

[An Integrative Contextual Developmental Model of Male Stalking](#)

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Abstract:

This article evaluates current research and theory on stalking as a form of male violence against women. The integrative contextual developmental model (White & Kowalski, 148) suggests that stalking, as legally defined, is best understood as a multiply determined form of violence, with variables identifiable at several levels, the sociocultural, interpersonal, dyadic, situational and intrapersonal. The model also serves as a framework for identifying gaps in current research and suggests directions for further work.

Article:

The purpose of the present article is to contribute to the emerging scholarly discussion of stalking, as legally defined, by considering it within the context of violence against women. We first discuss definitional issues concerning stalking. This is followed by our rationale for focusing specifically on men stalking women. We then present a theoretical model of violence against women that we suggest is a useful framework for studying stalking.

DEFINITIONAL ISSUES

There has been considerable effort to clarify the nature of stalking and to distinguish it from other forms of stalking-like behavior, as evidenced by numerous attempts to develop a typology of stalking (see Holmes, 1998; McCann, 1998; Wright et al., 1996). This is even more important now that researchers are showing increased interest in examining courtship persistence and stalking-like behaviors in college students. We contribute to this effort by suggesting that research based on operational definitions that distinguish stalking from other stalking-like behaviors is essential.

Although the legal definition of stalking varies by state, generally it is defined as "the willful, malicious, and repeated following and harassing of another person that threatens his or her safety" (Meloy & Gothard, 1995, p. 258). The model antistalking law proposed by the National Criminal Justice Association Project (1993) defines stalking as "a course of conduct directed at a specific person that involves repeated visual or physical proximity, nonconsensual communication, or verbal, written, or implied threats, or a combination thereof, that would cause a reasonable person fear" (pp. 43-44). The important concepts here are repeated behaviors that would cause a reasonable person fear.

In contrast to stalking as legally defined, obsessive relational intrusions (ORI) have been defined as "repeated and unwanted pursuit and invasion of one's sense of physical or symbolic privacy by another person, either stranger or acquaintance, who desires and/or presumes an intimate relationship" (Cupach & Spitzberg, 1998, p. 234-235). Missing from the definition of ORI are elements of maliciousness, threat, and fear.

We argue that the dimensions of frequency and fear are critical. The restriction that the behavior occurs more than once is necessary to distinguish stalking and ORI from other behaviors that are unwanted, harassing, threatening or harmful, such as occur in courtship violence or domestic violence cases. Similarly, to distinguish stalking from these other forms of violence that occurs in intimate relationships, it is useful to consider as stalking only behaviors occurring in the context of relationships in which there is a discrepancy in the level of contact desired by the two parties, when one desires more contact than the other. Additionally, the presence of fear has been used to determine whether from a legal perspective a behavior is stalking or not. The arguments developed in the present article are based on the legal definition of stalking: It occurs more than once, induces fear, and occurs in an undesired relationship.

WHY IS STALKING A FORM OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN?

We argue that stalking as defined in the present paper is a form of violence against women for three reasons: more men than women engage in stalking; stalking co-occurs with several other forms of violence against women; and women suffer more fear and other serious consequences as victims of stalking than do men.

Men Stalk More Than Women

Research data from community samples indicate that men stalk more than women. The National Violence Against Women Survey of 8,000 women and 8,000 men in the United States asked respondents about being followed or harassed "on more than one occasion by strangers, friends, relatives or even husbands and partners." Specific behaviors by these persons included spying, sending unsolicited letters, making unsolicited phone calls, standing outside one's home, school, or workplace, showing up at places at where one has no business being, leaving unwanted items, communicating in other unwanted ways, vandalizing property or destroying something. Results revealed that 78% of the victims of stalking were female and 87% of the perpetrators were male (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998; Tjaden, Thoennes, & Allison, 2000). According to the National Institute of Justice (1996) as many as 80% of stalking incidents, as legally defined, occur within the context of intimate relationships.

Additionally, clinical samples of stalkers have consisted primarily of court-referred male perpetrators (Burgess et al., 1997; Harmon, Rosner, & Owens, 1995; Keinlen, Birmingham, Solberg, O'Regan, & Meloy, 1997; Meloy & Gothard, 1995; Zona, Sharma, & Lane, 1993). These studies found that most stalkers were older men with some psychiatric diagnosis, engaged in a higher percentage of stranger than acquaintance stalking, and displayed high levels of violence toward the victim. Although these men represent convenience samples, the fact that women are rarely seen in an adjudicated group supports the argument that more men than women engage in stalking as legally defined.

Co-Occurrence of Stalking With Other Forms of Violence Against Women

Evidence of co-occurrence can be found in the data from the National Violence Against Women Survey (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Eighty-one percent of the women who were stalked by a current or former intimate partner also had been physically abused by that partner. Thirty-one percent had been sexually assaulted by that partner. Other researchers have also reported the co-occurrence of stalking with verbal and physical aggression (Coleman, 1997), as well as psychological abuse (Logan, Leukefeld, & Walker, 2000),¹ and with sexual coercion (Spitzberg & Rhea, 1999). The Coleman (1997) sample obtained data from male and female participants, but they only analyzed the female data for this particular study. They divided up their sample via a factor analysis into one of three groups: a control group (did not report experiencing any ORI or stalking behaviors), harassed group (mostly calls, following, leaving messages, letters—surveillance items), and a stalked group (break-ins, threats, attempted & completed harm, damage). Coleman found that stalking victims were more likely to have been the victims of verbal and physical abuse in the relationship with the stalker prior to the end of the formal relationship and prior to the stalking. Some have also suggested that stalking may be a part of the "cycle of violence" that characterizes domestic abuse (Beck et al., 1992; Burgess et al., 1997; Coleman, 1997; Kurt, 1995; Walker & Meloy, 1998).

More Fear and Severe Consequences for Women Than Men

The same kind of stalking behavior from a man to a woman elicits more fear and concern than that behavior does when engaged in by women toward men. Men are more dangerous to women than women are to men (Schwartz-Watts & Morgan, 1998). Hall (1998) found that 83% of the stalking victims in her study reported that their personality had changed as a result of the stalking: they considered themselves as less outgoing, more frightened, more paranoid, and/or more aggressive. Jason, Reichler, Easton, Neal and Wilson (1984) found female victims of stalking suffered from anorexia, depression, loss of trust, and anxiety. They also found that the more assertive women's attempts to end a relationship, the more months they were subjected to harassment. Also, the more assertive the steps taken to end the harassment, the more times per week women were subjected to harassment and the more threatening and disrupting the effects. This sample appeared to have fairly severe and longstanding stalking: the majority of the women perceived the harassment as threatening and disturbing and over half have reported psychological or physical problems. About half of the women were visited at work or home and about one-fourth were threatened, followed, and sent things. On average, harassment lasted for about a year and episodes occurred almost daily.

Pathe and Mullen (1996) found consequences of stalking victimization to include heightened anxiety, panic attacks, and an exaggerated startle response. One woman developed severe bruxism because she ground her teeth at night. They also found evidence of chronic sleep disturbance, appetite disturbance, weight fluctuations, persistent nausea, increased alcohol and/or cigarette consumption, excessive tiredness or weakness, increased frequency and severity of headaches. Most victims reported PTSD symptoms, 37% meeting all of the criteria. Of those meeting all of the criteria, the majority were female.

THE GENDERED NATURE OF STALKING

We argue that stalking is a gendered phenomenon. By gendered we mean that the meaning, motives, behavioral manifestations and consequences of stalking, as well as its developmental precursors, are different for women and men.

The earliest historical accounts of stalking and obsessive love invoked gendered constructs. Although both women and men could be afflicted, the manifestation of the obsession supposedly was different for each (Rather, 1965). For example, gendered language is apparent in Bartholomy Pardoux's (1545-1611) (from Rather) discussion of the pathology of love in which he distinguished uterine furor (nymphomania) from insane love (*amor insanus*). Stalking was identified explicitly as a female behavior in the early part of the 20th century. De Clerambault (cited in Lloyd-Goldstein, 1998) and Kraepelin (1921) characterized erotomania as an affliction of lovesick women "of a certain age" who were delusional in their belief that older, high status men (sometimes public figures) were in love with them. More recently, stalking was reconceptualized as a predominantly male behavior, when women gained the power to leave relationships.

Research on partner violence suggests that even when reported frequencies of violence are similar for men and women, there are very different psychological and social profiles. The levels of violence and the consequences of those violent acts differ greatly according to gender (Archer, 2000; White, Smith, Koss, & Figueredo, 2000). It is important to distinguish the number of violent acts from the severity of those acts.

The gendering of violence begins early in life and continues across the lifespan (White, Donat, & Bondurant, in press). The perception and evaluation of violence is an essential element. Men see anger expression as a means of reasserting control over a situation, whereas women see anger expression as a loss of control; men perceive women's aggression as expressive and women judge men's aggression to be instrumental. Apparently, women and men share the belief that his aggression is a means of control and hers is a sign of loss of control (Campbell, Muncer, Guy, & Banim, 1996). A man who hits is risking serious harm to his partner; he is typically stronger and more likely to have experience with weapons. Women who hit do not expect to really harm or injure their partner, but rather want to let them know how upset they are about something. There is a good reason for this: men who either lose control or who deliberately use violence are typically more dangerous than women (Magdol, et al., 1997). Thus, there is an important gender story, but it does not have to do with frequencies of violence or stalking, but with how any specific behavior is seen or evaluated and with the real consequences of violent behavior for damage to physical and mental health.

Therefore, the goal of the present analysis is to tell part of this story by examining male stalking in the context of ongoing and recently terminated relationships. The remainder of this paper evaluates theory and data on stalking as part of a larger picture of male violence against women. Specifically, we examine the degree to which stalking fits within an integrative contextual developmental model created by White and Kowalski (1998) to evaluate various forms of male violence against women. This model suggests that "an individual's behavior can be best understood by considering the impact of historical, sociocultural, and social factors across time on cognitive and motivational processes that result in aggression and violence against women" (p. 204). In designing the model, White and Kowalski were guided by Koss and associates' (1994) working definition of male violence against women:

Male violence toward women encompasses physical, visual, verbal, or sexual acts that are experienced by a woman or girl as a threat, invasion, or assault and that have the effect of hurting her or degrading her and/or taking away her ability to control contact (intimate or otherwise) with another individual. (p. xvi)

An Integrative Contextual Developmental Model

The integrative contextual developmental model integrates a wide range of factors across various forms of violence against women.² The model provides a meta-theoretical framework within which to think about the commonalities among various forms of violence against women. The model is intended to guide researchers in the generation of substantive hypotheses derived from various theoretical perspectives. The model assumes an embedded or hierarchical perspective. Five levels of interacting factors are proposed: Sociocultural (including historical and cultural values), interpersonal (social networks), dyadic (the relationship between the perpetrator and his victim), situational, and intrapersonal. This perspective examines individual behavior in context. A core assumption is that patriarchy operating at the historical/sociocultural level affects the power dynamics of all social networks. These power dynamics become enacted at the dyadic level and affect personality and behaviors. Historical and sociocultural factors create an environment in which the developing child learns rules and expectations, first in the family network, and later in peer, intimate, and work relationships. Early experiences define the context for later experiences (Huesmann & Eron, 1995; Olweus, 1993; White & Bondurant, 1995).

Using this model as a framework, White and Kowalski (1998) identified key factors that distinguish various types of violence against women: the nature of the relationship, the ages of the perpetrator and victim, and the form the violence takes. For example, forcible sexual intercourse between a father and daughter is labeled incest, whereas forced sexual intercourse between a non-related man and woman is labeled rape. Similarly, beating up one's wife is called spouse abuse, whereas beating up one's dating partner is called dating violence. In a work relationship, coerced sexual intercourse in exchange for job security is called sexual harassment, but in a dating relationship it is called acquaintance rape. In all cases the violence varies on a severity continuum and may be psychological, verbal, or physical and may be episodic or continuous. From this perspective, stalking is a form of violence against women that can occur in a variety of relationships. For the purposes of the present analysis, factors associated with stalking have been catalogued under one of the five levels identified by the model. These levels are presented in Table 1, along with a representative sample of studies examining variables at each level.

Sociocultural Level

The sociocultural level of analysis examines historical, cultural, social, community, and neighborhood influences on behavior. Factors examined include sexual inequalities, gender role prescriptions (including dating and sexual scripts), and cultural norms and myths about women, men, children, family, sex and violence, as well as scripts for enacting relationships. Expectations about the appropriate roles for men and women are communicated through various institutionalized practices of a society, including those of the legal system, the church, schools, media, politics, and the military. All set the stage for the evolution of cultural myths that perpetuate male violence against women. Cultural norms governing aggression as a tool of the powerful to subdue the weak interact with gender inequalities to create a context conducive to violence against women. A common theme involves male dominance and female submissiveness.

Media Portrayals

Although empirical investigations have not focused explicitly on sociocultural influences as they relate to stalking, cultural images of stalking have existed since at least the 16th century, as we noted earlier. Images of stalking can be seen as well in contemporary media.

TABLE 1. Variables Associated With Stalking at Each Level of Analysis

Sociocultural	Social Networks	Dyadic	Situational	Perpetrator Characteristics
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media influences • Dating scripts • Gender role expectations (no empirical studies) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Violent family background (Hall, 1998) • Unsuccessful relationship history (Meloy & Gothard, 1995) • Some type of loss in the previous 7 months (Kienlen et al., 1997) • Attachment (Dutton et al., 1994) • Lifestyle (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intimate relationships (Cupach & Spitzberg, 1998; Hall, 1998) • Rejection by desired love object (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998) • Relationship characteristics: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -type of love experienced -degree of dependence -relationship satisfaction -sexual satisfaction -history of abuse (Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of alcohol and/or drugs just prior to the offense (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999) • If under the influence, violence is more likely to occur (Kienlen et al., 1997) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mostly male (national sample—Tjaden, Thoennes, & Allison, 2000; college sample—Fremouw et al., 1997; no sex differences in college samples—Spitzberg et al., 1998) • Average age is 35–40, but can range from 20–66 years of age (Harmon et al., 1995) • Lives alone (Burgess et al., 1997) • Under or unemployed (Kienlen et al., 1997) • Above average IQ (Meloy & Gothard, 1995) • Axis I and Axis II diagnoses (Meloy & Gothard, 1995) • Most are not erotomaniacs (Meloy, 1996) • Reported motivations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> hostility, anger (Meloy, 1996) jealousy, sensitivity to rejection (Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2000) • Prior criminal histories (Kienlen et al., 1997) • History of alcohol abuse (Kienlen et al., 1997) • More accepting of rape myths (Sinclair & Frieze, 2000) • Impaired self-esteem (Emerson et al., 1998)

Media, in the form of movies, songs, and books, are powerful purveyors of gender roles and attitudes that shape cultural myths about obsessive love. Outright stalking and more subtle behaviors and attitudes that encourage stalking are commonly portrayed in popular movies and songs. These forms of entertainment often express the sentiment that persistence in the face of rejection is admirable, love conquers all, and that it is possible to make someone fall in love with you if you try hard enough.

Movies such as *The Piano*, *Only You*, and *Addicted to Love* utilize themes of persistence and harassment as romantic strategies to make someone fall in love. In the movie *Only You*, both the romantic leads engage in stalking behaviors. The female lead character follows a man across several continents because she is convinced that they are meant to be together. The male lead character falls in love with her while she is chasing this elusive man. Continually rejected by his

love interest, the hero follows her and eventually his persistence pays off and they fall in love. Addicted to Love shows the lengths that people will go to to win back their former partners. The two lead characters cause mayhem, chaos, and destruction in the lives of their love interests in their attempts to reunite with their boyfriend and girlfriend, all in the name of love. Some of these tactics begin to work on one partner, and the movie is labeled a "romantic comedy." Other popular movies show stalking in a negative light: Sleeping With the Enemy combines both stalking and domestic violence. After years of abuse, a woman leaves her husband, only to be pursued and threatened by him.

The song, "Every Breath You Take" by The Police (1983) is the quintessential example of stalking: "Every breath you take/Every move you make/Every bond you break/Every step you take/I'll be watching you." Sarah McLachlin's (1993) song, "Possession" is unique for the fact that she used as lyrics segments from letters sent to her by a stalker: "The night is my companion and /Solitude my guide/Would I spend forever here/And not be satisfied?/And I would be the one to hold you down/Kiss you so hard/I'll take your breath away and/After I'd wipe away the tears/Just close your eyes dear." The lyrics represent the stalker's rape fantasy of "holding her down," after which he would "wipe away her tears" and she would begin to love him. The stalker in fact sued her for the use of his letters before committing suicide (Silberger, 1998).

Social Network Level

Even though members of a given culture are typically exposed to similar sociocultural pressures to behave in accordance with their assigned gender roles (i.e., male aggressiveness, female submissiveness), not all men commit violent acts against women. Embedded within one's culture are other influences that may either increase the likelihood of or mitigate against stalking. The social network level of analysis focuses on one's history of personal experiences within various social institutions (family, peers, school, church, and work settings). The gendered norms and expectations that contribute to male violence against women are transmitted through these institutions. For example, family and friends can affect the likelihood that a crime victim will actually see themselves as a victim (Bourque, 1989). Similarly, witnessing and experiencing violence in the family-of-origin alters the likelihood of later involvement in violent episodes. Men who either witnessed or experienced violence as a child show a higher likelihood of being sexually aggressive than men who were not exposed to violence (Koss & Dinero, 1989), and of perpetrating courtship or domestic violence (Kalmuss, 1984; Straus et al., 1980). The model we present suggests that stalkers may learn interactional styles from various social networks.

Childhood relationships with care-givers shape the way future relationships are viewed (Bartholomew, 1990; Bowlby, 1973; Cashdan, 1988; Meloy, 1992, 1996). For example, insecure attachment relationships in childhood are related to later dysfunctional relationship styles for stalkers (Dutton, Saunders, Starzomiski, & Bartholomew, 1994). Although not empirically tested, Kienlen and colleagues (1997) have suggested that stalkers' attachment patterns may be an extreme version of the preoccupied category. Consistent with this preoccupied pattern, Kienlen (1998) suggested that when an intimate bond is threatened, a potential stalker may escalate attention-seeking behaviors, much as a neglected child might, to reestablish the bond. Kienlen and associates (1997) found that 63% of the stalkers that they interviewed had experienced disrupted relationships with their primary care giver during childhood. For some of the stalkers, this disruption consisted of divorce, death, or some type of emotional, physical, or

sexual abuse. Hall (1998) found that 31% of stalkers had a violent family background as opposed to only 13% of nonstalkers. Kienlen and coworkers (1997) also reported that over half of the stalkers in their sample came from an abusive household. Over half of these abused men went on to become abusers as well as stalkers.

Although stalking occurs in the context of intimate relationships, stalkers do not appear to have successful relationships (Harmon et al., 1995; Kienlan et al. 1997; Meloy & Gothard, 1995; Zona, Sharma, & Lane, 1993). Many (80%) experienced some type of relational disruption (e.g., relationship breakup, unemployment, custody loss, or death) in the 7 months preceding the initiation of the stalking behavior (Kienlen et al., 1997). They also tend to live alone (Burgess et al., 1997). The majority of stalkers in clinical samples have been found to be either never married, divorced, or separated when the stalking began, and they tended not to have children (Kienlen et al., 1997).

As with the family social unit, other networks, such as peers, may promote a system of values that reflect sociocultural understandings of gender inequality. Within these networks, adversarial sexual relationships and the acceptance of interpersonal violence may be encouraged and rewarded. Although the role of the peer group has been implicated in sexual assault (Ageton, 1983), virtually nothing is known about the peer relationships of stalkers. Sev'er's (1997) adaptation of social learning theory reflects the social network level, when he talks about the influence of family and peers. Sev' er has suggested that at least the milder forms of stalking behaviors are actually taught and reinforced by the family, peers and the media. That is, efforts to reestablish a relationship are seen as acceptable, and individuals are encouraged to pursue the target of their affection in spite of rejection.

Dyadic Level

Whereas social networks focus attention on a stalker's history of interpersonal relationships, particularly within the family and peer groups, the dyadic level focuses on the nature of one specific relationship, the one between the perpetrator and victim. This approach recognizes that personal characteristics of the stalker or the victim are not enough to account for stalking. "It is partly in the relationship that the dynamics of unwanted intrusion are found, as much as in the recesses of individual psychopathology" (Cupach & Spitzberg, 1998, p. 235). Dyadic, or interpersonal, theories of stalking focus on relationship dynamics (Cupach & Spitzberg, 1998).

Stalking most frequently occurs within the context of an interpersonal relationship, typically an interpersonal relationship that has ended recently. The few empirical studies conducted on stalking all agree that stalking is most common, and most dangerous, when the perpetrator and the victim are or have been in an intimate relationship with one another (Hall, 1998; Kienlen et al. 1997; Pathe & Mullen, 1996; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). The most prevalent time for stalking to begin is after the termination of the relationship (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998) when the stalker is rejected by his desired love object. Bachman and Saltzman (1995) found that women separated from their husbands were three times more likely to be victimized by spouses than divorced women and 25 times more likely to be victimized by spouses than married women.

Some researchers have suggested that stalking represents the extreme end of a continuum of behaviors at the benign end of which are people's everyday feelings of hurt and anger at being

rejected by a sought after partner. One person's attempt to establish or maintain a relationship with another individual always involves the possibility that relational overtures will be met with rejection (Baumeister & Wotman, 1992; Baumeister, Wotman, & Stillwell, 1993; Bratslaysky, Baumeister, & Sommer, 1998). The feelings and behaviors of the initiator and of the target are interdependent. For example, in response to the would-be-suitor's romantic overtures, the target can respond either positively by accepting the overtures or negatively by turning the suitor down. If the latter choice is made, the wouldbe-suitor can choose to leave well enough alone or he may choose to continue his pursuit of the target in hopes that she will eventually change her mind (Baumeister et al., 1993; Bratslaysky et al., 1998). According to Emerson, Ferris, and Gardner (1998), "the dynamic characteristic of most cases of what ultimately come to be recognized as stalking involve efforts to establish (or reestablish) a relationship in the face of the other's resistance" (p. 289). Davis, Ace, and Andra (2000) also support this conclusion.

Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Palarega, Cohen, and Rohling (2000) report that the degree of dependence, history of abuse, type of love experiences, and degree of relationship and sexual satisfaction are all related to stalking. However, nothing is known about other dyadic features, either descriptive, such as social class differences, or interactive, such as communication patterns or conflict resolution strategies.

Situational Level

This level of analysis focuses on situational variables that increase or decrease the likelihood of interpersonal violence. Mustaine and Tewksbury (1999) have used the principles of routine activities theory to account for stalking. They argue that women's social interactions and substance use increase exposure to potential stalkers.

Although a number of situational variables influencing interpersonal violence have been examined, including time of day, location, and the presence of social inhibitors or disinhibitors, including alcohol and drugs (White & Koss, 1991), very little is known about the influence of situational factors on stalking behavior specifically. However, it is reasonable to assume that a stalker's behavior is influenced by the time of day and the location in which the behaviors might be perpetrated. The only research currently available at the situational level shows a positive relationship between stalking and the use of alcohol and drugs (Kienlen et al. 1997; Lasley, 1989; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999). Violence is also more likely to result when alcohol is involved (Kienlen et al. 1997; Logan, Leukefeld, & Walker, 2000).

Intrapersonal Level

The most developed theories of stalking occur at the intrapersonal level. For example, we found examples of sociobiological (Luke, 1998), psychodynamic (Meloy, 1998) and attachment (Kienlen, 1998) theories being applied to stalking. These theories focus on individual motives, characteristics or experiences. Whereas Luke (1998) draws parallels between men pursuing women and the hunting of animals, arguing that hunting is a basic instinct, Meloy (1998) argues that rage is the primary motive underlying stalking. A psychodynamic approach to stalking suggests that there is something inherent to the stalker (i.e., personality characteristics, attitudinal variables) that precipitates the behavior.

The focus at the intrapersonal level is on attitudinal, motivational, and characterological features of the individual. However, it is recognized that individual attributes typically emerge as the result of experiences in various social networks. Thus, there is a dynamic interplay between factors operating at these various levels. For example, attachment style reflects an intrapsychic characteristic that results from earlier interpersonal interactions. Similarly, the attitudinal underpinnings of male violence against women, in particular, the endorsement of traditional sex-role stereotypes and cultural myths about violence, often stem from being reared in households where violence was considered normative.

Little is known about stalkers' gender-related attitudes. Only recently have Frieze and colleagues (Sinclair & Frieze, 2000) begun to explore the relationship between stalking and gender-related attitudes. However, research has established connections between gender related attitudes and other forms of violence against women. A consistent pattern emerges from this work. Men who are violent toward intimate partners tend to be traditional in their gender role attitudes and have hostile attitudes towards women. They endorse conservative family values, believe in the subordination of women, and adhere to tenets of traditional sexual and dating scripts (White & Kowalski, 1998).

Motivations for stalking include feelings of hostility and anger toward their victim (Davis, Ace, & Andra, 2000; Meloy, 1996), as well as jealousy, sensitivity to rejection (Langhinrichsen-Rohling, et al., 2000), obsession, feelings of possession (Wright et al., 1996), and revenge (Emerson et al., 1998; Kurt, 1995; National Institute of Justice, 1996). A need for power and dominance may be aroused when one is threatened by a loss of control, such as by being rejected. The motives for stalking highlight two different perceptions that stalkers may have toward their victims (Cupach & Spitzberg, 1998). On one hand, some stalkers may view the victim favorably and are trying, albeit in a maladaptive way, to establish or reestablish a relationship with that individual. On the other hand, some stalkers view their victims negatively, believing that the victims have mistreated or unjustly rejected them. As his repeated attempts to facilitate this relationship are met with rejection, the stalker's feelings of affection may change to feelings of anger and hatred of the victim (Harmon, et al., 1995).

Certain personality and behavioral variables also predict violence against women. These include antisocial tendencies (Malamuth, 1986), nonconformity (Rapaport & Burkhart, 1984), impulsivity (Calhoun, 1990), low socialization and responsibility (Barnett & Hamberger, 1992; Rapaport & Burkhart, 1984), hypermasculinity, delinquent behavior, affective dysregulation (Hall & Hirschman, 1991; Murphy, Meyer, & O'Leary, 1991) and self-centeredness coupled with insensitivity to others (Dean & Malamuth, 1997). Whether these same characteristics describe stalkers remains to be determined empirically. However, given the co-occurrence of stalking with physical and sexual assault, a relationship is likely. Research on clinical populations of stalkers shows that many have been diagnosed with Axis I and Axis II disorders (Meloy & Gothard, 1995). Most clinically identified stalkers have some type of Axis I diagnosis, most commonly mood disorders, adjustment disorders, or substance abuse, as well as Axis II personality disorders, most frequently narcissism and borderline personality disorder (Meloy, 1997; Zona, Palarea, & Lane, 1998). In their sample of obsessional followers, Meloy and Gothard (1995) found that 60% of the sample had undergone either inpatient or outpatient treatment before the study. Eighty-five percent of the obsessional followers had some type of

Axis I disorder at the time of the clinical interview and 70% had a history of substance abuse or dependence and a mood disorder. Whether such personality disorders are generalizable to a general population of stalkers remains to be determined.

If the individual perceives that he has been rejected because his potential lover sees him as undesirable and unworthy, then the rejection strikes a blow to the man's identity and self-esteem (Baumeister, et al., 1993). To the degree that a person feels excluded by others with concomitant changes in self-esteem, he will experience shame, inadequacy, and awkwardness. To bolster their damaged self-esteem and to reestablish their inclusionary status, some individuals might persist in their efforts to win the hearts of the very individuals who have rejected them. The sociometer theory of self-esteem suggests that self-esteem is a subjective indicator of the degree to which one feels included (i.e., high self-esteem) or excluded (i.e., low self-esteem) by others (Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995).

Critique of Theories of Stalking

Our analysis of current theories of stalking in terms of the integrative developmental model suggests that they focus on variables that fall primarily at the intrapersonal and dyadic levels of analysis. Furthermore, these theories tend to rely on evidence based primarily on clinical samples of stalkers. To date there is little research at the sociocultural, social network, and situational levels. Furthermore, there have been few attempts to integrate across levels of analysis. Emerson, and associates' (1998) use of the sociometer theory of self-esteem is an example of a theory that integrates across the intrapersonal and the dyadic, in that certain characteristics of dyadic interaction interact with intrapersonal characteristics to increase the risk of stalking. The work of Baumeister and his colleagues also reflects this integrative perspective (Baumeister et al., 1993).

Although theories of stalking have provided information about the personality characteristics of stalkers and their relationships, these theories fall short on at least three dimensions (White & Kowalski, 1998):

First, gender is not a core construct, nor is the gendered nature of aggression and violence acknowledged. Aggression and violence cannot be fully understood without considering the central role gender plays in their social construction. In a male dominated society, men are expected to protect "their" women as a form of chivalry, but are also expected to be dominant and to control those women (Griffin, 1971). In a patriarchal system, women have been viewed as property of men. As with any other property, men have the right to do anything they want with women. This flip side of patriarchy/chivalry is the fact that, because women are considered property, men can shape them into whatever and however they want her to be. If a woman doesn't recognize her place, it is acceptable to forcibly show it to her through rape or other forms of abuse. The word rape itself comes from the Latin word *rapere* which means, "to seize property" (Blum, 1997). Therefore, under certain circumstances, it is acceptable to be violent towards women in order to "teach" their women a "lesson."

Second, although some theories recognize sociocultural influences, the research focus is at the level of the individual. For example, the individual's perspective, usually obtained via self-report, is used to obtain information about dyadic factors and sociocultural variables.

Third, little attention has been paid to the cooccurrence of stalking and other forms of violence, in spite of the fact that theories of stalking resemble those that have been proposed for other forms of violence against women.

All of these factors collectively point to the need for a multi-faceted theory. Hints that a multi-faceted theory of stalking is needed can be found in the literature. For example, Kurt (1995, p. 229) stated that "stalking . . . is a complex behavior with social and cultural underpinnings as well as psychological determinants." However, such a theory has yet to be applied to stalking. We suggest that the integrative contextual developmental model provides a step in the direction of examining stalking from a multi-faceted perspective.

CONCLUSIONS

A levels-of-analysis approach to male violence against women is the basis of the integrative contextual developmental model (White & Kowalski, 1998). The model acknowledges the gendered nature of social relationships, including family, work, and peer relationships. It also recognizes the interconnectedness of various forms of violence against women. Our analysis is clear that current theories of stalking are in their infancy stage and have yet to examine multiple sources of influence acting on the stalker. The integrative contextual developmental model encourages one to think about multiple sources of influence on stalking at various levels and cautions against focusing on only one level of analysis. Stalking is conceived of as a dynamic interpersonal behavior rooted in the framework of culture, the family, and other social contexts. Developmental factors alter attitudes, beliefs and personality of the potential stalker and his victim. Stalking occurs in a dyadic relationship with specific features that include not only the victim's characteristics but also interactional processes.

Various situational factors affect the likelihood of the behaviors actually being carried out. Because of the gendered nature of stalking it is imperative to understand the contribution of patriarchy and its resultant gender-related beliefs and motives in any analysis of violence against women.

The model is useful in providing conceptual and empirical guidance. The model provides a meta-theoretical framework for developing substantive hypotheses concerning the development of risk factors for stalking, its initiation, maintenance, and cessation. The model suggests that theories that account for the multiple levels of interacting factors will be most useful.

At the empirical level, the model suggests a host of variables at each level of analysis that should be investigated. The model also suggests testing for interactions between factors that at first glance might not be obvious. For example, how does media exposure interact with alcohol use to affect perceptions of rejection? Or, how does one's peer group attitudes toward male control in relationships affect acceptance of rejection?

An examination of Table 1 indicates that very little is known about the social networks of stalkers or about the situational context of the stalking episodes. The research has not examined what kinds of media messages or peer messages these men have received that might influence the initiation and persistence of stalking. What influence does their history of both familial and dating relationships have on their behavior? There are some data on dysfunctional attachment

styles among these men, yet we actually know very little about the nature of their relationships prior to the stalking incidents. We also know nothing about the immediate situational influences on a stalker's behavior. As with instances of sexual assault, are there certain seasons or times of day when stalking is more likely? We know that many stalkers have a history of substance abuse, but are they using alcohol or drugs at the time they engage in the stalking behavior? How does stalking as a form of violence against women relate to other forms, such as verbal, non-sexual physical and sexual assault, as well as harassment? What is the relationship between obsessional relational intrusions and stalking; does ORI precede stalking? Importantly, we know little about the attitudes and beliefs of men who stalk. Do they endorse adversarial sexual beliefs and are they high in the acceptance of interpersonal violence? How do perpetrators perceive the stalking incidences? Most of the literature that we have on stalking and on other forms of violence against women focuses on victim as opposed to perpetrator perceptions. For the purposes of intervention and prevention, are there certain strategies victims might use to deter or at least reduce the likelihood and/or severity of stalking?

To date most studies of stalking have focused on clinical samples and victim perceptions of the perpetrator. Although the victim's perceptions are invaluable, more research on perpetrators in nonclinical samples is needed. Stalking research is still in its infancy, with more questions raised than answers found at this time. We suggest that the integrative contextual developmental model will provide guidance in generating hypotheses for further research.

NOTES

1. Analyses were based on items indicative of ORI as well as stalking based on the definitions used in the present paper. Fear was not explicitly specified.
2. Although the focus of this paper is on male violence against women, we suggest that the model can be extended to account for female violence as well.

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