Chapter 10 "They didn't want to upset the client": Stalking in Hands-On Occupations

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Key Points

•   This chapter will consider the literature on stalking covering the scale, scope, nature and impact by using theoretical perspectives, statistics, and academic research to build a picture of stalking within hands-on occupations.

•   The responses to stalking experiences from both a legislative and workplace point of view will be explored, accompanied by analysis of areas for requiring change.

•   The above points will be compared and contrasted with our conducted research in order to establish relevant patterns and areas requiring further research.

Introduction

There is a distinct lack of literature surrounding stalking, which is far more limited when it comes to stalking within hands-on occupations. Few studies provide empirical research on the nature, impact and support available to those within hands-on occupations, with much of the focus being on stalking healthcare professionals. This chapter seeks to address this gap by highlighting employee and employer experiences of stalking within this context, with the inclusion of participants from the UK who were all aged 18-30. The experiences investigated fall into the categories of harassing/stalking incidents which have occurred, employers' approaches, and the support victims received. These areas, in particular, were studied to help clarify the confidence in recognising/reporting stalking experiences, the frequency/type of incidents and any gaps in responses that required addressing.

Whilst all genders can both perpetrate and be on the receiving end of stalking, this study worked within the parameters of feminism in terms of its creation, theoretical stance and delivery to ensure the research was conducted *with* participants rather than *on* them. Equally, we recognised that research of this kind cannot be value-free (Harding 1991). Given the gender differences in terms of stalking experiences, we were interested in recognising any distinctions between genders surrounding victim experiences, the motivations of individuals who perpetrate stalking behaviour, and the effects of stalking. Lastly, this chapter will draw on literature to explain the different types of individuals who stalk, the theoretical perspectives behind stalking behaviour and the current legal approaches. It will do so with the

acknowledgement that this scoping study begins a discussion on stalking within hands-on occupations, which is a near non-existent field of research.

Prevalence of Stalking

As of March 2021, there were 215,173 incidents recorded by police that were domestic abuse related harassment and stalking which accounts for 25% of all domestic abuse crimes (Office for National Statistics 2021). In March 2020, 11,617 men and 13,642 women were subjected to stalking with 70.5% of perpetrators being male (Napo 2011; Office for National Statistics 2020). Also, since July 2021 the East Midlands Police have documented a 99% increase in stalking and harassment offences (Forte 2021). However, it is impossible to quantify the true picture of stalking and harassment. The Suzy Lamplugh Trust (2021, 1) has described the number of recorded crimes in relation to stalking as a "drop in the ocean". This may be due to misreporting of this crime type with many reports classifying stalking as either harassment, a violation of a protection order or domestic abuse (Brady and Nobles 2017). Similarly, some victims may not want to report the crime. For example, male victims have voiced feeling ridiculed or not taken seriously when reporting their experiences of stalking to police (Harmes and Forde 2018). On average an individual will have experienced 100 stalking incidents before contacting police (Office for the Police and Crime Commissioner for Norfolk 2020). Therefore, the dark figure of crime may be partly attributed to a combination of misconceptions of victim status and negative experiences with police. It must also be noted that prior research suggests that offenders are rarely charged with stalking (Jordan, Logan and Walker, 2003; Tjaden, Thoennes and Allison 2000). Many are charged with either domestic abuse related crimes or lesser offences such as harassment, property crimes or trespassing (Jordan, Logan and Walker 2003; Logan 2010; Woodruff 2010).

Nature of Stalking

In terms of anti-stalking legislation, differences lie in what constitutes stalking. This includes the minimum number of occurrences for an individual's conduct to be considered stalking as well as physical harm being prioritised over psychological harm (Blaauw et al 2002; Finch 2001a). These responses will be further discussed later in the chapter. To make matters worse, researchers and clinicians' definitions also differ. For example, Meloy (1996) and McCann (1998) use the term *obsessional following*, Rosenfeld (2000) terms stalking *obsessional harassment*, Cupach and Spitzberg (1998) refers to stalking as *obsessive relational intrusion*. With that being said, it is clear that researchers and clinicians are referring to the same

experience. The Suzy Lamplugh Trust offers a more cohesive definition describing stalking as 'a pattern of fixated and obsessive behaviours which is repeated, persistent, intrusive and causes fear of violence or engenders alarm and distress in the victim' (Suzy Lamplugh Trust 2019, 1).

Currently, the Domestic Abuse Bill (2021) does not highlight any links to stalking despite the wide range of evidence supporting its relationship to stalking offences. However, on the 31st of January 2022, a policy paper regarding plans to publish a comprehensive strategy focusing on tackling domestic abuse perpetrators was announced to be released. So far, the strategy details one of its pledges as the assessment and management of risks of perpetrators who commit both domestic abuse and stalking offences (Home Office 2022). One proposed method is to use electronic tagging for a further 3,500 offenders on release from prison who are still deemed a threat, and to form a new domestic abuser register. This register will require known offenders of domestic abuse, to inform police when opening a joint bank account with a new partner, or if they change address (Home Office 2022). Unfortunately, whilst this strategy accounts for the gendered nature of domestic abuse, it does not acknowledge women with multiple protected characteristics and their increased risk of abuse and further difficulties in accessing support. A wide community of deaf, disabled, migrant, Black and minority, and LGBTQ+ women and girls may have additional needs/risks that have not been addressed (EVAW 2022).

Stalking can be displayed in a manner of ways/settings, with the recent COVID-19 pandemic restrictions and widely popular use of social media making stalking offences easier to commit (Bracewell, Hargreaves and Stanley 2020). The National Stalking Helpline found that 100% of reports received included forms of online stalking, with this pattern of behaviour escalating over lockdown periods. In fact, victims have referred to themselves as 'sitting ducks' as they were aware of the perpetrators having easier access and more time to victimize (CPS 2020: 1). It must be noted that a discussion of specific online stalking behaviours will be kept to a minimum in this chapter given our focus on stalking within hands-on occupations.

As mentioned above, for stalking to be considered a crime there needs to be a pattern of acts/behaviours which intend to cause the victim(s) harm (Fox, Nobles and Fisher 2011). Without this repeated behaviour, the acts can be considered legal if they are standalone (Brady and Nobles 2017). To illustrate, victims may experience being spied on, followed, repeated unwanted contact (through social media, text, email, gifts, mutual friends), threats to cause

harm, suicide or engage in image-based abuse, property damage, spreading rumours through social/professional environments (Bracewell, Hargreaves and Stanley 2020; Brady and Nobles 2017). Otherwise harmless behaviours (i.e. sending a card) could be considered legal when both the context and intent are not contemplated (Brady and Nobles 2017). In fact, Sheridan and Lyndon (2012) found in their study of 1,214 self-identified victims of stalking that those who experienced heightened social, emotional, and physical impacts are victims who had prior relationships with the person who was stalking them. Furthermore, Spitzberg and Cupach (2014) categorized the 5 coping strategies used by victims to allow them to manage these impacts. First is *moving toward*, where some victims may try a 'reasoning' route, in attempts to negotiate a different form of relationship such as friends instead of romantic partners. Another strategy is *moving away*, which is avoiding those who are stalking altogether in order to reduce their access to the victim as much as possible. The third strategy is *moving against* which refers to the victim harming/threatening those stalking them as a method of deterrent. The fourth strategy is known as *moving inward* which involves the act of victims empowering themselves to effectively manage the stalking behaviour, for example self-defense classes. Lastly, *moving outward* is the involvement of asking for help/support such as confiding in friends or relatives (Acquadro Maran and Varetto 2018). It must be noted that within Spitzberg and Cupach's research male victims of stalking were less likely to *move outward* than female victims (Acquadro Maran, Varetto and Zedda 2020; Spitzberg, Nicastro and Cousins 1998). Furthermore, many victims used a number of strategies in an attempt to stop stalking behaviour, a single strategy was not successful on its own (Acquadro Maran Varetto and Zedda 2014).

Theoretical Perspectives of Stalking

To further understand the phenomenon of stalking, theoretical perspectives need to be considered to partly explain why stalking behaviour occurs. It is believed that parental bonding and attachment impact stalking behaviour (Cassidy, Jones and Shaver 2013). In brief, it is believed that early child-parental relationships determine relationship perceptions through adulthood. For example, Mackenzie, Mullen and Ogloff (2008) found in their sample of 129 individuals who stalk that they were more likely to have insecure attachment styles than the general population. In addition, Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) explain how the insecure attachment style may sometimes manifest in individuals feeling anger and needing 'justice' when they feel they have been rejected in addition to their preexisting negative view of self/others.

These offences may have involved a particular typology of stalking behaviour with research showing that there are 5 distinct classifications: the rejected stalker, the intimacy seeking stalker, the resentful stalker, the incompetent suitor, and the predatory stalker (Mullen, Pathé and Purcell 2000; Mullen and Pathé 2001). Briefly, the *rejected stalker* is usually triggered by the breakdown of the relationship causing them to feel 'rejected' and so seek revenge. The *intimacy seeker* may feel an emotional connection to their target, who is often a stranger, as they yearn for a relationship out of feelings of loneliness. Next, is the *resentful stalker*, who again usually targets strangers/acquaintances and resorts to inducing fear to gain control due to their own delusional beliefs of being wronged. Following this, is the *incompetent suitor* whose motivations arise from lust/loneliness and so seeks a short-term scenario such as a date/sexual relationship. Finally, is the *predatory stalker* who seeks sexual gratification or attaining the knowledge to assist them in committing sexual assault. This type of stalking behaviour is carried out to fulfil the power individuals who stalk crave, and usually involves males stalking female strangers (Mullen, Pathé and Purcell 2000; Mullen and Pathé 2001). For a fuller understanding of these typologies please see Figure 10.1. However, further clarification is needed regarding the typology in terms of whether the duration and diversity are constant across all individuals who stalk and their victims or whether stalking behaviour itself evolves consistently over time (Sheridan, Blaauw and Davies 2003). Furthermore, while this typology is useful, it is important to keep in mind that it is based on forensic and clinical samples (Cheyne and Guggisberg 2018).

A further theoretical perspective to consider is the involvement of 'safety work', as coined by Liz Kelly (2012) and Vera-Gray (2018). This term is used to "describe the strategising and planning that women and girls undertake in responding to, avoiding and/or coping with men's violence" (Vera-Gray 2016, 134). In brief, 'safety work' is heavily linked to the notion of 'unsafety of femininity' as individuals (many women in particular) exhibit avoidant behaviour to protect themselves from harm such as changing routes homes, areas they frequent and, relying on bodily adaptations (Vera-Gray and Kelly 2020, 217). To illustrate, physical characteristics in line with femininity like makeup, long hair, and jewellery also tend to be avoided for this same reason (Vera-Gray and Kelly 2020). Moreover, this avoidant behaviour can be equally evident in the crossing of the street, avoiding eye contact, using your phone, putting keys between your fingers, the conditioned response of politeness if approached, taking headphones out. These behaviours can be avoided entirely or can be avoided in particular contexts such as being out alone during the evening. As Vera-Gray explains, gendered

expectations have altered thoughts/behaviours so much so that safety work is frequently subconscious and hidden. The 'safety work' behaviours women have been exhibiting since childhood are something women simply *are* rather than what women *do* (Vera-Gray 2018).

Figure 10.1: Emergent Themes Relating to Stalking in Hands-On Occupations

Effects of Stalking

Another area requiring acknowledgement is the evidential impacts of stalking on victims, which range from the direct mental/physical impacts to the extended side effects that can hold negative outcomes on the victim's everyday life. A primary example is the NVAW study which reported that as a result of being stalked, 7% of participants left work permanently and a further 26% lost time at work. Consequently, this led to both professional and friend relationships suffering as victims isolated themselves through fear (Tjaden, Thoennes and Allison 2000). In addition, the follow up study performed by Gass et al 2020 on their 2002 epidemiological study reported that 27.7% of participants were placed on sick leave due to health impacts as 39.7% had developed a sleep disorder (Gass et al 2020). Furthermore, out of 159 participants that completed the Davidson Trauma Scale, Turmanis and Brown (2010) reported that 21% achieved a trauma rating of over 40, which has links to post traumatic stress disorder (Turmanis and Brown 2010).

Additionally, during the active stage of being stalked, it is common for victims to experience self-doubt regarding whether they are overreacting as many signs of stalking are not illegal when there is no malicious intent involved. For example, sending messages over social media or showing up in areas the victim frequents. All the previous impacts may manifest in feelings of insecurity/inability to trust others, struggling to be intimate within relationships, changing appearance, moving home/job and avoiding aspects of daily routines such as going to the gym or walking a certain route home (Korkodeilou 2017). Overall, stalking can incur major effects on physical health, mental health, professional and social life. These impacts combined with being victimised can also have serious financial consequences such as leaving employment, loss of wage from sick leave, costs to repair property damage or increase home security, legal fees and breaking tenancy agreements for relocation purposes (Korkodeilou 2017; Logan et al 2006).

Legal Remedies Related to Stalking

The 25th of November 2012 saw stalking become legally recognised as an offence under the Protection of Freedoms Act 2012 although presently there is no statutory definition that encompasses stalking (Badcock 2002; Kamphuis and Emmelkamp 2000). In fact, stalking was the term given to a number of acts that abusers used to force their partners to remain in a relationship (Walker and Meloy 1998). However, section 2a of the Protection from Harassment Act 1997 offers examples of associated acts of stalking such as spying, forcing contact, and following. In addition to this, section 4a states how stalking can relate to incurring fears of violence or serious distress/alarm. However, these examples/definitions can be quite vague and subjective, as the reality of stalking can range from the deliberate ruin of professional reputations to threats to reveal sexuality. Both the elements and process of stalking can differ significantly (Sheridan, Blaauw and Davies 2003). Despite the Protection from Harassment Act 1997 being useful to some extent, stalking is not defined within the act. Instead, it simply states that an individual should not engage in activities which amount to harassment of another person (Sheridan, Blaauw and Davies 2003). However, the nature of stalking means it occurs on a broad spectrum accompanied by technology and social media which is consistently evolving. As such, even if a more concrete definition existed for stalking, it would run the risk of becoming quickly outdated.

Moreover, one current response to stalking behaviour is the 2 year-long stalking protection orders (SPO) that place a legal ban on perpetrators contacting the individuals they have stalked. Nevertheless, there are significant flaws within SPO's (Townsend 2020). To illustrate, receiving the order does not reflect upon criminal records, the orders are favoured over prosecution, and occasionally police can lack urgency in responding to SPO breaches (Suzy Lamplugh Trust 2021; Townsend 2020). Additionally, only 356 SPO's applications were made across 31 forces over the 18 months of the introduction of the orders (Lowe 2022). A further problem identified with attending police officers is the failure in recognising persistent incidents from a someone who stalks and instead treating each offence as an isolated case. This similar issue can be observed in cases of domestic abuse and coercive control (Myhill and Hohl 2016; Wiener 2017). Due to the incoherent approach, this does not provide the full picture for other police staff and prosecutors who may underestimate the magnitude of the impact on the victim.

Additionally, the DASH (Domestic Abuse, Stalking, Harassment, and Honour Based Violence Assessment) risk assessment tool (DASH-RIC) is often used to provide safeguarding professionals clarity on the risks involved in cases of domestic abuse. This allows for the appropriate agencies to provide services from police, health, education, housing, social care, Independent Domestic Violence Advisor (IDVA), and specialist support services (Norfolk County Council 2022). Unfortunately, it has been identified that professionals require proper training in the real risks of domestic abuse, which can aid in implementing more appropriate charges such as stalking or coercive control instead of harassment (Turner, Medina and Brown 2019). Given the DASH-RIC follows the same assumptions of the violence model, thereby prioritising physical violence, it does not take into account the other impacts of stalking behaviour (i.e. emotional, financial etc.) and tends to disregard victims' subjective experiences (Myhill and Hohl 2016; Robinson 2010). However, a specialist risk identification checklist for harassment and stalking cases does exist in the form of S-Dash although one of its downfalls is its employment can depend on the individual police officer attending the scene (Robinson et al 2016). It must be noted that studies have shown that this objective measure has poor accuracy in identifying future harm (Medina et al 2015). For example, the data available to predict future harm is messy and difficult to acquire. The specialist police data is biased from both a recording and reporting perspective, the systems in place to gather this data do not adequately measure repeat victimization, especially when it concerns the same victim, and often victims and perpetrators are unreachable (Ariza, Robinson and Myhill 2016). There are also cases where the victim or perpetrator is unwilling to acknowledge the abuse, minimise it or fail to disclose it. Similarly, some forms of abuse are not well documented by police data such as psychological harm (Ariza, Robinson and Myhill 2016). To make matters worse, the use of police data to predict future harm can also amplify institutional biases already present within the criminal justice system (Starr 2014). In addition, it must be noted that there is little consensus on what constitutes future harm, with any data on future harm being far from simple to analyse (Ariza, Robinson and Myhill 2016). This coupled with inconsistent or a complete lack of police training and guidance in relation to DASH-RIC is a cause for concern (Ariza, Robinson and Myhill 2016; Robinson 2010).

Stalking in the Workplace

Furthermore, whilst the Health and Safety at Work etc 1974 Act places a legal duty upon employers to ensure the health, safety, and welfare at work for their employees, there remains questions on how best to approach this. To illustrate, the Suzy Lamplugh Trust has reported an

abundance of phone calls regarding employers wanting advice on dealing with employees accused of stalking or how best to protect their staff (Suzy Lamplugh Trust 2019). In addition, many companies often perceive the lines to be blurred between criminal law and employment law as signs of stalking can change when within professional settings (Horman 2016). This is understandably concerning as 90% of corporate security professionals have intervened in cases of men stalking women, and 75% of those who domestically abuse their partners will stalk them at their workplace (Paladin 2021). Additionally, people who stalk will adapt their methods to incorporate individuals' place of work such as repeatedly making formal complaints to employers to sabotage the individual's work reputation (Sheridan, North and Scott 2019; Swanberg, Logan and Macke 2005). Furthermore, in cases where the individual has a public profile, any complaints/threats are usually readily dismissed as being expected due to the accessibility of their reputation (Horman 2016).

Whilst the Health and Safety at Work Act (HASWA) 1974 has been heavily influential in the period of 1974 to 2015, with a decrease in fatal injuries (84%) and non-fatal injuries (70%), there remains gaps in the HASWA that require acknowledgment (Augustin and Brooks 2015). However, Humphreys (2007) found that the HASWA itself was mainly compiled of 'safety' aspects with employee health and welfare as a secondary thought. The terms 'health' and 'welfare' are not defined within the HASWA, which can provide insight as to why employers may have a poor understanding of their role in the health and welfare of employees (Humphreys 2007).

Stalking in Healthcare Settings

Moreover, this research aims to study stalking and harassment of individuals working specifically within hands-on occupations thus it proves vital to acknowledge any previous studies with a similar objective to identify patterns. Firstly, Sandberg et al (2002) reportedly found that 50% of 82 clinical staff participants within an American inpatient psychiatric facility experienced stalking, harassment, and threatening behaviour. Also, Paraschakis and Konstantinidou (2012) found that 20% of psychiatrists had experienced stalking, this parallels with the findings from Mastronardi, Pomilla and Ricci's (2012) Italian study. This study was conducted with 500 participants of equal male to female ratio, within mental health centres in Rome which suggests that the targeting of staff within hands-on occupations is shared across various countries and cultures. However, this also highlights the lack of support, guidance, and training for those in the hands-on occupation industry which is clearly necessary.

Additionally, Maran and Varetto (2018) studied stalking among health professions in relation to gender and found clear distinctions surrounding the effects of stalking between males and females. To illustrate, males were more likely suffer from feelings of anger at being victimized, whilst females felt anxiety and depression. On the other hand, it was also found that both males and females utilised the *moving away* strategy mentioned previously by Spitzberg and Cupach (2014) in an attempt to create distance between themselves and those stalking them. However, the use of these coping strategies decreased once there was a detected increase in stalking behaviour, which may signify the fatigue caused to the victim by the relentless and stressful harassment (Maran and Varetto 2018).

Currently, the Health and Safety at Work etc 1974 Act places the employees' health, safety, and welfare as a legal duty of employers to ensure (The National Archives 2021). Moreover, it was reported that 90% of corporate security employees have intervened in three or more incidents of a man stalking a woman, with 75% of domestic abuse stalkers often frequenting the victim's workplace (Paladin 2021). Interestingly, the Suzy Lamplugh Trust helpline recorded heightened numbers of calls regarding employers seeking guidance on how to approach stalking within their workplace or employees that have had stalking accusations made against them (Suzy Lamplugh Trust 2019). There is a clear absence of guidance or procedure within workplace management of stalking incidents as organisations often lack clarity on the differences between criminal law and employment law. It remains vital to provide detailed assistance to employers as stalking incidents within work may often differ from the patterned stalking behaviour experienced outside of work. A prime example of this may be the perpetrator submitting numerous damaging complaints about the victim, in a bid to purposely damage their professional reputation. Often, in cases when the individual being stalked has a public profile, the reports of stalking or harassment are frequently dismissed as being expected within their line of work (Horman 2016).

As highlighted above, there is a substantial lack of research into hands-on occupations, with much of the general stalking literature being outdated. To our knowledge, no research has been conducted on stalking within the beauty aesthetic industry. While some research exists in terms of stalking within healthcare settings, this is sparse at best. No research appears to consider stalking from both an employee and employer perspective, which sets this research apart from others within the field. Again, there appears to be limited statutory guidance on how both employees and employers deal with stalking incidents at work and the support available to those involved. This reiterates the need for more research to be conducted in this area.

Our Study

This research was undertaken using qualitative methods of enquiry as a response to concerns voiced by the Hollie Gazzard Trust regarding the lack of research into hands-on occupations and stalking. This was a scoping study given the dearth of research on this topic in the UK. The study utilised a qualitative approach, which included open-ended semi-structured interviews conducted over both Microsoft Teams and phone calls, with five participants between April and July 2021. The sample included four female participants and one male participant. In terms of the employee/employer split, four participants identified as employees and one identified as an employer. All participants were over the age of 18 years. Interviews were restricted to online or telecommunication environments as this research was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic and, as such, could not be conducted in person. Each interview lasted between 60 minutes and 90 minutes, was audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim.

Employment ranged from a tattoo/piercing artist, spa therapist, psychiatric nurse, beauty therapist and nail technician. Participants were asked to share their experiences of stalking as an employee or employer depending on their position within their workplace. Within the interviews, the questions were broad, such as 'Tell me about a time where you have felt uncomfortable by something a client has said, especially after any treatment or physical contact made.' 'What were your concerns over your safety after these incidents?' 'Did you inform your manager and what action did they take?' 'In your opinion, what else could have been done to support you and ensure your safety at work?' 'How have your experiences changed the way you view working?' This allowed participants to provide as much detail as they felt comfortable during interviews.

Purposive and snowballing sampling were used to recruit participants, with the study being advertised on social media sites such as Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook (Bryman 2012; Silverman 2005). Other recruitment methods included emailing the recruitment poster to health and wellbeing companies which specialised in treatments involving hands-on occupations (i.e. beauty salons, hairdressers) as well as using 'word of mouth' (Etikan, Alkassim and Abubakar 2015). Ethics was approved by the School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee at Nottingham Trent University. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data and produce themes (Braun and Clark 2006).

Whilst this scoping study has weakness in line with both the sample size, gender and employee-employer ratio, there are some significant strengths to this study. For example, this scoping

study involves in-depth case study work which enables a multi-faceted understanding of stalking within hands-on occupations in its real-life context, thereby providing an insight into the experiences of those within this industry. It is not a representative sample, but still provides meaningful insights into this area. The drawbacks include four out of five participants being female so there is still a lack of focus on male victims/survivors. This also extended to the employee-employer ratio, with four of the participants identifying themselves as employees and one identifying as an employer. Whilst it is relatively common for qualitative research to have a smaller participant sample than quantitative research due to its quality rich data, the sample size of this study remains small (Bryman 2012). This therefore impacted the overall internal and external validity of the research (Queiros, Faria and Almeida 2017). However, when studying an under-researched area recruitment is one of the main challenges and this rung true for this study. Although every effort was made to recruit participants through a number of means, recruitment proved difficult with the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, the gender ratio within this study may have resulted in gender bias therefore care should be taken when generalising findings to other genders (Ruiz-Cantero, Vives-Cases and Artazcoz 2007). The higher number of female participants may be due to the reality that many hands-on occupations listed are more female led/female orientated environments (Irvine et al 2022). In addition, the participant sample was primarily white British thus it may not be accurate to generalise results due to the possible differences ranging across cultures, races, and ethnicities (Redwood and Gill 2013). The researchers also acknowledge that sexuality was not taken into account in this study so this also may alter the types of stalking and how it manifests within the workplace.

Findings

This scoping study aimed to explore both employee and employer perspectives of the nature, impact and support available to those experiencing stalking within hands-on occupations. This section of the chapter is structured around five themes which emerged from the data: (I) Effects of Stalking Experiences; (ii) Women Conditioned to be Polite; (iii) Lack of Employee Worth; (iv) Presence of Men and (v) Companionless Stalker.

Effects of Stalking Experiences

> *'…It was kind of sad in a way but like you say we did kind of make a joke of it to probably try make us feel a bit better…' (Kate: lines 377-378)*

One prominent impact of stalking discovered in the study was the participants conscious/subconscious adaptation of various coping methods in order to prepare themselves for situations perceived to be threatening. The above illustration highlights how one participant and their colleague would utilise humour to manage the situation with one client showing harassing behaviour, who was permitted to continue treatment at their salon by their employer. This particular method of coping was encompassed in Carol Brooks Gardner (1995) *Passing By: Gender and Public Harassment* seven strategies of women's responses with ignoring, staged compliance and repressing being some examples of this. Additionally, Gardner coins the strategy of 'redefining the situation' as altering the incident from inappropriate to comedic using humour (Brooks Gardner 1995). In this case, humour may have been present in attempts to subdue feelings of dread and anxiety.

> *'...I actually stopped parking down that street and like I now park like a few streets over...' (Hannah: lines 152-153)*

> *'...if I just need to nip through the reception area when he's in there to do something or call somebody then he's going to be there, and I would have to think of different ways of doing things to stay away from him...' (Kate: lines 324-326)*

Moreover, the above evidence from research interviews further conveys a certain avoidant form of behaviour amongst participants, by avoiding areas where their known stalker resides which can impact day to day life such as work commutes. This idea is supported by Elizabeth Stanko in *Everyday Violence: How Women and Men Experience Sexual and Physical Danger* who states that "*images of danger become subtly woven into our perceptions about a place*" which is certainly true of the two examples above (Tyner 2012, 12). This is the idea that by individuals avoiding areas which bring on feelings of uneasiness, they have accepted the likelihood of violence within those particular contexts. Additionally, this notion can be similarly applied to people in the same manner as places/spaces whereby certain people can be avoided to lessen feelings of anxiety (Tyner 2012).

> *'...I shove my hair up and I don't put any makeup on, I really don't ever want to make an effort when I go to work just because I don't want to entice anything' (Hannah: lines 417-421)*

Comparably, one participant details their efforts in discouraging specific undesired attention which draws symmetry to Elizabeth Stanko's theories stated in the previous section. The evidence displayed from this research highlights how the acknowledgement of a dangerous

situation has led participants to stray away from daily routine which signifies a specific adapted avoidant behaviour. This behaviour is often exhibited by women and is referred to as 'safety work' by Vera-Gray (2018). Often, in professional environments such as work, space and movement can be restricted thus preventative attempts may rely on bodily adaptations. To illustrate, Vera-Gray and Kelly (2020, 217) hold the belief that women's safety work is cultivated by the 'unsafety of femininity', which supports the above evidence of the participant's lack of hairstyling and makeup. Therefore, these conscious displays of safety work by participants are evidently fuelled by their recognition of how unsafe being 'feminine' can be.

Women Conditioned to be Polite

Furthermore, another central theme identified through thematic analysis, was *Women Conditioned to be Polite*. At first glance, there is an array of causes which can ingrain the difficulty some women may find in saying 'no', from gender differences, patriarchal standards, and toxic work culture. The quotes below show participants' concerns in potentially being unprofessional despite being subjected to unacceptable behaviour from a client which Hochschild (1983) terms as 'emotional labour'. Also, Hochschild states employees may have the importance of sales engrained into them. The presence of emotional labour is often management requiring employees to upkeep a certain 'professional' emotional front whilst simultaneously supressing other emotions in order to maintain a client's happiness (Bishop and Hoel 2008).

> *'Yeah, I never felt comfortable to stand there in the salon, whether I was on my own or another member of staff was there, and say no because I kind of felt like it was expected of me to just put up with it' (Kate: lines 168-170)*

> *'...we were all under the same impression of oh you know we need to put up with this otherwise X will be angry with us...' (Kate: lines 242-243)*

> *'...no checking on the other girls to see how they felt about it, no conversation to say are you happy to him if he comes in? Like it was just expected...' (Hannah: lines 400-401)*

> *'...but she was made to go back into the room and carry on with the treatment because they didn't want to upset the client' (Sam: lines 98-99)*

Furthermore, given the inability to say 'no' was found amongst female participants, but not the male participant signifies possible external causes, for example, societal expectations of women being compliant and submissive in comparison to men. As this research only included one male participant, it is not exhaustive by any means, but still provides supportive insight for other studies in this area. One illustration of this is shown by Heilman and Okimoto (2007), who state that women may avoid saying 'no' out of fear of being deemed unfriendly and the potential consequences of rebelling behavioural expectations (Heilman and Okimoto 2007). In addition, Heilman and Chen (2005) found in their study of performance evaluations of both men and women that although the genders may exhibit similar behaviour that the response to similar behaviour differed. To illustrate, whilst women were critiqued when they declined help, men who did the same faced no consequences (Heilman and Chen 2005). To some extent, this provides supporting evidence and explanation as to why it proves more difficult for women to be 'disobedient' over men. There also remains the aspect of guilt to consider as Jones and Kugler (1993) state that after women recognise that their behaviour is failing to align with moral/societal expectations, that they may experience guilt as a response to this (Jones and Kugler 1993).

Finally, during this research this theme notably occurred frequently, which may point to the influencing factor of personality traits. These personality traits can be explained by the Big Five Traits of Conscientiousness and Agreeableness (Balliet 2010). To illustrate, individuals with heightened conscientious traits will find increased difficulty in saying 'no' as conscientiousness relates to compliancy levels when committing citizenship behaviours. In addition, Schmitt et al (2009) discovered in their study that the conscientious trait that influences saying 'no' was higher amongst women rather than men. Also, those who found difficulty in saying 'no' also have higher rates of agreeableness and the need to put others before themselves, which for the majority was found to be women. Therefore, there proves to be a wider explanation from gender expectations and toxic work culture behind women feeling obligated to be 'polite' (Schmitt et al 2008).

Lack of Employee Worth

> *'[Employers are]…just concerned about money they're not really concerned about you, you're just a number at the end of the day erm, they're just more concerned about the clients paying' (Sam: lines 221-222)*

> *'...it's almost like moneys more important than your staff or their safety I think is how it made me feel'* (Kate: lines 60-61)

> *'...my boss just wanted the money more than my happiness'* (Kate: lines 143)

The following theme, as represented by the data displayed above, showcases the importance of money over staff wellbeing. This research highlighted the failure in adequate support from management despite complaints from employees of sexual harassment, feelings of being uncomfortable in their own place of work and inappropriate behaviour/comments. Notably, on multiple occasions management's favoured approach of dealing with the harassment was passing the client onto a different staff member. Evidently, there is a correlation with the current study despite the decades between when both studies were conducted. Money is reinforced as a priority every time management use threats or continues to allow the individual displaying unwanted behaviour to receive a service, which showcases the influence of greed over psychological/physical turmoil of employees.

Presence of Men

The data above displays the varying attitudes and perspective towards the influence of men within the workplace, with the first quote relating to issues of the approach from male management towards reported incidents.

> *'...usually, women would feel more comfortable with a female doctor so I feel like I would be more comfortable talking to a female member of staff'* (Sam: lines 362-364)

Conversely, the two following pieces of data relay how the presence of male employees/management can act as a deterrent to individuals displaying inappropriate actions/behaviour. Although the gathered data provides contradicting points of view, there remains space for questioning especially regarding the societal norms in relation to patriarchy. To illustrate further, the Man Box survey (2017) found that many young men still viewed the responsibility of a male to be physically protective yet unemotional, despite voicing that they viewed women as equals. This suggests the extent of how far these patriarchal expectations have been engrained and deemed as second nature (Heilman, Barker and Harrison 2017). Although this was a male-based sample, the main findings of males being seen as the protector from stalking/harassment evidently correlate with the findings from the current study. This

suggests that women also hold similar beliefs or may even adhere to this perspective for matters of protection (Burrell 2019).

> *'Yeah, a lot of the time if X was there, erm, if they were working in the room together or if they just knew he was in the room next door it wouldn't happen it was it was usually if it was like his day off...' (Stella: lines 84-87)*

> *'...we would have sent somebody up there obviously a male presence to obviously make it known that to make sure that she was okay' (Stella: lines 96-97)*

Furthermore, both Casey et al (2016) and Ricardo (2014) found a significant relationship between violence against women and girls, and the effects of gender norms. Additionally, Jewkes, Flood and Lang (2015) expresses how there is an acknowledged social expectation of manhood which holds having control and dominance over women as important. The support of these hegemonic ideologies of masculinity are enforced by violence in situations where feelings of undermined masculinity occur. A further viewpoint to acknowledge is that of 'cultural scaffolding' of rape as theorised by Gavey (2018). Briefly, this entails how the battle for dominance over vulnerability, that has derived from gender norms, can cause a catalyst effect of psychological impacts that lead to sexual violence. The contemporary outlook on manhood makes space for a violently misogynistic manner of pertaining dominance and this occurs more frequently amongst men who have strong desires of upholding the fantasy of manhood. On the occasion where men perceive vulnerability, feelings of entitlement can occur regarding women's bodies, sex, and affections (Burrell 2019).

Companionless Stalker

As shown in the quotes below, participants frequently referred to isolation or the recent experience of losing a partner in relation to the individual subjecting them to harassing behaviour. The previously mentioned typology of stalking behaviour suggests in these circumstances that the individuals could be classed as intimacy seekers as they have a desire to fulfil a relationship with a stranger or acquaintance and escalation to this typology is usually derived from social isolation (NYSCP 2019; Mullen, Pathé and Purcell 2009; Ogloff et al 2020). Moreover, the only male participant involved in the current study experienced nonsexual harassment/stalking from fellow employees, with the four female participants experiencing sexually derived harassment/stalking from clients. These experiences differed in frequency: the male participant's experience was continuous while the female participants were more sporadic.

'...he'd just lost his wife, so I don't know if he was just completely not thinking about what he was saying...' (Sam: lines 313-314)

'...erm and I think to a degree she felt sorry for him because he'd lost his wife and he probably wanted a bit of company' (Kate: lines 152-153)

'...the impression that I got from him was that he was very lonely he didn't really have anybody else' (Hannah: lines 99-100)

The participants working in tactile occupations may be taken as insight into perhaps why individuals turn to services from hands-on occupations to receive physical contact. Moreover, another form of stalker typology remains a possibility in the current research, as Mullen, Pathé and Purcell (2000) explains the similar motivations of incompetent suitors is to target strangers/acquaintances out of loneliness.

A final notable occurrence to explore is bereavement, which has been found to be present in a large volume of young people and adults in custody. In turn, this could suggest the possibility that grief is a contributing factor to offending behaviour (Vaswani 2014; 2018). Delving into to this topic further, Vaswani (2014) reports differing manners of avoidant and non-avoidant approaches to grief that were observed within her study. The avoidant techniques found were reportedly correlated to stoicism and the distraction from feelings that is often perceived as being a 'typical' male approach to self-medication. On the other hand, this approach proved dysfunctional for long term results as it often led to detachment. This was observed when participants found difficulty in perceiving consequences of their actions, which was accompanied with uncertainty in terms of their future (Vaswani 2014). Although this study's sample mainly included young males, this literature aids in adding the necessary explanation as to why bereavement and loneliness is such a notable theme within the current research.

Concluding Remarks

Due to stalking in hands-on occupations being an area which is currently under researched, there is evidently numerous gaps to acknowledge. As already realised, there is a lack of general stalking literature due to stalking being recently declared a crime with remaining obscurity surrounding it (HMIC and HMCPSI 2017). However, the research base into stalking within the workplace/hands-on occupations is even smaller. Whilst the data presented above details the increased links between stalking, domestic abuse, and death, there is a dearth of research into

this area. Filling this gap would prove imminent to the protection of victims by the early detection of risks such as workplace stalking.

Furthermore, whilst there are research studies conducted in various countries as mentioned prior, the participation of the LGBTQ+ community and BAME population have been neglected (Langenderfer-Magruder et al 2020). This current absence of literature will assist in failing stalking survivors as there is no supporting evidence to use in the formation of tailoring approaches/interventions. This is especially concerning when considering how identified risks/needs differ amongst various protected characteristics, with examples of this being the consistent threat of revealing the sexual identity of minority ethnic transgender individuals due to religious beliefs of 'honour' (Harvey, Mitchell and Keeble 2014). However, specific demographics such as male survivors and survivors who are LGBTQ+ from strong religious backgrounds may prove challenging to study due to the stigma, past inappropriate responses from police and feelings of fear if others know of their experience/circumstance (Owen et al 2018). Thus, not only does this highlight large gaps within the overall literature of stalking, but this also raises questions as to how well stalking survivors are supported and protected by local authorities.

A Note from our Collaborator

Hollie was murdered in the salon where she worked, doing the job she loved. My background in risk management has always given me some cause for concern in the situations that Hollie would be faced with when she shared with me what kind of day she had. Hands-on occupations in the main are dominated by young women trying to forge a career in something that they love, without having much thought for their own safety through vulnerable situations they often find themselves in or being subjected to such behaviour because of the 'job'.

Since the loss of Hollie my own knowledge and interest in the protection of violence against women and girls and, particularly from stalking, has increased immeasurably. The vulnerability of particularly young girls in hands-on occupations is of a particular concern of mine and therefore I wanted this piece of research carried out. While the qualitative sample size was small, the findings match my own thoughts around the dangerous situations that young girls in these hands-on service occupations are found in or, put in by their employers. Furthermore, it is particularly concerning that employers put 'money' before safety.

It is quite clear to me that many of these young women are not sufficiently prepared for situations they may encounter and insufficiently equipped with the tools to be able to say 'No'. They are conditioned to be polite, often use avoidance behaviour and consciously or subconsciously use various coping methods. I find this totally unacceptable.

From my own experience and from the limited research here, it is evident that employers are ill equipped to provide training, advice and guidance to employees and often put 'money' before employee 'safety'. Many of these industries have national associations and they should ensure that training is available and mandatory for businesses to undertake and include within apprenticeship education.

While this piece of research is limited it provides sufficient information to suggest that more research needs to be undertaken to fully identify the impact of stalking in hands-on occupations, and what can be done to fill the gaps in education and training of both employers and employees and protect victims and potential victims by early identification of associated risks.

Putting 'money' before 'safety' is never acceptable.

Nick Gazzard - Founder and CEO of Hollie Gazzard Trust

Discussion Questions

- Are the experiences of heterosexual individuals comparable to those from the LGBTQ+ community when it comes to stalking in hands-on occupations?

- What cultural differences exist between white and BAME individuals in terms of help seeking for stalking within hands-on occupations?

- How can we change this notion that money is more important than staff wellbeing?

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