is in stark reality to the participants' inability to stop their stalkers. However, overall, popular cultural references from *Fatal Attraction* and to a much lesser extent *Play Misty for Me* facilitate participants to fasten their stories onto existing narratives that they can use to explain their own situations.

Sometimes when a discourse is absent, for those who notice it or are affected by it, its 'silence' can be deafening. Absent in the male participants' narratives is a discourse surrounding the male as a victim. Whilst they may claim to accomplish victimisation none of the men in this study described themselves as a 'victim'. So, while they seek protection from the police for a perceived criminal behaviour against them, none of them described themselves as a victim. Victim status can undoubtedly provide some benefits for those who either take on this label or acquire it through interaction with officials. For example, it may afford access to services and help in gaining sympathy. Yet labelling oneself as a victim, or
being labelled as a victim, is loaded with meaning for self as it can result in a loss of self-esteem especially as a victim status is often associated with being weak (Wood & Rennie, 1994; Rock, 2007). The men in this study appear to be uncomfortable in identifying themselves as victims because of its association with weakness (Stanko & Hobdell, 1993 also identified this theme in their research into male victims of assault). This may be due to it negatively impacting and shaping subsequent interaction with others, for example, victims may be perceived as passive, helpless or to blame for their problem (Miers, 1978; Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983; Holstein & Miller, 1997). Many of the men, trying to manage their stalking, also face questioning attitudes about their behaviour from others, and this can have an effect on identity. So labelling themselves as victims when victimisation is traditionally perceived as being unmanly, can be in direct conflict with their masculine identities (Dupont-Morales, 1999). From my study it is clear that men need to retain their sense of masculinity in the face of victimisation (again Stanko & Hobdell, 1993 identified this theme in their research into male victims of assault), therefore the men in this study do not engage with language that may breach this presentation of the masculine self.

All situations that are experienced by people as painful do not become matters of public activity and targets for public opinion (Gusfield, 1984). So whilst stalking victimisation is a problem for women, for the men in this research it is not considered a problem, indeed it has not been defined as a problem with no campaigning activities undertaken on behalf of men. Empirical evidence illustrates that men are stalked and my study reveals the problematic subjective reality of their experiences. This study has revealed that stalking is a real problem for some men and that they should be dealt with as seriously as female
victims. Research such as this, which has given a voice to male victims, may begin to readjust this absence of male narratives in the research literature.

Finally, the experience of being stalked is not always entirely negative. A stalking experience can even help to solidify an identity. Peter utilises his stalking experience to confirm and bolster his macho image of 'self'. Similarly, Carl/a used his/her experience of being stalked as a method for him/her to celebrate his/her 'otherness', to delight in his/her 'difference.' For Carl/a his/her stalking experience could be used to confirm his celebrity status. In both instances, Peter and Carl/a, who could have interpreted their experiences in a more negative light and allowed it to affect 'self' used it to celebrate their identity during the course of the stalking experience. While other research has found that men may be flattered by the attention of being stalked (see Dunn, 2002) these participants used their experience in a far more fundamental manner as it provided them with an opportunity to illustrate who they are — a tough man — and what they want to be — for example, a celebrity. In the construction of stalking as a problem behaviour the outcome to being stalked has always got to be largely perceived as negative, and there is limited discursive space for someone to admit that they enjoy certain aspects of being stalked. Yet these two participants did and used it in their identity work and this needs to be recognised and more fully considered in future research.

9.4 FURTHER RESEARCH

Other areas of further research have been identified during the course of this research study. In earlier sections, I identified the role of the police in stalking cases as an area that merits
further consideration and research. In addition to this, during the course of this study and over several months, I looked at the experiences of males who have been stalked via posts on various websites. This was discussed in my methodological chapter. Due to time constraints and the trajectory of how this project developed, in spite of collecting this material, I did not use it for this research. However, I believe it is an area of academic research that is worth further consideration. In recent years, cyber-stalking has been in the news, particularly how stalkers use the internet and other forms of technology to pursue their victims. What I identified in looking at websites is that males use the internet as a resource to retell their stories of stalking. In some instances, it is a method of boasting about being stalked. However, it also seems that male stalking victims use the internet as a resource to ask others (usually other men) for their advice on being stalked. Posts were titled "Is it stalking?" and "He keeps following me, what am I supposed to do?" Whilst confirming a finding from my own study that men struggle to know what to do when they are stalked, how men use the internet as a resource to help them negotiate their experience of being stalked merits further research.

9.5 REFLECTION

During my time in developing, researching and writing up this thesis, I have had a considerable amount of time to critically consider my own position. Hart (2000:107), points out "it is up to the researcher to make choices about what their topic will be and who they are to study it" – with the recognition that various consequences will flow from these decisions. Therefore, while deciding to adopt a qualitative approach to this study with a view to understanding the social reality of male victims of stalking, I have considered if
another approach, which would have included sampling a wider population, and/or using survey techniques, would have also fulfilled my objectives. However, I am also very aware that the current body of literature is made up primarily of quantitative research that uses surveys to develop knowledge and understanding into stalking.

In this study, developing the methodology, recruiting and interviewing participants took many months to complete. Whilst I believe that it has provided a rich data source, I have to recognize that the sample is unrepresentative. By adopting a purposeful sample approach the results cannot be broadly applied to all male victims of stalking. I am sure that there are many men I did not reach because of my limited advertising budget. Others who saw the advert may not have wanted to participate in it. Budd and Mattinson (2000) say that many stalking victims do not come to the attention of the police as they do not report their experiences to these officials. Consequently, innovative ways to recruit males for research must continue to be developed.

Another area that I found challenging was that I did not want my own experience to overshadow the research process. As Strauss and Corbin (1990: 43) comment “you must be careful not to assume that everyone else’s experience is the same as yours.” I have to actively negotiate my own feelings and thoughts ensuring that they neither merged with the participants’ narratives nor colonized them in reading my own story into their stories. Through vigilant reflection, I have done this. Accordingly, I have been ever mindful of my own position and my thoughts and feelings as this area of study has developed. Perhaps because I too have experienced what many of the men have experienced or are experiencing my thoughts and feelings have been very much ‘alive’ to their stories. I
believe that my experience has enhanced the research and that it has provided a way in to develop a common rapport with the men and facilitated the sharing of their stories with me. Some advocates argue that a researcher should not reveal any feelings or whatever other standpoints he or she might hold related to their research and that no knowledge should be shared with them. However, such approaches have been questioned (Oakley, 1981). I believe that my approach to this research at least resulted in a rich source of data. I am not so sure if the participants would have been so forthcoming if I had not been open in sharing my own experience.

However, during the course of undertaking this research I have been very frustrated. In particular, I have looked for routes to open up my research, particularly to access victims and professionals in the field. Most of my attempts to access either of these groups via formal channels have amounted to nothing.

Finally, the BBC television programme Panorama subtitled a Slow Kind of Death told the story of Tania Moore who was stalked and then murdered by her former boyfriend (source www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/panorama/6454565.stm). Although it mentioned, albeit briefly male victimisation, it soon returned to its usual emphasis of media stories - female victimisation and nothing further was mentioned about male victims. As with much of the media coverage of stalking victimisation, I found this to be frustrating. I hope that research like this project can help to redress the balance. Male victimisation can be very problematic and I hope that this research will contribute to ripening up communities to hear such stories (Plummer 1995).
9.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

I undertook this research to explore the experiences of male stalking victimisation. Having now completed this study, I believe that I have given an insight into the social reality of the men, which is made extremely problematic by being stalked. Their reality is informed by how the problem of being stalked has been socially constructed as a problem for women which is conveyed to the participants of this study via social institutions, for example the family, police and the media.

In this study, I explored what the participants meant by 'stalking'. In exploring their narratives, I have revealed that commonalities exist in spite of the various circumstances stalking victimisation occurs in, and that these commonalities enable the participants to label their experience as stalking. I have also shown that stalking victimisation can result in physical, emotional, mental and social harm. These 'harms' can have serious repercussions for them. For example, the social harms can result in the participants being embarrassed and stigmatized by their stalking experience.

Whilst the men in this research know that they are stalked, convincing others of their reality is problematic. People do not believe them and do not want to help. The disbelief about their experience was evident in their interaction with the police who, broadly speaking, were unsympathetic towards them. As a result, most of the men retreated from official sources of help as they could not get past the gatekeepers of the criminal justice system in spite of their best efforts to accomplish victimisation. While attempting to accomplish victimisation, many of the men also attempt to reclaim their masculinity as being stalked can result in their masculinity being questioned.
In the penultimate chapter of data analysis, I explored how the men drew on popular
cultural discourses of stalking to help them make sense of their stalking experience. In my
final chapter of data analysis, I turned to the impact of being stalked and looked at how
some of the participants' identities were affected by their stalking experience. I believe that
my research into the experiences of male victims of stalking has shown that men's stalking
experiences can heavily impact on them and has revealed previously unknown facets of the
male experience of being stalked. I believe my findings will make a valuable contribution
to the growing literature on stalking and its effects.
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APPENDIX A

Protection from Harassment Act 1997

1997 CHAPTER 40

ARRANGEMENT OF SECTIONS

England and Wales

1. Prohibition of harassment.
2. Offence of harassment.
3. Civil remedy.
4. Putting people in fear of violence.
5. Restraining orders.
7. Interpretation of this group of sections.

Scotland
8. Harassment.
10. Limitation.
11. Non-harassment order following criminal offence.

General
12. National security, etc.
13. Corresponding provision for Northern Ireland.
15. Commencement.

An Act to make provision for protecting persons from harassment and similar conduct.

[21st March 1997]
Be it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

_England and Wales_

1 Prohibition of harassment

(1) A person must not pursue a course of conduct—
(a) which amounts to harassment of another, and
(b) which he knows or ought to know amounts to harassment of the other.

(2) For the purposes of this section, the person whose course of conduct is in question ought to know that it amounts to harassment of another if a reasonable person in possession of the same information would think the course of conduct amounted to harassment of the other.

(3) Subsection (1) does not apply to a course of conduct if the person who pursued it shows—
(a) that it was pursued for the purpose of preventing or detecting crime,
(b) that it was pursued under any enactment or rule of law or to comply with any condition or requirement imposed by any person under any enactment, or
(c) that in the particular circumstances the pursuit of the course of conduct was reasonable.

2 Offence of harassment

(1) A person who pursues a course of conduct in breach of section 1 is guilty of an offence.

(2) A person guilty of an offence under this section is liable on summary conviction to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or a fine not exceeding level 5 on the standard scale, or both.

(3) In section 24(2) of the [1984 c. 60.] Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (arrestable offences), after paragraph (m) there is inserted—
“(n) an offence under section 2 of the Protection from Harassment Act 1997 (harassment).”.

3 Civil remedy

(1) An actual or apprehended breach of section 1 may be the subject of a claim in civil proceedings by the person who is or may be the victim of the course of conduct in question.

(2) On such a claim, damages may be awarded for (among other things) any anxiety caused by the harassment and any financial loss resulting from the harassment.

(3) Where—
(a) in such proceedings the High Court or a county court grants an injunction for the purpose of restraining the defendant from pursuing any conduct which amounts to harassment, and
(b) the plaintiff considers that the defendant has done anything which he is prohibited from doing by the injunction,
the plaintiff may apply for the issue of a warrant for the arrest of the defendant.

(4) An application under subsection (3) may be made—
(a) where the injunction was granted by the High Court, to a judge of that court, and
(b) where the injunction was granted by a county court, to a judge or district judge of that or any other county court.

(5) The judge or district judge to whom an application under subsection (3) is made may only issue a warrant if—
(a) the application is substantiated on oath, and
(b) the judge or district judge has reasonable grounds for believing that the defendant has done anything which he is prohibited from doing by the injunction.

(6) Where—
(a) the High Court or a county court grants an injunction for the purpose mentioned in subsection (3)(a), and
(b) without reasonable excuse the defendant does anything which he is prohibited from doing by the injunction,
he is guilty of an offence.

(7) Where a person is convicted of an offence under subsection (6) in respect of any conduct, that conduct is not punishable as a contempt of court.

(8) A person cannot be convicted of an offence under subsection (6) in respect of any conduct which has been punished as a contempt of court.

(9) A person guilty of an offence under subsection (6) is liable—
(a) on conviction on indictment, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years, or a fine, or both, or
(b) on summary conviction, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or a fine not exceeding the statutory maximum, or both.

4 Putting people in fear of violence

(1) A person whose course of conduct causes another to fear, on at least two occasions, that violence will be used against him is guilty of an offence if he knows or ought to know that his course of conduct will cause the other so to fear on each of those occasions.

(2) For the purposes of this section, the person whose course of conduct is in question ought to know that it will cause another to fear that violence will be used against him on any occasion if a reasonable person in possession of the same information would think the course of conduct would cause the other so to fear on that occasion.

(3) It is a defence for a person charged with an offence under this section to show that—
(a) his course of conduct was pursued for the purpose of preventing or detecting crime,
(b) his course of conduct was pursued under any enactment or rule of law or to comply with any condition or requirement imposed by any person under any enactment, or
(c) the pursuit of his course of conduct was reasonable for the protection of himself or another or for the protection of his or another’s property.

(4) A person guilty of an offence under this section is liable—
(a) on conviction on indictment, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years, or a fine, or both, or
(b) on summary conviction, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or a fine not exceeding the statutory maximum, or both.

(5) If on the trial on indictment of a person charged with an offence under this section the jury find him not guilty of the offence charged, they may find him guilty of an offence under section 2.

(6) The Crown Court has the same powers and duties in relation to a person who is by virtue of subsection (5) convicted before it of an offence under section 2 as a magistrates’ court would have on convicting him of the offence.

5 Restraining orders

(1) A court sentencing or otherwise dealing with a person (“the defendant”) convicted of an offence under section 2 or 4 may (as well as sentencing him or dealing with him in any other way) make an order under this section.

(2) The order may, for the purpose of protecting the victim of the offence, or any other person mentioned in the order, from further conduct which—
(a) amounts to harassment, or
(b) will cause a fear of violence,
prohibit the defendant from doing anything described in the order.

(3) The order may have effect for a specified period or until further order.

(4) The prosecutor, the defendant or any other person mentioned in the order may apply to the court which made the order for it to be varied or discharged by a further order.

(5) If without reasonable excuse the defendant does anything which he is prohibited from doing by an order under this section, he is guilty of an offence.

(6) A person guilty of an offence under this section is liable—
(a) on conviction on indictment, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years, or a fine, or both, or
(b) on summary conviction, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or a fine not exceeding the statutory maximum, or both.

6 Limitation
In section 11 of the [1980 c. 58.] Limitation Act 1980 (special time limit for actions in respect of personal injuries), after subsection (1) there is inserted—

“(1A) This section does not apply to any action brought for damages under section 3 of the Protection from Harassment Act 1997.”

7 Interpretation of this group of sections

(1) This section applies for the interpretation of sections 1 to 5.

(2) References to harassing a person include alarming the person or causing the person distress.

(3) A “course of conduct” must involve conduct on at least two occasions.

(4) “Conduct” includes speech.

Scotland

8 Harassment

(1) Every individual has a right to be free from harassment and, accordingly, a person must not pursue a course of conduct which amounts to harassment of another and—

(a) is intended to amount to harassment of that person; or

(b) occurs in circumstances where it would appear to a reasonable person that it would amount to harassment of that person.

(2) An actual or apprehended breach of subsection (1) may be the subject of a claim in civil proceedings by the person who is or may be the victim of the course of conduct in question; and any such claim shall be known as an action of harassment.

(3) For the purposes of this section—

“conduct” includes speech;

“harassment” of a person includes causing the person alarm or distress; and a course of conduct must involve conduct on at least two occasions.

(4) It shall be a defence to any action of harassment to show that the course of conduct complained of—

(a) was authorised by, under or by virtue of any enactment or rule of law;

(b) was pursued for the purpose of preventing or detecting crime; or

(c) was, in the particular circumstances, reasonable.

(5) In an action of harassment the court may, without prejudice to any other remedies which it may grant—

(a) award damages;

(b) grant—

(i) interdict or interim interdict;
(ii) if it is satisfied that it is appropriate for it to do so in order to protect the person from further harassment, an order, to be known as a “non-harassment order”, requiring the defender to refrain from such conduct in relation to the pursuer as may be specified in the order for such period (which includes an indeterminate period) as may be so specified, but a person may not be subjected to the same prohibitions in an interdict or interim interdict and a non-harassment order at the same time.

(6) The damages which may be awarded in an action of harassment include damages for any anxiety caused by the harassment and any financial loss resulting from it.

(7) Without prejudice to any right to seek review of any interlocutor, a person against whom a non-harassment order has been made, or the person for whose protection the order was made, may apply to the court by which the order was made for revocation of or a variation of the order and, on any such application, the court may revoke the order or vary it in such manner as it considers appropriate.

(8) In section 10(1) of the [1976 c. 13.] Damages (Scotland) Act 1976 (interpretation), in the definition of “personal injuries”, after “to reputation” there is inserted “, or injury resulting from harassment actionable under section 8 of the Protection from Harassment Act 1997”.

9 Breach of non-harassment order

(1) Any person who is found to be in breach of a non-harassment order made under section 8 is guilty of an offence and liable—

(a) on conviction on indictment, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years or to a fine, or to both such imprisonment and such fine; and

(b) on summary conviction, to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months or to a fine not exceeding the statutory maximum, or to both such imprisonment and such fine.

(2) A breach of a non-harassment order shall not be punishable other than in accordance with subsection (1).

10 Limitation

(1) After section 18A of the [1973 c. 52.] Prescription and Limitation (Scotland) Act 1973 there is inserted the following section—

“18B Actions of harassment

(1) This section applies to actions of harassment (within the meaning of section 8 of the Protection from Harassment Act 1997) which include a claim for damages.

(2) Subject to subsection (3) below and to section 19A of this Act, no action to which this section applies shall be brought unless it is commenced within a period of 3 years after—

(a) the date on which the alleged harassment ceased; or

(b) the date, (if later than the date mentioned in paragraph (a) above) on which the pursuer in the action became, or on which, in the opinion of the court, it would have been
reasonably practicable for him in all the circumstances to have become, aware, that the
defender was a person responsible for the alleged harassment or the employer or principal
of such a person.

(3) In the computation of the period specified in subsection (2) above there shall be
disregarded any time during which the person who is alleged to have suffered the
harassment was under legal disability by reason of nonage or unsoundness of mind.”.

(2) In subsection (1) of section 19A of that Act (power of court to override time-limits), for
“section 17 or section 18 and section 18A” there is substituted “section 17, 18, 18A or
18B”.

11 Non-harassment order following criminal offence

After section 234 of the [1995 c. 46.] Criminal Procedure (Scotland) Act 1995 there is
inserted the following section—

“Non-harassment orders

234A Non-harassment orders

(1) Where a person is convicted of an offence involving harassment of a person (“the
victim”), the prosecutor may apply to the court to make a non-harassment order against the
offender requiring him to refrain from such conduct in relation to the victim as may be
specified in the order for such period (which includes an indeterminate period) as may be
so specified, in addition to any other disposal which may be made in relation to the offence.

(2) On an application under subsection (1) above the court may, if it is satisfied on a
balance of probabilities that it is appropriate to do so in order to protect the victim from
further harassment, make a non-harassment order.

(3) A non-harassment order made by a criminal court shall be taken to be a sentence for the
purposes of any appeal and, for the purposes of this subsection “order” includes any
variation or revocation of such an order made under subsection (6) below.

(4) Any person who is found to be in breach of a non-harassment order shall be guilty of an
offence and liable—

(a) on conviction on indictment, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding 5 years or to a
fine, or to both such imprisonment and such fine; and

(b) on summary conviction, to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 6 months or to a
fine not exceeding the statutory maximum, or to both such imprisonment and such fine.

(5) The Lord Advocate, in solemn proceedings, and the prosecutor, in summary
proceedings, may appeal to the High Court against any decision by a court to refuse an
application under subsection (1) above; and on any such appeal the High Court may make
such order as it considers appropriate.

(6) The person against whom a non-harassment order is made, or the prosecutor at whose
instance the order is made, may apply to the court which made the order for its revocation
or variation and, in relation to any such application the court concerned may, if it is
satisfied on a balance of probabilities that it is appropriate to do so, revoke the order or vary it in such manner as it thinks fit, but not so as to increase the period for which the order is to run.

(7) For the purposes of this section “harassment” shall be construed in accordance with section 8 of the Protection from Harassment Act 1997.”

General

12 National security, etc

(1) If the Secretary of State certifies that in his opinion anything done by a specified person on a specified occasion related to—

(a) national security,

(b) the economic well-being of the United Kingdom, or

(c) the prevention or detection of serious crime,

and was done on behalf of the Crown, the certificate is conclusive evidence that this Act does not apply to any conduct of that person on that occasion.

(2) In subsection (1), “specified” means specified in the certificate in question.

(3) A document purporting to be a certificate under subsection (1) is to be received in evidence and, unless the contrary is proved, be treated as being such a certificate.

13 Corresponding provision for Northern Ireland

An Order in Council made under paragraph 1(1)(b) of Schedule 1 to the [1974 c. 28] Northern Ireland Act 1974 which contains a statement that it is made only for purposes corresponding to those of sections 1 to 7 and 12 of this Act—

(a) shall not be subject to sub-paragraphs (4) and (5) of paragraph 1 of that Schedule (affirmative resolution of both Houses of Parliament), but

(b) shall be subject to annulment in pursuance of a resolution of either House of Parliament.

14 Extent

(1) Sections 1 to 7 extend to England and Wales only.

(2) Sections 8 to 11 extend to Scotland only.

(3) This Act (except section 13) does not extend to Northern Ireland.

15 Commencement

(1) Sections 1, 2, 4, 5 and 7 to 12 are to come into force on such day as the Secretary of State may by order made by statutory instrument appoint.

(2) Sections 3 and 6 are to come into force on such day as the Lord Chancellor may by order made by statutory instrument appoint.

307
(3) Different days may be appointed under this section for different purposes.

16 Short title
This Act may be cited as the Protection from Harassment Act 1997.
APPENDIX B

Letter of introduction used for this research

Dear Sir/Madam

I am writing to request the assistance of your charitable organisation with a research study into the experiences of male victims of stalking. This research is being undertaken by myself, a part-time student MPhil/PhD based at the Surrey University.

I am hoping that you will be able to put me in contact with male victims (18 years and above) who approach your organisation. I would like to interview them about their experiences of being stalked. This is an area that has received very little academic attention. The interview will be conducted at a convenient time and location for the participants and will be kept both completely confidential and anonymous. My aim is to explore their experiences and then analyse them using a sociological framework.

I am very aware that potentially during the course of interviewing participants I may touch on sensitive subjects. Accordingly I have contacted charities who offer counselling service which participants can avail of if necessary. I would be very happy to consider any suggestions your organisation may have to ensure the welfare of participants during the interview and once it has finished.

This study is being overseen by Dr Martin Innes and Jo Moran-Ellis, academics employed in the School of Human Sciences at the University of Surrey. If you have any questions about the nature of this research study or have questions about myself they would be more than happy to answer them. They can be contacted on the address and phone numbers above.

Very little is known about the experiences of male victims of stalkers in the academic literature so any help your organisation may be able to give me in contacting victims it will be very much appreciated.

I look forward to hearing from you in the near future

Yours Sincerely,

Mark Rees
APPENDIX C

Copy of the email used for this research

Dear Sir

I am writing to request your assistance with a research study into the experiences of male victims of stalking. This research is being undertaken by myself, a part-time student MPhil/PhD based at the Surrey University.

I read about your experience of being stalked in (insert print media's name and date of publication) and I was wondering if you would be willing to participate in my study. My aim is to explore your experiences and then analyse them using a sociological framework. The interview will be conducted at a convenient time and location for you and your story will be kept both completely confidential and anonymous. Very little is known about the experiences of male victims of stalkers in the academic literature so any help you may be able to give me will be very much appreciated.

This study is being overseen by Dr Martin Innes and Jo Moran-Ellis, academics employed in the School of Human Sciences at the University of Surrey. If you have any questions about the nature of this research study or have questions about myself they would be more than happy to answer them. They can be contacted on the address and phone numbers above.

I look forward to hearing from you,

Yours Sincerely,

Mark Rees