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Violence and intimacy-seeking in a female adolescent stalker: specific characteristics as compared to adult stalkers. A brief review of the literature

Violenza e ricerca di intimità in una giovane stalker: caratteristiche specifiche a confronto con stalkers adulte ed una breve review della letteratura

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Key Words: forensic science • stalking • juvenile stalking • violence • attachment figure • family and psychosocial factors

Abstract

The case of an adolescent female stalker came to our observation when the Juvenile Court of Justice commissioned an expert opinion. This case led us to reflect on the characteristics of juvenile stalking as compared to the adult phenomenon. The literature demonstrates that there are substantial differences between adult and adolescent stalkers. The data in literature were not sufficient to distinguish a single category in which to classify the case we observed, obliging us to explore further and examine the correlation between stalking and attachment style. We claim that the case presented could be interpreted as a form of protest against the loss of the attachment figure. The authors believe that to gain a better understanding of the harassment adopted in juvenile stalking it is important to explore the psychological, psychopathological, family, and social factors.

Parole chiave: scienze forensi • molestie assillanti • molestie assillanti in età giovanile • comportamenti aggressivi • legame di attaccamento • fattori familiari e psicosociali

Riassunto

Un caso di una stalker adolescente giunto alla nostra osservazione in qualità di esperti del Giudice, ci ha permesso di riflettere sul tema e sulle peculiarità rispetto allo stalking messo in atto da adulti. La letteratura dimostra che non vi sono differenze sostanziali tra stalker adulti ed adolescenti. I dati in letteratura non sono stati sufficienti a distinguere una singola categoria in cui classificare il caso specifico. Questo ci ha indotto a cercare anche altre chiavi di lettura: ad es, la correlazione tra stalking e stili di attaccamento. Riteniamo che i comportamenti di stalking del caso presentato potrebbero essere interpretati come una forma di protesta messa in atto per evitare la perdita della figura d'attaccamento. Per una migliore comprensione del fenomeno, sarebbe opportuno approfondire anche le caratteristiche psicologiche, familiari e sociali proprie dell'adolescenza.

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Violence and intimacy-seeking in a female adolescent stalker: specific characteristics as compared to adult stalkers.

A brief review of the literature

1. Literature Background

Most studies of stalking have analyzed adult populations, in which the stalker was prevalently male and the victim female (Pathè & Mullen, 1997; Hall, 1998; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998; Mullen, Pathe, Purcell & Stuart, 1999; Budd & Mattinson, 2000), and the category of stalkers most frequently observed was that of the ex partner. It is well known that among the different types of stalker identified (Zona, Palarea & Lane, 1998) those posing the greatest risk of violent behaviour against the victim are “rejected” and “resentful” stalkers (Mullen & Pathè, 2002; Spitzberg, 2002; McEwan, Mullen & MacKenzie, 2009), men who cannot accept that an intimate relationship has come to an end, or who are rejected by the woman they hoped would become a partner (Mullen, Pathe & Purcell, 2009; Spitzberg, Nicastro & Cousins, 1998).

By contrast, female stalkers are typically young women, Caucasian, heterosexual, single, childless and with a high level of education (Mullen, Pathe, Purcell & Stuart, 1999; Carabellese, La Tegola, Alfarano, Tamma, Candelli & Catanesi, 2013). The role played by a mental disturbance in the harassing behaviour seems to be higher in female than in male stalkers (Purcell, Pathè & Mullen, 2001; Meloy & Boyd, 2003; Pathé, Mullen & Purcell, 2000; Meloy, Mohandie & Green, 2011; Reavis, Allen & Meloy, 2008).

Moreover, in some specific contexts (such as University populations) there is a higher prevalence of female than male stalkers (Fremouw, Westrup & Pennypacker, 1997; Bjerregaard, 2000; LeBlanc, Levesque, Richardson & Berka, 2001; Ravensberg & Miller, 2001; Morgan, 2010; Rosenfeld, 2003; Logan, Leukevfeld & Walker, 2002).

Unlike what is commonly believed, female stalkers may be just as violent as their male counterparts (Meloy & Boyd, 2003; Meloy, Mohandie & Green, 2011; Purcell, Pathè & Mullen, 2001). In a study that measured psychopathy among stalkers, the authors (Pathé, Mullen & Purcell, 2000; Mohandie & Green, 2011) demonstrated comparable degrees of psychopathic behavior in males and females with an identical risk of recidivism. Instead, the stalking tactics seem to be gender-specific (Purcell, Pathè & Mullen, 2002): female stalkers adopt a greater variety of types of persecution than males; in particular, they send more written messages (48% vs 16%), and make more phone calls (71% vs 54%). Meloy and Boyd (2003) concur that the tactics adopted by female stalkers consist largely of threats (65%) and less frequently culminate in violence (25%), although the percentage of violence increases up to 50% in cases of a previous love affair with the victim. Even if the rate of threats does not seem to differ according to gender, female stalkers are still less likely to pass on from threats to physical violence (30% vs 49% in males) (Purcell, Pathè & Mullen, 2001).

Meloy and Boyd (2003) pointed out that usual stalking

behaviors included telephone calls and messages, giving letters and gifts, driving by the victim's location, trespassing, and following the victim. More than half of the women threatened their victims, and a quarter were physically violent, with three victims losing their lives to their stalkers. Most episodes of violence, however, did not involve the use of a weapon and did not result in injuries. Violence was more likely if the stalker and the victim had been previously sexually intimate (Catanesi, Carabellese, La Tegola & Alfarano, 2012). In more than half of the cases, the behavior increased in frequency and intensity.

In this context of the risk of recidivism, MacKenzie and James (2011) (Eke, Hilton, Meloy, Mohandie & Williams, 2011; Malsch, de Keijser & Debets, 2011) stressed the finding that legal measures alone do not efficaciously prevent further stalking, and this is especially true if the stalker is a woman. In fact, there is a tendency to underestimate the risk potential posed by a female stalker (Pathè & Mullen, 1997; Hall, 1998; Spitzberg, Nicastro & Cousins, 1998; Meloy & Boyd, 2001; MacKenzie & James, 2011; Abrams & Robinson, 1998; Carabellese, Candelli, La Tegola, Alfarano & Catanesi, 2013), and not only are protection orders clearly insufficient to protect the victim but in some cases they even tend to exacerbate the harassment (Benitez, McNeil & Binder, 2010; MacKenzie, Mullen & Ogloff, 2006; Montesino, 1993; Pathè, 2002).

Data on juvenile stalking are still limited. In fact, only one systematic study has been published in the literature (Purcell, Moller, Flower & Mullen, 2009), as well as a few case reports (McCann, 1998; Urbach, Khalily & Mitchell, 1992; Vaidya, Chalhoub & Newing, 2005; Evans & Meloy, 2011).

Morgan (2010) recently investigated the phenomenon of students stalking faculty members by interviewing a sample of University professors (N = 52, 55.7% women and 44.3% men). He found that 87 students (aged 25.2 ± 5.9 years) had been responsible for stalking their professors and – notably – nearly half of them were female students (48.27%). Of the total stalking episodes in this study, 42.53% belonged to the category of “Erotomanic/Delusional Stalking Incidents” (37/87 cases), and this category was further subdivided into “Obsessives” (21/37) and stalkers with serious Underlying Psychological Issues (16/37). Among Erotomanic/Delusional Stalking Incidents nearly half were committed by females; of the former category of obsessives, 8/21 were female students who stalked a male professor while 2/21 stalked a female professor. Among the stalkers with serious Underlying Psychological Issues, 4/16 were female students who stalked a male professor and another 4/16, females who stalked a female professor.

In view of the complex nature of the stalking phenomenon and the heterogeneity of the underlying motives, some studies have made a close study of the styles of attachment of stalking committed by students. A significant study was

conducted by Devis, Ace and Andra (2000) in a large sample of university students, differentiated by gender and age (19–24 years). The authors found a high proportion of an insecure attachment style, and they linked stalking actions in the students with the loss of the attachment figure. Other research (MacKenzie, Mullen, Ogloff, McEwan & James; 2008; Meloy, 1996; Kienlen, Birmingham, Solberg, O'Regan & Meloy, 1997; Langhinrichsen-Rohling & Rohling, 2000) conducted in adult populations also concluded that stalking is correlated with an insecure attachment style, attributable to factors acting within the family (separation or divorce, imprisonment of one of the parents, parents with mental disease or addicted to hallucinatory drugs).

2. Juvenile stalking

There are few studies of juvenile stalking in the literature. McCann (1998) analyzed three adolescent stalkers (obsessional followers), differentially diagnosed as affected by erotomania, obsessional love and simple obsessional/borderline erotomania, respectively (Zona, Sharma & Lane, 1993; Meloy, 1989).

The first case (pure erotomania), originally presented by Urbach, Khalily and Mitchell (1992), was a 13-year-old black female who manifested erotomaniac delusion directed firstly against a teacher and then the treating psychiatrist. She later committed violent acts when her intimacy-seeking was rejected.

The second case was presented by the author himself (McCann, 1998). Assigned to the category of "obsessional love", this case was a 15-year-old boy affected by schizophrenia, who was determined to have sexual relations with some of the girls at his school, to whom he insistently sent letters and messages.

In the third case, McCann (1998) reported a 15-year-old boy with a violent family background. He was assigned to the category of "simple obsessional" stalkers, because for months he had been sending threatening letters to his ex-girlfriend after she left him. He was convinced that his parents were interfering with his intimate friendship and developed feelings of intense rage and resentment against them. Admitted to hospital on 3 different occasions, at the last hospitalization he had been diagnosed with a borderline paranoid personality disorder. When commenting on this case, the author (McCann, 1998) agreed with the hypothesis, previously expressed by other authors (Meloy, 1996; Meloy & Gothard, 1995; Meloy, 1997), that stalkers have an attachment style disturbance, and considered that the dynamics of the case raised intriguing hypotheses about the way stalking may develop over time.

Other authors (Vaidya, Chalhoub & Newing, 2005) presented a female adolescent stalker, raising the question whether the stalking pattern was associated with mental disease but without drawing definite conclusions. The case presented was a 15-year-old girl referred to the Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services (CAMHS) after she developed an inappropriate attachment to the learning mentor at her school, and then became violent when he rejected her advances. While taking the medical history, it emerged that she came from a background with a high level of con-

flict and violence in the family, which could have contributed to her development of an insecure attachment style. According to the authors (Vaidya, Chalhoub & Newing, 2005), in this case the stalking was linked not so much to true mental disease as to other factors, particularly the family background that negatively affected her acquisition of appropriate attachment styles.

The first systematic study of stalkers aged 18 or less was published recently (Purcell, Moller, Flower & Mullen, 2009). The authors reviewed the protection orders issued by the Juvenile Court of Melbourne in the state of Victoria, Australia (N = 906), and found that no less than 33.1% were concerned with stalking offences. In particular, of the 299 underage offenders, 36% were female. This percentage of female juvenile stalkers is higher than the percentage of female stalkers in the general adult population, while it seems similar to the figures reported in research conducted in Criminal Court Populations. In fact, in Germany, investigations conducted through a questionnaire mailed to a representative sample of citizens (Dressing, Kuehner & Gass, 2005a; 2005b) showed a lifetime prevalence of the stalking phenomenon of 12%, but only 14.5% of these offenses were committed by women. A notable study of victimization was conducted by Sheridan Davies and Bonn (2001), in 95 victims of stalking referred to the Suzy Lamplugh Trust, a center for social and health promotion in London. In this study, the stalker was female in 7% of cases. However, higher percentages are found in studies conducted in the Criminal Court Population or in legal ambits. In an investigation conducted at the New York County Criminal and Supreme Court over a period of four years (1994–1998), 33% of the stalkers (16 out of 48) were women (Harmon, Rosner & Owens, 1995). In a retrospective study based on the analysis of 74 files in the hands of a special anti-stalking unit of the Los Angeles Police Department (Meloy, et al., 2000) it was found that in 32% of the cases the stalker was a woman (24 of 74), and six of them were classified as affected by "Erotomaniac Delusions".

Percentages ranging from 17% to 22% of female stalkers emerged from research conducted in the Forensic Mental Health field (Palarea, Zona, Lane & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 1999; Dressing, Sheuble & Gass, 2006). In particular, in the study by Purcell, Pathé and Mullen (2001), that lasted 8 years (1993–2000) and was conducted in a sample of 190 stalkers at a Community Forensic Mental Health Clinic specialized in the assessment and treatment of stalkers and their victims, 21% of the former were women. Overall, in the study by Purcell, Moller, Flower and Mullen (2009) of juvenile stalking the mean age of the subjects was 15.4 years (range 9–18). In the same way as in adult stalking, almost all these juvenile stalkers knew their victim (98%; 293); this was an old class mate in 24% of the cases (73/293), a personal or family acquaintance in 23% of cases (70/293), an ex partner in 21% (62/293), an erstwhile friend in 15% (45/293), and a neighbour in 14% of cases.

In addition, the authors identified six categories of juvenile stalking on the basis of the context and motives underlying the harassment. The relative percentages among female gender stalkers were reported: "organised bullying", where no clear precipitant for the behaviour could be discerned other than the perpetrator's desire to persecute and torment the victim (49%), "retaliation" for some perceived injury or

slight motivated the stalking (51%), "rejection" (14%), where stalking following the termination or dating relationship, "disorganised harassment" (33%), where the stalker harassed a number of people at the same time, often with few, if any, obvious links between them, "predatory" (6%), where the perpetrator's behaviour was aimed at imposing unwanted sexual contact on the victim, "infatuated" (17%) motivated by infatuation or the desire to establish intimacy with the victim. All but one of these perpetrators was a male pursuing a female, usually an acquaintance or school peer, and threats and assault were comparatively uncommon.

The type of relationship is therefore an element of specificity in juvenile stalking as compared to stalking among adults. The most common type of adult stalker is the ex-partner who refuses to accept that the relationship is at an end (Dressing, Sheuble & Gass, 2006) but the percentage of women harassers of their ex-partner seems to be markedly lower than that of their male counterparts. In particular, adult female stalkers frequently pursue people they have met in a professional context (Dressing, Sheuble & Gass, 2006; Galeazzi, Elkins & Curci, 2005; Laskowski, 2003; Lion & Herschler, 1998; Pathé, Mullen & Purcell, 2002). Moreover, the study by Purcell, Moller, Flower and Mullen (2009) on juvenile stalking showed that, according to the victims' statements, the use of drugs or the presence of a mental disease were rare, accounting for only 21 and 8 cases, respectively. It is interesting to note that among adult female stalkers, instead, there is a high incidence of mental disease (Goldestein, 1987; Kurt, 1995; Leong, 1994; Meloy, 1989; Dunne & Schipperhejn, 2000; Brüne, 2003; Kienlen, Birmingham, Solberg, O'Regan & Meloy, 1997; Gentile, Asamen, Harmell & Weathers, 2002; Mullen & Pathé, 1994). Among the victims, 75% declared that they had received serious threats, that culminated in violence in 54% (161/293) of the cases (Purcell, Moller, Flower & Mullen, 2009).

In addition, female juvenile stalkers tend to involve others as accomplices in the harassment to a greater extent than their male counterparts and this is a further element characterizing juvenile stalkers as compared to adults.

Evans and Meloy (2011) illustrated two cases of juvenile stalkers who, although it seems premature to classify them as a separate category, feature two adolescent stalking patterns that recall the Mullen classification (Mullen, Pathe, Purcell & Stuart, 1999; Mohandie, Meloy, McGowan & Williams, 2006) of "rejected", "incompetent" and "intimacy seeking" stalkers.

The Type I stalker described by Evans and Meloy (2011) is socially awkward, has a "preoccupied" attachment style, low self-esteem, and the primary motive is to have an intimate relationship with the victim, who is almost always a stranger. The risk of this type of stalker's harassment degenerating into violence is low.

The Type II stalker is angry/disgruntled, with an unrealistic, grandiose sense of worth, and is involved in various types of bullying situations. The family background is apparently good but usually reflects a narcissistic pattern, with poor quality object relations. This type tends to have had a previous relationship with the victim and the risk of violence is moderate or high.

The first of the two cases described by the Authors belongs to type II. A 16-year-old boy whose mother was an attorney and father a doctor, he had stalked his 16-year-old

ex girlfriend. The forensic psychiatry examination elicited an IQ of 108, and narcissistic traits at the MMPI-A and Millon Adolescent Clinical Inventory. The Psychopathy Checklist Youth indicated that he was severely introverted, manipulative, and lacked remorse and empathy. The overall score on the Scale was 30 (90th percentile), indicating a high risk of criminal behaviour.

The second case illustrated by these authors (type I) was a 17-year-old girl who underwent a forensic psychiatry examination after a sex crime (spying into a 13-year-old girl's bedroom). It was found when taking the family history that she had been given into her grandmother's care at the age of 7, and she had never known her father, while her mother had a history of alcoholism, drug addiction and mental disease. At school she had no friends and was a constant victim of bullying. At the mental tests she was shown to have an IQ of 83, low self-esteem, social introversion and a feeling of inferiority at the MMPI-A, while the Millon Adolescent Clinical Inventory demonstrated a lack of positive life experiences.

Estimates of the incidence of the juvenile stalking phenomenon are still lacking and important issues as to the possible subjective, family, social and cultural factors (acquired attachment style, the role of mental disease) underlying this behaviour remain unclear, as well as the weight that such factors may have in the assessment of penal liability, how they affect the risk of recidivism and, lastly, the important question of the most efficacious forms of treatment, that have still to be ascertained.

3. Case Report

The female stalker was 16 years old when she was arrested and underwent a forensic psychiatry assessment in May 2011. It was discovered that the girl, a high school pupil (professional school) had a multiproblem family background that had long come to the attention of the Municipality social and health services (Catanesi, Carabellese & Rinaldi, 1998). The family nucleus consisted of the mother, affected by a chronic psychotic disorder (delusions), the father, who had a history of drug addiction (Carabellese, Candelli, Martinelli, La Tegola & Catanesi, 2013 and previous penal convictions (Catanesi, Carabellese, Troccoli, Candelli & Grattagliano, 2011) and was unemployed, and 5 children. The parents were demonstrably unable to take proper care of the children. Hence, only the two older children (already at work) still lived with the parents, while the other three had been sent to a community centre for minors, all together. The stalker was 11 years old when she entered the community. During her stay there, the teachers described her as manipulative, emotionally unstable, aggressive with peers, and unable to feel remorse. Seductive with older men, when she was rejected she had more than once staged a protest escape. In the previous months the stalking had been associated with anorexic behavior. Referred for a consultation to a childhood neuropsychiatry service, a diagnosis of a Borderline Personality Disorder was made and she was started on behavioral psychotherapy, but no drugs were prescribed.

During the forensic psychiatry assessment it emerged that during her second year at high school a new Math teacher arrived. After a while she became attracted by him, not

so much physically as – according to her account – because he was so “serious”. Driven by curiosity, she started to collect information that could help her to establish a first contact with the man. She succeeded in discovering his cell phone number and in March 2010 she started to make anonymous calls. These calls were firstly sporadic, made for fun in the presence of schoolmates who knew of her interest in the teacher, although they had an amorous content. Then they became more insistent and the girl expressed her real intentions: “*I want to go to bed with you*”, finally revealing her true identity. At first the teacher thought the phone calls were a joke but when he found out who they were from, he informed the Headmaster of the school, in the hope that an official reprimand would stop the harassment. On the contrary, at that point (May 2010) the girl stopped going to school and over the following months, far from giving up the persecution she intensified it, making night calls with direct threats against the man and his wife and mother, and sending him emails and letters, also care of the school. Despite the menaces the man still did not report the girl, who had anyway left home and the community appointed to watch over her. In September 2010 she managed to get herself and a friend invited as guests by a family (met through a social network) who lived in the same city as the teacher. In the following months the harassment became ever more insistent and violent (stalking the man and his wife, loitering in the vicinity of their home, writing obscenities and threats on the walls). Finally, in January 2011 the girl, together with some male older friends (Carabellese, Vinci & Catanesi, 2008), burned a car they believed to belong to the teacher, and was arrested. At that point the Juvenile Court commissioned a forensic psychiatry assessment to evaluate the girl’s psychic maturity (According to the Italian Penal Code, juveniles under the age of 14 are never considered responsible for their actions; in minors of ages 14 to 18 the psychic maturity must be assessed to establish liability) and degree of accountability for the crime, so as to decide on specific treatments (The DPR 448/88 regulates penal trials of minors in Italy, dictating treatment measures as alternatives to incarceration for underage offenders and reserving jail sentences only for extreme cases. This is intended to facilitate young offenders’ reinsertion in society).

During the forensic psychiatry observation the girl declared that she was infatuated by the teacher, being particularly attracted by his “seriousness”. She said: “*I fantasized about... what would it be like if he accepted... I thought the others could help me to torment him* (referring to her classmates, who knew about the infatuation)... *When he came into class my mates would smile and I felt they were encouraging me*”. An important role, in fact, is played by the girl’s peers: all the phases characterizing the harassment were witnessed by her schoolmates who were sometimes, as in the case of calling the teacher’s phone, as well as during some of the stalking episodes, actively involved in the persecution. The young girl seemed to draw some satisfaction from making her intimacy-seeking with the teacher known to her acquaintances, as if she wished to demonstrate to everyone – schoolmates, teachers and the victim himself – how far she was prepared to go to achieve her goal. Instead, during the forensic psychiatry examination, she declared that she had felt “*angry and ridiculous*”, when the teacher assured the headmaster, in her presence, that there would never be anything between him and

the girl. At that stage she said she thought: “*I’ll stop treating him nicely and start to get back at him*”.

During the forensic psychiatry observation, the girl underwent psycho-diagnostic tests (MMPI-A; Wais-R, EARN IN JVO, BVN 12-18, Barratt Impulsiveness Scale – v11, Psychopathy Checklist: Youth), that yielded a final diagnosis of Borderline Intelligence (I.Q. = 69), with marked narcissistic and sociopathic personality traits.

The MMPI-A indicated higher values at the Lie scale (L = 75) and Problems of Adolescent Conduct (A-Con = 60), and reactivity to the use of substances (MAC-R = 65). The Psychopath Checklist: Youth indicated that the girl had shallow affect and a grandiose sense of worth, and was manipulative and callous. The overall score at this scale was 30 (90th percentile), indicating a high risk of criminal conduct. Moreover, the Barratt Impulsiveness Scale (Index = 66) indicated a tendency to act impulsively. L’EARN IN JO (European Assessment of Risk/Need in Juveniles) demonstrated the presence of critical antisocial behavior and the risk of criminal recidivism: “*Problem socioeconomic and family background, Poor empathy and lack of remorse, Mental disturbances, a Family History of mental disturbances, Early detachment from family care, Repeated changes of the people taking care of this underage girl*. At the end of the forensic psychiatry assessment it was concluded that this underage stalker was to be considered responsible for her actions (Catanesi, Carabellese, La Tegola & Alfarano, 2012), and so the Juvenile Court issued an order for her to be taken into care for a minimum of 2 years at a Community for Minors to undergo specific treatment (psychological and social assistance), in order to reduce the risk of recidivism, that was judged to be very high.

Conclusions

In Italy, unlike in other countries, laws on stalking have only very recently been introduced (Law of 23 April 2009 n.38-art.612 bis c.p.). The latest official data (from the National Statistics Institute – ISTAT – of the Department of Justice for Minors) on underage crime in Italy are for the year 2007. Therefore no specific data are yet available on the crime of stalking committed in Italy by minors. Undoubtedly, in the case we present mental disease is only one of the factors underlying the offense (Catanesi, Carabellese, Candelli, Valerio & Martinelli, 2010). Other factors – psychological, family, cultural, social – are equally important variables that help to interpret the harassment of her teacher perpetrated by this adolescent stalker.

In agreement with other studies (MacKenzie, Mullen, Ogloff, McEwan & James, 2008; Meloy, 1996; Kienlen, Birmingham, Solberg, O’Regan & Meloy, 1997; Langhinrichsen-Rohling & Rohling, 2000) an insecure attachment style seems to be a significant factor implicated in juvenile stalking (MacKenzie, Mullen, Ogloff, McEwan & James, 2008; Kienlen, Birmingham, Solberg, O’Regan & Meloy, 1997; Langhinrichsen-Rohling & Rohling, 2000; Andrews & Bonta, 2007). In this case, in fact, the history showed that she had lost the reference figure early (when she was sent out for community care), as well as revealing a difficult family background and an insecure attachment style. An indirect confirmation of the insecure attachment style of this

underage stalker is derived from a consideration of the characteristics of the victim. It is clear that his authority, role, age and sex have an important symbolic significance for the girl, that is highlighted by an analysis of the stalker's previous experiences of abandonment and of deprived affection.

The most worrying aspect of the affair lies in the combination of mental disturbance, linked to the assessment of the risk of recidivism (psychopathic component, Psychopath Checklist Youth = 30, 90th percentile) and the juvenile's poor cultural background. These were instrumental in pushing her down the slippery slope of fury, desire for revenge against the object of her unrequited love, and the intention to "make him pay" for keeping her at a distance and ignoring her desires. In short, this case seems to confirm that female stalkers, too, even minors, can adopt extremely violent and threatening behaviour, just like their male counterparts. In fact, at the end of forensic psychiatry assessment it was concluded that this underage stalker was to be taken in care for a minimum of 2 years at a Community for Minors.

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