

Filip Chrypankowski  
Amanda Błaszczak

## **Experiences of stalking among students of one of warsaw universities: results and comparison of original research**

### **Doświadczenia stalkingu wśród studentów jednej z warszawskich uczelni: wyniki i porównanie autorskich badań**

This article analyzes available research on stalking in Poland and around the world. This research was confronted with the current situation of experiencing stalking among students of one of Warsaw universities by creating a tool and conducting original research. The results obtained were not always similar and equivalent. The topicality of the topic is illustrated by the fact that nearly 31% of the surveyed students were victims of stalking at least once in their lives, which was classified as a crime in the Penal Code in 2011. Stalking is classified as emotional violence, and with technological progress, the forms and methods of harassment are changing. Most students propose guaranteeing obligatory psychological assistance to all people who have experienced the described phenomenon. The presented research results and their analysis can help draw attention to the increasing prevalence of stalking and, despite the feeling of anonymity, increase awareness of activities in virtual reality.

**Key words:** stalking, Internet, violence, students

W niniejszym artykule przeprowadzono analizę wyników badań dostępnych w Polsce i na świecie na temat stalkingu. Skonfrontowano je z prezentowanymi w poniższej pracy wynikami autorskich badań dotyczących doświadczania uporczywego nękania wśród studentów jednej

z warszawskich uczelni wyższych. O aktualności poruszonego tematu świadczy fakt, iż blisko 31% badanych studentów przynajmniej raz w życiu było ofiarami stalkingu, który w 2011 roku został zakwalifikowany jako przestępstwo w Kodeksie Karnym. Stalking zalicza się do przemocy emocjonalnej, a wraz z postępem technologicznym następuje zmiana form i sposobów nękania. Studenci w większości proponują zagwarantowanie obowiązkowej pomocy psychologicznej ze strony państwa wszystkim osobom, które doświadczyły opisywanego zjawiska. Prezentowane wyniki badań i ich analiza mogą pomóc zwrócić uwagę na coraz większą powszechność stalkingu oraz mimo poczucia anonimowości, zwiększyć uważność na działanie w wirtualnej rzeczywistości.

**Słowa kluczowe:** stalking, Internet, przemoc, studenci

## Introduction

The subject of the article is to research the experiences of stalking among students of one of Warsaw's universities. Stalking is a form of emotional violence that is now becoming more and more common, and its escalation is especially visible in virtual reality. Stalking often leads to many negative consequences. The primary role in persistent bullying is not only by social support, but also by taking legal and preventive actions. Wioletta Wróbel – Delegacz (2019) writes<sup>1</sup> that the aim of the perpetrator of online aggression is usually to have fun. In the case of violence, especially online violence, the forces directed at the victim are intended to weaken him to such an extent that he succumbs to the attacks and agrees to a relationship of dependence with the aggressor. Moreover, research results from 2012 proved that the most common reasons for aggression on the Internet are the feeling of impunity and anonymity<sup>2</sup>. The main aim of this article is to analyze available research in Poland and around the world regarding stalking and compare them with the results of the author's research.

---

<sup>1</sup> W. Wróbel–Delegacz, *Cyberprzemoc jako problem wśród dzieci*, [w]: A. Fidelus, J. Wyleżalek, A. Lukasek (red.), *Dziecko i rodzina w sytuacjach trudnych*, Warszawa 2019.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 187.

## Violence as a form of stalking

Violence from Latin *violentia* is a term that can be translated as „impetuousness”, „violentness”, or „uncontrolled, passionate force”<sup>3</sup>. Irena Pospiszyl describes violence as all intentional actions aimed at the individual’s personal freedom and contributing to his or her mental degradation, while Marek Borowski indicates that violence is associated with inheritance from animal ancestors<sup>4</sup>. It should be emphasized that animals are guided in their actions by instinct, while in humans’ violence is intentional. First of all, it aims to harm another person, inflict pain and suffering<sup>5</sup>. Violence is mainly characterized by predictability, cyclicity, repetition, escalation, violence, dominance, or submission<sup>6</sup>.

Violence often takes many forms. These include, among others: physical, economic, sexual violence, neglect. For the purposes of this work, the authors focus on emotional violence. When it is used, the perpetrator of violence consciously influences the mind, decision-making and functioning of the victim. Most often, it uses techniques such as ridiculing, calling names, humiliating, controlling, isolating, blackmailing and threats<sup>7</sup>. The victim of stalking experiences severe stress, anxiety, panic attacks and insomnia, which significantly reduces the quality of life<sup>8</sup>.

## Stalking – characteristics

Stalking is a term that comes from the English word „*to stalk*”. They are translated as *tracking, stalking, following*. Other terms include as emotional violence, obsessive desire, pathological love and persistent harassment and bullying<sup>9</sup>. Nowadays, there are many different definitions of stalking. American psychologist Reid Meloy notes that stalking means a form of malicious and repeated persecution and teasing of another

---

<sup>3</sup> V. Buffacchi, *Przemoc: czym ona jest i dlaczego jest zła?*, „Edukacja Etyczna” 2019, nr 16, s. 23–42.

<sup>4</sup> J. Helios, W. Jedlecka, *Współczesne oblicza przemocy. Zagadnienia wybrane*, „Prace Naukowe Wydziału Prawa, Administracji i Ekonomii Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego” 2017, nr 99.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 17.

<sup>7</sup> M. Ciesielska, *Rodzaje, formy i cykl przemocy w rodzinie*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Państwowej Wyższej Szkoły Zawodowej im Witelona w Legnicy” 2014, nr 12(3), s. 11.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 12.

<sup>9</sup> D. Woźniakowska-Fajst, *Stalking i inne formy przemocy emocjonalnej. Studium kryminologiczne*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2019, s. 37.

person, and the perpetrator's behavior makes him feel threatened. Paul Mullen believes that stalking is characterized by attempts to create, rebuild, or impose a relationship on another person who has previously clearly expressed a lack of interest in the relationship<sup>10</sup>. In turn, from a legal perspective, stalking is understood as persistent harassment, various forms of violation of the victim's personal freedom and privacy, which also leads to a sense of fear and threat<sup>11</sup>. It follows that stalking is persistent behavior that is directed against a specific person. As a result, the victim feels anxiety and fear for his or her life<sup>12</sup>.

Research conducted in the USA by Patricia Tjaden and Nancy Thoennes showed that 1 in 12 women, i.e. 8.1%, and 1 in 45 men, i.e. 2.2%, fall victim to stalking. The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS) report shows that 1 in 6 women and 1 in 19 men are victims of stalking. In Poland, every tenth respondent revealed that they had experienced harassment, i.e. 9.9%<sup>13</sup>. Research conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) shows that 18% of European women, i.e. about 9 million women, experienced stalking<sup>14</sup>.

Perpetrators of stalking are most often men under 40. The persecutor has never been married and is not in an intimate relationship. He is intelligent and his level of education is higher than that of other perpetrators of crimes. According to research conducted by Harald Dressing and colleague, 75.6% of victims knew or were aware who was their persecutor. Most often, they included a current sexual partner, ex-partner, friend or work colleague<sup>15</sup>. There are many different types of bullies. The type distinguished here also indicates the activity of erotomaniac stalkers, obsessively in love and with obsessional tendencies. There may also be combined types<sup>16</sup>.

It is important to emphasize that many bullies have mental disorders. Research by Ronnie Harmon and colleagues showed that 29% of perpetrators suffered from erotomania, and some of them manifested psychotic

---

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, s. 38.

<sup>11</sup> A. Malicka-Ochtera, *Stalking z perspektywy sprawcy i ofiary*, „Nowa Kodyfikacja Prawa Karnego” 2020, nr 55, s. 105–106, <https://doi.org/10.19195/2084-5065.55.8>.

<sup>12</sup> D. Woźniakowska-Fajst, *Stalking i inne...*, s. 39–40.

<sup>13</sup> K. Tomaszek, *Patologiczna obsesja w relacjach intymnych – charakterystyka zjawiska uporczywego nękania*, „Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Psychologica” 2017, nr 10(1), s. 161–188.

<sup>14</sup> D. Woźniakowska-Fajst, *Stalking i inne...*, s. 71.

<sup>15</sup> K. Tomaszek, *Stalker – psychologiczna charakterystyka sprawców przestępstw uporczywego nękania*, „Studia z Psychologii w KUL” 2012, nr 18, s.135–156.

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, s. 144.

and schizoaffective disorders<sup>17</sup>. According to Kevin Douglas and Donald Dutton, they are often characterized by personality disorders. These include immature personality, borderline personality, paranoid, schizoid, narcissistic and depressive personality. They are also characterized by high emotional lability, frustration, feeling of inner emptiness, low level of self-control and a tendency to abuse psychoactive substances<sup>18</sup>.

Often, persecution of another person is expressed through various behaviors of the perpetrator. They include: persistent calling, „silent” telephone calls, staying near the victim’s residence, trying to establish contact through a third party, asking about the victim in his or her surroundings, standing outside the place of work or school<sup>19</sup>. Others also include sending letters, e-mails, gifts, stalking, slander, house break-ins, theft of personal belongings, harassment of close relatives, and the possibility of assault and battery<sup>20</sup>. A person who experiences stalking can feel many negative consequences, which can lead to huge life destabilization. Another negative aspect is limiting social and work functioning, i.e. not leaving home, changing workplace, or resigning from it, limiting contacts with family and friends out of fear for their safety, ending activity on social media<sup>21</sup>.

Currently, rapid technological progress leads to the emergence of new phenomena. Due to the threat, they are treated as a misdemeanor or crime<sup>22</sup>. One of them is the phenomenon of cyberstalking. Research by Carlijn Van Baak and Brittany Hayes showed that the victimization rate was 23.4%. Bradford Reyns and his colleague conducted research among university students, where the cyberstalking rate was 41%<sup>23</sup>.

---

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem, s. 149.

<sup>18</sup> H. DrefBing, P. Gass, K. Schultz, C. Kuehner, *The prevalence and effects of stalking: A replication study*, „Deutsches Arzteblatt International” 2020, nr 117(20), s. 347–353, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3238/arztebl.2020.0347>.

<sup>19</sup> A. Siemaszko, B. Gruszczyńska, M. Marczewski, P. Ostaszewski, D. Woźniakowska-Fajst, *Stalking w Polsce. Rozmiary–Formy–Skutki. Raport z badania nt. uporczywego nękania*, „Archiwum Kryminologii” 2010, nr 32, s. 46.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>21</sup> N. Cheyne, M. Guggisberg, *Stalking: An age old problem with new expressions in the digital age*, [w]: M. Guggisberg, J. Henricksen (red.), *Violence against women in the 21st century: Challenges and future directions*, Henricksen, Hauppauge, New York 2018, Nova Science Publishers, s. 161–190.

<sup>22</sup> M. Konieczny, *Cyberprzestępczość – krótka historia, współczesne oblicza i trudna do przewidzenia przyszłość*, „Roczniki Administracji i Prawa” 2023, nr 1(23), s. 29–50, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0016.3776>.

<sup>23</sup> C.M. Bergmann, *Risk-seeking, risky lifestyles and cyberstalking – what factors promote cyberstalking victimization among adolescents?: An empirical test of the self-control/risky lifestyle mediation hypothesis*, „Kriminologie - das Online-Journal” 2023, nr 5(2), s. 121–138, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18716/ojs/krimoj/2023.2.2>.

In the case of cyberstalking, the stalker uses Internet information and communication techniques. It should be emphasized that the most common forms include sending false information and rumors, offensive messages, posting vulgar comments and threats on discussion forums, impersonating someone else, identity theft with the complete takeover of the victim's features and properties, searching for information that could expose him or her to to ridicule<sup>24</sup>. It is worth mentioning that in accordance with the provisions of the Penal Code in Poland, stalking is punishable by up to three years' imprisonment<sup>25</sup>.

## Methods

The aim of the study is to compare the stalking experiences of students at one of Warsaw's universities with other available studies. It is assumed that the results of original research will expand the topicality of the issue and draw attention to the problem among Internet users - especially young people (students) who live in the era of common Internet communication devices. Information on the examined issues was provided by a survey questionnaire completed by 259 students from one of Warsaw's universities. Due to the anonymous nature of the research undertaken, the university's affiliation will not be disclosed on purpose. The research tool consisted of 20 open and closed-response questions. The survey was conducted online (Forms form). The decision to use this form of data collection depended on obtaining as many people as possible and responding in a relatively short time<sup>26</sup>. Moreover, it meant there was no need to meet physically and maintain the required anonymity. This also translates into the unambiguity of the collected answers and the sharing of respondents' sometimes intimate, private experiences. It should also be noted that the sum of responses does not always equal 100% because the survey included multiple or open questions and the final number of respondents was odd.

---

<sup>24</sup> M. Konieczny, *Cyberprzestępczość – krótka historia...*, s. 42.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>26</sup> A. Góralski, *Metody badań pedagogicznych w zarysie*, Wydawnictwo Universitas Rediviva, Warszawa 2009.

## Results

Of the 259 completed surveys, 243 were completed by women (93%). Men completed 10 surveys (4%) and people declaring a different gender than the given one completed 7 surveys (3%). Most respondents were in the 18-23 age group (89%), which clearly indicates the dominant age of students.

Table 1. Age of respondents

age of respondents	number of respondents	percentage
18 – 20 years old	106	42
21 – 23 years old	125	48
24 – 26 years old	19	7
Over 27 years old	9	3

*Source: own research*

The answers obtained also show that the surveyed students come from different places of residence. The city with a population of up to 100,000 has the highest number of indications inhabitants (35%). The next numerous indications were rural areas, which accounted for 82 responses, which translates into 21% of all choices.

Table 2. Place of origin of respondents

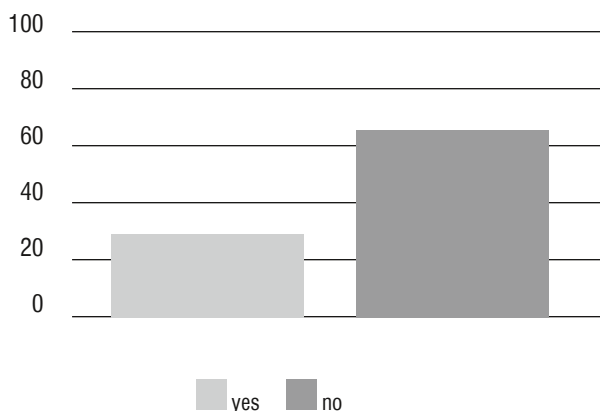
place of origin	number of respondents	percentage
City up to 100 thousand inhabitants	91	35
Village	82	32
A city with over 1 million inhabitants	55	21
City of 100 thousand – 500 thousand inhabitants	30	12

*Source: own research*

## Experience of stalking among students of one of Warsaw's universities

According to a 2010 study report on stalking, nearly 3 million adult Polish experienced this practice<sup>27</sup>. In 2010, a study was also conducted on the experience of stalking in Finland. The study shows that 48.5% of surveyed students were victims of stalking<sup>28</sup>. At this point, it should be compared with the situation studied in 2023 among students of one of Warsaw's universities. The research results presented below show that 79 people experienced stalking at least once in their lives (31%). However, 180 people deny having ever been a victim of stalking within the meaning of Art. 190a of the Penal Code as<sup>29</sup>: „persistent abuse of a person or their closest person, causing them to feel threatened by circumstances or significantly violating their privacy.” The study also collected information on respondents' knowledge about the experience of stalking by people closest to them. 37% of respondents claim that people close to them have experienced stalking.

Chart 1. Experience of stalking



Source: own research

<sup>27</sup> A. Siemaszko, B. Gruszczyńska, M. Marczewski, P. Ostaszewski, D. Woźniakowska-Fajst, *Stalking w Polsce...*, s. 72.

<sup>28</sup> K. Björklund, H. Häkkanen-Nyholm, L. Sheridan, K. Roberts, *Coping With Stalking Among University Students*, „Violence and Victims” 2010, nr 3(25), s. 400.

<sup>29</sup> Ustawa z dnia 6 czerwca 1997 r. Kodeks karny, Dz. U. 1997 Nr 88 poz. 553.



## Number of experiences of stalking among students

The research results also provide knowledge about the number of stalking experiences throughout students' lives. The answers showed that 34 people (13%) were victims of stalking once, 15 people (6%) were victims of stalking twice. A distinct group of people are students who have experienced stalking more than twice in their lives - 30 indications (12%).

It is also worth noting that 18% of respondents do not remember the number of experiences of stalking. This may be to the fact of traumatic consequences or more of these experiences.

Table 3. Number of experiences across students' lives

Number of stalking experiences	Number of respondents	Percentage (percentage)
1 time	34	13
2 times	15	6
Over 2 times	thirty	12
I don't remember	47	18
Never	133	51

*Source: own research*

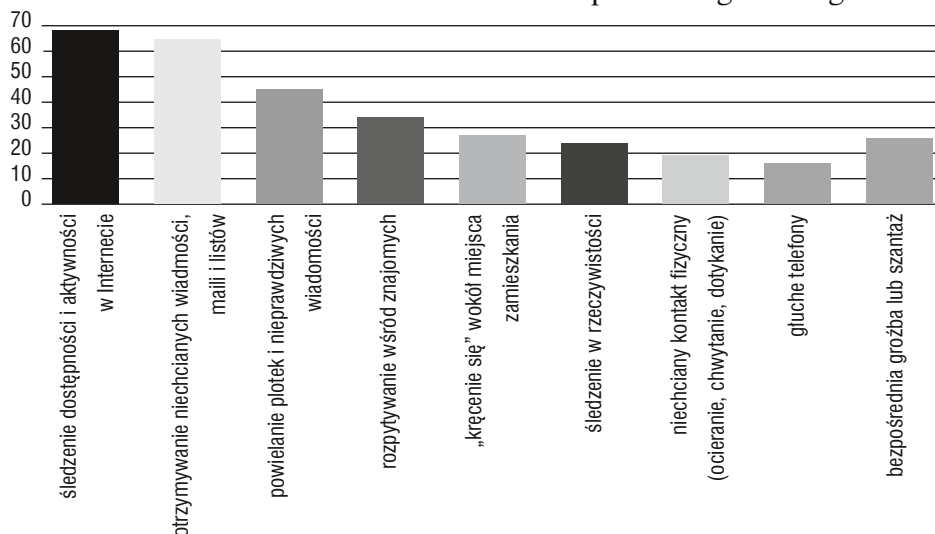
## Forms of stalking of students experiencing

Research conducted among students of the University of Warsaw shows that the most common form of stalking by victims in 2016 was receiving unwanted letters, e-mails or text messages<sup>30</sup>. This answer was declared by over 47% of the students participating in this study. Current research shows that the most common way of harassing victims among students of one of Warsaw's universities was tracking activity and availability on the Internet - 68 indications (21%). Please note that this study involved a much smaller number of respondents. For comparison,

<sup>30</sup> D. Woźniakowska-Fajst, *Nękanie emocjonalne (stalking) w doświadczeniu studentów uniwersytetu warszawskiego*, „Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Kryminologicznego im. prof. Stanisława Batawii” 2016, nr 23.

in 2016, students of the University of Warsaw indicated that 39.6% of respondents concerned this form. Equally numerous forms of stalking include repeating rumors and false information – 45 indications, asking around among friends - 32 indications, and „hanging around” the place of residence - 27 indications. There are also 25 grounds for threatening and blackmailing.

Chart 2. Forms of harassment of students experiencing stalking



Source: own research

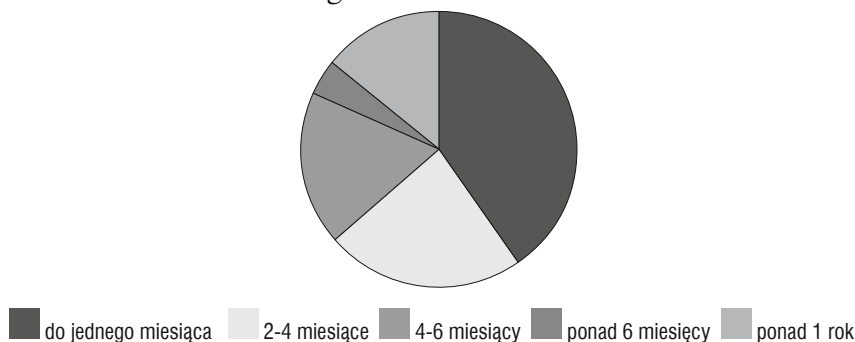
## Duration of stalking

Research by Aleksandra Stachelska shows that out of 55 cases reported for stalking and taken up by the court, 24 of them lasted between 6 months and less than 1 year<sup>31</sup>. Previous research among students of the University of Warsaw shows that the largest group of students experiencing stalking are respondents in the period from 1 to 3 months (26%). The research report on persistent stalking also indicates a duration of 1 to 3 months, as the largest group of respondents experienced stalking

<sup>31</sup> A. Stachelska, *Przestępstwo stalkingu w świetle badań białostockiej szkoły kryminologii*, „Zeszyty Prawnicze” 2018, nr 18(2), s. 155–193, DOI: 10.21697/zp.2018.18.2.07.

during this time (17.3%)<sup>32</sup>. It should be emphasized that 19.9% of respondents to this report were victims of stalking at the time of the study. Our own research shows that the duration of being a victim of stalking was most often up to 1 month, which accounted for 40% of respondents' answers. Equally numerous indications were from 2 to 4 months (23%) and from 4 to 6 months (18%), respectively. We would like to point out that 14% of students experienced stalking for a period longer than 1 year.

Chart 3. Duration of stalking



Source: own research

## Relationship with the perpetrator of stalking

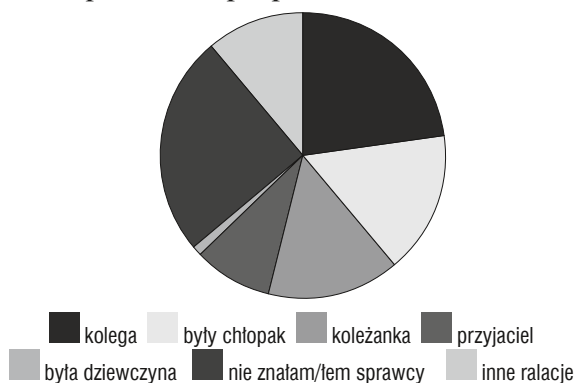
The most common relationship between the victim and the perpetrator of stalking is friendship or a former relationship. Importantly, a survey among students of one of Warsaw's universities shows that in the majority of cases it is a man (a friend or ex-boyfriend - 40% of all answers). The research results of Woźniakowska-Fajst also prove that the most common form of the stalker-victim relationship is a friend/colleague (33.8%), a classmate (21.2) and an ex-boyfriend (8.5%)<sup>33</sup>. The research results below also show that 23% of victims never met their perpetrator. It also seems important to note that the perpetrator of stalking was a friend - 15% of the responses. The report on stalking from 2010 show that most of the respondents did not know their perpetrator at that time<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> A. Siemaszko, B. Gruszczyńska, M. Marczewski, P. Ostaszewski, D. Woźniakowska-Fajst, *Stalking w Polsce...*, s. 52.

<sup>33</sup> D. Woźniakowska-Fajst, *Nękanie emocjonalne (stalking)...*, s. 51.

<sup>34</sup> A. Siemaszko, B. Gruszczyńska, M. Marczewski, P. Ostaszewski, D. Woźniakowska-Fajst, *Stalking w Polsce...*, s. 65.

Chart 4. Relationship with the perpetrator

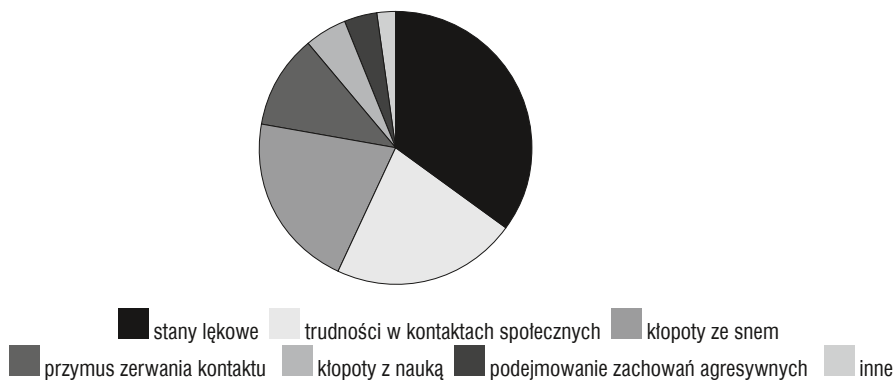


Source: own research

## Consequences of stalking experiences

Important information about stalking experiences are their consequences. Most often, our respondents indicate anxiety (35%). Further consequences include difficulties in social contacts (22%), sleep problems (21%), the need to break off contact (11%), learning problems (5%) and aggressive behavior (4%). In the case of the remaining answers, respondents most often indicated a loss of trust in other people and unawareness of the consequences.

Chart 5. Perceived consequences

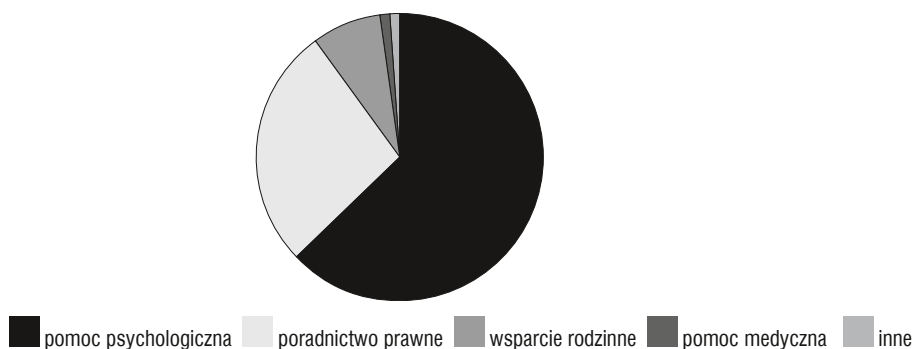


Source: own research

## Proposals for mandatory assistance

The 2010 stalking report also shows that nearly 40% of people participating in the study seek help after experiencing stalking<sup>35</sup>. Students of the described Warsaw university indicate that the form of help that should be provided primarily to people who have experienced stalking is psychological help (63%). Equally important help should be providing legal advice (27%) and family support (8%). One person indicated that medical assistance should be provided. Additional responses included offers of help from significant people in the students' lives.

Chart 6. Proposals to mandatory assistance



*Source: own research*

## Discussion and conclusion

The described research results indicate the multitude of experiences of stalking among students of one of Warsaw's universities. What is important, however, is that they exist at all. Comparing the results of the National Stalking Research Report (2010) with our research among students, it should be clearly emphasized that stalking still remains at a similar level of occurrence. This may mean that after classifying stalking as a crime in 2011 and introducing its legal trade, they did not provide sufficient protection to people exposed to such experiences.

---

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem, s. 66.

Nowadays, in the era of digitization and constant technological pursuit, the most popular form of stalking experienced by students of one of Warsaw's universities is tracking their activity on the Internet. Equally numerous forms of stalking was included rumors and false information. Jacek Sobczak and Ksenia Kakareko rightly note that the forms of stalking may take or develop depending on the skills or ingenuity of the harassment, as well as on her personality and habits<sup>36</sup>. Others included: obtaining information from friends about the victim, staying around the victim's place of residence or direct threats or blackmail. The duration of stalking among students of one of Warsaw's universities ranged from several months to over a year. It should be emphasized that the stalker's contact with the victim was usually short-lived and lasted up to 1 month. The stalker was most often a man, i.e. a friend or ex-boyfriend, but it could also be a female friend. The analysis of open-ended questions also provided information about the emergence of cases of: father-daughter relationships who "after 6 years of total absence, did not accept the lack of interest" from the respondent and the feeling of being followed by "a whole class of new people." According to the own research the most important consequences of stalking experiences included anxiety, difficulties in social contacts, sleep problems, the need to break off contact, but also problems with learning and aggression.

The last aspect are students who indicated primarily psychological assistance, legal counseling and family support as the offer of help. The specification of these forms of assistance should draw conclusions regarding the necessity and provision of contacts with specialists. Irena Pospiszyl notes that the effects felt by the victim are not limited only to personal relationships with the judgment or individual problems<sup>37</sup>. The experience of stalking may affect interpersonal relationships, lack of trust, lack of sense of objectivity, destruction of the community, and in special cases, disorganization of the entire community.

The above article also aims to draw attention to the problem of stalking and show the consequences for all recipients. It should be clearly emphasized that stalking in Polish law is a crime and a form of violence. There is no anonymity on the Internet and no one should feel that way. Victims affected by stalking should receive help appropriate to their

---

<sup>36</sup> J. Sobczak, K. Kakareko, *Nękanie w Internecie*, [w]: M. Mozgawa (red.), *Stalking*, Wydawnictwo Wolters Kluwer, Warszawa 2018.

<sup>37</sup> I. Pospiszyl, *Patologie społeczne i problemy społeczne*, Wydawnictwo SCHOLAR, Warszawa 2021.

condition. The research clearly highlights that such a problem is and is a popular phenomenon. To sum up, our study also asked about the most popular negative phenomenon occurring on the Internet. The students respectively agreed that there was a problem of stalking, but the most common manifestation was hate, which will be the subject of further considerations about negative experiences in the virtual and real world.

## Bibliografia

- Bergmann M.C., *Risk-seeking, risky lifestyles and cyberstalking – what factors promote cyberstalking victimization among adolescents?: An empirical test of the self-control/risky lifestyle mediation hypothesis*, „Kriminologie - das Online-Journal” 2023, nr 5(2), dostęp: <https://doi.org/10.18716/ojs/krimoj/2023.2.2>.
- Björklund K., Häkkänen-Nyholm H., Sheridan L., Roberts K., *Coping With Stalking Among University Students*, „Violence and Victims” 2010, nr 3(25).
- Bufacchi V., *Przemoc: czym ona jest i dlaczego jest zła?*, „Edukacja Etyczna” 2019, nr 16.
- Ciesielska M., *Rodzaje, formy i cykl przemocy w rodzinie*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Państwowej Wyższej Szkoły Zawodowej im Witelona w Legnicy” 2014, nr 12(3).
- Cheyne N., Guggisberg M., (2018). *Stalking: An age old problem with new expressions in the digital age*, [w]: Guggisberg M., Henricksen J., (red.), *Violence against women in the 21st century: Challenges and future directions*, New York: Nova Science Publishers.
- Dreßing H., Gass P., Schultz K., Kuehner C., *The prevalence and effects of stalking: A replication study*, „Deutsches Ärzteblatt International” 2020, nr 117(20), dostęp: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3238/arztebl.2020.0347>.
- Góralski A., *Metody badań pedagogicznych w zarysie*, Warszawa 2009.
- Helios J., Jedlecka W., *Współczesne oblicza przemocy. Zagadnienia wybrane*, „Prace Naukowe Wydziału Prawa, Administracji i Ekonomii Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego” 2017, nr 99.
- Konieczny M., *Cyberprzestępczość – krótka historia, współczesne oblicza i trudna do przewidzenia przyszłość*, „Roczniki Administracji i Prawa” 2023, nr 1(23), dostęp: <https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0016.3776>.
- Malicka-Ochtera A., *Stalking z perspektywy sprawcy i ofiary*, „Nowa Kodyfikacja Prawa Karnego” 2020, nr 55, dostęp: <https://doi.org/10.19195/2084-5065.55.8>.
- Pospiszyl I., *Patologie społeczne i problemy społeczne*, Warszawa 2021.
- Siemaszko A., Gruszczyńska B., Marczewski M., Ostaszewski P., Woźniakowska-Fajst D., *Stalking w Polsce. Rozmiary–Formy–Skutki. Raport z badania nt. uporczywego nękania*, „Archiwum Kryminologii” 2010, nr 32.
- Sobczak J., Kakareko K., *Nękanie w Internecie*, [w]: M. Mozgawa (red.), *Stalking*, Wydawnictwo Wolters Kluwer, Warszawa 2018.
- Stachelska A., *Przestępstwo stalkingu w świetle badań białostockiej szkoły kryminologii*. „Zeszyty Prawnicze” 2018, dostęp: doi: 10.21697/zp.2018.18.2.07.
- Tomaszek K., *Patologiczna obsesja w relacjach intymnych–charakterystyka zjawiska uporczywego nękania*, „Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Psychologica” 2017, nr 10(1).



Tomaszek K., *Stalker – psychologiczna charakterystyka sprawców przestępstw „uporczywego nękania”*, „Studia z Psychologii w KUL” 2012, nr 18.

Woźniakowska-Fajst D., *Stalking i inne formy przemocy emocjonalnej. Studium kryminologiczne*, Warszawa 2019.

Woźniakowska-Fajst D., *Nękanie emocjonalne (stalking) w doświadczeniu studentów uniwersytetu warszawskiego*, „Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Kryminologicznego im. prof. Stanisława Batawii” 2016, nr 23.

Wróbel-Delegacz W., *Cyberprzemoc jako problem wśród dzieci*, [w]: Fidelus A., Wyleżałek J., Lukasek A. (red.), *Dziecko i rodzina w sytuacjach trudnych*, Wydawnictwo UKSW, Warszawa 2019.

### **Akty prawne:**

Ustawa z dnia 6 czerwca 1997 r. Kodeks karny, Dz. U. 1997 Nr 88 poz. 553, dostęp: <https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=wdu19970880553>.

