College of Humanities, School of Social Sciences

Exploring the Experience of Cyberstalking among Female Students in Tanzanian Universities: A Case Study of the University of Dar es Salaam

by

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DECLARATION

This work is being submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the PhD in Sociology in the College of Humanities, and School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College, Durban, South Africa.

I, Angela Mathias Kavishe, declare that the entire body of work contained in this research assignment is my own, original work; that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted this work for obtaining any qualification**.**

[redacted]

Date: 24th September 2021

SUPERVISOR'S AGREEMENT

As the candidate's supervisor, I agree/do not agree to the submission of this thesis.

[redacted]

Name: Prof. Maheshvari Naidu

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ABSTRACT

With the current advancement in digitisation, cyberstalking is increasingly being recognised to be a serious global social challenge, especially among university students. This kind of online harassment is characterised by persistent pursuit and monitoring of a victim performed by a determined perpetrator that induces fear or feeling of being unsafe on the harassed person. Cyberstalking has been researched in developed countries. However, in Africa, limited information is available on cyberstalking. This study aimed at exploring how digital technology creates new platforms of violence on the university campus and how university institutional facilities are prepared to curb cyberstalking. The study was guided by the Technological Social Change, Feminists Theory and Cyberfeminism theories. The study was undertaken online at the University of Dar es Salaam, involving 424 female students and 15 key informants.

Data were collected using an online questionnaire, interviews, and FGD, as well as documentary review. The 424 female students filled the questionnaire; among them, 30 who had experienced cyberstalking were interviewed while 30 others participated in OFGD; the 15 key informants were also interviewed. The study used a sequential explanatory mixed method. The findings indicate that 172 (40.6%) among the 424 respondents experienced cyberstalking. The cyberstalkers were mainly men who claimed intimate and sexual relationships with the female students. By using video and audio calls; they intimidated, sexually harassed and defamed in social media. Others hijacked victims' identities and monitored victims' movements and activities. The study found that these harassments were founded on the longstanding societal mentality that women are subordinate to men. These attitudes transpired in silencing women's voices, exploiting their bodies in the physical world, and now the ICT enable harassment in cyberspace. The victimised female students reported having felt their right to privacy, freedom of expression, movement, and life were violated. The study found that online methods were sometimes accompanied by physical harassment such as rape and fraud. While all these happen, the University was unaware of the harassment practices and the impact to the university community and status of the institution. Therefore, the study recommends the need to challenge the existing gendered power relations which legitimise online violence.

Keywords: cyberstalking, female university students, online gender-based violence, cyberspace, University of Dar es Salaam.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ASEAN	Association of South- East Asian Nations
BAED	Bachelor of Arts with Education
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
CIPESA	Collaboration on International ICT Policy in East and Southern Africa
COAF	College of Agriculture and Fisheries
COET	College of Engineering and Technology
COHU	College of Humanities
COICT	College of Information and Communication Technologies
CONAS	College of Natural Sciences
COSS	College of Social Sciences
COVID	Corona Virus Disease
DARUSO	Dar es Salaam University Students Organization
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
DUCE	Dar es Salaam University College of Education
EIGE	European Institute for Gender Equality
EU	European Union
FORWARD	Foundation for Women's Health Research and Development
GAD	Gender and Development
GDTF	Gender Dimension Task Force
GPA	Grade Point Average
HESLB	Higher Education Students Loan Board
HLI	Higher Learning Institutions
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
ICU	Intensive Care Unit
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
IGS	Institute of Gender Studies
IPC	Indian Penal Code

MUCE	Mkwawa University College of Education
MUHAS	Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences
NCCR	National Centre for Cyberstalking Research
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
ORI	Obsessive Relational Intrusion
PCCB	Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau
SIM card	Subscriber Identification Module Card
SMS	Short Message Service.
SNSs	Social Networking Sites.
SOED	School of Education
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
TAKUKURU	Taasisi ya Kuzuia na Kupambana na Rushwa
TATAKI	Taasisi ya Taaluma za Kiswahili
TCU	Tanzanian Commissions for Universities
TTCL	Tanzania Telecommunication Company Limited
UCC	University Computing Center
UDOM	University of Dodoma
UDSBS	University of Dar es Salaam School of business Studies
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UK	United Kingdom
UKZN	University of KwaZulu Natal
UN	United Nations
UNISA	University of South Africa
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USA	United State of America
USD	United States dollar
VAWG	Violence against women and girls

WAD	Women and Development
WHOA	Working to Halt Online Abuse
WID	Women in Development

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

With the current advancement in digitisation, cyberstalking has developed into a serious contemporary global social challenge (see Bocij & McFarlane, 2002; Alexy et al., 2005; Pittaro, 2011; Chadrashekhar et al., 2016; Gan, 2017). As a form of cyberharassment, cyberstalking became a matter of public concern in mid-1990, soon after the inauguration of various online social networking platforms (see Bocij, 2003). This kind of online harassment is characterised by persistent pursuit and monitoring of a victim by a determined perpetrator that induces fear or feeling of being unsafe on the harassed person (see Lowry et al., 2013; Paullet et al., 2009; Pittaro, 2011; Chadrashekhar et al., 2016). As many scholars opine, digital technology stands as a 20th-century innovation that was meant to solve social communication problems through information creation, access, accumulation and transmission[1] (see Cohen-Almagor, 2011; Edosomwan et al., 2011). By using digital devices, cyberstalkers have 'invented' an online version of 'stalking' harassment practised globally for centuries (see Duntley & Buss, 2012; Fox et al., 2011; Van der Aa, 2012).

Cyberstalking is widespread across the globe. However, response to cyberstalking takes different paces in different communities. The Califonia State in the USA took the initial decision to outlaw physical and online stalking in the 1990's following the massive murder of celebrities (see Van der Aa, ibid). Progressively, various States in the USA and nations worldwide follow by criminalising this form of cyberharassment. It has been established that cyberharassment exhibits a threat to privacy, freedom of expression, movement and even to life. It is, therefore, a fundamental violation of basic human rights[2]. However, although the negative effects of digital technology, especially on women and girls, are evident, most developing countries, including Tanzania, pay little attention to the problem. Meanwhile, Lowry and colleagues (2013) register

[1] ICT specifically create, access, store, transmit, and manipulate information
[2] https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights 19th June 2021.

three main aspects that make cyberstalking a public concern; nature of the cyberstalking process, elevated victimisation rate, and resultant negative social effects it causes.

It is undeniably true that the internet exhibits countless positive impacts on humankind, but the misapplication of digital tools renders life in cyberspace insecure and even dangerous. Among the advantages of online communication include widening professional networks, enabling workers and students to participate in a broader community (see DiMaggio et al., 2001; Blank & Lutz, 2018). According to Apuke and Iyendo (2018), the internet promotes self-directed learning and enhances global knowledge sharing. The rationale for most youth to embrace digital technology is that digital technology enhances creativity and the ability to test, acquire and operate new ideas, as well as forge new identities (see Kabukcua, 2015; Jerin & Dolinsky, 2007). Among cyberfeminists, the virtual space facilitates "online gender performance, building a cyberfeminist collective that can more feasibly work toward increasing agency for girls online" (Welsh, A., & Lavoie, 2012., p. 23).

The literature identifies several challenges in addressing cyberstalking (see Basu & Jones, 2007; O'Shea et al., 2019; Sukrut Deo, 2013; Wei-Jung, 2020). Owing to the diversity and evolving characteristics of cyberstalking tools, Wei-Jung (2020) points out that the challenges surface in policing, regulating and curbing it. The creation of digital software gives rise to different forms of harassment. Moreover, the ability of online devices to access multiple private information assist perpetrators in collecting victim identities which enable perpetrators to intrude on victims' personal lives (see Sheridan & Grant, 2007; Begotti & Maran, 2019). Furthermore, the internet's anonymity permits perpetrators to operate unidentifiably by masking their sex, race, and age to achieve their malicious goals (see Ajmani, 2011; Mutawa et al., 2016). Additionally, authors like Lowry and colleagues (2013) underline that, unlike stalking, in cyberstalking, instead of repeating a harassment act, a piece of information posted once can remain published indefinitely (permanently even). Besides, digital technics allows simultaneously stalking of many people, making it incomparable in number with physical stalking (see Chang, 2020).

Cyberstalking threatens human security due to escalating victimisation data (see Gan, 2017; Halder, 2015; Prakasham et al., 2016; Bocij & McFarlane, 2002; Lowry et al., 2013). The most elevated data are derived from colleges and universities (see Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002; Finn,

2004; Björklund et al., 2010; Reynes et al., 2011; Villacampa & Pujols, 2017; Begotti & Maran, 2019). For instance, in institutions of higher learning, recent studies indicate that the victimisation rate approaches half of the students' population (see Maran and Begotti, 2019; Chan et al., 2020). Some authors attribute the increase in cybervictimisation among university students to the essential institutional role of promoting virtual-assisted learning in universities (Björklund et al., 2010; Reynes et al., 2011; Villacampa & Pujols, 2017), while others associate the rise in victimisation rate with internet dependency by the so-called 'digital generation' youth. The so-called digital generation explained a generation of youth born around the year 2000 and brought up during the internet era (see Finn, 2004; Reynes 2010; WHOA, 2013; Maran and Begotti, 2019). The 'digital generation youth' is said to spend more time, energy and resources on online communication and association than the preceding generations.

Above all, cyberstalking exacerbates gender equality because it reinforces violence against women and girls (VAWG) (see Chahal et al., 2019; Kaur et al., 2021; UN Broadband Commission for Digital Development, 2015). This is the critical point of entry for this study. Studies globally affirm that the victimisation of women and girls is almost four times than that of men and that the majority of perpetrators are men targeting women and girls as prospective or former sexual partners (see Tjaden & Thoenne, 1998, Bocij, 2003, Halder & Jaishankar, 2008; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007). Indeed, cyberstalking affects society at large by reinforcing the existing unequal gender relations (Chahal et al., 2019). Essentially, cyberstalking emerges as an abuse of existing process of dating and mating processes such as: "acquiring new mates, guarding existing mates to prevent defection, fending off mate poachers, poaching someone else's mate, interfering with intrasexual competitors, reacquiring ex-mates, sexual exploitation and predation, and guarding kin from sexual exploitation" (Duntley & Buss, 2012, p. 311). According to gender experts, cyberstalking perpetrators use digital technology to exercise behaviours similar to forced marriage, coercion, pressurising for weddings, and domestic violence because they preconceive women as second-class citizens (see Haron & Yusof, 2010; Short et al., 2014). Women, the primary victims of cyberstalking, experience harassment which leads them to reduced attention to work, damaged reputation, damaging social relations, which eventually leads to poor academic or career performance.

Despite various advantages of digital technology, social scientists identify numerous negative social impacts of online communication networks (see McKenna & Bargh, 2000; Gapsiso & Wilson, 2015; Sheldon et al., 2019). For instance, Sheldon and colleagues et al. (2019), in their publication: *The dark side of social media,* discuss several social media challenges. According to Sheldon and colleagues (ibid), social media abuse has weakened social relations (see McKenna & Baegh, 2000; Gapsiso & Wilson, 2015; Chandrasekhar et al., 2016). Similarly, according to OECD (2016) internet promotes isolation, imparts socialisation, and facilitates privacy rights violation. DiMaggio and Colleagues (2011) allege that the internet and social media, in particular, are used to channel hate speeches and malicious content. In essence, misuse or abuse of virtual technologies transforms the nature of human interactions, reinforces existing social inequalities, and exposes users to social injustice such as sextortion, cyberbullying and cyberstalking (see Moothoo-Padayachie, 2004; Nunes et al., 2011).

Despite increased victimisation and gender discrimination through cyberstalking, evidence indicates that most victims do not report incidences (see Gan, 2017; Sankhwar & Chaturvedi, 2018). Several factors contribute to the non-reporting of such incidences. For example, Gan (2017) asserts that cyberstalking reporting among Malaysian students is hampered by societal ignorance of the phenomenon. Additionally, underreporting may be due to limited community understanding of what behaviour constitutes cyberstalking (see Geistman-Smith, 2013). Elsewhere, Wang et al. (2019) allege that some parents interpret cyber harassment as dating and courtship hence do not take it seriously. According to Sankhwar and Chaturvedi (2018), on-campus reporting of cyberstalking is constrained by either absence or inefficiency of policies and regulation or inaccessible organisational structures to respond to gender-based online communication risks (Magsi et al. 2017). Given societal lack of understanding and institutional unpreparedness to manage cyberstalking, most victims use personal struggles to escape from it.

Although cyberstalking emerged within the globalisation process, information from Africa is limited (see Sissing, 2013). In America and Europe, ample information is available on the mass media and substantially published in scholarly journals. At the same time, preventive measures are displayed and updated continuously on university websites against stalking and

cyberstalking[3]. In sub-Saharan Africa, cyberstalking information is minimal, research and publications are scanty and legal statements are inexistent or partially available. Yet, Africa is involved in digital technology evolution like the rest of the world.

In Africa, some scholars attribute the lack of information on cyberstalking to male-dominated traditional norms whereby men tend to view cyberstalking as similar to courtship behaviour (see Joinet, 1985; Ifechelobi, 2014; Geistman-Smith et al., 2013). Traditional cultures, according to them, compel women not to report sexual harassment and other forms of gender-based violence. In connection with the above, Ifechelobi (2014), in his study on Feminism: Silence and Voicelessness as Tools of Patriarchy in Chimamanda in Nigeria, affirms that:

> The traditional African society is patriarchal (sic) is characterised by current and historic unequal power relations between women and men where women are systematically disadvantaged, subdued, and oppressed. Hegemony, subjugation and subservience are all factors of patriarchy. There is influence and control of one group over another in order to conquer, control, make submissive and less important (Ifechelobi, 2014, p. 18).

Together with societal norms and customs, according to Dibua (2003), underreporting has been associated with victims' reluctance to narrate shameful contents of sex and nudity. Social studies underscore the fact that in Africa sex and sexuality are taboo, and these attitudes perpetuate female disclosure of sexual harassment and sexually transmitted diseases (see Mbilinyi, 1972). Moreover, with regard to online harassment, scholars argue that in Africa, most legislation on online protection is ineffective while law reinforcers are unequipped both materially and immaterially (see URT, 2015). The lack of a strong legal framework against cyberstalking in Tanzania might have weakened the policy formulation process in higher learning institutions and eventually handling and controlling cyberstalking on the Campus (Magsi et al., 2017). Given this situation, the present study was undertaken to investigate cyberstalking experience among female students at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) in Tanzania.

Therefore, the present chapter establishes the context of cyberstalking at the University of Dar es Salaam, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere Campus. The researcher sought available information about the existence, prevalence of cyberstalking and its underlying factors at the Campus. Subsequently, based on such evidence, the researcher provides the research problem, the aims of

[3] https://socialintegrity.umich.edu/news/cyberstalking-what-you-need-to-know/

the present study, specific objectives, as well as the study's rationale. Towards the end of this chapter, the researcher defines technical terms and provides a synopsis of the entire thesis to understand the research problem.

1.1 Background and Context of the Study

There is a paucity of literature on online harassment of female students as a human experience in higher education. A considerable amount of research on cyberstalking prioritises statistical data at the expense of qualitative considerations (see Short et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2019; Worsley et al., 2017, Chan & Sheridan, 2014; Sheridan et al., 2017). However, scholars contend that cyberstalking implicates human experiences, which cause considerable distress to victims. Spitzebery and Hoober (2002) conducted the earliest study on cyberstalking using the social science approach. Since then, many social studies have approached cyberstalking using a gender perspective. Thus, the present study intended to contribute qualitative and quantitative information on the phenomenon of cyberstalking at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

1.1.1 Cyberstalking

Although the literature and discourse on cyberstalking originally focused on perpetration by the so-called obsessed strangers, recent empirical studies reveal that most cyberstalkers are intimates (see Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002; Kraft &Wang, 2010; Ménard & Pincus, 2014). For example, Spitzberg and Cupach (2007), after reviewing 175 stalking studies, established that, on average, 79% of the victims were acquainted with their pursuer and that half of all stalking emerged specifically from romantic relationships. These include ex-partners, neighbours, or divorced couples. In academic institutions, perpetrators were classmates and course instructors. Thus, apart from stalking public figures whose percentage is negligible (see Hoffmann, 2009; Hoffmann & Sheridan, 2005), it is safe to conclude that stalking is rooted in prior mutual trust between the stalkers and the victims. Reno (1999) claims that intimates' cyberstalking perpetration is eight times higher than those perpetrated by strangers, while the percentage of women victims is twice that of men. For that matter, Wykes (2007) concludes that curbing cyberstalking by concentrating on online strangers instead of ex-husbands or obsessed boyfriends is a misleading approach.

In relation to the above, even the categorisation of cyberstalkers capitalises on circumstances perpetrated by intimates. According to Salimi and Mansourabadi (2014), cyberstalkers fall into four categories. The first category comprises cyberstalkers who are socially incompetent in the context of the rules of dating and romance. The second category of cyberstalkers includes predators who try to obtain sex gratification in social media to women without pre-established relationships. According to Salimi and Mansourabadi (ibid), the third category consists of obsessive cyberstalkers who think they are loved by or maybe loved by someone of higher social status, especially celebrities (see McCutcheon et al., 2006; Salimi & Mansourabadi, 2014). Salimi and Mansourabadi (ibid) identify the last category to be formed by rejected or resentful self-righteous or self-pitying stalkers who seek vindication of and find means to revenge (see Kraft &Wang 2010; Ménard & Pincus, 2014). Consequently, according to Salimi and Mansourabadi (op. cit), the last group constitutes the most persistent and dangerous cyberstalkers because perpetrators have much knowledge concerning the victims; hence, they can smoothly contain the victims.

In line with the above observation, sociologists recognise cyberstalking as a social injustice within the realm of long-standing gender-based violence (see Jegede, 2016). According to Bourdieu (1989), cyberstalking is performed in cyberspace, a social space occupied and operated by human actors. Bourdieu (ibid) affirms that actors in cyberspace exercise symbolic violence analogous to offline gender-based violence. Thus, like social interactions, most cyberviolence involves human actors with prior physical or virtual relations (see Benard, 2016, p. 2). Given its social nature, cyberstalking features gender disparity in perpetration and victimisation (see Tjaden & Thoenne, 1998, Bocij, 2003, Halder & Jaishankar, 2008; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007). Additionally, scholars such as Spitzberg and Cupach (2007) argue that there are more women victims than men, and men outnumber females in perpetration. Analysis of 175 studies undertaken by Spitzberg and Cupach (2007) revealed that between 60% and 80% of victims in these studies were women. Therefore, cyberstalking is a human phenomenon involving interaction between people who already know each other and striving to meet or utilise e-communication as a medium to redefine their rapport.

Given the multifacetedness nature of cyberstalking and which displays an interplay between genders and technology, in probing the prevalence and nature of cyberstalking practices at the

University of Dar es Salaam, the present study adopted three theories. These are the technological social change theory and feminism theory, and cyberfeminism theory.

The Technological, Social Change theory situated the phenomenon within the ongoing technological advancement and digitisation in particular; the feminist theory provided insights on the way underlying gender relations on the physical world surface in cyberspace whereas the third, the cyberfeminist theory interprets the manner in which women can strategise emancipation efforts using the social media and internet in general.

1.1.2 The Extent of Cyberstalking

Estimates of the rate of cyberstalking victimisation vary considerably in research across time and space. In general, the percentages of cyberstalking cases range between 3.7% and 82% (Dressing et al., 2014; Lowry et al., 2013; Pittaro, 2011). From the historical point of view, studies undertaken at the turning of the twenty-first century indicate a low percentage when compared with those carried out two decades later (see Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002; Finn, 2004; WHOA, 2004). For example, in the USA, WHOA (2004) research found that between 50 and 100 cases were being reported nationwide each week. Likewise, data collected online by Sheridan and Grant (2007) from the USA, UK, and Australia, involving 1051 respondents, demonstrate that only 7.2% were cyberstalked. Notably, the methods of cyberstalking were mainly through e-mails and instant messages. The emergence of social media like Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp, and Snapchat during the first and second decades of the 21st century has completely changed cyber harassment statistics.

Again, the difference in victimisation rate depending on the sample used in the study and the kind of social media used in harassment. Studies indicate that youth is more victimised than other age groups. For instance, a survey on Facebook among Malaysian youth by Loong's (2014) found 40% of youth victimisation, while a survey carried out in a heterogeneous population by Dreßing et al. (2014) found that only 6.3% of participants were cyberstalked. One observes that Loong's (2014) percentage is six times that of Dressing et al.'s (ibid) data, although both studies were published the same year. The difference was that the former had focused on the youth and specifically on Facebook. In light of the above findings, the present study focused on cyberstalking experiences among young female students in a university context.

1.1.3 Cyberstalking in Universities

Research in developed countries on online harassment establishes alarming cyberstalking perpetration figures in universities (see Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002; Finn, 2004; Björklund et al., 2010; Reynes et al., 2011; Villacampa & Pujols, 2017). Although earlier data on cyberstalking perpetration focused on artists (see Wilson et al., 2018; Hoffmann & Sheridan, 2005; Van der Aa, 2012), recent studies have concentrated on higher learning institutions because of increased victimisation. In one of the earliest researches in institutions of higher education, *Cyberstalking and the technologies of interpersonal terrorism* undertaken at the South-western Public University in the USA, Spitzberg and Hoobler (2002) found that 59 per cent of 235 respondents reported having experienced online harassment, while 19.6 per cent had experienced threatening pursuit. Threatening pursuit in this context implies prolonged following victims' online activities or monitoring movements accompanied by threats, insults or harassment (Finn, 2004).

Another study conducted within the USA at Mid-Atlantic University by Paullet et al. (2009) indicated that 13% of undergraduate and graduate students had experienced cyberstalking. The following year, Kraft and Wang (2010), using a population of 471 among students from the Public Liberal Arts College, reported the same figure, 13% of cyberstalking cases. In the subsequent year, in the Midwestern United States, Henson et al. (2011) found that 42% of students were cyberstalking victims (p. 254). The fact that these studies were undertaken in different universities and at different time intervals seems to influence results due to varying degrees of technological innovations.

In the European context, among Finnish college students in 2010, cyberstalking was rated at 48% prevalence (Bjorklund et al., 2010, p. 689). From Italy, Maran and Begotti (2019)'s recent publication, *Prevalence of cyberstalking and previous offline victimisation in a sample of Italian university students,* shows that 107 among 229 sampled students (46.7%) had experienced online stalking. The same authors (Begotti & Maran, 2019), in a sister study at the same University, using a population of 250, identified 111 (48.5%) cyberstalking cases. Among these, 62 (27.1%) had experienced one type of stalking, and 62 (27.1%) had experienced multiple types. The two studies provide the highest cyberstalking figures in European universities.

Among other reasons for increased victimisation among university students includes universities' collaborative environment (see Lindsay & Krysik, 2012). For example, Reynes and colleagues (2015) relate cyber victimisation among university students with social proximity to perpetrators. According to Reynes et al. (2015), the closer to the stalker, the more one is likely to be stalked. Undeniably, traditional universities gather students together in one residence hence facilitate contact and social interactions. Authors also attribute the increase in the cyberstalking rate in universities to the degree of exposure to online materials (see Reynes et al., 2015). While distant and online learning was reserved for disadvantaged groups like people with disabilities, working class in the past (see Wakahiu & Kangethe, 2014), online methods complement learning in traditional universities designated for localised education. Meanwhile, research observes that due to the coronavirus pandemic, educational institutions ambitiously virtualise their learning, leading to more cyber harassment risks (see Adnan, 2020; Çubukçu & Aktürk, 2020).

Another reason for university students' victimisation lies in the psychological age. Some scholars use the terms 'cyberstalking' and 'cyber dating abuse' interchangeably because most of the perpetration emulate romantic relationships (see Marcum et al., 2017; Awasthi, 2017). To illustrate the above point, Finn (2004) ascribes age and romance behaviour among university students to increased victimisation. According to Finn (2004, p. 470), university students' average age is between 18 and 29 years, an age of mate-seeking, characterised by romance. Finn (ibid) points out that persistent cyber harassment is coupled with the reluctant female pursuit by a stubborn male. In the same line, Maran and Begotti (2019) report that most victims in their study conducted in Italian universities were single female internet users aged around 22 years.

Furthermore, in the academic article titled: *Teens, technology, and cyberstalking: The domestic violence wave of the future*? King-Ries (2011) demonstrates how youth exercise online violence as an extension of gender stereotypes embedded in society. According to him.

> Teen peer communities tend to evince exaggerated stereotypical gender roles in which the male is expected to assume the dominant role and the female a submissive role. Surrounded by these attitudes, teens may not see their relationships as abusive […]. While teenagers are trying to establish their sexual identities, they are also confronting violence in their relationships and exposure to technology (King-Ries, 2011, p.142).

Beyond the so called developed countries, cyberharassment is reported in some developing countries. In Latin America, studies pinpoint the prevalence of harassment among students in Columbia and Uruguay (Yudes-Gómez et al., 2018) and Peru (Martínez et al., 2020). Among Arab states, Abaido (2020) reports that Instagram is the leading platform in harassment among university students in the United Arab Emirates, followed by Facebook. From South Asia, several studies report cyberstalking in Malaysia (Gan, 2017; Hamin & Rosli, 2018; Loong, 2014). Gan (2017), in her research paper, *Gender inequality in the prevalence, perception and reporting of cyberstalking in Malaysian students,* reports that cyberstalking cases doubled from 72 to 151 between 2007 and 2008. In the same country, Hamin and Rosli (2018) attribute the increase in the victimisation of women to be victims' behaviour of posting romantic pictures on social media. In India, despite the absence of clear statistical information on the magnitudes of cyberstalking, authors report the persistence of online harassment especially directed to women (see Ceciu, 2013; Keswani, 2017; Miftha et al., 2019). According to Ceciu (2013), the major reason for the persistence of cyberstalking in India is the beliefs and cultural practices, especially traditional women status associated with and goddess (*Maa urga*). India's law on cyberstalking ascribes cyberstalking directly to men's behaviour of harassing women online. Although the law is contested for being gender bias (see Chahal et al., 2019), the Indian legislation highlights how the internet reinforces gender discrimination. The following section discusses cyberharassment in Africa.

1.1.4 'Grey' Issues Related to Cyberstalking in Africa

The debate about cyber victimisation in the African context is constrained by insufficient and sometimes unreliable data (Sissing, 2013; Lirri, 2015; Chan et al., 2020). This implies that the data on cyberstalking is scanty and scattered. Sissing (2013) appears to be a rare study that focused directly on cyberstalking in South Africa. Sissing (op.cit) conducted her comprehensive qualitative research exploring the prevalence of cyberstalking in South Africa. Her findings report the extent of social networks' usage, occurrence, nature, and cyberstalking impact. She, therefore, suggests strengthening the legislative system as the most effective measure to protect cyberstalking victims. The study provides evidence of cyberstalking in South Africa, but it included only 14 participants. From another study undertaken at the University of South Africa

(UNISA), Sissing and Prinsloo (2013) estimated that 15% of the participants, aged between 16 and 18, had experienced online harassment.

Moreover, Pelzer and Pengpid (2014) conducted a study on intimate partner violence. The researchers found out that among 268 women, 58.2% reported having experienced stalking victimisation. In the researcher's view, the three studies provide a valuable contribution to online stalking in South Africa.

From African universities to the best of the researcher's knowledge, the most reliable quantitative data on stalking and cyberstalking is reported by Chan et al. (2020) in a study undertaken in Ghana, which focused on gender differences in perception and experience of (cyber)stalking. According to Chan et al. (ibid), among 371 participants, 55.5% reported having been (cyber) stalked. However, this figure includes victims of physical stalking. Another study undertaken in Ghana by Barfi et al. (2018) indicated that among all forms of cybercrime at the University of Cape Coast, cyberstalking constituted around 3.5 per cent. Barfi and colleagues (ibid) highlighted that lack of frequent training on ICT, inadequate charges against cybercriminals, and the absence of a cybercrime law were the main reasons for the existence of cybercrimes at this university. However, the findings from Barfi et al.'s (2018) study are not very reliable because the researchers based their conclusions on students' opinions on the prevalent forms of cyberstalking, not on empirical facts. The present study sought to enquire empirical information on online stalking in the context of African universities.

In Nigeria, a study undertaken at the Federal University Dutse campus by Ndubueze and colleagues (2018) shed light on the awareness and understanding of cyberstalking among female students. Ndubueze and colleagues (2018), in their article *Cyberstalking awareness and perception among undergraduate students,* found that among 350 students, 69.4% were not familiar with the term cyberstalking, while a significant proportion of them (43.4%) did not take it as a severe problem. Nevertheless, Ndubueze and colleagues' study did not aim to provide qualitative information on the experience of cyberstalked students or quantitative data on the extent of the problem.

With a specific focus on female students, Arafa et al. (2017), in her study titled *Cyber sexual harassment: A cross-sectional survey over female university students in Upper Egypt University,*

involved 2,350 female students participated. Arafa and colleagues found that 80% of participants had experienced multiple cyber sexual harassment. Since Arafa and colleagues (ibid) targeted female students' victimisation, the findings provide insights on women's online victimisation in higher learning institutions in Africa. However, the socio-cultural context of an Egyptian university would be different from that of universities in Tanzania.

1.1.5 Cyberharassment in East Africa

Corresponding to other parts of Africa, statistical information on cyberstalking drawn from East Africa are scarce. Lirri (2015, p.1) points out that the quantification of cyber violence against women in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania encounters several inhibitions, including the culture of silence. Consequently, according to Lirri (ibid), African women acquire a passive spirit before men and the public. This submissive tradition, coupled with Christianity and Islam religious norms, subdue women to silence, obedience, and docility, affecting them not to speak out even when tormented (also see Fox et al., 2007). In addition, researchers on cyber harassment in East Africa use the terms: cyberstalking, cyberbullying, and sexual harassment interchangeably. This substitution is manifested in legal documents (see URT, 2015) and academic publications (see Ndiege et al., 2020). For instance, research by Ndiege et al. (2020) titled *Cyberbullying among university students: The Kenyan experience* reveals that 75.8 per cent of the respondents had experienced online deception, while 49.7 per cent had been cyberbullied. Given that the study was undertaken in a university and involved young adults, presumably, most of the cases registered under cyberbullying were cyberstalking. Meanwhile, findings from Ndiege et al. (ibid) provide the most comprehensive data on online harassment conducted in an East African university.

Several other studies provide evidence on cybercrime, but little information is provided on cyberstalking. For instance, a study by Kangogo (2008) titled *Cybercrime in Kenya: Myth or reality* reports about 8% of cyberstalked individuals in Nairobi. However, while the figure was obtained from an unspecified[4] sample, the questions were also imprecise[5]. Therefore, the findings from this study present Nairobi internet business stakeholders' opinions on the

[4]The respondents were cyber cafe' owners (13.6%); electronic card users (32.4%) and internet users (54%). Most of them were not victims.

[5]The question was: "As an Internet user, how often have you experienced the following email attacks and to what level?" a) E-mail spoofing, b) Cyber defamation, c) Cyber stalking, d) Threatening emails, e) E-mail bombing.

prevalence of cybercrime. Similary, Ray (2016) reports a 24 per cent cyberstalking case at the University of Jaramogi Odinga in Kenya. The author obtained the figure by consulting university administrators on the frequency of online stalking. Since respondents were not victims, the findings were mere estimates. In another study, Njuguna (2017) collected online data using Facebook as the leading platform. She reports that 37 per cent of respondents had experienced some form of online sexual harassment. Specifically, Njuguna reports that the forms of violence were video sharing (63%), unsolicited pornographic content (63%) and disclosure of personal information or images at (40%) (Njuguna, 2017). The above findings, therefore, demonstrate the existence of cyber harassment in which cyberstalking is implicated.

Moreover, mass media, predominantly print press, sporadically report incidences of cyberstalking in East Africa. In Kenya, for instance, Ambani (2016)[6] reported a case in which a woman was cyberstalked through messages of love and marriage proposals by the son of her father's friend. The victim complained that such messaging and phone calls had become a family crisis. The victim, however, did not know what to do because the law was silent for such cases. Similarly, in Uganda, a cyberstalked woman politician took legal action against the perpetrator.

Contrary to her expectations, she was accused by some men of violating men's right to express their love for women (Kukunda (2018)[7]. These two cases highlight weaknesses in the law against cyberstalking. Also, they illustrate community perception of cyberstalking as a form of dating.

Thus, given the scarcity of data on cyberstalking, the present researcher relied on cybercrime information, as a starting point, for this study. In this respect, the *Collaboration on International ICT Policy for East and Southern Africa* (CIPESA, 2016, p.32)[8] reports that in Kenya, cybercrime increased from 2.6 million cases in 2007 to 5.4 million in 2013 (equal to 108 per cent). In Tanzania, 627 cybercrime cases were reported between 2007 and 2012 (see CIPESA, 2016). According to CIPESA, 28 internet abuse incidents reported elsewhere originated from

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[6]https://nairobinews.nation.co.ke/news/kenyan-woman-details-ordeal-in-the-hands-of-stubborn-online-stalker

[7]in uganda as reported by kukunda lindsay the founder of 'not your body'.
stalking women is not lovehttps://www.dandc.eu/en/article/court-sentence-uganda-shows-cyber-harassment-and-stalking-women-not-be-confused-love.

[8]CIPESA centre for research and analysis cipesa "the report presents the findings of a study on the threats to access, privacy and security online, as well as the knowledge, attitudes and practices of citizens on internet freedom in East Africa."

Tanzania. Among the reported cases, three were web defacement, seven phishing, five malware, and 13 spam. The CIPESA report (ibid) also showed an increase in cybercrime cases in Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. Thus, in East Africa, online harassment prevails.

In Tanzania, internet use is growing. The Tanzania Communication Regulatory Authority (TCRA) recorded an increase of internet users from 29 per cent of the population in 2014 to 46 per cent in 2019, from 25,794,560 in December 2019 to 27,100,146 in June 2020 (TCRA, 2020). The growth of the number of internet users between December 2019 and June 2020 was around two million new users.

In urban Tanzania, in 2017 mobile phone ownership was 72.6%; knowing what internet is 59.2%; internet use 55.4% and social media use was 28.9% (Mosso, 2018, p. 24). Among students at the University of Dar es Salaam internet use reached 86.3% in 2004 (see Luambano and Nawe, 2004). Due to institutional digitisation strategies, availability of Wi-Fi facilities, social pressure among youth on using smartphones and above internet becoming a compulsory companion in university life for both administrative and academically undertakings, the rate in 2021 could be approaching 100%. Elsewhere in Bangladesh, a developing country like Tanzania, at Dhaka University, internet use in 2017 was between 90 to 100% (Hossain & Rahman, 2017).

Consequently, academic research increasingly highlights the prevalence of cybercrime (see Msofe, 2015; Kilula, 2015; Mwalumuli, 2014; Mlula, 2014; Mfinanga, 2014). However, these scholars appear to focus on plagiarism and copyright (Mwalumuli, 2014; Mlula (2014), child protection against pornographic media (Mfinanga, 2014) as well as challenges that law enforcers encounter in prosecuting cybercrime (Msofe, 2015; Kilula, 2015). This condition creates a gap in cyberstalking as a human experience. Therefore, the present study intended to contribute empirical knowledge by exploring cyberstalking experiences among female students in higher learning institutions in Tanzania.

Despite the increase in internet use in Tanzania, to the best of the researcher knowledge, one cyberstalking case was formally recorded until 2020. The case happened in 2014. It implicated the late Betty Ndejembi, one of the leading Tanzanian social media subscribers and a member of a group of people known as Tanzanians on Tweets (see Taylor, 2014, p.1). According to Lusekelo (2014), the incident ended in physical assault to the extent of ending the victim's life.

> Betty was attacked on Twitter. She had previously received numerous outright shameful tweets cursing her two nights before passing away […]. Initial inspection showed evidence of physical abuse. It is reported that in Betty's final days, her online posting became increasingly frustrated, desperate, and despairing. Her unconscious body was discovered in a ditch, with reports that she had been sexually assaulted (Taylor, op. cit. 3).

According to a press report (see Lusekelo, 2014), in Ndjembi's case, the victim had not been heard when she cried for help. Paradoxically, even after her death, the matter was silenced. The family did not take any legal measures. Although the victim was the daughter of a famous politician, the government did not react either. There was neither a scholarly work nor a police report on it (see Lusekelo, ibid).

Meanwhile, Onditi (2017) reports the prevalence of cyberbullying among secondary school students in Tanzania. According to Onditi, students spend more time online, share cell phones, and digital access devices in private places. These behaviours, according to Onditi, contributed to their cyber victimisation. Additionally, psychologists associate cyberbullying with cyberstalking (see Pitarro, 2007; Ménard & Pincus, 2012; Dressing et al., 2014). These scholars argue that most cyberstalkers were cyberbullied when they were young. This implies that there is a positive correlation between childhood harassment and adulthood cyberstalking perpetration.

1.1.6 Stalking and Sexual Harassment in Tanzanian Universities

Sexual harassment in Tanzanian Institutions of higher learning (IHL) widely report sexual harassment (MUHAS, 2007; Morley, 2011; Vuckovic et al., 2017; UDSM, 2018; PCCB, 2020). According to a report by Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences (MUHAS, 2007, p. 11), "an overall 13 per cent of students, 19 per cent of academic staff and 16 per cent of administrative, technical and support staff had been sexually harassed within the university environment." In this figure, the proportion of victimised women was seven times higher among academic staff and three-fold higher among students and administrative, technical, and support teams than males in the same categories (see MUHAS, ibid).

At the University of Dar es Salaam, narratives around sexual harassment and physical stalking date back to 1990. The literature on the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) indicates the

existence of an institutionalised male-dominated gang nicknamed 'Mzee Punch' in the 1980s. The gang served as an instrument of sexual harassment and repression against women (see Magege, 2006; Ngaiza, 2012; Rubagumya, 2017). To bold on this fact, Rubagumya (2017), while narrating his biographic experience of a student at UDSM in those days, divulged that the anonymous gang posted scandalising stories on a very high-up position cafeteria walls at night.

> The bulk of literature was directed to female students, and it was used to settle personal scores. If a female student refused a male student sexual favours, the former would use Mzee Punch to scandalise the latter. The so-called 'revelation' about the female student would, in most cases, be untrue but many people would believe it anyway. For many female students, this was a catch 22 situation: if they agreed to sexual advances, they would be exposed as being 'prostitutes'; if they refused […], they would be accused of being frigid or *frumo* (frustrated mothers)" (Rubagumya, 2017.p.47).

It is clear that the 'Mzee Punch' gang was used to reinforce gender discrimination and harassment on the university campus. The harassments were explicitly inscribed in the so-called '10 commandments' used to legitimatise hegemonic masculinity. In this context, hegemonic masculinity implied the exercise of power and control over women at the campus (see Jewkes et al., 2015). Mzee Punch's rude behaviour reached its climax after a typical stalking incident that resulted in the death of a student Levina Mukasa (explained later in 2.1). Like Ndejembi's fate, the university administration did not take stern measures against the culprits (see Ngaiza, 2012; Rubagumya, 2017). As a continuation of reporting sexual harassment at UDSM, two decades later, Morley (2011) testified that sexual harassment at the Campus. According to Morley (2011, p.103), "The most common form of sexual harassment cited [at the University of Dar es Salaam] was the *quid pro quo* or sex-for-grades exchange in which some male lecturers considered that they had *a droit de seigneur* or patriarchal entitlement to the sexual favours from female students.

More recently, a report by the Prevention and Combating Corruption Bureau (PCCB) (2020) has underscored the preponderance of sextortion practices (termed *rushwa ya ngono* in Kiswahili) at the universities of Dar es Salaam and Dodoma (see PCCB, 2020). According to Lindberg and Stensöta (2018), sexual corruption refers to bribery in which, instead of using money, one uses

the human body. Thus, the PCCB (2020) report raises public attention that a considerable number of staff members in these most prominent universities in Tanzania solicit sex as means of awarding extra marks, make promises of marriage, or grant leadership positions. The authors of the report provide the following highlight:

> *Rushwa ya ngono ipo na kwa sasa hali ni tete …mtu akijitokeza kufuatilia rushwa ya ngono anakuwa amejiingiza katika hatari kubwa hata kutishiwa maisha …ni sawasawa na kupambana na madawa ya kulevya….”* (PCCCB, 2020, p. 19).
>
> *The current sex corruption situation is delicate. Whoever dares to investigate sexual corruption [harassment] puts her/his life in danger. Fighting against this type of corruption is similar to declaring war against drug abuse* (researcher’s translation).

Following the above excerpt, it is clear that sexual harassment perpetrators are people bestowed with power in society. This fact condition might contribute to poor reporting of incidences of sexual harassment. Meanwhile, these forms of sexual harassment have been reported to cause significant impacts on female students, leading to stress, depression, and even death. The UDSM anti-sexual harassment policy (2018) reports that at least three female students have lost their lives at the University of Dar es Salaam in instances connected with sexual harassment.

While the rate and intensity of sexual harassment among female students are alarming at the University of Dar es Salaam, observation worldwide show that the escalation of internet use among university student, highly contribute to online sexual harassment (Ndubueze et al., 2018; Can & Gökçe, 2019; Nagel et al., 2018). This study, therefore, is an effort to fill the gap in empirical research on cyberstalking in Tanzania, realising that internet access is a significant factor of online sexual harassment.

The relevance of the current research lies in the fact that digitisation reinforces the marginalisation of women who already suffer domestic violence and sexual harassment in society. The study ought to unveil the interplay between discourses on sexual harassment and internet use in order to construct a complete understanding of the vulnerability of female students in cyberspace. In other words, the present study seeks to examine how digital technology has created new platforms of violence through virtual space in the university campus context.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Harassment against women in various forms (sexual harassment, domestic violence, and workplace violence) has been extensively addressed (see Braine et al., 1995; Alexy et al., 2014; Muasya, 2014; Kapila, 2017; Vuckovic et al., 2017). Meanwhile, the internet has intensified and multiplied forms of violence against women, especially in higher learning institutions where online media utilisation is essential. Female students are continuously exposed to these cyber violence (Arafa et al., 2017; Ndubueze et al., 2017). As a form of cyberharassment, cyberstalking cases are increasingly being reported among university students, especially in America and Europe (see Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002; Finn, 2004; Björklund et al., 2010; Reynes et al., 2011; Villacampa & Pujols, 2017, Arafa et al. 2017; Ndubueze et al. 2017). However, in Africa and Tanzania in particular, limited information is available on online harassment, including cyberstalking. Given this, this study was undertaken to inquire about the experience and prevalence and extent of cyberstalking among female students. Furthermore, the study examined the structural and social factors underlying these practices in Tanzanian university contexts. The study further probed how victims react to cyberstalking and how they report when they are cyberstalked.

1.3 Study Aims and Objectives

Cyberstalking is a phenomenon situated within the dynamics of societal transition from traditional society to the cyberspace community. Unfortunately, this transition involves the transfer of social injustice from the physical to the virtual world. As an extension of the so-called 'conventional' violence against women, cyberstalking practices deprive female students of freedom of communications, movements, and even the right to life while at the Campus. Since the practice is carried out undercover, cyberstalkers often elude legal, social, and academic liability. Using a feminist perspective, this study sought to explore the extent and experiences of cyberstalked female students on the Campus.

1.3.1 Main Objective

The study aimed to explore cyberstalking experience among female students in Tanzanian universities using the University of Dar es Salaam as a case study.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The study had two specific objectives:

i). To explore how digital technology has created new platforms of violence in the form of cyberstalking through virtual space.

ii). To examine how the University of Dar es Salaam's institutional facilities and policies are prepared to curb cyberstalking.

1.3.3 Research Questions

The study intended to answer five critical questions as listed here below.

i) What are the prevalent forms and extent of cyberstalking at the University of Dar es Salaam?

ii) How do female students experience cyberstalking at the University of Dar es Salaam?

iii) How do female students react to cyberstalking practices at the campus?

iv) Which structural and social factors underlie cyberstalking at the University of Dar es Salaam?

v) What are institutional strategies to curb cyberstalking at the campus?

1.4 Relevance of the Study

Cyberstalking takes place clandestinely. In a milieu where silence dominates, victims fight inaudibly because the community around them cannot comprehend what it constitutes (Magsi et al., 2017). Magsi and colleagues (ibid) further report that female students cannot disclose such incidences to their families; they fear being immoral. Since the cyberstalked female students suffer in silence, the present study aimed to expose this challenge in order to create a broad understanding of the problem understudy in society. The findings of this study will enlighten law enforcers and policymakers on the nature of the phenomenon.

In academia, this study is relevant because it provides additional qualitative and empirical reference material on the overall understanding of cyberstalking and the associated or related behaviours and its effects on female students in Tanzania's universities. Based on perpetrators' motives and factors behind the cyberstalking of female students at the Campus, the findings underscore the gendered nature of cyberstalking informs strategies on curbing it. Furthermore,

being one of the earliest empirical studies on cyberstalking in Tanzania, this publication on cyberstalking in the country, at the University of Dar es Salaam and in the country unpacks the concept of cyberstalking and paves the way for further research on the problem.

1.5 Scope of the Study and Delimitation

Even though this study's findings provide insight into the existence of cyberstalking in a Tanzanian university campus, by being a case study, information obtained may not be directly applicable to other campuses of the same University in Dar es Salaam or other higher learning institutions in Tanzania. Also, the findings may not explain the nuances of cyberstalking experience for other social groups within the Campus, like female employees or male students. Furthermore, given that digital technology changes frequently, research undertaken at different times may produce different results even at the same institution.

1.6 Definition of Key Terms

Adult: An individual aged 18 years and above is considered an adult. The majority of female students fall under this age; hence they are regarded as mature and potential cyberstalking victims.

Cyberbullying: Bauman (2007, p.3) quoting Bill Belsey (2004), states that cyberbullying involves the use of information and communication technologies such as e-mail, cell phone, pager text messages, instant messaging, defamatory personal websites, and defamatory online personal polling Web sites, to support deliberate, repeated and hostile behaviour by an individual or group, that is intended to harm others who are mainly minors. Cyberbullying contrasts with cyberstalking in that the former involves minors.

Cyberculture: These are social conditions brought about by the widespread use of computer networks for communication, entertainment, and business.

Cyberspace: According to Harrison (2006, p.366), cyberspace is a virtual, vast area for communication established through the internet, a complex web of connections that was created by and is accessed through a range of digital and electronic media like computers, mobile devices or any device with the capability of connecting to the internet.

Cyberstalking: "A group of behaviours in which an individual, group of individuals or organisation use internet, e-mail, or related digital electronic repeatedly at a given length of time to annoy, or to harass one or more individuals. Such behaviour may include, but not limited to, the transmission of threat and force accusation, identity theft, data theft, damage to data or equipment, computer monitoring with the aim of control, or solicitation for sexual satisfaction." (Modified from Bocij & McFarlane, [2002 p.5]).

Cyborg: Donna Haraway defines a cyborg as (2000, p. 69) "a cybernetic organism, a hybrid of machine and organism, a creature of social reality as well as a creature of fiction. Social reality is lived social relations, our most important political construction, a world-changing fiction". A cyborg has the potential to disrupt the persistent dualisms that set the natural body in opposition to the technologically recrafted body and refashion our thinking about the theoretical construction of the body as both a material entity and a discursive process.

Minor: A minor is a human being aged below 18 years old. He/she is considered immature, and online harassment by an adult or minor to him/her is considered cyberbullying.

Sexual harassment: Sexual harassment is defined as unwelcome sexual advances or other conduct that targets someone based on their sex, including gender harassment, making suggestive or discriminatory comments, and sexual coercion, forcing someone to perform sex acts (see Pina et al., 2009)**.**

Stalking: According to Pathé and Mullen (1997, p. 12), stalking refers to the "constellation of behaviours in which one individual inflicts on another repeated unwanted intrusions and communications."

University Student: For the sake of this study, a university student is a learner from a higher learning institution like the University of Dar es Salaam whose programme of study leads to a university degree.

1.7 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. The first three chapters lay the foundation of the study. Specifically, **Chapter one,** the Background to the Study, introduces the research problem by presenting an overview of the cyberstalking phenomenon. With a specific focus on higher learning institutions, the chapter describes the extent of cyberstalking worldwide, at the regional level, and in Tanzania. The chapter also states the research problem, offers research objectives, research questions, relevance and the scope of the study. Towards the end of the chapter, the key research concepts are defined.

Chapter two focuses on a Review of related literature. The chapter unpacks the meaning of cyberstalking and related concepts. The researcher critically discusses legal, technological, psychological and sociological views on addressing cyberstalking and associated issues. The discussion lays the foundation for redefining cyberstalking in the context of the higher learning institution in Tanzania. Within this critical discussion, the researcher highlights the research gap and justifies the present study's motives.

Chapter three presents the theoretical framework and the methodology of the study. The first part undertakes a critical discussion of the selected theories. The researcher specifically selected the Technological Theory of Social Change, the Feminist Theory, and the Cyberfeminist Theory as an insight to understand the problem under study. This part also justifies motives for selecting the theories by examining how they merge and diverge from each other. The second part describes the methodological principles applied in the study. The methodological part interrogates procedures like research design, research approach, sampling procedure, data collection methods and the selection of the University of Dar es Salaam as the case study. Given that the study involved human beings, it was necessary to state how ethical issues were handled. This section further raises issues such as protecting respondents' privacy, ensuring respondents' informed consent, and adhering to prescribed research procedures.

Chapter four describes the study participants' demographic characteristics: age, year of study, marital status, place of origin, and socio-economic background. It further explores how these characteristics influence female university students' degree of cyber-victimisation. Moreover, based on statistical findings and qualitative information obtained from the study, the chapter

establishes the evidence of the prevalence and extent of cyberstalking at the university campus. Furthermore, drawing from theoretical insights underpinning this study, the researcher explores perpetrators' profiles and intention to cyberstalk female university students. The chapter critically examines how perpetrators' profiles influence the prevalence of cyber-victimisation among female university students in the university setting.

Chapter five discusses female university students' understanding and experience of cyberstalking. The chapter explores various complex incidences encountered by female university students in cyberspace based on responses from the online interviews and online-focused group discussions. Additionally, by using the Technological social change and the Cyberfeminist theories, the researcher critically examines the implication of cyberstalking experiences on female university students' social and academic lives. Towards the end of the chapter, the researcher examines female university students' reactions and strategies to survive after experiencing cyberstalking.

Chapter six analyses the socio-cultural factors for cyber victimisation at the university campus. Specifically, the researcher explores why cyberstalking persists among female university students by drawing from online interviews and focus group discussion responses. Based on the theoretical framework governing this study, the researcher interrogates the socio-cultural powers and technological dynamics that determine female university students' conditions to fall victim to cyber harassment and cyberstalking in university settings.

Chapter seven critically examines institutional strategies to eradicate cyberstalking at the campus. By analysing the information from online interviews with key respondents and documentary reviews of national and institutional policies, the chapter examines the effectiveness of available approaches to curb cyberstalking and related behaviours at the university campus. Based on the study results, the chapter also discusses participants' views with regard to intervention and prevention of cyberstalking at the campus.

Chapter eight focuses on Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations. In this concluding chapter, the researcher synthesises the findings to produce a holistic understanding of cyberstalking experience among female university students on campus. Specifically, the researcher articulates how the technological dimension coupled with gendered power dynamics

intensifies online gender-based violence among female university students. Based on the major study findings, the researcher highlights theoretical and practical gaps that have to be filled to eliminate online harassment and its impacts on female university students at the UDSM campuses and Tanzanian universities.

1.8 Summary of the Chapter

This introductory chapter provides an overview and background information to the study. It also discusses available statistics on the extent of cyberstalking worldwide. While situating the problem within the context of higher learning institutions, particularly in Tanzania, the chapter highlights the justification for empirical knowledge to fill the prevailing gap on online victimisation among youth and female students. The chapter also states the research problem, offers research objectives, research questions, relevance and the scope of the study. Generally, the chapter establishes the need for an in-depth literature survey of the studied topic, which will be covered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter critically reviews the literature related to physical stalking and cyberstalking. According to Sheridan et al. (2003), there is a growing body of literature on cyberstalking, especially in western countries (see Ahlgrim and Terrance, 2018; Pereira and Matos, 2016; Reyns, 2019; Reyns et al., 2018; Paulet, 2020; Begotti & Maran, 2019; Maran and Beggoti, 2019; Chang, 2020). To substantiate this, Sheridan and colleagues (2003, p. 148) estimate that until 2003, 150 academic studies, books, reviews, and reports were published on stalking and cyberstalking. Based on published works, the researcher, in this chapter, critically unpacks the meaning of stalking, cyberstalking and related concepts. The researcher also examines legal, technological, psychological, and sociological perspectives on cyberstalking. The discussion lays the foundation for a redefinition of cyberstalking within the discourse of sexual harassment in higher learning institutions in Tanzania. In light of the reviewed literature on cyberstalking and debates on sexual harassment, the last part of the chapter pinpoints the research gap which the present study attempts to fill.

2.1 Evolution of Stalking and Cyberstalking: Concept and Practice

Cyberstalking is derived from the prefix cyber- and the verb stalking, both parts concealing the sense of power and control. According to scholars, cyber-, a truncated Greek prefix from 'cybernetics', means 'skills in steering or governing' (see Novikov, 2016; Azmi & Kautsarina, 2019)[9]. Siemieniecka and Skibińska (2019) reveal that 'stalk' is a hunting jargon stemming from the 1400s that signifies a process in which a hunter stealthily follows the prey intending to trap. Therefore, the whole word cyberstalking encompasses controlling human beings' activities in cyberspace.

Although in legal, political, and media narratives, stalking appears as a relatively more recent phenomenon (see Van der Aa, 2011), experts in anthropology trace back the practice from ancient times. For example, anthropologists affirm that the behaviour of pursuing another human

[9]Unlike other prefixes meaning of online (e-, i-, virtual, or online) cyber is said to be used for security and crimes. cybersecurity, cyberspace, cyberculture, cyber feminism.

being is deeply embedded in human 'culture' and that it is displayed in folk tales, myths, modern literature, music and film (see Duntley & Buss, 2012; Fox et al., 2011). For instance, one biblical narration describes King David peeping at Bathsheba, Uriah's wife, while bathing. The King then slept with her and eventually impregnated her (2 Samuel 11, 12). Elsewhere, scholars cite works like *Dark Lady Sonnet* (circa 1592) by William Shakespeare and *A Long Fatal Love Chase* written in 1866 by Louisa May Alcott (1832–88)[10] as evidence of stalking (see Mullen et al., 2009; Sheridan et al., 2003; Van der Aa, 2010).

Despite the long-standing prevalence of stalking, Van de Aa (2012) situates the emergence of scholarly works on cyberstalking towards the end of the 20th century, when physical stalkers took advantage of the technology to partially or entirely control or pursue the victims. Initially, according to Van der Aa (ibid), stalking was perceived in the context of a series of pursuit, harassment, raping, and even killing celebrities (also see Duntley, 2010). Van der Aa (ibid) further underlines the fact that stalking was recognised as gender-based violence in the 1980s. Henceforth, the meaning of stalking was progressively extended to include the gender dimension of sexual intimidation, obsessive pursuit, and psychological violence committed by men against women and (ex) partners. This line of argumentation was adopted due to unequal gender representation of males and females in perpetration and victimisation. In this regard, social scientists alleged that men outnumber women in perpetration. In contrast, women survivors are almost three times the number of men (see Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998, Bocij, 2003; Halder & Jaishankar, 2008; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007; Arafa et al. 2017; Ndubueze et al. 2017; Maran and Begotti, 2019). It is universally agreed that the murder of Rebecca Shaeffer[11] (1967-1989) in 1990 marked the turning point of discourse around stalking and cyberstalking (see Van de Aa, 2012, DeTardo-Bora & Bora, 2016).

In unpacking cyberstalking as a concept, the researcher thought it is worthwhile distinguishing cyberstalking from other related terms. For instance, the researcher found that cyberstalking is frequently used interchangeably with cyber harassment, physical stalking, and cyberbullying,

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[10]The former work describes pursuit based on love and passion while the latter is a description of Obsessive love. It a story about a "chase" of Rosamond by Tempest, a cruel, married man. In the fictive narration victims while running away, went in different cities in Europe. In every place changing names from Ruth, Sister Agatha and Rosalie. The story ends with tragic murder of the Rosamond and the suicide of her killer.

[11], An American actress killed by a fan in California State in 1990. The murderer Robert John Bardo claimed that he misinterpreted the victim's actions from film. He considered her as a prostitute of Hollywood.

among others (see Faucher et al., 2014). Given that accurate discernment of a crime helps prevent and counteract the problem, the following section attempts to unpack the meaning of cyberstalking among other concepts related to sexual rights and online security.

2.1.1 Cyberstalking versus Stalking

According to Pathé and Mullen (1997, p. 12), stalking refers to the "constellation of behaviours in which one individual inflicts on another repeated unwanted intrusions and communications". It is also referred to as 'offline', 'traditional', 'proximal', 'physical', 'spatial' and 'conventional' stalking (see Sheridan and Grant, 2007). Cyberstalking is merely stalking mediated by internet technologies. Although the two concepts suggest a similarity, they may display the different impacts on the practices. Many scholars view stalking and cyberstalking alike (see Sheridan & Grant, 2007; Sissing & Prinsloo, 2013; Cavezza & McEwan, 2014). For instance, in the study by Sheridan and Grant (2007), in a paper titled, *Is cyberstalking different?* The authors collected data using an online questionnaire sent to 1,051 participants in the USA, UK and Australia. In their report, Sheridan and Grant (2007) concluded that cyberstalking exists in many countries and does not differ from stalking. According to them, former intimates are the most popular perpetrators. Similarly, Cavezza and McEwan (2014) conclude that stalkers' motivations, treatment and management strategies of cyberstalking are similar to stalking.

Moreover, Sissing and Prinsloo (2013) purport that both offline and online stalking implicate primarily former partners. In both cases, women are the most vulnerable, and perpetrators' interest is monitoring and controlling the victim. For these reasons, according to Sissing and Prinsloo (ibid), the same efforts used in fighting stalking fit the war against cyberstalking. On the present researcher view, a significant weakness of this perspective is that it is grounded in the incident from the stalker's side. That means proponents do not consider the experience of victims and the broader effects on society.

Other scholars view online stalking as a severe problem compared to offline stalking (see Lowry et al., 2013; Bocij & McFarlane 2002). Lowry et al. (2013), for instance, argue that cyberstalking is more complicated because a stalker can collect a large number of victims' sensitive information at any geographical point. According to King-Ries (2011), massive data enables perpetrators to obtain private information quickly. Besides, an online stalker can harass many

people simultaneously, while at the same time, a victim can also suffer simultaneous incidences from different stalking sources. Moreover, Lowry et al. (ibid) warn that online posts such as revenge porn remain uninterrupted for a longer time than physical posting attacks, which may be required to be repeated. According to Lowry et al. (2013), social media allows impersonation, anonymity and fake identity, which is not the case for proximal stalking (also see Bocij & McFarlane 2002).

Thus, although the reasons, intentions, and motives for cyberstalking are similar to physical stalking, the cyberstalkers are omnipresence due to the multiplicity of electronic devices. This is to say. Online perpetrators can control and frighten the victims at any time. Eventually, most researchers nowadays agree that cyberstalking surpasses stalking in the number of victims, the intensity of effects on the victim, and the widespread impact over time and space (see Bocij & McFarlane 2002; King-Ries, 2011; Lowry et al. 2013). Based on the above, it is imperative for researchers to distinguish cyberstalking from physical stalking.

2.1.2 Cyberstalking versus Cyberbullying

Scholars agree that the difference between cyberbullying and cyberstalking is subtle (see Baumann, 2007; Kamali, 2015). The definition of cyberbullying derives its meaning from bullying, which means intentional harmful behaviours performed physically (hitting, kicking, pushing), or verbally (teasing and threatening), or relationally (social exclusion, harming friendships, spreading rumours) (Baumann, 2007, p.3). Therefore, from this view, cyberbullying refers to verbal and relational bullying accomplished by using technological tools (Baumann, ibid). Thus, cyberbullying perpetrators "use technology such as e-mail, cell phones, web cameras, or pagers to offend or embarrass others" (Kraft & Wang, 2010, p.76). Since cyberbullying is practised between two actors with unequal powers (see Slonje et al., 2013), the practices mostly target minors, whether performed by adults or juveniles (Onditi, 2017).

Cyberstalking denotes repeated harassment through electronic communication that causes the victim to fear for his/her safety (U.S. Department of Justice, 2000). In addition to the 'repeatedness' and harm, which are also cyberbullying characteristics, cyberstalking may involve controlling and monitoring victims. On similarity, the two phenomena share features of harassment, repeatedness, and exercise of power (Chandrashekhar et al., 2016).

Studies indicate that there is a close connection between cyberbullying and cyberstalking. In their research titled *An exploratory study of the cyberbullying and cyberstalking experiences and factors related to the victimisation of students at a Public Liberal Arts College*, Kraft and Wang (2010) purport that most online harassment perpetrators had been cyberbullied in secondary schools. Again, Ménard and Pincus (2014) studied the relationship between child maltreatment and stalking victimisation and found a correlation between child sexual maltreatment and stalking victimisation. Ménard and Pincus (2014) report that women who reported sexual abuse during childhood were relatively more vulnerable to online stalking. There are multiple interpretations of cyberbullying in academics (Minor et al., 2013; Ndiege et al., 2020) and legislation (see URT, 2015). In some contexts, cyberbullying refers to a blanket term for all forms of online harassment. For instance, in Minor and colleagues (ibid) view, students can cyberbully instructors in universities (see Minor et al. 2013). However, originally bullying derives utilisation of power to weak individuals.

For the sake of the present study, the difference between cyberstalking and cyberbullying lies in gender. Findings on cyberbullying victimisation indicate that boys are more vulnerable than girls or vice versa (see Onditi, 2017; Huang and Chou, 2010; Wang et al., 2009). On the contrary, in cyberstalking, there is a gender difference: most perpetrators are male, and the majority of victims are women (Tjaden & Thoenne, 1998, Bocij, 2003, Halder & Jaishankar, 2008; Spitzberg & Cupach 2007; Arafa et al. 2017; Ndubueze et al. 2017; Maran and Begotti, 2019). On the other hand, while the intention in cyberbullying varies tremendously, most cyberstalkers intend to establish a sexual relationship. Therefore, unlike cyberbullying, cyberstalking is much more interpreted using a gender dimension because of the sexual nature of perpetrators' intention (see Navarro, 2016).

2.1.3 Cyberharassment, Sexual Harassment versus Cyberstalking

Cyberharassment and cyberstalking are both forms of online mistreatment. According to UNODC (2014), cyberharassment may be a blanket term that signifies any form of online harassment. Unlike cyberstalking, cyber harassment implies any online abuse being single or multiple incidents (ibid). Cyberstalking, for that matter, constitutes online harassment characterised by prolonged monitoring and pursuit, similar to courtship and dating. It suffices to

imply that cyberstalking is a form of cyberharassment that features a combination of harassment, tracking, and repeatedness or pursuit.

Scholarly discourses in human rights distinguish between sexual harassment as a type of harassment involving explicit or implicit sexual overtones (UNODC 2014; Pina et al., 2009). Sexual harassment ranges from unwelcome, sexually connoting verbal, visual remarks to physical harm (Abel, 2014; Barak 2005). Online sexual harassment implies an act of sexual harassment mediated by electronic devices exercised in different forms such as online sexting, online grooming, and pornography. Similarly, cyberstalking may include all these forms of harassment but go beyond. Cyberstalking extends to disastrous deeds involving threats and intimidation, which may lead to death (Van der Aa, 2010). The table below distinguishes cyberstalking from other forms of harassment.

Table 1: Distinguishing Cyberstalking from other Harassment Forms

		Cyberstalking	**Cyberbullying**	**Cyberharassment**	**Sexual harassment**	**Physical stalking**
Mode of operation		Online, maybe accompanied by physical	Online, may be accompanied by physical	Online	Physical may be online	Physical
Pursuit		Involves pursuit and monitoring	Not necessary	Not necessary	Not necessary	Involves pursuit and monitoring
Impact on the victim		Psychological and may also be physical	Mostly physical	May be psychological	Psychological and physical	Physical and psychological
The intensity of the impact		Creates fear but may end up in physical torture	Creates psychological torture	Psychological and torture	Ranges from discomfort to sexual assault	Creates fear but may end up in physical torture
Frequency		Continuous or Repeated	Continuous or repeated	May be one action or many	May be one action or many	Continuous or repeated
Victims		Majors	Mostly minors	Minors and majors	Majors and minors	Majors
Primary target		Mostly women	Mostly boys	Not selective	Mostly women	Mostly women
Harasser	Gender	Mostly male	Mostly male	Any sex	Any sex but mostly male	Mostly male
	Intention	Revenge, sexual favours,	Miscellaneous	Miscellaneous	Sexual favours	Revenge, sexual favours,
	Power relations	Mostly patriarchy system	Unequal age, socio-economic status	Not necessary	Not necessary	Mostly patriarchy system
Relationship victim/harasser		Mostly intimate	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Mostly intimates

Source: Researcher's compilation from literature (Onditi 2017; UNODC, 2014; Spitzberg & Cupach 2007; Arafa et al. 2017; Ndubueze et al. 2017).

Table 1 above illustrates the similarities and differences between cyberstalking and other forms of harassment. The table demonstrates that cyberstalking is a form of harassment with peculiar characteristics. Unlike sexual harassment or physical stalking, cyberstalking relies on electronic media entirely or partially. Although electronic devices can mediate harassment in cyberbullying and cyberharassment, cyberstalking involves a prolonged pursuit, monitoring and continuity or repeatedness of the action. Since most victims are women and most cyberstalkers are motivated by sexual desire, scholars characterise cyberstalking as an intensified form of gender-based violence in cyberspace (Logan and Cole, 2011, p. 904; Chawki, 2013). Following the multifaceted nature of cyberstalking, the researcher thought it imperative to examine how scholars from different fields view it.

2.2 Perspectives of Cyberstalking

Research on cyberstalking has evolved, taking various perspectives. A major preoccupation of pioneers was exploring people's perception of cyberstalking (Alexy et al., 2005; Melander, 2010; Paul & Leroy, 2002); theorising online harassment (Lowry et al., 2013) Bocij 2003; Reyns et al., 2011), establishing statistical data on prevalence, nature, and magnitude (Gan, 2017; Kraft & Wang, 2010; Paullet et al., 2009; Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002). Moreover, various underlying philosophical perspectives have emerged in understanding the demographic characteristics of perpetrators and their motives. Theoretical perspectives range from the law (criminology in particular), psychology, information technology and sociology. In the following sections, the researcher critically surveys each of these perspectives.

2.2.1 Cyberstalking as a Crime

Cyberstalkers violate fundamental human rights as stipulated in Articles 3, 4, and 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (see U.N., 1948). Therefore, cyberstalking practices and behaviours characterise it as a crime that requires legal intervention and prevention. As self-evident, behaviours in society are regulated by personal integrity and social norms. Laws are made to control behaviours when neither self-interest nor social norms produce individuals' desired behaviour (DeTardo Bora & Bora, 2016). For example, in the U.S, when the social norms failed to control stalkers who intimidated and murdered people, especially celebrities, the government decided to criminalise it.

The literature report that California State in the USA was the first State to enact a law against stalking in 1990 (see Ahlgrim & Terrance, 2021). However, lawyers trace back the prohibition of stalking in ancient Roman legal documents. According to the authors, outlawing stalking is demonstrated in the Institutes of Justinianus Book 4, title 4, and chapter 4 with the statement: *Iniuria commititur siquis matrem familias aut praetextatum praetextatam vead sectatus fuerit* translated as "being a nuisance by following a married woman or a boy or girl can lead to prosecution." (Sheridan et al., 2003, p.149). Even before Roman law, Jewish religious texts had already prescribed against lust and coveting one's neighbours' wife. Lucks (2001) associates the criminalisation of stalking in California with societal shock amplified by intense media attention in 1990 due to the murder of celebrities (see Lucks, 2001 p. 163).

In contemporary times, California law Penal Code PC 646.9(a) enacted in 1992 was the first Act. It states that:

> Any person who wilfully, maliciously, and repeatedly follows or wilfully and maliciously harasses another person and who makes a credible threat with the intent to place that person in reasonable fear for his or her safety or the safety of his or her immediate family is guilty of the crime of stalking (Lucks, 2001 p.163).

Despite the criminalisation of stalking in the early 1990s, Americans witnessed an unnoticed increasing in stalking incidences through the internet. For instance, Janet Reno, in her report to the then Vice president AL Gore, warns that "Cyberspace has become a fertile field for illegal activity by the use of new technology and equipment that cannot be policed by traditional methods"[12] (see Reno, 1999, p.7). She, therefore, called upon "all states [to] review their laws to ensure they prohibit and provide appropriate punishment for stalking via the internet and other electronic communications" (Reno, 1999, p.13). By that time, California State had already amended its law a year before, in 1998. This amendment accommodated online stalking. According to Hazelwood and Koon-Magnin (2013), until 1999, all (50) States in the U.S. had echoed California and criminalised specifically cyberstalking. Various criminalisation approaches were used, including amending extant stalking laws like California or enacting new legislation prohibiting cyberstalking and cyberharassment.

[12] She quoted a statement from Linda Fairstein (the then chief of sex crimes).

In Europe, according to Van der Aa (2018, p. 316), members of the European Union considered online harassment not to be a severe threat. Van de Aa reports that until 2007 only eight countries had legislation specific for stalking/cyberstalking. Van der Aa (ibid) highlights that some European countries believed that the crime could be addressed by other existing laws such as assault, threat, or coercion. In connection with this, nations and states differ in prescribing the underlying causes of stalking, cyber harassment and cyberstalking in particular. For example, countries like U.K, Canada, Australia, Singapore, and France address cyberstalking within laws against sexual harassment; other countries consider it within cybercrime legislation (see UNODC, 2019).

In Africa, cyberstalking has not yet been considered a crime by most countries. Tushabe and Baryamureeba (2005) question if cybercrime is a reality or myth (see). A few publications focus on perception, but very few studies produce reliable empirical information. On legal documents, the majority of cyber harassment laws were enacted recently, especially after 2010. Among these laws, a few have an article criminalising cyberstalking (like Uganda and Nigeria) (see Kshetri, 2019). Other countries like Kenya and Tanzania outlaw online sexual harassment (the Republic of Kenya, 2018) or cyberbullying (see URT, 2015), respectively. In line with the above, the researcher believes that these concepts are used interchangeably with cyberstalking, even though the meanings are slightly different. For example, the United Republic of Tanzania's (URT) law encompasses all cyberharassment forms in one term, 'cyberbullying'. Article 23 of the Law titled '*cyberbullying*' (see URT, 2015) prescribes that:

i) A person shall not initiate or send an electronic communication using a computer system to another person with the intent to coerce, intimidate, harass, or cause emotional distress.
ii) A person who contravenes subsection (1) commits an offence and is liable, on conviction, to a fine of not less than five million shillings or to imprisonment for a term of not less than three years or to both.

Regarding the law above that intended to victimise online harassment in which cyberstalking is part, the researcher remarked several weaknesses. In light of the definition, the law bears the title 'cyberbullying', but the explanations do not specify repetition and power relations. Again, the

legislation is also restrictive to behaviour performed on a computer, forgetting other devices like a smartphone or camera. Hence, given that legal a statement stands as the state's voice, the absence of law or ambiguous statements on online harassment may license the proliferation of cyberstalking and related behaviours.

In favour of the legal perspective on cyberstalking, Burmester et al. (2005) allege that the legal approach provides an avenue for reporting cyberstalking and creates a uniform and consistent criterion for investigation, prosecution, and administering justice general. However, Tardo-Bora and Bora (2016) notify that laws are rigid, unable to capture eventual techniques as crimes are changing because laws are formalised and not flexible to adapt to psychological and socio-cultural differences. Likewise, Burmester et al. (ibid), in their article *Tracking cyberstalkers: A cryptographic approach,* admit that it is very challenging to persecute or track cyberstalking cases. Burmester et al. (ibid) give three main reasons. First, cyberstalking behaviour patterns are complicated, varied, unpredictable, and challenging to recognise and investigate […]. Second, the anonymity provided by the internet emboldens the perpetrator and complicates the determination of the identity of the stalker. Third, given the need to preserve legitimate internet users' privacy, prosecutors are prohibited from directly "wire-tapping" internet channels and to collect evidence quality evidence (Burmester et al. 2005, p.1). The Tardo-Bora and Bora (2016) propose a need for technical training because most law enforcers are not well equipped with the latest technology.

2.2.2 Cyberstalking as Abuse of Technology

Development in online technology has contributed to increased online harassment (Finn, 2004; Björklund et al., 2010; Reynes et al., 2011; Villacampa & Pujols, 2017). Research increasingly reports the role technology plays in amplifying various web harassments (King-Ries, 2011; Kraft and Wang, 2010; Sherizen, 1992; Al-Khateeb & Epiphaniou, 2016). Kraft and Wang's (2010) exploration of cyberbullying and cyberstalking factors attribute the increase in online victimisation complexity to sophistication in cyber technology. Similarly, Todd et al. (2020, p.8) assert that digital activities or behaviours facilitated 58.5 per cent of reported domestic homicide cases, some of which were purely cyberstalking.

Therefore, technology plays a significant role in aggravating 'relationships' in cyberspace. Cyberstalkers are said to be "technically more skilful, older and better educated than victims." (Burmester et al., 2005, p.1). According to Burmester et al. (op.cit), perpetrators use their expertise in online communication and ICT to follow, manage, and monitor victims. In the same line, King-Ries (2011), in his article *Teens, technology, and cyberstalking: The domestic violence wave of the future,* points out that technology amplifies the realisation of online domestic violence acts. Accordingly, King-Ries (ibid, p.133)) insists that "technology provides increasingly sophisticated ways for batterers to stalk their intimate partners and avoid detection, apprehension, and prosecution". The author alleges that ICT is a technology that enables culprits to hide their identities (King-Ries, 2011 p.140).

Scholars propose several technical options to prevent cyberstalking. Some of the measures include: blocking the perpetrator, guaranteeing or filtering negative behaviour or suspected harmful content (see Al-Khateeb & Epiphaniou, 2016; Pitarro, 2007). Some scholars propose using automated methods of detecting intruders (see Tardo-Bora & Bora 2016), while others recommend digital forensic investigation (see Tardo-Bora & Bora, 2016; Al-Khateeb & Epiphaniou, 2016). Since training empowers law enforcers with sophisticated and updated skills, Tardo-Bora and Bora (2016) propose establishing specialised training units and improving reporting mechanisms. For instance, Kraft & Wang (2010, p.89) suggest that creating an online reporting network that is user-friendly and with low cost will effectively help college students handle cyber harassment. Furthermore, Petrocelli (2005) suggests reporting to online groups such as Working to Halt Online Abuse[13] or CyberAngels[14] for assistance. According to Petrocelli (ibid), the websites provide support and advice on cyberstalking. In the same vein, Al-Khateeb and Epiphaniou (2016) recommend establishing a database for previous experiences as a proactive measure for vulnerable groups to enable new cases to learn how to handle situations.

The increase in cyberharassment directed especially at women raised concern for researchers in psychology and ICT domains. Along the 2nd decade of this century, after noticing that "the greatest cybersecurity threat is social, rather than technological, in nature" (Hoffman, 2013, p. 15), technology experts convened a conference to discuss how to control the negative human

[13]A volunteer organization combating online harassment http://www.haltabuse.org/resources/index.shtml
[14]A non-profit organization created to raise awareness about cybercrime. http://www.cyberangels.in/

effect of digital technology. Among the solutions, Thackray and colleagues (2016, p. 1) proposed creating a new domain of study, meaning "fusion of cybersecurity and social psychology". Consequently, a discipline known as social cybersecurity came to being. According to Carley (2020), social cybersecurity is a multidisciplinary[15] approach aiming to:

> Characterise, understand, and forecast cyber-mediated changes in human behaviour and in social, cultural, and political outcomes; [so as to] build a social cyberinfrastructure that will allow the essential character of society to persist in a cyber-mediated information environment that is characterised by changing conditions, actual or imminent social cyber threats, and cyber-mediated threats." (Carley, 2020, p. 366).

The proponents of social cybersecurity claim to create a distinct discipline from cybersecurity. According to Carley (2020), cybersecurity focuses on computers and databases, whereas social cybersecurity centres on the social aspect of the computer infrastructure. However, from a sociological perspective, the social cybersecurity proposal does not seem to work. The main reason is that cyberstalking is a social problem embedded in technology (see Finn, 2004, p. 477) and not a technological problem.

In the same vein, Sherize (1992 pinpoints that the main weakness of the technological approach to cyberstalking lies in assuming that cyberspace is independent of the real world and that the female student can prevent it by altering her behaviours. In this regard, according to Sherize (1992 p.39), "seldom is there an integrated socio-technological approach to the computer crime problems […], we need to establish where the social and psychological lines are drawn between normal and deviant, between allowed and disallowed, between expected and unexpected, between wanted and unwanted".

The researcher agrees that technology facilitates so-called evils in cyberspace, but cyberstalking operates within the human relations realm. Consequently, it appears that behind the technological

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[15] Social cyber-security is an inherently multi-disciplinary multi-methodological multilevel computational social science. Emerging theories blend political science, sociology, communication science, organization science, marketing, linguistics, anthropology, forensics, decision science, and social psychology (Carley & Cervone, n.d.)

devices that mediate social evils like cyberstalking, there must be a rational and conscious human being operating the behaviours and practices. Therefore the researcher argues a need for approaches like psychology or sociology that implicate human participation. Thus, the following section discusses cyberstalking as a learned behaviour.

2.2.3 Cyberstalking as a Learned Behaviour

Keswani (2017), in her article titled: *Cyber Stalking: A Critical Study* divulge that some people are inherently aggressive. In the same line, many scholars in psychology ascribe perpetrators' behaviours to personality traits, mental disorders, antisocial behaviours or substance abuse (see Ménard & Pincus, 2012; Dressing et al., 2014; Begotti & Maran, 2019; Maran & Begotti, 2019). Similary, Ménard and Pincus (2012), in their work *Cyberstalking victimisation and perpetration among Greek College students*, assert that people with antisocial, borderline, histrionic, and narcissist behaviours are more likely to exercise cyberstalking than those with other personality traits. Moreover, researchers in psychology characterise cyberstalking as a violent behaviour linked with perpetrators' psychological feelings such as hatred, rage, severe narcissism, envy, obsession, and sexual deviance (see Pitarro, 2007; Ménard & Pincus, 2012; Keswani, 2017). Additionaly, Pitarro (2007) reports that drug use and alcoholism stimulate aggressive behaviours.

Ménard and Pincus (ibid) purport that adults' malicious actions, including violence against fellow humans, originate from childhood trauma. Following this assertion, Dressing and colleagues (2014) suggest that to curb online abuse, it is essential to trace the origin of perpetrators' behaviour. Likewise, Keswani (ibid) notifies that infant traumatic scars from child abuse reincarnate during adulthood, and the internet appears to be the most convenient platform for retribution or revenge, especially to an ex-partner. Therefore, from this view, Dressing et al. (2014) conclude that services should be provided to child abuse survivors to prevent future cyberstalking. Again, researchers in psychology explain the relationship between victimisation and age (see Begotti & Maran, 2019). To support this, Begotti and Maran (2019) assert that the youth become vulnerable due to internet addiction. Begotti and Maran (ibid) add that overambitious juveniles exhibit exaggerated digital confidence, with reduced caution when interacting with strangers, hence post a large amount of personal data.

Another psychological area concerns the effects of cyber harassment on victims. Studies have shown a long list of psychological effects emanating from cyberstalking. According to psychologists, some of these effects include fear, anxiety, irritation, anger and depression, and may reach even stages of nausea, sleep disturbance, and suicide ideation (see Dressing et al., 2014). Dressing and colleagues (2014), advise society and the international community to invest in training psychiatrists and psychotherapists to provide psychosocial services to traumatised victims.

Although the psychologists offer essential highlights regarding the causes and effects of cyber harassment and cyberstalking in particular, the current researcher is of the view that this perspective leaves unanswered questions: Why are most victims are women? Why does cyberstalking take place between intimates? Again, in the present researcher's view, the psychological perspective presents an ambiguous vicious cycle of traumatisation: people traumatise others because they were traumatised. In an attempt to respond to this puzzle, Adam (2002, p.136) concludes: "Appropriate psychological literature is one relevant vector, but it needs to include the literature of feminist psychology, including studies on violence against women. In other words, it is not just a question of individual psychology but also the wider culture in which individuals are situated". Therefore, the researcher needed to examine a sociological perspective that regards cyberharassment and cyberstalking as a manifestation of unequal power relations in society.

2.2.4 Cyberstalking as a Manifestation of Unequal Power Relations

In responding to the origin of harassment against women, social scientists associate individual behaviours with societal norms and attitudes (see Halbert, 2004; Halbert, 1996; Spitzebery & Hoober, 2002; Htun & Jensenius, 2020). According to Htun and Jensenius (2020),

> Violence against women is attributable not only to individual-level factors such as aggression, alcohol and drug use, or family history, but also to cultural attitudes and social norms that legitimise violent behaviour, and above all to the gender structure of society, which tends to subordinate women and render them vulnerable to men's economic and social power" (Htun & Jensenius, 2020, p.146).

Researching cyberstalking from a sociological perspective seems to be a recent approach (DiMaggio et al., 2011; Spitzebery & Hoober, 2002; Gan (2017). Spitzebery and Hoober claim

to be the first publication on cyberstalking using a sociological perspective. Within this newness, there are two confronting schools of thought. Some sociologists regard cyberspace as an independent arena (see Ozan, 2012; DiMaggio et al., 2011). Others postulate an interface between the social and virtual worlds (see Fox and Christ, 1999; Sassen, 2002). Defending the first stance, Ozan (2012; p.12), in his article *Cyberspace and virtual reality,* argues that "The virtual space enables the reality, the emotional and physical experiences to be artificially transformed and transported from one person to another" (also see Fox & Christ 1999; Yanisky-ravid & Mittelman, 2016). The second school of thought views cyberspace as a mirage of the material world (Christ (1999; Sassen, 2002). That means whatever is happening in cyberspace is interpreted in relation to the social world.

In this debate, Fox and Christ (1999) query a community's existence in the absence of kinship, residence, and without direct political, economic, and biological relationships. According to these researchers, the cyber community is unrealistic; it is an artificial relationship because communication is discontinuous and sometimes impersonal as interlocutors may not know each other or communicate through copied texts. Fox and Christ (1999) are of the view that cyberculture is an embedded culture whose inputs, as well as rewards and punishment, are linked with real-time society. Sassen (2002) uses embeddedness to clarify the fact that the internet is embedded in the material world. She asserts that "there is no 'purely digital' or exclusively 'virtual' electronic space; rather, the digital is always "embedded" in the material" (2002, p.367).

Additionally, scholarly works have proved that cyberspace interactions reflect, magnify, and transform power relations among nations and within social identities such as race, age, and sex (see Gilbert, 1996; Lewis et al., 2016). In other words, cyberspace is a mirage of real-world relations. In this study, the researcher believes that social interactions in the social world create a mirage into cyberspace. One of these interactions is gender relations.

2.2.5 Gender and Cyberstalking

The question of gender power relations and cyberstalking have attracted the attention of scholars. For example, Gilbert (1996), in her article titled *On sex, cyberspace, and being stalked,* classified online stalking as 'masks for imperialist fantasy'. That means she associates the internet with a

device to further world imperialism and gender violence. According to her, "Net depends on the product of exploitation of largely third world, largely female labour" (Gilbert (1996, 11).

Similarly, Yanisky-Ravid and Mittelman (2016) describe the internet as a potentially oppressive device. That means, internet discriminates and marginalises women at two levels: in the creation and operation of content and in mediating harassment. Yanisky-ravid and Mittelman (ibid) postulate that "virtual spheres not only duplicate the discriminative reality, structure, norms, and patterns found in the real world but also create new methods and means by which women are excluded from an environment where all important activities and opportunities now take place" (p. 407).

Again, some institutions do recognise cyberstalking as a gender issue. For instance, the European Union and the Indian Government conclude that cyberstalking constitutes a form of gender-based violence. According to the European Advisory Commission for Equal Opportunity for Women and Men (2010, p. 4), "Cyberviolence is part of the continuum of violence against women: it does not exist in a vacuum; rather, it both stems from and sustains multiple forms of offline violence." In the same vein, the Indian Penal Code (IPC 354B) interprets cyberstalking as a male's violence to a female. The Indian penal code offers the following explanation:

> Any man who follows a woman or contacts or attempts to contact such woman to foster personal interaction repeatedly despite a clear indication of disinterest by such woman or whoever monitors the use by a woman of the internet, e-mail or any other form of electronic communication or watches or spies a person in a manner that results in fear of violence or serious alarm or distress, in the mind of such woman or interferes with the mental peace of such woman, commits the offence of stalking. (Indian Penal Code (IPC), 354, B)[16].

In connection with this law, Lewis et al. (2016) compare the virtual world and real life. They insist that "as in real life, women, and particularly with intersecting identities and vulnerabilities, experience a continuum of aggression that ranges from unwanted sexual advances, sexist or racist, […] to frequent, harmful, frightening, sometimes life-threatening abuse on the internet" (Lewis et al., 2016, p.25).

[16] India Criminal Law (Amendment) Ordinance, 2013, Section 6.

However, other scholars challenge the association of cyberstalking with gender. According to Pittaro (2017), research has not concluded that cyberstalking exhibits a component of sexual obsession. Pittaro agrees that stalking is a criminal offence motivated by interpersonal hostility and aggressive behaviours. However, he insists that cyberstalking actions are "fuelled by rage, power, control, and anger that may have been precipitated by a victim's actions or, in some cases, the victim's inactions." To Pittaro, it is overambitious or over-generalisation to restrict cyberstalking thoughts to the gender dimension alone.

Accordingly, some researchers analyse the merits and demerits of using the gender dimension in studying cyberstalking. According to Van der Aa (2012), the disadvantages include the fact that if legislation is only applicable to female victims, it will be considered biased because gender equality and equity are not about women alone. That means male victims deserve equal treatment with female victims. Again, female perpetrators will feel free to excise their malicious intents. According to Meyersfeld (2010), linking women and stalking becomes challenging. For instance, the States that practice gender discrimination or gender differentiation will not easily comply with resolutions that were arrived at a consensus or implement cyberstalking regulations. Contrary to the preceding arguments, historical reasons support using the feminist vantage point of view in understanding cyberstalking. Van der Aa (2012) postulates that when cyberstalking was associated with gender-based violence, it became clearly understood and received due attention. Again, empirical statistics show that more women are victimised than men (see Spitzebery & Hoober, 2002). Moreover, studies in psychology testify that the sex of the victim matters on the impact of the stalking (Pitarro, 2007; Ménard & Pincus, 2012; Keswani, 2017). According to Sheridan and Lyndon (2012), women receive severe psychological and physical injuries than men. Furthermore, since most cyberstalking occurrences involve prior romantic relations, researchers found that stalking perpetrated by male ex-partners lasts longer, and stalkers are more violent and persistent than strangers (see Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998; Pathé & Mullen, 1997).

In that vein, the present researcher concurs with the feminist approach that cyberstalking implicates gender power relations. The researcher relates and interprets the cyberstalking phenomenon with gender power relations embedded within the broader societal and cultural

context. In other words, it is the societal norms and values which shape people's behaviours, ultimately perpetuating online malicious actions harmful to others.

2.3 *Towards Redefinition of Cyberstalking*

The dynamic and multifaceted nature of cyberstalking creates challenges in interpreting and conceptualising the phenomenon. As a result, there are multiple definitions across time and domain of study (see Lowry et al., 2013). For instance, earlier definitions exhibited weaknesses that fail to grasp the current and emerging intricacies of the phenomenon. For example, Deirmenjian (1999, p.407), in his article *Stalking in cyberspace,* refers cyberstalking to as "harassment on the internet using various modes of transmission such as electronic mail (e-mail) chat rooms, newsgroups, mail exploders, and the World Wide Web". In this explanation, Deirmenjian, a psychiatrist by profession, describes a set of actions related to cyberstalking but does not identify the actors. Again, the definition does underline the frequency of the practice. From a legal perspective, frequency and participants constitute important components to prosecute a suspect cyberstalker. Scholars worldwide agree that cyberstalking acts should be repeated or continuous (Lowry et al., 2013; Siemieniecka & Skibińska, 2019).

Similarly, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes (UNODC, 2015, p.12) defines cyberstalking as "a course of action that involves more than one incident perpetrated through or utilising electronic media to cause distress, fear or alarm". Since UNDOC is the highest international organisation that oversees trans-border crimes, one would expect much more than shedding light on the repetitiveness of cyberstalking actions and outcomes. Again, the definition addresses cyberstalking as an action; it does not indicate a sense of human involvement.

Several scholars argue that the multiplicity of cyberstalking definitions complicates understanding the problem (see Sheridan et al., 2003; Fukuchi, 2011; Sheridan & Davies, 2001). Moreover, it is found that even within a single domain, scholars do not reach a consensus (see Fukuchi, 2011; Sheridan et al., 2003). To this end, Finn (2004, p.636) proposes that it is unnecessary to rigidly define cyberstalking because legal experts cannot […] provide a clear, actionable definition" (also see Gilbert, 1996).

However, to demarcate what constitutes a cyberstalked female student from a not-cyberstalked female student, a working definition was inevitable in the present study. The researcher, therefore, used the four criteria commonly applied in different scholarly works. For a case to be regarded as cyberstalking, there should be the application of the digital technology, the repetitiveness or continuity of the action (pursuit), perpetrators' obsession, power and control, as well as inducing fear/threat to the victim (see Lowry et al., 2013, Frommholz et al., 2016; Dhillon et al., 2016). Frommholz et al. (2016) insist that a determined perpetrator should perform the acts and target a specific individual or (or a group of people). Given the variability of definitions and the necessity of incorporating the gender aspect, throughout the thesis, cyberstalking will be understood as follows:

> A group of behaviours exercised mostly by men to women in which a determined or obsessed individual, group of individuals or organisation uses the internet, e-mail, or related digital electronic repeatedly at a given length of time to annoy or to harass one or more individuals. Such behaviour may include, but not limited to, the transmission of threat and force accusation, identity theft, data theft, damage to data or equipment, computer monitoring to control, revenge or solicitation for sexual satisfaction." (Modified definition from Bocij and McFarlane, 2002 p.5).

2.4 Aspects of Digital Technology as an Extension of Gender-based Violence

As already noted, cyberstalking is inseparable from sexual harassment and gender-based violence (see Wood & Stichman, 2018; Sissing & Prinsloo, 2013). Like other forms of gender-based violence, cyberstalkers' intentions can be sexual desire, psychological harm or economic gain. Online media provides a primary avenue for realising brutality; some violence begins online and ends offline or vice versa. Unlike in proximal stalking, technology creates a sense of the cyberstalkers' omnipresence as anonymity gives the power to conceal the position of the harasser (see Woodlock, 2017). An archetypal case among students in India (see Prakasham et al., 2016, p. 267) will serve as an illustration. The incident involved a 21-year-old third-year engineering male student from Telangana University. He created six separate fake Facebook accounts pretending to be six different girls.

> The male student sent friend requests to various female students […]. In response, some girls accepted his Facebook invitation. After few days of befriending, he asked them

> about their sexual activities. Believing that he was a girl, they shared. After collecting enough data, the culprit revealed his identity and started blackmailing the girls that he would make public his Facebook chats if they refuse to send him their naked pictures. The girls sent him the pictures. Then he started blackmailing them through the phone, demanding money and saying that he would post their naked pictures online if they refuse to give him the money he demanded. (see Prakasham et al., 2016, p. 267)

In this context, the content that the girls shared online contents betrayed them. They were hooked by their 'selfied' nude photographs, as illustrated. In response to this global crisis, cyberfeminists question the issues of safety in cyberspace. They alert that the web is a social space embedded with misogyny and other social injustices against women (see Adam, 2002; Gilbert, 1996).

According to Mackinnon (1997), cyberspace activities are merely an extension of inequalities in the physical space to the extent that all forms of violence, including rape, can be performed online. Mackinnon (ibid) adds that cyberspace is a space where patriarchy persists and that cyberstalking and other forms of harassment prevail. These forms of harassing women, according to Fisher and Dolezal (2018), mostly emanate from men's attraction or cruelty to the female body.

Social scientists assert that cyberstalkers target the female body, as is the case with gender-based violence (see Gilbert, 1996; Adam, 2002). To add to this, Adam (2002, p.133) points out that most cyberstalking incidents constitute a violation of privacy rights by watching and looking at women's bodies and subjecting female bodies to surveillance on revenge porn. Adam (ibid) underscores that victims are threatened to share sexualised content online to humiliate themselves. More serious, according to Adam (ibid), some physical assaults committed to the women's body may be uploaded online as pornography to be watched by anybody. Scholars conclude that although any sex can exercise violence or harassment, men targeting women as sexy bodies plays a higher role in most cases of sexual harassment (see Adam, 2002; Woodlock, 2017).

In this debate, an intriguing question remains: Are there 'bodies' on the internet? This question raises contention among scholars. Travers (2003) paraphrases the questions by stating that the central discussion is whether there is real disembodiment in cyberspace or not and whether in

cyberspace, women are freer than elsewhere. On the one hand, proponents defend that there are no bodies in cyberspace. For instance, according to Plant (1996), actors are without bodies, and that there is not more inequality in the cyber community. Here Plant (ibid) suggests that cyberspace is a safe place and space for women empowerment. Moreover, Rheingold (1993, p. 231) stresses that "people in virtual communities do everything that people do elsewhere, but they leave their bodies behind". This notion is termed as disembodiment.

Contrary to the above perspective, Nouraei-Simon (2005) insists that cyberspace must be considered an environment in which the definition of *situation*, *body* and *identity* are both contested and influenced by power relations. In this respect, Travers (2003, p 17) underlines that the "human body is not only the flesh, and that disembodiment is partial in cyberspace because attitudes, emotions such as anger, and hatred can be felt", and these affect the receiver. More importantly, Stone (1991, p.113) recalls to attention that "virtual community originates in, and must return to, the physical community".

Therefore, technology has created a new platform to perpetuate abuse. Digitisation makes possible recuperation of a large part of the body. If print media were recording thoughts, electronic means would make harassment more devastating by collecting, recording and displaying, voices, images and live or recorded videos. For instance, DiMaggio and colleagues (2012) demonstrate how a small handset can be a mass media, a cinema, or a discussion hall. Therefore, digital technology affects social relations and reinforces gender inequality in society.

2.5 *Context of Online Harassment in Tanzanian Universities*

Like other sub-Saharan countries in Africa, Tanzanians participate in the digitisation process. This process interacts with existing social and traditional systems. As discussed earlier, digital technology perpetuates Tanzanian traditions and cultural values against human rights (Msuya, 2017). In the context of gender relations, digitisation operates within the realm of the patriarchal system. The following section discusses socio-cultural issues underpinning the persistence of online sexual harassment and gender-based violence in Tanzania.

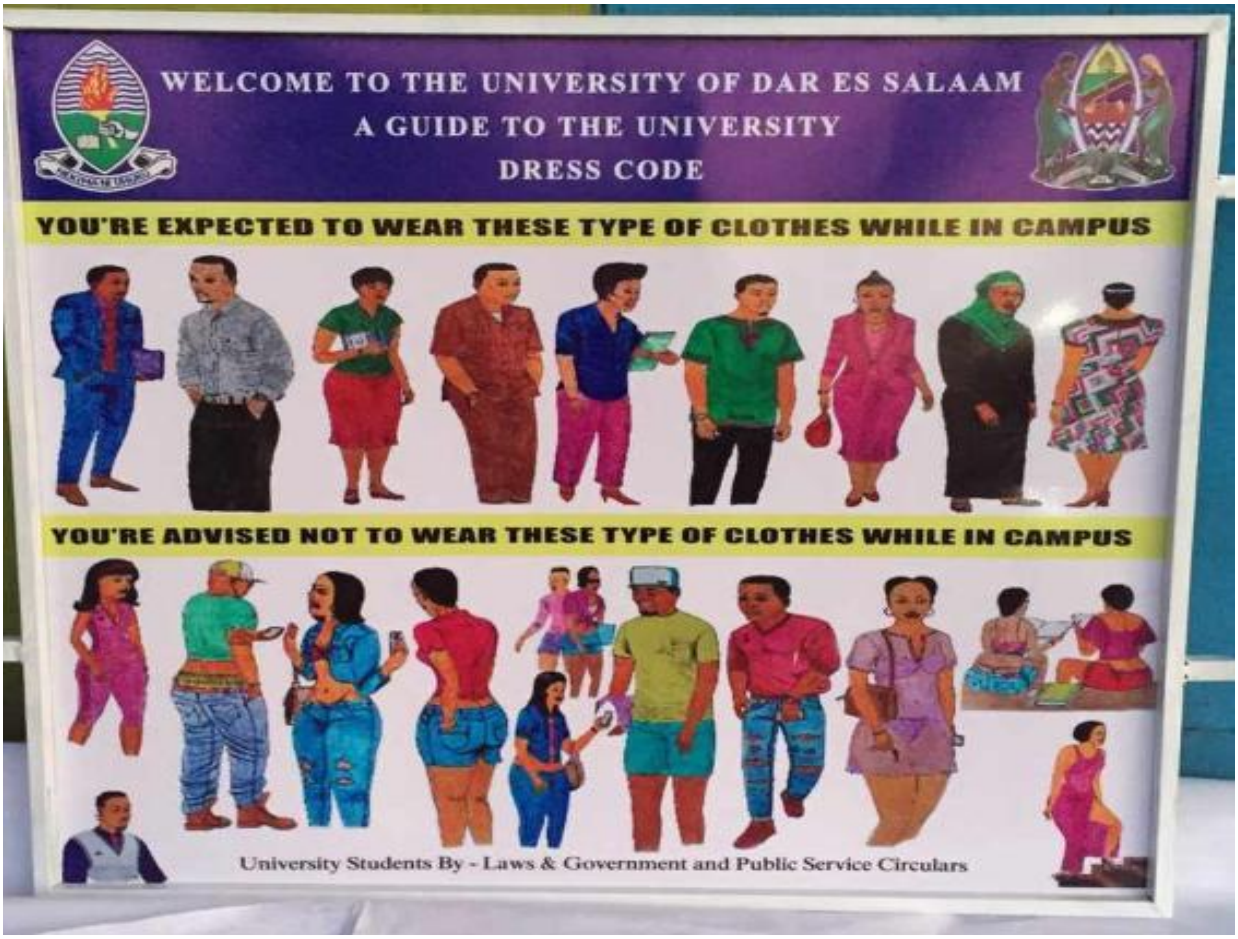
Tanzania as a former socialist country, was likely to exhibit a higher rate of cybervictimisation. The Tanzanian societal is said to be socially constructed in a collectivist culture. The founding Tanzanian nationalist spirit believed in unity, peace, harmony and socialism (see Kim, 2018;

URT, 1967). The *Ujamaa* policy was founded in African brotherhood spirit and spearheaded by one of the respected, charismatic leaders in Africa, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere (1922-1999). The core values were: living together, working together, and nationalisation of the economy. When applied in cyber technology, groups sharing make easy for stalkers to find a victim and victim's information, facilitating control and creating a ground for public defamation (see Aizenkot & Kashy-Rosenbaum, 2018).

Comparative studies undertaken on cybervictimization in various parts of the world reveal that internet users in collectivist societies are more at risk than individualists (Akinduko, ibid, Park et al, 2021). Akinduko (ibid) compared Nigeria and England, while Park et al, (2021) affirmed by comparing western countries from East Asian countries (China, South Korea, Japan, Hong Kong and Taiwan). Akinduko et al. (2017) argue that collectivist societies are more vulnerable to cyberharassment than individualist countries. This is because, in collectivist societies, members inculcate a culture of trust among themselves. Although the dichotomy of individualistic-collectivist criteria is questioned by some authors (Chan & Sheridan, 2014), researchers support that collectivists are also slow in reporting incidents (Akinduko et al., 2017; Smith & Robinson, 2019). Therefore, it seems that Tanzanians as they have been socialised in a socialist perspective, might be prone to cyberstalking victimisation; neighbouring countries like Kenya were oriented to capitalism.

2.5.1 Normalisation of Sexual Harassment in Dress Code

In Tanzania, sexual harassment discourse is highly embedded in dress code policies. Reports indicate that Tanzania has maintained conservative attitudes towards attire since 1970 (Mbilinyi, 1972; Mvungi, 2014; Zembazemba, 2017). All along, parliamentary debates, institutional policies, and public narratives attribute sexual harassment to women's attire. Women are reproached for being responsible for their sexual assault by wearing revealing clothes. For example, the government reiterated the dress code policy emphasising standard attire in public spaces and higher learning institutions. The institutions of higher learning replicate the civil servant's standards, as shown in flier 1.



Flier 1: A Guide to UDSM Dressing Code

Source: https://twitter.com/darusoudsm/status/1189840914304425985

Although one observes that, while it is true that "external cues such as appearance and attire could play a key role in encouraging objectification, dehumanisation and the denial of agency" (see Awasthi, 2017, p.1, Nyende, 2006), sexual harassment victimisation might not be reduced by prescriptive norms on attire. According to scholars, gender-based harassment is provoked by the social environment. The social atmosphere creates attitudes, values, feelings, thoughts, and actions (Rahimi & Liston, 2011). To substantiate it, Schlicht (2000) reports that in Canada, Muslim students who wore the hijab were more vulnerable to sexual harassment than white girls because sexism is intertwined with the racial-gendered hate of Islam. That indicates the amalgamation of all forms of power inequality, including gender, race, age, income and others (see Gilbert, 1996; Haraway, 1985; 2000).

The researcher views that the policies are associated with the creation of double impacts. In the physical world, they might create an excuse for perpetrators for their malicious actions. In cyberspace, young women might use the internet as an asylum to express their desired wearing style searching for freedom (see Akinduko et al., 2017; Alhujailli et al., 2020).

2.5.2 Persistence of (Cyber)stalking in Tanzania

Stalking is an ancient practice that existed in the whole world, without exception to Tanzania. At the University of Dar es Salaam, 'Mzee Punch' (a gang mentioned earlier) performed sexual harassment and several violent activities (see Rubagumya, 2017; Magege, 2003). According to the authors, on 7th February 1990, a tragic historical event happened at the University of Dar es Salaam. It implicated a suicidal case of a stalked first-year undergraduate education student named Levina Mukasa. The incident, which was a result of a six-month pursuit of the perpetrators in vain. The perpetrator, a male student, solicited sexual favour from the unfortunate victim. Magege (2003, p.vii) provides the detailed experience of the last day.

> Having failed to get her, the engineering male student opted to storm her room. She refused. He decided to use force, but her well-built body contained his every move. At last, she escaped from the room leaving him behind with a bite on one arm. It was rumoured that the charade never ended there. They chased her along the corridor and down to the ground floor. […] They ran toward Yombo Cafeteria rotated it twice before coming back to Block A, where she was rescued by fellow female students, by shoving her into their room (Magege, 2003, p.vii).

Having failed to withstand the harassment, the survivor, Ms. Mukasa, swallowed chloroquine tablets and passed away, leaving a letter in her locker, pinpointing that she escaped sexual harassment (Magege, 2003). In academia, the event marked the beginning of women activism and academic authorship on sexual harassment and gender-based violence in Tanzania (see Mbilinyi, 1990; Ngaiza, 2012; Mukangara, 2013, Kilango et al., 2017). Despite several scholarly and activist reactions to the misfortune, Mukasa's incident was perceived from one dimension as sexual harassment (Ngaiza 2012). The accompanying pursuit, chasing and controlling were not taken in their own as distinctive features. The researcher perceives Levina's incident as typical stalking. With the advancement of technology in Tanzania, the remaining question is: Is there

any evidence of harassment mediated by digital tools? The current research intended to fill this knowledge gap by exploring the university's cyberstalking experience among female students.

Mukasa was stalked by an institutionalised group, which corresponds with the definition of cyberstalking adopted (see Bocij & McFarlane, 2002). Also, Mukasa's case happened in higher learning institutions where suicidal cases and the murder of female students are still being reported (UDSM, 2018). Theoretically, Mukasa's instance depicts gender-based violence because it was centred on her body, as Magege reports:

> [She] had elegant breasts, smooth but wider sporty hips, full legs, average bottoms, a slender shape, sensual mouth, and moderate beauty. Probably she had other special covert qualities, which attracted men. The genetically inherited intelligence superimposed on her moderate beauty added an incredible combination. She had complete knowledge of herself and eagerness for control of her life. […]. (Magege, 2003 p.12).

The discourses around 'Mzee Punch' activities targeted women's bodies. Again, in the same incident, Ngaiza, (2012, p.78) associates the administration's laxity to women's issues with the dominant assumption that 'men and women attract each other'. However, as there was no use of electronic media, the incident was regarded as gender-based violence, although it entailed the characteristics of stalking/cyberstalking.

2.6 Coping with (Cyber)stalking in Tanzanian Institutions of Higher Learning

2.6.1 Victims' Coping Strategies

Since cyberstalking is a painful experience, victims utilise various strategies to escape from it. Spitzberg & Hoobler (2002) categorise three types of reaction to being obsessively pursued: passive protection, aggressive protection and interaction. Studies indicate that most victims adopt passive protection, which implies relieving stress, forgetting the perpetrator and refocus by attempting to become inaccessible to the perpetrator. On the other hand, aggressive protection means fighting back or suing the perpetrators. According to Spitzberg & Hoobler (ibid), interaction response calls for a non-restrictive approach include confrontational coping, support seeking, and cognitive reframing. In the study by Beggoti and Maran (2019), it is reported that victims stopped perpetration by avoiding or ignoring the perpetrator, opting to even more

destructive self-denial practices such as increase misuse of alcohol, use of drugs or decreased social contact. Others "sought for help from social network administrator; informing a parent, police, parents/family, friends, partner, physician, and psychotherapist)" (Begotti and Maran, 2019, p. 5). According to Hensler-McGinnis (2008, p. 1), some "coping responses were less effective for students whose victimization met legal definitions of cyberstalking and for those stalked by dating/intimate partners".

Similarly, in Malaysia, in her study titled *Gender Inequalities in the Prevalence, Perception, and Reporting of Cyberstalking in Malaysian University Students*, Gan (2017; p 34) unveil that the reasons for not reporting to include the absence of a right approach, resources, or a person to report to, due to a lack of trust in family, friends, or authority. Gan (2017) also reports that victims did not report because they considered their experience lacked severity and did not deserve attention. In the same study, Gan reported that the victim pre-empts the decision that it will be difficult to convince law enforcers, friends, or parents that it is a criminal case. In the same manner, according to the same author (p.7), those who reported, and felt that they were taken seriously, opted on the second incident to stay silent because other individuals had little or no understanding of it.

2.6.2 The Culture of Silence

Although cybercrime has received much attention in Tanzania, the literature on stalking/cyberstalking is limited in the Tanzanian context and institutions of higher learning (IHL) in particular. It is reported worldwide that incidents of cyberstalking are underreported. One of the main reason for non-reporting is the culture of silence.

Literature from Tanzania reports an increase in sexual harassment and gender-based violence cases especially in higher learning institutions (MUHAS, 2016; UDSM, 2018; PCCB, 2020). For example, the UDSM gender policy reports that 185 out of 733 (26.2%) interviewed students had been sexually harassed and that the type of harassment included verbal, non-verbal and physical. Moreover, the same literature emphasises the fact that the majority of sexual harassment incidents are not reported. Again, a study at Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences (MUHAS, 2016) found that most sexually harassed women did not report the incidents.

Although 56 per cent of the affected students disclosed to someone, none disclosed the harassment to a colleague or the university management.

In another context, the reasons for the non-disclosing of sexual harassment and cyberstalking may be related to the socio-cultural milieu. For example, Shemsanga (2013) reported that cultural norms inhibit disclosing gender-based violence. In Tanzania, women have been socialised to be passive in public. According to scholars, women tend to be isolated by class, tribal and marital divisions (see Mbilinyi, 1972; Haron & Yusof, 2010). Also, non-reporting can be explained by institutional reluctance in dealing with reported cases. For instance, in Mukasa's case, Ngaiza (2012) alleges that the university administration took very light measures against the culprit. According to Ngaiza (ibid), even Mukasa's case was popularised by women activists, not the university administration. Again, recently, the PCCB (2020) has reported that a professor who harassed a female postgraduate student was suspended for one year, but no further legal action was taken. Likewise, in Ndejembi's cyberstalking case (refer to section 1.1.5), neither her parents nor relatives disclosed the matter.

Another gap related to non-reporting lies in the perception of sexual issues in society. Accordingly to Ibhawo and Dibua (2003, p.127), sex issues are taboo. In illustrating this fact among Shambala, Ibhawo and Dibua (2003, p.127) report that most sensitive or secret matters, especially those associated with sexuality, are not exposed but handled privately (ibid, p.32). Since cyberstalking may implicate online dating and courtship, sending nude photos and videos to the victim, the practice qualifies as sexual issue. To summarise, it appears that social norms play a significant role in silencing women who are victimised within the unequal gender relation system. In the same vein, scholars argue that silence is another major obstacle in grasping gender-based violence's intensity (see Joinet, 1985; Shemsanga, 2013; Gan, 2017).

2.6.3 Perception of (Cyber) Stalking and Harassment

The researcher needed to deconstruct the core concept of 'sexual harassment' into its different manifestations. The deconstruction process will solve the vast misunderstanding of cyberstalking. The current researcher noticed that literature on sexual harassment (particularly MUHAS, 2016, and UDSM, 2018) points out the prevalence and underlying characteristics of

online harassment, including cyberstalking but do not recognise this harassment as such. As a matter of illustration, UDSM (2018) qualifies as sexual harassment the following behaviours:

i) Persistent questions or insinuations about a person's private life, offensive phone calls or letters, or offensive screen savers.
ii) Transmitting offensive written telephone or electronic communications.
iii) The creation by a member of a group of people of an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working or educational environment through verbal or physical conduct of sexual nature (UDSM, 2018, p.3).

It appears that in the prescribed statements of the UDSM gender policy, the insistences termed as sexual harassment exhibit features of cyberstalking. The features include: 'use of offensive phone calls', 'written telephone or electronic communications' and the creation of 'an intimidating, hostile, or offensive groups'. According to the present researcher, the university seems to handle cyberstalking issues indirectly or under the umbrella of sexual harassment. The UDSM (2018) reports that three female students lost their lives at the Campus. One female student was raped; another committed suicide, and a male student murdered. In the last incident, the male student killed the ex-girlfriend after being rejected (UDSM, 2018, p.1). Paradoxically, in all these cases, the role of the internet or smartphone was not explored. In connection, the current researcher assumes that technology has radically altered society. While all technological innovation has improved the quality of life, it may also have resulted in detrimental changes in university students' relationships on campus and in society. The present study was preoccupied with exploring how technological innovation amplifies and intensifies sexual harassment on campus.

2.7 The Missing Link and the Current Study Contribution

The literature review revealed a knowledge dearth on conceptualising and unpacking the concept of cyberstalking. The notion of cyberstalking is insufficient or used interchangeably with cyberbullying and sexual harassment. While situating it within the feminist perspective, the study was set to unpack the concept, find appropriate means to curb the problem and examine how the University of Dar es Salaam's institutional facilities and policies are prepared to curb it cyberstalking.

Moreover, the literature has identified the proliferation of incidences of sexual harassment in higher learning institutions but did not highlight the role of digital technology in facilitating, amplifying and intensifying these harassments. The present study examined how digital technology has created new platforms of violence through virtual space in the higher learning setting. In other words, the study intended to assess the interplay between technological advancement and gender-based violence in Tanzania's higher learning institutions.

Furthermore, from the literature review, the researcher observed a proliferation of statistical information regarding the extent and prevalence of cyberstalking in the Western World and some parts of Africa, but little qualitative documentation. However, the researcher could hardly find literature focusing on cyberstalking as a human experience. This study constitutes an effort to fill the gap in empirical knowledge research on cyberstalking in Tanzanian higher learning institutions settings.

2.8 Summary of the Chapter

The chapter delved in reviewed existing studies on cyberharassment and cyberstalking in particular. In order to venture into the conception of cyberstalking, the researcher was obliged first to unpack the term 'cyberstalking' by analysing the term's morphosemantic structure and mapping it within the whole realm of harassment, especially online harassment directed to women. Based on the conceptualisation of the term, the researcher reviewed legal, technological and psychological perspectives of understanding and hence curbing cyberstalking. The review of these perspectives was purposely done to construct a strong foundation for the justification of the sociological perspective used in this study. Meanwhile, as it was found that the existing definition could not exactly cope with the intended conception of the researcher, it was deemed necessary to sharpen Bocij and Mcfarne definition to fit the reality of cyberstalking at the University of Dar es Salaam. Towards the end of the chapter, the author describes theoretical and practical circumstances guiding the study, including the understanding that cyberstalking is a gender issue in universities and the mapping of cyberharassement in Tanzania and at the University of Dar es Salaam. This review leads us to the presentation of the theoretical framework and methodological procedures employed in accomplishing the objectives of this study on the prevalence and experience of cyberstalked female students at the University of Dar es Salaam.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

In the research process, the theoretical framework and research methodology constitute the pivots of the study. They are essential items that in social sciences link the research process and reality. As such, in probing the existence and experience of cyberstalking among female students at UDSM, these two research components laid a foundation of trustworthiness and credibility of the findings regarding the applicability of research findings to real-life at the university setting. This chapter presents the underlying theoretical assumptions about cyberstalking at the UDSM campus and the methodological principles and processes systematically employed to produce the findings, as shown in subsequent chapters. Given that theories inspire methodological choice (see Ridder, 2017), in locating the research, the first part portrays the theoretical assumptions underpinning the study, whereas the second presents the methodological procedures.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

A theory is generally understood as a set of ideas or principles that guides the interpretation of real-world circumstances. Abend (2008) underlies the necessity of explaining the theoretical orientation to straighten a logical explanation of the research problem. As such, it was essential to making clear reasons for cyberstalking on the university campus. According to Babbie (2018), the theory and the research paradigm locate the meaning of social life.

The gendered nature of cyberstalking phenomenon inspired the researcher to identify the Cyberfeminism Theory as the leading theory in explaining cyberstalking experience among female students at the University of Dar es Salaam. The researcher reasonably considered this theory as the most pertinent to this research project because it embodies, with equal weight, the two intersecting components of cyberstalking: technology and gender. Meanwhile, in order to make the features visible and underline the interplay between them, two supportive theories were incorporated. These are the technological, social change theory and feminism theory. While the technological theory of social change situates cyberstalking in the context of developing digital technology, particularly the internet and allied technology, the feminism theory, on the other hand, portrays cyber-harassment from a gendered lens. An amalgamation of this theoretical bond

guided the present study's path helped to deepen the essence of the understanding of online harassment and provided us with philosophical and methodological tools to probe cyberstalking practices at the University of Dar es Salaam.

However, as the researcher was aware that over-reliance on theory might restrain openness to immerging issues (see Collins & Stockton, 2018), the study cautiously applied the theoretical precepts as a roadmap to the interpretation of the results and not as dogmatic truth. Otherwise, the theoretical framework also contributes in shaping the researcher's instincts and perspectives (see Grant & Osanloo, 2014). As such, the presentation of Technological Theory of Social Change comes first, the feminist theory follows, and the cyberfeminism theory synthesises the approaches.

3.1.1 Technological Social Change Theory

Although sociologists agree that social change is an inevitable process, there is significant disagreement on the causes of social change. Mutekwa (2012) mentions the five most prominent theoretical speculations on the nature, cause and direction of social change. The theories are Darwinian Theory of Social Change, Cyclical Social Change Theory, Conflict Theory, Marxists Theory Social Change, and Technological Theory of Social Change. According to Mutekwa, the "Darwinian theory views social changes as a linear natural adaptation to the material world, including technology" (also see Boyd, 2000, p.39). Against this linearity, Mutekwa mentions the cyclical social change theory, which assumes that social change is cyclical: societal culture change is compared to an animate life span; that means "cultures are born, grow, and reproduce other cultures die" (see Bardis, 1962, p 3). In this line of thinking, physical stalking weakens or is transformed into online stalking. From the economic point of view, scholars attribute the social change to forces and relations of production. Similarly, with the economic theory, the conflict theory, mainly inspired by Marxists, views social change as a replacement of the old, outdated mode of living by the new ones. In the list, the technological theory of social change ascribes social change to innovation and technological advancement.

The technological theory of social change was founded by William Ogburn (1886-1959) during the first half of the 20th century. He established the theory to explain the frequent social transformation in the western world at that time. The changes were associated with the

innovation of the radio, automobiles, aeroplanes, and others. In his book, *Social change, concerning culture and original nature* Ogburn (1922) assumed that technological innovation is the core foundation for all social changes. Illustrating the invention of radio, Ogbun shows how the radio moulded popular opinion and created political support and consensus for national policies.

It is apparent that cyberstalking is an emerging behaviour inextricable from internet technology. In their description of the *Social Impact of the internet,* Dimmaggio et al., (op. cit.) situate internets' remarkable influence after 1990. Before that, according to them, only scientists and militiamen used the internet. The 1990s witnessed the progressive replacement of letters by emails, landline by mobile phones, and above all, social media hosting conferences, discussion groups and chatting. As a result, different from their predecessors, the 2000 generation carries out most activities including social relations like dating, courtship and sex virtually (see Couch & Liamputtong, 2008; Paullet et al., 2009). This trend marks a social change whose impact transcends from an individual to the community level. Social media sites like Facebook, WhatsApp and Instagram have significant social impacts. Currently, they can elect a head of state and overthrow monarchies (refer to the Arab spring in Wolfsfeld et al., 2013). As such, partisans of the Technological Social Change interpret these trends as manifestations of a society in transition from physical, via analogy, to digital technology.

Greenwood et al. (2012) affirm that technological advancement continues to impact social interactions. According to Greenwood and colleagues, technology has led to a decline and delay in marriage, a rise in divorce, change in the family structure because technology transforms the household sector and erases the traditional value of marriage. Talking specifically about digital technology, Hong (2017, p.691) supports the fact that digitisation continues to yield unprecedented transformations, "ranging from apparent social changes to hidden social changes and from revolutionary types of social transformation to salient but silent types of social transformation".

Ogbun's (1922) central theme in his theory lies in the distinction between material culture (technology) and intangible culture (adaptive culture). According to Ogburn, technology develops faster than an adaptive culture. The latter readjusts gradually to conform to the pace of

technological advancement. According to proponents, technology sets a framework for cultural transformation (see Del Sesto, 1983; Stromquist, 2005). Down to earth, Castel Manuel (2007) stresses that the internet is a factor for the creation of new conditions of life, which forces traditions, attitudes, beliefs, and cultural norms to adapt to it. Agrafiotis and colleagues (2018) add that the impact of cyberspace on the way of life of individuals at the moment is already robust and continues to grow with the increasing public interest in products and services.

Cyberstalking, in this theory, decodes what Ogburn (1922) calls a 'Cultural Lag'. A cultural lag, according to Ogburn (ibid) refers to a phenomenon when technological innovation moves faster than cultures hence creating a vacuum between the two. Ogburn (1922, p.65) draws readers' attention to the fact that rapid change in science and technology accumulates gaps that eventually increase social maladjustments, create disorganisation, and bring about social problems. Undeniably, by its nature, the internet is a unique technology that spreads very fast worldwide; it also integrates different communication modalities and uses different kinds of media (print, video, visual image, and audio) (see DiMaggio et al., 2001, p.308). It is claimed by some scholars that cyberbullying and cyberstalking happen because cultures have taken time to react to the immense changes brought on by the internet[17]". In other words, the internet-based cultural lag takes place now that a large part of communities does not "comprehend all underlying consequences of cyber-technology". Users embrace it blindly without knowledge of its unintended adverse future problems. Thus, to cope with the abuse of technology, users have to be equipped with software and technological know-how to block and restrict unwanted intruders.

It was plausible to adopt this theory as it strongly identifies and explains technologically related social problems (see Mutekwa, 2012). It also predicts future technological challenges despite critics from psychologists. However, psychologists criticise the theory claiming that it ignores psychological factors that underlay culture and treats culture as an entity separate from human action (see González Castro, 2004). In the researcher's view, this critique sounds reasonable. Still, it is equally valid that individual behaviour does not form a culture unless that behaviour is shared and attains a prevalent mindset. The latter falls under the domains of sociology.

[17] http://jakehawken.blogspot.com/2008/12/culture-lag-new-ambiguities-and-crimes.html visited on 9th January 2021.

Another criticism of the technological theory of social change is its sequential progression assumption. The contention that technological innovation precedes cultural adaptation and adaptation follows receives criticism from scholars (See MacKenzie& Wajcman (1985). Wajcman, 1991, 2002. 2004 among others). However, Scholars like Fisher and Wright (2001) contend that although the Technological Social Change theory sounds outdated formulated a century ago, the theory is said to be able to respond to the 21st-century technological challenges like those associated with digital technology. In Fisher and Wright's views, the lag between technology and culture exists in the 21st century but not in the same way as Ogburn thought. In modern times, according to Fisher and Wright (ibid), the two are no longer obligatorily operating sequentially. Instead, virtual and social interactions operate mutually and simultaneously if not in parallel: the physical culture enriches the cyberculture while the material culture draws insights from cyberspace. That means people's behaviours are shaped by cyberspace culture. In fact, this is the essence of Donna Haraway's description of the 'cyborg'; an imaginary semi-human semi-machine creature. According to Haraway (2000, p. 69), a cyborg is "a hybrid of machine and organism, a creature of social reality as well as a creature of fiction". Haraway's conceptualisation of cyborgs, constructs a nouvelty of livelihood in which a human being operates simultaneously as a machine in cyberspace while simultaneously a human being in the physical world. Thus cyberharassment in this context is explained by one social-cultural interaction controlling cyberspace. Therefore, through the feminist theory lens, underlying motives, actors, and the socio-cultural context can be grasped (see Adam, 2002). That is why the feminist theory was adopted in order to enhance the sociological aspect of cyberstalking.

3.1.2 Feminist Theory

The feminist theory emerged as an extension of feminism, a movement against gender inequality (see Fiss, 1994). According to Osmond and Thorne (1993, p. 591), the feminist theory comprises a wide range of perspectives with varying degrees of disagreement and tension among them. Feminist approaches, according to them, include liberal feminism, radical feminism, Marxist feminism, and African feminism. However, Osmond and Thorne (2009) subcategorise feminism into three areas: it focuses on women and their experiences; it recognises women as subordinate or oppressed people under the existing social structure and finally mobilises deliberate efforts to

end this unjust relation. From feminists' perspectives, all gender-based violence, including cyberstalking, can be explained (see Kirby & Greaves, 1997, p.34).

According to Fisher and Dolezal (2018), all forms of violence against women, including cyberstalking, are centred on the body. Sutherland et al. (2014) insist, along with a history, that the woman body has been a major site of control, and technology has been described as an embodied experience. The forms of violence include female genital mutilation, rape, early marriage, and utilisation of the woman body for commercial and entertainment. In connection with violence against the body, Gilbert (1996) depicts her experience of cyberstalking through image-based harassment of her body.

> Tim [the harasser's] behaviour was essentially an appropriation of power as sexual harassment tends to be. The novel, the pictures, the storytelling was all part of an effort to make me over in an image of his choosing, to narrate my life, person, and body, and to deprive me of the ability to do so. The fact that he had these visual representations made his stories more credible and, in essence, enabled him to use "my own body" against me. Of course, it wasn't really my body, but a highly structured representation that involved images of my body as it existed many years before (Gilbert, 1996, p.134).

Sutherland et al. (2014) trace back discourses on violence against women bodies. According to Sutherland and colleagues, even before the invention of the internet (around the 1940s), the first-wave feminists fought against the male body's treatment as normal while the female body was seen as "abnormal," fragile, and prone to failure. Therefore, women bodies were associated with an obstacle to a purely rational being, spiritual growth, and social order (see Shildrick, 1997). Consequently, women were constrained to the private sphere, domestic work, reproduction and deprived of public affairs like higher education. The second wave spirit prompted gender mainstreaming at UDSM, which succeeded in raising enrolment and increase the number of academic staff in the university.

During the second wave (the 1960s-1980s), feminist scholars criticised the belief in the natural female body and challenged explanations of the female body that view it as a fixed biological entity with universal characteristics (see Davis, 2018). They refuted the assertion that childbearing and caregiving are essential aspects of women's biological makeup and that it is unnatural for women not to desire or engage in reproduction. Guzzetti (2008) points out that a socially constructed patriarchal mindset manifests in cyber communities when persistent male

cyberstalkers furiously react to women who deny them relation or sex or break up romantic ties. As an alternative, feminist researchers focus on the body as socially constructed and explore how gender and other aspects of people's social location are informed by and performed through socio-cultural practices (see Sutherland et al., 2014, p.103).

The third wave of feminism emerged in 1990 as a critique of the Western lens used in understanding women in the previous two waves. Third-wave feminists demonstrate women discrimination as globalised and intertwined with gender, class, ethnicity, race, religion, and nations. They ostensibly reject the assertion that cyberspace and activities carried out there (in our case, cyberstalking) are "neutral, ageless, classless, genderless, raceless or politically neutral" (Hester & Gray, 2020, p. 45).

Moreover, as a reaction to stereotype dominant discriminatory discourses and images transmitted by media describing a woman as beautiful, faithful, and sexual, proponents of the third wave reclaimed women's agency and power of controlling their sexuality (see Kanyemba, 2018). While the stereotype spirit paints women as passive victims of misogyny and harassment (see (Srivastava et al., 2017), On the contrary, feminists describe them as fighters and conscious of discriminatory and violent behaviours. The advent of virtual technology shaped feminists strategies incorporating social media and eventually engendering the fourth-wave feminists around 2012. According to Srivastava and colleagues (ibid), the fourth wave is characterised by women's actively exploiting social media such as Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, Twitter, and blogs to articulate ideas against sexual harassment, body shaming, and rape. This wave paralleled the cyberfeminist theory's foundation, which marks the climax of debates on women and technology.

3.1.2.1 Feminists' Views of Technology: Is Digital Technology an Opportunity or Risk?

The radical feminists alert male dominance implicitly embedded in the technology. According to revolutionary feminists, technology is another way of male domination and control of women. Most of the technological design and jobs are done by men, making technology typically masculine (see Faulkner, 2001; Wajcman, 2009). Internet, therefore, is accused of making women more vulnerable to crimes because women who dare subscribe to social media unknowingly or knowingly leave traces of their feminine identity. In turn, these traces provoke

further oppression, such as image-based harassment (see Wajcman, 2009). Briefly, to this perspective, technology remains another channel of patriarchy. It allows men to exploit women's bodies. In this discussion, the cyberfeminist theory was born strongly, enriched by the fourth wave feminist attitudes of taking advantage of social media in conveying revolutions against male dominance.

Furthermore, the debates on gender and technology resurface in contemporary discourse with mixed sentiments, whether digital technology empowers or disempowers women. On the positive side, digital technology has considered to be potential for promoting women empowerment. The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) (2017), for instance, claims that the internet provides a "vital gateway for women to access information that can improve their livelihoods and significantly enhances their ability to contribute to their families and the global community" (ASEAN Foundation, 2017, p. 2).

However, on a negative way, scholars like Hilbert (2011) purports that through the advent of digital, "a new form of inequality is added to all the existing forms of discrimination: an inequality in power to communicate and to process information digitally" (Hilbert, 2011, p. 4). The discourse concerning the gender digital divide focuses on aspects such as the nature of digital technology, the cultural norms that constrain women from participating in the digital revolution, and cybersecurity. Scholars enumerated several factors responsible for constraining women from becoming digital citizens, including accessibility, affordability, ability, and relevance (see (ASEAN Foundation, 2017). Accessibility appears in literature as a factor for restrained internet services due to weak infrastructure. Hence, making women living in remote areas delay accessing the digitisation technology due to low internet or electricity supply. However, although accessibility is still a problem in some Tanzania communities, the most challenging issues remain affordability due to incorporating the internet within mobile telephone services. It is argued that most internet "affordability affect disproportionately men and women, whereas women and girls are disadvantaged". (Borgonovi et al., 2018, p. 22). According to Borgonovi and colleagues (ibid), Services are expensive to the majority of unemployed women. Again, scholars attribute women's constraint in participating in the digital revolution to be caused by the digital devices being configured in languages not friendly to women or content not attractive to the women (see ASEAN Foundation, 2017).

On norms and culture, the gender-based stereotype ascribes women to be unable in science and mathematics, creating 'technophobia', which is a kind of repugnance of digital technology. According to Borgonovi and colleagues (2018), this fear and hatred of technology due to violation of online privacy reduces time spent online, demotivate continued activities online, leading to expanded digital illiteracy among women and girls. Similarly, Achuonye & Ezekoka, (2011, p. 49) among others, evidence from Nigerian university illustrate that "technophobia does not only affect the students' choice of course but also affects [female students'] academic performance and knowledge base negatively, and prevent them from early to computer use". In some countries like India, social-cultural norms restrict women from using a mobile telephone and internet stigmatized as immoral (see ASEAN Foundation, 2017; Borgonovi et al., 2018). In other communities in Africa, women with mobile phones, subscribing to social media, or accessing global news may be breaking social scripts, ascribing women's position to domestic, not public platforms.

Safety risks of harassment on the internet also appear to be a factor of the gender digital divide. According to Borgonovi and colleagues (2018), evidence shows that online harassment constitutes the most substantial barrier to women participation on the internet in China and Mexico. The UN Broadband Commission for Digital Development report (2015) understands why women avoid using digital technology because the internet exhibits various cyberviolence against women and girls, ranging from hate speech, online sexual harassment and cyberstalking. The report accuses the internet of furthering the trafficking of women and girls for sex trade because the commercialized sex industry facilitates financial transaction operations, increasing the trafficking of women and girls. Therefore, from feminists' perspectives, the natures of operating the internet, cultural norms, and safety risks, individually or in combination, constrain women from access and engagement in the digital revolution. In feminism eye, the most effective coping strategy is to empowerement to reverse the existing unequal relations. The present study focused on the last aspect, safety, in particular concerning cyberstalking.

3.1.3 Cyberfeminism Theory

According to Daniels (2009, p.102), "cyberfeminism is neither a single theory nor a feminist movement with a clearly articulated political agenda, rather, a collection of theories, debates, and practices about the relationship between gender and digital culture". As a school of thought,

cyberfeminism emerged from feminists' discussion on the use of digital technology. Its philosophical tenets were reinforced by the classic publication by Donna Haraway (1985): *The manifesto of cyborg*. However, the term cyberfeminism was composed later around 1991 in *A cyber feminist's manifesto for the twenty-first century*, an artistic work by VNS matrix2[18]. Essentially, cyberfeminism appears both as a scholarly theory and activism and art (see & Elms & Sundén, 2007). Hawthorne and Klein (1999, p.3) define cyberfeminism as "a women-centred perspective that advocates women's use of new information and communication technologies for empowerment".

Cyberfeminist ideas emerged within the third wave feminist debate concerning women and digital technology, which is a continuation of the second wave debate. In other words, the cyberfeminism theory draws insights on body and embodiment from third-wave feminism. According to Carrasco (2014 p.36), the notion of disembodiment becomes central in understanding how gender interfaces with digital media. Consequently, concerning the concentrated focus on the body Halbert (2004) underscores the fact that cyberfeminists focus on the status of the body in cyberspace about women's freedom from the patriarchy system based on the assumption that violence is centred on the woman's body. The cyberfeminism theory, therefore, appeared to be convenient for analysing gender in the virtual domain.

3.1.3.1 Cyberfeminism- Empowerment or Suppression?

According to Scott et al. (2001), there are three competing views in the women and technology debate. Each visualises the position of women's body in cyberspace in its way. The encountering views are termed 'webbed utopia', 'flamed out' and 'locked into locality'. According to Scott and colleagues (ibid), partisans of webbed utopia consider the internet as a post-body, which engendered women's opportunity to triumph from biology. Scholars in this school of thought argue that electronic media is an opportunity for women to network and actively participate in democracy (see Scott et al., 2001; Halbert, 2004; Haraway, 1991; Plant, 1997). The cyberspace for these scholars is a disembodying space. Plant (1996), for instance, assures that cyberspace is a safe space that women can express themselves freely, unlike in the physical world where they

[18]VNS Matrix was a cyberfeminist media art collective formed in Adelaide (South Australia) in 1991 whose works included installations, events, imagery and propaganda distributed through the Internet, zines, and billboards.(see https://monoskop.org/VNS_Matrix)

are confronted with restrictions. Referring to Islamic culture, Nouraei-Simon (2005, pp.61-62) informs that "cyberspace is a liberating territory of one's own - a place to resist a traditionally imposed subordinate identity while providing a break from pervasive Islamic restrictions in public physical space". The virtual nature of the internet, therefore, offers new possibilities for women's agency and empowerment. To feminism, the advantages of digital technologies were lived by several feminists' movements like local and international political networking and email communications that facilitated even the Beijing Conference in 1995.

The second category of cyberfeminism 'flamed out' challenges the 'webbed utopia' school of thought. In reaction to utopians, Wilding (1998) adopts an optimistic approach towards gender equality in cyberspace, which must be understood as a reaction against previous conceptualisations of technology as inherently masculine. To her, the internet is not to be accepted in its entirety as free space. According to Scott et al. (2001), utopian feminists fail to challenge discriminatory agendas and crimes committed against women, as well as the proliferation of pornography. In this situation, Ayatollah and Milojevic (1999, p.81) warn that "the new technologies not only help to immortalise the product but also help predators to find new victims creating a reverse society, a community of the predatory, violent rapists or paedophiles that can connect with like-minded friends and together they can create a virtual world which the 'abnormal' becomes 'normal".

As a reaction to utopian feminists and Plant (1996, 1998 and 2000) in particular, Gilbert (1996), in her paper: *On sex, cyberspace and being stalked*, shows the negative side of the internet on women citing a lived experience of harassment and cyberstalking. Similarly, Halbert (1996) underscores the perpetuation of gender inequality through the internet. She, too, raises severe concerns about online sexual harassment and pornography. Therefore, contrary to utopians, the 'flamed out' perspective believes that cyberspace is a space not free from global socio-cultural practices; it is instead a hiding place for male dominance. Therefore, the internet has been described as a vehicle for gender and racial inequality (Daniels 2009; Wajcman, 2004) and a realm for pornography, violence, stalking, and virtual rape (MacKinnon, 1997).

The third orientation, 'locked into locality,' relies on Haraway's (1985) advocacy for women exposure to internet facilities. In doing so, women will be empowered to experience the new

online public sphere because traditions lock women in homes. Haraway attacks a type of feminist movement that attempts to create a binary division between control and non-control of the body, object and subject, nature and culture, nature and technology, which eventually rejects technological reality and returns women to nature. To quote Whyatt's (op.cit. p.117) words, "Haraway is not optimistic about technology but [she is] optimistic about the opportunities for radical political transformations opened up by developments in technoscience". According to Haraway, cyberfeminism is sensitive to the material constraints of time, space, money, education background, cultural expectation, and employment opportunities that constraint women from reaching the public space (see Scott Semmens & Willoughby, 2010).

Haraway's critical views on the internet inspired modern cyberfeminists. While she appreciates the role of online technologies in recrafting the body and enforcing new social relations, she is, however, cautious of the dangers of the internet. According to Haraway, cyberspace cannot be considered a reality; instead, it is a non-naturalist mode that operates in the utopian tradition that otherwise may be considered to have neither beginning nor end. Feminists are, therefore, urged to be careful because, according to Gorski (2002, p.24), most of the sex and gender inequities that occur in society are replicated online.

Haraway's views are that technology is inevitable in daily life as it is a tool for self-conceptualisation as a cyborg and for transforming power relations, especially in the politics of science and technology. According to Haraway (1985, p.100), taking responsibility for the social links of science and technology means refusing an anti-science metaphysics, a demonology of technology, and so embracing the skilful task of reconstructing the boundaries of daily life, in partial connection with others, in communication with all of our parts. The cyberfeminism school of thought therefore views, virtual technology as an aren for women collectivity, in addressing harassment both online and offline.

In this study, the cyberfeminism theory paved the way to understand whether cyberspace emancipates or discriminates against female students. It enlightens issues of sexuality and helps to examine whether internet and cyberspace platforms protect or violate female students' privacy, freedom, and sexual rights. In the light of this theoretical stance, the researcher also gave a proper interpretation of various strategies taken by female students to cope or react to

cyberstalking. This academic inclination played a significant role in explaining the methodological decisions described in the following paragraphs.

3.2 Research Methodology

According to Crotty (2003, p.3), a methodology is the "strategy, plan of action, processor design that informs one's choice of research methods". Grix (2002, p.32) specifies that the role of the methodology is to guide the researcher in deciding the type of data required for a study and which data collection tools will be most appropriate for his/her study. Essentially, methodologically, it guides the choice of research design, research approach, and the kind of data to be accrued, and the way analysis is going to be undertaken (see Adom et al., 2018).

This section presents the methodology, starting with the discussion of the research paradigm, research design, and description of the University of Dar es Salaam, the study area, and its population. The research design and study area set the background of the methodology. They are followed by sections describing sample size and sampling techniques and the research method, including data collection tools, procedures, and methods. Subsequently, the researcher highlights measures taken to ensure validity, reliability reflexivity, and ethical observance for the study. The last part presents the limitation and the summary of the chapter.

3.2.1 Research Paradigm

Given that researchers analyse and present scientific observation rationally, they use theoretical models to organise research projects and reasoning. In carrying out a research project, Andriukaitienė et al. (2018, p.121) maintain that researchers are explicitly or implicitly guided by a paradigm that constitutes the researcher's choice of methodology and data collection method. The term paradigm is said to be coined by Thomas Kuhn in 1962, from Greek *parádeigma*, meaning the structure of scientific revolutions. Essentially, a paradigm offers a framework of accepted sets of theories, methods, and ways of defining data (Abdulkareem, 2016). In other words, a research paradigm reflects an individual's beliefs about the social world and how the researcher interprets lives in that world, which eventually make a foundation of methodological decision.

Grix (2002) qualifies a paradigm as an entity composed of four components: ontology, epistemology, methodology and axiology. According to Grix (ibid, p.59), "ontology and epistemology are to research what 'footings' are to a house: they form the foundations of the whole edifice". Ontology deals with the existence and interpretation of social reality or the world (see Grix, 2002). In the present study, ontological principles guided the researcher to interpret the experience of cyberstalking among female students within the context of the University of Dar es Salaam. According to Gall et al. (2003, p.13), epistemology is "the branch of philosophy that studies the nature of knowledge and the process by which knowledge is acquired and validated". For present purposes, knowledge was, a priori, thought to come from experienced cyberstalked female students. The methodology comprises constructing knowledge strategies while axiological principles have been adhered to in ethical issues and in presenting validity, reliability and reflexivity.

There is no consensus on the categorisation of paradigms. For instance, Makombe (2017) puts two empirical and normative while to Ryan and Sfar-Gandoura (2018), classifies primary five paradigms: positivism, interpretivism/constructivism, and transformative or critical theory, pragmatism and indigenous paradigms. Nevertheless, the majority of researcher consider the major dichotomy is between two major confronting paradigms: positivism and interpretivism. The other immerging paradigm is pragmatic, which is characterised by features from both positivism and interpretivism.

According to Andriukaitienė et al. (2018, p.123), the positivist paradigm advocates for the researcher's objectivity. Positivists emphasise scientific methods (experimentation, reasoning and observation), deductive logic and seek universal laws of nature. Positivism is value-free, realistic, and not value-laden. Positivist research is based on quantitative facts and mostly uses questionnaires. Although positivism suits more to the natural sciences than social sciences, positivism insights were used because the present study sought to collect numerical data and processes to ascertain the quantitative data on cyberstalking. On the other hand, the interest of interpretive/constructivist approach assumes that reality is socially constructed and that to probe human experience, the researcher relied on participants' views.

To interpretivists, the reality is multiple and relative (see Hudson & Ozanne, 1988) and that it depends on other systems for meanings. Therefore knowledge is "socially constructed by and between the persons who experience it rather than objectively determined" (Carson et al., 2001, p.5). Interpretive research aims to discover social phenomena "through the eyes of the participants rather than the researcher" (Cohen et al., 2007, p.21).

The pragmatic paradigm views the world from its 'real and practical perspective'. According to pragmatists, although reality may be a tenet of positivists, social actors can interpret it differently (Kaushik, 2019). Pragmatics blend features from positivist and interpretivism and positions them within single research scope (Creswell, 2009). In order to understand a problem, the pragmatist researcher applies principles of both qualitative and quantitative research without relying entirely upon any of the two. In comparing pragmatism with positivism and interpretivism, Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2005, pp. 383–384) in the article *On Becoming a Pragmatic Researcher: The Importance of Combining Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methodologies,* enumerate several advantages of using pragmatic paradigm.

Firstly, since pragmatism uses techniques flexibly from both quantitative and qualitative, it can address several questions arising while addressing the research problem. Secondly, the pragmatism paradigm promotes collaboration among researchers who normally use different approaches. Thirdly, Onwuegbuzie & Leech (2005) pragmatics underlies the fact that using pragmatisms allows the researcher to take a holistic view of the study problem as the researcher uses both positivist and interpretive perspectives. Fourthly, research using a pragmatic paradigm, according to Leech (ibid), enables the researcher to take advantage of qualitative techniques to explain the relationship presented by quantitative methods. Lastly, according to the authors (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, ibid).

3.2.2 Research Design

This study combined quantitative and qualitative approaches in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of cyberstalking at the University of Dar es Salaam by merging the empirical information obtained from the researcher's quantification of responses obtained in the survey questionnaire on the extent with victims' feelings from the interviewed participants' voices. Although the researcher principally wished to explore the experience of cyberstalking

among female students on the university campus by relying on participants' views of the situation being studied, the researcher used empirical data to establish the existence and extent of cyberstalking on campus. Given the above valuable insights, the researcher relied on a pragmatic paradigm to understanding the extent of cyberstalking situations and the human experience of cyberstalking in the university setting.

A research design refers to a systematic plan to study a problem. In exploring the experience of cyberstalked female students, the study selected a case study design to conform to the pragmatism paradigm and cyberfeminism theory. Yin (2014; p.13) defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident". Although the case study design is criticised for exhibiting some degree of bias and its results may not be generalised (see Collier & Mahoney, 1996), Yin (ibid) contends that a case study allows an in-depth understanding of experience using multiple data collection methods. Since studies have massively reported cyberstalking in universities, the researcher identified Dar es Salaam University as a case. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches are used in studying cyberstalking.

3.2.3 Research and Approach

A mixed methodology approach was adopted for the study because, on the one hand, data on extents and forms of cyberstalking was presented numerically. On the other hand, structural and social factors, experiences and reactions of cyberstalked students required qualitative data. A mixed-method refers to a procedure for collecting, analysing, mixing, or integrating quantitative and qualitative data within a single study to better understand the research problem (see Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003; Ivankova et al., 2006, p.3; Creswell, 2009). According to Babbie (1998, p.458), quantitative methods involve "the numerical representation and manipulation of observations to describe and explain the phenomena that those observations reflect" while qualitative methods entail "the non-numerical examination and interpretation of observations, to discover underlying meanings and patterns of relationships".

Since qualitative and quantitative methods give different, complementary pictures of the things we observe (Lune & Berg, 2017, p.12), in a mixed-method according to Teddlie and Tashakkori

(2006: p.15), "the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or program of inquiry". The researcher collected quantitative data using an online survey questionnaire. Quantitative data was further analysed into forms of harassment, frequency of harassment, and cyberstalkers' nature. Interviews focused group discussions, and documentary review were used to collect qualitative data, including experiences, structural and social factors, and strategies to cope with the cyberstalking situation. The motivation for the mixed approach was grounded on the fact that, through it, the two systems complement each other to strengthen the analysis, give a more vigorous analysis, and heighten knowledge and validity (see Ivankova et al., 2006, p.3).

Specifically, the researcher used a sequential explanatory mixed method. According to Creswell (2003, p.225), a sequential descriptive mixed approach is a method through which the researcher first conducts quantitative research, analyses the data and then builds on the results to give a detailed explanation using qualitative data. Therefore, in this study, data collection and analysis were undertaken in two different phases. The researcher first collected quantitative data by using an online survey questionnaire and analysed it to determine the forms, extent, and structural and social factors underlying cyberstalking on campus. Then qualitative data was collected through online interviews and online-focused group discussions.

Researchers indeed agree that a mixed method is challenging to handle by a single researcher because most researchers are competent in quantitative methods (Creswell, 2009). Meanwhile, in the present study, since the researcher is more qualified in the qualitative approach, she had to use a lot of time and resources to reinforce quantitative aspects to interpret frequency, percentages, correlations and inferential statistics. However, it was not very tiresome to work with the two approaches because data collection and analysis were undertaken sequentially, not simultaneously. Quantitative data collection and analysis were done before engaging in qualitative aspects.

On the positive side, using a mixed-method was an advantage. The integration of quantitative data during data collection helped give a broader understanding of cyberstalking at UDSM from different facets. According to Schoonenboom and Burke Johnson (2017, p.4), a mixed-method

also enhances the clarity of information from one approach to another as the researcher takes advantage of the strength of each (see Schoonenboom & Burke Johnson, 2017, p.4).

3.2.4 The Research Site: University of Dar es Salaam

Given that higher learning institutions are the epicentre of cyberstalking (see Kraft & Wang 2010; Maran & Begotti, 2019), the present study was undertaken at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) Mlimani Campus. In Tanzania, UDSM is 'the university'. The choice of the hill reflects the emblem characteristic of the institution. It reflects Mwalimu Nyerere's philosophy of putting light on the mountain to enlighten the world[19]. It is situated on a hill and visible from all corners of this largest city in Tanzania. Dar es Salaam is also privileged to be the principal commercial city in Tanzania supplied with railway connection, airport and harbour that link Indian Ocean maritime transport with Zanzibar Islands, Zambia, DRC, Rwanda, and Burundi. The university has been a point of convergence and centre for forging the national unity of elites from various backgrounds, mainly from rural areas (Gahnström, 2012). Unfortunately, although the University of Dar es Salaam has been a historical platform for liberations thoughts against socio-economic inequality, racism, tribalism, colonialism and apartheid, it has not been as forthcoming in addressing issues of gender equality.

As the most prestigious public University, UDSM programmes, researchers, graduates and (female) students have been attracting public attention historically, academically and socially. Between independence (1961) and 1984, UDSM rejoiced being the only university[20]; it was the only comprehensive university until 2005. Consequently, it has produced the majority of top Tanzanian leaders at national and international levels as a College of the University of London 1961-1963; a Constituent College of East Africa 1963-1970 and a fully-fledged university from 1970 to-date. Among its female graduates, are Ms Getrude Mongella, once the chairperson of the Beijing Conference and Dr Asha Rose Migiro, once the second woman to be Deputy General Secretary of the United Nations. It is still ranked higher at the national level in academic

[19] Julius Nyerere, the first president's speech in 1958.
[20]Sokoine University of Agriculture and Muhimbili University health and allied sciences formed in 1884 and…. Respectively specialized in agriculture and health sciences respectively. the open university created in…. did not specialize in in-depth science and engineering.

ranking[21]. It has two constituent colleges of education[22], six campus colleges, five schools, five institutes and eight research centres.

UDSM was also earmarked for the study because most of the policies (including handling gender issues) in most of HLI in Tanzania are more or less replicas of UDSM's policies. UDSM has been an explicit and implicit torchbearer in administration. A good number of government appointees are either former UDSM staff or students. Also, many administrators and academicians have connections with UDSM. Furthermore, several government statements paint UDSM as a model. For example, while inaugurating Sokoine University of Agriculture (a former UDSM constituent college) on 26th September 1984, Nyerere underscored the necessity of "learn[ing] from the experience of Tanzania's first University [and] adopt the good things"[23]. While launching new halls of residence at UDSM named after him, President John Magufuli expressed his biased opinion to the university[24]. By 2019, Tanzania had twenty-nine (29) accredited universities, eleven (11) higher learning institutions and eighteen (18) private universities ((Tanzania Commission for University, 2019).

UDSM was also the best place to undertake the research because it constitutes the most vulnerable centre for cyberstalking victimisation due to Tanzania's technological environment. The campus is amply supplied with wired and wireless internet connectivity (Luambano & Nawe, 2004, p.12) owing to technical support from the University Computing Centre (UCC), a university commercial ICT unit[25]. UDSM has already digitised its services such as application for admission, registration, access to results, and teaching and learning. Internet supply facilitates the availability of free internet through Wi-Fi, whereas digitisation obliges university students to own smartphones to access the internet, making them vulnerable to cyber violence.

With all these characteristics, UDSM was the best choice as it has outstanding experience in sexual harassment. Kilango et al. (2017) note that gender inequality at UDSM is vivid in enrolment, infrastructure and policies. Administrative laxity towards stalking and sexual

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[21]https://www.4icu.org/top-universities-africa/ ranking in 2020 UDSM was position 22; followed by Sokoine 85 and Muhimbili 131, and Mzumbe 165.
[22]Mkwawa University College of Education (MUCE) and Dar es Salaam University College of Education (DUCE)
[23]https://www.sua.ac.tz/president-julius-k-nyerere-address-inauguration-sokoine-university-agriculture-morogoro-26th
[24]https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Rlfb4mx-88
[25] One oflargerst nation internater and ICT provider

harassment cases, testify the stance (Ngaiza, 2012; Rubagumya, 2017). On the positive side, the creation of the Institute for Gender Studies following the suicide incident of Levina Mukasa (see Chapter 1) influenced the researcher to search for available data on managing harassment in the institution. A combination of these factors contributed to the researcher choosing UDSM as a study site.

3.2.4.1 University of Dar es Salaam - Population

The total population of undergraduate university students was 21,413; in the academic year 2020/2021. Of these, 9,621 (44.9%) were female. The information is summarised in Table 2.

Table 2: Population of UDSM Main Campus in 2020/21

Academic unit	Female	Male	Grand Total	% of FS per unit	% of FS for the campus
College of Agricultural Sciences and Fisheries Technology	380	732	**1112**	34.2	5.2
College of Engineering and Technology	542	1757	**2299**	23.6	10.7
College of Humanities	2740	2807	**5547**	49.4	25.9
College of Information and Communication Technologies	256	903	**1159**	22.1	5.4
College of Natural and Applied Sciences	686	1316	**2002**	34.3	9.3
College of Social Sciences	2538	2202	**4740**	53.5	22.1
Institute of Development Studies	266	200	**466**	57.1	2.2
Institute of Kiswahili Studies	150	124	**274**	54.7	1.3
School of Education	502	584	**1086**	46.2	5.1
University of Dar es Salaam School of Business	1136	869	**2005**	56.7	9.4
University of Dar es Salaam School of Law	425	298	**723**	58.8	3.4
Grand Total	**9621**	**11792**	**21413**	44.9	100.0

Source: University of Dar es Salaam Directorate of Undergraduate Studies

The study population for the study was 9621 participants. Samar (2017, p.3) defines a population as all people or items that one wishes to understand, while sampling is selecting a segment of the population for investigation. The study was interested in female undergraduate students because

women are more vulnerable to cyberstalking than men (Spitzebery & Hoober, 2002; Kraft &Wang, 2010; Ménard & Pincus, 2014). A total of 9621 participants were found to be too large a population, and the researcher had to do sampling to get a manageable but representative group of participants.

3.2.5 Sampling Methods and Sample Size

Sampling is necessary for the research process because it facilitates making valuable inferences produced by the researcher that stem from the core results. The American Heritage College Dictionary (1993, p.1206) defines sampling as a process of selecting "a portion, piece, or segment that is representative of a whole". Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2007, p.282) propose that in sampling, the researcher can use both probability and non-probability sampling in quantitative and qualitative studies. In this study, while probability sampling was appropriate for collecting quantitative data on the form of the extent of cyberstalking, non-probability sampling was used to get respondents for specific details on structural and social factors that underlie cyberstalking, female students' experience in cyberstalking and female students' coping strategies when cyberstalked. According to Teddlie and Yu (2007, p.1), probability samples aim to achieve representativeness, which is the degree to which the sample accurately represents the entire population. It involves "selecting a relatively large number of units from a population, or specific subgroups (strata) of a population, in a random manner where the probability of inclusion for every member of the population is determinable" (see Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003, p.713).

Conroy (2018, p.9) suggests that a researcher needs a large sample for a quantitative survey depending on the population size. In our case, the population of undergraduate female students was 9,621. Conroy (2018, p. 9) advises that for a population exceeding 5000, at 5% of the marginal error, not less than 384 participants should be involved; the higher, the better. Table 3 confirms this.

Table 3: Sampling Size Estimation

Acceptable margin of error	Size of Population					
	Large	**5000**	**2500**	**1000**	**500**	**200**
± 20%	24	24	24	23	23	22
± 15%	43	42	42	41	39	35
± 10%	96	94	93	88	81	65
± 7.5%	171	165	160	146	127	92
± 5 %	384	357	333	278	271	132
± 3%	1067	880	748	516	341	169

Source: Conroy (2018, p.9)

The researcher selected the expected marginal error of 5% in relation to the campus population that was not less than 384 participants. To minimise the risk of the questionnaire not being filled in, the researcher had proposed 400 participants. Gelo et al. (2008, p. 276) (Gelo et al., 2009) insist that in simple random sampling, each member of the identified population should have an equal chance of being included in the sample. Therefore, in this study, each female undergraduate student had an equal opportunity to participate. The participants' recruitment was done through a public invitation on students' social media groups (especially WhatsApp groups)[26]. Volunteers were selected among female university student group administrators. Then they were trained online to be research assistants. These helped in motivating female students to participate and clarifying issues to fellow students. These research assistants were compensated for their availability and airtime bundles. Since the questionnaire was online, 441 respondents had filled in the questionnaire before the researcher closed the exercise. Given that the researcher expected 400 participants and 441 female students responded, the research had more participants than expected. That means the return rate was 110.25% return rate.

After sorting to remove unwanted data (e.g. postgraduate students and male students), there were 424 respondents. To verify real from fake identities, respondents were asked to voluntarily write

[26]Majority of Students are members of multiple WhatsApp groupings: at College level, Department, individual course, religious affiliation, residents etc.

their student registration number. UDSM's student registration number contains three primary pieces of information: year of admission (*like 2019*), level of study (*04 for undergraduate*) and student number with five digits. With the help of the admission office, the researcher could identify the student's real sex, the degree programme, and other contacts. Table 4 indicates the sample in relations to the distribution across academic units.

Table 4: List of Respondents by Academic Unit

Academic unit	Number of female students per unit	Number of participated students	Per cent of all female students	Per cent of all participated FS
College of Humanities (COHU)	2740	131	30.8	28.5
College of Social Sciences (COSS)	2538	86	20.3	26.3
UDSM School of Law	425	18	4.2	4.4
School of Education (SOED)	502	23	5.4	5.2
College of Information Technology and Communication (COICT)	256	20	4.7	2.7
School of Business Studies (UDBS)	1136	45	10.6	11.8
College of Natural Sciences (CONAS)	686	42	10	7.1
Institute of Development Studies (IDS)	266	13	3	2.7
College of Engineering and Technology (COET)	542	21	5	5.6
College of Agricultural Sciences and Fisheries (COAF)	380	18	4.3	3.9
Institute of Kiswahili Studies (TATAKI)	150	7	1.7	1.5
Total	**9621**	**424**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: Directorate of Undergraduate Studies, and researcher's data

From the sample of 424, the researcher used a non-probability purposive sampling to select female students for an interview and focused group discussion. Samar (2017, p.3) defines purposive sampling as a "process where researchers use their judgment to select a group of people who know about the problem". Participants were selected using specific criteria based on the characteristics of the population and the objectives of the study. With help from the admissions office, the researcher could identify the contacts (specifically phone numbers) of students who had indicated readiness to participate in the interview. The researcher selected

participants who had demonstrated cyberstalking knowledge and experience in the online survey questionnaire, online interview and telephone calls, and online focus group discussion.

According to Gentles et al. (2015), for a single case study, respondents for a qualitative discussion should be between 25 and 50. Since the interview collects qualitative data, 30 students were interviewed, but normally sampling may continue until a saturation point is reached when the researcher cannot get new data (see Fusch & Nurse, 2015). Another group of thirty (30) students was selected online to form the focus group discussion. Among them, 424 females were purposively chosen for 30 online-focused group discussion and 30 others for focus group discussion.

To complement information from students' interviews and focused group discussions, 15 key informants were interviewed because they directly involved students' social welfare. For the present study, 15 personnel whose daily activities were related to students' affairs and security were purposively selected as key informants. According to Edward (2013, p.164), key informants have formal and informal specialist knowledge on the subject being researched.

The number of key informants was identified by university administrators from university units in charge of female students' guidance and security. Due to their position, the Director of the Institute of Gender Studies and the Dean of Students participated. Other Key informants were: two counsellors, one halls of residents wardens, two personnel from the office of the director of the Institute of Gender Studies, one gender focal persons, two students' leaders, three auxiliary police officers, and two 2 ICT personnel as shown in table 5.

Table 5: List of Key Informants

	Key Informant	**Frequency**	**Labelled as**
i	Dean of students	1	I
ii	Councillors	2	II and III
iii	Gender studies officers	2	IV, V, VI
iv	Hall of residence waden	1	VII
v	Students leader	2	VIII and IX
vi	Gender Focal Point	1	X
viii	ICT	2	XI and XII
vii	(Auxiliary) police	3	XIII, XIV and XV

The Dean of Students' office supplied information on policies, awareness, and training on students on sexual harassment and online harassment. The counsellors from the Dean of Students' office and halls of residence wardens are assistants in the office the Dean of students. Again, the office of the Dean of students oversees the work by leaders of the University of Dar es Salaam Students' Organisations (DARUSO). The researcher's interest was to grasp informants' awareness of cyberstalking and units' awareness for the university's preparedness to cyberstalking as a security threat. The directorate of the Institute of Gender Studies was a unit in charge of promoting gender equality at the university. In reaching more students, the director was assisted by gender focal persons. The ICT personnel in this unit provided information about infrastructure available for online security, such as antivirus and gave an explanation on UDSM ICT security policy. The researcher also probed the technological measures that the company used to take to protect its clients from being attacked online. The three (auxiliary) police officers were selected to describe the institutional strategies for protecting the whole population and female students, particularly on gender-based violence and physical and online sexual harassment. Information was also solicited on the reporting mechanism for harassed students.

3.2.6 Research Methods

Research methods include all the techniques and practices that have been taken for research, whereas research methodology is the approach in which research troubles are solved thoroughly. It is a science of studying how research is conducted systematically. In this field, the researcher explains oneself in the different steps of the research problem. Hence, the scientific approach which is adopted for conducting research is called methodology.

Globally, some researchers use 'research methods' with 'methodology' interchangeably. The latter is a "science of studying how research is conducted systematically", whereas research methods refer to specific means of collecting and analysing data (see Mishira & Alok, 2017). Therefore, a research method is a component of research methodology (*ibid*). What approaches to use for a research project depend on the project's design and the researcher's theoretical mindset. Since a case study requires in-depth information, it may incorporate multiple sources of evidence with data that converge in a triangulating manner.

In this study, the researcher used methodological triangulation, in which several data collection methods were used. The online survey questionnaire, online semi-structured interviews, and online-focused group discussion (FGD) were used to collect primary data, while the documentary review collected secondary data. The triangulation method enabled an in-depth understanding of the problem (see Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Noble & Heale, 2019). Again, researchers assure that the "use of different ways of gathering information, ensures that the methods supplement each other, and increase the credibility, validity and dependability of the data" (see Zohrabi, 2013, p. 254).

Given that the study was about cyberspace life, it was appropriate to use online methods. According to Kitchin (2007, p.16), online research is a methodological practice involving collecting research data from the internet or using any other electronic tool. Although online methods may exhibit disadvantages of difficulties in recruiting informants, access and operation of research tools, and handling ethical issues, the technique has several advantages as it facilitates access to scattered populations; decreases data entry time and enhances data accuracy (Liu & Tien 2009). The online method's choice was reinforced by the outbreak of the COVID-19[27] pandemic, which enforced limited movement and encouraged social distancing principles. These conditions were stipulated by the Kwazulu Natal University and the University of Dar es Salaam.

Since the study was held at a university, an academic institution where English is the principal medium of communication, all instruments were in the English language, but responding in writing or orally, respondents were free to express themselves in English or Kiswahili. In Tanzania, English is used as a medium of instruction in secondary school and higher learning institutions, but Kiswahili language is used in daily activities. Some students were more flexible and fluent in Kiswahili.

[27] COVID-19 is a short form of Corona Virus Disease that erupted in 2019. A highly contiguous disease spreading rapidly all over the world, and whose containment necessitates restrictions including self-isolation and social distancing.

3.2.6.1 Data Collection

In this study, data collection was undertaken using four instruments administered electronically: online survey questionnaire, online semi-structured interviews, online-focused group discussion (FGD) and documentary review.

i. Online Survey Questionnaire

Questionnaires are one of the main instruments of obtaining data, predominantly quantitative data. According to O'Leary (2014), a questionnaire has the advantage of reaching a large number of respondents simultaneously, representing a large population, generating comparable, standardised, quantifiable data and allowing confidentiality. Researchers applaud well-developed questionnaires for their efficiency in collecting large-scale data. Questionnaires can also be sent simultaneously to a great number of people, hence facilitate data gathering. Respondents "anonymity makes them share information more easily (see Zohrabi, 2013; Robinson, 1991; Nunan, 1999; Gillham, 2000 & Brown, 2001). In this study, the online questionnaire was even more efficient because it saved time during the distribution, collection and analysis.

Apart from advantages, the questionnaire might also have some disadvantages. In answering a questionnaire, respondents may provide inaccurate, ambiguous, unclear or unrelated responses. Sometimes there is low return rate if the questionnaire is sent by post or email; some questions may be misinterpreted; and the wording of the questions might affect the respondents' responses (see Zohrabi, 2013; Gillham, 2000; Brown, 2001). In this study, an online questionnaire was accessed through the link[28]. The return rate was high because the questionnaire was distributed to homogenous groups of people. Again, research assistants helped in reminding students through their groups to fill in the questionnaire. For this study, an online questionnaire was prepared by using a Google forms platform[29]. The Google forms is a unique forum through which one can create questions of all types and send them to many participants who can access them through their email addresses and respond using computers or smartphones. Another online questionnaire for a Google form was selected because it is free of charge; hence respondents could access it without cost. Also, responses can be transformed into graphs while writing, and it was even possible to get an excel form that enabled easy analyses by using SPSS for further processing of

[28]https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1JJGAKvqkS8w2XsCM3yhq77LnyVeQOvXv3UWOaPZlHCM/edit
[29]See https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1JJGAKvqkS8w2XsCM3yhq77LnyVeQOvXv3UWOaPZlHCM/edit

the data. An online survey questionnaire containing closed and open-ended question was used to collect quantitative data on female students' demographic information, forms of cyberstalking and the extent of cyberstalking (see appendix). Besides quantitative data, the questionnaire collected qualitative data through the interview as already mentioned.

ii. Online Interviews

An interview is essentially an oral person-to-person interaction used to assess people's perception, meaning, and definition of situations and construct reality (see Qu & Dumay 2011; Kumar, 2014). From others' experience, one of the key strengths of interviewing is that it provides in-depth information; it facilitates a relatively high response rate, and it is also helpful for exploration and confirmation (see Zohrabi, 2013, p.255). A semi-structured interview is preferred among types of interviews due to its flexibility, accessibility, intelligibility, and capability of disclosing essential and often hidden facets of a problem (cyberstalking) (Qu & Dumay, 2011, p.246). An online interview with female students inquired about the experience of cyberstalking and students' reaction to cyberstalking practices. The interview was done through a WhatsApp video call. WhatsApp was preferred to Zoom, Skype or other platforms because WhatsApp is the most frequently used social media. The informants were recruited from those who had answered the questionnaire, and they were provided with free airtime. A video call was preferred to an audio one because emotions and feelings could be seen through the former. WhatsApp video conversation took approximately 30 minutes.

As Zohrabi (2013, p.256) reminds us: "Interviews can have disadvantages like incurring expenses, consuming time and reducing the degree of anonymity as well as tasking the data analysis's as most of the data collected is open-ended". Before the interview, the researcher planned with the interviewees conveniently to minimise inconveniences to both parties. She also asked the informants to feel free to bring somebody else along in case they felt uncomfortable. During the interview process, the researcher's interventions were carefully managed, kept to minimum, and undertaken with caution not to hurt the respondent. The researcher ensured transparency and allowed the respondents to provide information at their discretion. A few respondents were not very comfortable during the interview. When the researcher discovered an abnormal behaviour that indicated distress, she paused or postponed the interview to ensure that the respondents got help from a trusted person.

Due to the sensitivity of cyberstalking for female students, the researcher discussed the context with the interviewee prior to the interview on the best timing, assurance of credibility of the exercise, and essential issues that the interviewee might need to be aware of. The interviews were held at a venue and time the respondent felt reasonably secure. Qu and Dumay (2013, p.239) advise that the researcher should plan carefully before demonstrating skills-intensive listening and accurate note-taking. Thus, the researcher ensured transparency and allowed the respondents to provide information at their discretion. For anonymity, all conversations were not voice recorded.

iii. Online Focus Group Discussion (OFGD)

A focused group is a group of 8 to 12 members with common characteristics (see Grudens-Schuck et al., 2000). The participants meet to discuss a specified topic or an issue to generate data. According to Ping (2008, p.256), FGD allows participants to build upon one another's comments. It encourages thinking and interaction among members, an aspect that helps the creation of ideas. Ping advises that since the researcher moderates the session during the discussion, responds to questions, probes for clarification, and may solicit more detailed responses, he/she should therefore inculcate skills in leading a session to produce quality data. Although an FDG may encourage impartiality, a well-coordinated FGD gives the researcher an understanding of the participants' perspective on the topic in discussion. Grudens-Schuck et al. (2004) underscore that focused group discussions benefit qualitative research as informants are freer and more natural than individual interviews. They add that FGD allows the researcher to capture the content and emotions of the participants.

In conformity with suggestions by Gentles et al. (2015), 60 participants would be adequate for a qualitative study, but in this study, a group of 30 students who had shown knowledge or experience in cyberstalking practices in the online survey questionnaire were purposively selected to participate in the FGD. The FGD was contacted asynchronously using a special WhatsApp discussion group and synchronously using the Zoom platform. As already noted, WhatsApp was widely used. Three different WhatsApp groups composed of ten members each were formed and lasted for seven days. A zoom conference was organised using the paid package by the researcher. A zoom forum is an online discussion platform that allows several

people to hold a discussion online. The researcher had received some training from an ICT specialist on how to moderate and organise a Zoom meeting.

iv. Documentary Review

A documentary review was used to add to the other research methods. This technique helped to read and review various national and institutional policies on gender harassment and ICT, together with these, directives and speeches concerning institutional ethical issues, advertisements and joining instructions. It was expected that the researcher could obtain SMS, Facebook, tweets, Instagram messages displaying threats, insults videos, but all the interviewed respondents had been deleting such content as soon as they received it; however, they were able to paraphrase some statements and describe some videos.

3.2.7 Data Analysis

Glesne and Peshkin (1992, p.130) define data analysis as "the process of organising and sorting data in light of increasingly sophisticated judgments and interpretations". Since the present study explored cyberstalking experience in cyberspace, the independent variables were victims' social relationship with stalkers, gender violence behaviours, and gender stereotype roles of women. The other variables were: female students' exposure to the internet, which included time spent online and the number of media that each respondent had subscribed to, as well as the kind of identities, uploaded. The dependent variable included the forms and extent of cyberstalking (number of cyberstalked female students, frequency of being followed, and the severity of harassment and duration of the harassment). These included number, types and nature of messages received from perpetrators and the kind of tools used by cyberstalkers. These variables were mediated by intermediate variables like kinds of technological tools used by cyberstalkers.

Since the study used a mixed-method, data was collected sequentially in two phases. Quantitative data from the survey questionnaire was processed using SPSS software (version 23) then simple statistical calculations such as frequencies, percentages, correlation coefficients, standard deviations were sought automatically. Both descriptive and inferential statistics calculations were used. Descriptive statistics were applied to calculate prevalent forms and extent through frequencies, percentages, and measures of central tendency. Since probability is a

scientific way of stating the degree of confidence, inferential statistics allowed the researcher to generalise the findings from the samples (Creswell, 2014).

Qualitative data were analysed using content analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The qualitative data helped to describe, enrich, refine, interpret as well as provide a conclusive statement (Ivankova et al., 2006, p.5). Responses were arranged under pre-determined themes. The two data sets were merged during data interpretation to get a complete understanding of the problem. At this stage, the qualitative data was given priority as the research explored human experience. The quantitative and qualitative data was interpreted and combined to provide the experience of cyberstalking at UDSM.

3.3 Validity and Reliability

According to Kothari and Garg (2014, p. 70), validity is the most critical criterion that indicates the degree to which an instrument measures what it is supposed to measure. Kothari and Garg (ibid, p.71) purport that the test of validity is another crucial test of sound measurement. In this study, the validity was ensured through a purposive selection of knowledgeable key informants, triangulation method, and mixed-method. Through the triangulation technique, data from the questionnaire was enriched by the interview; interview information was also affirmed by OFGD, whereas responses from students were compared with those from key informants. The mixed-method enabled qualitative data to complement quantitative ones.

According to Drost (2011, p.106), reliability refers to the extent to which measurements repeated by a different person, on various occasions, under other conditions, with alternative instruments may give the measure the same results. In conformity with Kothari and Garg's advice (2014), all tools were pre-tested (measured) at the University of Dar es Salaam to provide a consistent result and ensure reliability.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

Ethics imply standards of professional behaviour (see Guthrie, 2015). According to the American Sociological Association (1999, p.16), all social science researchers should respect professional competence, integrity, professional and scientific responsibility, people's rights, dignity and diversity, and social responsibility. In conformity with these values, the researcher sought

gatekeeper permission from the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) before conducting the study. Guthrie (2010, p.13) advises that research project permission should be sought first by the specific academic institution. At the University of Kwazulu Natal (UKZN), the proposal was submitted to the Research Office to ensure that the university's ethical guidelines were followed. (MacKinnon, 1997)

During data collection, informants voluntarily agreed to participate in the study. Since methods were online, in the questionnaire, respondents could not proceed with filling in the question before reading the informed consent explanation that preceded the questionnaire and tick off 'agree' slot. For the interview and focus group, informants expressed their consent orally. The informed consent allowed participants to terminate the interview at any time or choose not to answer or talk about certain issues.

For anonymity, the informants used pseudo names. For the current study, they were following Guthrie's 2010, p.9) warning that researchers should not identify or reveal information about participants, and interview notes and completed questionnaires must not bear participants' names. The researcher, therefore, used registration numbers to identify the participants. Since the research was online, the data was kept under strict security and protected with passwords. The findings from this study were handled personally and discussed with the supervisor at UKZN.

Given the COVID-19 situation, countries and institutions provided extra precaution measures and guidelines, including adopting online methods. Therefore, the researcher had to abide with the general and specific national and institutional precautions and regulations from both South Africa and Tanzania. In Tanzania, she abided by the Tanzania Communication Regulatory Authority (TCRA) on online communication, and during data collection, informants were also asked about the status of their health and that of their immediate families before engaging them in an online interview or online FGD. Upon completing the study, the researcher supplied a bound copy of the research report to the University of Dar es Salaam**.**

3.5 Reflexivity

It was an advantage that the researcher was a Tanzanian woman and a former student of the University of Dar es Salaam. This facilitated, first processing the gatekeeper letter, and secondly inculcated a sense of trust among participating female students. However, scholars

caution that research findings may influence the researcher's self-knowledge, belief, attitudes, and experiences if the researcher is acquainted with the research environment (see Dodgson, 2019).

Thus, to ensure rigour and quality of research, the researcher attuned herself to neutrality against preconceived knowledge about women's rights and online harassment in the country. To foster reflexivity, especially during interviews and FGD, she declared her preconceptions and attitudes that could influence the methodology or interpretation of the findings. Moreover, during the process, to minimise personal attitudinal inclination to her preconceived knowledge, she allowed participants to give details and write down methodological decisions and procedures so that anyone could use them, to ensure the credibility of the study.

3.6 Limitation of the Study

Several factors constrained the research progress, but the major ones were knowledge of cyberstalking and the outbreak of COVID-19. With the experience of cyberstalking, it was noted from the pilot study that the majority of respondents did not understand the term even after getting an explanation. Again, the outbreak of COVID-19 in South Africa and Tanzania disturbed the pre-programmed schedule as the researcher had to process the research permit from Tanzania. On the one hand, some time was lost due to displacement and adaptation to a different working situation. On the other hand, the process, took longer because of distance. Meanwhile, moving to Tanzania facilitated conducting the study at a cheaper cost, in terms of phone calls, than calling from South Africa during the lockdown.

3.7 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter discussed the theoretical framework and methodology. The researcher presented the theoretical and methodological insights that guided the interpretation of cyberstalking in higher learning institutions in Tanzania. The cyberfeminism theory described blends the two other theories, the Technological Theory of Social Change and the Feminist theory, to provide a broader picture of cyberstalking at the campus. This merge interprets cyberstalking as an interplay between technology and gender. Cyberfeminism was thus a viable theoretical tool to explain cyberstalking at the university campus.

The second part discusses the research process, including the research paradigm and rationale for choosing Dar es Salaam's University as the study site. The methodological part also describes data collection and analysis procedures. It also highlights measures taken to ensure reliability, validity, control of reflexivity, and ethical consideration.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PREVALENCE AND EXTENT OF CYBERSTALKING OF FEMALE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AT (UDSM) CAMPUS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter describes participants' demographic characteristics: age, year of study, marital status, place of origin and socioeconomic background. It further explores how these characteristics may influence female university students' degree of cyber-victimization. Moreover, based on statistical findings and qualitative information obtained from the study, the chapter establishes the evidence of the prevalence and extent of cyberstalking at the University of Dar es Salaam Mwalimu Nyerere Campus (the Main Campus). Furthermore, drawing from theoretical insights underpinning this study, the researcher explores perpetrators' profiles and their perceived intention to cyberstalk female university students studying at the University of Dar es Salaam. Accordingly, the chapter critically examines how perpetrators' profiles may influence the prevalence of cyber-victimization of female university students in the university setting.

4.1 Demographic Characteristics of the Study Sample and Response Rate

In this study, the principal informants were female university students registered at the University of Dar es Salaam Mwalimu Nyerere Campus (the Main Campus) during the academic year 2019/2020. As already reported (see chapter 3), 424 female university students provided the necessary information on the prevalence, extent and experience of cyberstalking at the university campus. They filled an online survey questionnaire and participated in an online interview and focus group discussion. The female students' evidence was complemented by an online interview with 15 key informants. The key informants were eight males and seven females aged between 20 and 55 years. They were selected from university staff and students in charge of female students' protection against sexual and cyberharassment at the campus. They were also familiar with the campus's social, academic, financial and accommodation issues. The participation of adult key informants in this study helped contemplate the cyberharassment phenomenon with people from the previous generation brought up before the proliferation of

the use of the internet. Moreover, the inclusion of eight male participants helped tocollect views from male participants because, in cyberstalking discourse, the sex of participants is an important variable. Studies indicate that males are considered perpetrators while females are considered victims (see Tjaden & Thoenne, 1998, Bocij, 2003, Halder & Jaishankar, 2008; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007). Table 6 presents the breakdown of female students' demographic characteristics according to age, year of study, marital status, place of origin and socio-economic background.

Table 6: Female students' Demographic Characteristics in relation to Participation Ratio

Variable	**Aspect**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Age	Between 17 And 23	308	72.64 %
	Between 24 And 26	113	26.65 %
	Above 27 Years	3	0.71 %
	Total	**424**	**100 %**
Year of study	First Year	120	28.30 %
	Second Year	124	29.25 %
	Third Year	177	41.75 %
	Fourth Year	3	0.71 %
	Total	**424**	**100 %**
Marital status	Married	14	3.3 %
	Single	410	96.7 %
	Total	**424**	**100 %**
Place of origin	Rural area	284	67 %
	Urban	140	33 %
	Total	424	100 %
Socio-economic background	Low-Income Families	130	30.66 %
	Middle-Income Families	280	66.04 %
	Affluent Families	14	3.30 %
	Total	**424**	100 %

Table 6 displays participants' demographic profiles in terms of age, year of study, marital status, place of origin and socio-economic background. The table also shows the corresponding frequency and percentage in each variable. It is essential to consider participants' demographic characteristics because studies suggest that some persons with specific demographic characteristics are more at risk for stalking victimization than others (see WHOA 2013; Maran and Begotti (2019). Studies in gender-based violence and cyber-victimization indicate that these

are prominent variables that play a significant role in determining the degree of sexual harassment and gender-based violence, by implication cyber-victimization (see Finn, 2004; Merkin, 2012; WHOA 2013; Maran and Begotti, 2019). A detailed description of how each factor can inherently heighten the rate and intensity of cyberharassment among female students follows in section 4.1.1.

4.1.1 Female University Students' Age

Table 6 indicates that nearly three-quarters of female students were aged between 17 and 23; specifically, 72.64 % (n=308) were aged between 17 and 23. This age range was followed by the age between 24 and 26, which is 26.65 % (n=113). That means that cumulatively almost all respondents (99.29%) (n=421) were aged between 17 and 26. A negligible percentage (0.71 %) (n=3) were above 27. This age also correlates with an optimal age for Tanzanian undergraduate university students (see URT, 2014b, p. 4). In Tanzania, the education policy describes that children starting primary school at the age of seven years and graduate at 23 years (ibid)[30]. Therefore, in relation to this age structure, female students older than 27 were likely to be in-service students or female students whose family or other social responsibilities made them enrol at a late age.

The demographic information on age indicates that most participants belonged to the most vulnerable age to sexual harassment and cyber victimization as they were aged between 17 and 30 years, an age range ascribed to the most vulnerable to cyber victimization because it is a mate seeking age, characterized by romance (see Finn, 2004; Begotti & Maran, 2019). Consequently, the participants were at the so-called 'peak' of their romantic dating stage. Commonly, "cyberstalking occurs prior to, during, or following a romantic relationship" (Ahlgrim, 2015, p. 15).

Moreover, the participants are said to belong to the digital native generation. The expression digital native refers to the generation of people born around 2000 and who, unlike their predecessors, exhibit excessive interest in digital technology. According to Dogga (2015), almost

[30] The Tanzanian education system is divided into 4 levels: primary school starts at 7 years (it takes 7 years); ordinary level secondary school start at 14 (for 4 year), the adanced secondary school start 18 to 19 years while university starts at 20 to 23.

half of smartphone owners are considered young adults between 18-29 years old. These also are highly subscribed to messaging *apps like Tick tock or WhatsApp.* Scholars maintain that they are, more prone to a high internet addiction rate and victimization than other ages (see Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002; Prensky, 2011).

4.1.2 Female University Students' Year of Study on Campus

Table 6 indicates that out of 424 participants, 28.3 % (n=120) were first-year students, 29.2 % (n=124) were second-year students and a significant percentage of participants, 41.7 % (n=177), were third-year students. An insignificant percentage of 0.71 % (n=3) were in the fourth year. The ratio of participants is displayed in figure 1.

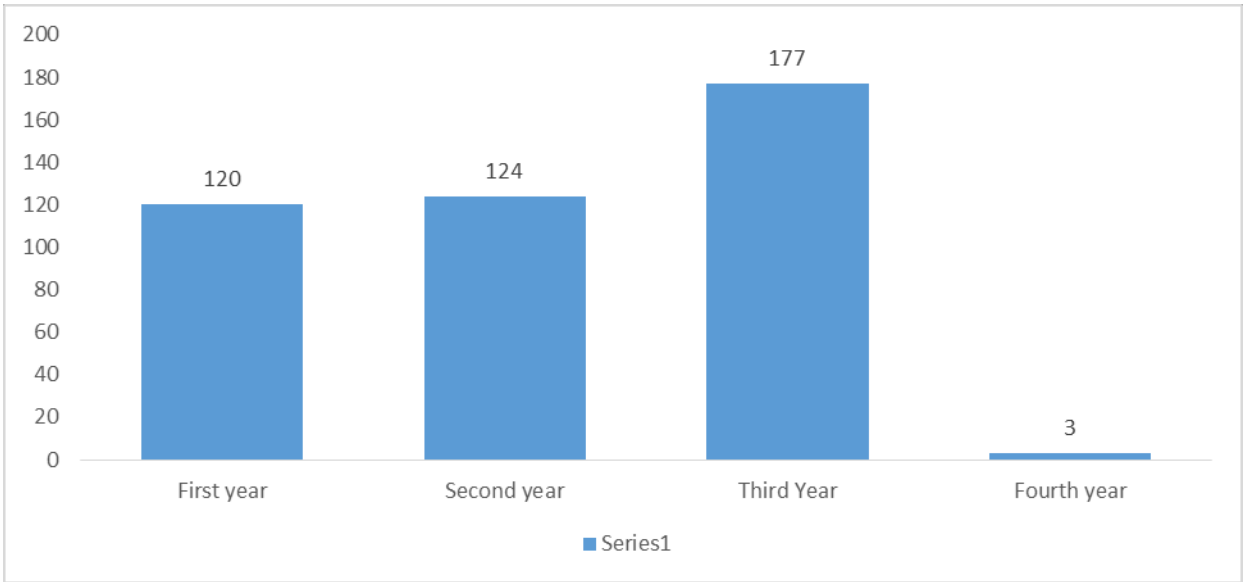


Figure 1: Female Students' Year of Study

Figure 1 indicates a high turnup of third-year students in filling the questionnaire. Third-year students were likely to be motivated to volunteer in the online questionnaire because they had much experience or were aware of cyberharassment in university settings. The frequency of second and first-year students was quite close (124 and 120 respectively). The figure also indicates a low turn up of fourth-year students. It was expected that not many fourth-year female students would fill in the online questionnaire because at the University of Dar es Salaam most undergraduate programmes last for three years; only Engineering and Law programmes last for

four years. Furthermore, fourth-year students spend most of their time on fieldwork. Hence they were likely to be attached to workplace and lost interest in what was going on at the university.

Understanding female students' years of study was essential for this study because the information could provide hints on participants' degree of exposure to the university environment and the internet. The first-year female students were new to the university environment and possibly less familiar with digital technology applications. As will be explained later, most higher learning institution students own their first handset upon arrival at the campus. In Tanzania, at lower education levels, the use of smartphone is strictly prohibited. Most first-year students were also new to city life and university campus cultures because most of them came from rural areas.

In this context, continuing students were likely to provide valuable infomation data. They were considered to be conscious of sexual harassment prevailing at the campus and its different facets, including through online platforms. Given that sexual harassment was highly reported at the campus, students who had stayed longer were likely to have much experience as victims or witnesses of other students' online harassment experiences. It also appeared that continuing students would have potential information concerning ongoing institutional intervention programmes organized by the University Gender Club to increase awareness of sexual harassment and gender-based on-campus violence. A Gender Club is a students' organization for sensitizing the university community on gender issues. Likewise, continuing students (2nd to 4th year) might have learned modules about sexual harassment and online stalking in their courses.

The first-year female students were relatively new to the university culture. The findings indicated that first-year experience was somehow different from continuing students. According to FGD II discussants, male students welcomed first-year students, nicknaming them as 'new containers', meaning that they were bringing new (sexual) items. The appellation brings to mind the kind of expectation male students had about first-year students. This meant that the female students were objectified just upon their arrival; considered as sex objects, referred to sexual objectification (see Calogero (2012, p, 574). Therefore, as the study was undertaken towards the end of the second semester (end of the academic year), the first-year students would provide enough information on online harassment.

4.1.3 Female University Students' Marital Status

Table 6 indicates that 410 of 424 (96.7 %) were single while only 14 (3.3 per cent) were married. The preponderance of single female students was expected because in Tanzania most university students join higher education directly from secondary schools. In Tanzania mainland[31] rules for secondary school girls on sexual and marital relations were strictly prohibited. The government sternely abode with one of the controversial gender discriminating laws (see URT, 1978) that empowers schools to expel pregnant girls from the lower level education system. Consequently, most girls in advanced level secondary schools were boarding students characterized by restricted contacts with other people both physically and digitally. The girls are therefore hidden from socialization both physically and digitally. As such, the university becomes the first place to be independent of parental and school restriction. This situation may lead to excessive use of money, freedom of expression and association, thereby making girls fall victim to cyber harassment.

Another way to relate singlehood and cyber victimization is that perpetrators target single more than married women. From the broader perspective of cyberstalking as a form of sexual harassment, studies report an elevated rate of victimization of young single women compared to the married, divorced, cohabitating or separated (see Merkin, 2012; WHOA 2013). Merkin 2012 explains that:

> Single women may be viewed as better targets by harassers partly because they tend to be younger and less aware of sexual harassment. In addition, sexual pursuit of unmarried women […] is likely to be considered more acceptable because sexual harassment may be considered by some as normal courtship behaviour. [And that] most studies concur that individuals who are married are most powerful (Merkin, 2012, p. 157).

Besides being targeted by perpetrators, there was also a sense of loneliness among single female students, leading to searching for an online company. Through socialisation, they were expected by society to mature for marriage and family life. The female students themselves felt mature for marriage as per the following statement by a female student.

[31] Tanzania Mainland is opposite to Zanzibar islands, which are two great islands. With the mainland the isles, form the United Republic of Tanzania.

Being followed up by men on Facebook is not abnormal for a woman; we are in family establishing age" (remark on Google survey questionnaire).

This statement indicates that the speaker was interested in becoming a wife. The socialisation process constructed in African woman the feeling that men are created to pursue women to seduce them for sex or friendship and the women is to remain passive and compliant to the males' wills. As they are shaped by this culture, women may endure harassment to conform to the existing traditions (see Hlavka, 2014; Abeid et al., 2014). It is in this context that society and female students perpetuate harassment. In the modern era of ICT technology, the internet has become a medium for the pursuit. According to Alam et al. (2011), the internet offers an incredible platform for matching partners despite the queries that it conceals misinformation, misleading pictures and fake profiles (also see Couch & Liamputtong, 2008). That means the internet reinforces the cultural traditions of considering women as objects to be chosen by men.

As stated earlier, among the 424 participants, only 14 were married. Married female students were less prone to cyberstalking because traditions compel married women to remain at home. Married women have to be preoccupied with family matters instead of passing the time on social media. However, married female students were not entirely exempted from being stalked online. Studies indicate that married women can be stalked by ex-partners, brothers-in-law, neighbours, strangers or even an existing husband (see Spitzberg & Hoobler 2002; Ménard & Pincus, 2014). Married women can also seek a sexual relationship with a stranger in case of prolonged separation from partners, conflict, or partner's long illness (Couch & Liamputtong, 2008).

4.1.4 Female University Students' Place of Origin

Scholars derived the concept of the digital divide to explain unequal power relations in digital technology discourses (see 2017; Hilbert, 2011). According to these scholars, ICT competence is unequally distributed between men and women, rural and urban residents, and between different socioeconomic backgrounds due to unequal accessibility to other resources such as finance, electricity, and human. In this study, female students from rural areas, unlike those from urban areas, were disadvantaged because they came from limited technological resources.

The information from the online Google survey questionnaire responses indicates that two thirds (67 %) (n=284) of female students' participants came from rural areas. The rest, 140 (33 %) were born and grew up in urban areas. According to URT (2010), the majority of Tanzanians still live in rural areas. To access university education at the most prestigious university in Tanzania, the female students travel from upcountry to Dar es Salaam, the largest city in Tanzania. Thus, majority of female students came from rural Tanzania characterized by a low supply of electricity or unstable electricity and internet connectivity. Therefore, at the university they were likely to join social media and naive as they were, they easily got trapped by perpetrators. In addition, according to the interviewed key informants, female students upload risky private images, which are hijacked by perpetrators and used to hook and control victims or published in open fora as revenge.

Conversely, one-third of female students grew up in urban centres. Hence, they were likely to have subscribed to multiple platforms such as Facebook, Tweeter, Instagram and other media. During FGD-III, discussants reported that most students from urban centres already owned smartphones or a personal laptop computer upon first year registration. By implication, they had subscribed to social media like Facebook, Instagram and WhatsApp. Studies substantiate that the degree of exposure to the internet plays a great role in subjecting users to cyberharassment victimization (see Den Hamer & Konijn, 2015; Henson et al., 2011; King-Ries, 2011; Reyns et al., 2011). Related to a place of origin, female students' another variable that interprets acquaintance with the internet and exposure to social media is the socio-economic background presented in section. 4.1.5

4.1.5 Female Students' Socio-Economic Background

Feminists who believe in the digital divide hypothesis regard differences in cyberharassment rate as a factor explained by the disparity in ICT competence across socioeconomic backgrounds (see ASEAN[32] Foundation, 2017; Hilbert, 2011). In this context, poverty is associated with less exposure and limited digital technology skills due to limited financial resources to purchase and manage electronic devices. Poverty is at the same time a barrier to better education, "access to ICT related language and internet culture in general" (Henry, 2017, p. 5). In the United Republic

[32] Association of SouthEast Asian Nations

of Tanzanian (URT) context, due to the sociopolitical foundation of an egalitarian nation, socio-economic differences are mainly expressed in terms of occupation (peasants and workers, business persons) rather than income (see URT, 2014a). However, for the sake of this study, one can identify at least three categories of income bases: low income, middle income and high income.[33]. In this study, the low socioeconomic background included households entirely dependant on subsistence production[34] mostly handhoe cultivation. Given the quality of low economic households' lives, to daughters from these families, university education was an unexpected opportunity. Majority end up in marriage and reproduction inconfomity with the patriarchal nature of the wider society. These female students who happened to join university had not owned or used a smartphone before coming to university. Financially, they entirely depended on government or other humanitarian's support to pursue a university education. Therefore, they might have been obliged to use the internet and social media for the first time while applying for university studies. Hence, they could be prone to harassment due to their naivety to technology.

The middle-income families in the United Republic of Tanzania (URT) comprise local business persons and the so-called 'workers' (see URT, 2014). Since parents from these families have stable, though not sufficient, incomes and can access loans from banks, their daughters could acess university education with some financial difficulties. They also might have accessed the internet hence have at least a Facebook account but unlikely to own a smartphone. Similar to the low income, they were prone to cyberharassment due to incompetence in the cybertechnology.

Female students from high socioeconomic backgrounds included participants whose parents were engaged in the national or international business sectors, high-rank government, and employees in international organisations. To this category, joining the University of Dar es Salaam was a choice. They had the opportunity to seek admission to inexpensive universities worldwide. Female students had obviously used the internet and subscribed to social media hence exposed to online harassment earlier than the others two clusters. According to King-Ries (2011), exposure to online is a factor for cyberstalking.

[33] By estimation low socio-economic level may means one living below 1 dolar a day; middle income living between one dolar and 150 USD a day and affluent above 150 USD

[34] Peasants, fishers, petty traders and other disadvantaged groups).

In terms of female students' socio-economic background, the findings in table 6 (section.4.1) indicates that 66.04 % (n=280) of participants, i.e. two-thirds of participants, grew up in middle-income families whereas 30.66 % (n -130) came from low-income families and the rest only 3.30 % (n= 14) come from affluent families. Figure 2 indicates this ratio.

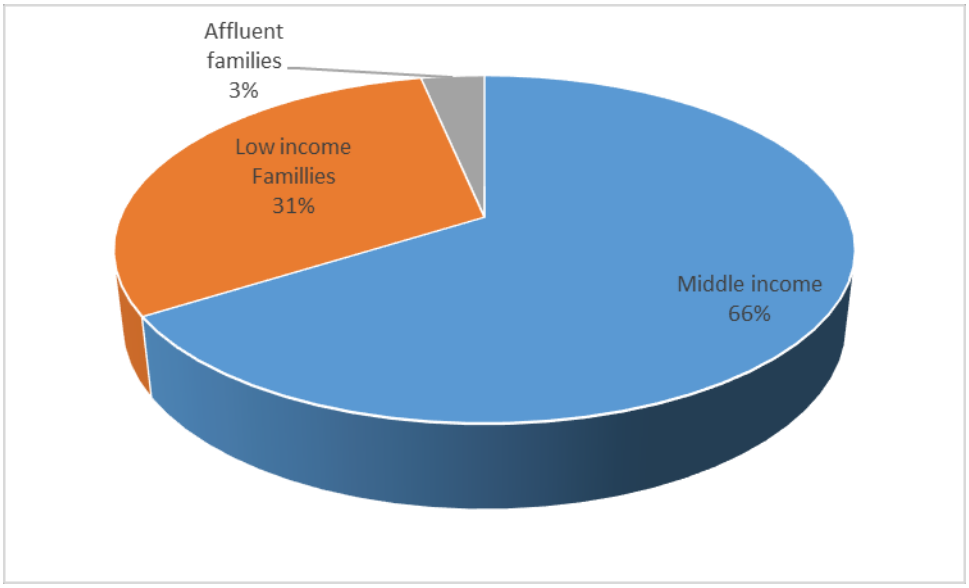


Figure 2: Female Students' Socio-economic Background

As figure 2 indicates, two-thirds of participants came from middle-income families while 31% of participants were coming from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Recognizing the economic needs for these clusters, the government offers loans to disadvantaged students through the Higher Education Students Loan Board (HESLB) (see URT, 2014a) to finance study costs, accommodation and meals. According to participants, female students from low economic background were identifiable as a separate social cluster. They nicknamed '*baed* (Bachelor of Arts with Education)' because most of them registered for education courses in order to get employment quickly.

Only 14 (3.30%) participants declared to belong to a high socio-economic class or affluent families. It might be that some female students from higher socio-economic background did not like to be declare to belong to this category because of socio-political stigmatisation in Tanzania. In Tanzania, context due to longstanding attitudes inherited from *Ujamaa* policy, being wealthy

is associated with exploiting others. Well off families, on the other hand, were equally vulnerable to cyberstalking.

This background information on the sampled female students' demographic characteristics at the University campus enabled the researcher to understand and predict the nature of the information to obtain and interpret in the context of the informants. From this information, the researcher attempted to answer the questions: Does cyberstalking exist on the campus? If yes, to what extent? Who are involved? And, what are the intentions of the perpetrators? The following section presents the findings on these questions.

4.2 Evidence of Prevalence of Cyberstalking at the University of Dar es Salaam Main Campus

As a miniature of society, the University of Dar es Salaam was not different from other communities in Tanzania. Female students are vulnerable to various forms of sexual violence and abuse offline and online. In inquiring whether cyberharassment prevailed among female university students at the university main campus, the researcher asked the female students the question: *Is there cyberharassment among female students at the University of Dar es Salaam*? The question was asked in order to get a general picture of students' awareness and whether cyberharassment persisted on the campus or not. The findings are presented in table 7.

Table 7: Female Students Views on Prevalence of Cyberstalking at UDSM

	Frequency	Percent
i. Many female students experience online harassment	84	19.8
ii. Some female students experience online harassment	249	58.7
iii. There is no online harassment to female students	91	21.5
Total	424	100.0

These findings indicate that most participants (78.5 %) admitted that cyberharassment prevailed among female students at the University Campus. The majority of female university students indicated that some (not many) female students were victimized by online perpetration. Table 7 also shows that a minority of 91 (21.5 %) of respondents denied the prevalence of cyberharassment at the campus. Further scrutiny of the response revealed that, among the 91

participants, half of them, 46 (21 %) who denied prevalence of online harassment were from rural areas. Therefore, the researcher believes that cyberharassment prevails, but those who denied, did so because they were unaware or had low exposure to online communication.

The general perception observed above on the persistence of cyberharassment created a base in enquiring specifically the prevalence of cyberstalking at the University of Dar es Salaam. In searching for this information, the researcher had to abide by the principles. In cyberstalking discourse, scholars distinguish cyberstalking from other forms of cyberharassment basing on four attributes. These are (i) applying the digital technology in harassing, (ii) persistence, repetition or continuity of the harassment, (iii) an observed perpetrators' determination to follow and (iv) evidence that the action induced fear to the victim (see Sheridan et al., 2003; Fukuchi, 2011; Sheridan & Davies, 2001; Fukuchi, 2011; Sheridan et al., 2003). In other words, these criteria were used to identify the main features of cyberstalking: the online harassment action itself, the duration of the action, the perpetrators' determination, and the implied effects on the victim. Thus, based on these features, the researcher analyzed the nature of cyberharassment in order to substantiate whether cyberstalking prevails on the campus or not. The findings for each aspect are discussed in section 4.2.1 starting evidence of female students being harassed online.

4.2.1 Prevalence of Online Harassment towards Female Students at UDSM

The study found that all participating female university students owned smartphones and accessed the internet using them. The female students were subscribed to social media and had regular connections with the media for social, academic and entertainment functions. This was important information to the researcher because it indicates that female students could disclose challenges encountered in emails, social media accounts and chat rooms. According to Kholefel and Sadia (2015; p. 13), "college or university students fall victims of cyberstalking due to high dependence on digital technologies in teaching and learning in their institutions". To probe female students' experience online, the researcher asked the question: *Have you ever experienced any form of online harassment*? The responses are shown in figure 3 and explained in subsequent paragraphs.

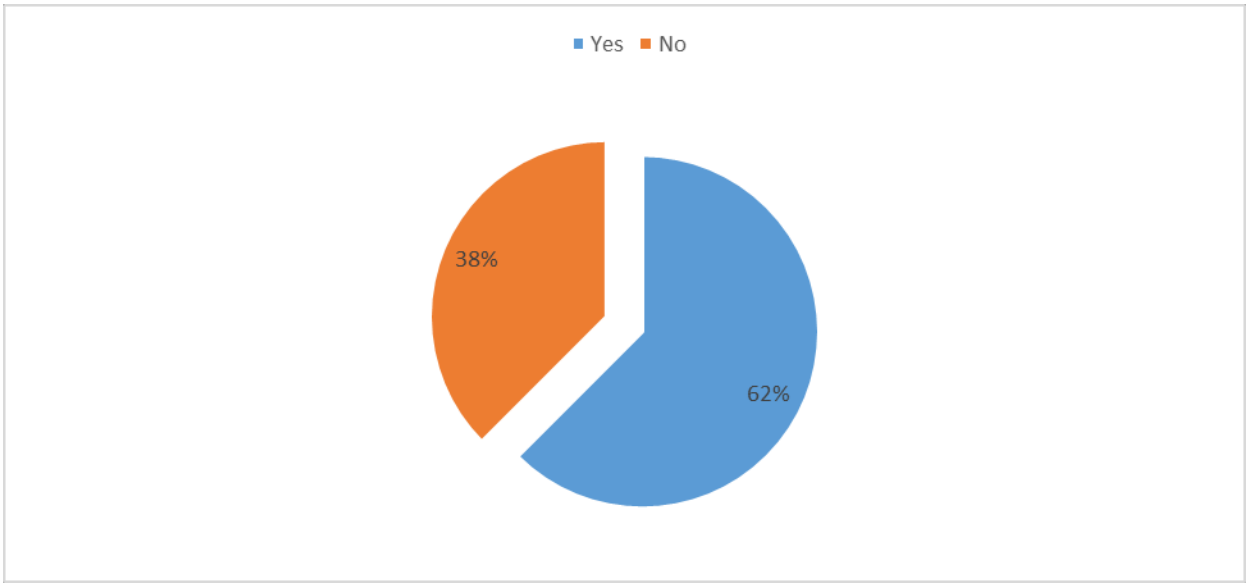


Figure 3: Report of Cyberharassment among Sample Female Students

The findings above indicate that among the 424 participants, 265 (62.5 %) admitted experiencing some forms of cyberharassment. Only 159 (37.5 %) denied having experienced any harassment, as shown in figure 3.

This finding indicates that the internet is not a comfortable space for a significant population of female students. Contrary to utopian cyberfeminists philosophies (like Plant, 1996), which assumed that cyberspace is a safe space for women to express themselves freely, unlike in the physical world, female students who posted images, voice, and video were harassed. They were annoyed, threatened and bombarded with hatred speeches. The following quote illustrates this fact.

> *Niliweka picha mtandaoni baada ya hapo mtu mmoja nadhani ni mwanafunzi akawa ananisumbua kila wakati akitaka nimtumie picha za uchi kila mara nikamkatalia, lakini alizidi kunisumbua kila wakati.* (remark on Google survey questionnaire)
>
> *I posted my photograph onlineand then a man, I think is a student, took advantage of the photo to annoy me asking me to post him a nudity photograph. Even when I declined his request, he kept on disturbing me.*

Drawing from this excerpt, we see that the participant posted a photograph on her profile photo. Like other students in her generation, she took advantage of the unlimited opportunity of self-expression provided by the internet. As an evidence that cyberspace is masculine and that males use power to control and pursue, dominate and control women (see Sultana,· 2010; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2000). Therefore a man enticed by the photograph forced her to undress and send him a nudity version of the photograph. In feminists' scholarly discourses, the perpetrators demanded the body, which is the target of patriarchal harassment. The perpetrator reduced the female student to a biological object while ignoring the female student's rational power to deciding for her body and attire (see Guzzetti, 2008). Thus, while social norms depict a woman to be "open, empathetic and willing to disclose information about themselves more readily than men" (Bond, 2009, p. 30), the patriarchal system transforms the woman's body into an object to be watched and abused (see Adam, 2002; Woodlock, 2017).

Therefore, participants' responses established that nearly two-thirds of female university students experienced harassment on the internet. The statistical information and the narrated intimidations and threats imply that most female university students encountered harassment in cyberspace while on campus. It is at this point that the interplay between technology and social media is transpired. These were the same female students who experienced offline misogyny, sexual harassment; online technology was making life challenging, even in cyberspace. Therefore it can be concluded that the emergence of digital devices reinforced harassment for female students at the campus. After establishing the prevalence of cyberharassment on the campus, the researcher moved to the second task which was to ascertain the frequency or duration of the harassment.

4.2.2 The Repetitiveness or Continuity of the Harassment towards Female Students

Scholars insist that harassment must be repeated or continuous (see Sheridan et al., 2003; Fukuchi, 2011; Sheridan & Davies, 2001; Fukuchi, 2011; Sheridan et al., 2003). These features support in confirming that the harassment was not accidental but a deliberate violation of the victim's right to freedom, privacy, and life in human rights again part III of the United Republic of Tanzania constitution[35] and articles 1 to 5 of the UN universal declaration of human rights[36].

[35] https://rsf.org/sites/default/files/constitution.pdf
[36] https://www.jus.uio.no/lm/en/pdf/un.universal.declaration.of.human.rights.1948.portrait.letter.pdf

In responding to the question: *How long did the harassment last*? The respondents provided a variety of responses. Among the 265 participants who experienced harassment (see figure 4), 245 (92.5 %) reported that the harassment had been prolonged for some time and the rest 20 (7.5 %) reported that the harassment involved a single attack[37]. All harassments indeed had pervasive effects on the victims even when they were done only once. However, in cyberstalking discourses, a cyberstalking practice must be spread over time. Therefore, the researcher concentrated on the 245 who experienced the so-called 'prolonged experience' for the present study. Figure 4 summarises the duration of harassment on the campus.

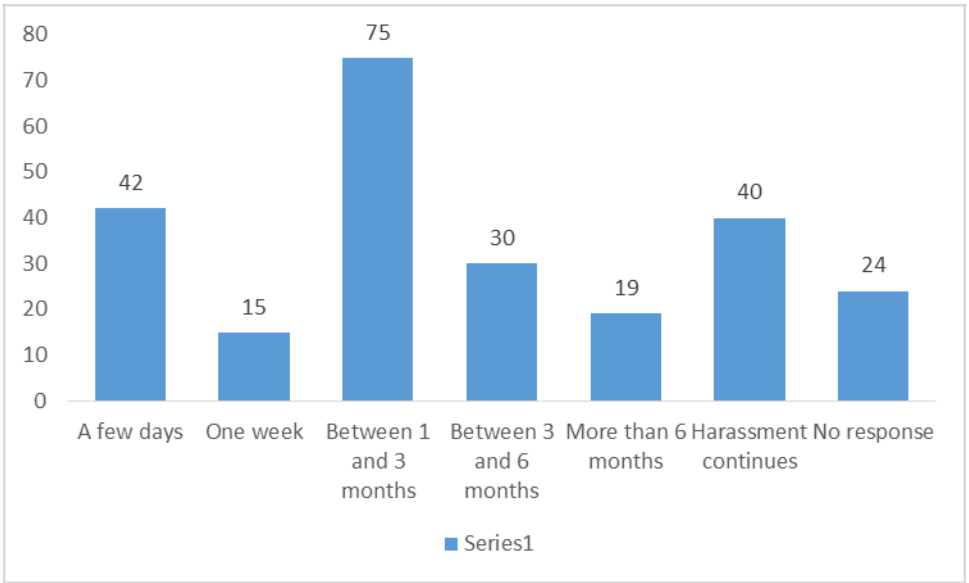


Figure 4: Duration of Cyberharassement among Harassed UDSM Female Students

Figure 4 displays the surveyed duration of various cyberstalking cases. According to the figure, the highest frequency was 75 female students who were harassed for a period between one and three months. This number was followed by 42 female students harassed for a few days, then 40 whose harassment was continuing. Among the lower frequencies, 19 female students endured harassment for more than six months, and 15 female students' harassment lasted approximately a week. In the same figure, 24 participants did not indicate the duration of the harassment. The following participant lammended that:

[37] In relation to the whole sample of 424, 57.8 percent long term experience while only 4.7 percent had punctual harassment experience.

Nyie acheni tu ilikuwa usumbufu wa hali ya juu kanifuata normal text, then whatsup, nilim'block lakini alitumia namba nyingine kunifuata. (interviewed student)

What can I say? It was a disconcerting experience. He texted me using normal text. Then he used WhatsApp. I blocked him and but he used another number.

In this quote, the harasser was pursuing the victim repeatedly by using a variety of methods. In the extract, the harasser used text, WhatsApp message and phone calls. According to participants in FGD III, persistent perpetrators were self-centred and were compelling the female students repeatedly and persistently convincing them to abide by their will through phone calls and texting in social media groups.

Literature indicates that there is no consensus on how long should online harassment be considered cyberstalking (see Purcell et al., 2000; Bocij & McFarlane, 2002; Frommholz et al., 2016). For example, for legal purposes, the National Centre for Cyberstalking Research (NCCR) in the UK certifies an action to be regarded as cyberstalking after persisting for not less than four weeks (Frommholz et al., 2016). Some researchers consider cyberstalking even one-day duration harassment (see Purcell et al. 2000; Bocij & McFarlane, 2002). During the focus group discussion, the participants reported that they perceived the duration of cyberharassment to have has an essential implication. For instance, according to participants, when one is harassed for three months. She will have been disturbed for the whole semester. According to the UDSM prospectus (UDSM, 2020), three months is equivalent to one semester. A semester at university implies a three-month duration in which six courses are offered and examined. From interviewed female students' views, even when one is harassed for two days, the harassment can result in lifelong scars if the harassment falls during the examination season. Therefore, 245 of the respondents had experienced what we can term as 'prolonged harassment'. To probe that they were cyberstalked or not, the researcher used sections 2.3.and 2.4 to probe perpetrators' obsession and the victim's sense of fear.

4.2.3 Perpetrators' Determination Pursue

According to experts in cyberstalking, the third criterion of cyberstalking is perpetrator's determination or obsession. This criterion targets eliminating cases of accidental harassment. The

core theme in this criterion lies in perpetrators' actual or presumed determined desire for intimacy or sexual relation. Scholars in psychology associate it with a phenomenon known as Obsessive Relational Intrusion (ORI). According to Spitzberg & Cupach (2000. p. 357), Obsessive relational intrusion can be defined as "repeated and unwanted pursuit and invasion of one's sense of physical or symbolic privacy by another person, either stranger or acquaintance, who desires and presumes an intimate relationship". In sociological terms, one associates the behaviour with two feminists' concepts; toxic masculinity and hegemonic masculinity refer to social construction gender discrimination behaviours practised by men against women. While toxic masculinity characterises the stereotype that men are inherently winners, especially in matters related to sex (see Alhujailli et al., 2020); hegemonic masculinity refers to "societal patterns in which males are idealised to be dominant and women placed in lower status" (Jewkes · 2015; p. 15). In this study, since not all incidences aimed at intimate or sexual relations, the researcher preferred to use the perpetrator's 'determination' instead of 'obsession'. In online harassment, determination or obsession is measured with the perpetrator's intention to continue calling, sending messages or exercising monitoring and controlling of the victim, assuming that the victim feels the same desire or would at one time feel.

In the Google survey, the researcher asked three questions: (i) *What happened during perpetration? (ii) What was the most painful experience and (iii) Which messages did the perpetration accompanied the perpetration?* The questions were asked to measure perpetrators' behaviour. The findings obtained in the Google form questionnaire indicated that all the 265 prolonged pursuits were accompanied by a certain degree of perpetrators' determination. For the sake of this study, the researcher attested it using persistence in terms of duration and kind of behaviour indicated by responses to the three questions above. The information obtained from the Google form questionnaire indicated that 164 (74.7%) suffered 'prolonged perpetration' lasting for more than one month. The same information indicates that 57 (13.4%) harassed students succeeded in curtailing the perpetration, meaning to shorten the duration of pursuit after suspecting an imminent danger or feeling uncomfortable. These female students either blocked the perpetrators or closed their accounts, making the harassment persist for less than a month. In this respect, 24 (5.6%) did not respond. Figure 5 displays the proportion of prolonged and curtailed perpetration.

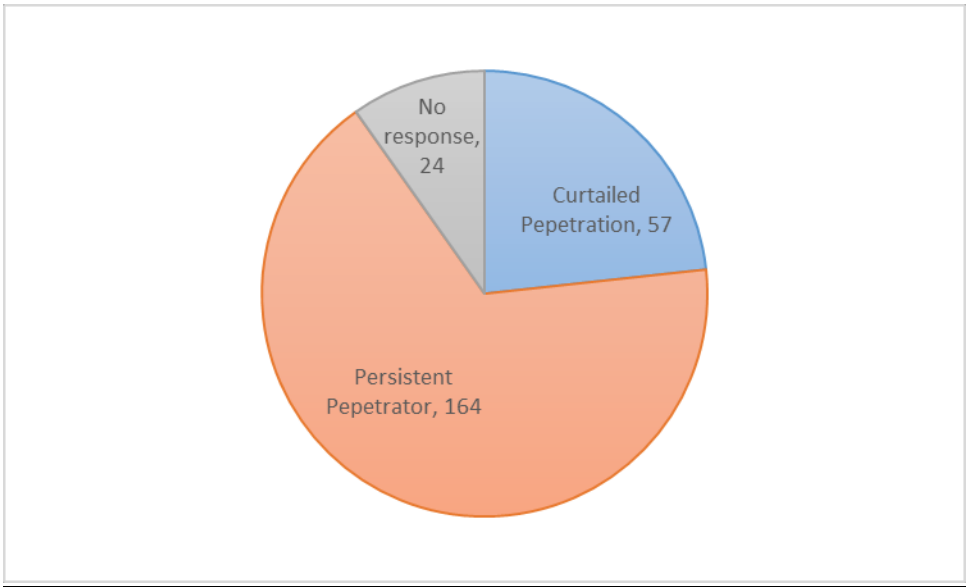


Figure 5: Ration of Prolonged and Curtailed Harassment

The information displayed in the figure above indicates that 164 were harassed for more than a month. Due to socially constructed patriarchal attitudes legitimising unequal dichotomy between men and women and that portray women as weak creatures and sexual objects (see Nussbaum, 1995) the determined perpetrator keeps thinking about someone collecting information about the obsessed person and exercising a form of control and monitoring (see Spitzberg & Cupach, 2000).

During FGDs, the female students indicated that the perpetrators were persistently clinging to their agenda on sex and a so-called relationship, as illustrated in the following extract.

> *Anavutiwa na umbo langu ninamdatisha na anahitaji kunipata kimwili. Na hataki niwe na rafiki wa kiume. (*FGD I discussant*)*
>
> *He is captivated with my body morphology, wants to have sex with me. He also does not like to see me with a boyfriend.*

The perpetrator in this extract was obsessed and charmed by the victim's body appearance. Hence, out of jealousy, the perpetrator exercised control of the victim over other relationships. From a sociological point of view, a person is obsessed through socialization (Jackson, 2015). In the context of the dating relationship, a man becomes obsessed after a prolonged contemplation

of stereotype socially acquired principles that posit a woman as created for men's sexual satisfaction (Jackson, ibid). With this in mind, the perpetrator preoccupies his mind by mediating the woman's name and face through watching photographs and videos.

According to participants, obsessed perpetrators were determined to accomplish the intention. Since they were uncontrollable, blocking them was the only means to curtail the perpetration. In this category, findings indicate that ex-partners are more persistent and even dangerous (Duff & Scott, 2013), like in the following extract.

> *Mtu aliyewahi kuwa mpenzi wangu. Ni member group wa WhatsApp so alitafuta inbox na kuanza kunisumbua na kunitukana nilimblock ila alinitafuta kwa namba nyingine na akaanza kunitumia picha za uchi na utupu pamoja na video zake. (*remark on Google survey questionnaire)
>
> *A man happened to be my sexual partner. He is a member of the WhatsApp group that I belong to, approached me privately through my phone. He started disturbing me by sending nudity photos, together with videos*.

In this narrative, the harasser, an obsessed ex-partner, transferred abusive messages and intimidating statements anonymously. The victim and perpetrators had already shared interests as were friends and they belonged to one WhatsApp group. Therefore, the harasser also had access to much information about the victim.

From figure 5, 57 (13.4%) victims succeeded to curtail some of the harassments. According to respondents' remarks in the Google survey questionnaire most of them blocked or blacklisted the perpetrators. Others closed their social media accounts or changed their telephone numbers. Blocking perpetrators shortened the period of harassment.

> *Wengi hunifuata wakinitaka kimapenzi, japo nikiona kuwa wananitaka kuwa na mahusiano nao wengine wanaanza kuninyanyasa huwa nawablock au kuacha kuwajibu*
>
> *Many people strive to establish an intimate relationship with me. Once they reveal their intention or start harassing me, I block them or stop responding to them*. (remark on Google survey questionnaire)

As the quote indicates, the respondent was approached several times, blocking the perpetrators or remaining silent. Social media like Facebook have facilities to block or blacklist the perpetrator. This process restricts the perpetrator from reaching the victim.

In brief, the findings indicate that in 221 cases, perpetrators were obsessed, thereby persistently following up the female students. The persistence behaviour can be presumed to be a result of the treatment of women position as sex objects. As a result, most victims were deprived of freedom and the actions created fear, which constitutes the fourth element that substantiates the presence of cyberstalking.

4.2.4 Inducing Fear or Distress to the Victim

According to the literature on cyber harassment, in cyberstalking, the victim must feel a sense of fear or distress (see Sheridan et al., 2003; Fukuchi, 2011; Sheridan & Davies, 2001; Fukuchi, 2011; Sheridan et al., 2003). This criterion distinguishes cyberstalking from sexual harassment. *How did you feel*? The information obtained from the questionnaire indicated that among the 221 (52.1%) who observed obsessive behaviours from perpetrators, 172 (40.6%) self-reported that they felt a sense of insecurity, anxiety and worry. In comparison, 49 (11.5%) did not consider it a threat. Among those who did not feel threatened, a female student noted in the google form that:

> *There are many challenges we encounter in social media, but many female students remain silent. They consider them as trivial and everyday issues*. (remark on Google survey questionnaire).

In this quote, the reporter shows that victims of cyberharassment normalize the treatment. The female students in this context endure the pain considering them as a traditional mode of dating and seducing, a form of online whistling and appreciation of her beauty. In most African traditional dating, men identify the woman and start tracing her movement towards firewood collection or to the well (see Manyama 2017).

Among all 424 participating female students, 172 indicated that although the onset of the relationship was amicable, it turned to abnormal threatening behaviour even when it took a short time.

> *I had a boyfriend on Facebook, an Arab, for about a month. In the beginning, we held normal talks. As time advanced, he promised me a golden gift if I agreed to have sex with him. He sent me photographs. I did not take it seriously, even when he said he was coming to Tanzania. Nevertheless, I was very much shockedone day when he said he had landed at Mwalimu Nyerere airport Dar es Salaam and that he wanted to meet me soon. I closed the account and I lived without a Facebook account for 2 years.* (interviewed student)

This extract shows that the victim was shocked by the obsessive intention of the perpetrator to meet her. From the researcher view, the perpetrator might have been in Dar es Salaam. He anonymously used Facebook to create an environment to reach the victim. Fortunately, the relationship was terminated. As presented in the next chapter, some participants were threatened to be raped even to be killed. Other threats were directed to relatives and parents. Thus, the degree of harassment ranged from psychological harm caused by threats, physical harm, financial, social harassment and even murder. In this context, the participants were sure; unsecured hence needed assistance from social, technical or administrative experts.

4.2.5 Does Cyberstalking Persist at the University of Dar es Salaam

The main question in this chapter was: *Does cyberstalking persist at the University of Dar es Salaam*? From a lengthy description of the nature of harassment among female students at the University of Dar es Salaam, the researcher analyzed the findings using the four criteria discussed in the previous section. To recapitulate, the criteria were: the first online harassment, prolonged nature of the harassment, the perpetrator's determination or obsession and attested victim's feeling of fear or distress. Briefly, the answers to these questions provided answers to the following questions: What action? How long? Why? What are the impacts?

From this point of departure, the findings show that among the 424 female university students who participated, 265 experienced cyber harassment. Among these, 245 survived prolonged harassment characterized by perpetrators obsession. From these female students, 172 (40.6%) victims felt intimidated and feared for their lives in conformity with Haraway (2000, p.70) who insists that cyberharassment is a life and death battle. This group that met all qualifications of being cyberstalked. In light of these findings, it is evident that cyberstalking is a reality among

female students at the University of Dar es Salaam, Mwalimu Nyerere campus, at the rate of 40.6 %. In other words, at least in every ten female students, four have been cyberstalked.

The researcher finds the information as relatively high given that it is presented for the first time in the Tanzanian context. Nevertheless, the finding is slightly lower than recently published results from other institutions of higher learning in a Milan University in Italy (Maran and Begotti, 2019), which is 48.5%, whereas in a universities in Ghana Chan et al (2020) found that 55.5 % of stalking (Chan et al., 2020). The variation may be explained by socio-cultural and economic differences between these universities in which the studies were undertaken.

In the present study, six participants experienced multiple cyberstalking incidences. They were subjected to more than one cyberharassment either consecutively or simultaneously. For example, during data collection, one participant experienced perpetration from her former secondary school teacher and her lecturer at the university.

The findings from the questionnaire were confirmed by interviewed key informants. One key informant maintained that:

> *I can assure you, here on Campus, it [cyberstalking] is a big problem. Victims, however, keep it secretly".* (key informant II)

This key informant emphasized that cyberharassment was a critical issue. According to her, romantic relationship was the main motive for online harassment.

> *Kesi nyingi tunazopokea ni kati ya mtu na mpenzi wake, […]. Pia kupitia hizi simu wanafunzi ambao unakuta ni wapenzi wanatishiana. Kuna binti alikuwa anatishiwa kwenye simu na boyfriend wake ambaye alikuwa hataki huyu binti awe na mahusiano na mtu mwigine kwa hiyo akawa namwambia yule binti akianzisha mahusiano na mtu mwingine atamuua. Hii ni threat inayopelekea fear kwa sababu anamwambia atamuua*

> *We receive many cases, the majority involving sexual partners. […]. It is through mobile phones that students harass each other. [For example,] a female student was threatened by her boyfriend because he did not like her to establish another relationship. He told her*

that if she dared to create a new relationship, he would kill her. This is a fear creating threat because the perpetrator spoke out that he would kill her. (key informant II)

The quote above provides generalized information about the cyberstalking situation at the campus. The respondents pointed to the smartphone as the leading carrier of intimation, and that sexual relation constitutes the core reasons for entering into harassment. In the quote, jealousy and obsession were the motives for the perpetrator to intimidate the female student. However, the key informant reporting was not aware of the relationship and harassment between female students and strangers from other continents that may not be reported to them. The key informants' ignorance suggests that several harassment cases perpetrated by foreigners do not find a place in the university administrative structure.

The study confirmed the prevalence of cyberstalking at the Mwalimu Nyerere Campus of the University of Dar es Salaam. An analysis of the nature of cyberharassment at the campus indicates the proportion of cyberstalked female students to be 40.6 % among the participants. Data from FGD and interviews affirm a preponderance of cyberharassment and attribute the practices to misunderstandings in love affairs. In other words, cyberstalking is a form of blended old social relations that is newly presented in a digitalized form. The technological change hosts and amplifies existing unequal gender relations, including gender-based violence. Section 4.3 answers the question: who are the perpetrators?

4.3 Who are Cyberstalking Perpetrators?

The researcher extracted the demographic profile of perpetrators in terms of sex, age and the relationship with the victim. These profiles are critically examined as they influence the extent and prevalence of cyber-victimization among female university students in the university setting. Section 4.3.1 presents information regarding the perpetrator's sex and the reasons for or intentions of these practices.

4.3.1 Perpetrators' Sex

Participants were asked to indicate on the Google survey platform questionnaire the sex of the perpetrators. The findings indicate that 148 (86%) of cyberstalkers were male, while 10 (6%) were female and 14 (8%) of cyberstalkers were unknown, as shown in figure 6 below.

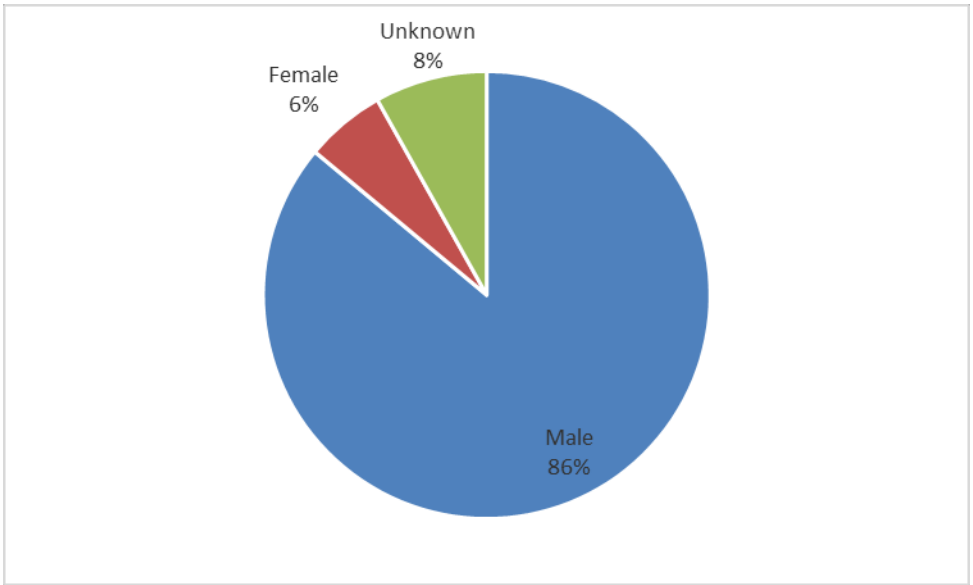


Figure 6: Sex of Cybserstalking Perpetrators

According to the respondents, the sex of perpetrators was identified in various ways. Some perpetrators were physically known to the victims. These were instructors, fellow students and ex-partners. Many cyberstalkers openly revealed their sex and their intention by sharing video [male] sex organs with victims. An interviewee revealed.

> *You are the best lady I have ever seen before. I like it. I want to be your partner and all I need is you. He then concluded [sic] by showing his intimate parts (by sending them inbox) and sometimes, he made video calls showing his private parts to me.* (interviewed student)

In this excerpt, by showing the male sexual organ the cyberstalker revealed his sex, intending to have cybersex with her. Concerning women cyberstalkers, some who attempted to establish homosexual relationships were explicit about their sex. During FGDs, participants admitted that identifying the sex of some perpetrators was difficult because the cyberstalkers tended to act anonymously. However, despite working anonymously, female students identified the sex of perpetrators through semantic tone, attitudes, intentions and through linking the messages with previous experiences. This implies that it is challenging to hide personality in cyberspace. The findings go against the view that the body cannot enter cyberspace (see Rheingold, 1993). The

fact that perpetrators could be identifies by voice and attitudes signify that despite internet anonymity, the body is present online. The embodiment of attitudes, social perception, emotion underlies social information processing (ibid). Perpetrators enter cyberspace with their bodies, attitudes, feelings; therefore, cyberspace space is embodied.

Besides sexual relations, there was a manifestation of gender relations. According to a shared experience in WhatsApp and Google Survey forum, cyberstalkers used the online media to legitimize and justify their acts based on inherent gender stereotypes surrounding sex and reproductive roles. The perpetrators reiterated the stereotype of men's rights and women's role to remain weak and submissive to men's. Some of the statements used include the following:

> *Hata uende popote mimi nitakuoa tu ; kama sikuoi basi mimi siyo mwanaume au sijazaliwa na dume mie (*remark on Google survey questionnaire).
>
> *Wherever you go, I will marry you. I will not fail to do so; otherwise, I am not a man or not born masculine.*

Also,

> *Kuwa hata nifanyeje lazima lengo alilonalo litimie kwa sababu mimi ni mwanamke na sina ujanja wa kushindana naye. (*FGD II discussant)
>
> *Whatever I do, his goal must be achieved because I am a woman and that I do not have technical ability to fight with him, a man".*

Another perpetrator insisted that:

> *Nataka niishi nawe unizalie mtoto wakati tunaendelea na masomo bado kisha baadaye ndio tupange taratibu za kuoana* (FGD II discussant*).*
> *I need to live with you so that you bear a child for me while we are still studying and then we can discuss permanent marriage later.*

In the quotes above, the men legitimized their actions and opted for menacing women. Gender-related threats, harassment and intimidation in these quotes reflect hegemonic masculinity, which

is behaviour rooted in harmful gender stereotype roles that legitimatize violence against women (Jewkes · 2015).

The findings indicate that most perpetrators were men, implying that cyberstalking is another form of gender inequality manifestation in cyberspace. The impression is that men used cyberspace to perpetuate gender-based violence. They use power or control over women under the pretext that it is their right to be served. They regard women as passive, receptive, powerless and child bearers. The use of power was supported by age differences between the cyberstalker and the victim. As revealed in section 4.3.2, perpetrators were relatively older than victims.

4.3.2 Age of Cyberstalking Perpetrators of Female Students at the University of Dar es Salaam

The respondents were requested to indicate the age of the cyberstalkers. The age of perpetrators ranged between 19 years and above. To identify the age, the participants used exactly the age perpetrators they were acquainted with. For other perpetrators, the victims estimated the age by facial appearance. The findings show that 103 (59.8 %) cyberstalkers were aged between 24 and 30. A 44 (25.5 %) perpetrators were aged above 40, while 19 (11 %) perpetrators were aged between 17 and 23. The age of 6 perpetrators (3.4 %) was unidentified. Figure 7 below displays these estimates.

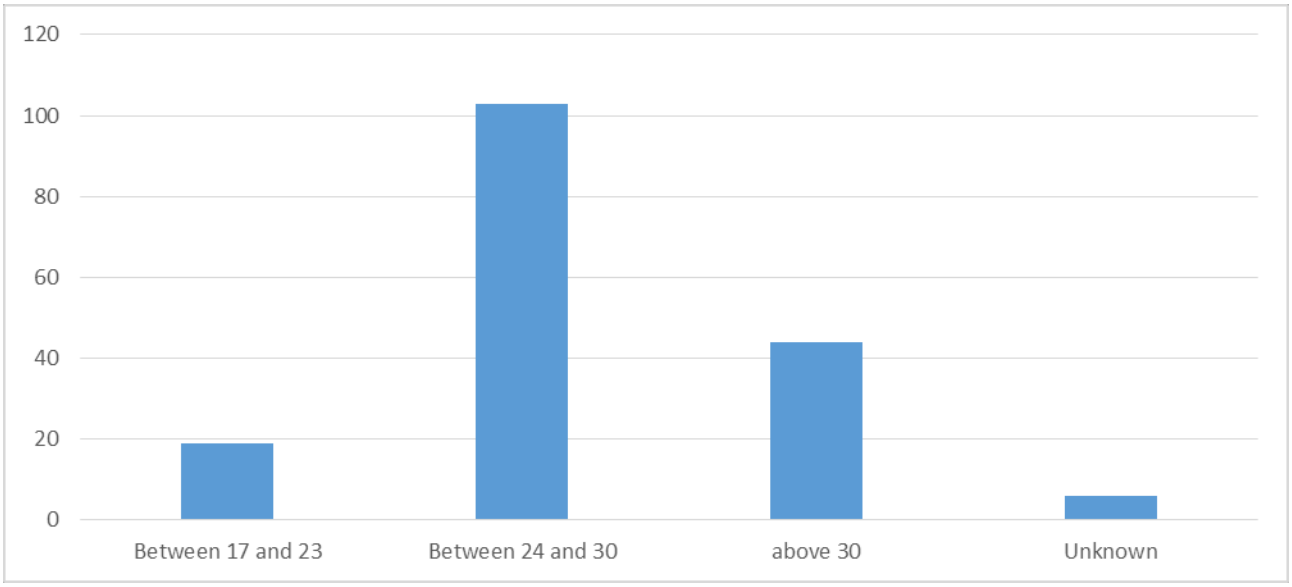


Figure 7: Age of Cyberstalking Perpetrators

Figure 7 indicates that a minority group of perpetrators (only 19) were aged between 17 and 23, which is the corresponding age of the majority of female students (72.64%) (see table 6 on page 89). In figure 7, the highest frequency of perpetrators fell at the age between 24 and 30 years. Therefore, most of the perpetrators were older than female university students. In the Tanzanian context, the age between 24 and 30) comprises fresh graduates from higher learning institutions[38] and new professionals (see URT, 2014a). In the mate-seeking context, this implies that the cyberstalkers were graduates at the university, postgraduate students or junior professionals seeking heterosexual companies and future spouses. The findings correspond with those by Kataitzaki (2019) who found a similar trend among Greek undergraduate students.

> Demographically perpetration [is] more prevalent at age between 18–25 years old because of most young adults use social media, it is a peak age of partner seeking, accompanied by "characterized by greater emotional intensity, importance and commitment compared to earlier ages […..], which might increase potential distress over loss and 'difficulty letting go' during the process of adjusting to a breakup". (Kalaitzaki, 2019, p. 23).

[38] According to URT 2014a, in Tanzania university students graduate the first degree at 23 years.

The age of online perpetrators suggests a power imbalance embedded in age differences, education levels and sex. That means that perpetrators were older, more knowledgeable and financially powerful than victims. Apart from young adults looking for partners, perpetrators aged above 30 include the so-called sugar daddies. These are aged, sometimes married men with financial influence seeking or sometimes forcing sexual satisfaction from young girls, including university students. As already remarked, the University of Dar es Salaam is prominent and admired by government officials and businessmen's eyes.

In cyberstalking discourses, some literature specifies the age of cyberstalkers. However, in available works, authors report that physical stalkers' age ranges between 18 and 70 (see Reid, 2013; Sheridan et al., 2014). In the case of technologically mediated stalking in Tanzania, the age of cyberstalkers is likely to be between 18 and late 50s. The impression is that a few people aged around or above 60 could be competent enough to operate social media as fluent as the so-called 'digital generation' does. These belong to a generation known at the University of Dar es Salaam as BBC (*Born Before Computers*).

4.3.3 Prior Relation with the Victim's Types of Perpetrators

When asked if the female students' had a prior relationship with the harassers at the campus, most respondents, 92 (54 %) reported to have not had any prior relationship with them. Other 46 (27 %) indicated that the cyberstalkers were ex-friends whereas 14 (8 %) cyberstalkers were people from childhood friends and 14(8 %) others were classmates. The rest 6 (3 %) respondents specified that the cyberstalkers were university lecturers. The findings are summarised in figure 8.

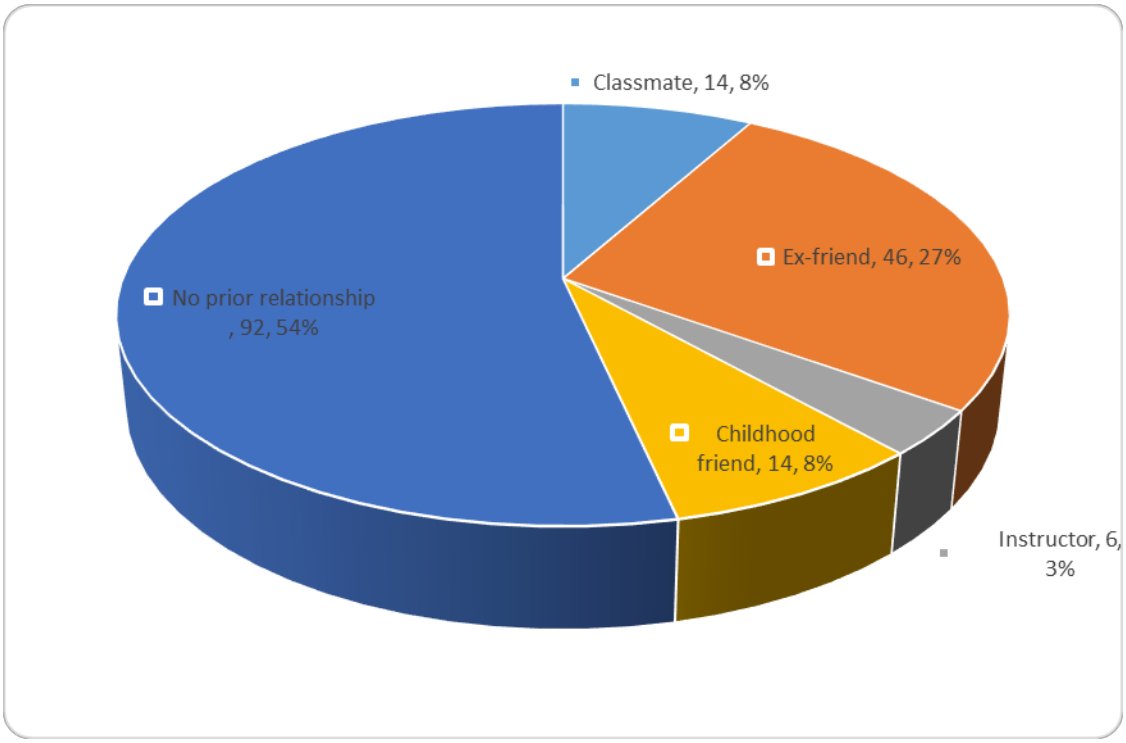


Figure 8: Prior Relationship between Cyberstalkers and Victims

Figure 8 indicates that the majority of victims had no prior relationship to perpetrators. This finding challenges previous information on the relationship between cyberstalkers and victims. Literature indicates that the majority of cyberstalkers are intimates (see Spitzberg & Hoobler 2002; Kraft &Wang 2010; Ménard & Pincus, 2014). In a comparative study of 175 research, Spitzberg and Cupach (2007) established that, on average, 79 % of victims were acquainted with their pursuers. According to Spitzberg and Cupach (2007), perpetrators were ex-partners, neighbours, or ex-husbands. However, most of these studies were about the public, not specific to university students fresh from school. They were taken among young single women, not comparable with data taken from a heterogeneous population with the various marital state: married, divorced and the like (Merlikin, 2018; Spitzberg and Cupach, 2007).

In the present study, most female university students were single. Hence, they were in their initial stages of establishing sexual relationships. The fact that the victims met the cyberstalkers online reveals a social change phenomenon, love affairs being operated in cyberspace. During this digital era, the digital generation people can meet in cyberspace, discuss and establish a relationship, exchange gifts, perform sex and even fight online. This can be done with a proximal

internet user or a person situated in a distant geographical location with a different race and cultural orientation. To take Semenza's (2020, p. 1077) words, "technological platforms […] have led to increased opportunities for dating aggression facilitated by computers, smartphones and other digital technologies".

During the interview and FGDs the respondents mentioned the race or nationality of the cyberstalkers. The respondents indicated that several cyberstalkers were not Africans. They were likely to come from the Middle East and Asia. By race, they were Arabs, Indians, Japanese; a few were Europeans. For instance, a third-year respondent reported being harassed by men from various nationalities.

> *Mimi nilivyokuwa mwaka wa pili kuna mtu alikuwa ananipigia mara kwa mara. Alinitumia picha kwenye Facebook. Kuna wanaume wahindi na waarabu walinitumia picha na video za ngono kwa lengo la kutaka mapenzi kwangu. Mimi sikurespond na walipozidi kunisumbua niliwablock.* (interviewed student)
>
> *It is a question of following one another on the internet. "For example, when I was in the second year, some person was making many calls. He was sending photos on Facebook. Some Indians and Arabs sent me pornographic videos. They wanted sexual relationship with me. I did not respond to them. When I was fed up with their disturbances, I blocked them*.

The speaker in this quote was connected to the world. This is precisely the novelty that the internet brings. She could, therefore, communicate with Arabs and Indians. Meanwhile, the 'friends' expected to share her cyber sexual relationship and insisted on it. She did not want to engage in it. In all these instances, the phone was the main tool for harassing. Perry (2012, p. 18)smartphones "leak data about us, […] lead people to our exact location; […]. But this information is not only held on the phone, [and] link to Google or iCloud".

Again, the narration qualifies cyberstalking to be a transborder challenge that needs an international approach. Since it is a phenomenon within globalization, under the United Nations structure, cyberstalking was placed under the United Nations Office on Drug and Crime (UNODC), an organization in charge of a transborder crime like drug trafficking curbing it

should be international. However, contrary to other transborder crimes like drug, human trafficking and terrorism, cyberstalking scholars indicate that cyberstalking has not yet received due attention as still there is lack of multilateral, regional or international common stance on cyberstalking (see Rodríguez-Darias & Aguilera-Ávila, 2018; UN Women, 2020; UNODC, 2015).

In the present study, the fact that many perpetrators were unfamiliar to victims before perpetration explains the power of anonymity embedded in digital technology. This makes an impression that some of the perpetrators might be fellow university students, ex-boyfriends, classmates, university administrative staff or neighbours who concealed their true identities to avenge or oppress the victims.

4.3.4 Cyberstalkers' Intentions

The questionnaire required respondents to indicate the intention of cyberstalkers. Concerning the intentions of cyberstalkers, the respondents indicated that cyberstalkers had various aims, although most of the intentions originated from intimate relationships. The findings indicate that 52 % of cyberstalkers sought to establish a sexual relationship; 27 % aimed at frustrating victims, revenging broken relationships, 10 % were attempting to date for marriage. Among the respondents, 4 % of cyberstalkers had financial gain intentions in mind, whereas for 3 % of participants, the perpetrators' motives were unknown, and 4 % of participants did not answer the question. Figure 9 below displays the intentions.

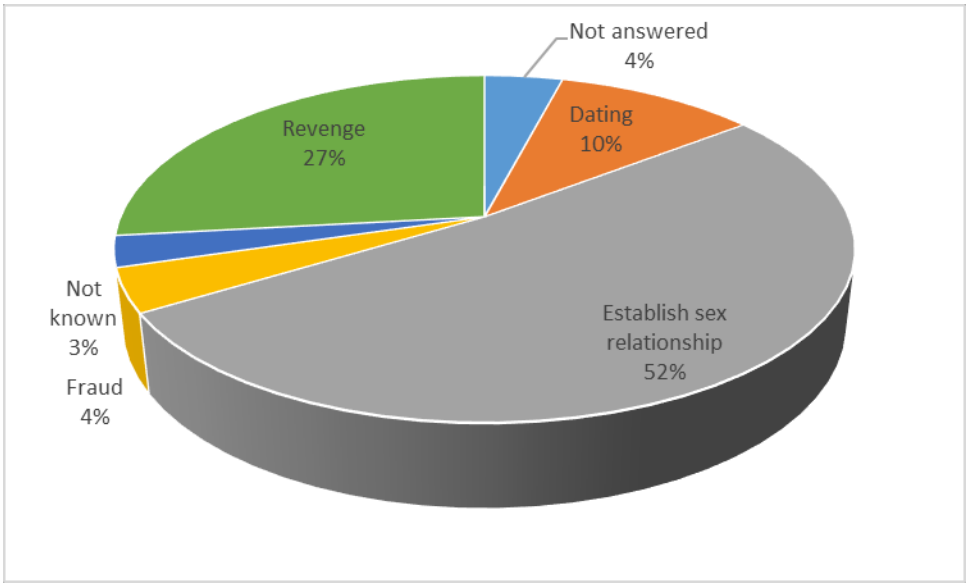


Figure 9: Cyberstalkers' Intention

Figure 9 indicates that only 4 % of cyberstalking cases were based on finance and 3% was unknown reasons. The majority (62 %) of perpetrators motives had a direct link with romantic relationships. These include 52% who intended to establish sexual relationships and 10% who targeted marriage. This finding underscores the fact that, online communication was culturally embedded with imbalanced gender relation behaviours. In Haraway's expression, the internet is used to reproduce a "male-dominant capitalism; the tradition of progress; the tradition of the appropriation of nature as a resource for the productions of culture; the tradition of reproduction of the self from the reflections of the other – the relation" (Haraway, 2000 p.70). In this context, the technology as part of nature, was used to reproduce the male-dominant culture and enabled perpetrators to interpret their 'self' in conformity with female students. Perpetrators thus, considered themselves as legitimate 'consumers' of the woman body online. The tendency of male perpetrators correspondents with the major contentions in the feminists' discourse that gender-based violence targets the woman body as an object of sex, as the following participants underscored. The perpetrator told her that.

> *Your appearance makes me crazy. I want to have sex with you"* (remark on Google survey questionnaire)

In this excerpt, the cyberstalker attributes his behaviour to the woman body's beauty. In this statement, the perpetrator eludes from criminal responsibility. One interprets that his mind has

been shaped by socialisation practices that view the woman body as attractive and created for sex.

4.3.4.1 An Attempt to Create Intimate Relationship and Reconciliation

Globally, online harassment is associated with romantic relationships mate-seeking, dating and courtship processes (see Finn, 2004; Couch & Liamputtong, 2008; Paullet et al., 2009; Awasthi, 2017 Begotti & Madan, 2019). It is important to note that in Tanzania, in several communities, violent dating is normalised. Studies in the largest ethnic group in Tanzania, the Sukuma and among living around amount Kilimanjaro indicate long-standing culturally accepted behaviours of violent dating and courtship (see also Manyama 2017; Stark, 2018). For example, among Chaga, in case a man fails to convince a girl, he can go, alone or with other men, directly to pick her without her consent. With the advent of the new technology, the physical pursuit was facilitated and replaced online. The picking habit in this context can be mirrored online by perpetrators picking female students' photographs and forcing them to be their (online) sexual partners. In feminists' view, forcing girls for sexual relations implies reducing the woman to a sex object, a process named: objectification. According to Calogero (2012, p, 574), objectification refers to "the fragmentation of a woman into a collection of sexual parts and/or sexual functions". Thus, the obsessed perpetrator objectified the female students and denying her human free will. The message displays all forms of sexist treatment embedded in "toxic masculinity such as misogyny, homophobia, sexual objectification of the woman body, sexual violence and harassment" (see Harrington, 2020, p. 6). The woman's freedom to decide on the destiny of her life was entirely deprived and violated. This kind of harasser denigrates completedly female students' life. For example, in the following quote, the harasser deliberately decided to fail the female student by disturbing her during examinations.

> *Aliniambia atanifuatilia nisiolewe na mtu zaidi ya yeye. Siku moja alimtuma mtu akanipigia simu wakati wa mitihani nikaambiwa huyu wana niliyekuwa naye kwenye mahusiano baada ya kugombana yupo ICU, kisa ni mimi.* (Interviewed student)
>
> *The man insisted that he would follow me and make sure that I do not get married to any other person. During examinations, I received a call from a different person who informed*

me that the man I had a relationship with was hospitalized in the Intensive Care Unit (ICU) and that I was the main cause".

This statement means that the perpetrator, having failed to convince the lady, decided to lie to the victim by creating shocking information and send it to her at a critical moment of the lady's life. The decision was a manifestation of power and control and a violation of the right to life (see UN, 1948). In the perpetrator's mind, one can presume the woman's role was to satisfy his sexual desire, to be married. Hence it was useless for her to be in an education system. Second-wave feminists insisted that the patriarchal system intended to evict women from education and the public sphere (Msila & Netshitangani, 2016; Sultana, 2012).

4.3.4.2 Revenge as a Form of Punishment

Punishment was the last resort for despaired perpetrators. After trying various methods, the perpetrators opted for damaging the life of the victim. They intended to penalize the victims, lower their reputation, avenge, or even kill them. The actions of the perpetrators were motivated by jealousy, resentment and superiority complex. The punishment was used as a counteraction of a rejected lover. One cyberstalker vowed promising that:

> *I will do all my best to make sure that you fail all your life: be it professionally, family or any other business".* (remark on Google survey questionnaire*).*

On the other hand, a rejected cyberstalker expresses plans to revenge:

> *Nimetuma picha zako kwa bwanako ili bwanako akuache uwe na mimi. (*FGD III discussant).
>
> *I have posted your photographs to your husband for him to desert you and become mine*".

Like female students, personal key informants reported incidents of destructive actions done by perpetrators. One key informant explained that many men used social media as a form of revenge to humiliate their ex-friends.

> *Wengi ni wanaume, hasa baada ya mahusiano ya kimapenzi kuvunjika, wanaume wengi wanatumia social media kama sehemu ya kulipiza kisasi na pia wanaume wengi*

*wanapoomba urafiki au kufanya mapenzi na mwanamke ukimkatalia anakuja kukutukana kwenye social media. (*key informant V*)*

Most of them are men, especially after breaking up relationships. Many men use social media to revenge. When men are ask for friendship and sexfrom you and you refuse, refuse, they scorn you.

Online pursuit and harassments, as aforementioned, were based on the body. Feminists purport that: "the woman's body has been a central site of control, and that technology has been described as an embodied experience" (Sutherland et al, 2014). Sexual desire and the so-called romance dominate over other intentions for cyberharassment and the pursuit of female students at the campus. The perpetrators strive to fulfil their desires without considering the interest of the victim. When the cyberstalkers' efforts fail, they create negative emotions toward the victims such as jealousy, resentment or anger and opt to punish them (Lowry et al., 2013, p. 12). As such cyberstalking constitutes a gender-based violence phenomenon in which men utilize electronic tools to perpetuate or exercise sexual harassment in cyberspace.

4.3.2.1 Fraud: Cyberstalking Reinforced by Financial Greed

Apart from sexual relationships, the findings show that some female university students, especially first years, were victims of fraud resulting from online communication. The following case illustrates an example of this form of harassment.

A person pretending to be in Europe established a relationship with me. After several weeks of communication, he promised to send me a gift. He made live communication with me pretending that he was in a shop buying expensive gifts. Then he told me that he had sent me a parcel in which he had enclosed a 500 euro in the parcel. A few days later, another man pretending to be working at the airport phoned me that he had found my parcel and that I had to pay through mobile banking 200,000/= Tanzanian shillings to collect it. I did. After four hours, the same man from the airport phoned me again saying he had discovered that the parcel contained foreign currency and that it was illegal to transfer money that way. I had to send 300,000/ Tanzanian shillings again. I did. That was the end of the communication. Neither the man in 'Europe' nor the one at the airport

*was reachable. I lost 500,000/ Tanzanian shillings (equivalent to 225 UDS). (*interviewed student)

This narration illustrates the perpetrator's financial greed in online fraud. According to Collins online dictionary[39] , fraud is a "crime of gaining money or financial benefits by trick or lying". In the narration, the perpetrator used sexual relationships as a pretext to implement financial exploitation. In this context, online technology through live video calls taken in deceptive backgrounds facilitated robbery. Within the digital divide scholarship, men are more powerful technologically than women, and urban is more powerful than rural people (see Hilbert, 2011; ASEAN Foundation, 2017). The experience above may be regarded as an extension of exploitation of urban men with higher socioeconomic status, and powerful technologically exercise financial exploitation of disadvantaged female students, taking advantage of their struggle for the need of identities.

The role of technology in this aspect cannot be underestimated. Moreover, the simplification of banking through mobile money transfer facilitated the incident above. In another context, perpetrators utilized the victims' intimate images to exercise control and demand money. The perpetrator controlled the victim with a series of calls and messages as she illustrates.

*Nilipoteza simu yangu, ambapo nilikuwa nimepiga picha nikiwa kitandani nikiwa nimevaa nguo za kulalia (nightdress). Walioichukua simu yangu waliwasiliana na mimi na kunijulisha kwamba niwape fedha la sivyo watapost picha hizo kwenye mitandao ya kijamii. (*Interviewed student)

I lost my phone, through which I had taken selfie photo on a bed in a nightdress. The people who found the phone phoned me telling me to give them money otherwise they would post my picture on social media.

This case displays the use of hijacked photographs to control the victim. Although it seems that the primary intention of the cyberstalkers was to steal the handset, after discovering the photographs, the thief used the images to seek money. In this context, the woman's body is turned into a commodity valued with money. The body was turned into a commercial item

[39] https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/online-fraud

similar to how women bodies are used in advertising or entertainment (see Jewkes · 2015). The effect of turning a body into a commodity facilitates the violation of freedom to decide, thereby causing sexual harassment and gender-based violence. Butkowiski and colleagues (2019) illustrate that in China naked selfie had economic value; they were even used as collaterals.

The findings indicated that social media had aggravated the situation at the campus. In addition to online sexual harassment as men sought sexual gratification. Even when the perpetrators focused on money, they hide their evil intentions within sexual relationships or used the victims' bodies to solicit monetary compensation.

4.3.2.2 Other Intentions: Exercise Control of Students' Politics

The findings from the study indicate that 3% of the intentions of perpetrations were unknown. Key informants reported that male students' desire to control university student politics was among the intentions for cyberstalking. They used social media to suppress female students from aspiring for leadership, as explained by one key informant:

> *Mfano wakati wa uchaguzi na kwenye uongozi kwa ujumla wanafunzi wa kike wanashindwa kuexercise their rights, kwa sababu viongozi wenzao wanawatishia kwamba wakigombea watapost kwenye mitandao taarifa zao hasa zile amabzo hazikubali ili wawadhalilishe na hivyo kuwafanya waonekane hawawezi kuwa viongozi wazuri.* (key Informant VII))
>
> *For example, during students' leadership election campaigns, female students fail to exercise their rights because their fellow students terrify them that if they aspire for the leadership, they (the other students) will post female students' private information on digital for them to be ashamed and to considered unfit for leadership.*

According to respondents, by nature, the student government regulations stipulates that when a man holds the Dar es Salaam University Students' Orgarisation DARUSO presidency post, the vice president should be a woman. According to the interviewed students, this form of harassment discouraged females from participating in university-wide decision-making boards. Another key informant from the students' side testified that she had been abused because of her position to emphasize this aspect.

Wakati mwingine hata mimi kiongozi niliwahi kufuatwa na watu nisowajua waliingia kwenye account yangu na waka ni abuse…Waliniabuse kwa kutumia zile video nilizokuwa natoa ahadi wakati wa kampeni, na kusema unaona hajafanya hiki na kile kwa hiyo huyu hawezi uongozi. (key informant VIII)

Sometimes I was pursued by unknown individuals. They invaded my account and abused me. They posted the video of speeches I made during election campaigns, especially the promises I made and they commented negatively that, 'you see; she has done nothing'."

In this narration, the victim was invaded, threatened and intimidated using the victim's speeches. The behaviour of perpetrators originated from a socio-cultural tradition that places women in a subordinate position (Msila & Netshitangani, 2016; Sultana, 2012). Women are positioned in the domestic sphere and considered inappropriate for public leadership. This is an attitude contrary to the feminist struggle for equity and equality and the promotion of women's participation in the public sphere. The respondents highlighted that the students' leadership at the University of Dar es Salaam acted as a miniature of broader national politics. All in all, internet technology, for that matter, adds challenges to women who are already experiencing unequal gender relations in society.

In brief, the nature of cyberstalkers in this study demonstrates typical gender power relations in mediated by electronic devices. It is gendered because most of the cyberstalkers were men, who were exercising aggression to women. According to Henry and Powell (2015) technology and patriarchy exist in a complex relations. According to them: "In the first place, the technology was inherently created by men. With masculine perspective in mind, the technology reflects and reinforces its connection with men. Moreover, popular cultures and technology are intrinsically interconnected with hegemony masculinity, a fact which encourages gender practices to be replicated by using technology" (Henry & Powell, 2015, p. 761). In the case of cyberstalking, it appears that the cases reflect men sexual objectification of the woman body, men exercising control of financial resources and control of the public space, which is in students' politics.

4.4 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has discussed the prevalence of cyberstalking at the University of Dar es Salaam. To create a background of the profile of the female students who participated online interview and Focus Group Discussions, the chapter has presented and critically discussed demographic characteristics of participants: age, year of study, marital status and socio-economic characteristics as among the underlying factors for cyberstalking. Following this discussion, the researcher has systematically examined the nature of online harassment that female students encounter on the campus used scholarly agreed features of cyberstalking: practical application of digital technology in harassing; persistence or repetition of the harassment or continuity of the harassment; and observed perpetrators' determination to follow or obsession and evidence that the action induced fear. From this analysis, the study has found that cyberstalking prevails at the main campus of the University of Dar es Salaam. In a sample of 424 female students, 172 (equivalent to 40.6%) had been cyberstalked.

Moreover, in light of this statistical information, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and interview narratives, the last part of the chapter has discussed the demographic profile of perpetrators. The discussion highlights the difference in power relations between perpetrators and victims. The perpetrators were men, older than female students and most of them were unknown to victims before the perpetration. In addition, most of the cyberstalkers' intentions pivoted around romantic relationships. This suggests that while online, those female students were subjected to a newly created oppressive environment in the virtual world that worked simultaneously with the physical world. The perpetrators leaned on technology to transfer threats, deceive, trace and locate victims. In these circumstances, digital technology constitutes a fertile ground for online aggressors to cause gender-based violence in the form of cyberstalking.

CHAPTER FIVE

AWARENESS AND EXPERIENCE OF CYBERSTALKING AMONG FEMALE STUDENTS AT UDSM CAMPUS

5.0 Introduction

The findings in the previous chapter four provided empirical evidence that 40.6% of the sample of 424 female university students at the University of Dar es Salaam campus experienced cyberstalking. This chapter discusses female university students' understanding and experience of cyberstalking. The chapter explores various complex incidences encountered by female university students in cyberspace based on online interviews and online focus group discussions. Additionally, by using the Technological Social Change and the Cyberfeminist theories, the researcher critically examines the implication of cyberstalking experiences on female university students' social and academic lives. Finally, the researcher examines female university students' reactions and strategies for survival after experiencing cyberstalking.

5.1 Understanding and Awareness of Cyberstalking

Cyberstalking has been subjected to a variety of interpretations. This section probes the participants' awareness, consciousness, responsiveness and preparedness for curbing cyberstalking. Ndubueze et al. (2017; p. 14) insist that "unless people understand the dynamics of cyberstalking, they will not know when they are stalked and unless they perceive it as a crime, they may not report it to law enforcement authorities". Therefore, the researcher enquired respondents' views on the concept and the practice of cyberstalking.

The researcher asked the question: "*What do you understand by the term cyberstalking?*" This question enquired about participants' knowledge of cyberstalking as a step towards soliciting female students' cyberstalking experiences. The findings indicate that female students had little knowledge about cyberstalking. Although several female university students had experienced cyberstalking, as it will be discussed later, the term cyberstalking was a new term to them. In the beginning, interviewees expressed a diversity of views. Only a few students studying Law and

others doing Computer Science and Electronics were aware of the term. For example, one female student from the College of Information and Communication Technology (COICT) included most of the characteristics of cyberstalking in her explanation.

> *Nadhani ni hali ya kufuatilia mtu mtandaoni. Labda mtu anaweza kuwa alimtongoza mscichana akakataa halafu anaanza kumfutalia kwenye mitandao ya kijamii. Pia saa nyingine inaweza kuwa ni kwa ajili ya biashara au kumharibia mtu*. (interviewed student)

> *I think it is behaviour of following up a person on the network. It can be a circumstance in which a man has seduced a girl, and the girl has refused. Then the man starts tracing her through social media. It can also be a pursuit originating from a business relationship or just an act of spoiling the girl's plans.*

In this quotation, the student lists three prominent features of cyberstalking. She points out that cyberstalking takes place through electronic media, a characteristic that distinguishes it from physical stalking and other forms of harassment. She underscores the gendered nature of cyberstalking in which a man is a perpetrator while a woman is a victim and the implied power difference always bestowed on the man's side. At the same time, she evokes a romantic relationship that implicitly relates to obsession. However, her understanding of the concept did not reveal how far her feelings were affected after she was harassed. This fact makes the explanation above resemble online sexual harassment, which does not include long time pursuit, threat and fear on the victim's side.

Inversely, during an online interview with the key informants, participants acknowledged that cyberstalking was unfamiliar. One key informant confessed that she was acquainted with 'blackmailing' and 'cybercrime' but not with 'cyberstalking' as a term.

> *I only know 'cybercrime' but not cyberstalking; cybercrime is when one steals money or private information* (key informant VII).

This statement indicates that the interviewee has an idea about cybercrimes and various methods, including online blackmailing. The key informant did not go further to cite cybercrime as an inclusive term encompassing many online crimes, including blackmailing and cyberstalking. This statement implies that cybercrime was understood but not in an unpacked manner.

Similarly, another key informant provided an expanded meaning by associating cyberstalking with fraud and invasion of privacy:

> *I am aware of cybercrime, but not cyberstalking. To me, cybercrime is when a person steals someone's money or private information*. (key informant IX)

The above excerpt shows that the participant understood what was meant by cybercrime. She demonstrates an understanding of the effects of cybercrime on both properties (money) and human beings (invasion of privacy). However, she cites a single aspect of the human effect of cybercrime: invasion of property, leaving several other impacts (like harassment, monitoring others or involuntary posting of private images), which constitute features of cyberstalking. This implies that the participant has an idea about cybercrime and not cyberstalking.

It appeared that cyberstalking as a term was less understood by the majority of the participants. As such, the researcher found it worthwhile to give a brief explanation of the term during interviews and focus group discussions. In this regard, the researcher capitalized on the four features of cyberstalking presented in the literature (see Sheridan et al., 2003; Fukuchi, 2011; Sheridan & Davies, 2001). The features are: prevalence of online harassment; the persistence of the harassment for a specific duration or repeated; observed perpetrators' purposeful determination to follow (also known as obsession) and inducing of fear to the victim. This strategy was productive as it gave a new impetus to the discussion because female students provided a broader explanation than at the beginning.

> *So, I understand it as behaviour of following up one another on social networks like Instagram, Facebook and Telegram. That one person monitors the other person's activities. The one monitoring aims to get information about the life of the followed one. This happens to artists who prefer posting photos taken when they are in expensive hotels. Generally, they make their lives public; therefore, they are followed up because people want to get information.* (interviewed student)

In the narrative above, the female student demonstrates knowledge of cyberstalking as mediated by electronic devices such as popular social media like Facebook, Instagram and Telegram. She is also aware that cyberstalking involves harassment through following up and monitoring a

person. However, she thinks that cyberstalking behaviours and practices target mainly celebrities than university students. To add to this, another participant gave the following explanation.

> *Binafsi ninailewa kama inahusiana na changamoto mfano kutukanwa, kutishiwa maisha, picha zako za uchi kuwekwa hadharani, yaani mara nyingi unakuta picha hizi ni wanawake ambao wanadhalilishwa kijinsia. Unakuta hata kama mlifanya mambo kwa siri sasa yanakuja kutolewa hadharani kwenye mitandao ya kijamii na moja kwa moja huu ni udhalilishaji.* (interviewed student)

> *I understand it as a situation related to the challenges of being threatened, insulted, or having your nudity photos exposed. In most cases, women suffer most because their private photos are posted to harass them. When a partner with whom you had sex secretly posts onto social media the video without your consent, it is a very humiliating act.*

In the narratives above, the respondent first acknowledges that cyberharassment is a challenge. She then mentions some forms of cyberstalking such as threatening, insulting and or posting one's nudity pictures online. Moreover, she conceptualizes harassment within the realm of gender based violence. Furthermore, the participant describes the motives of cyberstalking as sexual relationships. Indeed, this participant analyzes the cyberstalking concept profoundly. Her understanding corresponds with findings of many studies that women are mostly victimized, and therefore cyberstalking is an extension of gender-based violence in the cyber realm. This was also a stance adopted by the European Union and the Indian government (see EU, 2018; IPC, 2013, 354). For instance, in the E.U, "cyberviolence falls within the realm of the continuum of violence against women (see EU, 2018; p. 14).

Another key informant admitted that she considered online harassment as similar to sexual harassment. She said:

> *I take this problem (cyberstalking) as a part of sexual harassment. We use available channels like the Gender Desk for all forms of sexual violence to mitigate it. Actually, the university is on the way to launch an online submission of sexual harassment incidents.* (key informant IV)

This assertion demonstrates an updated view of cyberharassment by equating it with sexual harassment. This view facilitates mitigation strategies to curb the problem. Due to the online nature of cyberstalking, the key informant proposes an appropriate online method of curbing the problem. Experts support the online reporting system in the same vein because it is user-friendly, anonymous and available at a low cost (see Kraft & Wang, 2010; Petrocelli, 2005). The method also accumulates experience that enables anti-security efforts to enrich their data bank on old and emerging cyberharassment methods (Petrocelli, ibid). According to experts, online sharing enables victims to receive immediate online responses. Therefore, the key informants' suggestion conforms to the cyberfeminism agenda, which advocates for the use of an online platform to fight gender discrimination in combating gender discrimination. Accordingly, cyberfeminists emphasize the role of cyberspace platforms in protecting women's privacy, freedom and sexual rights. Branch (2017) insists that women should actively exploit social media platforms to articulate ideas against sexual harassment, body and shaming rape. These digital feminists believe that there are possibilities for women agency and empowerment in the cyberspace as long as there are no bodies there.

Generally, the researcher found that the understanding of cyberstalking at the University of Dar es Salaam was moderate. Comparatively, at the Federal University Dutse campus, Ndubueze et al. (2018) report that 69.4% of the university community was familiar with the term, although most did not take it seriously. Following the moderate understanding of cyberstalking at UDSM, participants presented various lived cyberstalking experiences that female university students survived. The participants, female students and key informants provided detailed evidence of incidents that characterize cyberstalking.

5.2 *Cyberstalking Experience among Female University Students at the Campus*

During the study, interviewed female students narrated their live experiences with regard to cyberstalking practices and behaviour. The findings varied from one student to another depending on circumstances, methods of victimization and perpetrators' intention. In complementing information from female university students, key informants shared incidences reported in their capacity and how they solved them. Some participants experienced multiple incidences consecutively or sometimes simultaneously.

For consistency and clarity, the researcher classified the experiences into seven clusters: embarrassment from incessant calls, sexual abuse through images and videos, threat and abusive language, defamation on social media group chats. Others were online sexual coercion and sextortion, identity theft and invasion of privacy, and property attack in fraud. The researcher selected a few narratives to illustrate the experience. These experiences are discussed below.

5.2.1 Embarrassment from Persistent Calls

The findings indicate that the majority of female students received frequent unwelcomed audio and video calls, mostly through WhatsApp, Yahoo Messenger and Skype. Unlike other forms of communication such as texting, a call gives an immediate answer and satisfies the needs of an obsessed cyberstalker. It was reported that perpetrators made frequent calls to the extent of causing embarrassment to the female students and friends. During Focus group Discussions, female students expressed concerns about excessive and repeated unsolicited calls from perpetrators, as demonstrated in the following quote.

> *Mnyanyasaji alikuwa akinipigia simu mara nyingi sana na anaongea muda mrefu na wakati mwingine nazima simu lakini bado alitumia namba yangu nyingine kunipigia na kutuma jumbe mbaya.* (FGD III discussant)

> *The harasser was constantly keeping in touch with me through calls. He was using much time speaking with me. Sometimes I switched off my mobile, but the perpetrator used my other number to reach me and sent me annoying messages*.

The quote above illustrates a case of an obsessed perpetrator who embarrassed the female student in several ways: by untimely calls, by talking too much, intruding on her privacy and sending nasty messages. These behaviours created a disturbance to the victim because they caused wastage of time and violated their privacy in cyberspace. Similarly, another Focus group discussant presented the following case.

> *Alikuwa ananipigia mara moja nikiwasha data. Ilinifanya nishindwe kufanya mambo yangu mengine kama vile kusoma. Hata kama ni usiku hata haulizi nafanya nini, yeye anaongea vibaya.* (FGD III discussant)

Whenever I put on data, he called. This made me fail to accomplish some of my duties, including studying appropriately. Even during midnight, he dids not ask what I was doing but continued talking nonsenses.

In this quote, the perpetrator vigilantly kept on waiting for the victim to switch on data. The vigilance enabled him to connect with the victim whenever she was online. This implies that the perpetrator belonged to perpetrators who stay on the media waiting for whoever logs in. Literature characterizes this kind of perpetrators as 'professional perpetrators'. An excellent example of this type is a group of cyberstalkers known as '*Yahoo boys'*, who operate in Nigeria (see Adejoh et al., 2019; Ojedokun & Eraye, 2012). Since the participant was a university student, she felt that being followed up was disturbing in her studies (Adejoh et al., 2019). Among the thirty interviewed female students, sixteen participants reported experiences related to embarrassing calls. The findings correspond to what Fisher and colleagues (2002) found in their study that telephone calls were reported by three-quarters of cyberstalked women as the primary form of cyberstalking.

Feminists' perspective, in patriarchal societies like Tanzania women, cyberstalking fall under the broader realm of dominion of men in society. Cultural norms and practices place women in a subordinate position and permit men to exercise exploitation, monitoring, and control of women's life. Sultana (2012, p. 8) defines women's subordination as "the social situation in which women are forced to stay under the control of men". According to (Sultana, 2012, p. 8), among the forms of women subordination and control include: "deprivation of educational opportunities for girls, deprivation of freedom, limiting girls mobility, wife battering, sexual harassment at workplace, male control over women's bodies and sexuality". In the following subsection, digital technology was used to harass women's bodies through images.

5.2.2 Sexual Abuse through Images and Videos

The victims experienced sexual abuse through images and videos in two ways: perpetrators posting or sending pornographic images to them and perpetrators posting victims' intimate images on public social media. Concerning the first method, a significant number of female students reported that they felt harassed by unpleasant images and videos sent to them by

perpetrators. During the interview, a participant narrated a long story of receiving unwelcomed pornographic contents in her social media account.

> *Alinifuata kwa njia ya WhatsApp na kunieleza kuwa anataka mahusiano_ingawa sikuwa tayari maana nilikuwa na mtu, lakini aliendelea kuninyanyasa kwa kupiga simu na kutuma picha za ajabu.* (FGD II discussant)

> *He followed me using WhatsApp and told me that he wanted to establish sexual relation with me. I was not ready because I had another boyfriend. He started harassing me, mainly by making calls and sending me obscene videos*.

In this quote, the perpetrator had a desire for a sexual relationship with the victim. He was sending pornographic images even when the victim was unwilling to establish a relationship with him because she was engaged with another person. This perpetrator's persistence in pursuing the victim is a deliberate violation of the woman's right to choose a partner. In the following quote, a cyberstalker went further by monitoring the victim's movements.

> *I posted my photo on Facebook and Messenger platforms. A man asked me for friendship; I accepted. Later the man sent me pornographic videos. I blocked him. Surprisingly he found another way to monitor my movements. I kept silent.* (FGD I discussant)

In the above quote, it seems that the perpetrator was attracted by a photograph posted by the victim on her Facebook account. The female student accepted friendship with him, but she did not mean sexual relationship. The technology enabled perpetrators violated victim's privacy in cyberspace. Nyoni and Velempin (2018) view privacy as the claim of individual, group or institutions to determine for themselves when, how and to what extent information about them is communicated to others. The further argues that when cyber technology advances, users become more exposed to privacy threats.

Another form of image abuse discussed during FGDs was the cyberstalkers behaviour of posting victims' intimate images on public social media, also known as 'revenge porn'. Revenge porn refers to an act whereby an ex-friend releases to the public, private images or video of the victim

(see Musoni, 2014; Nickole, 2015). Whereas the term 'porn' is an abbreviation for pornographic material, revenge implies the intention of the cyberstalkers to retaliate. Seventeen female students expressed the hurting experience of seeing their private images being publically posted by partners on social media without their consent. For example, the following discussant explained that:

> *Nilikuwa na rafiki wa kiumenikampa picha yangu ya siri bahati mbaya tulikuja kuachana naye basi ili kuniumiza na kunidhalilisha aliamua kupost ile picha kwenye magroup ya whatsup ambapo kuna watu wanaonifahamu, huku akiambatanisha maneno ya udhalilishaji kwenye picha ile. Iliniumiza sana kisaikolojia*. (interviewed student)
>
> *I had a boyfriend whom I trusted and I gave him my nudity photo. Unfortunately, our relationship ended. As revenge, he decided to post my photos on WhatsApp groups with many members who knew me. He accompanied the photos with abusive comments. I was so much hurt.*

In the above quote, the victim was traumatized by finding her private photos on WhatsApp groups. It hurt her because the photos were seen by many people who knew her. The quote displays a typical case of revenge porn. After separation, women are still controlled. According to radical feminists, technology constitutes an alternative for men to dominate and control of women in cyberspace (see Gilbert, 1996; Haraway, 1991). Scholars in cyberculture purport that technology allows men to exploit women bodies through pornographic images abuse them. (see Wajcman, 2009). In this context, cyberspace is used as a natural place for harassment and a laboratory for observing, analysing specimens of nude woman's body in preparation harassment in the real world. In another incident, a victim's nudity photo was posted in public to coerce her to restore a broken relationship. The affected female student explained that:

> *Alikuwa mpenzi wangu tukapiga picha tukiwa ndani na tulifanya kwa upendo na aliniahidi hatazitoa kwa mtu yeyote lakini baadaye alizituma facebook na hii ilinidhalilisha. Ni baada ya kusitisha uhusiano na mpenzi nilikuwa naye hivyo alizidii kunitumia video, picha tulizopiga naye huku akisisitiza hatakubali mimi nimuache. (*(Interviewed student)

He was my boyfriend, We agreed, out of, love to take nudity photos and he promised that he would not release them to anyone. However, following our separation, he posted them on Facebook. It was a very much shocking experience for me".

In this narrative, the taking of nudity photos was consensual by the two ex-partners. However, the release was done without the consent of the victim (female student). In this incident, the misunderstanding between partners caused the man to violate the agreement. As an expression of a patriarchal mindset that perceives a woman body as an object, the perpetrator released the victim's nudity photos to the public to hurt and humiliate her.

In a related incident, the key informant (I) reported an incident in which she saw a pornographic video circulating in a class WhatsApp group.

One female student had a boyfriend whom I do not know whether he was a student or not. Voluntarily the two had agreed to record nudity videos of the girl. Later on, following a conflict between the two, the boy posted them on social media. I saw them in our class WhatApp group. The video lasted a very long time before it was removed. I no longer see the girl at the university. I do not know where she has gone. (key informant I)

Similar to the previous two narratives, in this quote, the perpetrator posted the victim's nudity video on social media. The images were voluntarily taken, but the uploading was nonconsensual. The perpetrator posted on a class group in which the victim belonged to humiliate her to scandalise the matter. These findings are related to revenge porn cases widely reported among university students (Branch et al., 2017; Hall & Hearn, 2017). From a feminist point of view, Hall and Hearn (2019, p. 5) that: "posting sexually explicit images represent a perception of regaining control […] a way to overcompensate, to protect/rehabilitate the men's manhood and to hurt/control the women in question".

5.2.3 Victimized by Abusive Language and Threatening Behaviour

The female students reported an experience of terror and the use of abusive language and threatening behaviours. An abusive language implies harsh, violent, offensive, or derogatory statements directed to the victim as a result of a conflict (see Manasian, 2003; DiMaggio et al 2011; Reyns et al., 2011). In the study, thirty-five out of sixty participants who participated in the

interview and FDG reported that they suffered verbal abuse. Threatening behaviour implicates tracing and attempts to track the victim. During the discussions, participants explained that they were terrified by perpetrators who bombarded them with oral and textual offensive and humiliating messages.

> *Alinitafuta kwa namba yangu mimi na kuanza kunitishia huyo mwanaume. Basi akaendelea kuninyanyasa kwa kutumia maneno makali ya matusi kwenye simu. (*FGD III discussant)

> *He searched me through my phone number. Then he started harassing me and using hash and scorning language to me.*

As the quote shows, the harassment involved verbal intimidation because the victims refused to engage in a sexual relationship with the perpetrator. The cyberstalker blamed her and condemned her for not cooperating. The use of harsh language in this context represented an exercise of power and control. Scholars argue that this threat is embedded in masculine power over the female body (see Deirmenjian, 1999, p 407; Finn 2004). Although development in technology is beneficial to society, social media exposes female students to online harassment, including abusive messages, threats and privacy invasion (see Manasian, 2003; DiMaggio et al., 2011; Reyns et al., 2011).

The study has also found that online verbal intimidation was sometimes coupled with physical actions. In the following extract, the perpetrators attempted to commit rape.

> *My secondary school teacher continues to harass me till today. He uses a phone to call and promises that he will make an ambush and do a bad thing to me if he meets me. Last year, he travelled from Mwanza to Dodoma University looking for me. He thought I was registered there* (interviewed student)

The above female student displayed the most extended cyberstalking case. The victim elaborated that the perpetrator tried to follow her physically from Northern Tanzania town, Mwanza, to central Tanzania Dodoma (nearly 650 kilometres), thinking that she was admitted at Dodoma

University. In this scenario, the perpetrator was using both digital and physical pursuit to trace the victim.

In the following excerpt, the perpetrator traced the victim using electronic media and committed a sexual assault.

> *A friend of mine was sponsored in secondary school by a boyfriend. While at the university, the female found another man. She changed her phone number. The man traced her through social media to trace her whereabouts. He monitored her movements and organized a sexual assault. He used his friends to deceive her. He invited her to a hotel where he had organized the violence. A group of men made ambush and committed sexual assault (*key informant III)

In this passage, social media were used to link the perpetrators and the victim. The ex-partner used both physical and online methods to trace the victim. The incident ended in a sexual assault committed on the woman body. In this quote, the electronic device helped to trace the victim's movements and eventually harmed her. The reported case above represents a typical case of hunting female students reported at the campus. The situation suggests that although the university campus is regarded as a safe physical environment, cyberspace attracts potential dangers such as cyberstalking. This implies that technology may be used to exercise power and control over women. Studies indicate that women are not safe in cyberspace because perpetrators enter cyberspace without their bodies, a notion termed disembodiment. That means that although stalkers live in the physical world, their mental set-up exercises power and control over the female body in cyberspace (see Faulkner, 2001; Rosser, 2006; see Wajcman, 2009.

5.2.4 Defamation on Social Media Group Chats

Ten female students out of thirty interviewed reported that they had been subjected to group defamation in social media. The definition of cyberstalking by Bocij and McFarlane (2003) indicates that more than one person can perform cyberstalking, and more than one person can perform harassment. In the following extract, an interviewed female student narrated an event in which she lived an online attack prepared by a group of people.

Kuna watu waliteningezeaza story ya uongo kuhusu mimi na kuiweka mtandaoni. Kwanza kabisa wanaume kadhaa waliniaproach kwa lengo la mahusiano ya kingono lakini mimi sikukubali, […] story hivyo walisambaza picha zangu mitandaoni, picha hizo walizitoa kwenye instragram page yangu, na zilikuwa ni picha za casual , mfano picha nilizokuwa beach, then wakaunganisha na story. (interviewed student)

Some people concocted a false story about my life and posted it on social media. Immediately several men saw it and came to me asking for a sexual relationship I refused. In that false story, the perpetrators posted my photos, copied from my Instagram account and various media. They were casual photos. For example, some of them were taken when I was at the beach enjoying."

In this narration, a group of people concocted a fake story about the victim and used the victim photo to support it. The story itself attracted men to approach her for sex. This kind of cyberstalking was dangerous because the victim was exposed to multiple perpetrations. This depicts the way electronic media can subject a woman many cyber harassment attacks.

To add on the above, the findings indicate another incident whereby a perpetrator purposely initiated discussions based on the victim's profile photos. The perpetrators published the victim's profile photo on a WhatsApp group accusing the girl of being a prostitute.

*One female student copied my profile photo and pasted it onto her class WhatsApp group. Then she initiated a discussion using abusive language, labelling me as a prostitute. They were accusing me that during corona vacation (March-June 2020), I was bankrupt to the extent that I decided to take a nudity photo in order to seduce men who would give me money. (*interviewed student)

In the quote above, the perpetrator initiated an abusive discussion towards the victim; a practice termed defamation. The allegation was centred on the women having affairs with the perpetrators' many partners, contrary to societal norms and traditions. The term 'prostitute' was publicly used to evoke an intense hatred among class members that the victim was immoral.

During the FGD I, a discussant illustrated another instance where a story was fabricated. A WhatsApp discussion group was created purposively for defamation and the victim was registered into the group to calumniate her (in Swahili *kusuta*). A female student reported that:

> *I was seriously psychologically wounded by women who tracked my mobile number and added it to a new group with unknown members. Together, the group members alleged me that I was a prostitute. The perpetrator thought I had a relationship with her husband.* (interviewed student)

The incident displays a typical incident of defamation. At this juncture, the female victim experienced humiliation from a group of perpetrators. This reflects the contention that unlike forms of harassment, defamation allows a group of perpetrators to use digital technology to pursue, monitor and harass the victim repeatedly or continuously to the extent that the victim feels unsafe (see Lowry et al., 2013; Paullet et al., 2009; Pittaro, 2011; Chadrashekhar et al., 2016). Online defamation relates to a traditional practice at the University of Dar es Salaam main campus, which involves displaying personal information and defamatory incidents performed by the wall billboard known as 'Mzee Punch' (see 1.1.6). Online platforms like WhatsApp groups replace the old Mzee Punch space where female students were harassed and humiliate in cyberspace. According to Bocij and McFarlane (2003: p. 14), "organized hate groups use the internet to spread disinformation regarding racial superiority and to inspire violence against people and property. In this context, digital technology has amplified harassment.

5.2.5 Sextortion and Online Sexual Coercion

During the online interview sessions, participants reported cases where people with power, such as lecturers, used their positions to force girls to have sexual relations with them. This refers to the situation termed sextortion. It is a form of sexual exploitation in which the perpetrator "must be a person in authority who takes advantage of his or her office to win love affairs of the victim for the sake of employment, promotion good grade in an examination or any other service" (see Yusuph, 2016, p. 57). Several students recorded cases of being forced to have romantic relationships with lecturers. One of the students narrated that the experience started when they were on practical training away from the university campus. She demonstrated that:

Tulikutana wakati wa mafunzo kwa vitendo (field) alipokuja kufanya ukaguzi akaanza kunitaka kimapenzi na alitishia kutoa alama chache endapo sitakubaliana naye. Hata alipoondoka aliendelea kuniandikia wasap kuniambia kuwa endapo nitakataa kufanya mapenzi ataweka alama ndogo ambayo itaharibu GPA yangu na ikiwezekana nirudie tena hiyo kozi kwa mwaka mwingine (interviewed student).

*I met with him during practical training when he came to supervise me. From that time, he was trying to establish a sexual relationship with me. He intimidated me that, if I disagreed, he would award me low marks. Even after finishing the practical training, he continued communicating with me, insisting on his proposal". (*Interviewed student)

In this narration, the lecturer and a practical training supervisor used their power to intimidate the female student over his desire for a sexual favour. In another instance, the lecturer awarded low marks to the victim because she refused to establish sexual relations with the perpetrator, a course instructor.

On Christmas day 2019, my lecturer sent me an SMS requesting me to visit him at his place. He asked me if I could cook pilau[40] *for him. He continued making frequent calls expressing his desire to have a private meeting. Knowing the type of pilau he was implying and as I already had a fiancée, I told him that it was impossible. After failing to convince me, he shifted his strategies to physical attacks. He gave me low marks in his course. At one time, we submitted an assignment. Unknowingly that it was mine, he appraised the work in class, but after discovering my registration number, he immediately changed the tone and commented negatively. At the end of the semester, when the results were out, I scored a D mark which is a failure. That means I had to sit for a supplementary examination*. (interviewed student)

From this narration, the cyberstalker combined online and offline stalking, thereby making the victim be surrounded while at the campus. The lecturer used his authority to suppress the female student. The case illustrates a well-established sex corruption reported at the University of Dar es Salaam by Morley (2002) and recently by the Prevention, Combating Corruption Bureau (PCCB)

[40] Pilau is a kind of spiced rice normally prepared during feast days among coast people.

(2020, p 31). The two reports indicate that the female students were threatened to get low marks and fail examinations.

5.2.6 Identity Theft and Invasion of Privacy

A few female students reported experiencing identity theft and invasion or intrusion of privacy. In the modern digitalized world, electronic privacy implies various aspects: banking information, family issues and personalized communication, intimate relationship, images and videos, as well as information patterning to a woman's body like menstrual data. During the interview, a participant demonstrated the experience of being invaded by her Facebook account. She reported that:

> *Mtu nisiyemfahamu alinifuata kupitia akaunti yangu ya Facebook akawa ananishambulia kwa matusi ya nguoni pia kwa kutumia akaunti yangu ya Facebook alipata taarifa zangu za siri na kudhibiti miamala ya fedha kwenye simu yangu.*(interviewed student)
>
> *An unknown person invaded my Facebook account and kept on scorning me with shameful insults. He also used my Facebook account to collect my personal information in order to control financial transactions on my mobile phone.*

As the quote above indicates, the perpetrator invaded the victim's account to insult and steal money from the victims' mobile banking system. In this scenario, although the perpetrator's main motive was to steal money, he held the victim's details and threatened her as a way to fulfil his main desire, which was to steal money. In this regard, digital technology enabled a skilful cyberstalker like the one above to trace other people's personalized accounts and access their financial transactions. The female student, in this instance, was humiliated because the perpetrator utilized her account against her will. Literature affirms that in identity theft, the criminal intends to grab the victim's information to do the evils like stealing money (Koops and Leenes (2006, p. 1). To bold on this, Manap and colleagues (2015 p. 594), "Criminals […] steal the online personal information of such victims, which allows them to access their bank accounts, or commit other online crimes using the stolen information". Trepte (2011) insists that identity theft is more dangerous than any other form of cybercrime. It allows the impersonation of an individual, thereby accessing accounts and performing transactions. The perpetrator can

misuse the victim's data and cause the victim conflict with others by the publication of confusing information.

Together with identity theft, participants reported having experienced intrusion in cyberspace in their personal life. This situation confused female students and humiliated as a result of disclosure of their private life. During Online Focus group discussion II, participants raised a case in which a male partner intruded her partner's computer and abused her intimate photos as a matter of revenge after breaking their relationship.

> *Pia kulikuwa na case ya mwanafunzi aliyekuwa ameweka picha zake kwenye laptop. Basi boyfriend alichukua ile laptop akawa anachukua baadhi ya picha hasa zenye utupu na kurusha kwenye mitandao na kuweka caption mbaya na hii ni baada ya wao kuvunja mahusiano yao ya kimapenzi.* (FGD II discussant).
> *There is a case in which a student had saved her intimate photographs on her computer. Her boyfriend copied them and made negative captions about her and posted nudity pictures on social media. That happened after separation".*

Intrusion in one's personal life described in the above quote is a form of invasion of privacy coupled with revenge porn. The male partner invaded his partner's private files without the victim's consent.. This means that the female student was deprived of her freedom in using electronic devices. This scenario qualifies as online harassment or cyberstalking. Scholars purport that publishing private information has multiple effects because "once relayed into cyberspace, confidential data cannot sometimes be erased as it may be copied and forwarded to an unknown destination" (Trepte, 2011, 16). At the same time, "the victim continues to suffer from privacy breach and violation of their dignity each time someone accesses their intimate photograph or video" (Lenhart et al. (2016 p. 3).

5.2.7 Attacking Properties: Online fraud

A few participants reported having experienced incidents involving fraud that involved mainly attacking properties. A participant explained an incident in which the perpetrator lured her into sending him money electronically and coerced the victim to have sex with him.

Towards the end of 2018, I had collected 570,000 Tanzanian shillings (equal to 259 USD) for a religious group mission trip. While on the way to the mobile bank agent to deposit it, a young man aged between 25 and 28 accompanied by a woman, approached me. We had a short talk exchanged phone numbers then we departed. Upon arriving at the mobile bank agent, I found that there was no money in my phone. I was so shocked…. Then, after 2 hours, the man phoned me stating: "I have taken your money; to get your money back, you are supposed to meet me". The calls continued not only from him but also from the woman. The perpetrator then told me to transfer to him another 100,000/= so as to send back the money. As I wanted my 570,000 for the group trip, so I send him 100,000/. He then told me that I was lucky. My money was taken to a magician and that I could not get it unless I had sex with him. The woman also told me the same. I refused. The two continued to call me for almost a year until when I destroyed my SIM card. (Interviewed student)

In this narrative, the perpetrator committed fraud by stealing the victim's money electronically and continued to ask her to send him more money. In this scenario, the mobile phone was used to link the victim and the perpetrator and transfer the money. The female student was subjected to various forms of humiliation: fraud and sexual coercion. As long as the perpetrator was a man, he used power to threaten the victim. Feminists argue that, power is what is valued most in patriarchal systems of all kinds. Tanzania being a patriarchal society, socio-cultural context legitimizes power and status differences between men and women in the broader society. The perpetrator took advantage of this unequal power relation to humiliate the victim.

Following the above discussion, findings show that female students encountered various complex online harassments. The experiences include: receiving endless calls that are a nuisance, image-based abuse, sextortion, invasion of privacy and fraud. Although technology is a blessing, it also facilitates evils in cyberspace. In this study, female students' privacy, freedom and right to use new technology were violated. In other words, the socio-cultural constructed mindset and practices in cyber communities coupled with technological dynamics resulted in online harassment and cyberstalking among female university students while in university settings. The persistent patriarchy system among internet uses made the cyberstalkers react to female students when they refused to accept new relations or sexual relationship with them or when friendships

broke up. Generally, female students' bodies were reduced to an object, thereby getting subjected to gender-based violence. These kinds of discrimination resulted in psychologically and emotional disturbance among female students. All these might contribute to academic failure among the victims. This study centred on the feminist's argument, which questions women's freedom from the patriarchy system based on the assumption that violence is centred on the woman's body (see Halbert, 2004, Carrasco 2014). These feminists advocate for women's use of new information and communication technologies for empowerment. Section 5.3 explores the strategies used by female students to get out of these exploitative experiences.

5.3 *Female Students' Reaction to Cyberstalking Practices and Behaviours at the University Campus*

Cyberstalking is a painful experience resulting in severe physical, emotional and psychological consequences to the victim. Victims, therefore, use different means to escape this form of bondage. In probing the strategies used by female students to get rid of cyberstalking experiences, the researcher required the respondents to describe a selected set of possible means in an online questionnaire. The responses were complemented with the key informant's interviews and Focus Group Discussion. The findings indicate that among 172 (40.6%) cyberstalked female students, 44 % used multiples strategies, as displayed in figure 10.

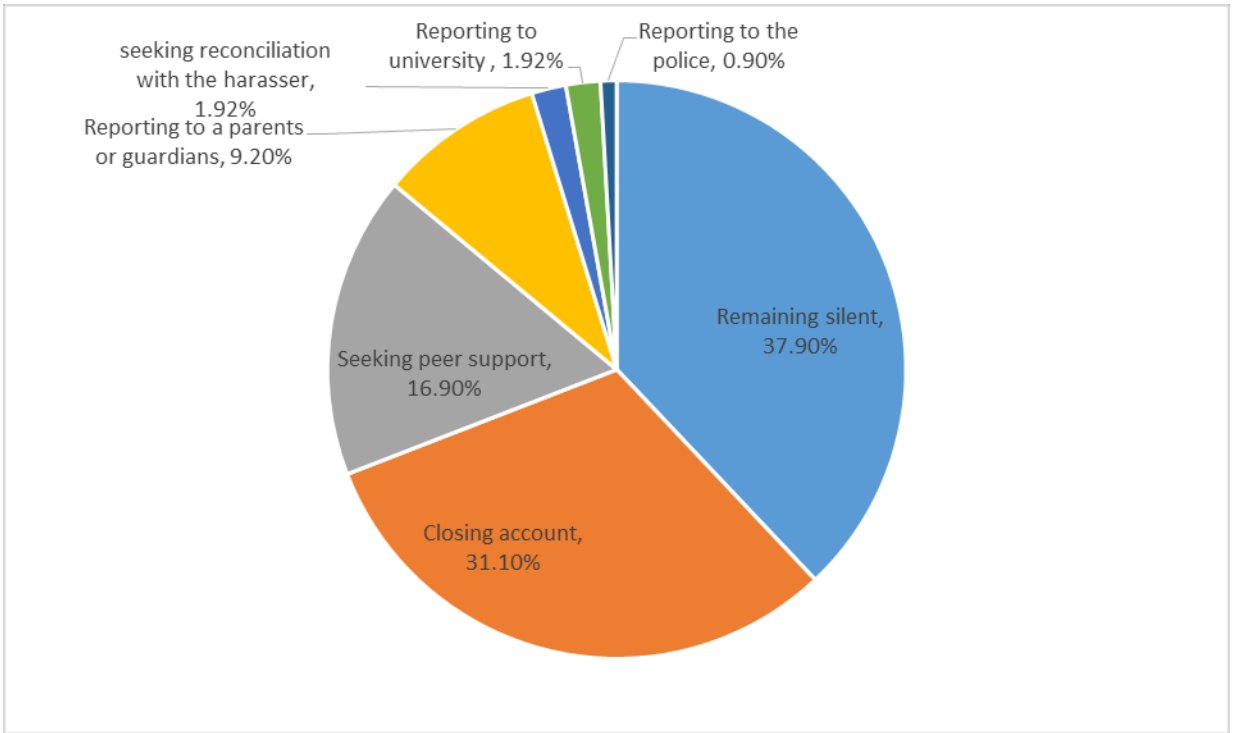


Figure 10: Female students' Reaction to Cyberstalking

5.3.1 Remaining Silent or Being Silenced?

The findings indicated that silence ranked highest. The response demonstrated that 37% of the participants remained silent or did not do anything against cyberstalking practices. The following female student participant demonstrated how she strived to come out of cyberstalking experiences.

> *Tukio liliendelea mimi nikaa kimya sijibu. Nilikuwa nikipokea ujumbe kutoka kwa watu wengi nisiowafahamu hasa kupitia akauti yangu ya mesenja. Watu hao hawakuwa na lengo zuri na mimi kwani walikuwa wakinitukana.* (remark on Google Survey questionnaire)

> *I decided to keep silent when the incident was going on; I was not responding to their messages. These people were using telephone communication to insult and to blame me".*

In this extract, the respondent did not respond to the cyberstalkers regardless of an annoying experience. She opted to remain silent even when she suffered threats, blames and threats.

Following this situation, the researcher thought that, it was important to probe why this participant decided not to react against this humiliation. The findings established a tendency to normalise the harassment because the cyberstalked female students were not reacting or reporting the harassment to other people because they considered online harassment normal behaviour. Another interviewed female student participant demonstrated that in the following quote:

> *I can say that cyberstalking is a problem; however, it is treated with a high level of confidentiality. The majority of people take the situation of a woman being followed up by a man to be normal behaviour, considering that female students are young people who are expected to establish new families* (interviewed student).

In addition, a key informant reported that:

> *Most of the cases are taken as normal issues and most students do not report as they are personal secrets"* (interviewed student).

Reading from the above two quotes, one can learn that the above participants believed sex matters in this context are considered personal and private issues. Studies in most African societies consider sex as a private matter. Victims, therefore, hardly report these shameful and embarrassing incidences to their families. According to Borgonovi and colleagues (2017), they do not want such information to be known to others in avoiding shame and stigma. Consequently, they tend to be dealt with these issues quietly with the help of the elders and often, the perpetrator is freed. Again, in most African societies, including Tanzania, women are socialized to remain silent before the public (see Joinet, 1985, Lirri, 2015). Societal norms constrain them from expressing their challenges, especially those related to sexual matters. To bold on this, a key informant reported that:

> *Most female students come from family backgrounds that socialise them to remain silent. Remaining silent is a tradition in many societies.* (key informant I)

The statements by the key informant affirmed that female students are socialized to remain silent before the public. Therefore, it is hard for them to report harassment behaviour. In Tanzania, silence can be attributed to socio-cultural behavioural dictating women's reserve, modesty and

discretion in a sexual relationship (Ngaiza, 2012, p. 73). According to Joinet, (1985), African traditions prescribe African women not to express themselves by words but through actions, attitudes, silence and absence. When victims receive laments, blames or insults, they tend to absent themselves or ignore the perpetrator. Another key informant provided the following explanation:

> *In our society, girls/ women have been taught to keep silent or, in other words, for women to remain silent before the public is our tradition.* (key informant II)

Scholars report that the silence among girls and women is embedded in social and cultural norms that compel women to speak out before the public. Bogart and Stein (1987, p.147) found that sexual harassment is maintained by silence: the silence of the [….] community and the silence of individual women and men who are witnesses to sexual harassment of others or subjected to it themselves. Regarding cyberstalking, the extract by Bogart & Stein (1987) above can explain why the lack of legislation and lack of institutional policy creates an environment in which the victimized female study does not report. In extension of toxic masculinity, Harrington (2020) purports that toxic masculinity goes beyond misogyny, homophobia, sexual violence and harassment; it is, according to the author, "institutional and structural privileges that men accrue" (see Harrington, 2020, p. 6). Generally, it can be said that the structural constraints encourage perpetrators to continue, intensifies online harassment among female students

5.3.2 Closing Social Media Account

The findings show that 31 % of cyberstalked female students closed their social media account or disposed of their SIM cards. It was also reported that closing an account was the last resort after trying other methods. For instance, a traumatized female participant remarked on the google form questionnaire that she decided to close her Facebook account because this social media is weak in controlling criminals.

> *Niliudhika sana kuona picha yangu mtandaoni bila ridhaa yangu […] nilifunga account na mpaka sasa sipendi mtandao wa Facebook* (remark on Google survey questionnaire)

> *I was so much angry after seeing my photo on social media without my consent. I closed my account. I do not like Facebook*"

The victim was shocked after the publication of her photo on social media without her consent. She developed a hatred against the new technology, especially social media. The victimized female student was aware of the role played by Facebook to facilitate online harassment. However, closing an account or changing a phone number seemed ineffective in moving away from cyberstalking practices because the perpetrators could physically follow the victim. To add on this point, the following female student participant reported that:

> *Alitumia mbinu za kimitandao alikuwa ananitext na nikabadili namba. Alikuwa anajua ninapokaa. Kwa kuwa aliendelea kunifuata ilibidi nihame nilipokuwa ninaishi na pia ilinilazimu kubadilisha namba ya simu.* . (remark on Google survey questionnaire)
>
> *The perpetrator used the internet to humiliate me. He was constantly texting me and physically following me. I changed the number, but he came to my home place. Eventually, I decide to rent another house in another place. I also changed phone number*

From the above quote, it appears that the victimized female student tried to free herself from the new technology, but the perpetrator could follow her physically. In relation to this finding, scholars argue that new technology, particularly social media, facilitates young women's victimization instead of empowering them (Rosser, 2006; Wajcman, 2009). This calls for intermediaries like internet service providers to play a custodial role in shielding women from online harassment. The United Nation substantiates that these providers are "reluctant to engage directly with technologies-related violence against women […], lack transparency around reporting and redress processes […]; fail to engage with the perspectives of women outside North America or Europe and lack the public commitment to human rights standards". (UN 2015) Technology has been perceived as another manifestation of gender-based violence. This is because it gives men an added opportunity to exploit women's bodies, facilitates anonymity and restricts women who want to enter these technological domains by giving up features of their feminine identity (Rosser, 2006; Wajcman, 2009). However, abandoning it is getting away from development and the public sphere. Cyberfeminists argue for critical examination of the interplay between social media and gender in order for women to benefit from multitudes of opportunities offered by the internet (see Cunningham & Crandall, 2014).

Female students reported that another way of escaping from the harassment was by blocking the cyberstalker, blacklisting the caller's number and changing one's phone number. The methods implied restricting unwanted or inappropriate content to victims' accounts, as demonstrated by the one participant:

> *You know what I did… one of my followers was making negative comments on my Instagram account... I decided to block him, and he has never appeared again.* (Interviewed student)

As discussed above, blocking the perpetrator may be effective to the distant harasser, like those from different continents, but not easy for intimate partners. With the latter group, perpetrators had alternative ways to reach the victim. A traumatized female student demonstrated:

> *Nyie acheni tu. Ilikuwa usumbufu wa hali ya juu. Kanifuata normal text, then whatsup, nilimblock lakini alinifuata kwenye namba nyingine.* (interviewed student)
>
> *I am fed up with these people, can you imagine. He followed me in the normal text, then in WhatsApp; when I block him. He followed me using a different number. Having seen that I had blocked him several times, he followed me using another number.*

The survivor in the excerpt expressed the kind of disturbance she experienced due to cyberstalking. The quote interprets how technology provides an opportunity for the perpetrators to use different and new links such as postal addresses and phone numbers to harass the victim. Digital technology has been proved to violate privacy through multiple possibilities of tracing the victim. According to Perry smartphones "leak data about us, […] lead people to our exact location; […]. But this information is not only held on the phone, [and] link to Google or iCloud". (Perry, 2012, p. 18). This primary access is obtained from social media that require disclosing personal data. Similarly, if the victim shares group media, the perpetrator can search from the other media. In this context, an obsessed cyberstalker can disturb the victim even when the victim tries to delink with him. Once the identiies have been obtained, it was difficult for the victim to block this perpetrator because he could access through other contacts.

5.3.3 Reporting to Colleagues and Family Members

The findings indicated that about 41 (23.8%) out of 172 cyberstalked female students shared their online harassment experience with fellows, friends and family members. During the online Focus Group Discussion, one female discussant reported that she shared her issues with her fellow female students.

> *Baadaye tulikuja kuelezana na wale rafiki zangu wa karibu na tukagundua kuwa ni tapeli na ndipo nilipofikia uamuzi wa kukata mawasiliano na kumblock; jambo hili lilichukua zaidi ya mienzi sita.* (FGD I discussant)

> *Later I talked to my my dear friend! I came to know that he was a conman later on.We decided to stop communicating with him and eventually, I blocked him. However, this took almost six months*

The above extract means that peer was an effective coping strategy. This was because the victims were peers of so called 'agemates' and had a common understanding of the experiences. It was also revealed that many cases were reported to the university student organization while few victims reported their incidences to the university administration. During FGD II, participants appreciated the work done by the outgoing university students' leader for facilitating reporting of sexual harassment cases at the campus. A female participant demonstrated that:

> *Kuhusu reporting, nakumbuka makamu wa rais wa DARUSO aliyepita alizifanya gender club kuwa very active, kule tulikuwa tunajadili changamoto mbalimbali zinazotupata hapa chuoni; huyu dada kiongozi alikuwa anaitisha mkutano anasema watu tutoe madudkuduku kuhusu unyanyasaji wa kijinsia hapa campus* (FGD II discussant)

> *I remember that the former DARUSO vice president made gender clubs very active . She organized a discussion and we discussed important issues regarding gender harrassment here on campus. She used to convene meetings and encouraged people to air their grievances about harassment on campus*".

In this quote, the students' organization, DARUSO (Dar es Salaam University Students Organization) was an active platform for students' welfare and rights. Scholars in

cyberharassment discourse, posit that peer support is an effective strategy to cope with negative emotions (Bastiaensens et al., 2019*;* Zwaan et al., 2010). According to Bastianenses and colleagues (2019, p. 98), peer support can be categorised into four areas; emotional support including service like empathy, love and caring; instrumental support through financial assistance, accommodation or time; informational support implicating advice, information or directives, and the fourth is appraisal support which includes, affirmation, feedback and social comparison.

It was further reported that a few (9.2 per cent) of cyberstalked female students reported their incidents to family members, including parents and guardians. Unfortunately, the victims underlined that some parents did not know what to do with the cases or they were too harsh to the victims, as the following respondent claimed.

> *I could not tell my uncle because he was too harsh. He could even beat me up. I went home (50 kilometres) away from Magu district and told my father, who received it with pity* (interviewed student)

In this excerpt, the incident happened when the victimised student was doing teaching practice which is held during long (summer) vacation. The respondent admits that the uncle was too harsh. Indeed, the victim remained silent and when she decided to travel seeking help from her father. From the above explanation, one can learn why reporting to colleagues was more accessible than reporting to parents. Some parents responded negatively or did not understand the intriguing situation.

5.3.4 Reporting to the University Administration

The findings indicated that only four (1.9 per cent) of the cyberstalked female students reported to the university administration. The university had at least two units specialized in the Institute of Gender Studies and the Dean of Student's office. Victims could also report to academic advisers or religious chaplains, or respective heads of departments. In their responses, reporting to university authorities was minimally used. A key informant indicated that she had not received any case related to cyberstalking.

*Sincerely speaking, I have never received any case related to cyberstalking. May be students do not report these issues". (*key informant V)

A similar response came from the Institute of Gender Studies on the campus. The key participant admitted that they were receiving at least one case per month. He explained that students reported many issues but not the ones related to cyberstalking. The above explanation indicates a meagre reporting rate of online harassment cases to the university administration. The main reason for victims not reporting their cyber incidents might be the normalization of this behaviour within the campus setting

5.3.5 Reporting to the Police

Reporting to the police also received a lower score. Although there are two police stations at the University of Dar es Salaam campus, only two participants (1%) of the cyberstalked female students indicated that they had reported their cases to the police. The researcher probe why the victims were not reporting their cases to the police, a key informant from the auxiliary police station gave the following explanation:

Female students reported their cases only when the cases look dangerous". (key informant XIV)

He added that,

Most of the cases that we receive are between partners. These cases are very difficult to follow because the two parties in conflict do not cooperate with us. Most times, they solve their problems and they reconcile themselves". (key informant XIV)

Although the police station could be the safest place to report online harassment, victimized female students did not show a preference for reporting their cyberstalking cases. It can be assumed that the absence of law specifically on cyberstalking and unawareness of the nature of the behaviour among female students and administrative officers contribute to non-reporting. From the extract above, it seems that police officers did not take cyberstalking affairs seriously, assuming that the victims and perpetrators could reconcile. Ezekiel .et al. (2017) attribute the

tendency of non-reporting cases to corruption and complicated bureaucracy in the Tanzania context.

5.3.6 Reconciliation with the Perpetrator

Another strategy that cyberstalked female students used to get out of online harassment was negotiating with the cyberstalker for reconciliation. The following extract from a key informant substantiated this fact.

> *Kwa hapa chuoni haya mambo ya wanafunzi kutishiwa yapo sana. Lakini sasa ni ngumu kumpata mtuhumiwa kwa sasa sababu wakati mwingine ushirikiano unakuwa ni mdogo kwa upande wa mlalamikaji, na hii ni kwa sababu wanaofanyiana hivi ni wapenzi. Sasa wakati unafautilia kumpata mtuhumiwa unakuta wao wenyewe wameshapatana na mpenzi wake. Kwa hiyo case inaishia tu hewani.* (key informant XIII)
>
> *Here on campus, there are many female students being intimidated or threatened, but it is very difficult to capture the culprit. Sometimes there is little cooperation between the victim and us. We may take initiatives to make follow-ups, but in the end, the two reconcile. So the matter gets forgotten*.

This extract indicates that university units' preference is to restore peace and harmony instead of protecting human rights. This can be related to the Tanzanian cultural context where brotherhood or familyhood norms founded in African socialism (*Ujamaa)* make Tanzanians relatively less violent even when maltreated, a tendency that makes people favour negotiations instead of suing one another (Werrema, 2012).

5.3.7 Facing the Perpetrator

The least used strategy was reacting against the cyberstalker. Only one female student reported facing the cyberstalker. She courageously exercised her agency and resisted the continuation of the harassment.

> *Lectural (mwalimu) alichukua namba sijui alitoa wapi , akanitafuta na akataka niende ofisini weekend (jumamosi) nikakataa alitishia kunifelisha lakini sikuogopa na ahakufanya hivyo.* (FGD II discussant)

A lecture searched for my mobile number. I do not know from whom did he get it. He phoned me and told me to go to his office on Saturday. I refused, he called another day, intimidating me that if I refused, he would fail me in his course. I was not afraid I faced him and told him that I would not do anything. He did not do anything.

In this context, the perpetrator was a lecture. He was conscious of the students' rights and his obligation. Therefore he refrained from continue stalking. The student broke the silence. She claimed for her right, which is the main agenda of feminists. According to Haraway (2000, p. 69) "Liberation rests on the construction of the consciousness, the imaginative apprehension, of oppression, and so of possibility". She appeared to a model of the cyberstalked female students at the University.

5.4 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter explored how female students experienced cyberstalking at the University of Dar es Salaam main campus. The chapter discussed complex experiences that female students encountered when utilizing digital technology to communicate, self-express and construct their identity in cyberspace. The chapter demonstrated how the patriarchal mindset among internet users made the perpetrators react to female students when they refused to accept new relations or sexual relationships with them and when friendships broke up. In other words, unequal gender relations lived in the physical realm are replicated in cyberspace. The last part of the chapter explored how female students react to cyberstalking behaviours and practices. Generally, most cyberstalked female students did not report the perpetration to anyone, while others closed their personal media accounts. Several female students reported their cyberstalking cases to colleagues, while a few reported to the university administration and police station.

CHAPTER SIX

FACTORS BEHIND CYBERSTALKING AMONG FEMALE STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY CONTEXT

6.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses factors associated with cybervictimisation among female students at the university campus. Based on the theoretical framework governing this study, the researcher explores the underlying sociocultural powers that determine female university students' conditions to fall victims to cyber harassment and cyberstalking in particular while at the university settings. In probing the motives for cyberstalking, the researcher probed by posing key informants the question: Why do you think female university students fall victims to cyberstalking? The question provoked participants to allude to emerging factors for cyberstalking among female students on the university campus. The resulting quantifiable findings are presented in graphs, and tables whereas in-depth and personal interviews are presented in the form of descriptions and discussion accompanied mostly with direct quotes from the participants.

6.1 Sociocultural Powers Underlying Cyberstalking on the campus

The subsequent responses collected during Focus Group Discussions (FGD), interviews, and the Google survey questionnaire enabled the researcher to establish several underlying sociocultural potential determinants for the prevalence of cyberstalking at the University of Dar es Salaam. Among them, the study found the following factors: women's low status in society, unawareness of cyberculture; female students' challenging income; searching for new identities and status beyond one's income; availability of internet facilities at the campus, the inadequacy of reporting structures at the campus, and deviance from societal dressing norms. The discussion on these factors starts with presenting and describing the major factor: the women subordinate position in society.

6.1.1 Women Subordinate Position in Society and on the Campus

Among various underlying factors for cyberstalking on the campus, women's perceived socially constructed subordinate position in society recurred throughout the descriptions. The participants pointed out that most communities place women in a lower rank status compared to men. Hence, according to participants in FGD I, women were disadvantaged in most social privileges like education and sometimes harassed both offline and online. The researcher postulated that the basis for subordination to be the patrilineal nature of the communities. In these communities, men control most socioeconomic benefits (see Abeid et al., 2014; Manyama 2017). By extension, the control of economy was extended to the control and harassment of the woman herself. A key informant (VII) affirmed that:

> *Kwa kuwa mwanamke anaoneka kama kiumbe cha chini na dhaifu, hivyo jamii inazidi kumnyanyasa* **(**key informant, VII)
>
> *Since a woman is regarded as a lower profile and weak being, society continues harassing her.*

The key informant in this quote attributes negative treatment of women such as marginalisation and discrimination to be grounded in the low profile given to women by society. Literature underscores that the prevailing inequalities in Tanzania society are overwhelmingly echoed in higher education spaces (see Idris, 2018), decision making powers in which "women are deprived decision-making powers matters including how, when and where to have sex" (Abeid et al., 2014, p. 2). In the present work, most female students' narratives show constraints from becoming active participants in decision making pertaining to matters on sex. The researcher has found that most cyberharassment cases presented in the present study erupted because female students struggled to exercise their agency, claiming their legitimate voice and position concerning marital or sexual relations against the perpetrators.

While women subordination is evident in patrilineal societies in Tanzania, the literature indicates that even in Tanzanian matrilineal societies, the broader centrality of women has been weakened by social changes (see Manyama 2017; Abeid 2014). Specifically, anthropological studies underscore the existence of matrilineal cultures among most Coast communities in Tanzania

including Swahili, Zaramo, Luguru, Makua, Kaguru, Yao and Makonde (see Beidelman, 1967; Manyama 2017. However, although in these communities, inheritance and decision-making was based on women lineage, due to Islamisation, Christianisation, and villegisation campaigns[41] happened in Tanzania, decision-making has been reversed in favour of men (see Manyama, 2017). Consequently, all these ethnic groups have lost most features of a matrilineal community. Consequently, in the Tanzania community, women are placed in lower ranks in a large part of the nation.

Building from these insights and in-depth interviews, the researcher sought to determine how women's status contributed to female students falling victims of cyberstalking on campus. The interviewed female students and all fifteen key informants underlined that hate statements, intimidation together with revenge porns directed to female students at the University of Dar es Salaam were rooted in the negative stereotyped attitude towards them. In this regard, radical feminists view violence against women, including cyberstalking, as deliberate methods utilised by the patriarchal system to maintain women' inferior position (see Martin et al., 2006; Rennison, 2014). In Rennison's (2014, p. 1620) view that "violence against women is more than an act of violence; it is a manifestation of social domination". That is why feminists and cyberfeminists, in particular, extend advocacy to claims around women rights in cyberspace (see (Mohanty & Samantaray, 2017) Stephan, 2013;). As they are conscious that cyberspace harbours cyberharassers, cyberfeminists advocate for women empowerment in cyberspace (see Stephane, ibid) and awareness creation on the impact of new technologies on women's lives (see Rennison, 2014).

In the course of the study, the researcher noted three major phenomena that appear to enable perpetrators to exercised violence against women in cyberspace. These areas are the normalisation of online sexual harassment, objectification of the woman body and women silence. The normalisation of online sexual harassment at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) campus frequently transpired during interviews and focus group discussions. One of the participants reported that:

[41] Villegisation campaign was a political motivated decision carried out in early 1970's to build Ujamaa village under the socialist spirit. All people living in scattered localities were forced to migrated and settle in specified area to make villages. This campaign disrupted social structure among citizens.

*Aliniambia kuwa hata nifanyeje lazima lengo alilonalo litimie kwa sababu mimi ni mwanamke na sina ujanja wa kushindana naye. (*Interviewed Students)

He told me regardless of what I try to do, his intention must be accomplished because I am a woman, I cannot be more skilful than him to compete.

The excerpt above display the perpetrators mentality dichotomous sex differences. Men were considered skilful women skilless; men strong while women are weak. This attitude recalls back to early feminists struggle with the patriarchal ideologies that consider the male body's as normal while the female body as 'abnormal,' 'fragile', and 'prone to failure'. Hence, with this mindset, the perpetrators' perceived that he was supposed to win and the women to lose.

According to Hlavka (2014), feminists contend that the patriarch cultural system socialises children and youth to believe that gender-based aggression is part and parcel of being male. To maintain power in these circumstances, the harasser in the quote used verbal cues like *lazima* 'must' *mwanamke*- 'woman' and *kushindana* 'to compete', which recall the gendered powers struggle between woman and man. In this tug-of-war, in the perpetrator's mind, the man 'must' win. Language in this context has been used to reinforce the stalkers' perception. Kanyemba and Naidu (2019, p. 176) allege that "Language has the capacity to naturalize, legitimize, cloud and Kanyemba and Naidu (ibid) deny sexism, sexual abuse and sexual harassment as forms of violence against women". According to Bourdieu (1989, p. 20), "On the subjective side, it is structured because the schemes of perception and appreciation, especially those inscribed in the language itself, express the state of relations of symbolic power."

The study has found that language use was systematically used to discriminate against female students on campus. At the Mlimani Campus, nicknames tagged to female university students illustrated this fact. As highlighted previously (see 4.2.2), female students were nicknamed as 'piece', first-year female students referred to as 'new container', and beautiful female students as 'piece kali' (an appealing piece). This derogatory language connotes harbour activities in which a ship unloads 'container' transporting 'pieces' (objects). The researcher's deeper reflection of a derogatory language at the campus shows that besides being evident in university youth jargon, the portrayal of women is implicitly offensive in formal language. In Swahili for instance, the

verb 'to marry' (*kuoa*) for a man is derived from a verb 'to take' or 'to pick' while a woman is being picked (a passive form) (*kuolewa*)[42] (Guthrie, 1967).

Besides languages, the nominalisation of women's subordinate position has been widely reported in cultural practices in Tanzania. During FGD (I), participants alleged that in *Chagulaga Mayu* (choose a woman), one a traditional dance in Sukuma ethnic group found in Tanzania[43] , men compete in 'picking up' unmarried women for sex among the dancers (also see Masele and Lakshmanan, 2021). According to participants, the tradition dictates that once 'picked', a girl cannot resist. In addition, Masele and Lakshmanan (2021) emphasise that men's authority over women among the Sukuma speakers, among other cultural practices, persists and is propagated and bolstered through marriage songs. From the researcher's experience in her community, one form of courtship among Chagga community implicates a group of men 'picking up' forcedly a woman and rushes her to a man who 'loves' her. In this tradition, once the women reach the 'prospective husband's home', it is tabooed that the woman cannot go back home: as she is already married. Literature characterises these 'picking' practices and other forms of forced married, which are means to undermine women's participatory role in sexual issues (see Abeid et al., 2014; also Manyama 2017). Thus, the study demonstrates a series of incidents in which the men mirrored these discriminatory practices, similarly to the cultural practices, when online identified photographs on social media and demanded sex without considering female students free will.

> *Niliweka picha mtandaoni baada ya hapo mtu mmoja nadhani ni mwanafunzi akawa ananisumbua kila wakati akitaka nimtumie picha za uchi kila mara nikimkatalia, lakini alizidi kunisumbua kila wakati.* (remark on Google survey questionnaire)
>
> *I posted my photograph online, then a man I think is a student took advantage of the photo to annoy, asking me to post him a nude photograph. Even when I declined his request, he kept on disturbing me.*

[42] In Swahili '*kuoa'* originates from Bantu verb ***kutola*** meaning 'to take', 'to pick'.
[43] Men practice around harvest season, involving unmarried men and women, to During the dance, alternatively each unmarried man go and point to a girl he wants to have marry (or to have intercourse) in a group of unmarried girls.

The participant in the survey questionnaire illustrates a phenomenon of which the perpetrator is interested in the female student's image and picks the image as an object. As a manifestation that the online perpetration forms a continuation of real-world sexual harassment, the perpetrator asked for an 'undressed' body photograph. The female student's resistance contradicts the stalkers' sociocultural beliefs that women are sex objects (see Calogero, 2012). In this context, one perceives that men actors who subsume authority in social media draw insights from socialised experience in their communities. According to Branch and colleagues (2017: p.130), the media has been a driving force in perpetuating and directing behaviour that are classified as appropriate for each sex. Therefore, the social media in our case, reinforce the community to unconsciously reproduce gender discrimination behaviours that may involve objectification of the woman body.

The study has also found a perpetuation of subordination of women through sexually objectifying their body. In the sociological domain, sexual objectification refers to "the fragmentation of a woman into a collection of sexual parts and/or sexual functions" (Calogero, 2012, p. 574). The sexual objectification philosophical stance seemed to compel perpetrators to force female students to send nude images or expose their body parts. One participant remarked:

> *He has been sending me nasty messages which made me feel inferior as he has been asking me to wear clothes that make visible some parts of my body* (remark on Google survey questionnaire)

In this extract, the perpetrator, the male partner, required the female student to expose her body part for his sexual satisfaction. The researcher found that demands by the male partner were strongly influenced by the social construction of women as men's entertainment objects. During the interview, this social construction of women was observed in the metaphorical expressions associating the women with ornaments. For instance, a participant revealed belittlement of women to flowers. She reported that:

> *Wanawake au wasichana wanaangaliwa kwa attention zaidi kuliko wanaume, wanawake ni kama maua,* (interviewed female).

Women or girls are viewed with much more attention than it is done to men [because] women are like flowers.

As the interviewee notes, the male-dominated perceptions reduces women to flowers. That implies that women are assumed to be creatures without mind, plan or feeling, created for male's satisfaction. In feminists view, objectification implies more than perception of a person as a sex object. Nussbaum (1995, p. 257) enumerates seven ways of objectifying a human being. These are summarised as: "denial of autonomy; deprivation of agency; treatment a human as interchangeable with other objects (like money); treat a human as violable, smashable, breakable; treating a person as ownership; and denial of subjectivity, that means rejection of a person as does not have feelings". With this perception in mind, the researcher interpreted perpetrators' actions as a result of the construction of women as weak beings. They presumed female students to be entities for dating and sex. It is also entirely plausible that the perpetrator did not expect any significant reaction from women, 'an object'. Feminists discourse on violence against women condemns the patriarchal for assuming that men are 'rational beings' while women irrational (see Sutherland et al. 2014; Shildrick, 1997). The following extract illustrates this fact: dehumanising women,

Nafuatwa kwenye account yangu ya Facebook, wengi wanataka nishiriki nao ngono. Nikikataa wananikemea na kunitishia. (remark on Google survey questionnaire)

Many people follow me on my Facebook account asking me to have sex with them, when I refuse, they the scorn me threaten to hurt me.

In this excerpt, the perpetrators assume that women should always concede men's demands while male partners had to command authority and control over the female partners. When women rejected the proposals, the perpetrator reprimanded, threatened, and treated the woman harshly. Women' rejection of sex in this context was perceived to be a deconstruction of the norms. In sexual harassment victimisation, objectification has proved to have various pervasive effects on women, including legitimising sexual violence, affecting women agency and self-esteem, among others (see Sáez et al., 2019). Participants pointed out that the negative portrayal of women in society engendered deceitful actions to them. Guzzetti (2008) points out that

"socially constructed patriarchal mindset in cyber communities comes to light when persistent male cyberstalkers furiously react to women who deny them relation or sex and break up ties".

Another factor for maintaining women's subordinate position was silencing them. Silence implies muting the woman's voice, making her unable to express the position, point of view, plans, feeling, opinions and decision making (Ifechelobi, 2014). **S**tudies conducted on sexual harassment in university campuses have demonstrated that silence is one of the major factors that constrain female students from struggling for gender equality on the campus (see Shemsanga, 2013; Gan, 2017). A key informant I assured that:

> *From their home background many female students have been trained to keep quiet, to keep secret. Remain silent forms part of most female students' tradition*. (key informant I)

As the key informant purports, silence forms part of African societal socialisation. African women are expected to be silent, docile, passive and receptive silent in public sphere, and before men, especially during domestic matters decision-making behaviour (see Joinet, 1985; Ifechelobi, 2014; Geistman-Smith et al. 2013). This spirit is said to be socialised to children and youth. Eventually, many female university students did not react to cyberstalkers to express their disagreement (see chapter 5). During FGD, participants explained that female students' background and socialisation shaped them to remain silent and endure difficulties in life. Thus, in cyberharassment, it was unlikely for victims to report the harassment practices. Another key informant underlined that:

> *Remaining silent constitutes a motive for non-reporting of harassment cases on the campus.* (key informant VI).

The quote from the key informant reveals the effects of muting women's voice in the society. Among the results, victimised female students ddid not report harassment. In a broader consideration of the phenomenon, the researcher believed that University's laxity in address cyberstalking could be attributed to a lack of substantial data due to victims' non-reporting. Therefore, this experience creates a vicious cycle of cybervictimisation: a situation in which cyber perpetrations are not reported, the institution does not take measures against perpetrators, and perpetrators continue harassing. In this context, cyberfeminists strongly advocate for women

to break silence by taking advantage of the social media and the internet in general to vocalise the evergrowing tendency of harassment in cyberspace (Ifechelobi, 2014). The cyberfeminists, therefore, advocate for feminists to transform cyberspace, already being male domination. The cyberfeminists aspire transform that cyberspace to ground for women emancipation from online and offline gender-based violence (see Bogart & Stein 1987)..

6.1.2 Female Students' Unawareness on Urban and Cybercultures

The study has found that unawareness of digital technology constituted another factor for cyberharassment. Participants insisted that some perpetrations happened due to female students' technological naivety. The naivety can be explained theoretically by the digital divide hypothesis, which revealed a difference in competence between rural and urban dwellers, men and women, and diversity in economic income. It appears that female students from disadvantaged social settings were victimised by inaptitude to decipher the kind of relation taking place in cyberspace. As the key informant (I) divulged:

> *Unajua jogoo wa shamba hawiki mjini, lack of exposure for some students, anapopata tatizo hajui akimbilie wapi, lack of awareness and lack of exposure, hapa wanafunzi wengi wametokea kijijini, na hapa Dar es Salaam, yanakuwa ni mazingira mageni kwao, hali hii inaweza kuwafanya wawe victim Zaidi.* (key informant I)

> *As you know, 'a cock from a rural area cannot crow in town' (a Swahili proverb). There is a lack of exposure for some students. [...] The female students lack awareness and exposure. Many students come here to Dar es Salaam from rural areas. For them, Dar es Salaam is a new environment. This condition makes them vulnerable to victimisation.*

The narrative by the key informant indicates that female students from rural areas were vulnerable to cyberstalking due to being unaware. This explains cybervictimisation prompted by the difference in digital technological development between rural areas and cities like Dar es Salaam. According to the digital divide hypotheses, unequal power relations exists between rural inhabitants and urban dwellers. The inequality is based on the unavailability of infrastructure, expenses, scattered nature of the population (see (ASEAN Foundation, 2017; Henry, 2017; Mosso, 2018). Consequently, "People living in urban environments use internet services more

than those living in rural environments, especially in more sophisticated uses" (Serrano-Cinca et al., 2015, p. 6).

The digital gender digital creates a double blow to women from rural areas. Mosso (2018) reports that in Tanzania, social barriers to illiteracy and gender roles especially stereotype attitudes that constrain girls from studying ICT technology. This results in fear of science; hence, most female students at universities were enrolling on non-science and technology streams. As a shred of evidence from this study, besides being from rural many female students were not competent in ICT because most were enrolled in social science-related programs. As table 4.3 (see chapter 3) indicates, while female students in social sciences, business and laws counted equal or above 50% of all students, in sciences, they were numerically less than 35% while in ICT only 22.1% studied ICT courses. Consequently, registering in non-science subjects creates a gap between male students who mastered ICT related knowledge. Traditionally men are considered intelligent and skilful while women are irrational (see Fischer, · 2018)

In this circumstance, female students from rural areas were introduced promptly with little or no preparation to the cyber society without ample preparations. At the Unversity of Dar es Salaaam (UDSM), girls' were suddenly exposed to online communication with interlocutors bestowed with unequal power. The findings indicate an asymmetrical relationship between female students and perpetrators. As presented earlier (see 4.4), perpetrators were men, older than female students. In similar contexts, some cyberfeminists query the benefit of the new technology to women in developing countries (Gajjala & Mamidipudien, 1999). According to authors like Gajjala and Mamidipudien (ibid), women are subjected to further subordination due unequal technological power relations between developed and underdeveloped communities. That is why cyberfeminists argue that apart from access to the internet, there should be a mutual empowerment in which female students must also be able to define the content and shape of cyberspace (see Ifechelobi, 2014). A key participant in charge of students' social services at the campus expressed her views based on her daily experience of her work concerning the feminists' technological divide hypothesis. The key informants reported that:

> *Sababu ni ignorance na kutojua kanuni na taratibu za mitandao, hawafahamu nini wapost na nini wasipost, naweza kusema kwa hakika wengi wameparamia hii mitandao*

*ila hawana elimu ya kutosha ya namna ya kuitumia, na hivyo inawatea madhara ikiwepo hilo swala la udhalilishaji kwenye mitandao (*key informant V)

The main reason is ignorance of principles and procedures to follow when using the internet. They use the media extravagantly while they do not know what they are posting. I can say that surely many female students use social media but do not have enough training on how to use them.

The key informant in this excerpt cites female students' ignorance of social media. According to the informant, the university environment provides much access to the internet. However, this access exposes female students to cyber harassment because the students are not conversant with rules and regulations of safe surfing on the internet.

In addition to this illiteracy, social aspects of digital technology prompted self-objectification. During the interview, participants asserted that posting their body images online exposed them to harassment. For example, the key informants (V) illustrated that behaviours like posting a nude picture and associating with multiple sexual partners to signs of irresponsibility. She wondered:

Kwa nini unajipiga picha uchi? Kwa nini mtoto wa kike unajiunga kwenye makundi ya kihuni kutafuta madanga. Vitu hivi wakati mwingine tunasingizia una maskini kumbe ni hulka ya mtu ni malezi mabaya toka nyumbani. (Key informant VI*)*

Why do you take photography while naked? Why you, as a girl, join groups to search for online sex partners (madanga)? We sometimes associate these behaviours with poverty, but sometimes it is a personal behaviour and poor parenting at family level.

In the extract, the key informant wondered why female students behaved "against the culture"(as she put it) by taking nude photographs or associating with "ill-mannered groups". This kind of behaviours made the key informant conclude that "their own faults" victimised female students. Explaination tend to associate online behaviour with increased use of digital tool especially youth. Although the use of mobile phones in secondary school is strictly prohibited in the school environment, Kafyulilo (2012) estimates that 6 out of 10 secondary school students owned mobile phones in urban centres and that others owned SIM cards and some shared. Youth are accused of posting profile photos that are too sexy. However, this consciousness is shaped and

overpowered by the patriarchal societal that depicts and awards an ideal woman to be partially naked, lighter-skinned, and slim and young, smiling posed in a sensual or sex context (Calogero, 2012; EIGE, 2020)). In fact, societal objectification through mass media, commercial advertisement, and similar exhibitionist modes mould female students to identify themselves with the ideal image of a woman, leading to self-objectification.

Self-objectification is a feminists' construct that explains the normalisation of sexual objectification of the woman's body as exercised by women themselves. According to Calogero (2012), self-objectification explains a behavioural tendency in which girls "come to view and treat themselves as objects to be evaluated based on their appearance – or to self-objectify" (Calogero, 2012, p. 574). The European Institute of Gender Equality (EIGE) (ibid, p. 34) adds that girls recognising that they are appreciated; girls online behavioural pattern work then in turn hard to "show that they are constantly beautiful, slim, young, and attractive and present in the digital space". EIGE (ibid) adds that girls post new content like short films and pictures to attract attention. They upload self-idealised and somehow exaggerated or modified content. Female students in this context uploaded nude or semi-nude photos and sex video clips in order to identify themselves with the ideal modern woman recompensed with the patriarchal society.

Additionally, the findings indicate that some cyberstalkers were unaware that cyberstalking constituted a violation of human rights due to normalisation of offline gender-based violence or mental disorder. Thus, an interviewed key informant allude to perpetrators' ignorance of being a contributing factor to cyberstalking. According to him:

> *There is a lack of awareness; sometimes those who are make public female partner's nude photographs do not know that this is a form of violence; they do not know exactly what constitutes cyber violence or stalking (*key informant VI)

Recapitulating from this quote, the informant above affirms that some perpetrators are unconscious of the criminality of the offence or cannot imagine the effect. In other words, if perpetrators were informed, they would not have acted that way. In support of this view, literature in psychology reports that some cyberstalkers' actions are caused by incompetence using dating and romance principles (see Salimi and Mansourabadi 2014). Moreover, studies also indicate perpetration instances involving perpetrators with a troubled mind (see Spitzebery &

Hoober, 2002; Kraft & Wang, 2010) or people with personality disorders (see Ménard and Pincus, 2012). Ménard and Pincus (ibid) give examples of personality disorders related to cyberstalking to be antisocial, borderline, histrionic, narcissist, and individuals who suffered childhood trauma from interpersonal problems, child abuse, or substance abuse. In responding to the challenges of unintended victimisation, respondents highlighted the role of societal role of providing positive socialisation irresponsible parenting, drug abuse and alcoholism.

Contrary to this view, a critical perspective of these statements, lead one to think that the psychological reasons mentioned above may be used as an umbrella to hide sociological reasons for cyber perpetration. In the researcher's view, the normalisation of male dominance, that position women are objects of sex, placing them in lower status and servants of men, blur the conscious of 'cyberstalkers' to view online harassment as a violation of human rights. At this juncture, as Kanyemba (2018, p. 39) proposes, "A gender-aware approach to equality needs to take into cognisance the fact that inequalities between men and women have been legitimized, normalized and accepted by societies".

Online groups was also observed to be an essential factor for cybervictimisation. In the campus, digital technology enables the creation of groups according to affiliations: tribal, geographical, academic, religious and the like. The findings from the Google survey questionnaire indicate that, female students were using multiple collective groups for discussion, meetings and mutual assistance. WhatsApp forum was said to be the most popular for facilitating online gathering; out of 424 participants, 400 were subscribed to the WhatsApp forum. The Key informant III divulged that:

> *Here at the University, we have various WhatsApp group to facilitate studies. Considering that the University is large, we create WhatsApp groups such as for classes and group discussions. Sometimes we may create short time groups for coordinating an assignment.* (FGD III discussant)

A key informant (III) from student leadership affirmed that she belonged to more than seven WhatsApp groups:

Sisi tuna ya viongozi ya serikali ya wanafunzi, ya vikundi vya dini, group discussion, magroup ya madarasa, magroup ya kwenye mabweni na kadhalika. (interviewed student)

We have a group for student leaders, religious groups, group discussions, lecture groups, groups for halls of residents and the like.

Based on shared insights from interviewed students, it appeared that students formulate groups to facilitate online communication. The present study found that these grouping were motivated by the nature of the Tanzanian community. From a sociological perspective, online groupings replace real word chatting habits. Online grouping illustrates the so-called '*collectivist*' culture, which is opposed to *individualistic* culture. Studies indicate that while individualist societies treasure privacy and personal rights, collectivistic emphasise "group relations, social conformity, and avoiding interpersonal conflict" (Park et al., 2021, p. 2).

During interview schedules, seven key informants pointed out that WhatsApp social groupings to be cites for cyberharassment. They facilitate the locating of victims, supply personal contacts and information and provide a ground for stalkers to exercise public humiliation such as revenge porn (see Aizenkot, 2018). For example, the key informant III reported a case in which a female student's nude photograph posted by her ex-friend was circulated across WhatsApp groups at the campus, making the victim highly stigmatised. The interviewed key informant (X) stated that:

Kwa makubaliano yao na huyo boyfriend wake,, binti kwa ridhaa yake alikuwa anajirecord video akiwa uchi na kumtumia boyfriend wake , lakini baadaye walikuja kugombana na huyo boyfriend wake , yule boyfriend aliamua kurusha zile picha kwenye mitandao ya kijamii, binafsi niliziona picha kwenye group la WhatsApp la darasa. (key informant X)

The two agreed to take the girl's video while naked. The boyfriend kept the photo. Unfortunately, they two quarrelled, and contrary to their agreement, the boy posted the video on social media. I saw it in the class WhatsApp group. I saw the video in our class group.

From the quote, the female student trusted the male partner to share her semi-nude videos with him. Therefore, she shared images of her body. Scholars attribute sharing nude images to the assumption that images are not 'human body' that can be harassed (Rosser, 2006). In other words, the female partner thought that she had been disembodied. All gender-based violence, cyberstalkers target the female body (see Gilbert, 1996; Adam, 2002). According to radical feminists, technology constitutes an alternative way for men to dominate and control of women in cyberspace (see Gilbert, 1996). Scholars in cyberculture purport that technology allows men to exploit women bodies through pornographic images, among others forms of abuse (see Rosser, 2006; Wajcman, 2009). In this respect, Travers (2003, p 17) underlines that the "human body is not only the flesh and that disembodiment is partial in cyberspace because attitudes, emotions such as anger, and hatred can be felt", and these affect the receiver. More importantly, Stone (1991, p.113) recalls to attention that "virtual community originates in, and must return to, the physical community". In this context, cyberspace is used as a natural place for harassment and a laboratory for observing, analysing specimens of nude woman's bodies in preparation for harassment in the real world.

The photograph alluded to in the above excerpt might have been seen by thousands of people. Published intimate photos, may attract multiple cyberstalking from viewers. Literature indicates that relaying intimate content has a vast impact on the victim because "once relayed into cyberspace, confidential data cannot sometimes be erased as it may be copied and forwarded to an unknown destination" (Trepte, 2011, p. 16). In the excerpt above, the key informant saw it is a class group. Similarly, the female partner trusted the media to be free and safe (Plant, 1997, 1998). Contrary to her expectations, the man published the photograph following the conflict. The survivor was subjected to widespread shaming as a resulted of the video. Contrary to utopian cyberfeminists who believe that there is disembodiment on the internet (see Gilbert, 1996; Adam, 2002),

6. 1.3 Socioeconomic Challenges

The findings establish a nexus between socioeconomic challenges and cybervictimisation of female university students. Although most university students from low and middle socioeconomic backgrounds received government loans, participants during FGD (III) reported

that the amount disbursed was not enough for some due to disparity in requirements. The discussants argued that some disadvantaged female students had to engage in sex business for survival. They posted their sexy photographs in order to get men clients. A female student reported the following:

> *Kwa hapa kampasi tunaweza kusema ni hali ya mtu kutokuwa na boom la kutosha, mfano fikiria hapa chuoni mtu amefika ana boom tu ambalo ni tsh 510, 000 kwa miezi miwili, hii ndio , ule, stationary, books, material, uvae, usuke,,ha ha ha, si unajua wasichana tunapenda kupendeza, utakuta hii hela haitoshi, maana wasichana tuna mahitaji mengi…..*(interviewed student)

> *Here on campus, we can say that the reason is not having enough money. For example, one depends only on a loan, which is 510,000 for two months. One depends on it for stationery, books, clothes, plaiting hair, (laughter) and you know girls like to look smart. This amount of money is not enough. We, women, have varieties of needs*

A similar statement was reiterated by the key informant (IV), who underscored that:

> *Kuna wanafunzi wa kike wanapiga hizi picha na kuziweka mtandao ili waweze kupata hela, wengine wanafanya hivi kwa sababu ya hali ngumu ya uchumi, ila wengine ni tamaa.* (key informant IV)

> *Some girls take nude photographs and post them on social media in order to get money. They do so because of financial challenges. Others do so out of financial greed.*

The excerpt above indicates a situation in which some female students from low socioeconomic background did not have any choice except marketing their bodies. As formerly explained (see section 4.15), female students from disadvantaged, mainly rural communities were disempowered economically (see Kabeer, 2019). Despite that, the Government of Tanzania had been lending 510, 000 Tshs [2 256 USD] to disadvantaged students as a form of supporting livelihood for disadvantaged students. As it is indicated in the quote, some female students found it not enough. While theoretically, the loan disbursed adhered to equality, practically the disbursement did not consider strategic gender needs. In this context, feminism is distinguished from practical gender needs from strategic gender needs. While practical gender needs consider

actual conditions that women and men experience because of the gender roles assigned to them, strategic gender needs refer to the need to overcome the subordinate position of women in society (see Msila & Netshitangani, 2016; Sultana, 2012). The strategic gender needs focus on empowering disadvantaged women to benefit from empowering resources such as education. The conditions that ensure female students' access to services that provide access and control of their bodies, including proximal accommodation, transport, health and medical facilities (see Moser, 2014)

In neighbouring countries such as Kenya, poverty is recognised as the essential factor for gender-based violence in educational institutions (see McCleary-Sills et al., 2003; Itegi & Njuguna, 2013). McCrann and colleagues (2006) note that poverty forces young people to engage in transactional sex and encourages the "sugar daddy phenomenon" whereby young women gain financial support from older men in return for sexual services rendered. As a far extreme, in China, studies show female naked selfie photographs, especially of university students, are used as collaterals for loans (see Liu & Keanne, 2020; Butkowiski et al., 2019)).

6.1.3 Peer Influence for Modernised Identities

The study has found that female students from disadvantaged socioeconomic status were more vulnerable to cyberharassment. While searching for better socioeconomic identities, some of them risked associating with male partners to acquire financial assistance. According to discussant during FGD III, female students from low economic backgrounds felt inferior when identified as '*washamba*' 'from rural' or 'BAED[44]'; hence, they struggled to attain higher living standards similar to colleagues from high income who appeared to have economic power and influence. In order to achieve these standards, according to participants, students from disadvantaged economic backgrounds posted intimate photographs online to attract financial support in the exchange of sex. One of the female participants demonstrated that:

> *Kwa hapa campus, msichana mjanga (modern) ni yule anayemiliki simu nzuri, anayesuka nywele za kisasa na kuvaa mavazi yanayoenda na wakati. Haa ha, sasa ili upate hivi vitu ndiyo wengine wanaamua kutuma picha huko mitandaoni ili wapate madanga ya*

[44] Officially this is an abbreviation of Bechalor of Arts with Education, but here it was used to connotates female students from rural and with poor urban socialisation.

kuwannunulia hivi vitu, matokeo yake ndio wanakumbana na unyanyasaji (FGD I discussant)

Here at the campus, a modernised girl is the one who owns an expensive mobile telephone, who plaits her hair and dresses according to the current styles. Ha ha ha (laughter). In order to get all these needs, some of the female students opt to search for male sexual partners online; these would support them in buying these articles. It is in this context that the female students fall victims of cyberharassment.

In this excerpt, the discussant illustrates the image of a perceived ideal modern female university student in terms of appearance, attire and possession. Accordingly, in pursuing the idealised identities, female students were compelled to self-objectify, belittle ornaments in order to access financial resources. They involve themselves in sex business which is on of factors for sexual harassment. Among factors for sex business in institutions of higher learning, mentioned by authors include: including financial difficulties, peer pressure and uncontrolled liberty (see Azikiwe, 2020; Itegi & Njuguna, 2013; Wylęgły, 2019). According to Itegi and Njuguma (2013, p. 277), the findings in Nairobi University indicate that, since university students are not under the care of parents, transactional sex is used as means "to cope with campus life and sometimes out of greed for luxurious life competing to remain fashionable". At the University of Dar es Salaam, although no female student among the interviewed admitted involvement in transactional sex, Tanzanian media coverage reveals prevailing sex business between female university students (see Shartiely, 2003). The students could not identify with online sex because it is shunned as socioculturally immoral and illegal in Tanzania. However, the researcher could identify several online female university students' so-called pornographic sites[45].

6.1.4 Internet Availability and Exposure to Potential Online Offenders

Female students at the University of Dar es Salaam had access to internet connection sources. Scholars contend a correlation between increased exposure to online materials and increased cyberharassment (see Reynes et al., 2015; Welsh & Lavoie, 2012). In this logic, being a leading in digitisation in Tanzania, the University of Dar es Salaam community was at a high risk of cyberharassment. Since early 2000, the University internet supply and ICT training have

[45] https://www.xvideos.com/video15122853/wanafunzi_wa_chuo

thoroughly improved. In due course, the campus community accessed internet connection through private computers and public computers installed in libraries or free Wi-Fi connections around that campus. In addition, private telephone companies' supply subsidised services to university students. Such an exposure opened the institution users to high risk of cybercrimes. In the following quote, a key informant highlights internet accessibility at the campus.

> *Changamoto hapa chuoni zipo sababu ya utandawazi, na unajua wengi ya wanafunzi wanapata access ya simu hasa wanapokuja vyuoni. Pia access ya bundle ni kubwa kwa wanafunzi wa vyuo, kuna msemo hapa chuoni kwamba kuwa na bundle ni sawa na kuwa na chakula, wengi wana access ya internet, maana hata hapa chuoni kuna kuna maeneo yenye access ya internet, sasa tatizo linakuja namna ya kutumia hii internet, kuna wengine hawana exposure na haya mambo , mwingine anajirekodi anaweka tu kwenye simu kama taarifa yake binafsi, lakini baadaye inasambaa na inamletea udhalilishaji.* (key informant XII)

> *You know, student access mobile telephone when they arrive at the campus. Also, here on campus, internet packages are cheap for students. There is a saying here that having bundles is like having food to eat. Usually, students have access to bundles. The problem arises on how to use the available bundles. Some students do not have enough prior exposure to electronic media. They do record themselves and save the video on their telephones as personal information. However, sometimes, the video is posted in groups.*

As reported above by a key informant, students' internet connectivity was possible due to commercial packages and Wi-Fi available on the university campus. Wi-Fi was also essential for connectivity through cell phones and personal computers. Therefore, university students' communities had various ways to connect with the virtual space, as table 8 indicates.

Table 8: Means of Accessing Internet at the Campus

Mode of access	Frequency	Per cent
Mobile telephone	336	79.2
Mobile telephone and Library computer	38	8.9
Mobile telephone and laptop	38	8.9
Mobile telephone and internet café	6	1.4
Internet café	4	0.9
Library computers	1	0.2
Internet café and Library	1	0.2
Total	**424**	**100**

The table above indicates internet supply sources and female students' preferences. Most students (346 [81.6%]) indicated that they access the internet through their smartphones. The frequency was followed by those accessed through smartphones and laptops or desktop computers (8.9%). While minorities accessed the internet using both mobile phones and internet café (1.4%), internet café alone (0.9 %), or internet café and Library computers (0.2%). These findings establish a tremendous improvement in accessing the internet in 16 years. In 2004, Luambano and Nawe (2004 p. 13) found that 86.3 per cent of the participant accessed the internet through faculty computers; 38.8 per cent connected to the university library, while 31.3 per cent accessed the internet through an internet café.

Unlike a desktop computer, a smartphone offers more features for cyberharassment. Studies indicate that the technological change from computers to mobile phones has fuelled cyberstalking rate. According to Perry (2012, p. 18), "Smartphones contain sensitive information and apps that leaks data about us, locate people and links, victims, to Google or iCloud". The stalkers took advantage of these facilities to enable perpetrators to access internet users' photos and locations and "can lock the phone or delete all the information" (Perry, 2012, p. 18). The generation of students using a smartphone is more vulnerable than their predecessors in 2004.

It was established that besides surfing for news and materials, female students were subscribed to social media. Social networking sites accessed through mobile phones required disclosing personal information such as name, date of birth, sex of the person, and email address. According to these researchers, these pieces of information widen female students' visibility, deepen the impact of harassment as the harassers could play around, broaden the scope of

harassment, and provide alternative forms of harassment (see Perry, 2012; Prinsloo & Sissing, 2013). The contacts also offer perpetrators access to more private information like banking details and facilitated identity theft and impersonation. The researcher got the impression that while the victims' identities help in endorsing victim's digital embodiments, the perpetrator may act anonymously, pseudonymously or use misleading identities to access victims make them more vulnerable. An illustrative that happened in India male student succeeded in collecting large amounts of money from female students using several fake Facebook accounts in which he pretended to be a girl (Rajesh and Suriakala, 2016, p. 267).

The study found that, another factor for increased cyber vulnerability among female students was private internet providers' economic strategies to harness students' romantic behaviours by promoting excessive social media connectivity. The study found that commercial telephone companies deliberately supplied preferential university tariffs that enabled an online meeting, dating and romantic-related communication (see Ramirez, 2015). In other words, re, telephone companies in Tanzania invested in offering cheap services to university students with an implied preference for romantic-related communication. A key informant IV reported this fact.

> *At the University campus, internet access is quite assured. Besides University free WiFi available in academic area, internet provider like Tigo and Vodacom, offer 'kifurushi cha chuo'. These are preferential bundles accessible only at the university campuses. Most of the package are available during night times. Students therefore stay overnight talking with online friends' what they call 'popo' (bats).* (Key informant XII)

The above quote illustrates the promotion of night talks among university students. These low-priced or unlimited 'university-specific packages' (*kifurushi cha chuo*) were accessible only at the campus or through students registered special telephone numbers. Thus, internet service providers targeted more the youth than other age-groups. Internet forms part of academic life at the campus, and that youth have an ambition of modernity, romance and courtship (see Finkel · et al., 2012). Studies show that, during night talks, female students appear "more sexually expressive on their profiles to fit the perceived norm" (Ramirez · 2015; p.24). The study has

found that Tigo, one of the leading telephone companies in Tanzania[46], used to publicise internet offers targeting youth, as illustrated in the advertisement (flier 2).

Flier 2: Tigo Advertisement for 'Tigo Boom' University Offer

The online flier invites youth to benefits from preferential internet tariffs. The following description accompanies the online flier:

> *Tigo BOOM ni kampeni mpya inayowalenga vijana waliojiunga na mtandao wa Tigo nchini Tanzania. Kampeni hii inalenga vijana wenye umri usiozidi miaka 24 ikiwa ni pamoja na wanafunzi wa vyuo vya elimu ya juu, vijana wanaojua kusoma na kuandika walioajiriwa au kujiajiri au ambao bado wanatafuta ajira na waliojiunga na mtandao wa Tigo*[47].

[46] Others are Vodacom, Tigo, Hallotel, Airtel and TTCL

[47] **Source: https://www.tigo.co.tz/sw/tigo-boom accessed on 23rd April 2021**

The caption can be translated as:

> *Tigo BOOM is a new campaign for youth joining Tigo in Tanzania. The campaign targets youth aged below 24 years, including Tigo client university students, employed or self-employed literate youth or those who are searching for job.* (Researcher's translation).

Although these explanations include employed youth, the flier essentially target university students because university student popularly uses the name BOOM which is popularly used to refer students' stipend or loan'. Furthermore, the image shows a young student sitting on building stairs but whose mind, thoughts and imagination are in cyberspace. The telephone on her/his right hand connected with headphones make her triumph interpreted by the catchment (*ni shangwe time*) translated as:

> It is celebration time; speak out until you finish narrating all your stories, be relaxed, enjoying flowing GB's.

The company offers the opportunity to hold overnight conversations the advertisement prompt to an idealistic vision of a cyberspace. The company constructs an imaginary utopic world that the internet a safe, 'post body ungendered space' where female students can enjoy freedom, unlike in the physical world where they are being discriminated, harassment (see Haraway, 1990; Plant, 1997; Scott et al., 2001; Halbert, 2004). During the interview, it was sometimes apparent that female students did not suspect any imminent threats of nocturnal romantic conversations. The female students found that corporate companies like Tigo, offer relieved services, students from expenses in retrieving materials.

Contrary to students' views, key informant XII believed that the company made much profit from these offers and attracted more youth adherents for the company's future sustainability. The fact that the internet availability created a visibility forum for potential perpetrators stimulated romantic experiences whose effects these were revealed in the rate of victimisation

6.1.4.1 Nexus between Exposure to the Internet, Demographic Characteristic and Victimisation

In a different context, exposure to the internet was found to be a factor in the victimisation rate. Prinsloo & Sissing (2013; p. 14) remarks that:

> As social networks advance and expand, the level of socialisation among users intensifies and internet users become more open and candid, even desensitised, when expressing their thoughts and sharing information and thus become vulnerable to internet violations.

The findings from the Google survey questionnaire affirm a correlation between exposure to social media subscription and cybervictimization, especially for the variables: year of study, place of birth, and socioeconomic background.

In a sample according to year of study, the findings indicate that the higher the year of study, the more one is likely to be harassed. Specifically, among all participants from the third-year, 43.5% were cyberstalked when compared with 39.9% of all second year and 37.5% of the first year[48] as table 9 and figure 11 display below.

Table 9: Percentage of Cyberstalked Student for each Year of Study

Year of study	**Number of participants**	**Number of cyberstalked**	**Percentage of cyberstalked**
first-year student	120	45	37.5
second year student	124	49	39.5
Third-year student	177	77	43.5
Total	**424**	**172**	**40.6**

[48] Since fourth year were only 3, the number was ignore because it was found to be too low for statistical decision.

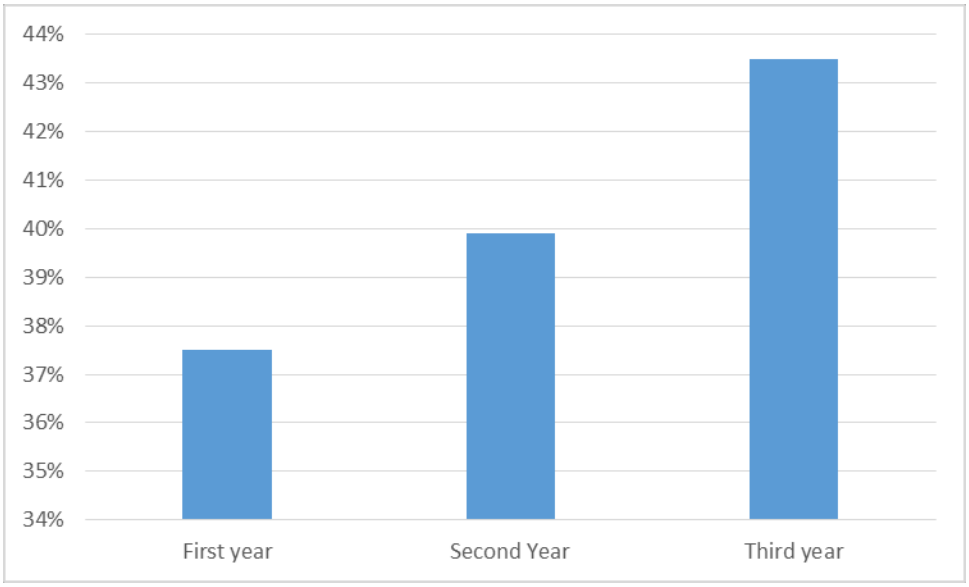


Figure 11: Cyberstalking Rate across Year of Study

These findings indicate that continuing students (third year followed by second-year) had a higher victimisation rate than first years. These had prolonged use of the internet and social media and lived longer and closer with potential perpetrators around the campus than first years. In (cyber) sexual harassment discourses, proximity to the perpetrator and exposure to the internet are significant variables for increased victimisation (see King-ries, 2011; Muasya, 2013; Reynes et al., 2015; Welsh & Lavoie, 2012, Kanyemba, 2018). According to (Welsh & Lavoie, 2012, p. 8), "exposure to internet and proximity to motivated or potential offenders may fuel fantasies or obsession with victims [...], increase the opportunities to communicate [...], and provide motivated offenders with information about personal schedules and whereabouts [...]".

During FGD II, participants highlighted the fact that third-year single female students were more motivated to create and maintain heterosexual relationships because they were socially at the peak of married age. In the African cultural environment, it is said that the socially constructed median marriage age revolves around 19 years (Garenne, 2004). In Tanzania, although the law allows girls marriage at an age as low as 15, if parents' consent, the official eligible age for marriage is 18 years. While pursuing studying, female students' risks, exceeding marriage age which may cause delay in family undertakings and sometimes social stigmatisation. Third-year students therefore, may take advantage of digital technology to facilitate dating and courtship (Anderson et al., 2020).

Moreover, as a factor of victimisation, internet exposure correlated with participants' place of origin. The findings demonstrate that among female university students from urban areas, 45% were cyberstalked, while among those from rural areas, only 38.3% were cyberstalked, as displayed below.

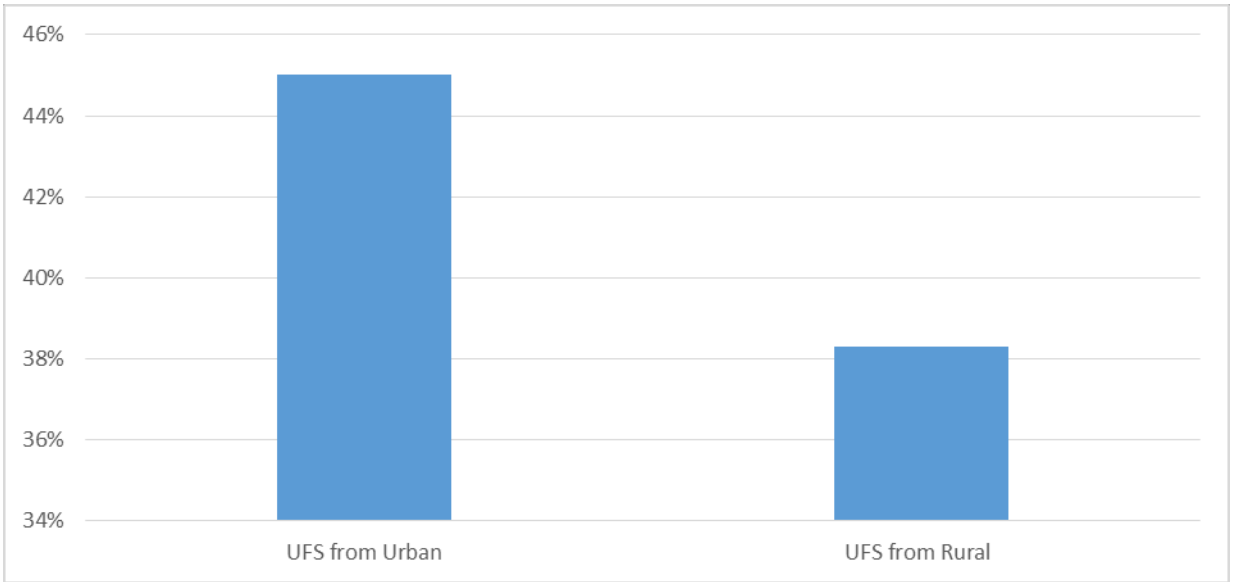


Figure 12: Cyberstalking Rate accross Place of Origin

The figure above indicates that a larger per cent of female students from urban areas were cyberstalked than those from rural areas. Given the Tanzanian internet supply landscape, it was expected that university students from urban areas would be more open to the internet than those from rural areas. Records from the Tanzanian Communication and Regulatory Authority (TCRA) indicate the disparity in internet supply and use between rural and urban areas, despite a 90% coverage nationwide (TCRA, 2019). According to Onkokame and Moshi (2017, p. 2), "With operators targeting urban markets and universal service funds ineffectual regarding the connection of citizens to ICT services, 86% of rural dwellers remain unconnected to the Internet compared to 44.6% in urban areas".

Globally, the digital divide hypothesis contends that the rural population is underprivileged in internet supply because of "lack of electricity, literacy rate, gender difference, poverty which is linked with the affordability of internet costs, language barrier, inappropriate content" (Henry, 2017, p. 5). In Tanzania, despite increasing electrification in Tanzania, people from rural cannot

afford internet costs, and the cost of internet-enabled smartphone being higher (Mosso, 2018; Onkokame Mothobi & Moshi, 2017), low preference of mobile services to improve rural.

By implication, on average, female students from urban areas were likely to be acquainted with internet, whether accessed through internet cafés or smartphones. For the urban digital generation, "the smartphone has indeed become a companion in any situation and most young users keep in constant touch with their friends via online communities and app-based messengers"(Genner & Süss, 2017, p. 4).

Similarly, exposure to internet appeared to be a factor for elevated victimisation of female students from higher economic background when compared with middle and low. The findings indicate that 50 per cent of female students from the high socioeconomic backgrounds were victimised whereas from middle-income families, 41.7% and only 36.9% from middle and lower low-income families were cyberstalked, respectively as the figure below displays.

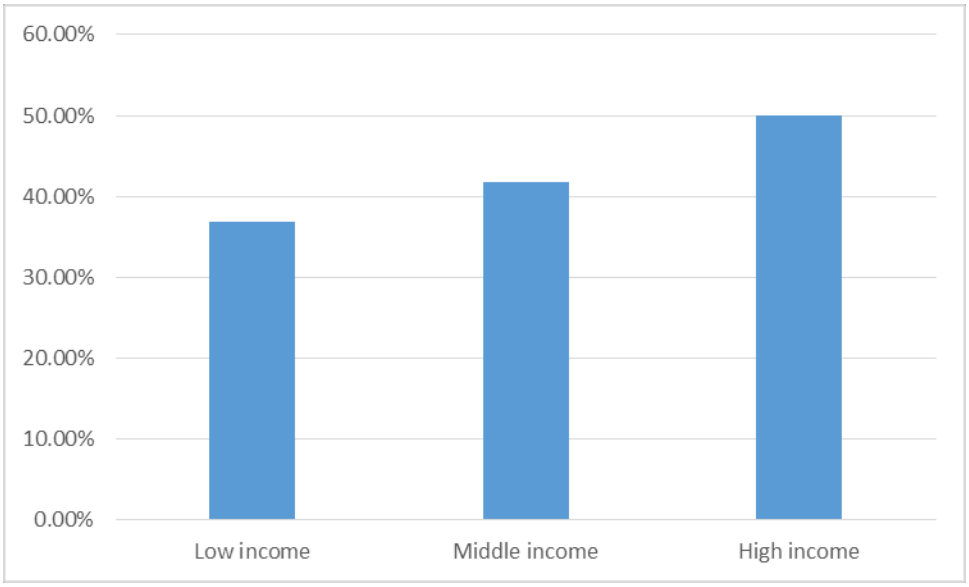


Figure 13: Cyberstalking Rate across Socio-economic Background

The figure indicates a correlation between cyberstalking rate and socioeconomic background. It indicates the higher the socioeconomic status, the more the vulnerability rate. This situation is also a function of exposure. The digital divide principles identify a gap in internet use between high and low-level economic communities. The internet is accessible to economically privileged than to disadvantaged citizens (Mosso, 2017; ASEAN Foundation, 2017). In Africa and

Tanzania, the main obstacle is reported to be the cost of smartphone devices (Onkokame Mothobi & Moshi, 2017, p. 3). The female students from the high-income socioeconomic background were likely to be more exposed to the internet and the cyberspace culture than students from middle income and low income. The former were more economically advantaged to purchase the handset, pay for packages, and access materials online than female students from low economic status. However, the former were also at risk because studies indicate that frequency of internet use and constant exposure to communication and technologies is positively associated with cybervictimization risk (see Abaido, 2020; King-Ries, 2011; Welsh & Lavoie, 2012).

The female students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds might have been exposed to connectivity to the extent the internet supplants social and personal psychological needs such as association, recreation, and academic, lead to 'addiction' (see Tomažič & Vilela, 2017). Since internet addiction implies "psychological comfort that a person experiences when implementing activities only in the Internet environment" (Kostyunina et al., 2019, p. 1071), it has been established that addiction on internet lows self-esteem, self-control, and social connectivity which together lead to carelessness to victimisation (Herrero et al., 2021; Kostyunina et al., 2019). According to Herrero and colleagues (ibid, p.3), "a user with high levels of addiction may neglect his or her safety very occasionally in order to meet a compelling emotional need because he or she feels lonely, or because he or she feels very depressed, even if that user consistently monitors his or her safety daily".

To affirm the effect of exposure to cyberharassment, the researcher compared female students,' the number of social media subscribed between cyber stalked and none cyberstalked female students. The findings indicate that on average, each female student subscribed to 3.99 social media (almost four media); the lowest was subscribed to one social media, WhatsApp, and the highest was subscribed to 12 social media. The cyberstalked had an average of 4.16 subscribed media while non cyberstalked had an average of 3.91 media, as shown in figure 14 below.

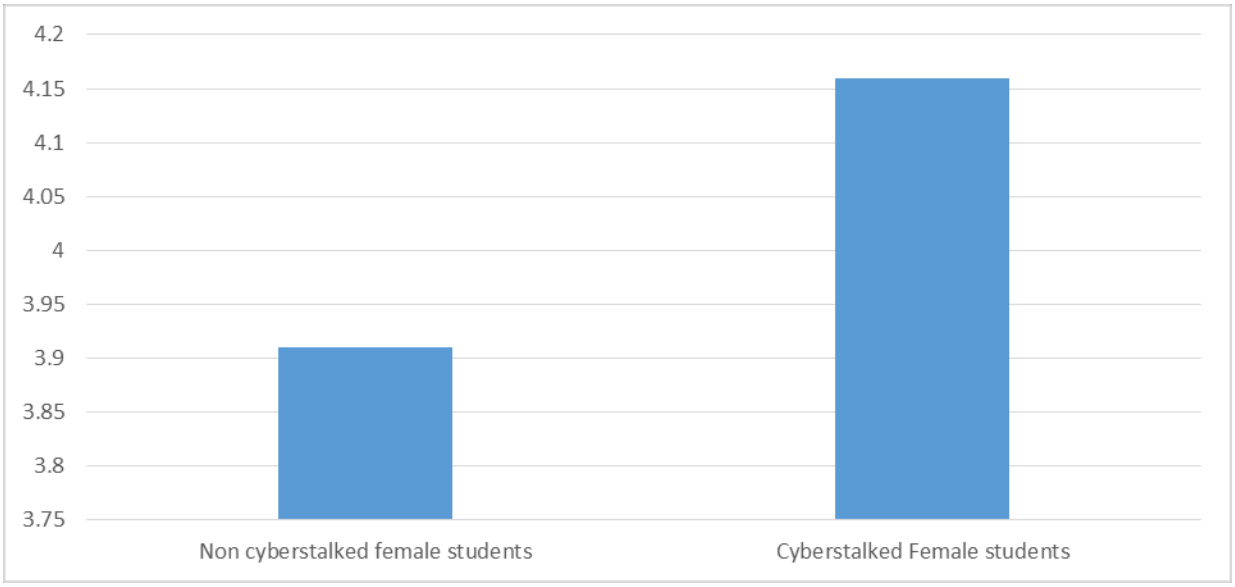


Figure 14: Social Media Subscription differences between Cyberstalked and Noncyberstalked Female Students

The figure suggests a positive correlation between exposure to social media and being cyberstalked. Students who were subscribed to many social media platforms were more likely to be cyberstalked. The findings show the difference between cyberstalked females and non-cyberstalked ones. The findings concur with the results from King-Ries, (2011) and Keipi et al. (2017) of a positive correlation between social ties and experience of online harassment. Literature suspects that social media will be the most powerful agent of socialisation among youth. Social media are reported to have created portals that facilitate "flow and the publication of text, photos, music and movies [which makes them] most attractive to stalkers" (Pietkiewicz & Treder, 2018, p. 34). The findings from the year of study, place of origin, socioeconomic background and number of social media subscribed to provide substantial systematic evidence that at the University of Dar es Salaam technology contributed to the proliferation of cybervictimisation.

6.1.5 Deviance from Societal Dressing Norms in Cyberspace

The study found that deviation from dressing norms contributed to victimisation. It is evident that in a patriarchal community like Tanzania, social norms legitimise gender-based violence by pointing to women' behaviour. The researcher had the impression that the majority of key informants were shaped in the mentality that women's attire is the primary cause of

victimisation. Consequently, ten of fifteen key informants alleged that female students were cyberstalked because of their unethical photographs posted on social media. One of them asserted;

> *Changamoto kwa hapa campus ipo, na hii ni kwa sababu wanafunzi wa kike wanavyovaa na kujiweka wanavyojiweka kwenye mitandao. Mfano sisi kama viongozi picha za utupu zinatufikia kwa namna wanavyojiweka kwenye mitandao na wenza wao, watu wanapiga picha na mavazi ambayo si ya heshima kuendana na tamaduni zetu na kuziweka kwenye mitandao, na hapa inakuwa kama vile mtu yupo sokoni* (Key informant VI)
>
> *The main challenge of cyberstalking that persists here on the campus is dressing styles. This is because female students wear and post their images on social media. We as leaders do receive nude pictures and see how they post them on social media while with their partners. They take photographs while wearing indecent clothes contrary to our traditions. It is like they are advertising body business.*

From this quote, it is evident that society interprets female students' behaviours from their dressing. Dressing in the so-called 'revealing attire' was associated with prostitution. In Tanzania, prostitution or sex business is considered socially immoral behaviour. For example, in a study undertaken in three Ghanaian universities, Anku et al (2018) conclude that, "female dressing provokes sexual harassment and rape, female dressing inflames indiscriminate sex behaviour, female dressing incites sexual thoughts in men, men tend to sexually objectify female students and female dressing incite lust in men" (Anku et al., 2018, p. 224). In the context of the University of Dar es Salaam as already pointed out earlier (see 2.5.2), Tanzanian dressing norms are formally and informally prescribed by circulars and displayed in public places. In Tanzanian institutions of higher learning, deviance in dressing code raise attention (see Mvungi, 2014; Zembazemba, 2017). Briefly, despite that, the dressing code norms have been condemned as discriminatory (see Mugaba, 2009), still they are used as a yardstick to compare moral standards among female students.

In interpretation, the contention between social norms and harassment literature suggests a two-fold approach. One school of thought considers posting intimate content online as a violation of ethical issues. At the same time, the other sees it as women's means of expression

of freedom away from the patriarchal physical domain. In support of the former stance, Ephrain (2013) argues that uploading nude pictures portrays misuse of the internet and disrespects other users'. His argument is based on the fact that, each user of the internet has to abide to the common socital convention. The author proposes the application of what he calls 'Culture-centred Approach to internet use, especially in the African context. The Culture centred approach, according to Ephraim (ibid. p. 275), "incorporates the tenets of Information Ethics, stresses the need for the respect of the dignity and rights of other online users as well the application of good cultural values and ethical behaviour while on social media platforms". The culture according to Ephraim (ibid) includes norms and values derived from online interactions. During the study at the University of Dar es Salaam, two-thirds of key informants had the same feeling that female students were irresponsible in selecting dressing styles. Cyber victimisation for female students was therefore assumed to be a punishment for violating norms. In the United Republic of Tanzania, legislation to "Publish indecent content nudity sex scenes, obscene content; explicit sex acts or pornography"(URT, 2017, p. 8) is outlawed. The key informant above suggests, application of rules in cyberspace.

Against this view, feminists critically contend that hierarchies with power in discourse concerning the woman body and both online and offline violence against women. In relation to norms, the feminists' school of thought perceive ethical norms and principles to be created by people bestowed to a group of people (see Birchall, 2019). It is thus for the interest of those creators (see Birchall, ibid). It appears that the norms governing ethics in patriarchal society were created to shape people so that they behaviours in a manner that perpetuates disparity between the sexes. In conformity with the feminists' point of view, it has to be noted that, although the dress codes display standards for both sexes, men's target women[49]. This is true from the societal focuses on the woman body. An interviewed female students made clarified that:

> *Sababu za kijamii ndizo zinasababisha tatizo hili, kwamba mwanamke anachukuliwa mwili wake kama kivutio cha wanaume, kwa hiyo mwanamke hatakiwi kuonekana akiwa*

[49] Women are prohibited from wearing: tight clothes; short dresses revealing knees; open clothes showing chest, and nimble; clothes with images or unofficial writings; any type of pairs of shorts, transparent dresses; jeans trousers; t-shirt (Public servants circular no 3 of 2007).

*uchi kuendana na tamaduni zetu, mtu aliye uchi hastahili katika jamii kuendana na utamaduni wetu. (*Interviewed student)

Social motives for cyberstalking remain that the woman' body is considered as an attraction to men. Therefore a woman is not supposed to be naked according to our traditions. A naked person is not welcomed in our society according to traditions.

Drawing from the above narration, one learns that the quote was embedded with a masculine gender perspective focusing on the woman body. The respondent believed that exposing the female body contributes to online harassment because the body attracts and arouses male sexual desire, which may initiate obsession and online pursuit. Among feminists, the assumption that the woman body is attractive is a socially constructed attitude used by men to legitimise sexual harassment (Ngaiza, 2012). As such, female students bodies were objectified and considered as sexual objects. In feminists' perspective, legitimising female attire as a factor for cyberharassment gives men power to continue perpetration. The perpetrators find excuses in their deeds (see Rahimi & Liston, 2011) because their actions are justified by the norm. In this regard, authors like Itegi & Njuguna (2013 p. 278) attribute the root causes of gender-based violence to be "the attitudes of society towards practices of gender discrimination, which often place women in subordinate positions in relation to men". In other words, all forms of sexual harassment emanate from unequal power relation associated with gender-based violence and violation of human rights. Similarly, Thambo and colleagues (2019; p 98) assert that women are "sexually harassed because of the subordinate positions they hold".

6.2 Summary of the Chapter

The main goal of the current chapter was to discuss the underlying sociocultural factors for cyberstalking critically. Several factors have emerged as underlying factors prevalence of cyber cyberstalking at the University of Dar es Salaam. The factors revolve around and exhibit an interplay between societal attitudes towards women and the impact of technology dynamics. In particular, the subordination of women was manifested as the major challenge in questioning perpetrators' deliberate action to silence female students who demonstrate reticence and who claim their rights and freedom to choose sexual partners and self-expression. From a cyberfeminist perspective, the findings indicate that the technological needs in universities create

a complex form of women discrimination. In other words, digitisation exploits the existing gender relation to create a challenging environment for women to live and study. The next chapter will explore university strategies to curb cyberstalking at the campus.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CURBING CYBERSTALKING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM, A MYTH OR REALITY?

7.0. Introduction

This chapter critically examines strategies undertaken by the University of Dar es Salaam to eradicate cyberstalking at the campus. The chapter builds on the foundation built by previous finding chapters. Chapter four, for instance, indicated that approximately 40.6 per cent of the participants in the study were cyberstalked. With this figure in mind, the researcher interrogates the University responsiveness towards eliminating cyberharassment at the campus. For this reason, the researcher systematically reviews institutional policies related to security, ICT, gender equality, and sexual harassment. Moreover, based on cyberfeminists' perspective, the chapter explores institutional approaches to curb cyberstalking and related behaviours at the campus. Furthermore, the chapter critically discusses participants' views with regard to intervention and prevention measures of cyberstalking. Since policies and regulations shape behaviours, the discussion of policies precedes the examination of practices to restraint cyberstalking on the campus.

7.1 The University of Dar es Salaam Cybersecurity and Gender Policies

It was important for the researcher to study the policies, laws, by-laws and regulations related to cyber harassment on the campus because they mirror societal conceptualisation of gender and technology. Normally, policies are said to be grounded in the social context of a particular society. They, therefore, usually emulate and reproduce the norms and values of that particular society (see Kanyemba, 2018). Policies also guide institution behaviours and may influence the way society perceives gender issues, harassment and digital technology. From data collection, the researcher found five policies related to cybersecurity and gender equality.

Thus, given that for more than 34 years (1961-1995), the UDSM existed as the only University in Tanzania, there was a mutual interaction between government policies and the University's vision. At the same time, as the highest academic institution, UDSM experts might have been

engaged in framing and spearheading the implementation of national policies on gender and technological advancement to other higher learning institutions in Tanzania.

The researcher found three policies related to cybersecurity these are: the UDSM security policy (2020), UDSM ICT Policy (2016), UDSM ICT Security Policy (2016) and UDSM Security Policy (2020). One gender relations, the researcher found two policies: The UDSM Gender policy (2006) and The UDSM Anti-sexual harassment policy (2018). In the following sections, the researcher carries out a critical review of ICT policy and gender-related policies.

7.1.1 Policies Related to Gender Equality and Sexual Harassment at UDSM

Despite significant progress in reducing gender inequality at the University of Dar es Salaam, gender imbalance is still a challenge that the University is facing. (UDSM, 2014, p. 26). The onset of the strategies dates three decades back, following the suicidal death of Levina Mukasa in 1990 at the campus due to prolonged stalking (see section 2.5.2). Henceforth, the efforts to bridge the gender inequalities gap as well as eliminate gender discrimination and gender-based violence remain an imperative agendum in the administration of the University. Mukangara and Shao (2007) recall that global efforts also provoked the struggle against gender inequality and gender-based violence at the campus that emerged in mid-1980 to emancipate women from gender inequalities. These efforts include the World Conference on Women held in Nairobi in June 1985 and the Fourth World Conference on Women held in 1995 in Beijing, under Gertrude Ibengwe Mongela, a 1970's graduate from the University of Dar es Salaam, participating as the secretary-general.

Information on the evolution of the gender agenda at UDSM discloses that UDSM launched a Gender Dimension Task Force (GDTF) to oversee gender issues on the campus (Mukangara & Shao, 2007). The key areas that the taskforce had to eye mark were: "disparity in student enrolment, academic staff recruitment, and power relations in the institutional leadership" (ibid, p. 31). In conformity with the recommendations from the Taskforce, the Gender Dimension Program Committee was formed in 1997 to steer gender mainstreaming at the campus. Gender mainstreaming, according to UN (2002) "involves strategies to promote gender equality through the integration of a gender perspective into the preparation, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies, regulatory measures and spending programs". The Dimension Task

Force (GDTF) was then transformed to an official Unit, a Gender Centre, in 1997. The Centre was created in order to oversee "Gender mainstreaming in all policies and practices at UDSM[50]". In 2017, it was elevated to the Institute of Gender Studies of the University of Dar es Salaam, a status in which it is mandated to offer short courses and degree programs in gender aspects.

The present study focused on analysing cyberstalking within the broader sense of gender-based harassment. Cyberstalking figures within gender power relations because it involves forms of power and control. In accentuating on inequalities in power relations in cyberstalking, King-Ries (2011, p. 135) underlines that cyberstalkers: "ignore, undermine, violate, or undervalue the autonomy of the victim to make decisions regarding her own body, life, work, and acquaintances". Therefore, the researcher explores policies related to gender issues and those related to digitisation in the following discussion. The researcher probes how much the policies conceptualise online harassment? And, how much do the policies address the impact of digital technology in exacerbating harassment at the campus? The work also examines the strategic plan that the policies proposed to empower female students against imminent (cyber) harassment.

Between 1990 to date, the University has formulated two policies concerning gender: the Gender Policy (UDSM, 2006) and the Anti-sexual Harassment Policy. The two policies were launched simultaneously in 2006 to bolster strategies of fostering gender equality and eradicating discrimination gender-based violence at the campus. Specifically, the UDSM Gender Policy was formulated to "promote gender equality, equity and ensure women empowerment within the University in particular and Tanzanian society in general" (UDSM, 2006, p. 5). During the interview with key informant (III), she underscored that the implementation of the Gender Policy provides an administrative framework for advancing gender relations in the University. Accordingly, the UDSM Gender Policy (2006, p 15) aimed to promote gender-sensitive organisational culture. One of the Policy statements emphasises that it was essential to formulate a policy because female university community members were disempowered by the male domination tradition embedded in the organisation culture. In this situation, according to the Policy statement, female students were highly vulnerable to various forms of "oppression, discrimination and marginalisation", including sexual harassment (UDSM, ibid). As such, it appears that, the Gender Policy lays a strong foundation for advocacy, sensitisation programmes,

[50] https://www.udsm.ac.tz/web/index.php/institutes/igs/background

interrogation of existing unequal social relations and implementing the Anti-Sexual Harassment Policy.

The documentary review indicated that the University of Dar es Salaam, since 1990 gender agenda focused on: gender mainstreaming in the university curricula, gender imbalance in enrolment and employment, and ensuring a conducive and secure learning environment for female students at the University (see Kilango et al., 2017; Nawe, 2002). These factors were found to be constraining the construction of conducive learning, especially for male and female students. According to Bondestam & Lundqvist, (2020 p. 1), the key features disrupting the learning environment are; "sexual harassment in institutions of higher learning are hierarchical organisations, a normalisation of gender-based violence, toxic academic masculinities, a culture of silence and a lack of active leadership". Since all these features have been broadly discussed in the previous chapter (chapter six), in this chapter, the researcher focuses on sexual harassment which is the foundation of cyberstalking.

The UDSM Anti-sexual Harassment policy was launched simultaneously with the Gender Policy in 2006. Due to changing nature of sexual harassment, the Anti-sexual Harassment Policy reviewed in 2018 (UDSM, 2018)[51]. The UDSM Anti-sexual Harassment Policy (2018) defines sexual harassment as: "a form of sexual discrimination occurring when there is the deliberate or repeated use of sexual comments, attempted physical contact, or actual physical contact including sexual violence in the workplace or academic environment that creates a hostile environment for the recipient" (UDSM, 2018, p. 2). In the researcher's view, the Gender Policy and the Anti-sexual Harassment policy laid a strong foundation for advocacy, sensitisation programmes, interrogation of existing unequal social relations, and regulating the University's implementation prescribed gender equality principles. As a result of the policy, until 2018, "a number of cases [were] filed and reported to the university administration some resolved others were pending" (UDSM, 2018, p. 7).

Nevertheless, the findings indicate that gender-based online harassment methods were not well apprehended in gender-related policies at the University of Dar es Salaam. The virtual

[51] *https://www.udsm.ac.tz* › upload › 20191018_0309...PDF, for the sake of this work, the researcher will constantly cite the 2018 version.

harassment was not presented neither in the existing policies nor constituted a separate policy. Like many universities in East Africa, UDSM did not have Anti-cyberstalking or Anticyberbullying policy in place (see Kamali, 2014). The lack of an anti-cyberstalking policy at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), can be associated with the imprecise stance that the National Anti-cybercrime Act (2015) puts on online human harassment (see section 2..2.1). In a context like this of a gap at the national level, Schaefer-Ramirez (2017, p. xi) insists that universities have to "develop policy statements and sanctions that prohibit or discourage cyberharassment behaviours".

7.1.1 Policies Related to Cybersecurity and Procedures at UDSM

Like other universities globally, the University of Dar es Salaam is engaged in the digital transformation of its activities. In its 50 years vision document (UDSM, 2014), the University aims at: taking firm action to use "ICT in mediating all academic and administrative functions of the University" (UDSM, 2014, p. 22). As the most prominent and oldest University, the University leads in internet training, as well as provision and installation of wired and wireless internet connectivity at the campus (Luambano & Nawe, 2004, p.12) owing to technical support from the University Computing Centre (UCC), a university commercial ICT unit[52]. Eventually, the University digitised most of its services, including university application procedures, registration, access to results, payments, and teaching and learning. The advancement in ICT and availability of free internet through Wi-Fi around academic areas oblige university students to own smartphones to access the internet, making them vulnerable to cyber violence.

The study found that, in implementing the digitisation goal, UDSM takes modest precautions on security. In ensuring safety, the University formulated three policies: UDSM ICT policy (2016), UDSM Security Policy (2020) and UDSM ICT policy (2016). Cybersecurity seems vital during digitisation because ICT brings both positive and negative impacts to users. On the negative impacts, ICT has been reported to challenge and sometimes exacerbating social relations, reinforcing gender inequalities by facilitating abuse directed to women and girls. That is why "feminists question the impact of the Internet on women's lives, and appeal for the need to examine the manifestation of gender inequality and discrimination on the Internet" (Williams,

[52] One of the largest nation internet and ICT provider

2009, p. 21). Thus, with interest in protecting female students from cyberharassment, the researcher probed from existing documents and key informants how much the policies recognised digital threats to community members? And how much the policies effectively assured community members' safety, especially women and female students.

The review of university documents found three policies related to digital technology security. These were: UDSM ICT policies: UDSM ICT policy (2016) and the UDSM ICT security Policy (2016), as well as the UDSM Security Policy (2020). The UDSM ICT policy was formulated to "support the application of ICT in the core mission and functions including teaching, research and public services, and to facilitate the effort to provide efficient and effective ICT services to UDSM clients" (UDSM, 2016, p 4)[53]. Similarly, the ICT Security Policy (2016) was purposely formulated for "protecting institutional data [and...] information systems that store, process or transmit institutional data" (UDSM, 2016a, p. 4). One, therefore, learns from this objective that the two (ICT and ICT Security) policies did not target human security. Likewise, the UDSM Security policy (see UDSM, 2020b, p. 8)[54] enumerates 22 significant threats. Among the threats, online harassment was included. The missing information on human security may be explained by the fact that the Security Policy was intended to protect "ICT assets and […] and information housed in the University's Information Systems" (ibid, p. 8). Thus, neither the ICT Policy nor the ICT Security Policy nor the Security Policy envisaged the protection of ICT users.

By implication, based on the University security policy stance, a dearth of knowledge exists in conceptualising and eventually addressing aggression mediated by the digital devices. To recapitulate, policies related to gender issues had little input on online methods of harassment. On the other hand, policies related to digitalisation were blind on the social implications of the internet. Theoretically, the University had not yet incorporated online gender-based violence in its policies. In the cyberfeminists' discourse, the situation at the campus describes a dichotomy between the real-life world and cyberspace; between gender and cyberspatial environments relations and between the physical and virtual body (see Milford, 2015. Hence, the dichotomy between sexual harassment and online sexual harassment implies stalking and cyberstalking. It is

[53] https://ugfacts.net/university-dar-es-salaam-ict-policy/#:~:text=The%20UDSM%20ICT%20Policy%20is%20being%20developed%20with%20a%20view,ICT%20resources%20at%20The%20University.&text=The%20policy%20also%20provides%20a,of%20Information%20and%20Communication%20Technology.

[54] https://www.udsm.ac.tz/web/index.php/schools/sol/udsm-security-policy

no longer the 'cultural, that explains a temporal delay of culture to match with technology but a spontaneous 'media dearth' created by the configuration of the social world into cyberspace. The mismatch between the ICT policies and Gender policies explains a failure of the institution to recognise and map gender violence within the cyberspace realm.

The fact that the university was not concerned with the security of human beings was confirmed by key informant (XIV) during the interview. The interviewed personnel reported that the University concentrated on protecting information system and data, not internet users.

> *So far, we use firewall, and intrusion detection systems to non-genuine restrict traffic to pass through our systems. However, we are not dealing with the content. We only protect the system from destruction. We are not concerned with ethical issues. (*Key informant XIV).

The above statement shows that the University focuses on the technical aspect of digital security. Although this protection using a firewall and intrusion detection systems secures users from electronic attacks through malicious emails and viruses. It was evident that the University intended to protect computer hard and software. The key informant above confirms that, UDSM focuses on material aspects of protection at the expense of the human being.

In addition to University internet supply at the campus, students access the internet from commercial internet providers, mainly telephone companies (see section 6.1.4). During Focus Group Discussion with female students, it was reported that university students used mobile phones to access the internet through preferential offers by mobile telephones companies. To make the matter worse, the University did not have control of malicious messages passed through private companies' internet providers. This fact made the University disregard violence encountered by the students. According to Key informant (XI), the female students had to make their own decisions on cybersecurity.

> *These (female students) are grown-up individuals. They are the ones who upload nude photographs into their smartphones. The University cannot make interventions in their private affairs with internet providers*. (key informant XI)

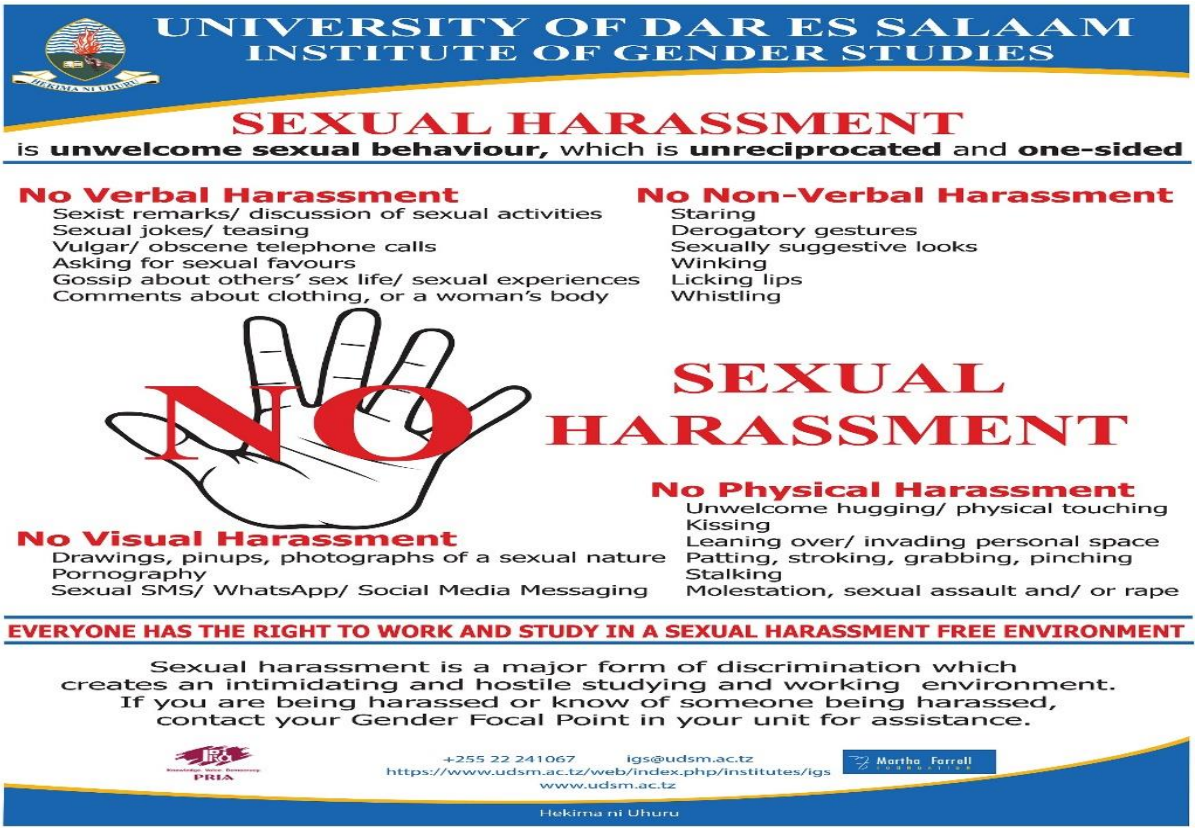
The quote affirms that the University considered female students as mature enough to make decisions related to online friendships and their lives. The excerpt above base on the fact that most of the harassment practices happen among people with a certain degree of intimacy. In this aspect, debate on human rights, privacy and power relations. In the researcher view, the key informant based on the right to the personal property rather than insisting on the institutional obligation to protect members against violation of other human rights performed by perpetrators. The informant also did not consider power relation in cyberspace. The key informant did not envision that the harassment could be completed by lecturers, older people, technically more skilful people, or men who have obvious or implicit patriarchy powers.

From cyberfeminism perspective, the oversight on emerging social issues during the digital revolution at the campus appears to be based on the utopic assumption that digital technology is neutral, genderless, raceless and free (see Milford, 2015; Hester, 2020). On the contrary, sociological perspectives underscore that, "technology mirrors the societies that create it" (O'Donnell & Sweetman, 2018, p. 217). Digital technology, for that matter, reflects the underlying global cyberculture. On the other hand, the utilisation of digital devices is shaped and reproduces societal inequalities and injustice in Tanzanian society. That is why, Efimov and Lapteva (2018) insist that, during the digitisation process of Higher learning institutions, it is essential to consider: "norms, culture, rules, communication patterns, structure, processes and power relations" (Efimov & Lapteva, 2018, p. 6). However, despite institutional unawareness on cyberharassment practices targeting female students, the study found that the Univesity of Dar es Salaam takes heed of cyberviolence among its community members gradually. The researcher observed scattered signs, precautions, and information suggesting that the University is gaining consciousness of harassment perpetrated through digital media at the campus.

7.1.1.1 Towards Realisation of Prevalence of CyberHarassment at UDSM

Proceeding from above, although the general impression shows that University is highly blind to cyberharassment and cyberstalking, in particular, the study identified three indices of the University's positive progress towards responding to emerging digital media human threats. In

the first, the revised versions of UDSM Anti-Sexual Harassment Policy 2018[55] mentions sexual harassment mediate by citing phenomena such as offensive phone calls, portraying offensive screen savers, and transmitting offensive written telephone or electronic communications (UDSM, 2018, p.3). The first flier (flier 3) delineates the phenomenon of sexual harassment, whereas the second (flier 4) about sextortion on the campus.



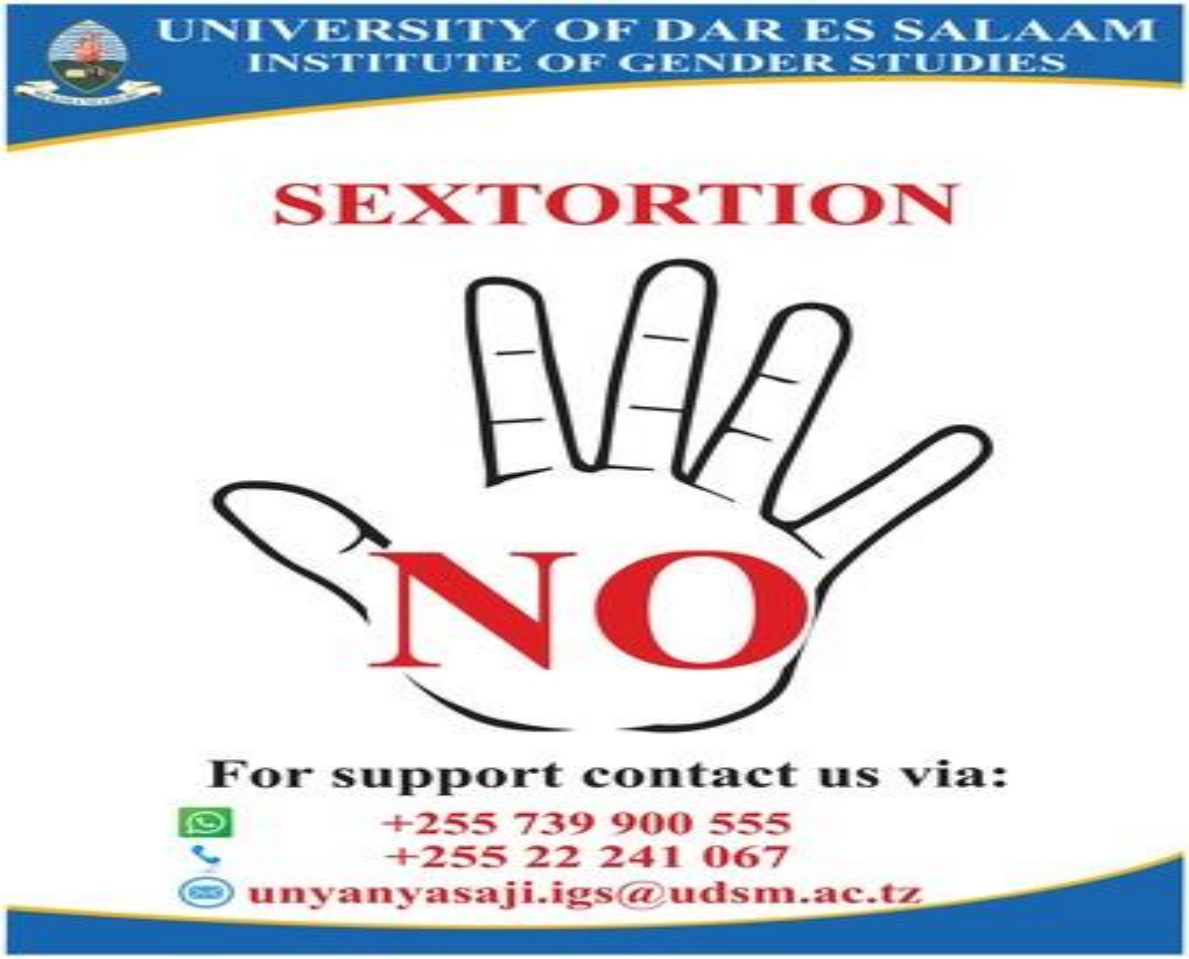
Flier 3: Sexual Harassment

Source: https://www.udsm.ac.tz/web/index.php/institutes/igs/sexual-harassment accessed on 6/5/2021

One can see that the flier incorporates both physical and electronically mediated aggressions. The mobile phone appears to be the media for transmitting obscene calls, sexual SMS, WhatsApp, and harassment through social media messages. However, despite these improvements, the researcher opines that the flier was conceptualised without a critical analysis

[55] https://www.udsm.ac.tz/upload/20191018_030915_sexual%20harassment%20policy.pdf (accessed on 25th May 2021).

of the social context of harassment directed to female students. Firstly, the flier recommends reporting to a gender focal point who are lecturers. In this respect, Kayuni (2009) alerts the University and community at large on power differences between students and lecturers in African universities which may inhibit students from facing their instructors on issues related to personal and, above all, sex matters. Kayuni's (ibid) remark was also observed in the study, that students do not report to the authority but share among themselves. Again, the flier does not tell prospective victims how to protect themselves or react. Instead, the victimised are implicitly advised to remain silent and passive (see Ifechelobi, 2014). Contrary to cyberfeminists' spirit, the content denies victims' power to protect themselves, block, react, or collectively address the harassment (see Trevor, 2015). In another perspective, one would expect the flier to articulate more boldly addressing perpetrators that 'sexual harassment is a violation of human right' (Dhillon et al., 2016). The other flier (4) addressed sextortion.



Flier 4: Combating Sextortion

Source: https://www.udsm.ac.tz/web/index.php/institutes/igs accessed on 5th May 2021

Accordingly, the second flier above alerts the University community on the prevalence of sextortion at the campus. The flier provides awareness on sextortion and online channels for reporting sextortion victimisation. Unlike the first, this one does not explain what does sextortion mean? However, this one has a broader reporting centre through telephone calls, WhatsApp and email. It not directed to although this flier suggests online reporting, it does not tell perpetrators to refrain from cyberstalking. Studies insist that in fighting against harassment, both perpetration and victimisation (see Trevor, ibid).

In the second place, the study found a warning statement from a UDSM authority. The warning appear in an ICT guidelines prepared by one of the UDSM campuses: The Dar es Salaam

University College of Education (DUCE, 2020[56]). Among others, the Guidelines prohibit, "sending threatening or harassing messages, whether sexual or otherwise; as well as accessing or sharing sexually explicit, obscene or otherwise inappropriate materials among others" (DUCE, 2020, p. 9). The guidelines forbid using electronic media to perform any form of online harassment such as "creation, display, production, down-loading or circulation of offensive material in any form or medium" (DUCE, 2020, p. 6). However, different from the fliers, the Guidelines address perpetrators but do not propose protective measures.

Dhillon (2016, p. 76) reveals a two-fold approach to cyberstalking: "ensure protection against cyberstalking [and...] focus on to ensure that cyberstalking is minimised". Another weak point of the guidelines is that they censure the use of the University electronic system in harassing others while harassment by using personal smartphones on the university premises (and outside) is not mentioned. Therefore, despite these promising in roads, efforts to recognise online security at UDSM are at the infancy stages.

Cyberfeminists advocate for online mobilisation feminists' efforts to theorise and combat inequalities and virtual violence. The notion "cyborg" by Donna Haraway displays a fusion of human being and machines. It rejects the binary division between virtual and real-life (Haraway, 1985). According to Milford, "social inequalities from the offline realm – particularly offline violence against women and other gender-related disparities – are also reflected in virtual contexts" (Milford, 2015, p. 60). Cyberfeminists encourage online agency and empowerment among female victims of online harassment. Drawing insights from cyberfeminists, the concept of empowerment, and the following sections discusses practices at the University of Dar es Salaam in combating (online) harassment towards female students at the campus.

7.2 Practices in Curbing (cyber) Harassment at UDSM

Proceeding from the above discussion, the researcher probed practical issues the University implemented in curbing (cyber) harassment on the campus. The researcher posed questions regarding measures taken by the University in awareness creation and educating as well as providing counselling services to harassed female students. In responding to this question, all female students involved in the interview and Focus Group Discussion admitted the University

[56] https://udsm.ac.tz/web/index.php/colleges/duce/duce-ict-security-guidelines accessed on 28/05/2021

had set strategies to combat various forms of sexual harassment. Deriving from strategies enumerated by participants, the researcher found the following strategies: seminar session for first years during the orientation week, seminars and workshops during the academic year, girls' campus life, and establishing reporting units like the Dean of Students' Office, Dar es Salaam University Students Organisation (DARUSO), Institute of Gender Studies and police station. Although the majority were satisfied with these measures, some participants questioned the University determination in handling students' harassment cases.

> *Chuo kinashughulikia unyanyasaji. Hata hivyo kuna changamoto, hasa kwenye kuripoti masuala kama haya. Chuo kinasisitiza sana na kuweka kipaumbele kwenye masuala ya kitaaluma, kama za vile upimaji, mitihani na bodi ya mikopo lakini haya masuala ya unyanyasaji wa kijinsia hayapewi kipaumbele. (*Interviewed student)
>
> *The University has established measures against harassment. However, there are, challenges in dealing with these issues. The University usually prioritise academic excellence, semester exams grading point average (GPA) and students' accommodation and university fees. Therefore, sexual harassment matters are not given priority.*

Despite the appreciation of the universities initiatives to deal with harassment at the campus, the above participant doubted the University's determination to protect students against online perpetrations. The participant notes that the University prioritised its core functions, which are teaching, research and community service (consultancy), without paying attention to students' wellbeing. However, different authors insist on the importance of institutions to pay due attention to human wellbeing on online security (see Dhillon, 2016; Lindsay & Krysik, 2012). According to Lindsay & Krysik (2012 p. 715), "online harassment is a deserving attention from researchers, lawmakers, parents, and university communities". In the same vein, dealing with cyberharassment, Dhillon and colleagues (2016, p. 76) recall that "when dealing with cyberstalking, institutions and governments alike have a problem in managing it and where to allocate resources". The observed participant's response indicates that the University of Dar es Salaam was not committing enough resources for female students' security. Therefore, the researcher examined programs set to prevent and control (online) harassment at the campus as well as the ability of the program to challenge existing unequal power relationships.

7.2.1 Empowerment Session for First-year Students during Orientation Week

The first strategy used by the University to ensure conducive learning environment for students was holding empowerment seminar sessions during orientation week. During the interview, key informants (I) reported that UDSM was holding an orientation week at the campus at the beginning of every academic year to familiarise first-year students with university life. According to the key informant, during the orientation week, the Dean of Students' office holds empowerment sessions that implicated presentation, discussion and artistic entertainment.

> *When first-years arrive at the campus, we prepare workshops with female first-year students to listen to their challenges. Some tell us that they do not have school fees. They tell us they engage in posting photographs to get sponsors for studies (*key informant I).

The interviewed key informant explains the importance of the workshops for first-year students, mainly to listen to fresh students' challenges and sensitise them on potential challenges on the campus. Accordingly, the seminars were organised to empower newly coming students to cope and conquer the university physical, social, and academic environment.

Scholars realise the importance of awareness-raising to first-year students on cyberstalking (Alexy et al., 2005; Farahat et al., 2017; White & Carmody, 2018). According to White and Carmody (2018) "incoming first-year students [...] at risk of online stalking because "many incoming students lack boundaries when posting personal information online. Incoming students, eager to form college friendships, may place themselves at risk of victimization or public ridicule." (White & Carmody, 2018, p. 10). Given that most of students at the university were coming from rural areas, Farahat and colleagues (2017) highlight the importance of empowering these female students from rural or peri-urban areas. According to the authors, the female students from rural areas were more vulnerable to sexual harassment than urban residents because they were considered outsiders in town did not have family protection. There was, therefore, a need for empowerment through pieces of training. According to Kabeer (2019):

> So empowerment means creating the conditions that will expand the possibilities for the lives we can imagine for ourselves, for the life choices we can make, for the life chances available to us – rather than having to live lives that have been imposed on us by the

> laws, customs and norms of our society which we did not have a say in. (Kabeer, 2019, p. 210).

In this context, empowerment seemed to be important because female students might engage themselves in relationship with online male partners without noticing underlying agendas and power inequalities. Burmester and colleagues (2005, p.1) notice that perpetrators in most cases are: "technically more skilful, older and better educated than victims." Contrary to perpetrators' profile, most of the female students were disadvantaged because they were young, naïve, the majority from rural low-income families and most of less incompetent the digital technology (Mosso, 2015). Hence, they were at risk of being victimised in cyberspace.

The researcher, therefore, enquires from students on the content of the sessions. In responding to the question on the content of the seminars. An interviewed student explained that:

> *Binafsi naona orientation week ina manufaa. […] huwa wasisitiza namna na wapi kwa kwenda wanafunzi wanapopata changamoto mbali mbali. Mimi nilichelewa hiyo orientation. Nadhani ni muhimu matangazo yawekwe sehemu nyingi na mara kwa mara ili iwe rahisi zaidi, hasa kwa wale wanaokosa hiyo orientation kama mimi nilivyokosa.* (Interviewed student)
>
> *I consider the orientation week as an important event […]. The university administration insists on how and where to report when one faces challenges. However, I did not profit from this service because I arrived late. I suggest that there be posters everywhere for those who miss, like me to get the information on reporting centres.*

In this excerpt, although the participant appreciates the orientation week seminar. The interviewed female student underlines the content of the seminars to include where to report. However, the content seemed to reflect the information already displayed in fliers (3). That means the seminars were hardly inculcating agency among students. The content appears to perpetuate subjectivity and reporting to the third person. One could advise the University to conscientise on how to protect themselves from harassment and react to harassment and, therefore, report becomes the third step (see Mosso, 2015). It also seems that online harassment was not given due weight. Based on the findings, it appears that the orientation week seminars

had empowerment content, but which had incorporating other perspectives like including online security and training on self-defence.

It becomes apparent that the orientation week was held when many students had not yet arrived or settled at the campus. In addition, during the Focus Group Discussions, participants insisted that most first-year students were not attending the orientation seminars because the incoming students were involved in seeking accommodation facilities, loans and pay tuition fees which all constitute long processes. Therefore, while the orientation may be beneficial, the timing appeared inappropriate, and the content lacked a cyberharassment input.

7.2.2 Awareness Raising Workshop and Seminars

In addition to orientation week, it was found that another strategy for curbing sexual harassment on campus was workshops and seminars organised by the Institute of Gender Studies of the University of Dar es Salaam and the Gender Club. During the interview, the Key respondent (IV) reported that the Institute of Gender Studies usually conducted workshops and seminars as part and parcel of the IGS's daily routine, especially at the beginning of the semester. The Key informant (IV) explained that:

> *Huwa tuna workshops and semina, kwa kawaida hizi ni part and parcel ya kazi zetu za kila siku. Workshop hizi huwa wanahudhuria wanafunzi kati ya 600-700. Tunaamini kwamba hawa waliohudhuria kama watashirikishana kila mmoja na wenzake watatu basi awareness itakuwa imejengwa kwa wanafunzi wengi kuhusu unyanyasaji wa kijinsia* (key informant IV).
>
> *We usually hold workshops and seminars as part and parcel of our daily duties. Approximately 600 and 700 students attend these workshops. We believe that whoever follows these seminars can disseminate the information on sexual harassment to at least two to three students..*

The above quote indicates that many students, both female and male, attend the seminars. The key informant indicates the commendable attendance rate, the content as well as the method of dissemination. According to the key respondents, the main content was sexual harassment. According to the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE, 2020, p. 1), "awareness-raising

is a process which helps to facilitate the exchange of ideas, improves mutual understanding, and develops competence and skills necessary for societal change". The fact that workshops employed one-to-one sharing among participants encourage one to trust improved cooperation among participants and promote innermost experience sharing among students. According to White and Carmody (2018), peer-to-peer and mentoring relationships positively impact curbing cyberharassment among students. The seminar seemed to compliment the missing continuity remarked in discussion weaknesses of orientation week.

However, the experience from the Institute of Gender Studies (of UDSM) indicated the University was not aware of the seriousness of the cyberharassment practices at the campus. This situation, therefore, contributed to the masking of the cyberstalking phenomena in the campus because awareness is the key to success in fighting against cyberstalking (see Ndubueze et al., 2018). It is regrettable that, despite that 40.6% of female students be cyberstalked (in this study), the female students were not availed information either on preventing harassment or online communication.

In addition to the semester seminar by the Institute of Gender Studies, the findings indicate that seminars were the primary strategy of sensitisation used by the Gender club with support from the Institute of Gender Studies of the University. During FGDs and interviews, female students mentioned seminars organised by the Gender club to be essential for sensitising sexual harassment on the campus. Among 30 interviewed female students, 25 commented on the role played by the preceding Dar es Salaam UNIversity Students' Organisation (DARUSO) vice president, especially in coordinating these seminars. One of them reported that:

> *Nakumbuka makamu wa rais wa DARUSO aliyepita aliifanya gender club kuwa very active. Kule tulikuwa tunajadili changamoto mbalimbali zinazotupata hapa chuoni. Huyu dada kiongozi alikuwa anaitisha mkutano anasema watu tutoe madukuduku kuhusu unyanyasaji wa kijinsia hapa campus.* (Interviewed students)

> *I remember the former DARUSO vice president was very active in the reviving works by the Gender club. She organised a discussion session. During these sessions, we discussed important issues transpiring here at the campus. She was convening meetings and encouraged people to air their grievances about harassment here at the campus.*

The above participant acknowledges the work done in the previous year when the DARUSO vice present organised the seminars under the umbrella of the Gender club. At the UDSM, the Gender club is a students' organisation whose aim is to sensitise students on gender issues. The researcher has the impression that the participants had opportunities to freely share their views during the seminars organised by the Gender club. It is entirely plausible that participants would have raised concerns related to cyberharassment. As reported in chapter five (see 5.3.3), peer support has been affirmed to be effective in minimising the effect of cyberharassment, especially among students. This is because studies on cyber harassment show that peer support is an effective strategy to cope with negative emotions due to cyberharassment (Bastiaensens et al., 2019*;* Zwaan et al., 2010; White & Carmody, 2018). According to Bastianenses and colleagues (2019, p. 98), peer support can be categorised into four areas ; emotional support, including service like empathy, love and caring; instrumental support through financial assistance, accommodation or time; informational support implicating advice, information or directives, and the fourth is appraisal support which includes, affirmation, feedback and social comparison. It appears that peer support in this context creates a viable environment for online peer association. In this context, the University could extend encouraging peer to peer online support and online mobilisation of female students to curb emerging social online risks, which is one of cyberfeminism tenets.

7.2.3 Girls' Campus Life Event

During the interview with a key informant from the Institute of Gender Studies of the University, the directorate reported that occasionally the director of the Institute invited all female students to Girls' Campus Life event. This was an evening event in which female students gathered together to discuss the challenges of being a woman at the university campus. To insist on this, the key informant (III) reported that:

> *During these sessions, we tell them that they have to observe Tanzanian cultures when choosing dresses. While at the campus, a girl should dress according to Tanzania cultural context. If she puts on clothes that expose her appearance, she increases her chances of being victimised online and offline. Our emphasis is for them to* be *knowledgeable, be informed, help yourself and live your life* (key informant III).

According to key informant above, one of the girls' campus life events was female students dressing behaviour on campus. According to the key informant, female students were sexually harassed because of non-observance of cultural values. The key informant demonstrated an understanding of online harassment. However, she opined that harassment happened due to semi-nude or nude pictures in profiles as one of the factors for cyberstalking. According to the key informant, the instructions for girls form part of empowerment programs. It aims to make them responsible for their lives. Dhillon (2013), in this respect, recommend a female student to be "mindful of what personal information [they] share about [themselves] on the Internet [and…]. how the information is shared, stored and distributed over the Internet" (Dhillon et al., 2016, p. 82). In the same vein, Ephraim (2013) calls upon a social-cultural approach to internet use. Principally, the sociocultural approach emphasises ethical consideration on socio-cultural values as well as "respect of the dignity and rights of their internet users when unloading materials" (Ephraim, 2013, p. 275).

Contrary to the above assertions, the research asserts that it is unfortunate that girls' campus life are compelled to adapt the patriarchal perspective embedded in the university dressing codes, which limits female students' freedom of expression (see Mbilinyi, 1972; Mvungi, 2014; Zembazemba, 2017). More important, the normative recommendation given by university trainers and even the assertion above by Dhillon (ibid) and Ephraim (ibid) was found to be extremely criticised by radical feminists for perpetuating gender inequalities and normalising patriarchal milieu (see. Quinn · 2016; Hlavka, · 2014; Mellgren · 2018; Gillett · 2018). The advice obliges the female students to adhere to the existing discriminative sociocultural status quo. According to the key informant, female students are instructed: *"to be knowledgeable, be informed, help yourself and live your life"* One may ask: the seminar facilitators encourage students to be 'knowledgeable' or 'informed' on which aspect? On implementation of the norms or their rights? And, they should 'lives their lives in which context: the existing unequal environment or create new ones? In light of the responses to these that one can image the work on emancipation of female students at the campus.

According to cyberfeminism, these normative discourses undermine students 'freedom and reinforce gender discrimination. Instead of considering them as opportunities for liberation, these higher education discourses on women's bodies neglect the authentic root cause of

inequality, unequal gender power relations (Milford, 2015, p. 63). Accordingly, feminists consider the emphasis on the "objectification of the woman body as part and parcel of the male dominance traditional practices exercised in many societies", including Tanzania (Shefer, 1990, p. 38).

Drawing from cyberfeminism perspectives, being empowered implies "becoming knowledgeable, obtaining socio-economic resources and gaining control of digital technology devices" (Gajjala & Mamidipudi, 1999, p. 8). It means enabling women to be able to "express themselves independently so that they can liberate themselves from social construction" (Lestari et al., 2020, p. 282). In addition, it also implies women's freedom of online gathering to discuss matters pertaining to women emancipation.

7.3 *Students' Welfare Sections at the Campus*

In this section, the researcher examined how students' welfare units ensure a safe learning environment and social wellbeing and safety of UDSM female students. The study found that the University had the following centres for student's welfare. During data collection, the researcher asked students to mention the most preferred section to report their sexual related cases, including online harassment. Findings from the online survey questionnaire the participants mark in a Likert scale mode the order of the preferred section. The responses were organised as follows. The first section was the Dean of Students' office, followed Dar es Salaam University Students' Organization (DARUSO), the University (auxiliary) police and the Institute of Gender Studies.

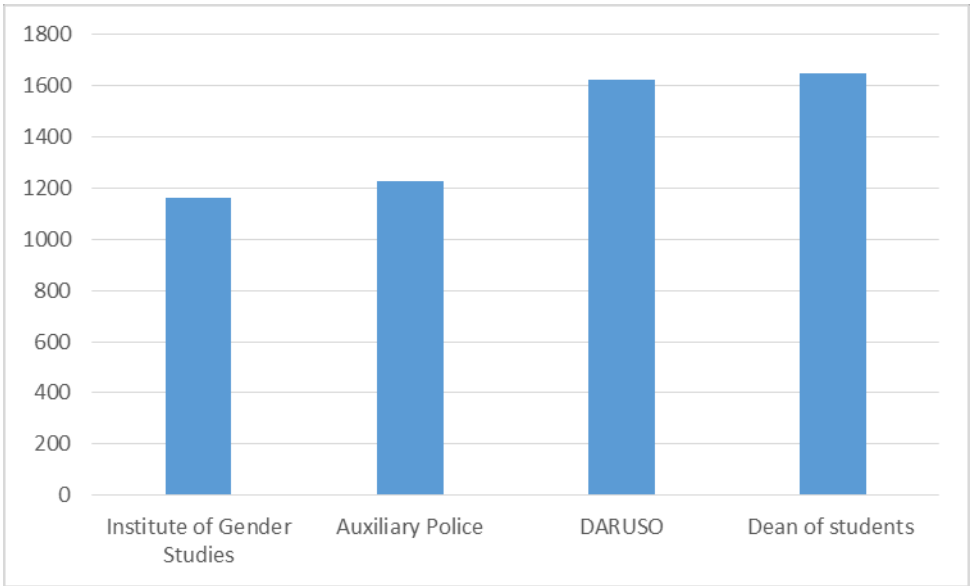


Figure 15: Students' Welfare Section at the Campus

7.3.1 Dean of student's office

As the figure above shows, the majority of participants preferred to report to the Dean of Students office. At UDSM, the Dean of students is part and parcel of the university administrative section engaged with student's welfare, particularly for guidance and counselling. Literature shows that the Dean of Students' office, in most universities in Western universities, plays the role of liaison between students and university administration. Therefore, in the institution where cyberstalking and cyberbullying are recognised phenomena, conscientisation, counselling and providing data on the understanding of cyberstalking are the Dean of students' responsibilities. For example, the information on Michigan University website can illustrate this[57]. At UDSM, the study has found that the Dean's office is the main office responsible for students' wellbeing (UDSM, 2016; p. ix). In relation to cyberstalking, during the interview, the Key informant (I) from the Dean of students' office reported that the office receives at least one case each month.

> *Students do report many issues but not related to online harassment. I can say that my office receives cases of online harassment at least once per month. It seems that reporting cyberstalking is not easy because many people at the campus perceive that*

[57]https://www.mtu.edu/deanofstudents/faculty-staff/intervention/resources/cyber-harassment/

being followed online is quite common, especially among the youth. Reporting these issues becomes important when there is a serious implication. (key informant (I)

The above statement indicates that the Dean's office received a few cases related to online harassment. It was further observed that even the key informant (I) did not take online pursuit seriously. Based on her statement, the online pursuit was 'common'. One can interpret the statement from the fact that in many patriarchal societies like Tanzania, the online pursuit is related to dating and courtship among the youth (see Wang et al. 2019). This study found that the Dean of students' office provided psychosocial service to individual survivors of harassment. However, the services did not challenge the existing power relations. Consequently, during the interview, most participants, unaware of the inherent power imbalance in sexual harassment at the campus, indicated that the Dean of students was the most appropriate office to report.

Kuhusu reporting, nadhani ofisi ya Dean of students ni sehemu nzuri ya kufikisha taarifa. Ila nashauri ofisi hii iweke mazingira ya kuwajenga wanafunzi wa kike uthubutu wa kuripoti changamoto zao (interviewed student).

Concerning reporting facilities, I think the Dean of students' office is the best place to report. However, I would like to advise the office to create a conducive environment to empower female students to report these cases.

The quote above underlines that the Dean of students' office is the most appropriate centre for reporting cyberharassment. However, the participant recommends for improvement confidentiality quality. The statement sounds as if the participant had felt a power imbalance that hinders female students' freedom of expression. Since some perpetrators were senior officials and lecturers, the harassed students needed a more confidential environment to avoid further retaliation from harassers. Kayuni (2009: p. 87) postulates that "in most universities, in the African context, a general perception reigns that a lecturer determines the outcome of students' performance". In this study, one case involved a lecturer tempering with female students final results. The researcher further probed how the office of the Dean of students considered cyber harassment issues. The quote below indicates that the key informant's III considered cyber harassment as 'normal'.

Nyingi ya case kama hizi zinaoneneka ni hali ya kawaida na hivyo wanafunzi wengi wanafanya zinakuwa na usiri. Hata hivyo tuna wasisitiza wanafunzi waripoti hili tatizo ili sheria ichukue mkondo wake (key informants III)

Most of these cases are considered normal and, the majority of student keep them confidential. However, we tend to encourage the students to report them in order for the law to follow suit.

Reading from the quote above, the key informant reports a tendency of normalisation of cyberharassment. Normalisation implies considering a problem as a normal part of life (Calogero (2012). Scholars globally make a strong association between the normalisation of gender-based violence and the persistence of the violence (Bondestam & Lundqvist, 2020). In fact, normalisation is said to have vast effects when combating a problem. Normalisation encourages the continuation of the behaviour, increase vulnerability, and discourages reporting victimisation (ibid).

The findings show that majority of cases received were related acts of revenge between girls with boyfriend. In this circumstance, female students were victims while male students were perpetrators, as the quote below indicates.

Tulipokea picha ambazo mwanafunzi wa kike alikuwa anafanya tendo la ndoa na boyfriend wake, sasa walipokosana mwenzi wake akataka kuipost, hata hivyo tuliongea nao wakasuhulisha na hivyo hakuzipost tena (key respondent II*)*

We received photographs taken while two students, a girl and a boy, were doing sex. After quarrelling, the boyfriend wanted to post the pictures on social media. We talked to them, and they reconciled; boy did not post them.

In the above case, the girl reports aggression with a sex partner that could involve image-based harassment. Through reconciliation, the office of the Dean of Students succeeded to prevent revenge porn from happening. One has the view that, although reconciliation was successful, the boy's intention was taken lightly. In other words, the situation indicates that the male partner had intimidated female students and exercised control over the woman. It is evident from this narration that the female student reported the harassment to the Dean. The boy could be warned

or punished for harassment, but that was not the case. Another key informant discloses her worries about the way the case was resolved. She asserted that cyberstalking cases must be regarded as crimes addressed using legal measures.

> *Lakini mimi naona kwa kuwa hili ni kosa la kisheria basi wanatakiwa kupeleka hizi cases kwenye disciplinary committee ya Chuo, gender centre au hata police.* (key informant III)

> *I consider the case to be a crime that needs legal measures. I advise the victims to report these cases to the university disciplinary committee, Institute of Gender Studies, or the auxiliary police station.*

Reading from the above explanation, the participant suggests that cyberstalking cases has to be filed at the University disciplinary committee or the police station operating at the campus (UDSM, 2020). At the UDSM, a disciplinary committee is a university widebody in charge of examining alleged breaching university norms, including sexual harassment or sextortion. Nonetheless, during the interview, the key informant (III) alleged that the disciplinary committee did not have legal power. For example, a study by the Prevention, Combating Corruption Bureau (PCCB) (2020) on sextortion in two public universities in Tanzania criticised the decision taken by the committee to suspend a professor who was suspected of having committed sextortion to postgraduate female students. The researcher argues that lack of a serious measure of the perpetrator may contribute to victims' loss of trust hence no reporting of cyberharassment cases among female students and other community members at the campus.

When asked about the protective measures used by the office of the Dean of students to protect female students and others against harassment and cyberstalking in particular, the key informant II responded that:

> *Our office use students by law to protect students against all types of harassment. Students are urged to read and abide by students' by-laws. This document is available in both hard and soft copy (in the university website). Failure to abide by the laws, a student can be expelled from studies* (key informant II).

The above explanation highlights the fact that there are no separate strategies for curbing online sexual harassment at the campus. Findings from the study indicated that the Dean of Students'

office, therefore, emphasises that students should abide by students' by-laws for positive social welfare to excel in academics. Concerning the participant's statement above, the study found that section 4.3 of the students' by-laws restrict students from being involved in all forms of sexual harassment. According to the by-law, the sexual harassment act leads to a disciplinary measure (UDSM, 2011).

To sum up, the Dean provided relief to survivors. However, the services were not meant to alleviate inequality online or offline. Since the office of Dean was constructed in handling psychological issues and offering psychosocial services, most of its activities might lead to restoring the status quo of the existing social relations. The activities were not meant to challenge the existing social inequalities on the campus. In other words, the Dean of students' office was not made to challenge the root causes of inequality, which created the basis for cyberstalking and other forms of harassment directed to female students. According to Nadim and Fladmoe (2021), feminist scholars understand gendered online harassment as a reflection of a broader cultural understanding of gender and women inferior place in society.

7.3.2 Dar es Salaam University Students' Organization (DARUSO)

The Dar es Salaam University Students' Organisation (DARUSO) is a student body with the role of "bridging the gap between students and UDSM management" (UDSM, 2020a, p. 4). DARUSO is responsible for ensuring that students' activities at UDSM "are fairly run, with integrity and mutuality among students by taking into consideration gender balance" (ibid). In other words, DARUSO provides peer support to students and lease students matters to the administration through the Dean of students.

Findings from this study reveal that majority of participants had positive attitudes towards reporting to DARUSO. Findings show that the motive for reporting sexual harassment cases to DARUSO is the trust built on activities performed by the Gender club. The Gender Club is a students' unit operating under DARUSO. The Gender Club is responsible for creating awareness among students on matters related to gender equality on the campus. Gender awareness is defined as "the ability to view society from the perspective of gender roles and how this has affected women's needs in comparison to the needs of men"(Rrustemi et al., 2020, p. 1).

According to key informant (X), DARUSO receives and resolves many students' harassment issues.

> *As a leader of the Gender Club at the campus, I acknowledge receiving and addressing cyberharassment-related cases from both female and male students. But the majority of cases are from female students.* (key informant X)

Contrary to the office of the Dean of students, the findings indicate that the Dar es Salaam University Students' Organisation DARUSO receives cases of cyberstalking. The statement above reveals that many cyber harassed students take advantage of seminars and workshops organised by the Gender club to share their experiences. As indicated earlier (see section 7.2.2), female students at the campus get acquainted with each other through seminars and workshops and share experiences. In the same vein, scholars on cyberharassment argue that, peer support has a positive impact on minimising cyberharassment (see Zwaan, 2010; Bastiansenses et al., 2019). The research found that the success is rooted first in peer to peer support and awareness-raising, which is empowerment as already previously explained (see section 6.4)

7.3.3 (Auxiliary) Police Department at UDSM

Together with the National police station, the University campus is guided by a special police force popularly known as Auxiliary Police[58] (Henceforth Police). This unit is a special section of the National police force that serves only the University of Dar es Salaam campus[59]. This police section is in charge of campus security in terms of properties and community welfare. As a professional unit, the police has expertise in cybercrime and gender issues. Gender desk in the police force was introduced nationwide in 2010 to attend to all matters related to gender-based violence. During an interview, a key informant (IX) reported that:

> *Tumejifunza kuhusu cybercrime law, pia huwa tunashirikiana na mahakimu, wanasheria, madaktari na watu wa ustawi wa jamii kutatua changamoto kama hizi*. (key informant XIII)

[58] Auxiliary Police issued to distinguish it from the national wide police force, which also has a station at the campus.
[59] Established according to the law: Act No. 19 of 1969 (UDSM, 2020b, p. 9)

We have been trained to solve problems related to cybersecurity. Also, we are advised to work in cooperation with lawyers and advocates, medical doctors, and social work professionals.

According to the informant above, it is promising that some police officers were trained in cybercrime matters and that the police uses a multidisciplinary approach to handle delicate cases. However, one presumed that the materialisation of all these depends on the prevalence of institutional will expressed in policies and by-laws criminalising online harassment. From this study, the University was found to be unaware of the human factor of ICT security. The policies did admit online insecurity as a threat at the campus (UDSM, 2006a). That explains why in some circumstances, the police opt and support for reconciliation instead of actors in cyberstalking, as the key informant (XIV) respondent divulged:

Here at the campus, cases of female students being intimidated or threatened are rampant, but it very difficult to capture the culprit. Sometimes there is little cooperation between the victim and us. We may take initiatives to make follow-ups, but before advancing with the investigation, the perpetrator and the victim reconcile. So, the matter ends in that way. (Key informant XIV)

The statement above represents several excerpts in which the perpetration ended amicably. The tendency explains the fact that cyberstalking is a multifaceted issue. In the quote above, for instance, the perpetrator and the victim were at the same time intimate partners. As the Key informant insisted:

Cyber sexual harassment implicates partners. Sometimes we make a follow up to find the perpetrator, but we find that the two have reconciled. So the issues remain hanging. (key informant XV)

The researcher finds that allowing reconciliation makes the cybervictimisation a complicated aspect. Participants reported cases of University involving reconciling perpetrator with the victim. One presupposed that the main reason for reconciliation lies in the normalisation of violence against women in Tanzania. For example, among the Kurya community found in Northern Tanzania, wife battering was traditionally believed by bothering husbands and wives as

a sign of love (see Chalya et al., 2015; FORWARD, 2010). According to the Foundation for Women's Health Research and Development (FORWARD[60]) (ibid), although the belief that beating women has disappeared, men continue. In the context of this study, opting for reconciliation seemed to be a result of normalising violence. Again, the Tanzanian community have been forged in the spirit of a community: "community and interdependence, bonds of kinship and respect" (see Sharp, 2013, p. 5), referring to each other as '*ndugu* 'comrade'" (see Habwe, 2010; Sharp, 2013; Shayo, 2011). Actually '*ndugu*' refers to "brother, associate, sister, fellow countrymen" (see Habwe, 2010; p. 131). This attitude has a double effect.

In cyberstalking discourses, maintenance of relation and harmony has been associated with increased victimisation. Studies indicate that, African and Asian nations that follow socialist philosophies like Nigeria, Tanzania, China, South Korea, Japan, Hong Kong and Taiwan to be more at risk than more European countries like England (Akinduko et al., 2017; Park et al., 2021, p. 2). The former countries cherish "group relations, social conformity and avoiding interpersonal conflict" (see Park et al., 2021, p. 2).

7.3.4 Gender Focal Point

At UDSM, the gender focal point is staff members appointed by the University units (colleges, institutes and schools) to coordinator gender-related activities. The idea of Gender Focal Point originates from international organisations to ensure gender sensitisation in the organisation. It used in international organisations like ILO[61] and Tanzania. It is adapted by the Ministry of Community Development Gender, Children and People with Disability[62]. At UDSM, the primary function is to spearhead the operationalisation of the Gender Policy work. It works as a catalyst in implementing gender mainstreaming strategies in the unit and provide services to victims of gender-based violence, including sexual harassment and cyberstalking. The Gender focal person at UDSM operates under the guidance of the Institute of Gender Studies. During an interview with a key informant VII from this section, she reported that:

[60] FORWARD is an African Diaspora women's campaign and support charity that was set up in 1985. The main preoccupation is to "respond to the need to safeguard dignity and advance the sexual and reproductive health and human rights of African women and girls" (FORWARD, 2010, p.1).
[61] www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/dgreports/gender/documents/genericdocument/wcms_114230.pdf
[62] www.tanzania.go.tz/egov_uploads/documents/TanzaniaNational_Strategy_for_Gender_Development_sw.pdf

Our office gives training on how to deal with harassment and gender-based violence at the campus. The office was designated to make everyone feels comfortable while at the university. (key informant VII)

When asked if they attend cases of cyberstalking, she responded that:

Many students do ask for help. Since I was nominated in 2018, I held several seminars with employees and students. We explained to them the University gender policy. However, because of Corona, this year I have received only one case which involved a female student survivor of texting and calls ended. (key informant VII).

The description by the focal person above indicates, her role was to ensure a gender violence-free environment at the unit by carrying out gender sensitisation seminars and attending reported cases. This excerpt shows that a few female students report their cases to the Gender focal person. It appears that the low rate of reporting cyberharassment to the focal point can be attributed to the fact that focal persons were academic staff members. In this situation, academic staff were also listed among potential cyberstalkers. In the same vein, there was a power relation gap between a lecturer and a student (UDSM, 2006, p. 15). Again, one could suspect that perpetrators could be known or have a close relationship with the focal person, that not many would dare report. During Focus Group Discussion with female students, very few students admitted to knowing their respective Gender Focal Point.

7.3.5 Institute of Gender Studies (IGS) of the UDSM

Findings from the university policies and reports indicated that the Institute of Gender Studies started in the 1990s as a team of gender activists dedicated to overseeing, reporting and combating gender-based violence at UDSM. Progressively the Institute assumes academic the role of training gender- studies. According to UDSM (2018), the Institute of Gender Studies responds to sexual harassment and all form of sexual discrimination. Response from Key informant (IV) mentioned the strategies as follows:

We organise series of empowerment seminars involving female university students. All girls at the campus are invited to attend. Major themes in these seminars include sexual harassment, sextortion and sexual conduct at the university [...]. We also have Gender

Focal Persons in all colleges. The gender focal points addressed all gender issues for both sexes, girls and boys. (Key Informant, IV)

The explanation by the key informant above addresses most of the forms of gender-based violence at the campus. Although the information above does not include cyberstalking, an earlier quote indicated that the Institute of Gender Studies (at UDSM) treats cyberstalking as a form of sexual harassment. The researcher finds it viable to associate cyberstalking with online sexual harassment; the two employ similar gender-based violence (see Chahal et al., 2019; Chawki & Yassin, 2013; Simons, 2014). When the researcher inquired if female students do report cyberharassment to the gender desks, the key informant (VII) reported that:

I know the reporting system of our student is poor. The important issue here is for the female students themselves to open up. That is why now we are thinking of introducing online reporting systems. This one might improve the reporting because it does need face-to-face or physical meetings. (key informant, VII)

In this excerpt, the participant above alleges that female students do not report cyber harassment issues. The findings from the interview show that the IGS had not received any cyberstalking cases at the campus. A key informant IV explained that:

Kiukweli sijawahi kupokea lalamiko lolote, kuhusu hili tatizo. Wanafunzi hawaripoti hizi changamoto. Hata hili suala la wanafunzi wa kike kutishiwa wasigombee nafasi za uongozi, nililisikia kwenye workshop wakati tukijadili mambo ya sexual harassment (Key informant IV)

Sincerely speaking, I have never received any complaints about cyberstalking. Students do not report these cases to us. In fact, even the issue that female students are intimidated not to contest for leadership, I heard it in a workshop during the discussions on sexual harassment.

The key informant in this excerpt admits not receiving any cyberharassment case. This response corresponds to similar explanations in this study that (cyber) harassed students do not report victimisation. None reporting, in this case, be attributed to several reasons already raised in this study. Some of them include the culture of silence (see 5.4); not knowing where to report (see

5.4.3); fear from perpetrators' intensified harassment. Victimised students are "not sure of their protection, especially when the accused is a senior official" (UDSM, 2018, p.7); unequipped reporting posts and above all proximal perpetrators power over the victim (see Rapson & Jimcag, 2007). However, prior information in this study indicates that most students shared information with peers and some report to the Dean of students' office. Again, students' preference to report at the Dean of students' office was a specialised unit for them while Institute for Gender studies is for staff and students. According to the Key informant III above, the IGS was planning to inaugurate online reporting. In the same vein, flier 4 indicate that, online contacts for reporting sexual harassment and sextortion. Meanwhile, the researcher found that the Institute of Gender Studies (at UDSM) directorship was still an appointee of the higher University administration. This could affect matters related to commitment, and the appointee may lack some insights into founding philosophies of gender on the campus.

However, the Institute of Gender Studies of the University of Dar es Salaam seemed to be a promising outcome of the university gender policy. According to the researcher, the Institute of Gender Studies launching constitutes a milestone strategy in addressing unequal gender power relations in the University. The researcher has positive attitudes towards the direction in which the Institute of Gender Studies intends to take, especially courses. Meanwhile, one doubts: will the courses address online harassment? Will they comprehend cyberspace? Will they empower female study on cyberculture as cyberfeminists advocate?

To summaris, all measures to curb (cyber) harassment, the researcher found that the strategies reflect institution culture embedded in university construction, which are reflected in policies. Most of the strategies operated within the modernisation paradigm. The modernisation paradigm focuses on the integration of women in education. That means modernists strive to increase the number of women in the institution but not alleviate obstacles to relations and create a safe environment for women (Rathgeber · 1990). According to Rathgeber (ibid), liberal feminists claim equality, but primarily in mainly in numbers. In its realisation, the University regulated the enrolment cut off point for female students admission, increased the number of women on the campus in enrolment. However, little efforts were made to challenge existing unequal gender power relations between men and women (Kilango et al., 2017; Mukangara & Shao, 2007; Nawe, 2002). It is imperative to understand that:

"Gender equity in higher education is more than putting women on equal footing with men. It is eliminating barriers to participation and stereotypes that limit the opportunities and choices for both sexes. Gender equity is about enriching classrooms, widening opportunities, and expanding choices for all students" (Kilango et al., 2017: p.22).

7.4 The Way Forwards in Curbing Cyberstalking on the Campus

This section discusses the themes that emerged with regard to participants' views and recommendations on the intervention and prevention of cyberstalking on campus. From the above findings, the University formulated policies and implemented various strategies to combats forms of discrimination and harassment on the campus. Drawing from these findings, the researcher probed further to get female university students' views on the measures taken by the university. To create a conducive and secure learning environment for female students, the participants recommended the following measures: breaking the silence on online harassment at the campus; consolidation of policy statement; enhancement of guidance and counselling services on the university campus; female students acting precautious when online; gender awareness-raising programs regarding online harassment and improving reporting facilities. These recommendations are discussed in the following paragraphs.

7.4.1 Breaking the Silence on Online Harassment at The Campus

During Focus Group discussion (I), the discussant underscored the importance of silence breaking at institutional and individual levels. The recommendation conformed to the findings that the majority of participants did not report harassment.

> *Unyanyasaji mtandaoni uongelewe zaidi ili ufamike kwa jamiii nzima. Wanafunzi wanatakiwa kuhamasishwa ili waweze kutoa taarifa pale wanapopitia unyanyasaji* (FGD I discussant)

> *Online harassment should be discussed openly to make society conscious of the problem. Again, female students should be encouraged to report when harassed in cyberspace.*

In the quote above, the participant had the impression that cyberstalking was not known to most people. This unawareness of the phenomenon would have necessarily constrained the University

community's understanding of cyberstalking behaviours (see Geistman-Smith, 2013., 2013) or lead to misunderstanding of cyberharassment as dating and courtship, and not to take it seriously. Furthermore, lack of awareness in online harassment is absent or formulation of inefficient policies and regulation and inaccessible organisational structures to respond to online gender-based risks (see Magsi et al. 2017). Briefly, a combination of responses from key informants and Female students affirmed that University did take cyberstalking as a serious problem.

The participant above, therefore, suggested public debates and discussions on the problem. The recommendation implies a change from normalised behaviour that inculcated silencing hence inadvertent condoning of online perpetration. The findings in previous chapters (see 5.4.5) indicate that survivors did not report because they felt ashamed, were afraid of being stigmatised, or felt unprotected from harasser's retaliation. Therefore, the interviewed female students recommended a transformation from patriarchal social norms that suppress the voice of women and girls and that undermines female students' from reporting harassment incidences at the campus.

It is true that vocalising against cyberharassment as cyberfeminists insist, might induce positive results. It was observed that silence had a double effect. While on the one hand, silence could have led to victims personalise the problem and make unhealthy decision like suicide, on the other hand, it encourages culprits to continue perpetration. Raising voice, therefore, might raise public concern and violation of human rights (Van der Aa, 2012). Van der Aa,(ibid) postulates that when cyberstalking was associated with gender-based violence, it became clearly understood and received due attention. Additionally, reporting harassment to the official University will make the UDSM aware of the problem, create a database to establish the extent of the problem, and take measures against it.

7.4.2 Improvement of Reporting Procedures and Facilities

The University of Dar es Salaam demonstrated noticeable laxity in limiting incidences of harassments targeting female students at the campus. According to participants, cyberstalking persisted because of the unfriendly nature of reporting system. During the interview, participants complained about the bureaucratic system in the reporting system. One informant explained it

A reporting structures is also a bit limiting- case wanapeleka kwa Dean of student halafu pale ndio wailete gender centre, ni mlolongo mrefu kidogo, pengine inaleta challenge kwenye kuriport. (key informant VI)

There is also a problem with a reporting structure. When they report to the Dean of students, they are told to take the cases to the gender centre; there is a long bureaucracy. This also constitutes one of the reasons for not reporting.

The key informant identified the harassment reporting channels. The review of the documents revealed that the procedures above were the ones stipulated for reporting sexual harassment. One can compare with the UDSM Antisexual Harassment (UDSM, 2018) procedures which state that:

> First, all complaints should be reported to the heads of the respective units (College, School, Institutes, Department, Centres and Bureaus). Secondly, the Principals, Deans, Directors and Heads will conduct investigations and thirdly, in order to initiate the formal process, the complainant must submit a written complaint (see UDSM, 2018, p. 19).

It is evident that, these procedures were formulated for reporting offline sexual harassment. Therefore, the key informant suggests using procedure and regulation to report online harassment using these procedures for reporting sexual harassment. In this context, it important to note that physical sexual harassment differs from cyberstalking on methods and impact; cyberstalking is more challenging (see Lowry et al., 2013). One can consider that the key respondent had incomplete knowledge or underestimated the status of cyberharassment.

7.4.3 Gender Awareness-raising Programs Regarding Online Harassment

Among participants in this study, 66 per cent of participants came from rural areas. From the digital divide hypothesis perspective, students from rural areas were disadvantaged. According to Dranzoa (2018, p. 4), "young female students entering Institutions of higher learning (IHLs) are vulnerable, innocent, unexposed, and naïve, eager to explore their newly discovered freedom. In this regard, the female students had less exposure to ICT and the use of online platforms. The participants, therefore, recommended that the University of Dar es Salaam invests in different

awareness-raising strategies. Therefore, most participants indicated that UDSM awareness-raising strategies should focus on consientized power relations in cyberspace.

> *Mifano mingi itolewe, na hili swala la online harassment; lifafanuliwe watu walielewe maana kuna wengine hata hawajui hii harassment inahusisha nini? Na nini matokeo yake? Vinginevy watu wanaishia kupata madhara makubwa* (interviewed students)

> *Many students at the campus do have a limited understanding of this (online) form of harassment. So the trainers should give detailed information regarding online harassments, its nature, and reasons for online harassment among female students at the university campus without which people may suffer.*

As an extension and emphasis on education, the following participants prescribed the methodological approach. That means in-depth training as a start. Although awareness-raising may not lead to automatic attitude change, feminists consider education as a solid empowering agent (see Youssef, 2020). The researcher concurs with the participant's view that awareness-raising strategies should focus on unpacking the concept of online harassment. The latter approach would mean empowering female students in order to for them to be able to challenge the legitimacy of male students to monitor and control women's lives. It is in this context that Mohanty and Samantaray (2017, p. 330) insist that: "in order to benefit from the digital technology, women must be taught how to use it". In another scenario, a participant recommended that awareness-raising strategies should include both sexes, as demonstrated by the following participant.

> *Wanafunzi wote wa kike na wa kiume wapewe elimu kuhusu cyberstalking. wengi hawaelewi kuwa huu ni unyanyasaji wa kijinsia na ukiukwaji wa haki za binadamu* (interviewed student)

> *All students, awareness-raising strategies about cyberstalking should target both female and males. Many students at the campus do not have a limited understanding of this form of harassment. They are not aware that online sexual harassment is a violation of human rights*

The participant points out that most programs organised by the University targeted female students. Theoretically, the participant's point based on a philosophical approach to gender issues known as the 'Gender and Development (GAD) approach to gender relation. The GAD approach challenges the predecessors' frameworks like Women in Development (WID) and the other Women and development (WAD), which privileged the involvement of women only in the development plan. Meanwhile, the Gender and Development (GAD) approach in ensuring gender equity and equality advocates for the involvement of both men and women (see (Chiswick & Miller, 2016; Rathgeber, 1989). The researcher finds the involvement of men and women in empowerment plausible. To alleviate gender based violence including cyberstalking, the need for total social transformation cannot be underestimated. That means men and women have to be sensitized. Male students should be socialised against stereotype attitudes on the woman body off or online. That means society needs to address destructive sociocultural beliefs and unequal gender relations that transpire in cyberspace cyberstalking (see Paullet et al., 2009).

7.4.4 Female Students Should be Conscious of Online Power Relations

During the interview, participants acknowledged that technology is vital and inevitable, especially in university settings. From cyberfeminists' views, women cannot escape from taking part in the ongoing technological revolution by closing accounts or throwing SIM cards (see section (5.3.2). Instead, female university students should cautiously use social media while understanding and challenging power relations embedded in digital technology. With this spirit, one participant advised that:

> *Kuepukana na hili tatizo ninashauri wasichana wawe makini na vitu wanavyopost kwenye mitandao. Pia wawe makini na marafiki wa mitandaoni, wengi si watu wazuri.* (interviewed student)
>
> *My advice to female students, they should take precautions when posting private information on social media to solve this problem. They should also be cautious with the kind of followers; many online followers are not trustworthy.*

The cited participant above contends the importance of being vigilant when interacting or posting content in cyberspace. The Key informants also had the view that females should

communicate and accept online friendships from strangers precautious. The participant warned female student against utopian cyberfeminist perspective dreams of cerebrating cyberspace as open, free and democratic (Yanisky-Ravid & Mittelman, 2016). She critically cautions the female students on disembodiment in cyberspace. In the same vein, another discussant added that:

> *Wasichana wasipende kutoa namba zao na habari kuhusiana na wao kwa watu wasiowajua.* (FGD II discussant)
>
> *Girls should avoid exchange their contacts and other personal data with unknown people. They should not accept any relationship with whoever asks for friendship in cyberspace.*

In the excerpt above, the participant alerts female students to avoid establishing relationships with strangers. In this study, the majority of participants were youth aged between 17 and 23 (see Table 6 in section 4.1). Studies ascribe this group to be more vulnerable to cyberstalking because of a high level of networking (Sissing & Prinsoo, 2013). According to cyberfeminists, the youth are advised to embrace digital technology precautious; they should understand the two faces of the technology: the positive and negative effects of technology. On this negative side Williams (Williams, 2009, p. 33).purports that the internet is "a tool for the production, storage and dissemination of sexually violent and explicit images of women".

7.4.5 Enhancement of Guidance and Counselling Services on the University Campus

Although the UDSM has established counselling sections at the office of the Dean of students, participants in this study reported that there is a need to improve guidance and counselling services at the campus. During the study, some participants proposed creating a new section that will be in charge of online harassment at the campus. One of them recommended that:

> *Ianzishwe taasisi maalumu itakayoshughulikia kupokea, kusikiliza na kutatua malalamiko ya unyanyaji wa mtandaoni* (FGD II discussant)
>
> *UDSM has to create a special unit that will be in charge of receiving, processing and solving challenges that students encounter in cyberspace.*

In this excerpt, the discussant believed that the existing reporting facilities were not effective in coping with the emerging online challenges. She, therefore, was proposing the establishment of a unit-specific for cyberharassment matters. In the researcher's view, the recommendation is pertinent because of the multifaceted nature of cyber harassment.

From a sociological perspective, guidance and counselling services have little impact to do with challenging existing power relations because power relations are constructed in social institutions. Scholars argue that professional guidance and counselling services positively impact a traumatised person from cyberharassment. It is evident that psychosocial services aim to re-empower a person who is disempowered by cyberharassers. Scholars in psychology underscore the necessity of counselling because the services reduce the impact of psychologically wounded persons (Dressing et al., 2014). Dressing and colleagues (2014) reveal an extensive list of psychological effects emanating from cyberstalking including, anxiety, fear, irritation, anger, and depression. Briefly, social consequences of therapeutic interventions and support include enabling victims adaptive measures and "regain a sense of empowerment and mastery" (Worsley et al., 2017, p. 10).

7.4.6 Consolidating Policy Frameworks

The participants felt that there was a need for consolidated efforts in empowering female students from cyberharassment, especially formulation, implementation and reinforcement of laws. During Focus Group Discussion III, participants suggested the formulation of by-law and policies dealing with cyberharassment cases on the campus. They, therefore, recommended that the UDSM administration prepare cybersecurity policy and regulations against online harassment. During the discussion, one female student pointed out that:

> *Kuunganishwa kwa sera mbalimbali na sheria zitakazowalinda wanafunzi wa kike pale watakapofanyiwa kitendo hicho.* (FGD III discussant)
>
> *The university have to formulate by-laws and policies to protect female students and the university community against any kind of online harassment.*

Another participant in the same Focus group discussion emphasised that:

Kuwepo sheria kali kwa watakaobainika wakiwafanyia unyanyasaji mtandaoni, hii itapunguza au kuondoa kabisa unyanyasaji mtandaoni. (FGD II discussant)

There should be stern laws against online perpetrators. This will minimise or alleviate completely cyber harassments.

The participants above suggested formulation of by-laws and policy to fill the existing vacuum in policy and regulation addressing cyberharassment in a higher learning institution like UDSM. In an attempt to compare cybersecurity policies from universities in Tanzania, the researcher did not find any policy but several universities. At the same time the concept of cybersecurity took narrow view of machinery. Kundy and Lyimo (2019, p. 1) "the protection of systems, networks and data in cyberspace against threats such as cybercrime and cyberwar". In briefly, the study found that curbing cyberstalking at the University of Dar es Salaam was yet to be a reality. The university was in its infancy stage of recognising cyberstalking and cyberharassment.

7.5 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter analysed institutional strategies to curb cyberstalking at the campus. Through the documentary review, the chapter examined UDSM by-laws, policies and guidelines concerning gender, sexual harassment, security and ICT. Based on the documentary review and information from empirical findings, the results indicate a low understanding of the cyberspace. While gender policies did not envisage that in the cyberspace there are bodies and that harassment can be performed there, the ICT policies did not recognise unequal power relation and gender based ciolebce using ICT devises. The chapter has established that during formulation of these policies, the university had not foreseen the imminence of cyberculture with the associated evils. Towards the end of the chapter, the researcher examined female students' opinions regarding prevention and intervention in curbing cyberstalking on the campus. Generally it appears that much work is needed at the University has much to do to raise conscious of the university community.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.0. Introduction

While acknowledging the slew of advancements in the wake of digital technologies, the study is a rejoinder to a growing body of literature demonstrating the embedded drawbacks and dangers in some aspects of digital technology, especially for youth and particularly vulnerable populations. Virtual technology contributes to an undeniable transformation of the world and of the humankind in particular. Essentially, the internet has been found to bolster social relations and interaction, boost human capacities in accumulating and managing records of human experiences. In higher learning institutions, the internet enables universities to improve the quality and quantity of intellectual products and knowledge base. However, the abuse of digital technology has proven to have immense repercussions, no less so in Higher Education contexts. The current study thus sought to explore the prevalence of cyberstalking and the experiences of cyberstalked female students at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania.

The study focused on cyberstalking in a university setting as, arguably, university students are more vulnerable to cyber-harassment. Firstly, given the nature of the Tanzanian education system, university students are, for the first time, independent from strict school rules. They are away from home, act independently and largely unsupervised by their parents or guardians. Secondly, they are more exposed to online platforms owing to institutional requirements, peer pressure, and generally adhering to contemporary social trends. Thirdly, due to socio-cultural expectations related to their age, female students are expected to establish heterosexual associations that might imply online dating. Fourthly, as most of them belonged to the so-called 'digital generation'; they were 'digital citizens' hence to use Haraway's term 'cyborged'. In Haraways views, "A cyborg is a cybernetic organism, a hybrid of machine and organism, a creature of social reality as well as a creature of fiction" (Haraway, 2000, p. 69). That means participants in the study as 'digital citizen', lived in two worlds; they were citizens of the social world and the machine world (cyberspace). Since the participants were subjected to the ongoing societal change, their thoughts and imagination were partly 'governed' in cyberspace. Since the participants were Tanzanians, they lived within patriarchal societal experiences, in which women, in this case, female students, were more vulnerable to gender-based violence than male

students. Thus, the study revolved around the interplay between digitisation and social relations, particularly gender relations in the context of the University of Dar es Salaam.

The study worked on, among other aspects, uncovering how cyber technology contributes to reshaping or reinforcing unequal gender relations. In articulating the objectives, the researcher distributed an online survey questionnaire to 424 female students from whom prevalence and extent of cyberstalking were sought. The information collected from the questionnaire was complemented by eliciting qualitative narratives from the lived experiences (from interview students and focus group discussions held with cyberstalked female students). This information was complemented by 15 key informants selected from five administrative sections in charge of students' affairs. Furthermore, the researcher studied the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) policies to comprehend institutional stance on gender and digital technology. In this chapter, a broad summary of the research is drawn to give a synthetic picture of the research findings. Towards the end, the chapter presents the contribution of the study. The contributions also encompass recommendations on what can be done to curb cyberharassment.

8.1. Summary of the Major Findings

8.1.1. Cyberstalking as a Reality at the University of Dar es Salaam

Despite the massive utilisation of the internet at the University of Dar es Salaam and the increased awareness of cybercrime, little was known about the impact on internet users. The findings from this study indicate that an important population of female university students were subjected to cyberharassment at the campus. While the majority, 265, equal to 62.5 per cent, had experienced at least one form of harassment, 172, equivalent to 40.6 per cent of all sampled students, 424 had experienced cyber violence characterised by all features of cyberstalking. These students were terrorised and humiliated in cyberspace for a given length of time by perpetrators. These experiences approve the cyberfeminists' view that cyberspace is not a space free from global socio-cultural practices; but was instead a hiding place for male dominance (see Gilbert, 1996; Daniels 2009; Wajcman, 2004; MacKinnon, 1997).

Drawing from the nature of harassment and the profile of cyberstalkers, results from this study display a variety of experiences that reveal that female university students lived mostly clandestinely. The experiences include complex psychological torture from sexual aggression,

threats, sexist images and pornographic video and non-consensual posting of intimate photos. The findings demonstrate a resurfacing of past gender violent behaviours at UDSM in the 1990's that led to what Ngaiza (2012) terms an 'unpredictable biological and gender environment' for female students. The violent behaviours were performed by an offline gang of students nicknamed 'Mzee PUNCH'. From the study findings, it has been found that the female students were living unequal gender relationships revealed in terms of age, sex, and implied in place of origin, whether urban or rural. On average, most of the cyberstalkers were men, age-wise senior, and possibly with higher 'technical/techno' experience than the girls. More importantly, the phenomenon of cyberharassment was similar to the PUNCH era harassment due to similarity in the central motive, that is, to extract intimate and sexual relations. However, there were also several differences. The past incidences were entirely physical and locally situated, whereas the cyber violence were virtual and physical and involved local and cross borders perpetrations.

The findings demonstrate that some female students were defamed in group chats, others experienced being controlled, and sometimes their activities and movements were monitored online. Eventually, the female students sensed their rights to privacy, expression and movements being violated. Since some harassments were extended to family members, sex-partners, or fellow students, disharmony was spread beyond individual survivors. According to some cyber feminists, cyberspace provides an arena for exercising gender-based harassment. In this aspect, Diamond (2011: p. 414) contends that, even in cyberspace, the woman body is used as a site of oppression as a result of male dominance in many societies. As my findings reveal, most of the harassment in the study targeted the female students' bodies. The victimised female students were involved in revenge porn and pursued by obsessed perpetrators whose reactions to sex denial was violent and sometimes ended with physical assaults. Participants explained cases of intimidation and death threat of being killed. The determined perpetrators turned intimate relations into a life-threatening power struggle.

> *After (the perpetrator) realising that I was against his request, he became infuriated and began intimidation saying that if I refuse having sex with him, he would make sure that I am confused and if he hears that I got married with another man he would both of us me and my spouse* (Interviewed student).

The above excerpt demonstrates a situation in which the female student was supposed to obligatorily accept his command for sex, in the perpetrator's mind. Failure to do so would lead to the destruction of her life, or even death. These intimidations meant negotiating female students' freedom to life, which is a crime from a human rights perspective. It appears that threats were verbal, because participants were threatened to death in a few cases. The university documents indicate that some female students passed away and that their death was associated with conflict in sexual relations.

The study was also guided by the feminist's perspective and cyberfeminists' central arguments related to gender and body. The fact that all actions were carried out in cyberspace raises the question of the body, embodiment and disembodiment. According to Fernback (2007), among other authors, the discourses around gender and body focus on the construal whether sex can be performed with or without bodies. In this debate, Fernback (ibid) highlights that the most intriguing question remains; Are there 'bodies' on the internet? To answer this question, it is essential to emphasise that "the human body is not only the flesh and that disembodiment is partial in cyberspace because attitudes, emotions such as anger, and hatred can be felt" (Travers, 2003, p. 17).

The findings from the study substantiate that the victimised female students were hurt, injured and traumatised, which mean their 'whole being' virtual and 'physical', was in cyberspace. Their reactions demonstrate attempts to disconnect from inhospitable relationships with the stalker by blocking the perpetrators, or alienation from media, by closing accounts or destroying SIM cards. Thus, the harassment compelled female students to vacate cyberspace or absent themselves and leave perpetrators (mostly men who continued to reign the cyber communication). This tendency, according to cyberfeminists, widens the gender digital divide gap in the digital space. According to cyberfeminists, harassment expels women from cyberspace which is the modern public space. The harassed women return to the domestic sphere (Haraway, 1985). In reaction, cyberfeminists argue against women remaining 'locked into locality', and instead, they strongly urge women to utilise cyberspace as a platform for challenging unequal social relations. In this respect, Milford (2015, p. 57), insists that "women should […] empower themselves via the appropriation and control of virtual technology in ways that continue to express their identities as females".

Similarly, while in cyberspace, cyberfeminists advocate for feminists to vocalise against gender imbalance in cyberspace (see Milford, ibid). Williams (2009, p. 25) insists that "millennium women too must struggle for equal access to technologies that would allow them full and equal participation in the information technology revolution". Contrary to this stance, the study found that the majority of female students who experienced cyberstalking remained silent (see section 5.3.1). The silence seemed to be grounded in societal norms in Tanzania that prescribe women to keep quiet in public space, or before men; even when they are harassed, they were supposed to endure. Authors like Abeid and colleagues (2014) highlight that women and girls lack decision-making power in various matters in Tanzania, including *how*, *when*, and *where* to have sex.

In the Tanzanian context, extensive research on sexual harassment has been done, indicating that in most cultures, women are silenced; and deprived of rights in expressing their views and in the decision-making process (see Joignet, 1985; Ngaiza, 2012; Rubagumya, 2011). Among the effects of silence are included 'not reporting'. The non-reporting, in turn, deprive university administration data on the victimisation rate, who may in turn take the problem lightly. The information from key informants indicates that, at the University of Dar es Salaam, the reporting rate of the cyberharassment incidents, was at a very low. The above studies (Joignet, 1985; Ngaiza, 2012; Rubagumya, 2011) converges with the current study because most victimized remained silent, did not report the acts of violence. Most of the victimised students did not report to the administration or the police station. Instead, they shared among peers. Peer to peer support appeared to be a positive approach that the University could harness in obtaining information on cyberharassment.

In brief, the study has found that cyberstalking is a reality at the University of Dar es Salaam and that estimates indicate around 40.6% of female students are cyberstalked. The study demonstrates the tendency to reduce the woman's body to a sexual object perpetuated in cyberspace. Therefore, the major observation indicates that digital technology constituted a fertile ground for online aggressors to facilitate gender-based violence in the form of cyberstalking. Rudnick (2017, p. 3) purports that "the internet has a universal and determining potential allowing for the separation, radical transformation or redefinition of the body." The

technological advancement, primarily through smartphones, restraints strategies for women empowerment. Eventually, cumulatively effects of cyberharassment seem to affect relationships, obstruct female students' academic path, and marginalise female students from accessing the education system, which is one major means of empowerment with Tanzanian society.

8.1.2 Underlying Factors for Cyberstalking at the University of Dar es Salaam

The findings indicate several underlying motives for cyberstalking. The major underlying factor was unequal gender power relations and asymmetries that disadvantaged women in cyberspace. There were, of course, some findings that showed that female students aspiring for luxurious lifestyles, internet addiction and dating experiences compelled exposure to online media. Looked at holistically, however, the findings in this study correspond with the majority of studies on cyberharassment, that demonstrate massive victimisation of female students by men (see Wood & Stichman, 2018; Sissing & Prinsloo, 2013). Given this circumstance, feminists' view virtual space as an arena created and dominated by men and from which women are systematically excluded or compelled to leave (Yanisky-ravid & Mittelman, 2016). The findings indicate that men's rule transcended the dichotomy, real to cyberspace. As they were responsible for setting norms in the social world, men also exercised decision making and control over resources in cyberspace (see Gajjala & Mamidipudi, 1999). In the virtual space, it was found that female students were made submissive similarly to the physical space where cultural norms subordinate, silence, and sexual objectify them. The belief that women are subordinate to men were found to be deeply embedded in male-dominated societal cultures. From the study findings, it has been established that cyberspace does not create its own culture but amplifies the existing offline societal norms. It has been observed that cyberharassment is not a new phenomenon but rather an old practice that has changed mediation. Rheingold (1993), several decades ago, conceptualised "cyberspace as space where words, human relationships, data, wealth, and power are manifested by people using computer-mediated communication".

Moreover, the study findings suggest that some female students were cyberstalked because they had deliberately uploaded photographs while dressed in so-called 'revealing dresses'. Although these accusations were based on a patriarchal perspective, as an excuse for perpetrators, the study found that some economically disadvantaged female students felt and believed that they had no choice except to 'market' their appearance. In Kabeer's (2015) perspective, lack of choice

designates disempowerment. Although they uploaded so-called 'sexy' photographs to obtain financial support, the students communicated that they felt it was their only means to gain economic power. These findings substantiate a long-standing body of knowledge that indicates the inequality in financial resources in which women are disadvantaged, which is a factor of cyberharassment (see example Hilbert, 2011; ASEAN Foundation, 2017). A study conducted in Tanzania by Abeid and colleagues (2014) found that transactional sex is 'normally' used by girls and women, and is motivated by a desire to acquire modern commodities. However, the findings from this study indicates that economically desempowerement was the strongest factor. In comparison exposure was found to be the stronger in determining victimisation.

Furthermore, together with patriarchal and economic influences, technological knowledge and power emerged to increase cyberstalking. The interviewed participants purported that unawareness of technology was a reason for some female students exposing unprotected private information and posting intimate materials on their social media accounts. The findings affirm the assumption that virtual technology is inherently embedded with power inequality and that users can also exercise to negotiate powers. In this respect, Shariff and Gouin (2006) purport that the hierarchies of power existing in society are manifested in several ways in online exchange. Similarly, Herring (1999) underscores that, was internet manufacture to exert power inequality.

> "The internet itself is organised hierarchically, with certain individual system operators, Usenet administrators […] etc. empowered to make policy decisions that affect thousands of users. The people who occupy these administrative positions are also overwhelmingly middle-class, white, English-speaking males" (Herring, 1999, p. 163).

Thus, the power embedded in technology maintains hierarchies that enable people in power to oppress others. This citation suggests that non-white, women internet users from the non-English speaking community and from low economic class might be more vulnerable to cyber harassment. As most participants in the study belonged to the profile, they were vulnerable to fall prey of cyberstalkers. The study has indicated how internet providing companies exercised control over female students by offering inexpensive services but favouring nocturnal romantic talks. That is why Gajjala & Mamidipode (1999) advocate for women from developing countries to be able to define the content of the internet to shape cyberspace, not just to access it.

The findings for underlying factors reaffirm that cyberstalking is a gendered issue, and female students lived various behaviours characterised by traditional male-dominated attitudes favouring power, control and violence over women. Based on these assumptions, feminists advocate women's use of new information and communication technologies for self-empowerment (see Helbert, 2004, Carrasco 2014).

8.1.3 University of Dar es Salaam Response to the Alarming Rate of Cyberstalking?

As the icon of higher education in Tanzania, the University in Tanzania, provided an indicative in fighting against gender inequality and promoting digital technology. The findings indicate that although the university itself was constructed in a male-dominated culture, the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) had been struggling to curb all these forms of harassment for the past thirty years to create a conducive environment for all people to study. The university concurrently established special units for gender issues and formulated policies favouring gender mainstreaming and anti-sexual harassment. However, the study has found that there was no point in the convergence between the gender-related policies on the one hand and ICT and security policies on the other. The gender policies were much more focused on physical forms of gender-based harassment; little was included in online media use, whereas ICT and security policies concentrated on protecting information systems; protection of users was considered a trivial issue. To cyberfeminists like Milford (2015, p. 59), dissociating virtual from real-world practices demonstrates a misunderstanding of both technology and 'culture' and that this trend "ultimately builds academic research upon false assumptions". Thus, emanating from the policy gap, the study found a significant unawareness of cyberstalking among students. Also, most participating key informants demonstrated a low understanding of 'cyberstalking' as a term and an unpacked knowledge on cyberharassment among female students.

Meanwhile, although units like Dean of Students, Institute of Gender Studies, University Students' Organisation, all demonstrated valuable efforts in awareness-raising, provision of counselling and guidance practised in established, it appears that the university had not foreseen the imminence of cyberculture with its embedded dangers. Therefore, there were insignificant efforts to challenge inequalities in online harassment. Instead, conventional units like the Dean of Students concentrated on providing individual psychosocial services but were not preoccupied with addressing unequal structures in the University. The Institute of Gender Studies that was

established to face gender inequalities at the campus was still in its infancy stage. At the same time, key informants from the Institute had a low comprehension of online gender violence.

However, despite these shortfalls, the study is optimistic that the creation of the Institute of Gender Studies at the University suggests a promising future if the Institutes comprehends the cyber community and its effects on the lives of university students. Similarly, the study observed emerging indices of the University becoming aware of cyberharassment in that campus. One of campuses (The Dar es Salaam University College of Education [DUCE]) had already formulated guidelines to cybersecurity which prohibit use of electronic materials to perform violent acts against others. At the same time, the amended Universit Anti-Sexual Harassment Policy (2018) eye marked social media like WhatsApp as potential sexual harassment tools. One highlights that for the campus to be a safe place. It is thus more important for university strategies and facilities to challenge the power relations surrounding the university settings within both policy and practice.

8.2 Study Contribution and the Originality

As a contribution to the growing body of knowledge, the study unfolds a phenomenon of cyberharassment as a social problem resulting from an interplay between sociology, gender and technology. As a precursor of studies in cyberstalking Tanzania, the study locates Tanzania within the global and Africa cybercrime landscape. Since the study explored the phenomenon of cyberstalking among female university students at the UDSM campus, where cyberstalking was still unfamiliar by the majority of the citizens, first and foremost, it unveils to the community the prevalence of cyberstalking at the University of Dar es Salaam.

The study contributes to unpacking the concept, revealing the experience, and identifying the root causes of cyberstalking at the university campus, launching a roadmap for future studies on cyberstalking. Moreover, the research sets forth a discussion on fundamental themes that emerged, including the role of digital technology in amplifying, multiplying, intensifying and perpetuating violence in the form of cyberstalking through virtual space; the nexus between real and virtual space as well as the global nature of cyberstalking. The themes in this study lay the foundation for reflection among policymakers, academicians and gender activists. They also provide an agenda for institutions of higher learning in Tanzania, the University of Dar es

Salaam in particular, concerning their responsibility and trustworthiness in protecting women students from online gender-based violence.

Within ICT and social science domains, the study highlights an essential nexus between online harassment and the physical (social) world in policy formulation related to cybervictimisation. The researcher expects that the extent of cyberstalking and the experience of female students will build a strong ground for revisiting existing laws such as Tanzanian Anti-cybercrime Act (2015). Consequently, the study might influence the development of pertinent online security policies in Tanzanian institutions of higher learning institutions.

8.2.1 Digital Technology has Created New Platforms of Violence

Historically, technology has been an integral part of human experience and development. While it is eident that each technological innovation brings its pros and cons, digital technology appears to be more challenging. Unlike previous technological discoveries which focus on objects, digital technology operates communication and transfigures human relations themselves. Thus, as an inevitable raison d'être, the virtual technologies transform the nature of human interactions, reinforces existing social inequalities, hence exposing women and girls to social injustice such as sextortion, cyberbullying and cyberstalking (see Moothoo-Padayachie, 2004; Nunes et al., 2011). In this context, the internet is said to increase the crimes scale in the world (Jegede et al., 2016). While offline sexual harassment and stalking involve proximal harassers, the findings indicate cases in which female students were harmed by perpetrators situated at the university, from their homelands or overseas. Again, the intensity and multitude evoke unfavourable appellations like "the technology of hate" (Bocij & Mcfarlane, 2003) or "the most pervasive technologies on the planet" (Farman, 2015a, p. 101).

From reviewed literature, it has been found that the fact that the internet enables the multiplication of harassment facilitates augmentation of the victimisation scale (see Sheridan & Grant, 2007; Begotti & Maran, 2019). For example, a physically present ex-partner can use cyberspace as an additional platform for harassment. Thus, social media platforms, particularly smartphones, add more harassment to female students who already experience patriarchal discrimination in society. The media expose the girls to cross border harassers. Yanisky-Ranisky and Mittelman (2016) insist that "The virtual spheres not only duplicate the discriminative

reality, structure, norms, and patterns found in the real world, but also create new methods and means by which women are excluded from an environment where all important activities and opportunities now take place" (Yanisky-ravid & Mittelman, 2016, p 407).

Besides, the study has found that in the African context, clandestinely and anonymity of social media, coupled with societal construction of women's passivity and reticence on obscenities, render livelihood at the university challenging to female students. The internet reinforces existing social injustice based on race, sex, geographical location, income, age and experience. That is why authors purports that stalking is a social injustice within the realm of long-standing gender-based violence (see Navarra et al., 2021; UN Women, 2020). According to Jegede and colleagues (2016), the characteristics that make the internet an exceptional media of crime include the fact that internet medium is "inherently open and extremely dynamic and by nature allows attacks, in general, to be quick, easy, inexpensive, and often difficult to detect or trace" (Jegede et al., ibid, p.3). Hence, unpredictability, volatility, dynamism, and interconnectivity nature of internet together with perpetrators' likelihood of operating anonymous facilitate simultaneously stalking of many people, making it incomparable in number with physical stalking (see Basu & Jones, 2007; O'Shea et al., 2019; Sukrut Deo, 2013; Wei-Jung, 2020).

8.2.2 Nexus between Online Harassment and the Physical (social) World

Another emerging issue was the interplay and even overlapping experiences of violence between the cyber and physical world. Although cyberspace seems to be a new phenomenon, the lived experiences in the study underscore the fact that online violence perpetrators harness existing inequalities, injustice and violence perceived in the physical world to implement their intentions. The study has established that online harassment can be transferred from real-world to cyberspace and vice versa. That means the two spaces can run simultaneously. The parallel operations operation between cyber and real spaces were observed in various instances at the University of Dar es Salaam. A lecturer, for instance, intimidated the female students in class and used phone calls and operated examination results online to reinforce obeisance on the side of the student. Again, the study also illustrates that even what would be termed as 'virtual sex' or 'virtual rape' does not end up in cyberspace as in the following narration. The perpetrator had failed to retain the relationship, being blocked by his sexual partner.

*The man managed to trace her through social media to trace her whereabouts. He monitored her movement and organised a sexual assault. [... Eventually] a group of men made an ambush and committed a group sexual assault on her. (*Key informant III)

In the above quote, the e-technology was used by the stalker to complement the offline harassment effort that had failed. In this respect, Fenback (2007) argues that cyberspace provides alternatively or simultaneous means for perpetrators to transmit gender-based violence online. This is a piece of evidence that a mutual influence exists between virtual and non-virtual social worlds and that the influence is intricately intertwined while at the same time shaping each other and moulding individuals' lives and identities. In cyberfeminists' view, "Virtual spaces, are fused with "real" life into one social space encompassing both online and offline realities. Virtual citizens perform identity similarly to offline citizens, despite potentially feeling freer to experiment with identity online" (Milford, 2015, p. 60).

Consequently, although the stalker and the victim were living in physically distant areas, digital tools assisted in .the processing and mental setup of these actors. As such, the communication on the internet appeared to be embodied enough to be real and strategically operated to mediate bodies. The findings of this study provide an evidence of an interplay between cyberspace and the material world.

Given the power of anonymity, patriarchy system, deep-rooted in society and higher learning settings, fallouts to undesirable gendered attitudes that demonstrate discrimination and victimisation of female students in both physical and cyberspace. The findings revealed that the internet played a hiding place for perpetrators whose intention was to victimise online female university students. In the context of cyberharassment, social media platforms were bridging two terminals of physical relations: the virtual and the physical. According to (Rudnicki, 2017) online oppressors oppress similarly what they do in offline relationships.

Within the assumption of disembodiment, female students seemed to emulate the MCI[63] fantasies proclaiming that the internet is a "place where there is no genders, there are no races, there are no infirmities, there are only minds" ((quote from Daniels, 2015, p. 8). This MCI utopic

[63] The statement was heralded in 1997 by MCI a commercial that heralded the Internet as a
A defunct American telephone company.

statement distinguishes between mind and body, virtual and physical, describing cyberspace as an imaginary, symbolic or idealised image of the real (see Dean, 2014).

These perceptions led utopian cyberfeminists to search for social problem solutions in the technology (see Daniels 2009; Wajcman, 2004). The study also found that female students utilised digital devices recklessly when uploading images, asking for and accepting e-friends, presuming that cyberspace is free from harmful threats. Contrary to their expectation, the female students found that the internet to the device for strengthening or reinforcing societal hierarchies, including stereotype gender inequalities in conformity with Haraway's assertion that: the internet is 'the informatics of domination' (Haraway, 2000, p. 77). According to Haraway (ibid), the internet creates a struggle "over life and death" in women experience simultaneously: the online harassment (termed as fiction)' and harassment in "the social reality" (Haraway ibid, p. 70).

The study found a strong correspondence between perpetrators in the physical realm and in cyberspace. In both cases, the perpetrators are human actors, applying socioeconomic powers, social position, and most important, gender stereotype power bestowed to men to control and monitor women. Therefore, the researcher establishes that cyberharassment and cyberstalking are a manifestation of unequal power relations in society; they should be understood as a social injustice within the realm of the long-standing gender-based violence (Jegede, 2016). Thus, the study establishes the reason for cyberstalking among female students to be the same as traditional sexual harassment men entices female students to exploit their bodies as sex objects.

8.2.3 Cyberstalking as a Growing Global Challenge

It is evident that cyberharassment surfaces within the paradigm of globalisation. As cyberstalking is ubiquitous, its effects transcend geographical boundaries. To use Terranova's (2007, p. 53) words, the internet is "a network of networks [without…] a central control that challenges political territories and legal structures. For that matter, it has been reported that even police "sometimes shy away from taking action because of the international nature of the case" (Van der Aa, 2011, p.1). To bold on this, one divulged that:

> *It is a difficult task to keep on chasing perpetrators you do not know their where about. This is an international matter. Communication through internet throughout the world*

should be improved to restrict an unauthorised person to access another person's account. (Focus Group Discussant)

In this excerpt, the participant views the cyberharassment problem from a global perspective. She, therefore, proposes the need for global strategies. Drawing from numerous incidences of harassment and violence committed to female university students by sex predators across the globe, the researcher opines that it is vital for the international community to be reshaped and remoulded to cope with the technological change. One contends that cyberspace has become an area of convergence of all; it operates beyond race, cultures and walks of life.

In a slightly different perspective, the global nature of cyberharassment has been associated with imperialist forces that spread western ideologies in countries termed 'developing' like most African. In this view, authors like Ephraim (2013) contend that widespread poverty and unequally distribution of access to ICT tools operate against Africans' interests. Ephraim (ibid), therefore, doubts the possibility of African success in the global social media sphere. Cyberstalking, in this perspective, is closely linked with discriminative ideologies segregating women, people of colour and youth. Feminist scholars immediately suspected the advent of the internet to be gender-biased, racial, and geopolitically oriented. Gilbert (1996), for instance, as a survivor of cyberstalking, recognises that global inequality transpired even in online communication before the proliferation of social media. She writes: "microtechnology on which the Net depends is the product of exploitation of largely third world, largely female labour " (Gilbert, 1996, p. 125). She (Gilbert, ibid) continues insisting that "the Net is described in terms which make it the scene of the first world, male fantasy, the (American) frontier". This situation is connected to decolonial feminists such as Harding (2016), who postulate that there is no modernity without coloniality. Harding (ibid) insists that modernity is constructed with colonialism and build upon racial hierarchies. She reports that "women sexuality is a part of colonial labour that has been especially important to control if colonialism is to maximise effective" (Harding, 2016, p. 1072).

Meanwhile, as an expression of its global nature, cyberstalking was found to be closely operating in conjunction with other global issues such as COVID 19. In this respect, cyberstalking cases are said to have increased exponentially following the COVID-19 outbreak (see Rangaswami & Gevargiz, 2021; UN Women, 2020). According to UN Women (ibid), online gender violence has

increased due to "quarantine measures, self-isolation policies as well as an increase in the use of the internet for work, schooling and social activities" (UN Women, 2020, p. 2). Lack of "comprehensive global definition and data on online and ICT facilitated violence". Contrary to the increase in cyberharassment, international strategies to curb cyberharassment seem to lag. Literature indicates lack of multilateral, regional or international common stance on cyberstalking (see Rodríguez-Darias & Aguilera-Ávila, 2018; UN Women, 2020; UNODC, 2015). The lack of international consensus suggests that cyberstalking will continue to be a challenge until the international community takes a common understanding and agrees on a joint approach towards mitigation strategies.

Cyberstalking seems to be a challenge that has not yet recognised at the international level, and most laws are not harmonised. Therefore, it is recommended that the University of Dar es Salaam invest in research and publication in human rights in cyberspace, cybersecurity, and the sociology of cyberspace. Publications as an awareness-raising strategy provide activists with bases to advocate for safe cyberspace for all people, including women.

8.2. Conclusion

This study aimed at exploring the prevalence and the experience of cyberstalking among female university students in higher education settings, with the University of Dar es Salaam as case study. The findings revealed that cyberstalking is a reality at the University of Dar es Salaam. The researcher found that the percentage of harassed females is significant enough to prompt immediate measures by the university and the wider community. Meanwhile, the study establishes the reason for cyberstalking among female students to be the same as traditional sexual harassment, through which men pursue female students online, to exploit their bodies as sex objects. These findings, therefore, accentuate the fact that cyberspace is not a real-world apart; instead, it acts as a "support tool to facilitate real-time evils" (Goodman, 2007, p 54). The researcher finds cyber harassment a continuation of the marginalisation of women in the education system as male dominance remains a key principle of violence. There is a need to challenge these gendered power relations which legitimise online violence directed to female students in cyberspace.

The study contributes by identifying a gap among policies and practices to address cyberstalking at the University of Dar es Salaam. The findings indicate that the university operates within the classical assumption that cyberspace operates disjointedly from the real world. There was a vivid dichotomous relationship between the globe and cyberspace prevailing in the university policies and practices. On the one hand, the institutional gender-related policies: the university gender policy and sexual harassment policies, targeted physical harassers, and physical harassment could not project harassment using digital devices. The combination of the institutional policies' perspective related to cyberstalking corresponded to why female students become less protected, key informants were less informed about cyberstalking, and why units in charge of students' welfare did not target challenging the root cause of cyberstalking cyberharassment. This gap leaves room for virtual perpetrators to operate undisturbedly while women continued to suffer at the perpetrators' hands.

8.3 Limitation of the Study

Despite the practical implications of the current study, several limitations require consideration when interpreting the findings. Firstly, the survey questionnaire was disseminated through online channels and during compulsory corona vacation. This was a time when students were not receiving financial assistance. It is possible that some students might have been constrained from accessing the internet either being in a remote area or not having enough package to complete the questionnaire, thus making the findings favouring those who were in urban and who had access to the internet. Again, the majority of students were not used to online questionnaires; this might have retarded response rate and details. Furthermore, as explained in the findings, many participants did not like to be involved in the interview. These might have hidden some qualitative data on cyberstalking. It is equally important to note that as cyberstalking was not so much known; some reports of the victims in this particular survey may be an underestimation of the extent of negative consequences of cyberstalking.

8.4 Recommendations for Further Studies

The study creates several avenues for further research. In the first place, the finding from this study evokes an interest in exploring the prevalence of cyberstalking using a mixed population of both male and female students. In the second place, to draw attention to the social and academic impact of cyberstalking as the impression of cyberstalking on the university's reputation, an in-

depth study can be undertaken to examine the link between victims' academic performance and perception of university life. Finally, the researcher recommends further studies on cyberstalking to be done in other universities in Tanzania.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Survey questionnaire

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

Experience of cyberstalking among female university students

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. My current study at the university is
   i. □ certificate Year of study……
   ii. □ Diploma Year of study ……
   iii. □ First degree Year of study ……..
2. My age is:
   i. □ below 17 years
   ii. □ between 17-23 years
   iii. □ between 24-26 years
   iv. □ between 27 and above
3. My nationality is:
   i. □ Tanzanian
   ii. □ East African
   iii. □ African
   iv. □ Not African

4. I come from;
   i. □ a typical rural area
   ii. □ semi urban area
   iii. □ urban centre
   iv. □ city
5. My parents/guardians are;

i. □ poor (peasants/herdsperson)
ii. □ have small income (teacher/nurse/farmer)
iii. □ Have high income (lecturer/Member of parliament/business person)
iv. □ Very affluent (owns big companies/high politician/etc)

6. At my home area;
   i. □ men do not harass women
   ii. □ sometimes men do harass women
   iii. □ it is common that men harass women
   iv. □ men are advised to harass women
7. At my home area when a woman is harassed;
   i. □ she remains silent
   ii. □ she reconciles with the man
   iii. □ she has to report to elders
   iv. □ she has to go to the police station
8. I my life;
   i. □ I have never shared with someone password/ATM card
   ii. □ I do share sometimes passwords and ATM cards
   iii. □ I always share passwords and ATM card
   iv. I only share ……. but not……
9. In average, I visit the internet;
   i. □ less than once
   ii. □ once
   iii. □ between twice and five times
   iv. □ more than five times
10. I visit the internet through;
   i. □ internet cafe
   ii. □ desktop computer
   iii. □ my own smartphone
11. I visit the internet (social network)

		never	rarely	sometimes	normally	always
i	Early in the morning					
ii	In the morning					
iii	In the afternoon					
iv	In the evenings					
v	In the night					

12. Beyond academic and official duties, I visit the internet

		never	rarely	sometimes	normally	always
i	For chatting with					
ii	to get news					
iii	Listen to music					
iv	Others specify ……..					

13. I have ……..email accounts ,……..
14. I am subscribed in the following forums?

i. □ Facebook
ii. □ tweeter
iii. □ Instagram
iv. □ WhatsApp
v. □ telegram
vi. □ WeChat
vii. □ Qzone
viii. □ Skype
ix. □ Viber
x. □ Pinterest
xi. □ LinkedIn
xii. □ Myspace
xiii. □ YouTube
xiv. Others specify …….….

15. Through the internet,
    i. □ I have never been followed by someone electronically
    ii. □ some people send me unwanted message
    iii. □ many people follow me electronically
    iv. □ I have been wounded by a person who followed me electronically

    The stalker (the person who pursued) was
    v. □ unknown to me
    vi. □ an ex-friend
    vii. □ a classmate
    viii. □ one from homeland
    ix. □ an instructor/lecturer
    x. □ Others, specify …….
16. The age of the stalker is/was
    i. □ below 17 years
    ii. □ between 17-24 years
    iii. □ between 25-30 years
    iv. □ more than 30 above.
17. The stalker was/is a
    i. □ male
    ii. □ female
    iii. □ unknown
18. The main intention of the stalker was
    i. □ establish relationship
    ii. □ frustrate
    iii. □ revenge

19. The methods used to follow me were the following

	Mode of communication	**never**	**1 to 3 times a day**	**4 to 7 times twice and thrice**	**8 to 10 times a day**	**More than 10 a day**
i	Sent me personal messages (e.g., e-mails)					
ii	Contacted other people via the Internet in order to defame me,					
iii	Search for information about me, etc					
iv	Posted messages to me and made them visible to other users (e.g., forum, chat)					
v	Spread falsehoods about me over the net					
vi	Damaged my reputation by spreading falsehoods (e.g., in e-mails to others, chatrooms, or on a homepage)					
vii	Published my personal data on the net against my will					
viii	Published messages under my name (e.g., formulate malicious comments in my name)					
ix	Published genuine private/intimate images/videos					
x	Published forged embarrassing images of me					
xi	Downloaded data from my computer without my knowledge/used my PC to download data without my knowledge					
xii	Placed orders/made purchases in my name					
xiii	Published my image(s)/data on porno Web sites					
xiv	Used my PC to download files from the Internet					
xv	Used my password to perform online banking					
xvi	**……**					
xvii	**…….**					
xviii	**…….**					

20. The threats and intimidation that the stalkers used are
    i. ……
    ii. ……
    iii. ……
    iv. ……

21. The threats made me

i. □ scared
ii. □ angry
iii. □ scared
iv. □ distrust others
v. □ feel helpless
vi. □ others (specify)……

22. The behaviours in 15-21 I summarise them as
……

23. Cyberstalking
i. □ I have never heard about it
ii. □ I know it

24. About other people who have been cyberstalked
i. □ I have never heard any other person
ii. □ I know someone
iii. □ I know many people
iv. □ It is common at the university

25. From the experience above I
i. □ surrendered
ii. □ closed my account
iii. □ remained silent/did not tell anyoone
iv. □ reported to a colleague
v. □ reported to university administration
vi. □ reported to the police
vii. □ others (specify)

I did so because ……

26. The threats made me
i. □ scared
ii. □ angry
iii. □ scared
iv. □ distrust others
v. □ feel helpless

It also (specify)……

27. I case of these threats
i. I do not know where to go in campus
ii. I know I can report to…….

Appendix B: Focus group discussion question guide

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

FOCUS GROUP GUIDE

1. What do you understand by the concept cyberstalking? / Can you describe the concept of cyberstalking?
2. Do you think cyberstalking is a problem on campus? How?
3. Do you think harassing women a common practice in your cultures? how?
4. What do women do when harassed? Why?
5. Do you see any connection between cyberstalking and sexual harassment?
6. Why do you think people become victims/ or perpetrator of cyberstalking?
7. Where victims of cyberstalking are supposed to report? Are the facilities known and efficient? Do victims report? Why?
8. What do you think should be done to control cyberstalking in campus?

Appendix C: Interview guide for female students

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

Interview Schedule (Individual Interviews)

1. What do you understand by the term cyberstalking?
2. Who are the targets of cyberstalking? /who are perpetrators?
3. What is the relationship between cyberstalking and to sexual harassment?
4. Can you describe a typical cyberstalking incident you know?
    a. How did it start?
    b. Who were people concerned?
    c. How long did it take?
    d. How did it end?
5. Can you say cyberstalking is a big problem in campus? Why?
6. Has cyberstalking happened to you or to someone you know?
7. Are there channels to address complaints with regards to cyber harassment in campus?
8. In what ways do you feel the University is addressing issues to do with harassment and cyberstalking? Why?.
9. In your views what should be done to curb cyber stalking practices in the campus?

Appendix D: Interview guide for key informants

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

Interview Schedule (Key informants)

1. What do you understand by the term cyberstalking?
2. Do you think cyberstalking a problem at the university? Why?
3. How many cyberstalking cases do you receive every week?
4. What do you do or advise them?
5. Why do you think people fall victims of cyberstalking?
6. What protective measures your office use to protect against harassment?
7. Which other sections/departments deal with cyberstalking?
8. How is the university prepared to help cyberstalked people?
9. What else do think is needed for online security of students?

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL ™
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

30 June 2020

Ms Angela Mathias Kavishe (219060869)
School Of Social Sciences
Howard College

Dear Ms Kavishe,

Protocol reference number: HSSREC/00001410/2020
Project title: EXPLORING THE EXPERIENCE OF CYBERSTALKING AMONG FEMALE STUDENTS IN TANZANIAN UNIVERSITIES: A CASE STUDY OF UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM
Degree: PhD

Approval Notification – Expedited Application

This letter serves to notify you that your application received on 20 April 2020 in connection with the above, was reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**

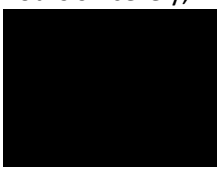
Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

This approval is valid until 30 June 2021.
To ensure uninterrupted approval of this study beyond the approval expiry date, a progress report must be submitted to the Research Office on the appropriate form 2 - 3 months before the expiry date. A close-out report to be submitted when study is finished.

All research conducted during the COVID-19 period must adhere to the national and UKZN guidelines.

HSSREC is registered with the South African National Research Ethics Council (REC-040414-040).

Yours sincerely,



Professor Dipane Hlalele (Chair)

/dd

UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM

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Our Ref. AB3/31

15th June 2020

Deputy Vice Chancellor - Administration
University of Dar es Salaam

RE: RESEARCH CLEARANCE

This is to introduce **Ms. Angela Mathias Kavishe** who is a bonafide staff member of Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Academy. At the moment Ms. Angela is conducting data collection as part of her Studies. The title of her research **'Exploring the Experience of Cyber Stalking among Female Students in Tanzanian Universities: The Case of Universities in Dar es Salaam'.**

This is to request you to grant the above-mentioned researcher any help that may enable her to achieve her research objectives. The period for which this permission has been granted is **June 2020 to November 2020.**

[redacted]

Dr. Mussa I. Mgwatu
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH & PUBLICATION

cc: Vice Chancellor
cc: Deputy Vice Chancellor - Academic
cc: Deputy Vice Chancellor - Administration
cc: Deputy Vice Chancellor - Research

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Dear Participant,

My name is Angela Mathias Kavishe (student # 219060869). I am a PhD candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus. The title of my research is: **Exploring the Experience of Cyberstalking among Female Students in Tanzanian Universities: A Case Study of University of Dar es Salaam**. The aim of the study is to explore the magnitude and experience of cyberstalking among female university students. You will therefore be asked to give information on experience, extent, magnitude of cyberstalking and the way victims disclose incidents of cyberstalking in campus.

Please note that:

i. The information that you provide will be used for scholarly research only.
ii. Your participation is entirely voluntary. You have a choice to participate, not to participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalized for taking such an action.
iii. Your views in this online interview will be presented anonymously. Neither your name nor identity will be disclosed in any form in the study.
iv. The online interview will take about 1 hour.
v. The record as well as other items associated with the interview will be held in a password-protected file accessible only to myself and my supervisors. After a period of 5 years, in line with the rules of the university, it will be disposed by shredding and burning.
vi. If you agree to participate, please sign the declaration attached to this statement (a separate sheet will be provided for signatures)

I can be contacted at: School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, / Howard College Campus, Durban. Email: a_mtavangu@yahoo.com; amkavishe@gmail.com

Cell: +27797 887450, +255 754 215 738

My supervisor is Professor Maheshvari Naidu who is located at the School of Social Sciences, Howard College

Campus, Durban of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Contact details: email: naiduu@ukzn.ac.za. Phone number: +27 71 68 19 496

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Thank you for your contribution to this research.

ORAL DECLARATION

I…… *(full names of participant*) today on ……2020 hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire. I understand the intention of the research. I hereby agree to participate.

I consent / do not consent to have this interview recorded (if applicable)

SIGNATURE DATE

…… ……