

Women's Experiences of Stalking on Campus

Behaviour Changes and Access to University Resources

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The present study examined whether behavioural changes made by women students who experienced stalking on campus restricted their access to university resources and facilities. A diverse sample of two hundred and fifty-five university women with experiences of stalking, including racialized women, women with disabilities and members of sexual minorities, completed an online survey and asked if they had made changes to their behaviour on campus in order to feel safer or more secure and to describe those changes. Using phenomenological thematic analysis and a feminist theory framework of understanding stalking behaviour, themes and subthemes relevant to the research questions were generated. The thematic analysis of participant's responses yielded five themes based on changes in behaviours or attitudes identified by students: restrictions in campus movements, increased vigilance, changes in social engagement, changes in academic engagement, and use of health/support services. Women self-identifying with a disability were more likely to report changing their behaviour on campus to feel safer and more comfortable following stalking victimization compared to individuals without disabilities.

Recommendations for future research are discussed and contribute to potential action focused on stalking and violence against women in educational settings.

High rates of sexual violence against women continue to be seen on university campuses in North America (e.g., Amar; Fisher, Cullen and Turner). Although the prevalence of all sexually victimizing behaviours among university populations is high (e.g., Fisher, Cullen and Turner; Stermac et al), a number of studies suggest that stalking, commonly defined as repeated and unwanted harassment or threatening behaviour by an individual or group towards another person, is the most frequently experienced form of sexual violence against women on campuses (e.g., Myers, Nelson and Forke). In a study of 391 college women surveyed in North America, Buhi, Clayton, and Surrency (NO?) found that 20 percent of women reported stalking victimisation while enrolled at their current institution. Similarly, in a more recent study, Myers, Nelson, and Forke (PG NO?) surveyed 910 undergraduate students at three colleges in North America and reported that 22 percent of women

had experienced stalking since they began postsecondary studies.

The occurrence of stalking among university women in North America is reported to range from 25 percent to 45 percent for lifetime prevalence (Amar, *College Women's Experience*; Amar, *Behaviours*; Bjerregaard; Jordan, Wilcox, and Pritchard; McNamara and Marsil) and from 13 percent to 22 percent since the woman began postsecondary studies (Buhi, Clayton, and Surrency; Fisher, Cullen, and Turner; Myer, Nelson, and Forke). Whether stalking is self-defined or researcher-defined influences these variable findings, with some researchers reporting higher rates of stalking when participants self-define their experiences (e.g., Amar, *Behaviours*) and others reporting lower rates when stalking is self-defined (e.g., McNamara and Marsil; Spitzberg). Despite this variability in rates, Bjerregaard estimates that 25 percent of women have been stalked at some point in their lives and 6% of women were currently being stalked.

Although feminist theories of stalking understand this gendered form of violence as the deliberate efforts of men to control and subor-

dinate women, research on risks for stalking victimisation nevertheless examines a number of factors associated with both individual as well as environmental characteristics. Fisher and colleagues reported that American Indian/Alaska Native women had the highest likelihood of any racial/ethnic group to experience stalking. The campus environment where women may adhere to strict schedules, travel to the same locations at the same times for classes, often with class schedules and student contact information posted online and accessible, may also place university women in a position of increased vulnerability for stalking. Women who are in a dating relationship, especially early in the relationship, were more likely to be stalked (Fisher, Cullen, and Turner). In an examination of multiple risk factors among postsecondary students, researchers found that being a sexual minority, belonging to a sorority, being a non-international student, living on-campus, spending more time in places with alcohol, being early in a dating relationship, and leading an active and social lifestyle all contribute to an increased risk for being stalked (Buhi, Clayton, and Surrency; Edwards et al.; Fisher, Cullen, and Turner). Importantly, McNamara and Marsil reported that the strongest predictors of stalking were younger age, female gender, and earlier years enrolled. As 74 percent to 94 percent of stalking victims are young and between 18 and 39 years old (McNamara and Marsil; Tjaden and Thoennes), university-aged women, and perhaps those earliest in their academic studies, face age-related higher risks for this form of victimisation.

The mental and physical health impacts of stalking on women can be serious and long-lasting. Using the National Violence Against Women survey data, Davis, Coker, and Sanderson reported that among

a representative sample of the United States population, stalking was associated with poor current health, depression, injury, and substance use. Similarly, in a sample of 601 university women in North America, Amar found that women with experiences of stalking reported significantly greater symptoms of somatisation, depression, hostility, general psychological distress, and poor perceived physical health. Additionally, the Violence Against Women Office in the United States suggested that stalking can take a financial toll on victims as they may miss work or classes to avoid their stalker, seek psychological treatment or legal assistance, and endure the financial burden of relocation. Researchers have found that the average length of stalking experienced by university students has been 83 to 301 days (Bjerregaard; Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Sheridan, and Roberts), a time spanning half a semester to a full academic year and pointing to potential academic consequences as a result.

Postsecondary institutions in both the United States and Canada have responded to campus sexual violence with initiatives focused on providing more sexual violence education and prevention programming as well as a promoting greater awareness of supports and services available to students (MacCharles; U.S. Government Printing Office). These campus-based changes seem even more important in light of reports indicating that only a minority of student stalking victims seek outside services or supports through legal or criminal justice avenues (Amar, *College women's experience*; Bjerregaard; Björklund et al.; Buhi, Clayton, and Surrency; Fisher, Cullen, and Turner; Fremouw, Westrup, and Pennypacker; Jordan, Wilcox, and Pritchard). In one study of 788 university students who experienced stalking, 35 percent called the police, nine percent went to

court, and only 0.8 percent obtained a restraining order (Bjerregaard). Similarly, Fisher, Cullen, and Turner used the National Crime Victimization survey and reported that among university women with experiences of stalking, four percent sought a restraining order, two percent went forward with criminal charges, and 1.2 percent filed civil charges. Legal actions may also be initiated through the institution where students experience stalking victimisation. While Jordan, Wilcox, and Pritchard found that 30 percent of students experiencing stalking go on to report to university police, others found that only three percent of female stalking victims attending postsecondary institutions file a grievance or initiate disciplinary action with university officials (Fisher, Cullen, and Turner). Overall, female university students infrequently seek legal or criminal justice action following stalking and some researchers report that involving police and courts specifically is the least commonly reported coping strategy (Fremouw, Westrup, and Pennypacker). This reluctance to use legal remedies can be seen as an extension of gender inequality in response to sexual violence against women generally.

In contrast to legal and institutional responses to stalking which are often inadequate, victim responses most commonly include changes to their own behaviour (Amar, *College women's experience*; Bjerregaard; Fisher, Cullen, and Turner; Fremouw, Westrup, and Pennypacker; Pathé and Mullen). Studies have found that both student and non-student stalking victims made personal changes including adding safety protections such as carrying/purchasing repellent spray or a weapon (Bjerregaard; Fisher, Cullen, and Turner; Fremouw, Westrup, and Pennypacker), taking a self-defence class (Fisher, Cullen, and Turner) or wearing concealing clothing

(Amar, *College Women's Experience*). Individuals also commonly used strategies to avoid or ignore a stalker such as getting caller ID or changing their phone number, changing vehicles, relocating, changing a schedule or routine, as well as changing or ceasing employment (Amar, *College Women's Experience*; Bjerregaard; Fisher, Cullen, and Turner; Pathé and

or interact with an individual or it could mean major changes in routine activities, class attendance, and campus life. Similarly, travelling with a companion could mean walking with someone from class or could result in significant curtailing of movement if companions are not readily available. As well, women who are members of marginalized or disadvantaged groups

changes designed to increase personal feelings of safety and security on campus. Specifically we asked 1) what behavioural changes do women experiencing stalking make on campus to increase feelings of safety and security, and 2) do women with multiple identities, i.e., racialized women, sexually diverse women, and women with disabilities experiencing stalking,

The major responses taken for protection and change remains with the victims of stalking themselves. Many of these behaviours, while designed to increase personal safety and security, can place restrictions on women's mobility and freedom that may limit campus engagement and impact their educational experiences and/or academic performance.

Mullen). Other changes in behaviour included increased attempts to travel with a companion (Fisher, Cullen, and Turner) as well as reaching out for help-seeking and support from friends (Buhi et al). Some students have also reported dropping classes or changing schools or majors (Fisher, Cullen, and Turner).

It is evident from the current research that responses to stalking victimisation among students may include the initiation of formal interventions, but more commonly result in significant and unwanted behavioural changes for women on campus. While institutional and criminal justice actions exist and are used with varying degrees of success by some women, studies suggest that the major responses taken for protection and change remains with the victims of stalking themselves. Many of these behaviours, while designed to increase personal safety and security, can place restrictions on women's mobility and freedom that may limit campus engagement and impact their educational experiences and/or academic performance. For example, avoiding a stalker could mean that one does not speak with

including women with disabilities, members of sexual minorities, and racialized women may face additional barriers in responding to this behaviour. Due to historical and ongoing discrimination, marginalized women may feel their experiences are not validated, may be more reluctant to disclose victimisation, or to access appropriate support services. Theories of stalking victimisation, and in particular feminist theories of stalking that frame this gendered form of violence against women as deliberate attempts at social, physical and sexual control (e.g., Manzingo), understand women's behaviour as reactions to these forms of control. Examining behavioural changes on access and use of campus and academic resources made by stalking victims that theorizes women's forced changes in behaviour as deliberate responses to forms of intimidation is important in better understanding the impact of stalking on women's education.

The authors undertook a study to address this intersection and investigated behavioural responses following stalking on campus among a group of diverse undergraduate students. This study examined women's behavioural

report more or different changes in their behaviours than women without multiple identities? We framed these questions within a feminist theory of stalking (Manzingo) that focuses on gender inequality in access to and use of university resources and facilities. Its findings contribute also to the wider fields of feminist theory and action focused on stalking and violence against women.

Method

Participants

Participants in this study were 255 female undergraduate students attending universities in southern Ontario, Canada who had reported experiencing stalking behaviour since they entered university. This convenience sample was part of a larger study of the effects of campus sexual victimisation on women's education.

Participants averaged 21 years of age ($M = 21.01$, $SD = 2.73$) and most ($N = 239$, 94 percent) were fulltime students. Among the participants, 138 (54 percent) identified themselves as a racialized minority, 54 (21 percent) self-identified as

a sexual minority member, 6 (2.4 percent) self-identified as an Aboriginal person, and 24 (9 percent) self-identified as having a disability. Furthermore, 114 (45 percent) women reported they were in a relationship, 107 (42 percent) were single, 29 (11 percent) were dating, and 4 (1.6 percent) reported they were married or in a common-law relationship. The majority of students lived off-campus. This included 72 (28 percent) living off-campus with roommates, 106 (42 percent) living off-campus with family, and 25 (10 percent) living alone off-campus. Only 44 (17 percent) students reported that they lived in a university residence and 3 (1.2 percent) in alternate campus housing.

Survey Questions

Participants completed an online survey about sexual violence, including whether they had experienced stalking while attending university. Stalking behaviours were not defined on the survey in order to allow respondents to assess their own experiences and determine if their experience constituted stalking. However, some examples of stalking were provided on the survey and included unwanted and obsessive attention such as an individual showing up unexpectedly, leaving messages, emails, and spreading rumours. Participants were further asked if they had made changes to their behaviour on campus in order to feel safer or more secure and to describe those changes.

Demographic information on participant age, sexual orientation and diversity, ethno-cultural membership, ability status, relationship status, year and living situation at the time of study was collected, as summarized above.

Procedures

Following study approval from the university ethics review board, un-

dergraduate students were invited to participate in an online survey about sexually victimizing behaviours, including stalking, that they had experienced while attending university. Advertisements for the study were distributed in hard copy and posted electronically through student groups in universities in southern Ontario. Those interested in participating were directed to a website with detailed information about the study as well as a link to a consent form and an online questionnaire. All participants were provided with a list of support services and resources which they could copy or print for their use.

Data Analysis

Phenomenological thematic analysis, an examination of potential thematic patterns in data, was used to analyze participants' narrative descriptions of their behaviour changes designed to increase feelings of safety and security. In this technique, themes and subthemes relevant to the research questions were generated, supported by evidence such as verbatim quotations, and interlinked or combined into a holistic description (Finlay). Coding addressed the research questions of whether women who experienced stalking changed their own behaviour on campus to increase feelings of safety and security and what those changes were. Two coders identified themes independently and reached full agreement on all categories following discussion.

Data summaries and quantitative data were analyzed using SPSS version 24. Frequencies are presented for participant responses on changes in behaviour and types of changes. Binary logistic regressions were used to examine differences among participants with multiple identities of racialization, sexual diversity or ability/disability status and frequencies and types of behaviour change.

Results

A total of 255 women stated they had experienced stalking while attending university. Among these, 94 (37 percent) reported making changes in their behaviour or attitudes at school in order to feel more safe or secure in the 12 months following victimisation and 88 (35 percent) provided a description of these changes.

Behavioural Changes

Thematic analysis of participants' responses yielded five themes based on changes in behaviours or attitudes identified by students: *restrictions in campus movements, increased vigilance, changes in social engagement, changes in academic engagement, and use of health/support services.*

Among the 88 participants who gave a description of the changes they made following a stalking experience, 30 (34 percent) provided responses consistent with restrictions in campus movements, 32 (36 percent) gave responses consistent with increased vigilance. Changes in social engagement were given by 35 (40 percent) respondents of which 18 (20 percent) demonstrated decreases in social engagement and 17 (19 percent) demonstrated increases in social engagement. Changes in academic engagement were noted by 13 (15 percent) respondents of which four (4.5 percent) demonstrated decreases in academic engagement and nine (10 percent) demonstrated increases in academic engagement. Ten students (11 percent) described use of health and support services as changes in their behaviours. Thirty-one (35 percent) respondents made behavioural changes consistent with two or more categories (31 percent made two types of changes and 5 percent made three types of changes).

Restrictions in Campus Movement

Nearly one-third of women who

reported changes in their own behaviours on campus identified a variety of restrictions in their mobility on campus. These included avoiding risk areas and risk times. Some noted avoiding certain areas of campus that were either isolated or locations where the perpetrator was likely to be, avoiding being out when it was dark, not travelling alone, or changing

alcohol. One participant stated that she was, “always checking on my surroundings, 360 degrees.” Another noted, “I walk with my keys in my hand in case anyone tries to grab me.” One student stated, “I constantly have my phone out, avoid walking alone.” Other participants felt that they needed to protect themselves as exemplified by the participant who

stated, “I felt that I needed to make more friends in campus so I can feel more protected.” Another student found she used a number of strategies, “I focused all my concentration on school and family to stop letting the negative thoughts in... started being more practical and logical.” Another participant noted that she, “made a system so that I was never

Decreases in academic engagement were reported by students who mentioned restrictions in class selection and less involvement on campus as well as transferring or leaving school. One stated she would, “Avoid late evening or too early morning classes.” Another said that she “skipped night class,” similar to another student who had to “stop going” all together.

travel route. One participant stated that she “avoided some places where I thought I might encounter the individual involved in the event.” Another said she, “avoided being on campus during the times I knew the person has class.” Another student stated that she, “avoided being on campus alone at any time. He stalked me on campus so I didn’t ever feel safe at school.”

Participants also indicated changes in travel that included not travelling alone or changing travel routes. One participant said, “I stopped taking night classes, and went home as soon as the time got to 6:00 pm in the winter and 8:00 pm in the summer.” Another noted she “only went on campus in the daylight, walked with people, clutched my keys when walking...”

Increased Vigilance

Increased awareness was identified by over one-third of women who changed their behaviours following experiences of stalking. This included having greater awareness of one’s surroundings, increased caution around the use of social media and decreases in the consumption of

alcohol. One participant stated that she was, “always checking on my surroundings, 360 degrees.” Another noted, “I walk with my keys in my hand in case anyone tries to grab me.” One student stated, “I constantly have my phone out, avoid walking alone.” Other participants felt that they needed to protect themselves as exemplified by the participant who

Changes in Social Engagement

Stalking experiences resulted in both decreases and increases in women’s social engagement in campus social events and with friends. Examples of decreased engagement included one student who said she would, “stay distant from people.” Another student noted that she, “Stopped talking to all students who are not in my specific faculty or program because I did not want to talk to strangers who could potentially humiliate me or make me feel uncomfortable.” Another participant said that she, “...avoided contact with people whenever possible.”

In addition to decreases in or restriction of social activities, some participants noted increases in social engagement with friends and in social activities that gave them a feeling of increased protection, such as the stu-

dent who stated, “I felt that I needed to make more friends in campus so I can feel more protected.” Another student found she used a number of strategies, “I focused all my concentration on school and family to stop letting the negative thoughts in... started being more practical and logical.” Another participant noted that she, “made a system so that I was never

Changes in Academic Engagement

Participants also identified changes in their academic engagement at school (usually defined as a combination of academic interest and participation) following stalking experiences. Decreases in academic engagement were reported by students who mentioned restrictions in class selection and less involvement on campus as well as transferring or leaving school. One stated she would, “Avoid late evening or too early morning classes.” Another said that she “skipped night class,” similar to another student who reported that she had to “stop going” all together. Another participant said that she “blocked him on Facebook and avoided going to the computer lab he usually works in.”

In addition to decreases in academic engagement, participants also gave responses indicative of increases in academic engagement, such as focusing more on coursework and

interacting more with professors and other university faculty and staff, in order to increase feelings of safety. One student stated, “Did my best to talk to professors more to feel more secure about academic progress.” Another participant responded that she “Talked to an academic advisor and got a counsellor” and another increased her engagement by a “focus on study habits rather than extracurricular.”

Use of Health/Support Services.

Ten participants indicated that they began attending personal counselling or therapy and utilizing the university’s accessibility services in order to feel more secure. One stated, “...I realized that it was okay to ask for the accommodations that I needed and that it was okay to talk to my profs and TAs if I needed help. This helped me feel much better in how I fit in with the university.” Another student said, “I notified the campus police and got help from counselling/therapy.” One woman noted that she “made a visit to Health and Wellness to address personal issues.”

Behavioural Changes and Intersectionality

We examined, through binary logistic regressions, whether women with intersectional identities (i.e., self-identified sexual minority status, racial minority status, and disability status) differed in terms of whether they reported changing their behaviour at school following their stalking experience. The overall model was significant, $X^2 (df = 3) = 9.51, p = .023, R^2 = .05$, indicating differences among women who reported changing their behaviour at school and those who reported not making any changes in terms of their intersectional identities (See Table 1). However, when specific groups were examined, further nuances were

detected. No differences in making or not making behavioural changes at school following stalking were detected based on sexual diversity status (i.e., sexual minority vs. non-sexual minority and racialized minority status, (i.e., racialized minority vs. non-racialized minority)).¹ In contrast, differences were found among women who reported changing their behaviour at school and those who did not report making changes in terms of their disability/ability status (i.e., having a disability vs. not having a disability).² Forty-six percent (46 percent) of individuals with disabilities reported changing their behaviour on campus following stalking, compared with 36 percent of individuals without disabilities who reported making changes. This indicates that women self-identifying with a disability are more likely to report changing their behaviour on campus to feel safer and more comfortable following stalking victimisation compared to individuals without disabilities.

Additionally, binary logistic regression was used to examine differences in types of behaviour changes reported by individuals with intersectional identities (i.e., restrictions in campus movements, increased vigilance, changes in social engagement, changes in academic engagement, and use of health/support services). Participants did not differ in the frequencies with which they reported behaviour themes based on their self-identified sexual diversity, $X^2 (df = 5) = 4.31, p = .505, R^2 = .08$; or racialized minority status, $X^2 (df = 5) = 7.53, p = .184, R^2 = .11$; or disability status, $X^2 (df = 5) = 4.02, p = .546, R^2 = .09$ on all categories of behaviours (See Table 2).

Discussion

This study examined behavioural responses to increase personal safety and security made by women undergraduates who experienced stalking

on Canadian campuses. Among the women who made changes, behaviours were described in terms of restrictions in mobility, increased vigilance, changes in campus social and academic engagement as well as use of health services. These findings are consistent with what some other researchers have found in terms of the higher number of personal responses and changes (e.g., Amar, *College Women’s Experience*; Bjerregaard; Fisher, Cullen, and Turner; Fremouw, Westrup, and Pennypacker; Pathé and Mullen) compared to the limited or absent legal or criminal justice action in response to stalking (e.g., Amar, *College Women’s Experience*; Bjerregaard; Björklund et al.; Buhi, Clayton, and Surrency; Fisher, Cullen, and Turner; Fremouw, Westrup, and Pennypacker; Jordan, Wilcox, and Pritchard).

Specifically, in terms of restrictions in campus movement, studies have similarly reported changes in schedule or routine as an attempt to avoid stalkers or avoid experiencing further victimisation (e.g., Amar, *College Women’s Experience*). Researchers have also had similar findings in terms of increased vigilance following stalking including carrying or purchasing repellent sprays or weapons (e.g., Bjerregaard; Fisher, Cullen, and Turner; Fremouw, Westrup, and Pennypacker). Thus, stalking may not only impact women’s wellbeing but consistent with feminist theory of social control and dominance, may also limit their ability to move freely around campus, further restricting freedom in the academic realm.

The results of this study add to the limited investigation of changes in social and academic engagement on campus following stalking. Similar to some other research, we found that a proportion of students turned to friends for support (e.g., Buhi et al), began travelling with a companion or sought out social groups

Table 1

Summary of Binary Logistic Regression for Variables Predicting Behaviour Changes Following Stalking (N=88)

Demographic Variable	Wald	p	Odds Ratio
Sexual Diversity	2.52	.112	1.70
Racialized Minority	2.56	.109	1.56
Self-Identified Disability	4.03	.045*	2.98

Note: $X^2 (df=3) = 9.51, p = .023, R^2 = .05$

* $p < .05$.

Table 2

Summary of Binary Logistic Regression for Variables Predicting Theme of Behaviour Change Following Stalking (N=88)

Note: RCM=Restricted Campus Mobility, IV = Increased Vigilance, SE= Social Engagement, AE = Academic engagement, HS = Health Services

Demographic Variable		Behavioural Change Theme																
		Model			RCM*			IV*			SE*			AE*			HS*	
X ²	p	R ²	Wald	p	Odds Ratio	Wald	p	Odds Ratio	Wald	p	Odds Ratio	Wald	p	Odds Ratio	Wald	p	Odds Ratio	
Sexual Diversity	4.31	.505	.08	.17	.677	.75	2.50	.114	.317	1.52	.218	.56	1.17	.279	.49	.34	.562	.56
Racialized Minority	7.53	.184	.11	.04	.847	.91	1.53	.217	1.92	3.80	.051	1.99	.72	.396	1.40	.20	.657	.70
Self-Identified Disability	4.02	.546	.09	.16	.686	.74	.21	.646	.70	1.11	.292	.55	.22	.642	.74	.00	.999	.00

(e.g., Fisher, Cullen, and Turner). A proportion of women in this sample, however reported decreases in their social engagement indicating possible withdrawal and increased isolation in the aftermath of stalking victimisation. Given the potential negative consequences associated with stalking such as depression and substance use (Davis, Coker, and Sanderson), it is important for research to address more directly the relationship between well-being and

social engagement following stalking. Furthermore, it is also important for university personnel attempting to help students cope with stalking to be aware of decreases in social engagement and potential withdrawal.

In contrast, among the sample of women reporting changes in their academic engagement following experiences of stalking, more women reported increases in their academic engagement compared to decreases. This indicates that women may turn

to intensified focus on academia as a means to deal with sexual victimisation. Although the results of this study do not allow us to determine whether there were positive outcomes as a result of these increases, this points to a potential area for further investigation.

Of the 88 women who reported and described changes to behaviour on campus following stalking, only ten indicated that they sought health/support services as a result, similar

to reports from other researchers who investigated counselling among university women stalking victims (e.g., Bjerregaard; Fisher, Cullen, and Turner). While reluctance to disclose victimisation experiences is well known (Ullman; Ullman and Filipas; Ullman, Foynes, and Tang), these findings indicate that greater resources are needed to support students to make disclosures. This would not only provide them with increased access to services such as health or counselling support, but would also increase postsecondary awareness of campus stalking.

Behavioural Changes and Intersectionality

We asked the question of whether women with intersectional and historically marginalized identities would differ in the frequency and type of behavioural changes made in response to stalking victimisation. Differences in making behavioural changes on campus following stalking were detected based on disability/ability status but not based on sexual diversity or racialization. Specifically, women experiencing stalking victimisation who identified as having a disability were more likely to report changing their behaviour on campus to feel safer and more secure compared to women without disabilities. No differences were detected based on intersectional identities and specific coping themes. Thus, although women with disabilities are more likely to make changes in their behaviour following stalking, they do not differ in terms of the changes they make compared to women without disabilities.

Given that women with disabilities are at an increased risk for experiencing sexually coercive behaviours (e.g., Curry, Hassouneh-Phillips, and Johnston-Silverberg; Hassouneh-Phillip and Curry) it is particularly troubling

that women with disabilities are also more likely to have to make behaviour changes that restrict their mobility and freedom. This may limit campus engagement and potentially impact their educational experiences and/or academic performance. Furthermore, for women with physical disabilities who may already face challenges in terms of accessing areas of campus, additional restrictions in mobility to avoid stalkers may lead to increased campus isolation and inaccessibility. Thus, not only do postsecondary institutions need to continue developing resources to help students coping with stalking and other forms of sexual victimisation, they also need to ensure that these resources are accessible and sensitive to women with multiple intersecting identities.

Use of University Resources and Facilities

This study raised the question of whether behavioural changes made by women students who experienced stalking were related to access or use of university resources and facilities and whether these changes could impact educational experiences. Our thematic analysis, which showed significant changes in campus mobility and vigilance, as well as social engagement and academic engagement, links many of these behaviour changes to the use of university resources.

Descriptions of campus mobility that included restrictions in class attendance, class selection, specific campus locations, use of libraries or other academic resources, clearly indicate the potential of behavioural changes to impact educational opportunities and/or academic performance. For instance, as mentioned above, one participant noted avoiding a computer lab on campus in order to avoid her stalker. As a result of the stalking, this student was unable to access resources provided by the university

that may have been important to her academic success.

Descriptions of changes in campus engagement, both social and academic, made by victims of stalking suggest that some of the changes made by students decrease their access and use of university resources and facilities. For example, students noted deliberately avoiding contact with other students and staff/faculty, curtailing campus-sponsored extra-curricular and social activities, and limiting opportunities for networking and the exchange of ideas that could be related to academic performance and satisfaction. Changes in academic engagement that limited access to university resources and facilities, while rare, included dropping out of classes or out of school entirely. These changes may indicate potential and long-term effects on students' academic and overall career trajectories.

In addition, some of the changes identified by a few students pointed to potential increases in access to and use of university resources and facilities. For example, use of health and support services by students indicated that some students may use these university resources and facilities more often following their victimisation. Some of the increases in social engagement described by students were not related specifically to individuals' university social resources and facilities, but instead were related to the individual's unique social group. It is not clear if this impacted the use of any university resources.

The overall results of this study support some of the previous research on women's individual behavioural changes made to increase feelings of safety and security on campus as a result of sexual victimisation. These findings are consistent with feminist theories of stalking which emphasize structural inequalities that fail to provide institutional or legal responses and encourage women to assume in-

dividual responsibility for protection. We expand on previous research by framing our findings in terms of the impact of the behavioural changes on women's education through limitations placed on their access to and use of university resources. This research is an important step in understanding how female university students cope with stalking and the impact that their coping strategies have on their overall experiences on campuses. As many women feel the need to take individual actions that restrict their access to campus resources in order to feel safe and secure, creating an environment where women engage in safety behaviours that are not harmful to their educational experience is important. Prevention strategies are central to this, however institutions must be aware of current issues surrounding campus stalking in order to better serve and support their students. The specific impact of these changes on various aspects of women's education including academic performance and satisfaction is an important area for further investigation.

Study Limitations

In addition to the implication of the research findings and future directions, it is also important to discuss some shortcomings of the study. Students' deliberate behavioural changes to feel safer and more secure on campus may have reflected other forms of victimisation or negative experiences as well as stalking. The study narrowed in on particular questions, thus did not embrace the wider feminist literature on violence against women or the critical work of advocacy and support services that do engage with issues of violence against women and its impact on university students. As well, a subset of women from this study identified as having a disability, but information was not collected on the type of disability or

disabilities they had. Thus, we were unable to determine if behavioural change strategies differ among participants' varying abilities status beyond the dichotomous examination.

Lana Stermac is currently a Professor in the Department of Applied Psychology and Human Development at the University of Toronto. Her research in the area of violence against women includes the broad area of women's mental health, education and health promotion. Her recent work focuses largely on the effects of campus sexual violence on women's educational experiences and academic achievements.

Jenna Cripps received her B.Sc. in Psychology: Brain and Cognition from the University of Guelph and her M.A. from the University of Toronto. Her experience includes working in the broad area of women's mental health, education, and health promotion and focuses largely on the intersection of women's use of technology and traumatic or adverse experiences. She is currently completing her Ph.D. in Clinical and Counselling Psychology at the University of Toronto.

Veronica Badali received her B.Sc. in psychology from the University of Toronto. She has research experience spanning diverse projects, methods, and participant groups, and most recently has worked on a project examining the impact of sexual coercion on women's education. Her personal research interests also holistic stress reduction and wellbeing across the lifespan.

Endnotes

¹Sexual diversity status (i.e., sexual minority vs. non-sexual minority), Wald ($df = 1$) = 2.52, $p = .112$, Odds ratio = 1.70, 95 percent CI [.88, 3.28] and racialized minority status, (i.e., racialized minority vs. non-racialized minority), Wald ($df = 1$) = 2.56, $p =$

.109, Odds ratio = 1.56, 95 percent CI [.91, 2.70].

²Disability/ability status (i.e., having a disability vs. not having a disability), Wald ($df = 1$) = 4.03, $p = .045$, Odds ratio = 2.98, 95 percent CI [1.03, 8.63].

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