ABSTRACT

Title of thesis: THE EFFECTS OF GENDER INEQUALITY AND ROUTINE ACTIVITIES ON STALKING VICTIMIZATION

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Stalking has been a growing concern in criminology over the past few decades. This area needs more theoretical development. Two important theoretical perspectives are gender inequality and routine activities theory. So far, these perspectives have not been combined in research. This study seeks to improve research on stalking by integrating these two theories. The purpose of this study is to determine the relationship that economic ability and routine activities have on a woman's risk of being stalked, as well as whether economic ability and routine activities can predict whether a victim can successfully change their routine activities and prevent future stalking events. Although the primary focus of this study is female victims, a comparative analysis between male and female victims is also performed. The data used for this study are the 2006 National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) and its Supplemental Victimization Survey (SVS), which focuses on detailing aspects of respondents' stalking victimizations.

THE EFFECTS OF GENDER INEQUALITY AND ROUTINE ACTIVITIES ON STALKING VICTIMIZATION

by

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Stalking is a crime that has recently seen growing research interest by criminologists. Stalking has been defined as, “repeated harassing or threatening behavior by an individual, such as following a person, appearing at a person’s home or college, making harassing phone calls, leaving written messages or objects, or destroying a person’s property,” (Geistman, Smith, Lambert, & Cluse-Tolar, 2013, p. 51). Yet others have more general definitions of stalking behavior, such as Catalano (2012, p. 1), who defined stalking as, “a course of conduct directed at a specific person that would cause a reasonable person to feel fear.” Stalking behavior is typically described in research in two ways: behavior that induces fear in its targets, and contact with the target that is repeated at least twice over a given span of time. Additionally, the term “stalking victimization” refers to a person being the target of repeated contact and behaviors that causes them to feel threatened (Reyns, Henson, Fisher, Fox, & Nobles, 2016).

Although stalking is a relatively new research topic in criminological literature (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999), there are some characteristics that have been observed across many studies. For example, women are victims of stalking far more frequently than men. Bjerregaard (2000) found that 25% of women and 11% of men had been stalked at some point in their lives. The existing studies frequently have used student samples. Bjerregaard (2000) found that 6% of college students in the study experienced stalking. Other studies have found similar rates of stalking victimization among university students, with women being stalked at a rate of approximately twice that of men (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002; Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, & Roberts, 2010; Wood & Stichman, 2017). In 2006, the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) estimated that, nationally, about 3.1% of adult women and 1.6% of adult men were victims of stalking (Catalano, 2012). Some research suggests that the

prevalence of stalking victimization is higher for certain groups of people, such as women who attend college (Bjerregaard, 2000), and other studies estimate that stalking victimization may affect up to 13% of college women (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002).

Research into stalking victimization provides valuable information to criminologists, both because it is an indicator for other types of victimization, and because of the serious nature that some stalking cases can have (Menard & Cox, 2016). While stalking is not necessarily a violent crime, stalking victimization has been associated with other types of serious victimization, such as sexual victimization (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002). Some stalking victims may also perceive the stalking behavior to be serious, even without immediate physical harm, due to the threatening nature of this behavior. In fact, fear or feeling threatened can be such an important component of stalking behavior that the Bureau of Justice Statistics includes fear as one of the main differences between stalking and other types of behavior, such as harassment (Catalano, 2012).

In recent years, research has begun to look at more generalizable populations for stalking victimization (Catalano, 2012; Menard & Cox, 2016). As part of this research, certain predictors of stalking victimization have been tentatively identified. These factors include being employed, engaging in alcohol or drug use, going shopping frequently, and living alone (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002; Averdijk, 2011). Studies have also found most victims knew their stalkers (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002). The rate of stalking has been consistent, even in samples outside the United States (Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, & Roberts, 2010).

With more research being published over time, the primary theoretical perspective used to explain stalking behavior has been routine activities theory (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999;

Bjerregaard, 2000; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002; Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, & Roberts, 2010; Reyns, Henson, Fisher, Fox, & Nobles, 2016; Wood & Stichman, 2017). While routine activities theory provides some explanation of stalking victimization on its own, it is only a partial examination of the factors that may play into a person, particularly a woman, being stalked.

In the broader research literature on women's victimization in general, gender inequality frequently plays a theoretical role in many studies (Baron & Straus, 1987; Miller & Simpson, 1991; Brewer & Smith, 1995; Escholz & Vieraitis, 2004; Peterson & Bailey, 1992; Straus, 1994; Dugan, Nagin, & Rosenfeld, 1999; Whaley & Messner, 2002; Xie, Heimer, & Lauritsen, 2012). Likewise, gender inequality may play a role in women's stalking victimization. For example, a woman's economic ability, which serves as an indicator of gender inequality, may play a factor in a woman's agency, or ability to make changes to her life circumstances, if she is stalked.

The current body of literature identifies several predictors for stalking victimization and how victims might react to stalking incidents to stop repeat victimization (Bjerregaard, 2000; Averdijk, 2011). However, past research has failed to consider whether a woman's economic ability, combined with her routine activities, can predict victimization risk and ability to alter her activities, should she experience stalking victimization. Questions that have not yet been answered by the literature include whether women have different risks of stalking victimization based on their routine activities in conjunction with their economic ability, and whether a woman's economic ability will improve the likelihood of her making changes to her routine activities to stop stalking behaviors once she has been victimized. This study will attempt to address these unanswered questions by examining whether economic ability and routine activities used together are able to predict stalking victimization of women, as well as whether

measures of both can indicate whether a victim can successfully change her routine activities and prevent future stalking events. Additionally, male and female stalking victims will be examined for comparative purposes, although this comparison is not the primary focus of this study.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

Defining Stalking

Definitions of stalking among various studies remain fairly consistent. First, the offender initiated repeated, unwanted contacts with the victim, and second, these contacts made the victim fear for their safety or others' safety (Catalano, 2012; Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, & Roberts, 2010; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002; Reyns, Henson, Fisher, Fox, & Nobles, 2016). All studies were consistent with the serial nature of stalking behavior, although the length of time examined by studies varied from being stalked in the past six months (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002) to asking if the respondent had ever been stalked in their lifetime (Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, & Roberts, 2010).

However, the aspect of stalking that involves fear has been implemented in most studies (Bjerregaard, 2000; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002; Reyns, Henson, Fisher, Fox, & Nobles, 2016), but some did not include fear in the definitions of stalking (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999; Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, & Roberts, 2010; Wood & Stichman, 2017). These definitions typically focused on the stalker's repeated unwanted behaviors, which makes these definitions more similar to definitions of harassment in other studies (Catalano, 2012).

Although it is a small distinction in how studies define stalking, the inclusion of fear as an aspect of stalking victimization makes a difference in how victims' experiences are portrayed. Bjerregaard (2000) found that over half of female victims reported that they feared for their

physical safety, including fearing for their lives. On the other hand, including fear as a requirement for stalking has been shown to lower prevalence rates (Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, & Roberts, 2010). Fear might be excluded from a study's stalking definition if the authors are concerned about collecting a sample of stalking cases large enough for analysis.

Prevailing Theories

As noted above, routine activities theory and gender inequality (of which economic ability of women is a key indicator) are theoretical perspectives frequently used to describe female victimization. Routine activities theory considers victimization through the convergence, in space and time, of offenders and targets (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Examining routine activities of victims allows researchers to find commonalities among the lifestyle patterns of victims of certain crimes, such as stalking. Alternatively, perspectives that focus on a gendered difference in victimization argue that men maintain power in a male-dominated society in part through the victimization of women (Ellis & Beattie, 1983; Baron & Straus, 1987; Peterson & Bailey, 1992). Gender inequality may help to explain crime types where women are especially vulnerable to victimization, such as rape. However, gender inequality is a macro-level, societal imbalance of power between men and women. While gender inequality is the lens through which we view differences between men and women, it is difficult to measure, and no measure of societal gender inequality exists in the data for the current study. Therefore, this study will examine women’s status on the individual level with measures of a woman’s economic ability, including her employment and education statuses.

Some scholars (e.g., Xie, Heimer, & Lauritsen, 2012) have argued for the need to examine victimization as the combined effects of gender and routine activities, but the two perspectives are generally tested separately. On their own, these theories explain different

aspects of female victimization. While economic ability focuses on a woman's economic standing to influence victimization risk, routine activities theory emphasizes the physical aspect of daily routines that affect risk of victimization. By combining these two perspectives into one, we can create a more comprehensive theoretical framework which may better explain stalking victimization.

Women's Status and Gender Inequality

Economic ability is related to both women's status and gender inequality and is a relevant approach for stalking victimization. In order to understand the relationship between these topics, it is important to explain how stalking and gender are connected. There is evidence to suggest that stalking is a gendered crime, with women being more likely than men to be stalked (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002; Bjerregaard, 2000; Menard & Cox, 2016; Catalano, 2012). Bjerregaard's (2000) study found that 25% of college women and 11% of college men who participated in the study had been stalked at some point in their lives. The results for Fisher and colleagues' (2002) study was lower, with only 130.7 college women out of 1,000 female students reporting to be a victim of stalking (only female students were surveyed). On a national scale, the National Crime Victimization Survey's Supplemental Victimization Survey (SVS) found that of people surveyed aged 18 or older, 3.1% of women were victims of stalking, while only 1.6% of males experienced stalking victimizations (Catalano, 2012).

The relationship of the stalker and victim has also been recorded in the literature. According to SVS data, 26.3% of all stalking victims were stalked by intimate partners (including current and former partners), 8.9% by family, 48% by friends or acquaintances, and 16.2% by strangers. Other research agrees that victims are more likely to be stalked by current or former intimate partners than strangers. Bjerregaard (2000) found that only 10-20% of victims

were stalked by strangers, while 41.8% of female victims and 40.7% of male victims reported that they were stalked by either their ex-boyfriends/girlfriends or ex-spouses. Fisher, Cullen, and Turner's (2002) all-women survey indicated that 17.7% of stalking victims reported that their stalker was a stranger, compared to the 42.9% who claimed that their stalker was a boyfriend or ex-boyfriend. These results contrast somewhat with Björklund and colleagues' (2010) findings, which stated that 55% of victims reported their stalkers were acquaintances, much greater than the 18.5% who reported their stalkers were strangers and the 24.8% who were ex-partners. In summary, most research seems to suggest that intimate partners are more likely to stalk someone than are strangers. Although acquaintances appear to constitute a considerable number of stalkers, this category is used less often than the other two. Its high numbers may be due to the design of the survey, so that the acquaintance option functions as a catch-all for any responses that were not either intimate partners or strangers.

Some of the past literature on stalking has also attempted to explain differences between male and female stalking victims. While it appears that male and female victims do not differ significantly on demographic characteristics (Bjerregaard, 2000), men and women's experiences diverge when examining victimization characteristics and victims' responses to being stalked. For example, Reyns and colleagues (2016) examined and compared risk factors of stalking victimization between men and women. They found that attending work or school was associated with female victimization but not male victimization. Additionally, younger women were significantly more likely to be stalked. However, age was not a significant risk factor for men. Another notable finding was that women who moved to a new residence were more likely to be stalked, but men who moved did not have this risk (Reyns, Henson, Fisher, Fox, & Nobles, 2016).

Victim gender is also a significant factor for some types of stalker behavior. According to research published by Bjerregaard (2000), 69.2% of female victims reported that their stalkers told them that they wanted to meet in-person, compared to only 33.3% of male victims. Other research has found that while men were more likely to experience a stalker vandalizing their property, women were subject to other types of stalking victimization (Wood & Stichman, 2017). Women were significantly more likely to report stalking events that included being spied on; lurking outside their home, school, or workplace; receiving unsolicited phone calls or other unwanted communications; or having people be in places they should not be.

Men and women have also differed in how they respond to being stalked. Women are more likely than men to seek help as a result of being stalked, including contacting the police, obtaining a restraining order, or soliciting help from friends or family (Menard & Cox, 2016). In other research, women were also more likely than men to specifically ask their stalker to stop the stalking behavior, and they were more likely to have the stalkers stop at their request (Bjerregaard, 2000). However, women also reported that they were more affected by stalking incidents than men, as stalking victimization appeared to cause more fear in women (Bjerregaard, 2000).

The observation that stalking is a gendered crime highlights the need for gender-based or gender-sensitive risk assessment that considers gender inequality. Explanations for victimization of women as a result of gender inequality are derived from feminist theory. Early criminological theories of crime failed to include women in their theories, as either victims or offenders (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988). Women were not included in sample populations to create theories, as they were not considered to be capable of committing crime, and any woman who deviated from acceptable gender roles was considered morally corrupt or diseased (Simpson, 1989). These

views began to change after the women's rights movement of the 1960s. The following decades saw the development of the feminist school of criminology and the creation of theories that attempt to describe women's experiences with crime (Simpson, 1989). The main premise of feminist theory is that men with economic and political power use these to maintain gender-based power imbalances in a society and exercise control over women.

According to feminist theories, female victimization is a result of gender inequality, based in male domination of sociopolitical and economic activities and the acceptance of traditional gender-role norms, also called a patriarchal system (Peterson & Bailey, 1992; Baron & Straus, 1987; Ellis & Beattie, 1983). Patriarchy plays a crucial role in enabling violence against women. It is considered the main reason for male aggression and an important predictor for several forms of violence against women (Straus, 1994). Societies which follow a patriarchal structure, such as the United States, maintain this structure by socializing people into traditional gender roles and attitudes. Negative views toward women have been associated with agreement with traditional gender roles of men and women (Bookwala, Frieze, Smith, & Ryan, 1992). In addition, societies that more strongly agree with ideas of male dominance have increased rates of intimate partner violence (Yodanis, 2004). To summarize, society in the United States is based on a patriarchal structure with traditional gender roles. Past research has found that agreement with patriarchal views and traditional gender roles is associated with violent victimization of women. Because women are more likely to be victims of stalking, often perpetrated by partners or ex-partners, it is possible that gender inequality plays a role in stalking behavior.

When measuring gender inequality, studies have observed that signs of gender inequality can be observed on the micro, individual level, or the macro, societal level (Bookwala, Frieze, Smith, & Ryan, 1992; Fuwa, 2004; Yodanis, 2004). Country-level gender inequality, such as

differences in wages, career trajectories, and political power, might influence micro-level differences between the genders, such as the division of housework (Fuwa, 2004). For example, factors such as income, hours worked outside the home, and views on appropriate gender roles may have less of an effect on the division of housework between a husband and wife in a nation with higher country-wide gender inequality than a more egalitarian nation. While micro-level factors are important in determining gender inequality, the effect of these factors might be moderated by the progression of gender equality by the society in which the women live.

Violent female victimization can be explained by two main hypotheses within the gender inequality perspective: the ameliorative and backlash hypotheses. The ameliorative hypothesis claims that female victimization is a form of patriarchal maintenance. Increasing gender equality within a society will have an ameliorative effect, thereby lowering female victimization rates (Escholz & Vieraitis, 2004). Conversely, the backlash hypothesis is an alternative explanation for female victimization rates, arguing that men react to increased gender equality by increasing victimization of women (Dugan, Nagin, & Rosenfeld, 2003; Xie, Heimer, & Lauritsen, 2012). While the backlash hypothesis argues that improvements in gender inequality will cause an initial rise in violent victimization rates for women, scholars supporting this position claim that victimization rates will gradually decrease as men become more normalized to increased gender equality, ultimately lending support for the traditional feminist arguments (Escholz & Vieraitis, 2004).

Including women's status in this analysis expands our understanding of the factors that are related to the risk of being stalked. Women who have a lower status (such as having lessened economic ability) in their lives may be more likely to be stalked or less likely to change their circumstances to stop any stalking victimization they experience. There are many dimensions of

inequality that play into status, including economic, domestic, and political inequality, and it is important to understand these different dimensions regarding women's overall status.

Economic ability is a key factor in female victimization rates, particularly when considering low socioeconomic status (SES) populations (Bailey, 1999). Low SES would contribute to a woman's lack of economic ability, which would prevent her from changing her physical circumstances to either minimize risk of victimization or to change aspects of her life if she has been previously victimized. However, factors such as employment may improve a woman's economic ability, thus reducing her risk of being victimized and increasing the likelihood that she will make changes to prevent future victimization.

Another important socioeconomic dimension of women's status relates to education, as the educational level attained by an individual is frequently used to approximate equality (DeWees & Parker, 2003; Dugan, Nagin, & Rosenfeld, 2003; Escholz & Vieraitis, 2004; Gartner, Baker, & Pampel, 1990). In theory, higher education levels of women are often associated with improved women's status. Scholars argue that this relationship would result in lower victimization rates for societies that have greater numbers of women who are highly educated (and therefore likely occupy higher-status positions in society) (Gartner, Baker, & Pampel, 1990).

The empirical research has mixed results regarding the ameliorative and backlash hypotheses, especially when studies use different indicators, such as employment and education. Escholz and Vieraitis (2004) found limited support for both hypotheses. While education ameliorates rape rates, greater equality and income equality were associated with higher rape rates. Other research concurs—Vieraitis and Williams (2002) found that as women improve their economic equality, victimization risk increases, lending more support to the backlash hypothesis.

Based on this study, employment and income appear to be related to support a backlash effect. Education also may be a significant indicator of urban female victimization in some studies (DeWees & Parker, 2003), but results from other studies suggest that education is associated with lower rates of intimate partner violence (Dugan, Nagin, & Rosenfeld, 2003), homicide (Gartner, Baker, & Pampel, 1990), and rape (Escholz & Vieraitis, 2004).

Beyond economic ability, an additional factor contributing to improved women's status is domesticity. Decreased domesticity in a society might indicate improved equality for women (Dugan, Nagin, & Rosenfeld, 1999). When people wait until later in their lives to marry, they can be more selective about who they choose to marry, making them less likely to marry someone who may abuse or stalk them later. Likewise, higher divorce rates may signify that women in harmful relationships are able to end the marriage more easily because of more effective divorce policies and increased social acceptance of divorce.

A third aspect of women's status comes in the form of political representation. As more women vote and become elected into office, it becomes more likely that women's interests are represented in policies, which can have wide-reaching societal effects on women's status (Xie, Heimer, & Lauritsen, 2012). For example, policies have been put in place that create safer environments for women by promoting social changes with the goal of improving women's safety and increasing crime control.

In summary, women's victimization, including stalking, serves as a mechanism of social control in patriarchal societies, creating and maintaining gender inequality (Baron & Straus, 1987). Men assert power over women and maintain patriarchal systems through women's victimization. In order for women to remove this social control, they must obtain economic and political power. By gaining status in areas such as economic and political spheres, women can

assert power and control over their lives at an individual level and reduce the risk of victimization. However, improving gender equality requires societal-level change on gender roles. Without macro-level change, the effects of micro-level improvements in women's status will be lessened (Fuwa, 2004). Since this study cannot measure macro-level gender inequality, it will focus on a micro-level measure of economic ability. Improved economic ability in this study will serve as an indicator of a woman's status. In theory, improved economic ability represents women's liberation from societal patriarchal control over women's lives and the means to success and should serve to lower risk of stalking victimization.

Routine Activities Theory

To develop a more comprehensive theoretical framework, I will also consider routine activities theory, since this theory provides more information regarding the relationship between gender inequality and stalking victimization. Routine activities theory was proposed by Cohen and Felson (1979) as an attempt to explain why urban violent crime rates were increasing at a time when the conditions that should cause violent crime were not worsening. Cohen and Felson argued that since World War II, there has been a major shift of routine activities away from home-based activities to activities that occur outside of the home. This change in activities increases the likelihood that three elements will converge that result in crime: motivated offenders, suitable targets, and absence of capable guardians. The convergence in space and time of these elements will result in crime, while the lack of any one of these elements is sufficient to prevent a crime from occurring.

These three elements can also be applied to stalking. For example, proximity to motivated offenders simply requires initial contact with a potential stalker. This contact could be direct, such as the victim meeting the stalker in a social setting, or indirect, such as technological

contact. Fisher, Cullen, and Turner (2002) argue that close physical proximity is not necessarily a requirement for stalking to occur. Proximity to motivated offenders could mean that a stalker has access to the physical location of a victim, or they could access victims in other ways, such as the telephone or Internet. Past research has shown that people who have routines that increase proximity to possible offenders have a higher risk of victimization than those who do not (Miethe & Meier, 1994). This could be in part due to the principle of homogamy, the phenomenon that people who have similar characteristics to offenders are more likely to be around offenders and therefore be victimized more frequently (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999).

In order for motivated offenders to commit a crime, they must find a suitable target. For stalking, a crime type where far more women are victimized than men, women can be seen as more suitable targets because they are perceived to be more vulnerable than men. Another aspect that increases target suitability is the frequency with which an individual is present in the public domain. People who are employed, and therefore spend more time among other people, have a higher risk of stalking victimization than unemployed people, who might not spend as much of their day around other people (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999). Stalking victims are also more likely to be younger, between the ages of 18 to 29 (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Based on this, younger women are likely seen as a particularly vulnerable population for stalking victimization, helping to explain why college-age women appear to be at a higher risk for stalking victimization (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002; Bjerregaard, 2000; Wood & Stichman, 2017). In the majority of stalking incidents, the stalker and victim know each other, so victims in these cases are more accessible to the stalker than a stranger would be. This is especially true for intimate partners. Tjaden and Thoennes (1998) reported that 59% of female stalking victims surveyed were stalked

by some type of intimate partner, often after the relationship had ended (although some victims reported stalking victimization both before and after the relationship ended).

The final element of routine activities theory is capable guardianship. A guardian is typically a person or object whose purpose is to deter an offender from committing a crime, as well as decreasing opportunities for crimes to occur (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002). Capable guardians can include social guardianship (the presence of a person or people) and physical measures someone can take to prevent victimization, such as target hardening. Guardianship is the aspect of routine activities theory that has difficulty establishing temporal ordering in the empirical literature (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999), as it is difficult with cross-sectional studies to establish whether guardianship factors were introduced to a stalking victim's life before or after victimization. Living alone has been associated with increased risk of stalking victimization (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002). In the case of a stalking victim living alone, there is no other person present to provide social guardianship to the victim to deter the stalker, intervene, or witness the stalking behavior.

Empirically, studies have attempted to measure the three elements of routine activities to describe or predict victimization, but they mainly focus on influencing the suitability of a potential victim and the presence of capable guardians. For example, a factor that seems to influence stalking victimization is drinking and drug use (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999), or frequenting places that serve alcohol (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner 2002). Attending college is also frequently associated with higher risk of stalking victimization (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999; Bjerregaard, 2000; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002; Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, & Roberts, 2010; Reyns, Henson, & Fisher, 2016) as well as perceived vulnerability (such as lack of self-confidence) and year in school (for college students) (Wood & Stichman, 2017). These

factors can describe the suitability of a potential target. Living alone, living off-campus (for college students), and owning a security system can influence the presence of guardianship that a victim might have access to (Mustaine & Tewksbury 1999; Bjerregaard, 2000; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002). Other risk factors included being involved in a dating relationship, being previously sexually victimized, and employment, all of which can increase a potential stalking victim's exposure to motivated offenders (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999).

However, this line of research has been developed largely through the use of cross-sectional data (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002; Reyns, Henson, Fisher, Fox, & Nobles, 2016). Longitudinal research regarding routine activities of stalking victims has yet to be conducted. This would be beneficial to stalking research, because longitudinal research could address the temporal issues that many studies have when looking at routine activities that exist before victimization and changes to routine activities as a result of victimization (Reyns, Henson, Fisher, Fox, & Nobles, 2016).

One aspect of victimization that routine activities can explain well is how victims change their behavior as a result of victimization. There is strong support that people are likely to move as a result of being victimized, especially for violent victimization (Dugan, 1999; Xie & McDowall, 2008). There is also evidence that victimization can influence smaller behavior change, as well. Bjerregaard (2000) found that victims were more likely to change their phone numbers, change their jobs, or contact the police (for female victims) in an attempt to stop the victimization. Averdijk (2011) found that while victims changed their activities as a result of victimization, they did not change the activities that likely increased their risk of victimization, such as those involving work or school. Victims of violent crime were less likely to go shopping,

while victims with injuries spent fewer evenings away from home. Averdijk explains that these results might indicate the perceived seriousness of the victimization by the victim. Victims were less motivated to change major aspects of their lives (such as jobs or attending school) if they did not consider the victimization to be severe. Those who considered their victimization to be serious were more motivated to change aspects of their lives to prevent additional victimizations. While this finding is useful, there is no discussion on whether the characteristics of people (such as measures of gender inequality) might affect victims' abilities or desires to change. Are only women with low inequality measures able to change their routine activities, or does the seriousness of victimization motivate victims to change, regardless of inequality measures? Seeking the answers to such questions motivates our research.

Using Gender Inequality and Routine Activities Theory to Understand Future Behavior

When studying stalking victimization, gender inequality and women's status theories can help us to understand the power imbalances present in women's lives that may increase the risk of stalking victimization. While women's status is an important element of stalking victimization, it does not address other aspects of victimization, such as activity patterns or risk factors of victims, which can be explained by routine activities theory. Routine activities theory allows researchers to examine measurable, specific factors within people's daily lives that potentially increase the risk of stalking victimization. By combining these two perspectives, we can better explain why women are more likely to be stalking victims (women may have low economic ability, indicating lower status), as well as the activities that increase the risk of being stalked (increasing exposure to potential stalkers, increasing suitability of being victimized through stalking, and lacking proper guardianship to prevent stalking). Based on the theories presented and the empirical evidence, I expect lower economic ability to be positively associated

with stalking victimization, and routine activities that increase exposure to motivated offenders, increase suitability of a target, and decrease access to guardianship to also be associated with a higher risk of stalking victimization.

Furthermore, to better describe how people change their routine activities as a result of victimization, we need to understand the role that economic ability plays in people's capability to change. Theoretically, people who have been victimized want to change the behaviors that they think caused their victimizations in the past to prevent future victimization. This idea is sometimes referred to as a "once bitten twice shy" perspective (Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978; Averdijk, 2011). As Averdijk (2011) found, victims are likely to spend less time shopping, spend fewer evenings away, and install home security devices to prevent future victimization. Victims of violent crime or those with injuries were likely to take more drastic measures, but these measures depended on their life circumstances, such as employment status, attending college, marriage status, household size, and mobility. As a result, not all women are equally capable of changing their circumstances. Hypothetically, women with lower economic ability should be less able to change their routine activities, while women with higher economic ability should be more able to change their routines. We know that victimization has a limited effect on routine activities (Averdijk, 2011). Could economic ability help to explain and improve understanding of this limited change for some victims?

Chapter 3: Present Study

While routine activities theory and women's status are perspectives that can be used to describe stalking victimization, these theories have yet to be combined in a way that better explains stalking victimization. Economic ability and routine activities can both influence the

onset of stalking victimization. A person's routine activities can influence exposure to potential stalkers. Low measures of economic ability could make someone a more suitable victim or influence their access to guardians. If stalking victimization occurs, lower measures of economic ability may indicate a decreased ability to alter one's routine activities to prevent future victimization. Conversely, higher measures of economic ability might indicate more freedom in changing one's activities to avoid their stalker or stop the stalking behavior.

This study will attempt to answer three questions regarding stalking victimization. First, do measures of routine activities and economic ability predict stalking victimization? Second, if someone is a victim of stalking, does economic ability play a role in determining whether the victim changes their routine activities to prevent future stalking victimization? Finally, is there a relationship between the specific routine activities that victims change and whether the stalking behavior ended? I hypothesize that measures of low economic ability, as well as routine activities that increase exposure to motivated offenders, increase suitability of victims, and decrease guardianship will be positively associated with stalking victimization. Also, I hypothesize that lower measures of economic ability will be associated with a decreased ability to alter routine activities to prevent future stalking victimization.

Hypotheses

There are three parts of this analysis and three hypotheses for this paper. The first hypothesis addresses whether stalking victimization can be predicted by the aspects of economic ability (specifically the level of a woman's economic independence as evidenced by her employment status and education level) and one's routine activities.

Hypothesis 1: Indicators of lessened economic ability, such as unemployment or lower education levels, and routine activities that increase exposure to motivated offenders,

increase suitability of victims, and decrease guardianship will be associated with an increase in stalking victimization.

The second hypothesis for this study considers the influence that the victim's economic ability as demonstrated by her employment status or education level might have on a victim's ability to change their routine activities as a result of stalking victimization.

Hypothesis 2: Stalking victims who are employed or have higher levels of education will be more likely to change their routine activities.

The third hypothesis relates to whether changing one's routine activities with the intent to end the stalking behavior was indeed successful in preventing future stalking victimization.

Hypothesis 3: Stalking victims who changed their routine activities by reducing access to motivated offenders, reducing suitability of the target, and increasing presence of capable guardianship will be more likely to end the stalking victimization.

Chapter 4: Data and Methods.

Data

For this research, the Supplemental Victimization Survey (SVS) from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) will be used. The NCVS is a nationwide victimization survey that collects data on various types of violent and property crimes. It is administered by the Census Bureau for the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), and the generalizable population includes household residents of the United States who are older than age twelve (however, the SVS is administered only to people age 18 or older).[1] It includes data such as information about the respondent and the offender (age, sex, race, Hispanic origin, marital status, education level, and

[1] Each respondent was interviewed once, so there are no repeat interviews in the data.

income of the household), characteristics of the crime (time and place, weapons used, injuries), whether the crime was reported to the police, reasons why it was reported or not reported, and victim experiences with the criminal justice system. The 2006 NCVS has a sample size of 78,741 people. The 2006 SVS has a sample size of 65,242 individual-level reports (35,250 of which are from women) of stalking victimization and information related to the incidents.

The SVS begins by screening out cases that might exhibit behavior that is similar to stalking, such as spam calling, but does not satisfy the definition of repeated and fear-inducing behaviors. After screening for cases of spam calls, the SVS collects information on offender characteristics and relationship to the victim. The second part of the survey examines the onset, duration, and desistance of the stalking behavior. This includes information about the offender threatening or harming the victim. The last section asks about the victim's response to the victimizations, such as actions that a victim would take in response to being victimized. If the victim contacted the police, the survey also collected information on law enforcement response. Temporal order for this part of the analysis is established when the survey asks what actions respondents took "to protect themselves or to stop the behaviors from continuing" (see Appendix).

The SVS data are the only national data available to measure the onset and desistance of stalking behaviors, but the NCVS data also have several limitations. First, the number of stalking cases present in the sample is small. Of the 35,250 women who participated in the SVS, only 735 (2.1%) reported being stalked, indicative of stalking being a rare event. Second, key variables of routine activities that have been significant in other studies, such as drug and alcohol use or frequenting bars, are not available in this survey (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002). Also, variables for other types of gender inequality, other than economic

ability, are not available for this analysis, and the absence of theoretically relevant variables such as these may result in omitted variable bias in the models. In spite of these limitations, we argue that the data offer the opportunity for new perspectives on stalking victimizations that go beyond what previous analyses of stalking may reveal.

Measures

Research Question 1: Predicting Stalking Victimization

The dependent variable for this part of the analysis will be a dummy variable of whether the respondent was stalked within the past year (Table 1). Stalking victimization will be determined based on the following definition of stalking: "repeated contacts directed at a specific person that would cause a reasonable person to feel fear" (Catalano, 2012, p. 1). According to Catalano (2012), 2.2% of women age 18 or older were victims of stalking within the past 12 months in 2006, greater than the rate of 0.8% for men age 18 or older.

Independent variables for the first part of the analysis include economic ability measured by employment status and education level. Employment status is a dummy variable for whether or not a respondent is employed. Education level is a variable where numerical values represent approximate years spent in school, where a value of 0 means that the respondent had a kindergarten-level education or less, and a value of 23 represents that the respondent obtained a doctorate degree. Due to the limitation of questions asked in the survey, only economic measures of women's status could be utilized. However, there are likely other macro- and micro-level variables that may be relevant to stalking that were not included in this survey (we discuss this data limitation in more detail in the Discussion section).

Routine activity independent variables are separated into the three components of routine activities theory: motivated offender, suitable target, and lack of guardianship. Key variables that

measure exposure to motivated offenders are attending college and living in student housing. The measure for target suitability is a dichotomous variable representing that the respondent is a young adult (age 18-25). Guardianship will be measured by whether the respondent is living in a gated or walled community (Breetzke & Cohn, 2013), living in a building with restricted access, and the number of household members 12 years or older, who could potentially act as guardians if a respondent were to experience stalking victimization.

Control variables for the first part of the analysis include race (dummy variables for White, Black, Hispanic, and Other), age of respondent, household income (an interval variable ranging from 1 to 14), and marital status (dummy variables for married, divorced/separated, never married, and an "other" category for responses such as being widowed). Studies have found that non-Whites are more likely to be stalked than Whites are (Baum, Catalano, Rand, & Rose, 2009). Fisher and colleagues (2002) also found that younger people are more likely to report being the object of stalking behavior.

A correlation matrix for Part 1 (Table 4) suggest that the economic ability and routine activities variables are not correlated with each other. The low correlations between key variables suggests that multicollinearity will not be an issue for this part of the analysis.

Research Question 2: Changing Routine Activities

The dependent variable for the second part of the analysis is a dummy variable indicating whether a stalking victim changed their routine activities (Table 2). This variable will indicate whether or not a respondent reported changing any of the measured routine activities due to being the target of stalking behavior. The survey questions that detailed routine activity changes are included in the Appendix.

The independent variables for economic ability used in the first part of this study will also be used in this section to determine whether economic ability determines one's ability to change a stalking victim's routine activities. Higher individual economic ability might make it easier for a victim to alter her lifestyle or make significant changes to the household's routine activities.

The same routine activity independent variables will be included in this test, as well. Some routine activities that require more investment from a person (such as attending college) may make it more difficult for a victim to change her routine activities, and this possibility should be considered when examining whether someone ultimately changes her behavior.

In addition to the control variables used in the first part of this test, household size and the presence of children will also be control variables for this component of the analysis. Household size will indicate the number of people who live within the respondent's household, as reported to the NCVS. Presence of children will be a dummy variable. Both of these control variables were used in Xie and McDowall's study (2008) regarding effects of victimization on moving. For this study, victims may be less able to change their activities if they have household responsibilities that they must maintain, as indicated by a large household or having children in the household.

As with Part 1, the correlation matrix for Part 2 (Table 5) does not suggest correlation among the key variables. Multicollinearity should also not be an issue for Part 2 of this study.

Research Question 3: Stopping Stalking Victimization

The dependent variable for the final part of this study is whether the stalking behavior stopped (Table 3). This variable will be a dummy variable, with a value of 1 indicating that the respondent reported that the stalking behavior had ended.

The key routine activity independent variables for a respondent's changes in routine activities will be used to determine whether these changes ended the stalking victimization. Measures for limiting exposure to motivated offenders include taking time off from work or school, changing or quitting a job or school, changing their usual activities outside of work or school, and moving to a different residence. Variables related to suitable targets consist of obtaining a weapon and changing the locks or installing a security system in their residence. Last, guardianship variables include enlisting the help of friends and family, obtaining a restraining/protection/stay-away order, and calling the police.

The same control variables used for the second test will also be used for this test. Therefore, the control variables for this part of the analysis will be race, age, household income, marital status, household size, and the presence of children.

Unlike Parts 1 & 2, the correlation matrix for Part 3 (Table 6) suggests that the key variables in this part of the analysis might be moderately correlated with each other. While this might suggest that multicollinearity could be an issue with this part of the analysis, it seems more likely that the higher correlations are an indication that respondents who were stalked reported making more than one of the changes listed in the survey.

Analytical Strategy

Logistic regression models will be used to analyze the three research questions. For the first research question regarding risk of stalking victimization, the sample will consist of female respondents who completed the SVS (n = 26,817). For the second and third research questions, the sample size will include only respondents who experienced stalking victimization (n = 623). Because the NCVS is weighted survey data, the secucode, pseudostratum code, and person-level

weight will be applied to prevent the clustering and stratification of the data from affecting the outcomes.

Chapter 5: Results

In this chapter, I first present the results of hypothesis testing in the female sample. I then show how the analysis was expanded to the male sample for comparison purposes.

Stalking Victimization of Female Victims

The results of the three logistic regressions are presented in Tables 7, 8, and 9. For the first test, one of the economic ability variables, employment, was statistically significant (β = 0.632, sd = 0.146), and education was marginally significant (β = 0.033, sd = 0.018). However, this relationship was in the opposite direction than was hypothesized. Being employed or more educated increased the risk of women being stalked. One of the routine activity variables, the number of people 12 years or older in the household (β = -0.084, sd = 0.065), was marginally significant and reduced a respondent's risk of being stalked. The control variables that were significant included age (β = -0.023, sd = 0.004) and household income (β = -0.068, sd = 0.012), and being married (β = -1.08, sd = 0.598) was marginally significant. All of these control variables decreased the probability of being stalked for women.

Women who were employed were more likely to be stalked, counter to the hypothesized relationship. It appears that there may be a backlash effect instead of an ameliorative relationship between economic ability and stalking victimization. Routine activities can also explain why employment might increase risk of stalking victimization. Consistent with past research (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999), employment increased the risk of being stalked for women. Having a job may expose women to more people on a regular basis, increasing the chance that

she comes in contact with motivated offenders. Although employment was considered an aspect of economic ability for this analysis, the routine activities risk that employment presents may be greater than the benefit that employment provides when considering risk of stalking victimization.

The results for the second hypothesis test suggest that employment ($\beta = 0.822$, sd = 0.357) was a significant variable for stalking victims who changed their routine activities. Two control variables were also statistically significant—age ($\beta = -0.018$, sd = 0.009) and household size ($\beta = 0.4$, sd = 0.141). Based on these results, it suggests that being employed is an important factor for women regarding deciding to make changes to their routine activities as a result of being stalked. Employment is possibly significant because it allows a stalking victim more financial freedom to make larger changes to her life.

For the third hypothesis test, many of the routine activity variables in the model were weakly or moderately correlated with each other, as shown in the correlation matrix in Table 6. This shows that respondents reported taking multiple actions in the survey. After reviewing the model for possible multicollinearity, the model did not appear to suffer from serious multicollinearity problems, so the model was not changed. The results showed that only changing the locks or installing a security system ($\beta = -0.452$, sd = 0.225) was statistically significant, but it decreased the likelihood that stalking behavior stopped. The age control variable was also significant ($\beta = -0.0182$, sd = 0.006).

Although it was hypothesized that changing the locks or adding a security system to a household would increase the likelihood that stalking victimization would stop, the results in Part 3 suggest that these actions reduce, rather than increase, the probability that a stalker will stop their behavior. A possible explanation for this result might be that new locks or security systems

could be a result of omitted variable bias. If a victim's fear intensified as a stalker escalated their contacts with the victim and the victim consequently changed their locks or added a security system, the victim's decision to change the locks would be associated with increasingly aggressive behavior from stalkers. Another explanation could be that victims changing the locks could anger stalkers, which then leads to more serious or aggravated contacts.

In summary, the first hypothesis was largely unsupported given that no theoretically relevant variables were significant in the hypothesized directions. The second hypothesis was partially supported because women who were employed, a measure of improved economic ability, were more likely to change their routine activities. However, the third hypothesis was not supported, as no key independent variables significantly increased the likelihood that the stalking would end.

There were some characteristics of victims in the survey that should be expanded on, even though they were not theoretically relevant to this analysis. Eighteen- to twenty-three-year-olds was the age group most likely to experience stalking victimization, as shown in Figure 1. In general, more people in their late teens or early twenties reported being the target of a stalker than in other age groups. The rate at which women reported stalking victimization decreased as age increased. While the distribution appears to be bimodal, it is difficult to tell whether stalking victimization does indeed trail off in the late twenties and increase somewhat again in the early thirties, or if the actual rate of stalking victimization is greatest for young adult women and consistently decreases as age increases.

Another characteristic of stalking cases is the frequency with which stalkers contacted their victims (Figure 3). When asked about how often unwanted contacts occurred, about 26% of women who were stalked said that there was no pattern, or that contact was sporadic. However,

13% of respondents reported that contact occurred once or twice per year, 15% reported once or twice per month, 21% reported once or twice per week, and 16% reported that they were contacted almost every day. Only about 6% reported contacts that occurred at least once per day.

The duration of the stalking cases also showed a pattern. As seen in Figure 4, more than half of the stalking cases examined lasted less than one year, with 42% lasting 6 months or less and 14% lasting between 7 and 11 months. This suggests that most stalking cases will be relatively short-term in nature. However, 13% of stalking cases lasted for one year, and the same number of respondents reported that the stalking had occurred for the past 5 years or more. While most stalking cases will not last more than a year, it is important to recognize that a considerable portion of stalking cases will last much longer. These cases might have other characteristics that further differentiate them from the shorter-term stalking cases, and further research into stalking characteristics could distinguish between short- and long-term stalking.

The race of stalking victims was examined (Figure 5) and indicates that White non-Hispanic women make up 76% of the sample of stalked women. Compared to the NCVS sample of White non-Hispanic women (73%), this suggests that White non-Hispanic women who are stalked make up approximately the same proportion of stalked women as White non-Hispanic women are in the larger NCVS sample. Women who reported that they were 2 or more races were disproportionately likely to be stalked, comprising 3.3% of the sample of stalked women and less than one percent of the overall NCVS sample. However, Asian and Pacific Islander women appeared to be less likely to be stalked, making up less than one percent of the sample of stalked women and 4.8% of the NCVS sample. The rates at which Black women were stalked are similar when examining the overall NCVS sample and the sample of stalked women used in the analysis (10.4% and 9.8%, respectively). The proportion of American Indian/Alaska Native

women in the sample of stalked women was slightly higher than in the NCVS sample, at 0.95% and 0.63%, respectively. Although there is evidence to suggest that American Indian/Alaska Native women are more likely to be stalked (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002), the small number of women who reported being stalked in this sample (n=7) makes it difficult to draw conclusions regarding the rate of stalking victimization for American Indian/Alaska Native women.

Another characteristic of stalking victims that was examined was marital status, as shown in Figure 6. Compared to 18% in the NCVS sample, women who had never been married were disproportionately more likely to be stalked, comprising 35% of the sample of stalked women. Women who were divorced were among the most disproportionately represented groups, with 22% of women who were stalked also reporting they were divorced (divorced women were only 12% of the NCVS sample). Consistent with the results of this study's analysis, married women were a smaller proportion of stalked women than they were for the overall NCVS (33% and 56%, respectively).

Last, the distribution of household income of stalking victims will be discussed. The income distribution, shown in Figure 7, appears to be a bimodal distribution skewed to the right. However, due to the income categories used by the NCVS, not all of the categories are the same size, resulting in erroneous conclusions about the income distribution. Respondents who earned less than $25,000 per year comprised 40% of stalking victims, while those who earned between $25,000-$50,000 were 28% of the sample. Victims who earned $50,000-$75,000 and greater than $75,000 were only 16.5% and 15.7% of the sample, respectively.

Comparison of Male and Female Stalking Victimization

Male stalking victims were also examined for comparative purposes with female stalking victims (Tables 1, 2, & 3). Factors that were associated with an increased risk of being stalked

for men were education and having children in the household. A decrease in risk of being stalked was associated with age and household income, and being married was marginally significant. For the second analysis, the only significant variable that was associated with a male respondent changing their routine activities was education. Finally, there were no statistically significant variables associated with ending the stalking behavior, although household size was marginally significant and associated with a decreased likelihood that a male respondent changing their routine activities would stop the stalking behavior.

Overall, women were more likely to be stalked than were men, with 735 women and 228 men reporting stalking victimization, out of a total of 35,250 women and 29,992 men surveyed. Therefore, 2.09 percent of the women in this sample were victims of stalking, while only 0.76 percent of men experienced stalking victimization, which are consistent with estimates from prior studies (Bjerregaard, 2000; Catalano, 2012; Reyns, Henson, Fisher, Fox, & Nobles, 2016).

Male employment did not seem to make a difference in any stage of the analysis, compared to female employment, which was associated with an increased risk of stalking victimization in Part 1. Education was significant in predicting stalking victimization for both men and women in Part 1. However, in Part 2, education was associated with a decrease in the probability for men to change their routine activities. This differs from the Part 2 results for women, because education was not significantly associated with a change in routine activities, while employment increased the probability that a woman would change her routine activities if she was stalked.

Another difference in risk factors between men and women is that having children was associated with an increased risk of being stalked for men but not for women. Having children might increase exposure to motivated offenders. Doing activities with children, such as attending

school functions and play dates with children's friends may expose parents to more potential stalkers than if they did not have children.

However, education, household income, and age were significant for both men and women. Higher levels of education were typically associated with increased risk of being stalked for men and women and a decreased likelihood for men to change their routine activities if they were stalked. This relationship with education might be explained because more educated people probably spend more time in or around universities, where stalking is more likely to occur (Bjerregaard, 2000; Wood & Stichman, 2017). Higher household income might mean improved economic ability for both men and women to get out of situations that may include being stalked. Age is likely significant for men and women because young people are more likely to be stalked, partly due to the university environment that many people experience as young adults (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002). Age also significantly decreased the likelihood of stopping stalking behavior for both men and women in Part 3. It is possible that as people age, it becomes more difficult to change aspects of their lives and routine activities enough to stop stalking victimization once it has started. Also, marriage was significant for women and marginally significant for men in reducing the likelihood that a respondent would be stalked. Marriage may act as a protective factor against stalking victimization because men and women who are married may be seen as unavailable to potential stalkers. Also, spouses might act as guardians for respondents, and their presence in a household might discourage potential stalkers from targeting married respondents.

The age distribution for men (Figure 2) also suggests some differences between male and female stalking victims. Compared to the age distribution of female victims (Figure 1), male stalking victims seem to be stalked at a high rate until they are in their late forties, when men

report noticeably less stalking victimization. Unlike women, who appear to be most likely to be stalked during their late teens and early twenties, men seem to report their highest rates of stalking victimizations in their thirties and forties. For men, the late teens through the early thirties have only moderately high rates of stalking victimization. These results suggest that male stalking victims are more likely to be older than female stalking victims.

The rates of frequency that a stalker will contact a male victim appears to be similar to female victims (Figure 3). However, there are some small differences between the two groups. First, female victims were more likely to report that their stalkers attempted contact once or twice per year (12.8%), compared to only 7% of male victims. Alternatively, men were more likely than women to report that their stalker attempted to establish contact once or twice per month (21% and 15.7%, respectively) and at least once a day (8.3% and 5.6%, respectively).

The duration of stalking victimization was different for men and women, as shown in Figure 4. Women were somewhat more likely than men to report both extremes of stalking case duration, 6 months or less (42.1% and 37%, respectively) and 5 years or more (13.5% and 11%, respectively). Men (21.6%) were more likely than women (14%) to report the stalking lasted between 7 and 11 months.

However, some data did not show noticeable differences between male and female victims, such as the race of victims (Figure 5). Male and female victims appeared to be stalked at similar rates when examining race. The marital status of stalking victims (Figure 6) also showed similar rates of victimization between men and women, with only minor differences in the rates of widowed women and men being stalked (4.1% and 0.9%, respectively).

One factor that indicated differences between male and female stalking victims was household income (Figure 7). While women with lower incomes reported more stalking

victimization and the rate of victimization was inversely related with household income, there was no clear relationship between household income and stalking victimization for men (although the logistic regression indicated that higher household income was associated with a reduced risk of stalking victimization). For male victims, about 28% reported household income of $25,000 or less, 31% reported incomes between $25,000 and $50,000, 16% reported income between $50,000 and $75,000, and 25.5% reported income as $75,000 or more. Based on Figure 7, women with lower incomes were more likely to report stalking victimization than men with lower incomes, and men with higher incomes (particularly more than $75,000) reported stalking victimization at higher rates than did women with higher incomes. However, the regression findings suggest a different relationship for male victims, household income, and risk of stalking victimization.

The victim-offender relationship between stalkers and their victims was also different between male and female victims and can be seen in Figure 6. The largest category for both men and women was other non-relatives (34.5% and 31%, respectively). This is probably because it includes many categories, including a nonspecific “other” option. Consequently, this response is not useful for this analysis, but it suggests that there might be more relationships to study regarding stalking in future studies. Based on the other responses, women were more likely to be stalked by relatives other than spouses or ex-spouses (10%) and strangers (11.6%) than men, with “other” relatives referring to parents, siblings, children, or unspecified “other” relatives. On the other hand, men were prone to being stalked by friends or ex-friends (10.3%), acquaintances (11.8%), and ex-spouses (10.8%).

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusions

This study sought to combine two theoretical perspectives relevant to women's victimization and stalking: routine activities theory and gender inequality as shown by a woman's economic ability. Overall, there was little or no support for the study's hypotheses. In the first test, it appeared that one of the economic ability variables—employment—increased the risk of being stalked for women. However, no theoretically relevant variables supported the hypothesis. The second test also had only one significant key variable—employment—that predicted whether a stalking victim would be likely to change her routine activities as a result of being stalked. Lastly, the third test had no statistically significant key independent variables that supported the hypothesis, but changing the locks or adding a security system to one's home significantly decreased the likelihood that the stalking behavior would stop.

For the first model, the relationship between the economic ability variable of employment and stalking victimization was in the opposite direction than was hypothesized. There are three possible explanations for this finding. First, the model possibly did not include enough theoretically relevant variables to accurately describe the relationship between gender inequality and stalking. Another possible explanation that might account for these results is that other theoretical frameworks may better describe the relationship that the economic factors of gender inequality have with stalking. For example, the backlash hypothesis could potentially explain the inverse relationships (Xie, Heimer, & Lauritsen, 2012). If the backlash hypothesis correctly described the relationship between economic ability and stalking victimization, then a woman's employment or high level of education would increase the risk that she would be stalked in a male-dominated society. Finally, it is possible that the micro-level inequality measures used in this analysis of employment and education might have a reduced effect on stalking victimization

if the broader society has stronger macro-level gender inequality factors (Fuwa, 2004). A woman's improved gender equality and economic ability may mean less in a patriarchal society where women have a lesser status compared to men than in an egalitarian society.

Only one of the routine activities variables—the number of people 12 years or older who lived in the household—was marginally significant in the first model. Perhaps different routine activities would have yielded more significant findings, since the routine activities variables used in the analysis did not focus on the social habits of respondents, such as activities or certain locations people attend for entertainment leisure. As mentioned previously, alcohol and drug use have been associated with stalking victimization (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999). Based on these findings, future research into stalking should consider social as well as nonsocial aspects of routine activities.

The second model in this analysis found that women who were employed were more likely to change their routine activities when they were stalked. This outcome may be due to the hypothesized relationship between economic ability and changing one's routine activities: women who are employed may be better able to change aspects of their lives in response to being stalked as a result of being more financially independent. For example, a stalking victim who is employed might have enough financial resources to allow her to move to a new residence. Employment may be more influential in a woman's ability to change her routine activities than her education, since respondent education level did not seem to affect whether a stalking victim changed her routine activities as a result of being stalked. This suggests that education level does not influence a victim's decision to change aspects of her life to avoid being stalked. The finding of respondents living in student housing perfectly predicting that a stalking victim would change

their routine activities is likely due to the small number of respondents who reported living in student housing (n=20).

Routine activities variables were not useful in predicting victimization, changing routine activities, or stopping stalking victimization. The data used for this analysis were focused more on the respondents' changes in their specific routine activities after being stalked, rather than on the types of routine activities that might have led to being stalked. Future studies on stalking victimization should include more information on respondents' daily habits and social activities before they were stalked to better predict which routine activities are associated with increased risks of stalking victimization.

Continuing the discussion on ending stalking victimization, it was found that the changes in stalking victims' routine activities included in this analysis did not appear to significantly improve the likelihood that a stalker would stop stalking their victim. This finding suggests two possibilities: either there are other more relevant routine activities that were not included in this study, or there are other factors at work determining whether a stalker ceases the unwanted behavior. For example, if a respondent was being stalked through the Internet or by phone, changing jobs or adding a security system to the household may not be effective in stopping stalking victimization, since the stalker would still have access to the victim, regardless of the physical locations of the stalker and victim. It is also possible that the costs to the victim of making changes to their routine activities are greater than some victims are able or willing to accept. Households with more members or lower incomes have previously been found to have a lower probability of moving after experiencing victimization than single-member households or households with higher incomes (Dugan, 1999).

This study also examined the differences between male and female stalking victims and found some results that should be examined further. In Part 1, employment increased the risk of stalking victimization for women and not for men. This suggests that employment might be a risk factor unique to women. In Part 2, employment increased the likelihood that women would change their routine activities after being stalked, whereas education decreased the likelihood that men would change their routine activities. For the final part of this analysis, changing the locks or adding a security system to the household decreased the chance that the victimization would stop for women, but there was no significant relationship with male victims. These findings suggest that risk factors may be different for men and women. Future research into stalking could compare risk factors of male and female victims.

There were also differences between male and female stalking victims beyond the regression results. First, young women were more likely to be stalked than other women, while men in their thirties and forties were the most likely age range of male victims to be stalked. Second, women were more likely to be stalked only once or twice per year. Men were slightly more likely to be stalked once or twice per month and at least once a day. Third, the duration of stalking for women was more likely to be 6 months or less and 5 years or more, and the duration of stalking for male victims was more likely to be between 7 and 11 months. Fourth, the relationship between household income and victim gender showed different results when comparing the regression results and Figure 7. However, based on the figure, it appears that women with lower incomes as well as men with higher incomes reported more stalking victimizations. Last, the victim-offender relationship varied between male and female stalking victims. Women were more likely to report that their stalkers were strangers or non-spouse

relatives, and men were slightly more likely than women to report that their stalkers were friends, acquaintances, and ex-spouses.

Although the purpose of this research was not originally to compare male and female stalking victims, some interesting patterns emerged. Some of these, such as the differences in risk factors in the regressions, suggest that gender inequality may play a role in risk factors for stalking victimization of women. Other findings suggest that the descriptive characteristics of male and female victims are different in areas such as age and household income. These findings indicate that research into the various characteristics as well as differential risk factors of male and female stalking victims could lead to a more nuanced understanding of stalking by considering the gender of the victim.

However, there were several limitations to this analysis. One of the main weaknesses of this study was the low variation of the data. Some of the variables, specifically the routine activities variables, had low variation in the data, which was an issue for the models. Some key variables (such as student housing) were omitted from the analysis because these variables perfectly predicted success or failure of the dependent variable. Ideally, future research should have data with variables that have enough variance to perform an analysis.

A second limitation of this research involved omitted key variables. The models in this analysis do not explain the variation in the data well. There are likely other variables that are related to both the dependent and independent variables in the models that, if included in the model, would better explain stalking victimization. Unfortunately, this analysis was limited to the variables available in the SVS. An ideal version of this analysis would include more relevant variables for micro-level women's status, macro-level gender inequality, and routine activities variables with enough variation for analysis.

Another limitation of this study is that the analysis consisted only of the individual-level economic ability variables of employment and education as measures of one aspect of gender inequality. Therefore, this study and the data were unable to measure gender inequality at the societal level. While macro-level gender inequality measures would be relevant variables to include in an analysis of women's stalking victimization, such data were not available for this study. Also, this study was unable to consider relevant aspects of gender inequality, whether at the societal or individual-level, other than economic ones. Future research should include variables that indicate additional measures of societal gender inequality, especially of economic, political, and ideological spheres (Simpson, 1989; Fuwa, 2004; Yodanis, 2004).

Though not many significant results were found in this particular study, this work nonetheless created a new theoretical framework through which to examine stalking. The main finding from the analysis is that women who are victims of stalking are more likely to change their routine activities if they are employed. Although it was not the focus of this research, additional findings comparing male and female stalking victims include that risk factors may differ for male and female victims. There may also be differences in the characteristics of male and female victims. Consequently, there is still much potential for research in this area. Future studies should include additional areas of possibility, such as determining the relationships that different aspects of gender inequality have with stalking, comparing risk factors for male and female stalking victims, and examining the relationship that the intersection of race and gender might have with stalking victimization. As future additional research into stalking is published, more information regarding risk factors of stalking victimization will be determined, and perhaps a better understanding of gender inequality's role in stalking will be revealed.

Table 1. Key Variables for Predicting Stalking Victimization

	Women			Men		
Variables	**Mean**	**SD**	**Range**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Range**
Dependent variable						
Stalked	0.0209			0.008		
Economic Ability						
Employment status	0.0387			0.0266		
Education status	13.28	2.81	0-23	13.43	3.04	0-23
Routine Activities						
Student housing (M)	0.0079			0.0086		
Attending college (M)	0.078			0.072		
Young adult (S)	0.071			0.079		
Gated/walled community (C)	0.052			0.05		
Building with restricted access (C)	0.062			0.058		
Number of household members 12 years or older (C)	2.74	1.05	1-10	2.35	1.07	1-10
Controls						
White	0.734			0.747		
Black	0.105			0.085		
Hispanic	0.099			0.105		
Other (Race)	0.053			0.054		
Age	47.8	17.6	18-90	46.8	16.9	18-90
Household income	10.6	3.7	1-14	11.2	3.4	1-14
Married	0.565			0.625		
Divorced/Separated	0.140			0.106		
Never married	0.184			0.229		
Other (Marital status)	0.101			0.031		
Household size	2.73	1.43	1-12	2.76	1.43	1-12
Presence of children	0.382			0.342		
Sample Size:	35,250			29,992		

*M = Exposure to motivated offenders, S = Suitable target, C = Capable guardianship

Table 2. Key Variables for Whether a Stalking Victim Changes Their Routine Activities

	Women			Men		
Variables	**Mean**	**SD**	**Range**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Range**
Dependent Variable						
Victim changed routine activities	0.679			0.570		
Gender Inequality						
Female employment	0.090			0.054		
Female education	13.39	2.48	1-23	13.55	2.72	5-23
Routine Activities						
Student housing (M)	0.0218			0.018		
Attending college (M)	0.132			0.123		
Young adult (S)	0.166			0.101		
Gated/walled community (C)	0.056			0.053		
Building with restricted access (C)	0.071			0.053		
Number of household members 12 years or older (C)	2.15	1.06	1-8	2.21	1.19	1-6
Routine Activities (Changed)						
Take time off from work/school (M)	0.166			0.180		
Change/quit job or school (M)	0.102			0.079		
Change usual activities outside of work/school (M)	0.218			0.219		
Move to a different residence (M)	0.154			0.088		
Get a weapon (S)	0.052			0.044		
Change locks or install security system (S)	0.141			0.114		
Enlist the help of friends/family (C)	0.482			0.241		
Obtain a restraining/protection/stay-away order (C)	0.155			0.171		
Call the police (C)	0.418			0.390		
Controls						
White	0.759			0.415		
Black	0.091			0.083		
Hispanic	0.088			0.088		
Other (Race)	0.054			0.039		
Age	38.2	14.5	18 – 90	39.4	12.7	18-83
Household income	9.19	4.18	1 – 14	10.38	3.87	1-14
Married	0.324			0.481		
Divorced/Separated	0.284			0.457		
Never married	0.344			0.469		
Other (Marital status)	0.041			0.093		
Household size	2.77	1.47	1-8	2.68	1.46	1-6
Presence of children	0.461			0.447		
Sample Size:	623			228		

*M = Exposure to motivated offenders, S = Suitable target, C = Capable guardianship

Table 3. Key Variables for Whether Changing Routine Activities Stops Victimization

	Women			Men		
Variables	**Mean**	**SD**	**Range**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Range**
Dependent Variable						
Stalking behavior stopped	0.605			0.482		
Routine Activities (Changed)						
Take time off from work/school (M)	0.166			0.180		
Change/quit job or school (M)	0.102			0.079		
Change usual activities outside of work/school (M)	0.218			0.219		
Move to a different residence (M)	0.154			0.088		
Get a weapon (S)	0.052			0.044		
Change locks or install security system (S)	0.141			0.114		
Enlist the help of friends/family (C)	0.482			0.241		
Obtain a restraining/protection/stay-away order (C)	0.155			0.171		
Call the police (C)	0.418			0.390		
Controls						
White	0.759			0.415		
Black	0.091			0.083		
Hispanic	0.088			0.088		
Other (Race)	0.054			0.039		
Age	38.2	14.5	18 – 90	39.4	12.7	18-83
Household income	9.19	4.18	1 – 14	10.38	3.87	1-14
Married	0.324			0.481		
Divorced/Separated	0.284			0.457		
Never married	0.344			0.469		
Other (Marital status)	0.041			0.093		
Household size	2.77	1.47	1-8	2.68	1.46	1-6
Presence of children	0.461			0.447		
Sample Size:	623			228		

*M = Exposure to motivated offenders, S = Suitable target, C = Capable guardianship

Table 4. Correlation Matrix for Hypothesis Test 1

	Stalked	Employment Status	Education Status	Student Housing	Attending College	Young Adult	Gated Communit y	Restricted Access	12 Years or Older in Household
Stalked	1								
Employment Status	0.0391	1							
Education Status	0.0055	0.0007	1						
Student Housing	0.0214	0.0368	0.0133	1					
Attending College	0.0296	0.0707	0.0205	0.1789	1				
Young Adult	0.0536	0.0483	-0.0445	0.1693	0.2157	1			
Gated Community	0.0017	-0.0058	0.0104	0.045	0.0305	0.0632	1		
Restricted Access	0.0047	0.0014	0.028	0.1092	0.0402	0.0684	0.191	1	
12 Years or Older in Household	-0.0166	0.0223	-0.0739	-0.0025	0.1094	-0.038	-0.0508	-0.1032	1

Table 5. Correlation Matrix for Hypothesis Test 2

	Changed Routine Activities	Employment Status	Education Status	Student Housing	Attending College	Young Adult	Gated Community	Restricted Access	12 Years or Older in Household
Changed Routine Activities	1								
Employment Status	0.0718	1							
Education Status	0.0261	-0.0058	1						
Student Housing	0.0798	-0.0121	0.0283	1					
Attending College	0.1041	0.09	-0.0097	0.3432	1				
Young Adult	0.0078	0.0827	-0.1078	0.2243	0.2012	1			
Gated Community	0.0204	-0.0328	0.0741	0.2228	0.1406	0.1093	1		
Restricted Access	-0.0224	-0.01	0.0303	0.1131	0.0211	0.0411	0.1034	1	
12 Years or Older in Household	0.0357	0.0398	-0.1438	-0.0035	0.1422	-0.134	-0.036	-0.1134	1

Table 6. Correlation Matrix for Hypothesis Test 3

	Stalking Stopped	Took Time Off from Work/ School	Changed or Quit Job/ School	Changed Activities Outside Work/ School	Moved to Different Residence	Obtained Weapon	Changed Locks/ Installed Security System	Enlisted Family/ Friends for Help	Obtained Restraining/ Protection/Stay-Away Order	Called the Police
Stalking Stopped	1									
Took Time Off from Work/School	0.2493	1								
Changed or Quit Job/School	0.2075	0.4202	1							
Changed Activities Outside Work/School	0.2729	0.4219	0.3387	1						
Moved to Different Residence	0.2338	0.3039	0.3128	0.3104	1					
Obtained Weapon	0.1407	0.125	0.1238	0.1921	0.0949	1				
Changed Locks/Installed Security System	0.2023	0.2836	0.1857	0.3451	0.2452	0.1685	1			
Enlisted Family/Friends for Help	0.4283	0.338	0.2725	0.4195	0.3316	0.1499	0.344	1		
Obtained Restraining/Protection/Stay-Away Orde	0.2356	0.3138	0.1821	0.3539	0.319	0.082	0.2844	0.2906	1	
Called the Police	0.4167	0.316	0.2024	0.3269	0.3135	0.1556	0.3	0.4141	0.4764	1

Table 7. Logistic Regression for Part 1

	Women		Men	
	Coefficient	**SD**	**Coefficient**	**SD**
Economic Ability				
Employment status	0.632**	0.146	0.386	0.337
Education status	0.033*	0.018	0.028**	0.01
Routine Activities				
Student housing (M)	-0.105	0.336	0.361	0.591
Attending college (M)	-0.08	0.135	0.0963	0.286
Young adult (S)	0.025	0.15	-0.267	0.323
Gated/walled community (C)	-0.111	0.192	-0.035	0.376
Building with restricted access (C)	-0.168	0.175	-0.439	0.391
Number of household members 12 years or older (C)	-0.084*	0.065	0.051	0.148
Controls				
White	0.065	0.461	-0.479	0.726
Black	-0.514	0.478	-0.607	0.77
Hispanic	-0.385	0.479	-0.823	0.779
Other (Race)	0.107	0.491	-1.15	0.849
Age	-0.023**	0.004	-0.031**	0.008
Household income	-0.068**	0.012	-0.056**	0.025
Married	-1.08*	0.598	-1.76*	1.03
Divorced/Separated	0.163	0.597	0.008	1.03
Never married	-0.08	0.598	-0.965	1.03
Other (Marital status)	-0.933	0.629	-1.37	1.25
Household size	0.087	0.058	-0.115	0.145
Presence of children	0.111	0.124	0.92**	0.272
Constant	-1.99	0.812	-2.14	1.32

*p < .1; **p < .05

Table 8. Logistic Regression for Part 2

	Women		Men	
	Coefficient	**SD**	**Coefficient**	**SD**
Economic Ability				
Employment status	0.822**	0.357	-0.797	0.813
Education status	0.004	0.042	-0.052**	0.024
Routine Activities				
Attending college (M)	0.466	0.314	0.272	0.622
Young adult (M)	-0.473	0.322	-0.504	0.695
Gated/walled community (C)	0.089	0.454	0.791	0.861
Building with restricted access (C)	-0.236	0.36	0.763	0.927
Number of household members 12 years or older (C)	-0.163	0.154	0.065	0.33
Controls				
White	-14.9	1152	0.618	1.56
Black	-15.4	1152	1.81	1.72
Hispanic	-15.3	1152	-0.202	1.7
Other (Race)	-15.1	1152	1.09	1.89
Age	-0.018**	0.009	0.005	0.019
Household income	0.055	0.027	0.007	0.058
Married	-1.24	1.27	13.87	1154.2
Divorced/Separated	0.219	1.27	14.19	1154.2
Never married	-0.323	1.26	14.21	1154.2
Other (Marital status)	-0.057	1.34	(omitted)	
Household size	0.4**	0.141	0.132	0.35
Presence of children	-0.451	0.271	-0.379	0.644
Constant	15.9	1152	-13.27	1154.2

*p < .1; **p < .05

Table 9. Logistic Regression for Part 3

	Women		Men	
	Coefficient	**SD**	**Coefficient**	**SD**
Routine Activities (Changed)				
Take time off from work/school (M)	-0.061	0.213	0.653	0.5
Change/quit job or school (M)	0.192	0.272	-0.627	0.644
Change usual activities outside of work/school (M)	-0.143	0.196	-0.037	0.465
Move to a different residence (M)	0.006	0.228	-0.198	0.613
Get a weapon (S)	0.357	0.330	-1.1	0.914
Change locks or install security system (S)	-0.452**	0.225	-0.916	0.566
Enlist the help of friends/family (C)	-0.079	0.154	0.095	0.396
Obtain a restraining/protection/stay-away order (C)	0.192	0.226	0.089	0.446
Call the police (C)	-0.017	0.160	0.414	0.351
Controls				
White	0.830	0.796	15.8	1246.4
Black	0.708	0.830	15.3	1246.4
Hispanic	0.686	0.828	15.1	1246.4
Other (Race)	0.782	0.854	15.4	1246.4
Age	-0.018**	0.006	-0.015	0.014
Household income	0.016	0.019	0.0103	0.045
Married	-0.467	0.891	-15.3	1257.2
Divorced/Separated	-0.542	0.890	-15.2	1257.2
Never married	-0.008	0.890	-14.3	1257.2
Other (Marital status)	-0.203	0.972		
Household size	-0.097	0.073	-0.38*	0.197
Presence of children	-0.074	0.209	0.598	0.535
Constant	0.859	1.219	0.496	1770.3

*p < .1; **p < .05

Figure 1. Age Distribution of Female Stalking Victims

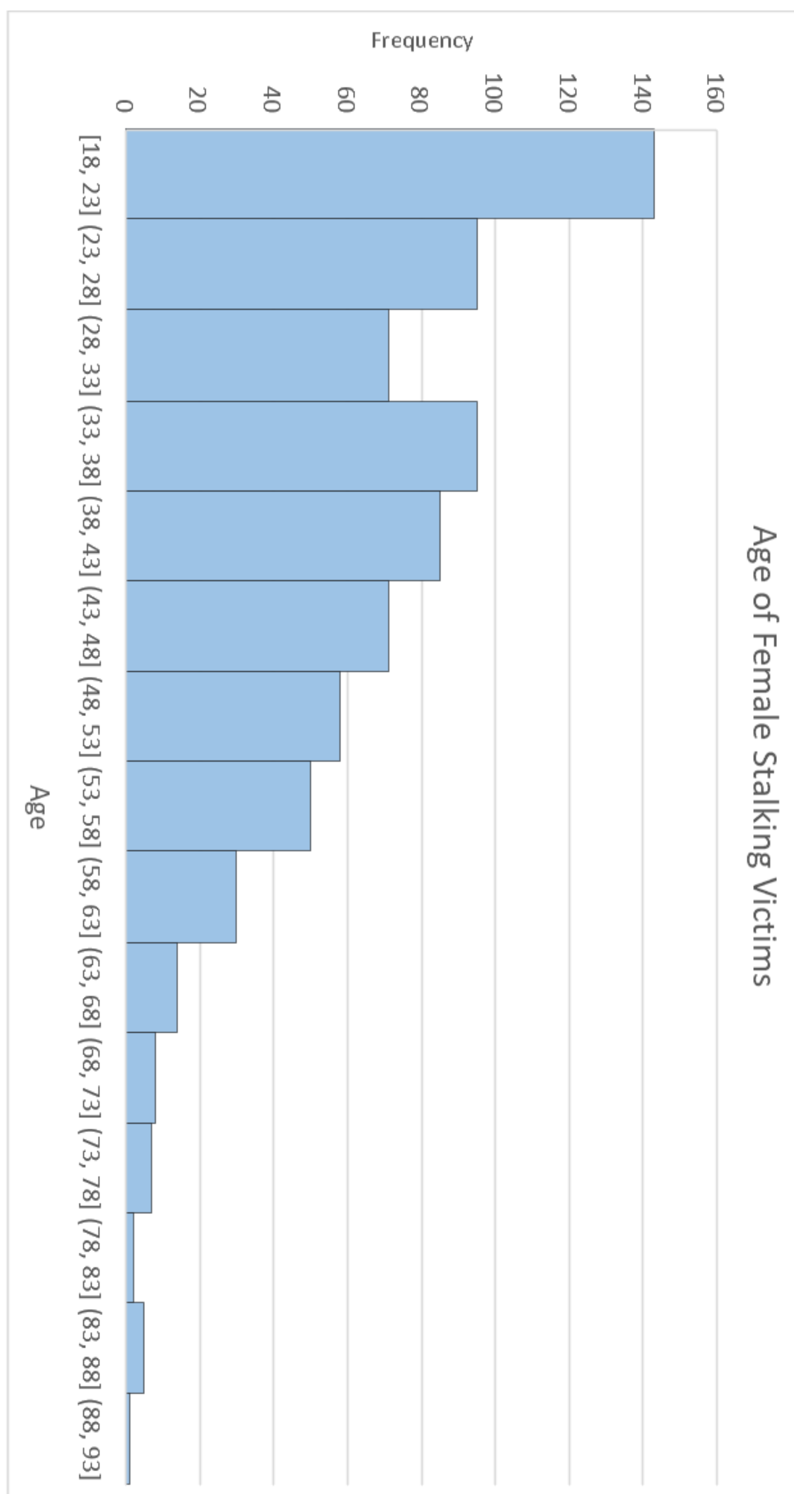


Figure 2. Age Distribution of Male Stalking Victims

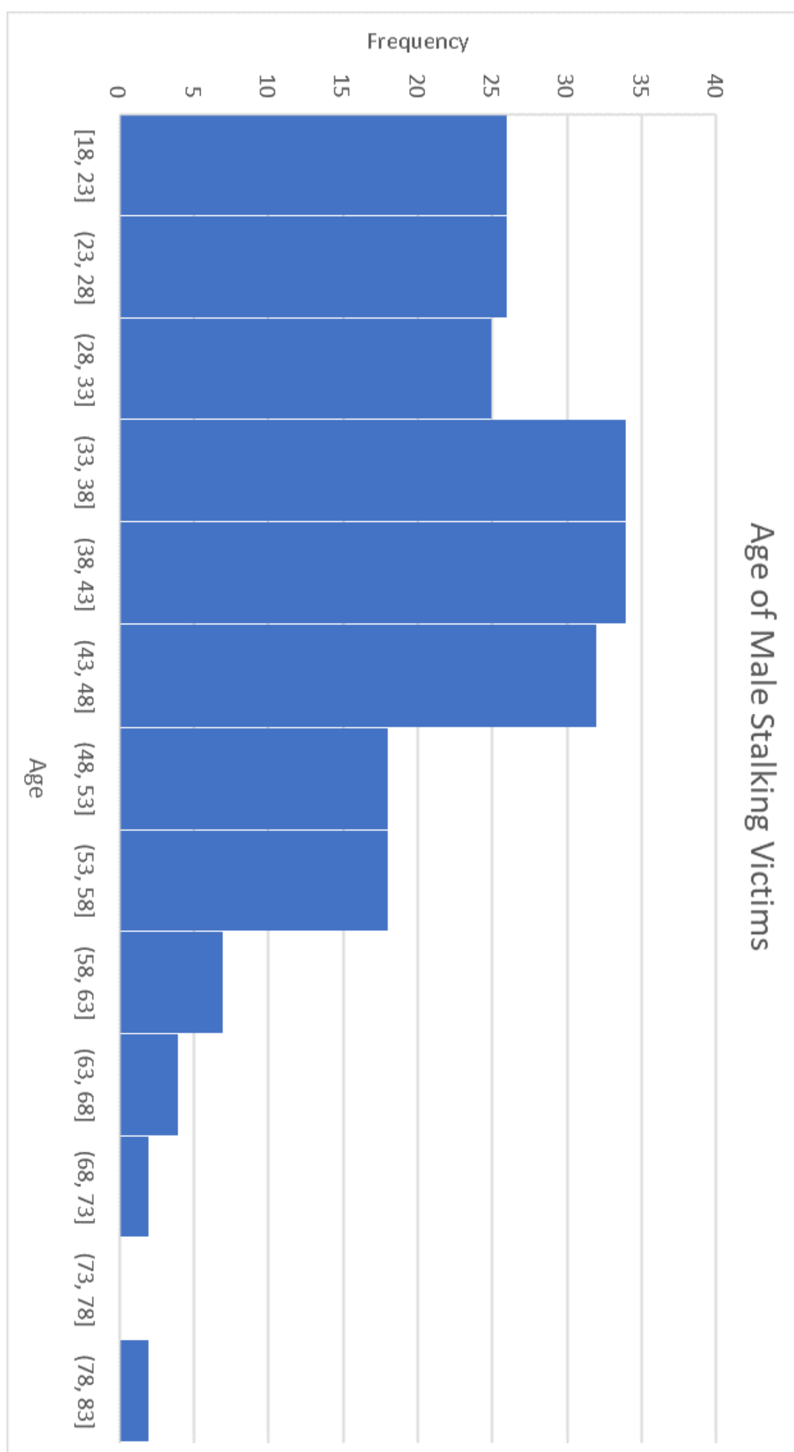


Figure 3. Frequency of Contact by Stalker

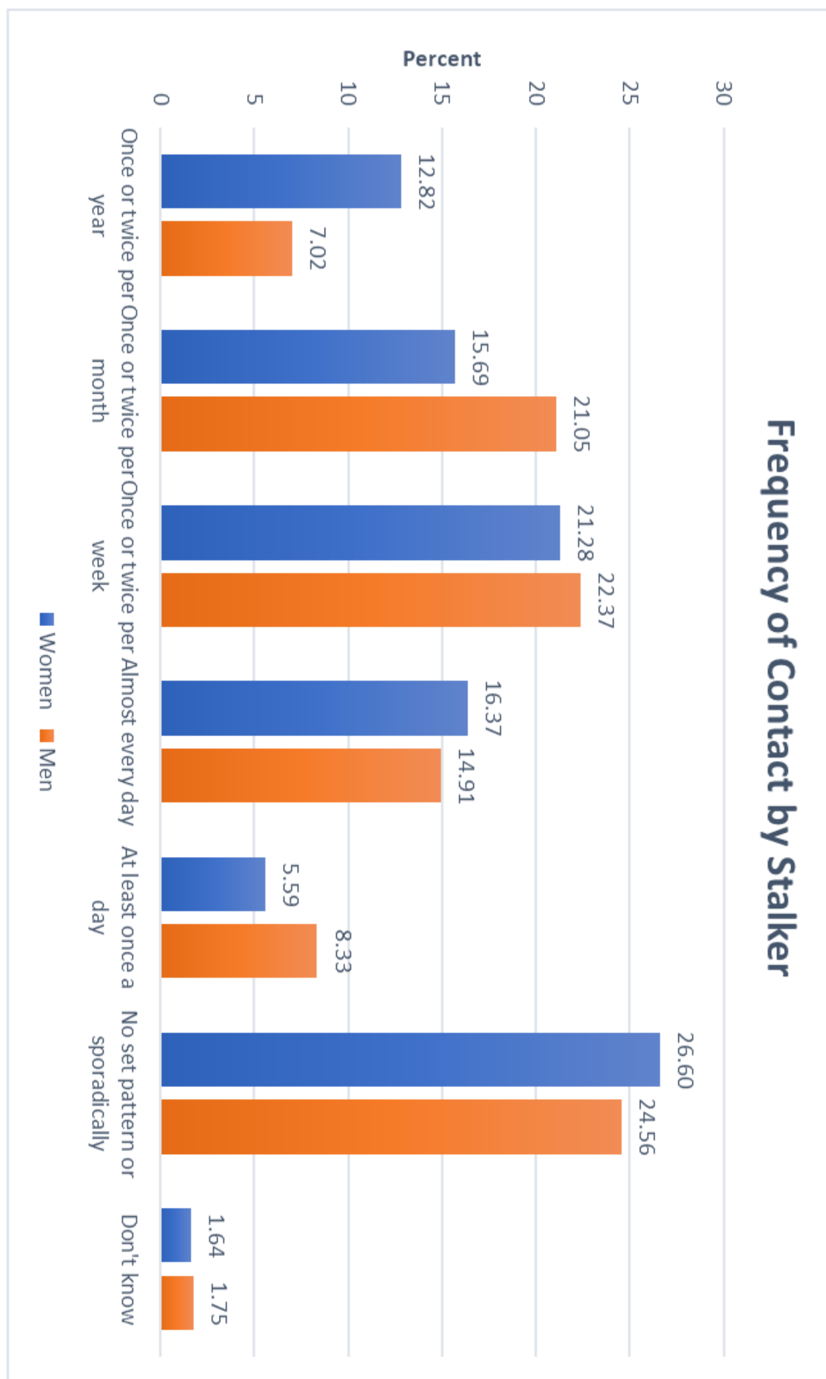


Figure 4. Duration of Stalking

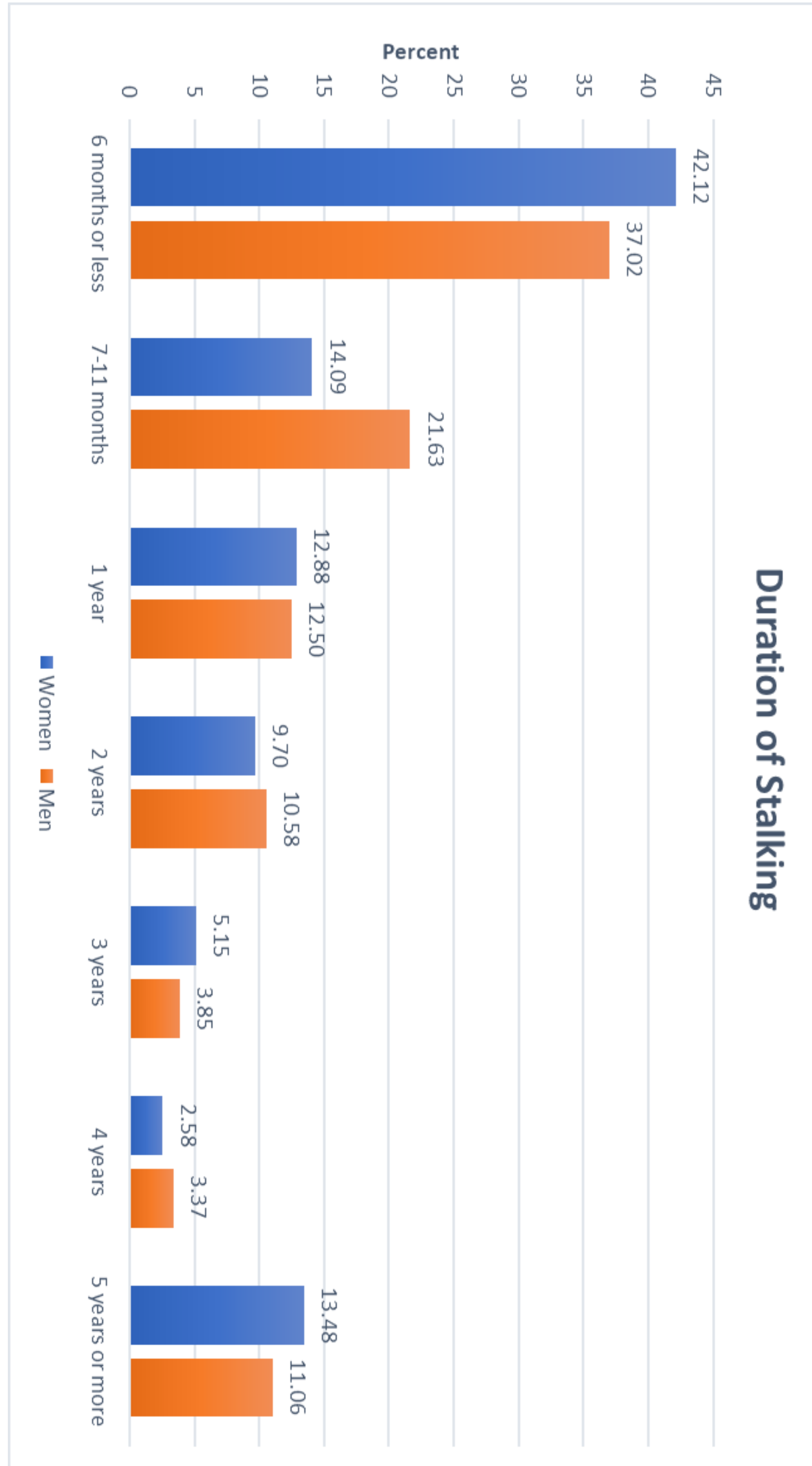


Figure 5. Race of Stalking Victims

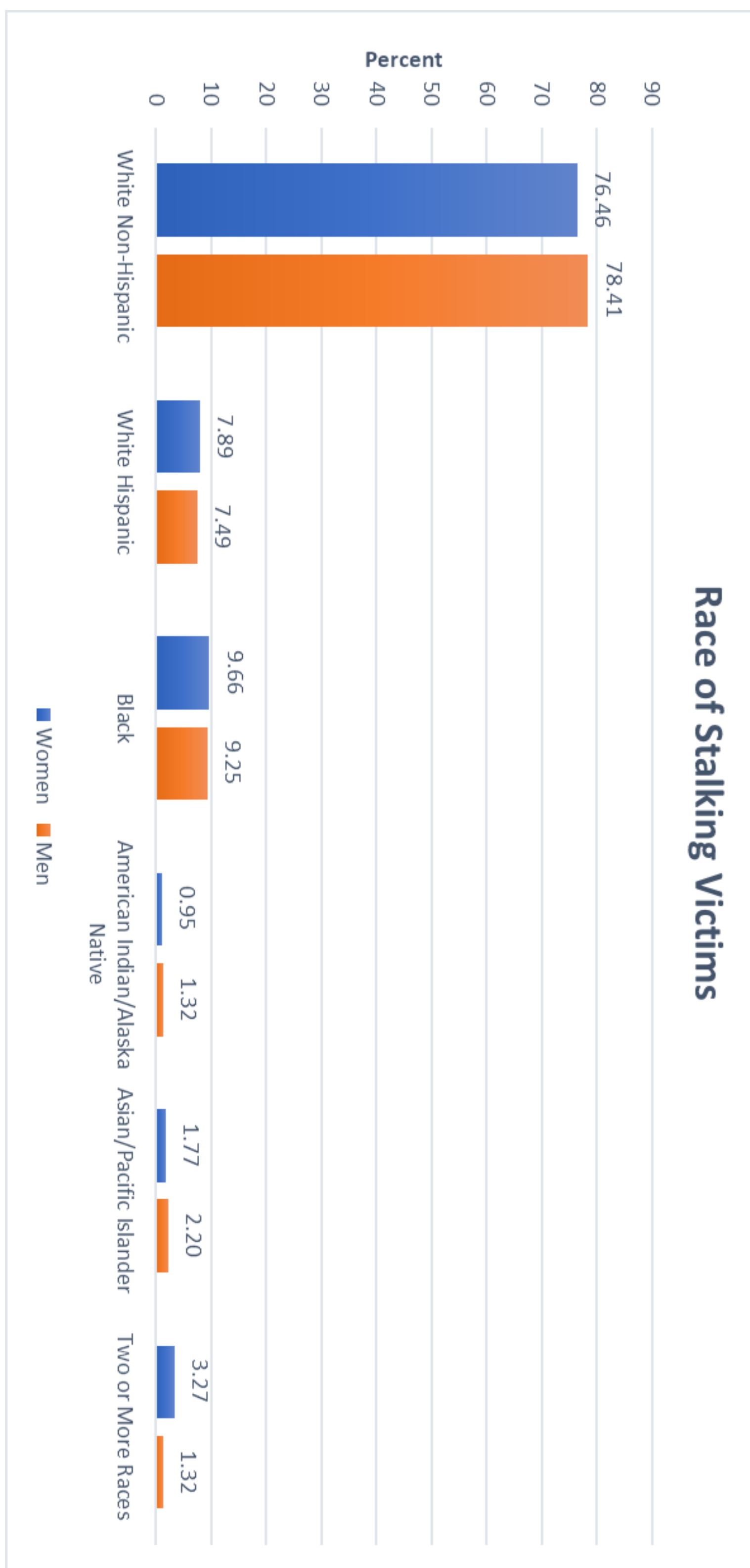


Figure 6. Marital Status of Stalking Victims

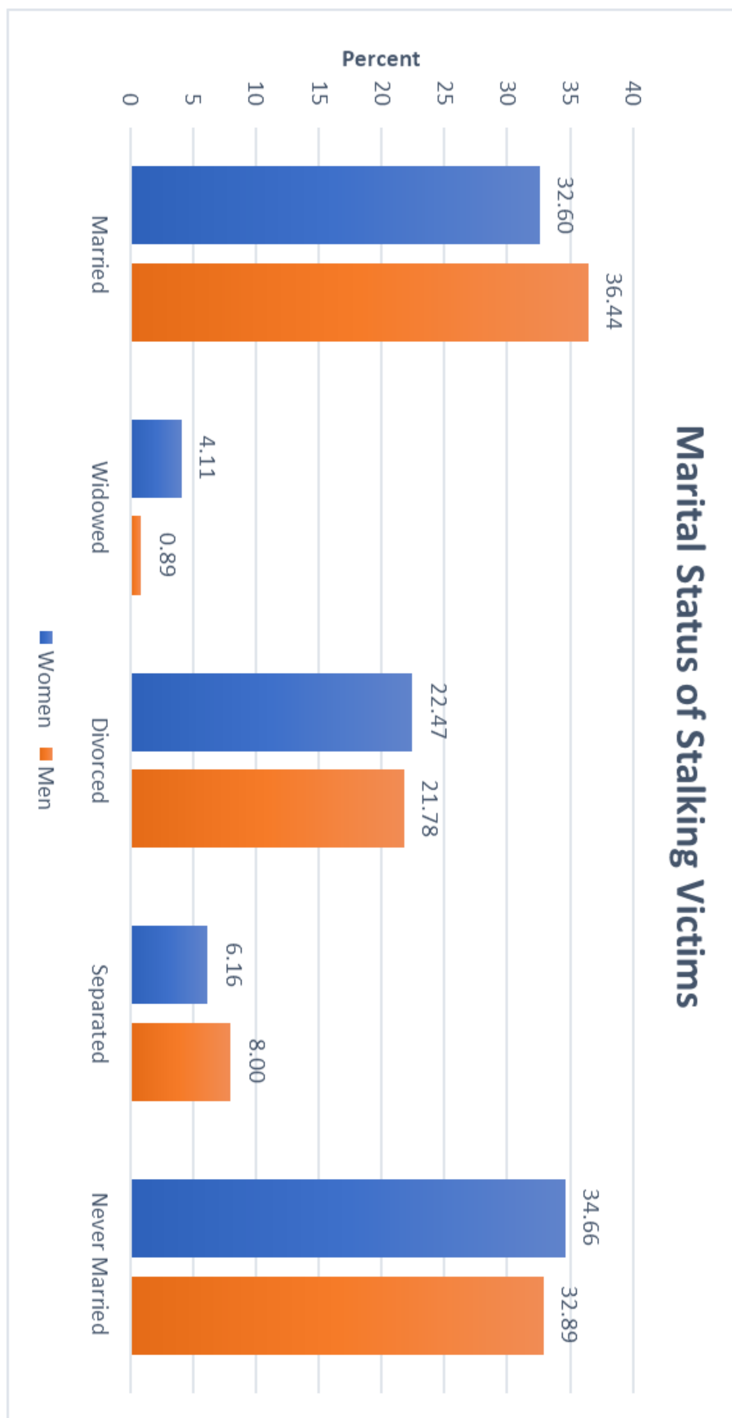


Figure 7. Distribution of Household Income of Stalking Victims

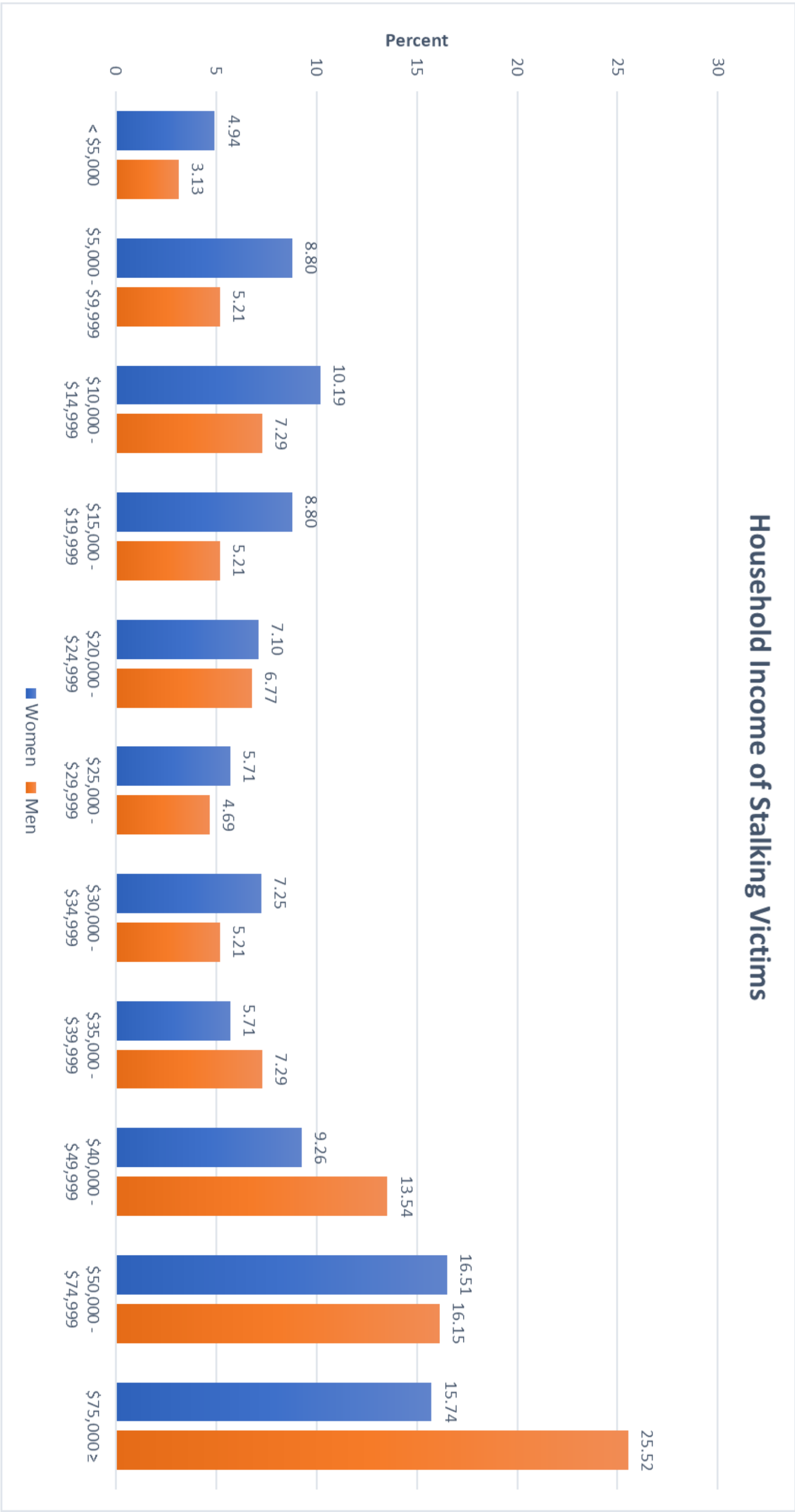
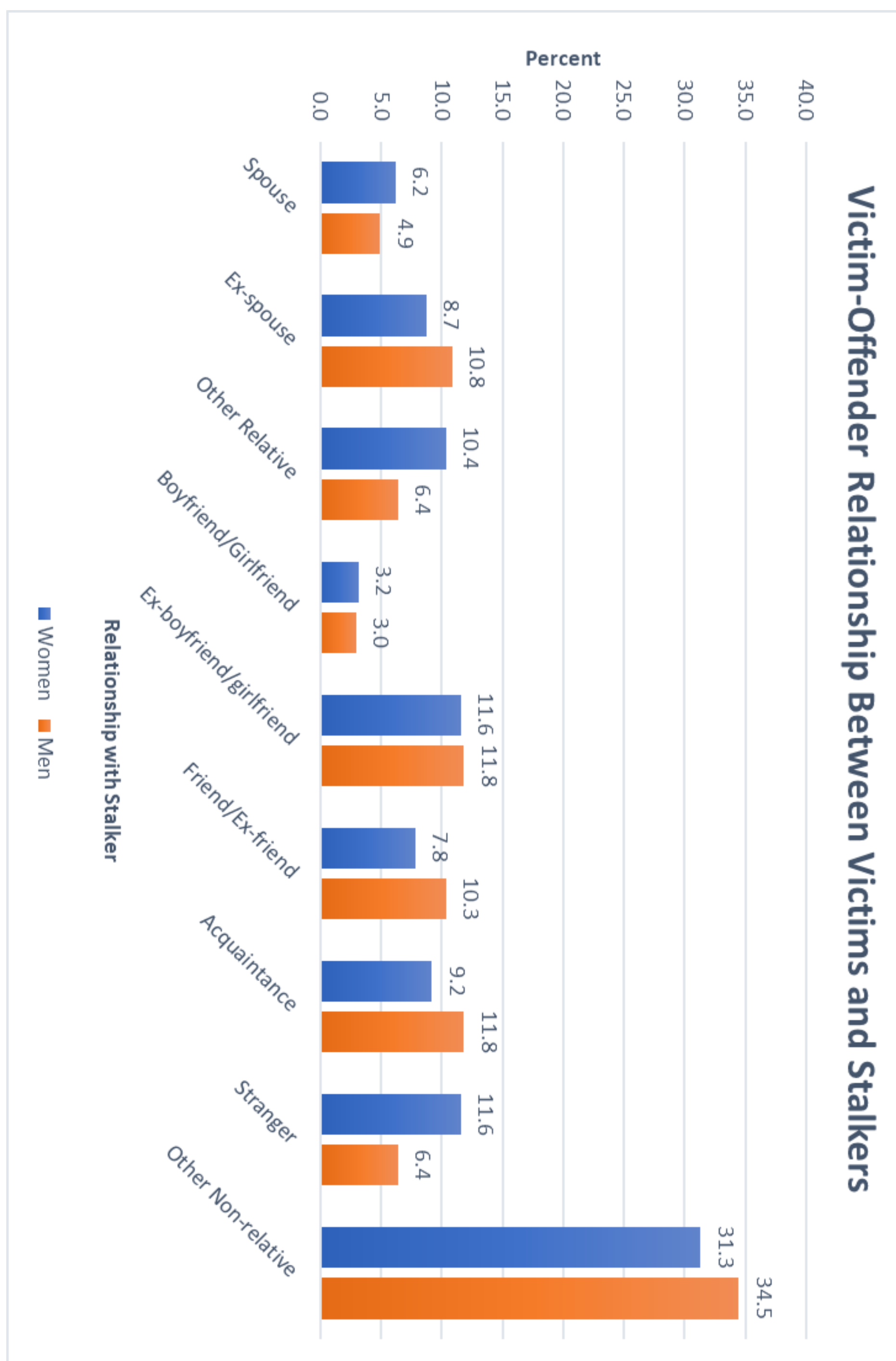


Figure 8. Victim-Offender Relationship Between Victims and Stalkers



APPENDIX

INTRO 3	**Now I would like you to focus on the series of unwanted contacts or harassing behavior committed against you by (this person/these people) in the last 12 months**		
20a.	**Now I am going to read you a list of things that people might do to protect themselves or stop the behaviors from continuing. In the last 12 months, have you done any of the following --** (Read answer categories) Mark (X) all that apply.		Change day-to-day activities:
		060	☐ Take time off from work or school?
			☐ Change or quit a job or school?
			☐ Change your usual activities outside of work or school?
		062	☐ Get a gun?
			☐ Get any other kind of weapon?
			Change Personal Information:
		063	☐ Change or install new locks or a security system
			☐ None of the above
20b.	**Some people might ask others for help in order to protect themselves or to stop the behaviors from continuing. In the last 12 months, did you --** (Read answer categories) Mark (X) all that apply.	064	☐ Enlist the help of friends or family?
			☐ Obtain a restraining, protection, or stay-away order?
			☐ None of the above
20c.	**or stop this behavior from continuing, did you move?**	067	☐ Yes
			☐ No
21a.	**Are the unwanted contacts or behaviors still going on?**	069	☐ Yes
			☐ No
			☐ Don't know

K	**CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND OTHER RESPONSE**		
30a.	**During the last 12 months did you or someone else call or contact the police to report any of these unwanted contacts or behavior?**	111	☐ Yes
			☐ No

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