

A report on Technology-Facilitated Gender-Based Violence in Kenya

Dada Disinfo





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Contents

Authors & Contributors	3
Suggested Citation	3
Acknowledgements	6
List of Abbreviations	7
Glossary of terms	8
Executive Summary	10
Key Findings:	10
Recommendations:	10
Introduction	11
About Dada Disinfo	11
Research Questions	11
Background and Context	12
Literature Review	13
The Impact of TFGBV on Diverse Communities in Kenya	15
Navigating the Legal Landscape: Current Frameworks and Gaps in Addressing TFGBV in Kenya	17
Conceptual Framework for TFGBV	18

Methodology	20
Online Survey	20
In-depth Interviews	20
Social Media Listening	21
Co-Creation Workshop	21
Findings	22
Online Survey Findings	22
Qualitative Study Findings	31
Co-Creation Workshop Findings	39
Social Media Analytics Findings on TFGBV	43
Conclusion & Recommendations	52
Conclusion	52
Recommendations	52
The Platform Solutions and Features	54
References	56
Appendix	59
Curated List of Keywords used for this study	59

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List of Abbreviations

API - Application Programming Interface

CBD - Central Business District (Nairobi)

CREAW - Center for Rights Education and Awareness

DCI - Directorate of Criminal Investigations

FAQ - Frequently Asked Questions

FIDH - International Federation for Human Rights

GBV - Gender-Based Violence

HP - Harmful Practices

ICJ - International Court of Justice

ICRW - International Center for Research on Women

IRED - International Research and Exchanges Board

KICTANet - Kenya ICT Action Network

NGO - Non-Governmental Organization

ODPP - Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions

OGBV - Online Gender-Based Violence

TFGBV - Technology-Facilitated Gender-based Violence

UN - United Nations

UNFPA - United Nations Population Fund

USAID - United States Agency for International Development

USD - United States Dollar

Glossary of terms

Online harassment:

includes any form of unwanted online communication intended to harm, intimidate, or threaten an individual. Examples include sending abusive messages, making derogatory comments, or spreading false information about someone online.

Revenge porn:

refers to the sharing of sexually explicit images or videos without the consent of the person depicted in them. This can be done with the intent of causing harm, embarrassment, or humiliation.

Sextortion:

This is a form of blackmail that involves threatening to publish sexual information or coercing an individual into sexual activity through blackmail or threats.

Stalking:

refers to repeated and unwanted surveillance or monitoring of an individual's online activities. This can include tracking someone's location, monitoring their social media accounts, or sending unwanted messages.

Hate speech:

This includes any form of online communication that is intended to degrade, intimidate, or threaten an individual or group based on their race, ethnicity, religion, gender, or sexual orientation.

Cyberbullying:

A form of online harassment, the constant and intentional infliction of damage through digital technologies to undermine a target's self-esteem.

Defamation:

involves the public release of false information that damages a person's reputation and intends to humiliate, threaten, intimidate, or punish the individual.

CyberMob:

A large group of online attackers who threaten, insult and verbally abuse a target, often in an organised and coordinated manner.

Online Impersonation:

Creating a fake profile and assuming someone's identity for nefarious purposes, including destroying someone's reputation or threatening her safety.

Shallowfake:

A manipulated image, often done with editing software, such as attaching someone's face to someone's body. A more believable, sophisticated deepfake is done with machine learning.

Doxing:

Posting personal and sensitive information, including home and work addresses, telephone numbers, email addresses and family names without permission.

Sexual Harassment:

includes unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours, and other verbal or physical harassment of a sexual nature perpetrated through online or technological means.

Recommender systems:

also known as content curation systems, prioritise content or make personalised content suggestions to users of online services.

Image-based abuse:

is the non-consensual creation or distribution of a person's image.

Non-Consensual Publishing of Consensual Intimate Images:

This refers to any intimate content that was made public without the consent of the person in the frame. While the material is created and shared consensually with a designated person the recipient then publishes the content online without consent.

Cybercrime:

Cybercrime is any criminal activity that involves a computer, network, or networked device. It covers the vast range of illegal activities that cybercriminals commit. These include hacking, phishing, identity theft, ransomware, and malware attacks, among many others. The reach of cyber crime knows no physical boundaries.

Cyberactivism:

is the process of using Internet-based socializing and communication techniques to create, operate and manage activism of any type.

Executive Summary

The “Dada Disinfo: Technology-Facilitated Gender-Based Violence (TFGBV) Report,” prepared by Nendo and Pollicy, outlines the pervasive issue of TFGBV in Kenya’s vibrant but volatile social media ecosystem. The report draws on extensive research, including social media analytics, surveys, and in-depth interviews with content creators, to shed light on the manifestations, perpetrators, and impacts of TFGBV. The project, supported by USAID and conducted in collaboration with Pollicy, integrates advanced analytics to offer insights and potential solutions to mitigate online gender-based violence in Kenya.

Key Findings:

Prevalence and Forms of TFGBV: The study highlights the high incidence of online harassment, stalking, hate speech, and impersonation. Sexual harassment and hate speech are particularly rampant, suggesting urgent areas for intervention.

Perpetrators: Predominantly unknown online strangers are identified as the chief perpetrators of TFGBV. The data suggests a significant gender disparity, with male users predominantly responsible for such abuses.

Impact on Victims: TFGBV has profound emotional and psychological effects on victims, contributing to a decrease in their public engagement and online presence. Women content creators, in particular, bear the brunt of these attacks, which can diminish their professional opportunities and mental health.

Platform Analysis: Different social media platforms vary significantly in how safe content creators feel. Instagram and TikTok are perceived as relatively safer environments, whereas Twitter and Facebook are seen as platforms where users experience higher levels of TFGBV.

Recommendations:

Enhanced Legal Framework: There’s a critical need for stronger legal measures that specifically address TFGBV, alongside more rigorous enforcement of existing laws.

Educational Campaigns: Raising awareness about the nature and seriousness of TFGBV and educating the public on how to report and combat such violence are essential.

Platform Responsibility: Social media platforms need to enforce stricter policies and tools to detect and prevent TFGBV, ensuring a safer online environment.

Support Systems: Developing comprehensive support systems, including psychological counseling and legal assistance for victims of TFGBV, is recommended.

Introduction

About Dada Disinfo

In December 2023, USAID, through its Digital Frontiers Project administered by DAI, awarded [Nendo](#), an award-winning research and marketing agency based in Kenya working across Africa, a 6-month Social Media Analytics Pilot grant. Nendo launched the Dada Disinfo (Dada means sister in the Kiwahili language while Disinfo is short for Disinformation) program to tackle online gender-based violence in Kenya, focused on women content creators. The program aimed to blend social media analysis, quantitative and qualitative research, and a human-centered design workshop alongside content creators to capture their experiences and insights with managing and mitigating TFGBV.

The grant's goals included producing knowledge products, such as this report, a playbook aimed at content creators and the public, and a public awareness social media campaign. [Policy](#), an award-winning feminist East African civic technology collective, collaborated with Nendo by training Nendo's team in data analysis techniques, performing complementary data analysis, data visualization, and supporting the design and facilitation of the co-creation workshop and final report. Nendo categorized content creators into two groups: experienced content creators with large audiences (50,000 to over 1 million followers) and higher economic earnings from content creation and emerging content creators with smaller, but growing audiences (3,000 to 50,000 followers) with rising economic earnings from content creation.

In a May 2024 study, Kenyans born between 1997 and 2012, often referred to as "Generation Z" or "Gen Z", listed Influencer/TikToker as their third-ranked ideal career choice. According to the study, 78% of respondents expressed a desire for fame, while 76% wanted to earn an income by publishing content on social media platforms.¹ These findings, as well as the insights in this report, drive Dada Disinfo's existence and vision to contribute to a safer internet for all.

Research Questions

With social media analytics in development as an emerging area that Nendo believes can Nendo sought to address the following questions:

- How does TFGBV manifest against women in Kenya?
- How do the forms, triggers, and duration of TFGBV incidents vary?
- Are there common themes, traits, and types of TFGBV based on social media data? Classification of abuses? Topics? Perpetrators pattern? What are the networks or narratives at play?
- How does the nature and frequency of TFGBV manifest differently across various social media platforms?
- What are the effects of TFGBV on content creators?

Background and Context

The [UNFPA](#) defines Technology Facilitated Gender Based Violence (TFGBV) as “an act of violence perpetrated by one or more individuals that is committed, assisted, aggravated and amplified in part or fully by the use of information and communication technologies or digital media, against a person based on their gender.”²

[UN Women](#) expands on this by noting that TFGBV has a likelihood of resulting in physical, sexual, psychological, social, political, or economic harm or other infringements of rights and freedoms.³ TFGBV includes acts such as stalking, online intimidation, non-consensual sharing of intimate images (also known as “revenge porn”), cyberbullying, and online harassment. Previous studies show that women, particularly young women, are disproportionately affected by TFGBV, even though both men and women can be victims.⁴

According to Financial Sector Deepening Kenya (FSD Kenya), the gender gap in financial inclusion in Kenya narrowed from 8.5% in 2016 to 4.2% in 2021, although it increased from 0.5% to 1.6% between 2019 and 2021 likely due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Mobile money drives formal financial inclusion in Kenya, with 79.4% of Kenyans accessing financial services through this channel.⁵ Kenya boasts 63 million mobile connections, representing 117.2% of the population, suggesting multiple connections per person.

Kenya's startup ecosystems raised over USD 574 million in 2022 and 673 million in 2023⁶ living up to its self-christened title as Africa's “Silicon Savannah.” Kenya also has a more progressive environment for freedom of expression compared to its neighboring countries and has developed a global reputation for its cyberactivism and digital advocacy on platforms like X (formerly Twitter), on topics ranging from international media coverage of Kenya, geopolitical issues, natural disasters, to holding national and local governments accountable.⁷

² UNFPA, Preventing Technology Facilitated Gender-Based Violence, https://www.un.org/techenvoy/sites/www.un.org.techenvoy/files/GDC-Submission_UNFPA.pdf

³ UN Women, FAQs: Trolling, Stalking, Doxing and Other Forms of Violence Against Women in the Digital Age, <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/faqs/tech-facilitated-gender-based-violence>

⁴ International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), Defining and Measuring Technology -Facilitated Gender-Based Violence,https://anrows.intersearch.com.au/anrowsjspui/bitstream/1/20482/1/ICRW_TFGBVMarketing_Brief_v4_WebReady_%281%29.pdf.

⁵ Lekolool, R. (2024, March 5). Financial freedom for women counts. Business Daily. <https://www.businessdailyafrica.com/bd/opinion-analysis/columnists/financial-freedom-for-women-counts--4546254>

⁶ Statista.com, Number of funded tech startups in Kenya from 2015 to 2023 <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1279467/number-of-funded-startups-in-kenya/>

⁷ Kaigwa, M. (2017). From Cyber Café to Smartphone: Kenya's Social Media Lens Zooms In on the Country and Out to the World. In: Ndumo, B., Weiss, T. (eds) Digital Kenya. Palgrave Studies of Entrepreneurship in Africa. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-37-57878-5_7

Despite gains in connectivity, Kenya has a 34% mobile internet gender gap, referring to the gap between men's and women's access in the nation.⁸ The same is true on social media. Kenya's largest social network, Facebook, has over 17 million users in Kenya as of May 2024.⁹ Men outnumber women by 12.4%. Although the gender gap on Facebook has reduced from 18.4% in 2018, where men were at 59% of the 7.7 million users,¹⁰ to 12.4% in 2024, online spaces still pose hazards to women's participation despite women doubling in their numbers on the social network. Online harassment, targeted abuse, and TFGBV particularly affect prominent women in media, law, politics, and the entertainment sectors across social media platforms in Kenya.

In this report, Nendo observed hate speech, cyberbullying, doxxing, and image-based abuse aimed at women and girls in Kenya. This builds on previous work examining the growth of gendered disinformation and the rise of misogynistic communities across Kenyan social media platforms.¹¹ TFGBV, above the gender gaps, hinders women content creators from creating, contributing, and participating online.

One reason TFGBV is increasing is due to a lack of a dedicated legal framework to address such cases. Although Kenya has laws such as the Computer Misuse and Cyber Crimes Act of 2018 and the Kenya Data Protection Act of 2019, enforcement is weak. The limited data on reported cases significantly impacts prosecution and conviction rates for TFGBV. This is largely due to a lack of awareness among the populace regarding the laws safeguarding them against TFGBV. Furthermore, law enforcement agencies often lack the necessary knowledge and skills to recognize TFGBV cases or conduct effective investigations that could lead to the conviction of perpetrators. Consequently, there is an urgent need to raise awareness, particularly regarding the criminal aspects of TFGBV and the legal avenues available to survivors.

Combating TFGBV in Kenya requires a comprehensive strategy: promoting digital consent and safety awareness, establishing incident reporting channels for survivors, and training authorities like law enforcement and the judiciary to handle, investigate, and prosecute TFGBV cases. Cooperation among governmental bodies, non-profit organizations, IT firms, academic institutions, and the public is essential for creating a safer online environment.

8 GSMA Mobile Gender Gap Report (2023) <https://www.gsma.com/r/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/The-Mobile-Gender-Gap-Report-2023.pdf>

9 NapoleonCat, Facebook Users in Kenya (May 2024), <https://napoleoncat.com/stats/facebook-users-in-kenya/2024/05/>

10 NapoleonCat, Facebook Users in Kenya (September 2018), <https://napoleoncat.com/stats/facebook-users-in-kenya/2018/09/>

11 Council for Responsible Social Media of Kenya, Social Listening of Online Gender Disinformation by Nendo (2022) https://accountablebigtech.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/NENDO-Social-Listening-Analysis-Gender-Disinfo-Kenya_1.pdf

Literature Review

The Internet and mobile technologies have revolutionized how people interact, share resources, and build communities but have also become breeding grounds for TFGBV in Kenya.¹² Digital platforms offer crucial opportunities for expression and engagement, yet also serve as vectors for abuse with perpetrators exploiting these technologies to inflict harm against women. Platforms expand past social media to include chat apps such as Facebook Messenger, WhatsApp, and Telegram not to mention video sharing sites like YouTube and TikTok.

TFGBV is a complex issue that has psychological, physical, social, and economic impacts on the lives of victims/survivors and their families.¹³ TFGBV includes stalking, bullying, sexual harassment, defamation, hate speech, and exploitation, among other harms.¹⁴ It often overlaps with other forms of discrimination such as racism, homophobia, transphobia, and ableism. The impacts of TFGBV can be severe, including mental, emotional, and even bodily harm.¹⁵

TFGBV is rooted in discriminatory attitudes, beliefs, and institutions that promote sexist gender norms.

Research indicates that TFGBV disproportionately affects women and girls globally.¹⁶ Addressing TFGBV requires a multifaceted approach that tackles the root causes of gender-based violence while also holding technology platforms accountable for enabling abuse.¹⁷ According to UN Women, one in three women is likely to encounter physical and sexual violence at some point in her lifetime, with 35% of women globally have experienced either physical or sexual violence in their lives.¹⁸

In addressing the disproportionate impact of TFGBV on women and girls, it is evident that this form of violence has a significant reach and affects women more severely than men.¹⁹ Research and reports highlight the prevalence and impact of TFGBV on women and girls. Hicks' study shows that a wide proportion, between 16 -58% of women, have been survivors of TFGBV,²⁰ while data from the Economist Intelligence Unit reveals that 85% of women who spend time online have witnessed TFGBV against other women and 38% have personally experienced it.²¹ The International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) Kenya survey (2015-2016) listed the most prevalent forms of TFGBV in Kenya as cyber-stalking, online harassment, trolling, hacking, surveillance, impersonation, denigration, malicious distribution, and grooming in children.²²

12 ICJ Kenya (2016), Human Rights Report 2016. Retrieved from https://icj-kenya.org/?sdm_process_download=1&download_id=5032

13 International Center for Research on Women. (n.d.). Defining and measuring technology-facilitated gender-based violence. Retrieved from <https://www.icrw.org/publications/defining-and-measuring-technology-facilitated-gender-based-violence/>

14 IREX. (n.d.). Technology-Facilitated Gender-Based Violence as an Attack on Women's Public Participation: Review of Global Evidence and Implications [PDF]. Retrieved from https://www.irex.org/sites/default/files/Technology-Facilitated%20Gender-Based%20Violence%20as%20an%20Attack%20on%20Women%20%80%99s%20Public%20Participation_Review%20of%20Global%20Evidence%20and%20Implications%20.pdf

15 United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). (n.d.). Measuring Technology-Facilitated Gender-Based Violence: A Discussion Paper [PDF]. Retrieved from https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/UNFPA_Measuring%20TF%20GBV_%20A%20Discussion%20Paper_FINAL.pdf

16 Economist Intelligence Unit (2021), Measuring the prevalence of online violence against women. Retrieved from <https://onlineviolencewomen.eiu.com/>

17 United Kingdom Government. (n.d.). Technology facilitated gender-based violence: Preliminary landscape analysis [PDF]. Retrieved from https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/64abe2b21121040013ee6576/Technology_facilitated_gender_based_violence_preliminary_landscape_analysis.pdf

18 UN Women, Facts and figures: Ending violence against women <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/facts-and-figures>

19 De Araújo, A. V. M., Bonfim, C. V. D., Bushatsky, M., & Furtado, B. M. a. S. M. (2022). Technology-facilitated sexual violence: A review of virtual violence against women. *Research, Society and Development*, 11(2). <https://doi.org/10.33448/rsd-v11i2.25757>

20 Hicks, J. (2021). Global evidence on the prevalence and impact of online gender-based violence (OGBV). Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.19088/k4d.2021.140>

21 Economist Intelligence Unit (2021), Measuring the prevalence of online violence against women. Retrieved from <https://onlineviolencewomen.eiu.com/>

22 ICJ Kenya. (n.d.). The dark side of online platforms: Fueling violence against women. Retrieved from <https://icj-kenya.org/news/the-dark-side-of-online-platforms-fueling-violence-against-women/>

The mental health consequences for survivors of TFGBV are significant²³ and can lead to a range of issues, including depression, anxiety, suicidal ideation, panic attacks, and PTSD.²⁴ Survivors often experience feelings of fear, helplessness, and isolation, and may alter their daily lives significantly as a result of the abuse. Online harassment can trigger or worsen symptoms of depression, especially for those with risk factors like a history of trauma or a family history of depression. Adolescents who experience online harassment are three times more likely to have suicidal thoughts.²⁵ Persistent exposure to violent and abusive content online can contribute to the normalization of such behaviors and potentially desensitize individuals, making them more likely to engage in or tolerate violence offline. The compromised mental well-being of survivors may make them more vulnerable to physical or sexual aggression offline.²⁶

The rise of TFGBV is a significant concern, especially during major societal events. For instance, during the COVID-19 pandemic, factors such as economic strain, social isolation, and exploitative relationships contributed to the surge in gender-based violence in Kenya.²⁷ The Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (KDHS) 2022 found that 41% of women and 36% of men aged 15-49 reported experiencing physical, sexual, psychological, and economic violence from an intimate partner. Although the survey did not provide statistics specific to TFGBV, it highlighted the overall prevalence of gender-based violence (GBV) in Kenya.²⁸ Additionally, The KDHS 2022 revealed that 34% of women in Kenya reported experiencing physical violence since the age of 15, with a decrease in the percentage of women experiencing physical violence in the 12 months before the survey, from 20% in 2014 to 16% in 2022.

The Media Council of Kenya reported a concerning increase in TFGBV comments related to mainstream media stories on GBV during the COVID-19 pandemic. There was a spike in GBV incidents, along with an increase in victim shaming and bullying on digital platforms. Additionally, the report criticized the media's insensitive and superficial coverage of GBV with digital media prioritizing the issue more than mainstream media. This underscores the need for more responsible and comprehensive reporting on GBV issues, especially during times of crisis like the COVID-19 pandemic, to raise awareness, support survivors, and combat harmful behaviors perpetuated online.²⁹ Reports focusing on TFGBV during the COVID-19 period highlighted that girls and women were subjected to harassment online,³⁰ leading to their avoidance of the Internet.³¹ A 2021 Pollicy study across five African countries, including Kenya, revealed that 28% of the study participants in Kenya had experienced TFGBV, with 71.2% of them encountering it on Facebook.³²

23 University of North Florida. (n.d.). Gender-based violence in online spaces: A call to action for social workers. *Journal of Contemporary Social Services*, 1026. Retrieved from <https://digitalcommons.unf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1026&context=jcssw>

24 PubMed. (n.d.). Technology-facilitated gender-based violence: A global challenge in the digital age. Retrieved from <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/33181026/>

25 GoodTherapy. (2019, May 29). Trolls, toxicity, and surviving online harassment. Retrieved from <https://www.goodtherapy.org/blog/trolls-toxicity-surviving-online-harassment-0529197>

26 International Committee of the Red Cross. (2024, January 4). Online violence, real-life impacts: Women, girls in humanitarian settings. Retrieved from <https://blogs.icrc.org/law-and-policy/2024/01/04/online-violence-real-life-impacts-women-girls-humanitarian-settings/>

27 Ajayi, T. (2020, May 20). Violence against women and girls in the shadow of COVID-19: Insights from Africa. Retrieved from <https://kujenga-amani.ssrc.org/2020/05/20/violence-against-women-and-girls-in-the-shadow-of-covid-19-insights-from-africa/>

28 Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. (2022). Kenya Demographic Health Survey summary report. Retrieved from <https://www.knbs.or.ke/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/2022-KDHS-Summary-Report.pdf>

29 Media Council of Kenya. (2022). Media coverage of gender-based violence during the COVID-19 period. Retrieved from <https://mediacouncil.or.ke/sites/default/files/downloads/GBV%20Report.pdf>

30 Plan International. (2020). Free to be online? The state of the world's girls. Retrieved from <https://plan-international.org/uploads/2023/06/SOTWGR2020-CommsReport-edition2023-EN.pdf>

31 KICTANet. (2020, March). Creating safe spaces online for women: Policy Brief. Retrieved from <https://www.kictanet.or.ke/mdocs-posts/creating-safe-online-spaces-for-women/>

32 Pollicy. (2021). Alternate realities, Alternate Internets: Feminist research for a feminist Internet. Retrieved from <https://pollicy.org/projects/alternate-realities-alternate-internets/>

The Impact of TFGBV on Diverse Communities in Kenya

Among the groups that bear the burden of TFGBV are not only high-profile individuals like politicians and female social media personalities but also marginalized communities such as LGBTQIA+ persons. While much attention is often directed towards the experiences of high-profile individuals, a study by KICTANet sheds light on the impact of TFGBV on marginalized groups, including LGBTQIA+ individuals, persons with disabilities (PWDs), and other vulnerable communities in Kenya.³³

A 2021 report by The Inter-Parliamentary Union and the African Parliamentary Union, found that 46% of female parliamentarians had experienced sexist attacks online.³⁴ During the 2022 general election in Kenya, women political aspirants experienced various forms of TFGBV, including gendered disinformation and harassment.³⁵ For example, Hon. Wavinya Ndeti, a woman candidate vying for the Governor of Machakos County position, faced an offensive campaign branding her as an outsider for having been married to a man of a different ethnicity, with voters urged not to vote for her. And Hon. Martha Karua, the running mate for presidential candidate Hon. Raila Odinga, faced backlash and derogatory remarks from opposing political parties.³⁶

Further emphasizing the breadth of the issue, the Digital Dada podcast, hosted by journalist Cecilia Maundu, highlights how social media content creators and personalities with large audiences are vulnerable to TFGBV. In one episode, media personality Adelle Onyango discussed the impunity of anonymous perpetrators online, who often face no consequences for their actions, saying,

“I can get away with saying the most crass things to you and there will be no consequences because you don’t know who I am. I have a Bible as my profile picture, or like a football team or whatever, and nobody will know who I am, and I can say all of these things...”³⁷

Additionally, online romance scams have become a growing concern on Kenyan dating platforms,³⁸ often involving technology to lure victims and facilitate in-person violence. In January 2024, media reports in Kenya highlighted a surge in femicide, with two young women, aged 24 and 25, in serviced apartments booked through AirBnB.³⁹ The circumstances surrounding these killings suggest connections to both intimate partner violence and discussions online descended into TFGBV with victim blaming and shaming.⁴⁰ The perpetrators reportedly used online platforms to stalk and lure the victims to offline meetings, where the crimes occurred.

33 KICTANet. (n.d.). How online gender-based violence threatens Kenya’s vulnerable groups. Retrieved from <https://www.kictanet.or.ke/how-online-gender-based-violence-threatens-kenyas-vulnerable-groups/>

34 Inter-Parliamentary Union & African Parliamentary Union. (2021). Sexism, harassment and violence against women in parliaments in Africa. Retrieved from <https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/issue-briefs/2021-11/sexisim-harassment-and-violence-against-women-in-parliaments-in-africa>

35 Awino, F., & Mujesia, N. (2022). Examining online gender-based violence on female politicians and leaders in Kenya. KICTANet. Retrieved from <https://www.kictanet.or.ke/examining-online-gender-based-violence-on-female-politicians-and-leaders-in-kenya/>

36 International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH). (n.d.). Kenya: Election-related sexual and gender-based violence. Retrieved from <https://www.fidh.org/en/region/Africa/kenya/election-sexual-gender-violence>

37 Digital Dada Podcast. (2022, July 21). Why do we glorify bullies? Adelle Onyago talks of her experience with online bullies. [Audio podcast episode]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zL5ZbNjPfts>

38 HumAngle. (n.d.). Femicide in Kenya: Is social media enabling perpetrators to target women? Retrieved from <https://humanglemedia.com/femicide-in-kenya-is-social-media-enabling-perpetrators-to-target-women/>

39 Devex. (n.d.). Rise in femicide in Kenya puts technology’s role in the spotlight. Retrieved from <https://www.devex.com/news/rise-in-femicide-in-kenya-puts-technology-s-role-in-the-spotlight-106945>

40 Nation Africa. (n.d.). Kenya’s worrying femicide statistics exacerbated by victim-blaming: Where did we drop the ball? Retrieved from <https://nation.africa/kenya/blogs-opinion/blogs/kenya-s-worrying-femicide-statistics-exacerbated-by-victim-blaming-where-did-we-drop-the-ball--4536612>

These murders, sparked an online outcry and offline protests under the “#EndFemicideKE” hashtag and campaign in January 2024. This underscored the growing problem of gender-based violence in Kenya. The offline protests demanded government action and the addressing of systemic issues behind violence against women. Social media listening data from Nendo estimated over 168,000 tweets and 1.8 billion impressions related to the protests.⁴¹ This included TFGBV against outspoken critics, who faced a backlash for their online activism.

Many cases go unreported due to survivors feeling ashamed, embarrassed, or lacking awareness that online offenses can be legally prosecuted. Within the justice system, officers face various challenges in handling and prosecuting online GBV cases due to limited information.⁴² The perception that dating sites promote online prostitution or sex work discourages survivors from reporting these incidents, potentially contributing to the overall rise in violence against women.⁴³

Navigating the Legal Landscape: Current Frameworks and Gaps in Addressing TFGBV in Kenya

Kenya has several laws that address gender-based violence, but TFGBV is not specifically addressed in most of these laws. These laws include The Constitution of Kenya (2010), which guarantees individuals their rights to dignity, equality, freedom from discrimination, access to justice, and a fair trial while also entrenching the protection of marginalized and vulnerable groups.

The Sexual Offences Act of 2006 defines sexual offenses and aims to prevent, respond to, and protect everyone from impermissible sexual actions. The Protection Against Domestic Violence Act of 2015 provides protection from violence in domestic settings, defining violence to include defilement, maltreatment, and sexual violence within marriage. The Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act of 2011 prohibits female genital mutilation (FGM) to protect individuals from having their mental or bodily integrity violated.

The Sexual Gender-Based Violence Act of 2021 focuses on eradicating all forms of gender-based violence in Kenya and exists to see to it that offenders face severe punishment. The Computer Misuse Cybercrime Act of 2018 specifically addresses online crimes, including child pornography, publication of false or obscene information, and criminal defamation, which survivors of TFGBV can use to seek justice. The Children Protection Act shields children from obscene materials, sexual exploitation, prostitution, and incitement to engage in sexual behavior.

The Data Protection Act of 2019 regulates the processing of personal data, protects data subjects’ rights, and outlaws non-consensual sharing of personal information, which can be extrapolated to address TFGBV like non-consensual distribution of intimate images. The Employment Act of 2007 regulates employment and prohibits sexual harassment in the workplace. Finally, the Victim Protection Act of 2014 safeguards survivors of abuse of authority and criminality by protecting vulnerable survivors, defining injury as physical harm, emotional suffering, trauma, or pregnancy resulting from sexual assault.⁴⁴

41 Nendo, #EndFemicideKE: 10,000 in the streets and 75,000 Tweets - An Analysis <https://www.nendo.co.ke/post/endfemicideke-10-000-in-the-streets-and-75-000-tweets--an-analysis>

42 HumAngle. (n.d.). Femicide in Kenya: Is social media enabling perpetrators to target women? Retrieved from <https://humanglemedia.com/femicide-in-kenya-is-social-media-enabling-perpetrators-to-target-women/>

43 World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS). (n.d.). Femicide, media sensationalism, and victim-blaming in Kenya. Retrieved from <https://www.waggs.org/en/blog/femicide-media-sensationalism-and-victim-blaming-kenya/>

44 Kenya Law Reports. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://kenyalaw.org/kl/>

In October 2021, the Kenyan government launched Policare centers to support GBV survivors. These one-stop centers offer integrated services, including legal, health, psychosocial, and police assistance, at no cost to survivors. By consolidating these services in a single location, Policare aims to simplify access and reduce the burden on survivors navigating multiple systems. This initiative represents a significant step in addressing gender-based violence in Kenya, including its online forms. Policare centers are expected to enhance the reporting and handling of TFGBV cases and support survivors in their recovery.⁴⁵

Conceptual Framework for TFGBV

The evidence-based conceptual framework below outlines an experience of TFGBV, from the motivations and intentions of perpetrators to the impacts and help-seeking behaviors of survivors. It focuses on six tactics that cross-cut various violent behaviors, including doxxing, hacking, threatening, image-based abuse, gender trolling, and the use of fake accounts.⁴⁶

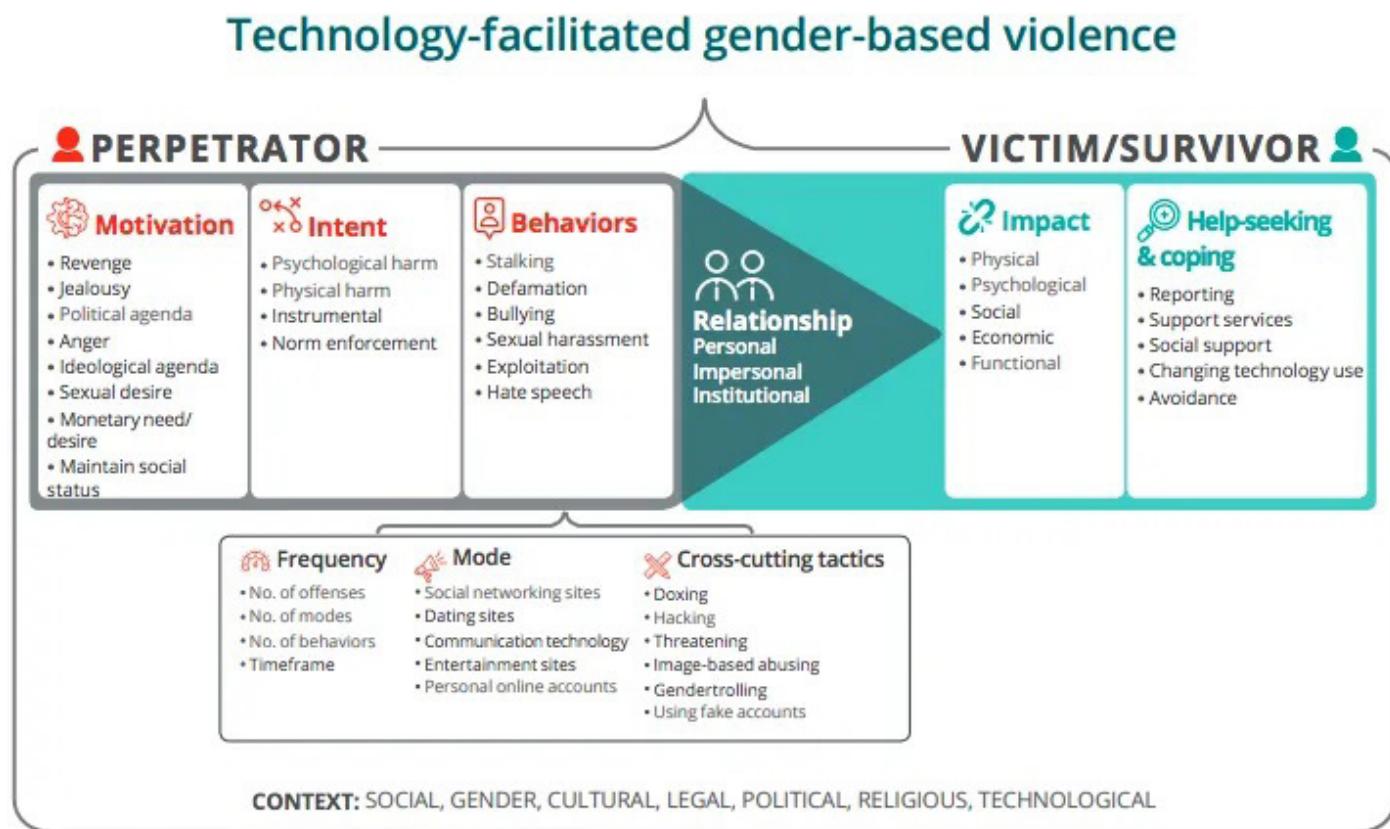


Figure 1. Technology-facilitated gender-based violence map.⁴⁷

According to the UNFPA Guide on Safely and Ethically Harnessing Technology to Combat Gender-Based Violence and Harmful Practices (HP), technology holds promise in enhancing the efficacy of GBV/HP initiatives⁴⁸. However, it also carries inherent risks. Once digital or analog data is collected, ensuring its security, especially if it pertains to sensitive GBV-related information, is challenging and there is no foolproof safeguard.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ CREAW. (2021, October 18). Kenya launches its first police policy for an integrated response to GBV. Retrieved from <https://home.craw.org/2021/10/18/kenya-launches-its-first-policy-for-police-integrated-response-to-gbv/>

⁴⁶ International Center for Research on Women (ICRW). (n.d.). Technology-facilitated gender-based violence: What is it and how do we measure it? Retrieved from <https://www.icrw.org/publications/technology-facilitated-gender-based-violence-what-is-it-and-how-do-we-measure-it/>

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ UNFPA, Guide on Safely and Ethically Harnessing Technology to Combat Gender-Based Violence and Harmful Practices https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/UNFPA_SafeEthicalGBVTechGuide_Summary_2023.pdf

⁴⁹ UN Women. (2023). Technology-facilitated violence against women: Definition and issue brief. Retrieved from <https://data.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/documents/Publications/2023/TFVAW-definition-issue-brief.pdf>

It is crucial to recognize threats posed by a range of actors, from high-risk malicious entities to mission-driven or seemingly neutral parties. When evaluating risk, particularly concerning sensitive GBV-related data, it is important to anticipate the behaviors of malicious, negligent, and accidental actors. Regardless of their intent, the consequences can be equally harmful. Whether individuals consciously engage in inappropriate actions or not, their motivations become irrelevant once privacy is compromised and personal information ends up on the dark web where it can remain indefinitely.

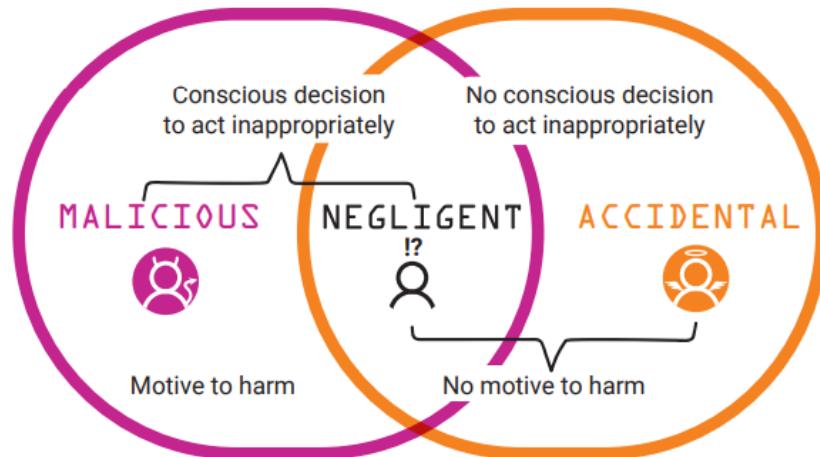


Figure 2. Types of Actors.⁵⁰

There will always be a risk of determined individuals accessing data; therefore, security does not equate to safety. GBV/HP practitioners prioritize user consent and data privacy, while technology professionals emphasize the criminal and justice system's use of data, recognizing potential emotional and physical harm to survivors if misused. As illustrated in Figure 3 below, GBV/HP practitioners may primarily focus on intimate partners as threat actors, while cybersecurity experts tend to address financially motivated hackers.⁵¹

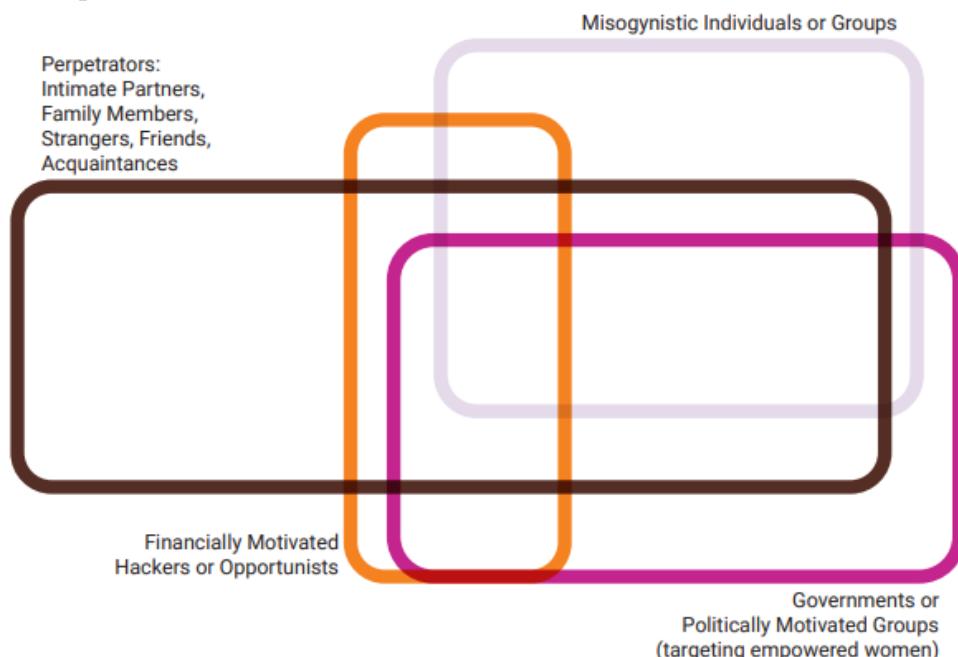


Figure 3: Threat actor mapping, malicious actors.⁵²

⁵⁰ UNFPA, Guidance on the Safe and Ethical Use of Technology to Address Gender-based Violence and Harmful Practices:Implementation Summary https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/UNFPA_SafeEthicalGBVTechGuide_Summary_2023.pdf

⁵¹ Ibid

⁵² Ibid

Methodology

In conducting the study, Nendo implemented a mixed methods research approach using various methodologies: desk research, an online survey, in-depth interviews with women content creators, a co-creation workshop, and social media analytics analysis. This approach provided a comprehensive understanding of TFGBV in Kenya shedding light on public perceptions, experiences of women content creators, and the digital behaviors associated with TFGBV. Below is a detailed breakdown of each method employed in the study.

Online Survey

To establish a baseline understanding of TFGBV, Nendo used the Looka online research platform to survey 100 social media users. The survey explored participants' opinions and awareness of public figures experiencing TFGBV, their internet and social media usage patterns, and their familiarity with TFGBV. It also covered the manifestations, underlying factors, perpetrators, role of platforms, impacts on individuals, laws, policies, and advocacy campaigns. Additionally, it explored perceptions regarding the responsibility for TFGBV.

The survey was completed by a random sample of 100 respondents mostly from Kenya's capital city Nairobi (n=64) with respondents from Bungoma (n=2), Eldoret (n=5), Embu (n=1), Homa Bay (n=2), Kakamega (n=2), Kiambu (n=2), Kirinyaga (n=1), Kisumu (n=3), Kitengela (n=1), Meru (n=2), Mombasa (n=3), Nakuru (n=6), Nyeri (n=4), Thika (n=1), and Vihiga (n=1). One of the criteria for selecting the random sample of 100 participants for the online survey was that they had to have used at least one social media platform for the last 7 days during the survey period. The respondents were sent an online form with the survey questions which they filled out using their smartphone and/or computer. Regarding gender, the respondents included 60 women and 40 men. The age groups were 18-24 (n=31), 25-34 (n=61), 35-44 (n=7), and 45-54 (n=1). To mitigate the effects of sampling bias arising from the disproportionate distribution of respondents by gender and age, a weighting approach was employed before data analysis. The following steps outline the weighting process:

1. Population Proportions: Using the Kenya Census 2019 data, the population proportions were determined by calculating the ratio of each gender and specified age group within the total Kenyan population.
2. Sample Proportions - these were calculated by comparing the number of respondents in each demographic segment to the overall sample size.
3. Application of Weights: Each participant's responses were adjusted using a demographic-specific weighting factor to align the sample distribution with that of the population based on the demographic data from the Kenya Census 2019. The weights were introduced to correct for over-representation or under-representation within the survey sample relative to the actual population distribution.

In-depth Interviews

Nendo conducted interviews with 14 experienced women content creators in Kenya to gather firsthand insights into their experiences with TFGBV. These creators were selected from a list of potential survivors of TFGBV identified through digital landscaping and desk research. The interviews provided a platform for the content creators to share their experiences, challenges, and perceptions on TFGBV, offering valuable insights into its complexities. The experienced content creators had a collective audience of over 5 million, and an average following of 305,000.

Social Media Listening

This process involved Nendo researching and creating a list of 138 individual women social media content creators in Kenya, identified as potential victims of TFGBV. The list was further analyzed by tracking their mentions across social networks with X (formerly Twitter) the primary channel reviewed. “X” was chosen for its place as Kenya’s ninth most-visited website⁵³ and availability of APIs to capture rich data for analysis. Brandwatch, a digital consumer intelligence platform capable of social media listening, sentiment analysis, audience insights, and trend detection was partly used for data analysis. The aim was to analyze data and social media analytics to investigate TFGBV instances. The scope included collecting 100,000 social media mentions to analyze different types of TFGBV. Nendo acquired these social media mentions using expansive boolean queries, strings of text to search social network data for matching phrases and words. Nendo developed these queries with relevant keywords and phrases related to TFGBV as observed on “X.”

Policy trained Nendo’s team on X data scraping, data cleaning with Open Refine, data visualization, and network analysis. This resulted in the collaborative creation of a dedicated data scraping tool which was instrumental in capturing X posts (formerly known as tweets) about 7 days old, at the time. The collected data mainly consisted of X posts, but Brandwatch expanded its search to include any relevant Facebook public posts, relevant new site articles, blog posts containing keywords, and applicable Reddit posts to ensure a wide-ranging data set on TFGBV.

Below is the data collection process for social media listening used by Nendo.

Data Collection: From the list of content creator accounts researched, Nendo used Brandwatch to capture mentions related to TFGBV. Boolean queries were utilized to sift, segment, and extract relevant content, resulting in a dataset of approximately 100,000 mentions. This is due to the access to Brandwatch containing a global library of over 1.6 trillion historical social media conversations in its database, dating back for over 1 year in the license Nendo rented for the Dada Disinfo project.⁵⁴

- **Data Cleaning:** The collected dataset underwent a review process to remove irrelevant or repetitive posts. OpenRefine was employed initially, utilizing machine learning clustering techniques to group related hashtags together. Further cleaning was conducted using the Python Pandas library and Microsoft Excel to improve the signal-to-noise ratio within the data collected.
- **Data Analysis:** The cleaned dataset was then subjected to various social media analytics review techniques. Network analysis was performed using Gephi to create a network visualization to show relationships between posts, retweets and replies to tweets in the data. Word clouds, along with other visualizations, were generated to visually represent the most frequently occurring words in the dataset, providing context into TFGBV themes.

Co-Creation Workshop

A co-creation workshop was held on the 11th of May 2024 in Nairobi, bringing together 25 emerging women social media content creators with a collective following exceeding 1.5 million. The creators were selected through a blend of a public nomination process that saw over 48 entries, as well as invitations from Nendo to content creators who had been survivors of TFGBV. These creators brought their experiences from building combined audiences across various platforms such as Instagram (620,943 followers), TikTok (615,441 followers), Facebook (174,134 followers), and “X” (92,194 followers). The workshop aimed to gather participant experiences and strategies to address TFGBV as a content creator. The participants took part in collaborative exercises to brainstorm, discuss, and identify challenges while recommending solutions. Their contributions are part of Dada Disinfo’s public awareness campaign and playbook on TFGBV. Interactive polling was conducted using Mentimeter, where they responded to various prompts, statements, and questions.

⁵³ SEMrush, Top websites in Kenya (All Industries) (May 2024), <https://www.semrush.com/trending-websites/ke/all>

⁵⁴ Brandwatch Suite Overview (June 2024), <https://www.brandwatch.com/p/brandwatch-intro/>

Findings

This chapter contains findings from the online survey, in-depth interviews, social media listening and the content creators' feedback from the co-creation workshop.

Online Survey Findings

Awareness and Perception of TFGBV

Nendo's survey, ran on the online research platform, Looka, explored awareness and perceptions of TFGBV among 100 respondents (60 female and 40 male). The 32-question survey revealed varying levels of understanding across demographics, with 58% of respondents having heard the term TFGBV before.

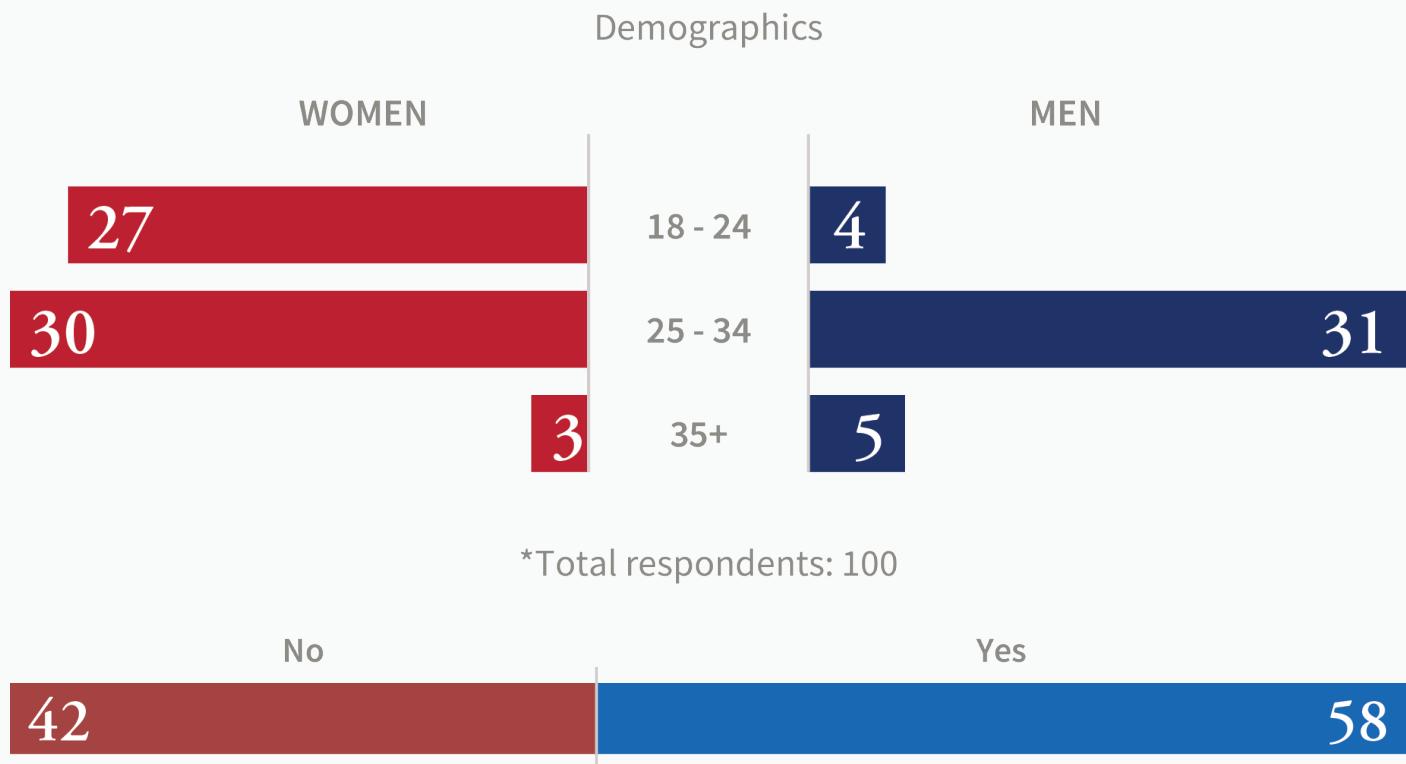


Figure 4. Awareness of TFGBV among respondents

Drilling down to age demographics, it was observed that male respondents between ages 18 and 24 exhibit a comparatively low level of awareness regarding TFGBV. This indicated a potential gap in education or awareness efforts targeting this demographic.

Lowest TFGBV Awareness Among Males 18-24 years

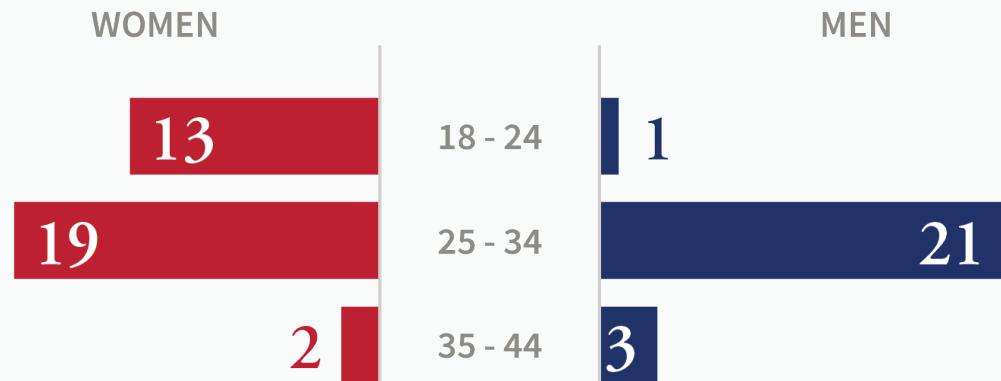


Figure 5. Lowest TFGBV Awareness Among Males 18-24 years

Among the various types of TFGBV mentioned in the online survey, online harassment emerged as the most recognized form among respondents while stalking, doxxing, cyber mobbing, impersonation, and defamation, were generally less known. The results underscore the importance of raising awareness and providing education on the various manifestations of TFGBV beyond just online harassment.

The respondents were tested to see their opinion on the difference between TFGBV and Physical GBV. The respondents were asked for their opinions on the distinction between TFGBV and physical GBV to assess their awareness levels. 60% of female respondents recognized a clear difference between the two, indicating their understanding of these nuanced distinctions. Conversely, male respondents, particularly those aged 18 to 24, did not perceive a differentiation, viewing both forms of GBV as harmful to women—physical GBV causing bodily harm and TFGBV resulting in emotional and mental distress. Overall, there was an almost equal split among respondents, with a slight majority acknowledging the difference. A notable difference in perception was observed between male and female respondents.

Respondents that believe in distinction between TFGBV and Physical GBV

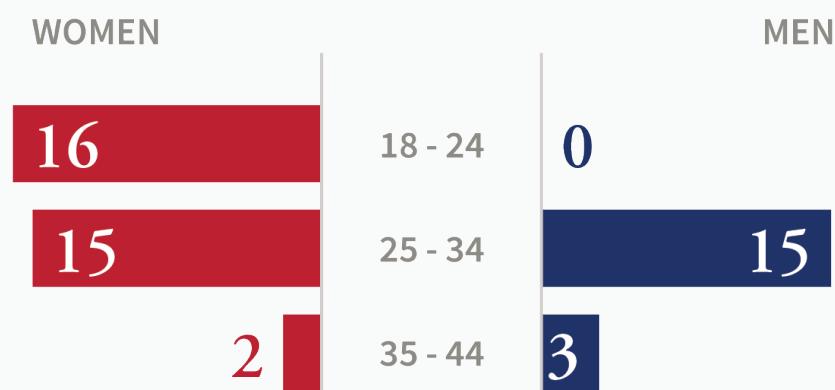


Figure 6. Is TFGBV different from Physical GBV?

Respondents highlighted that TFGBV differs from physical GBV in scale, visibility, reach, and impact, particularly emphasizing its severe emotional and psychological effects. This aligns with the Global Partnership's findings that

TFGBV, due to its digital nature, operates with speed and multi-layered perpetration.⁵⁵ Often, survivors may not know their assailants or realize they are being targeted. These insights stress the need for tailored education and awareness to help both men and women recognize and combat TFGBV effectively.

Experience With TFGBV

From Nendo's online survey findings, a majority of respondents indicated never having personally experienced TFGBV. Some survey respondents did not actively share content on the internet, which could be one reason for this response. However, among respondents who had not experienced TFGBV, only a small proportion (n=8) indicated not having heard of someone who had experienced TFGBV.



Figure 7. Personal experience with TFGBV.

Female respondents reported significantly more experiences of TFGBV than their male counterparts. It was also noted that certain forms of TFGBV, such as stalking, defamation, and sexual harassment, are more frequently experienced by women compared to men who experienced online harassment and hate speech.

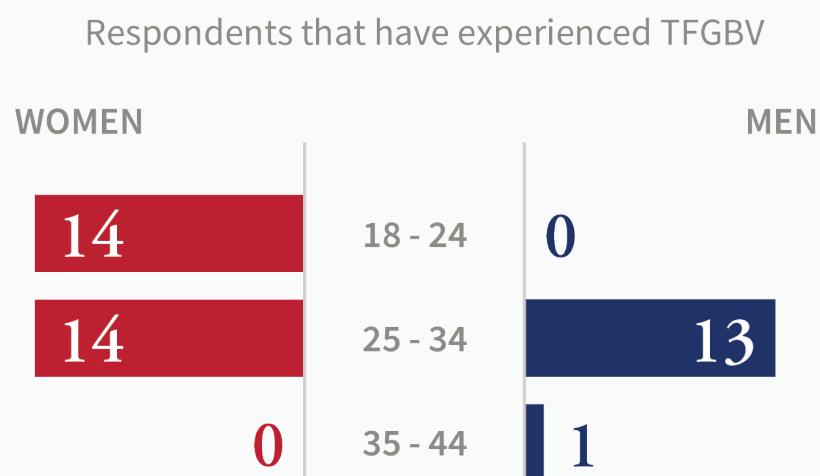


Figure 8. Personal experience with TFGBV (age disaggregated).

Manifestations of TFGBV: Mostly through Online Harassment, Stalking, Hate Speech, and Impersonation

According to survey data, online harassment emerges as the most prevalent form of TFGBV reported by respondents, with 58% of those who mentioned having experienced TFGBV highlighting it. Stalking (44%), Hate Speech (42%), and Impersonation (28%) were also experienced by a significant number of respondents.

⁵⁵ The Global Partnership, Technology-Facilitated Gender-Based Violence: Preliminary Landscape Analysis <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/technology-facilitated-gender-based-violence-preliminary-landscape-analysis>

For gender comparison, more females than males reported experiencing stalking, sexual harassment, defamation, cyberbullying, sextortion, and cybermobbing.

Types of TFGBV experienced by gender

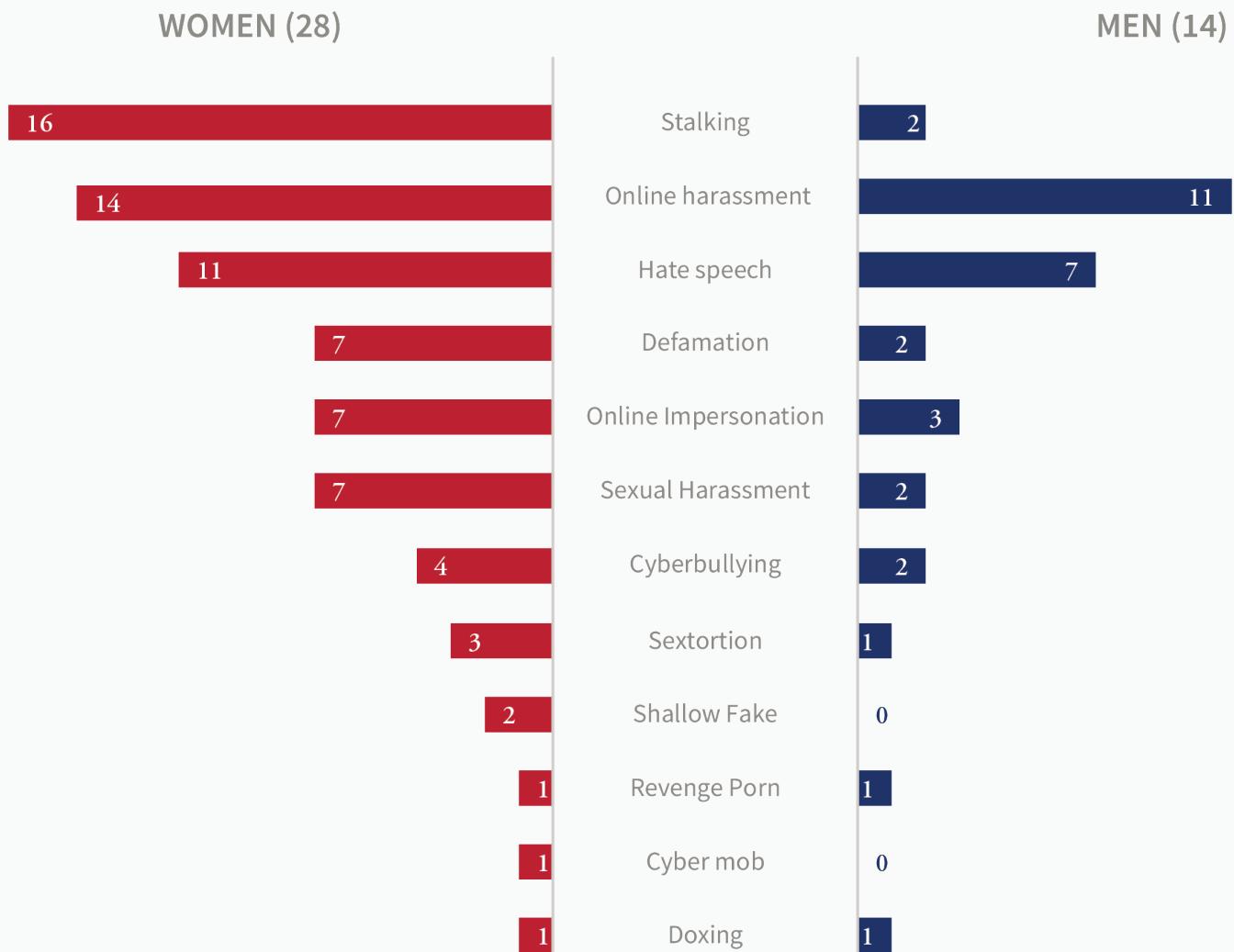


Figure 9. Types of TFGBV Experienced.

Respondents aged 18-24 years mentioned stalking as the top form of TFGBV experience. On the other hand, those aged 25-34 years had online harassment as the top form of TFGBV experienced. Though only one respondent aged 35-44 years mentioned having experienced online harassment, hate speech, defamation, and cyberbullying.

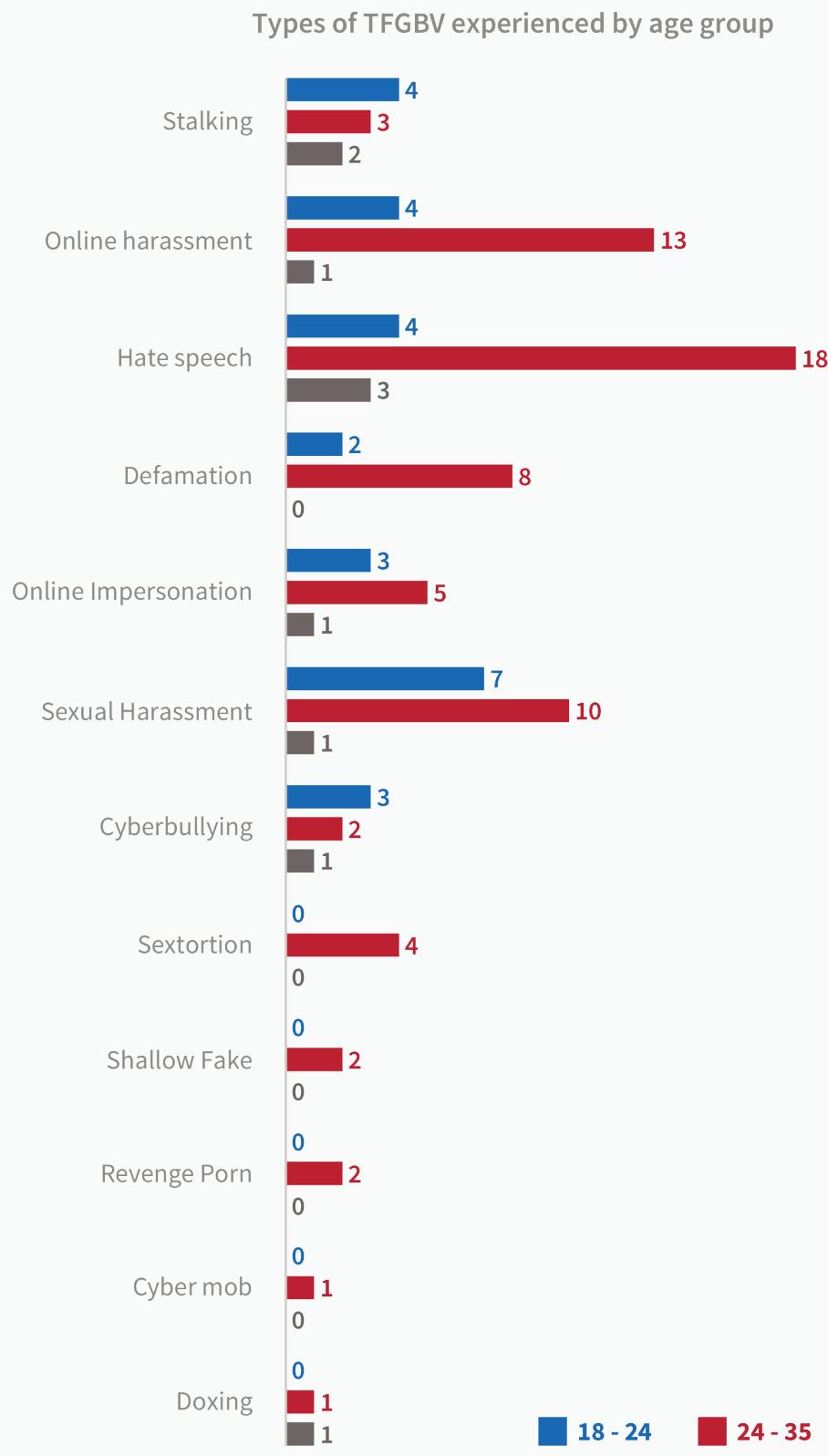


Figure 10. Types of TFGBV Experienced (age disaggregated).

The survey identified “personal opinions or beliefs expressed online” as the most common trigger for TFGBV incidents, with participation in specific online communities or groups also being significant factors. Most TFGBV incidents (58%) were short-term, lasting a few days to weeks, while 35% were medium-term, spanning several weeks to months. Ongoing incidents were reported by 7% of respondents. Female respondents experienced TFGBV more frequently than males, especially in short-term incidents.

Perpetrators of TFGBV: Online strangers are the most common perpetrators of TFGBV

The online survey revealed that 72% of respondents identified online strangers as the largest group of TFGBV perpetrators. Additionally, anonymous users were a significant group, highlighting the role of anonymity in online victimization. When disaggregated by gender, the distribution of perpetrators varied.

Yet, women were disproportionately victimized by individuals they know, compared to men. 50% of women who had experienced TFGBV reported experiencing it from a perpetrator known to them such as an ex-partner, friend, classmate, family member, online acquaintance, or work/school authority. This is compared to men where only 29% reported similar experiences. This discrepancy underscores the significance of addressing TFGBV perpetration within personal relationships and social circles.

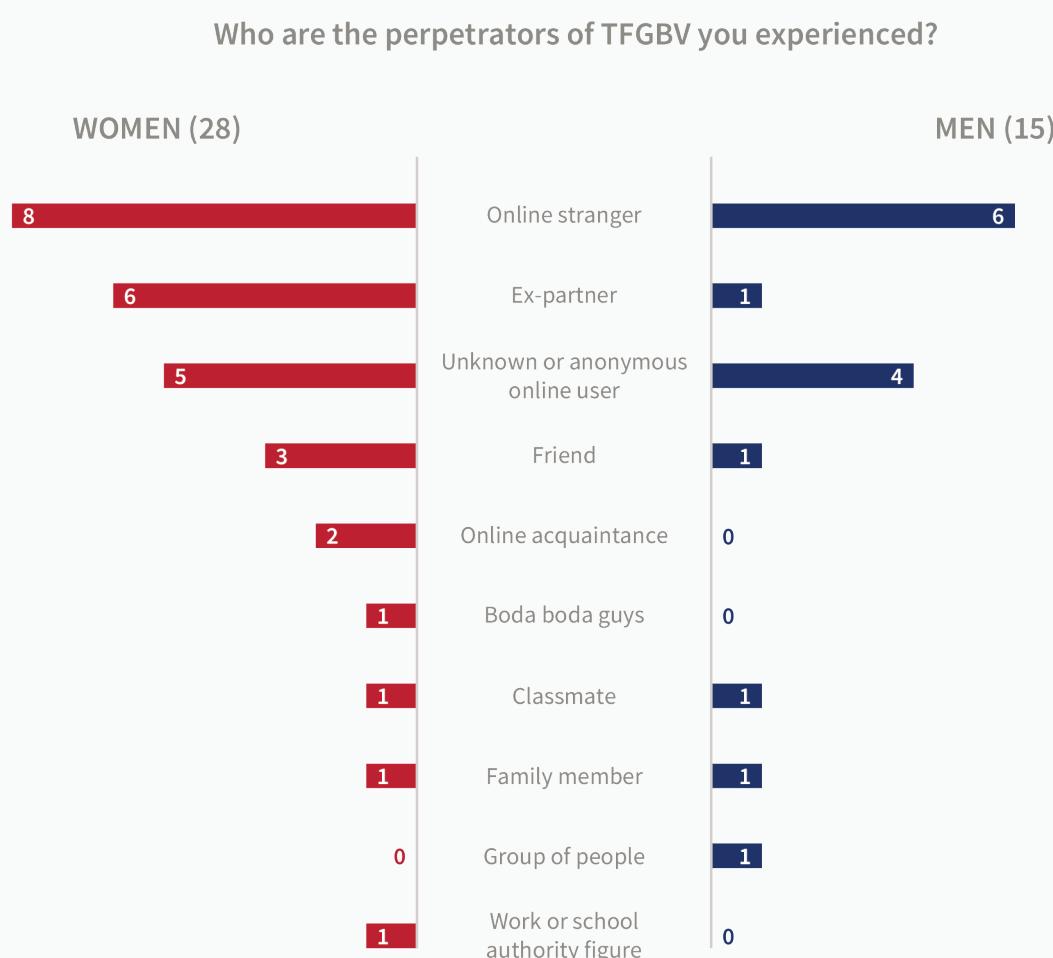


Figure 11. Perpetrators of TFGBV.

Impact of TFGBV

Out of the 42 respondents who experienced TFGBV, 15 added that emotional distress and 12 chose damage to self-esteem and confidence as the most prevalent impacts of TFGBV on individuals. Respondents viewed TFGBV as inflicting more emotional and psychological harm when compared to physical GBV. This aligns with the broader consensus that TFGBV has major harmful impacts on the community, manifesting in psychological and emotional distress, and even leading to instances of suicidal thoughts or death by suicide.

What impact did TFGBV have on you?

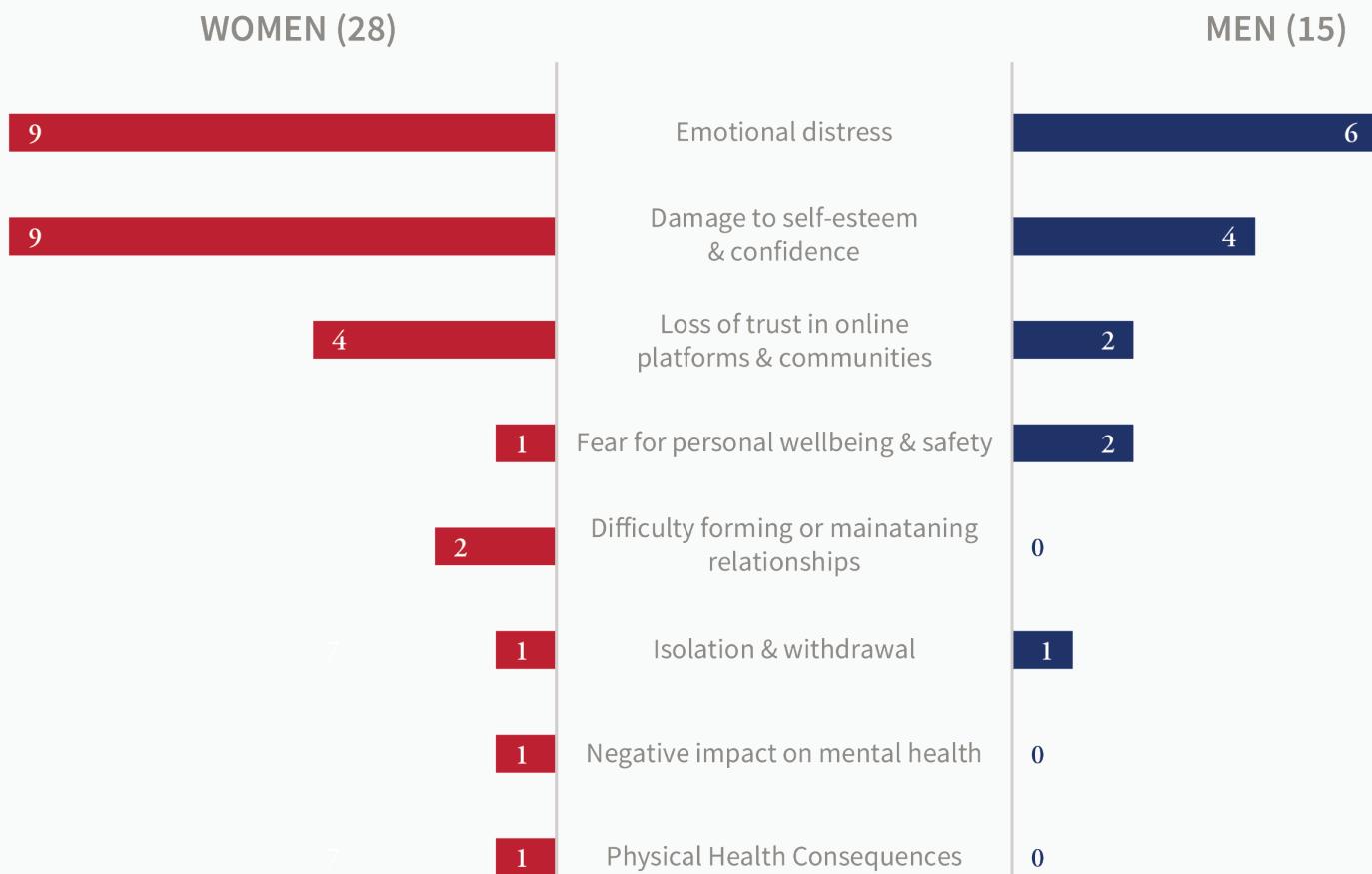


Figure 12. Impact of TFGBV on Respondents.

Respondents aged 18 to 24 identified loss of trust and difficulty forming relationships as significant impacts. These findings underscore the lasting repercussions of TFGBV on individuals' social and interpersonal relationships, highlighting the need for comprehensive support and intervention measures.

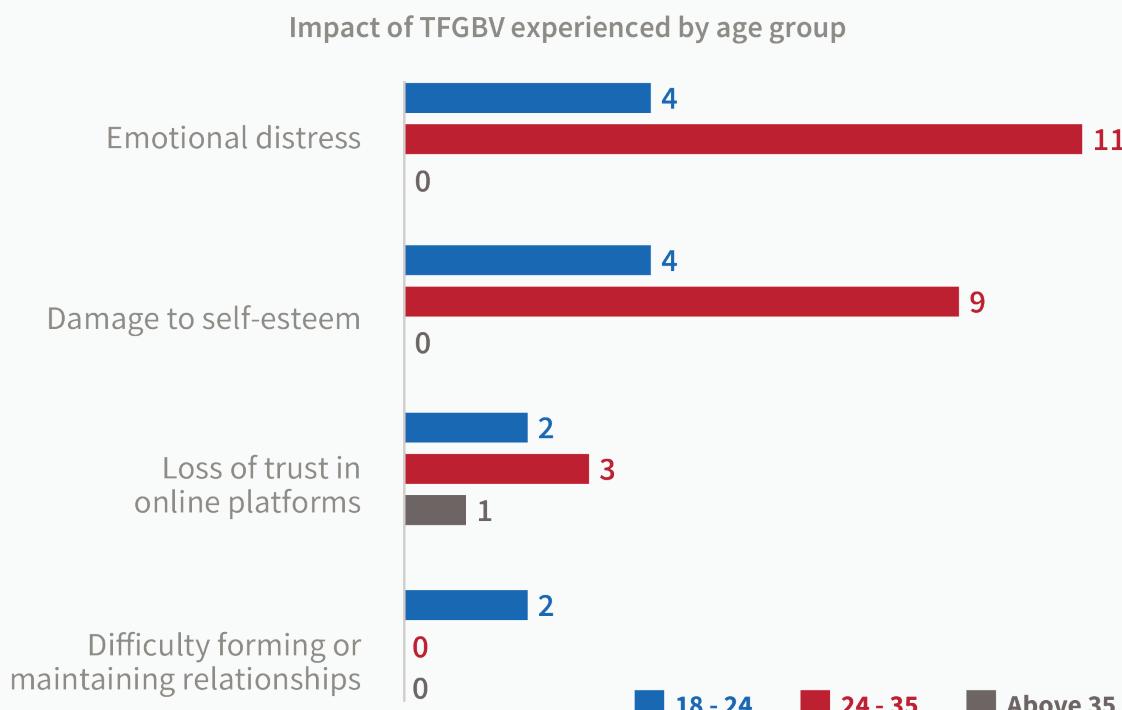


Figure 13. Impact of TFGBV on Respondent (age disaggregated)

Survivors Response to TFGBV Experiences

From the online survey, respondents displayed diverse patterns of response to Technology-Facilitated Gender-Based Violence (TFGBV) experiences. Blocking (n=26) emerged as the most prevalent method covering 40% of the respondents, commonly adopted by female respondents but less so among individuals aged 35-44. Although sharing was at 26% (n=17), reporting (n=11), and ignoring (n=11) were also done by a significant number of respondents, the data was not enough to draw any demographic conclusions. Understanding these response patterns can inform the development of targeted interventions to assist those affected by TFGBV.

Perceptions regarding the responsibility for TFGBV

Most respondents assert individual responsibility in addressing TFGBV. There is significant sentiment however pointing to the responsibility falling on governments and online platforms.

Who bears the responsibility of addressing TFGBV?

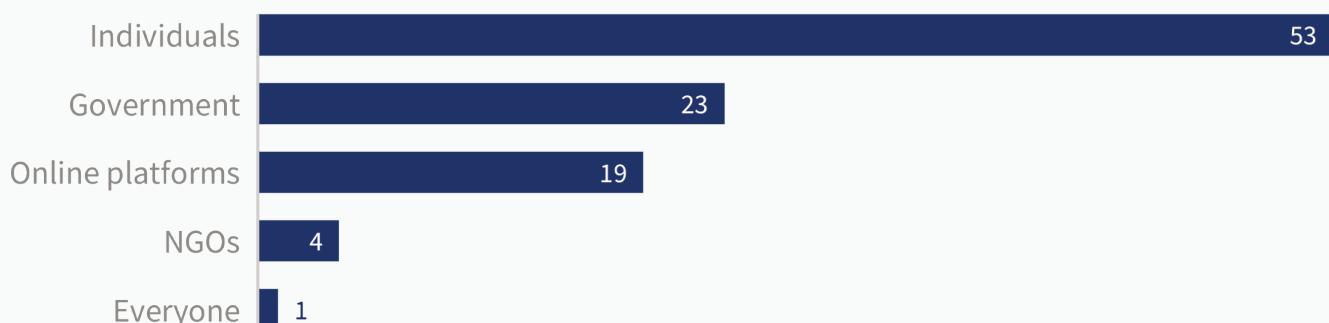


Figure 14. Parties Responsible for TFGBV

Respondents' perceptions regarding the primary responsibility for addressing TFGBV revealed a notable generational shift. Younger individuals tended to attribute the responsibility to the individual, while older generations leaned toward government accountability. This trend was also observed on online platforms, where responsibility is decreasingly placed on users by older generations, reflecting possible evolving attitudes towards online safety and governance.

Who bears the responsibility of addressing TFGBV? (Age disaggregated)

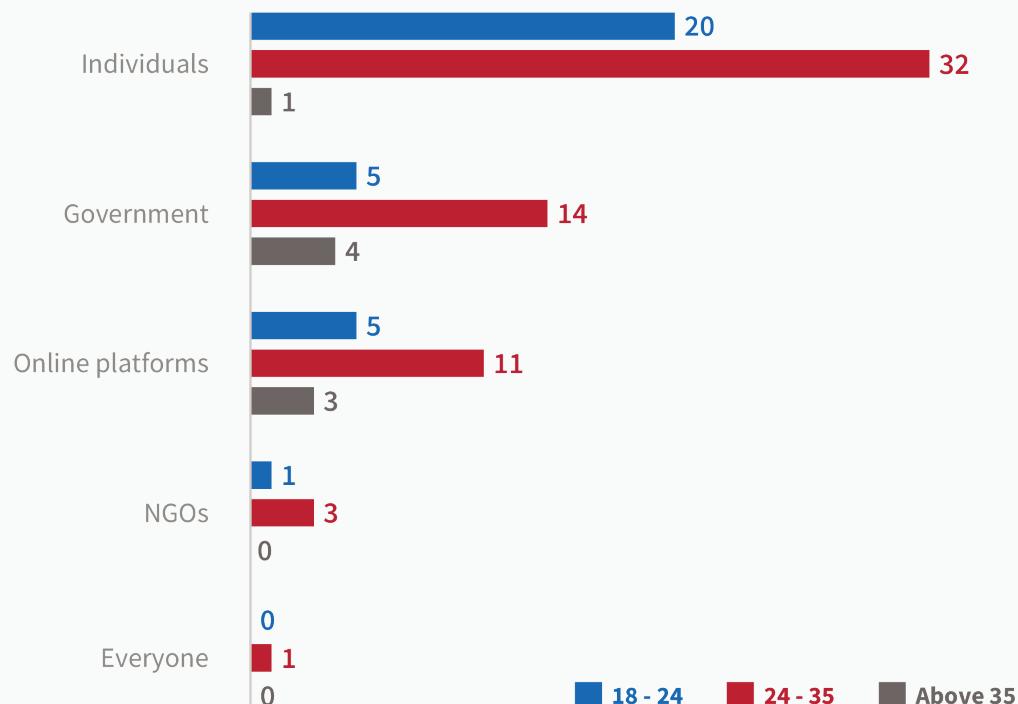


Figure 15. Parties Responsible for TFGBV

Moreover, a gender disparity in perceptions of responsibility was evident, with more male respondents endorsing collective responsibility over personal accountability compared to female respondents. This finding highlights differing perspectives on the role of individuals and institutions in combating TFGBV.

Who bears the responsibility of addressing TFGBV? (Gender disaggregated)



Figure 16. Parties Responsible for TFGBV (gender disaggregated)

Interestingly, a higher proportion of male respondents perceived users of online platforms to bear significant responsibility in combating TFGBV, indicating gender differences in awareness and attitudes towards online safety. However, 95% of all respondents acknowledged some level of accountability highlighting widespread recognition of the role individuals play in promoting a safe online environment.

Are online platforms doing enough to address TFGBV?



Figure 17. Online Platforms Current TFGBV Efforts

An analysis of the survey revealed that 45% of respondents believed online platforms were not doing enough to address TFGBV. Specifically, 100% of postgraduate respondents and 51% of degree holders expressed this view. This suggests that higher education levels may influence individuals' awareness and expectations regarding online safety measures.

Are online platforms doing enough to address TFGBV? (Education disaggregated)

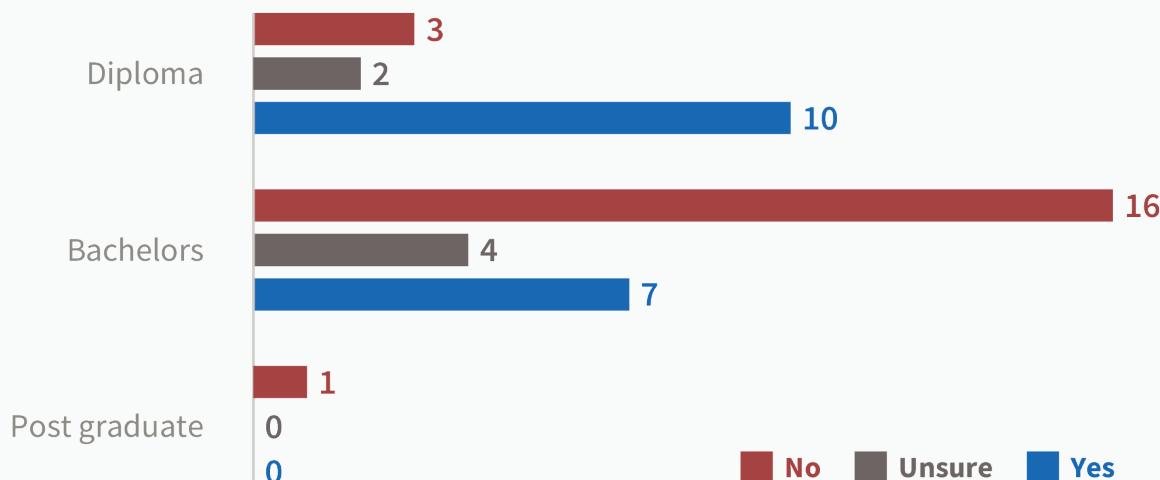


Figure 18. Online Platforms Current TFGBV Efforts (education disaggregated)

Participation in TFGBV Awareness Campaigns

58% of all respondents expressed they had not actively participated in TFGBV awareness campaigns. However, there was a notable gender disparity, with more female respondents (45%) than male respondents (36%) reporting participation in such campaigns.

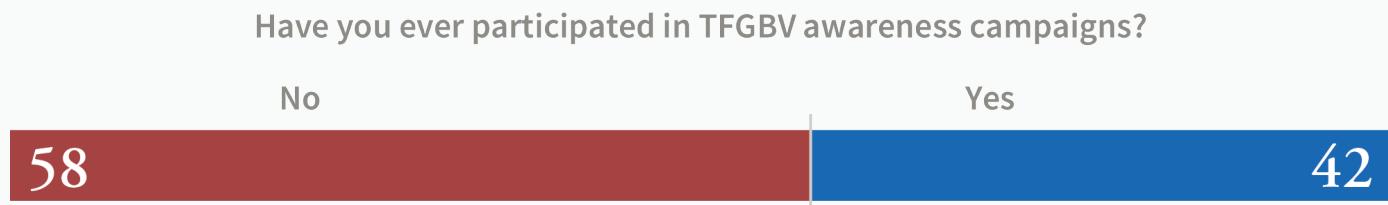


Figure 20. Participation in TFGBV Campaigns.

Furthermore, participation in awareness campaigns appears to be highest among the youngest cohort of respondents, aged 18-24, with participation rates declining with age. Occupationally, permanent employees exhibit significantly higher participation rates in awareness campaigns compared to other occupational groups.

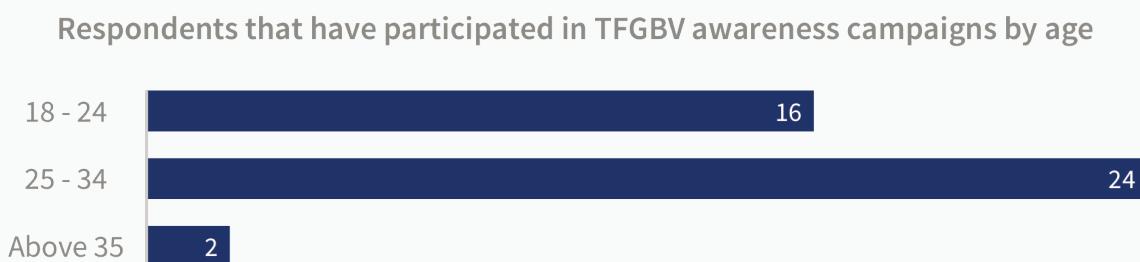


Figure 21. Participation in TFGBV Campaigns (age disaggregated)

On laws and policies on TFGBV, male respondents demonstrated a higher awareness of laws or policies aimed at punishing perpetrators and addressing TFGBV. 69% of male respondents indicated that they were aware of a law or policy in Kenya to punish perpetrators and address TFGBV. This is in contrast to about 53% of female respondents who indicated similar awareness.

Qualitative Study Findings

Awareness and Perceptions of TFGBV

Based on Nendo's in-depth interviews with 14 experienced content creators, with a combined 5 million followers between them. There was a clear awareness and understanding of the different forms of TFGBV and harms based on their lived-in experiences. The responses from the content creators below illustrate their stories.

Q: What does TFGBV mean to you?

"I think it means using technology to attack someone, whether through verbal comments, pictures, trolling, doxxing, etc. Because you are not there to physically fight someone. Since you are not able to have a face-to-face encounter, then you are using technology, and it is very easy to use (technology) because it spreads like wildfire. If you have a fight here (offline), maybe only the witnesses here will know about it unless someone was covering it (recording with their phone), then it goes online, and it changes to technology. But, with technology, you just need to create something (online) and release it and it goes (viral)." - In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“Technology-facilitated gender-based violence means when somebody attacks another person because of their gender, and they use technology to do it. This involves the use of a phone, computer, and social media; that is how they reach you. More often than not, you cannot defend yourself because you do not know who this person is. They are mostly anonymous.”

In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“From my own experience and in my interpretation, it is just when people use digital platforms to harass or to troll individuals, especially women. It happens to both men and women, but from my experience as a woman, it is usually misogynistic. Sometimes, it is just betrayal and you can tell that people are just taking off their frustrations on you. Sometimes, people are just negative so that they can get engagement and clout. You can find some constructive criticism on the platform, but most of the time, it is just destructive. It is just people piling on you, and people celebrating somebody else’s misfortune. They hear a negative story and whether or not it is true, they will just run with it because they find it enjoyable to be a part of a bandwagon.”

In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

These responses highlight the various dimensions of TFGBV, including anonymity, the spread of harmful content, and the often misogynistic nature of online harassment. Content creators recognize that while technology can facilitate positive engagement, it also enables and amplifies gender-based violence in significant and distressing ways.

Experiences With TFGBV

Content creators provided various examples of technology-facilitated gender-based violence (TFGBV) they have experienced or witnessed. Their responses below shed light on the pervasive and multifaceted nature of these online abuses. The responses illustrate a range of TFGBV activities, including falsified images, cyberbullying, doxxing, intimate image abuse, cyberstalking, trolling, and body shaming. The narratives highlight the emotional and psychological impact of these abuses, emphasizing the need for awareness, protection, and support for survivors.

Q: What is your experience with TFGBV?

“I think falsified images, and using someone’s story to ridicule them. There is also trolling, and not just for the person, sometimes they go to the extent of trolling your friends or relatives. This means they are secondary survivors in that case. I think getting to you at a personal level, the DMs (Direct Messages). There is a lot that people do.”

In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“Cyberbullying I would say. There is also doxxing, when somebody releases your (phone) number... actually, it has happened in Kenya. That is definitely something that I have seen. I would also say revenge porn, but a lot of the time, it gets put on the online platform. Someone breaks up with someone, it happens a lot, and they will leak compromising photos that were shared in private. I also feel like stalking is there. Again, we have also seen some conditions that we think only happened in the West happening locally. I have actually had a digital stalker who used to send me messages every day, and when I was on radio, he thought every song I was playing was for him... I did not have the knowledge that it was TFGBV, but I remember the fear of not knowing who this person was, or whether they were seeing me at a particular time. It was very scary. I think those are the main ones I would say, but there is definitely more times.”

In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“Trolling, sending hateful messages repeatedly, online bullying, sending unsolicited pictures of genitals, sending threats to somebody, calling someone repeatedly using different (phone) lines, etc..” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“I have experienced cyberbullying from people who try to create other accounts to tear me down also on Facebook where a page with a huge following had my name and face with a lot of porn; basically impersonation. This also happened on Twitter, with a page dedicated to basically tear me into shreds. I have also been stalked, where someone found out what hotel I was in and asked the reception for the information on the room I was in but didn’t get that information. I have also experienced body shaming where people just share bad opinions about my body. Defamation, yes, where there was false information about me published on a (widely-read) blog.” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

Sentiments from the In-depth Interviews with experienced content creators also indicated that X, formerly known as Twitter, was the most unsafe online platform where TFGBV was frequently experienced and practiced. In some cases, content creators described how they were among X’s “Trending Topics” for days or weeks on end, which prolonged their TFGBV experience.

“Twitter is the most toxic platform because I have received the most hate there and I left...”

In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“I just got out of X because I just found it very toxic and I just felt like it was full of screaming voices. I’m not devaluing what it can do. I just realized it wasn’t a space I wanted to be in...”

In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

Facebook was highlighted as an unsafe platform due to the online attacks by Facebook groups, especially women’s groups, for sharing their honest and unpopular opinions.

“People are attacked for sharing an unpopular opinion in Facebook’s women’s groups...”

In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

TikTok was considered unsafe due to the expectations that its audience have. This was described as ownership the audience develops to the content creator. TikTok audiences even get to the point they become abusive. One of the content creators even chose to build a long and extensive list of keywords such as fingers, thighs, skin color, weave, and different Swahili phrases to avoid them in her comments section.

“In TikTok, everybody is there and they feel entitled to say just anything...”

Respondent: Emerging Content Creator.

The following verbatim responses provide insights into the scope and impact of TFGBV in Kenya:

“...We have not even talked about the dating sites, femicides, and abuse that happens when you meet someone on a dating site. We have not even talked about digital cab rides. We have had a few cab drivers who have been abusive. I really think across the board, we have a big problem (in Kenya). I think we play catch up in terms of our laws, instead of predicting how things are going to go. It is almost like we wait for things to get worse so that we can fix them. Also, when you look at the ripple effects, for example, there are a lot more young Kenyan women leaving “X” (Twitter), yet they want to be involved in conversations and politics.” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“Because I feel like every other week there is someone being targeted for one reason or another. I have seen it happening to strangers, and I have also seen it happening to my friends who are content creators. I feel like generally, Kenyan culture can be very rough online. Even on Twitter, we are known worldwide how rough Kenyans can be online. I see it a lot, and it could be something that has happened to someone in person. I will give you an example. Earlier this year, there were a lot of conversations happening around the number of femicides in Kenya. On the posts where people would put up to talk about femicide cases and ask for action to be taken, there were still a lot of negative conversations happening in the comment sections. There were very many men who were basically threatening women who were trying to stand up for other women. It was so bad at some point...I took part in the Femicide (Protest) March that happened, and I know that leading up to that point, there were some women who had to hide because their lives had been threatened by men who did not like the fact that we were speaking up. There was a lot of bullying and a lot of threats happening, and this was of a sexual nature.”

In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“...It has definitely increased. It’s definitely louder and worse; and there’s definitely a lot more anger. When I wake up, I usually wonder “How do you start the day angry?” This is so weird. It’s definitely louder, and I also think that it is worrisome. When we look at it as the manosphere, there are global movements of men blaming women for all their problems. It’s louder because it’s inter-continental, not even inter-country, of people affirming each other of these bad things they do to women.”

In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

Extracting from the interviews, it is evident that women, particularly those who are unmarried and career-focused, are disproportionately affected by TFGBV in Kenya. The following verbatim responses from in-depth interviews with content creators illustrated these specific challenges:

“...Women, especially independent women. I told you there is a deliberate radicalization, and this is hitting at women who are unmarried and supposedly career women, or the people who are just living their lives. I see that a lot because you are disrupting what society thinks should be, or what a woman should be; which is a wife, someone behind the scenes, someone who does not talk, or someone who cannot provide for herself. There is that fear, that as long as you are questioning people’s long-held beliefs should be through your lifestyle. I think we are one of the most intolerant societies. If it is not affecting me or harming someone else, why should you be bothered about how this person is living their life? Why do you feel you have to come and call her all manner of derogatory names? I see the burden is on women, and particularly women who are independent.”

In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“...A lot of young women are affected. The only reason I say this is that I can see the young women who are leaving certain platforms or (public-facing) industries, and even abandoning some of their ambitions they have because of their experiences on online platforms.”

In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

These responses highlight several key points about the impact of TFGBV on women:

- 1. Targeting Independent Women:** Independent and career-oriented women often face TFGBV rooted in societal expectations and resistance to changing gender roles. These women, seen as challenging traditional norms, face heightened online abuse.

2. **Cultural Intolerance:** Kenyan society can be resistant to women who deviate from traditional roles resulting in derogatory language and personal attacks aimed at silencing or discrediting visible and vocal women.
3. **Disproportionate Impact:** While men also experience TFGBV, women are disproportionately affected, facing higher frequency and intensity of the online violence making them more vulnerable to the negative impacts.
4. **Abandonment of Ambitions:** TFGBV adversely affects the professional and personal lives of young women, leading some to abandon their ambitions, leave online platforms, or withdraw from certain industries such as television, film, radio, and entertainment due to the harassment. This retreat diminishes female representation in various sectors.
5. **Psychological and Emotional Toll:** Persistent online abuse inflicts a heavy psychological and emotional toll on women, contributing to fear, stress, and anxiety. This fosters a climate of intimidation that suppresses women's voices.

Manifestations of TFGBV: Mostly through Hateful Speech, Cyberbullying, and Stalking

The content creators interviewed also shared their individual experiences with different manifestations of TFGBV. Below are responses on some of the cases they cited.

“...Yes, the most recent one was people sending hateful messages about my father. My father is a public figure, so they were sending hateful messages to me about my father. That really upset me because I did not have anything to do with his job. But, they thought that any way to reach him was through hurting me.” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“...when I was pregnant I was body shamed for it. It was so wild I was on the news and there was so much body shaming. Strangely enough, a lot of it was from men and they would say things like ‘You shouldn’t be on TV in that condition....you are too pregnant.’ I’m always like I don’t know what ‘too pregnant’ means; so it was harsh. But the funny thing is that I would usually let it slide. Then there was a time that I came back like a dragon. I was laying people left right and center (responding back).” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“...The first I can remember is when I was on (a Kenyan reality television show). There, it was primarily on Facebook, and that was even before Instagram or Twitter were there. After coming out of the whole experience, the narrative around the voting processes. There was even a Facebook page that was formed and its main purpose was to drag (and demean) me.” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

Perpetrators of TFGBV: Online Strangers as the Most Common Perpetrators of TFGBV

From the in-depth interviews conducted, it emerged that men were predominantly the perpetrators of (TFGBV). The following responses from content creators provide insights into the nature and behavior of these perpetrators.

“...Both. The ones (sending sexual messages), they were mostly men who were using pseudonymous accounts (pseudos). They are mixed, but the worst are the ones with pseudos. This is because they feel like they cannot be unearthed. There is a movement; people are reading and watching trash, so it becomes normal or okay to come at someone. They are encouraged to do it because this (other) person is doing it. This person is showing them “this is the way...”

In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“...It was mostly strangers who gave me so much heat, especially after I posted about my engagement (to my fiancé). It opened doors to so many critics.” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“...The Facebook one was the people online. I guess that I have been in the limelight for a bit, so people who know me and maybe have something against me. Even with the media house that published the story, initially, the writer was using a pseudonym, so I have never gotten to know who that person was. Even the blogs have a name, but you do not know who the actual person who published the story is. This is because they were using a pseudonym. That already tells me that if you are not confident enough in what you are saying to publish with your actual name in order for people to know who it is, then I would not take them seriously.”

In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

From these findings, many perpetrators exploit the anonymity of pseudonyms and fake identities to engage in harassment and abuse without fear of consequences, particularly in sexually explicit harassment. Men are predominantly identified as the main perpetrators of TFGBV, often targeting those who share personal information or opinions online. Women though, who one content creator referred to as “patriarchy princesses” tend to also attack viciously. Public figures and women face heightened scrutiny and harassment from anonymous offenders. A troubling culture of normalization exists, where TFGBV is seen as acceptable behavior and is perpetuated by peer influence within online communities. The reluctance of perpetrators to reveal their true identities underscores a larger issue of accountability, allowing them to intimidate and harass without facing real-world repercussions. This lack of accountability enables harmful behavior and diminishes the seriousness of their actions.

In-depth interviews reveal that some TFGBV perpetrators are supported by influential individuals and communities. The following responses from content creators provide insights into this troubling dynamic.

“...One of them is the X user (name redacted), he has a book he published where a lot of indoctrination is happening. The other ones are on Twitter, I don’t follow them. But the one who I have been personally tagged on is (name redacted). In fact that one, I told him “I am gonna sue you because this is outright cyber bullying.” He had to pull down the photo , but he left the conversation. Then, he did the one for the video, and then recently, he did another one. I had to tell him, “(name redacted), just sell your books, stop using my conversations and your trolls to make yourself relevant.” ...and it can only come from another man to say to him “This is wrong. Stop.” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“...100%. I feel like they are affirmed by other men. I feel that it has really grown. They are cheered on by other men, that is one. The second thing is they are cheered on by the silence of everybody else. Some of them are known personalities, but will not get reprimanding, not from their places of work, or social circles. I feel like the silence and the loud cheers are kind of what encourages them. I feel like ignorance also encourages them. If we look at things like feminism, a lot of people will be like “Feminists are terrible,” meaning that they do not even know the meaning of feminism. You are using the wrong terminology with your chest to affirm violence. I think they definitely get cheered on, and it is very worrying.” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“...I have always held true to the idea that gossip blogs and “humilitainment” contribute a lot to how people behave online. And, there is an insatiable need for gossip, and that is why people

follow them. I myself have blocked all gossip pages in Kenya, so they cannot see my content, and I really do not care to see their content. This is because I do not care what is happening to so-and-so. This does not reduce the price of bread on my table” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

The case of the masculine author above (name redacted) and his masculinity manual book shows how influential figures can perpetuate harmful ideologies and encourage harassment. Male solidarity often supports perpetrators, normalizing TFGBV and fostering a culture where such behavior is encouraged. Bystanders, including well-known personalities, exacerbate the issue by remaining silent as TFGBV is ongoing. Cultural attitudes and societal ignorance, including misunderstandings of feminism, justify violence against women and create an environment where harassment is acceptable. Media platforms and gossip blogs further contribute by sensationalizing and promoting online harassment. This culture of “humilitainment” encourages negative behavior, while some individuals cope by blocking such content publishers without addressing the broader issue.

Impact of TFGBV

The in-depth interviews with content creators reveal severe personal and professional consequences of technology-facilitated gender-based violence (TFGBV). The following responses illustrate the significant impacts on self-confidence, career decisions, emotional well-being, and overall mental health:

“...For the first case, I doubted the career I had picked. I was like “What absolute nonsense is this media thing?” Nobody in the university told me that it would be this hectic. On a personal level, I was also trying to build up my self-confidence, and my love of self. If you are constantly being told how ugly you are, it can really interfere with the self-work you are doing. I think it didn’t help me in that regard. But, I am happy it began to happen when I was getting closer to my 30s. By then, you start to disassociate and know that the bullying is not about you because the person does not know you personally. At the beginning, I was wondering if I made the right decision to go into Broadcasting Media, instead of Public Relations. This is more of a “behind-the-scenes thing.” I really did think about that because it took me by surprise, and I was not prepared for it.” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“...Most of the time, I feel irritated and angry. I have an idyllic view of the world which a lot of people do not share. So, I feel angry when that happens, and I feel that if only the world was a better place, and if only people could exist peacefully.” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“...I experienced a lack of confidence to the point where I couldn’t find the courage to start my new businesses because I was afraid of what people would say if it didn’t turn out well. There was a time I couldn’t get out of bed for weeks, my mom had to come in and help me with my 2-month-old. I had completely fallen apart. The world had a narrative and I didn’t know how to handle it. Today, I am 35, this happened over 7 years ago and I’m still constantly trying to harden and heal myself. I’m still trying to make some money from content creation and create a space for women to grow because I love to see women win and flourish.” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

Survivors Response to TFGBV Experiences

The in-depth interviews with content creators reveal various strategies to manage TFGBV. Blocking abusive users is a common tactic to protect mental well-being. Deleting negative comments helps maintain a positive online environment and minimizes emotional tolls, as promptly removing harmful remarks reduces dwelling on abusive behavior. Avoiding direct engagement with trolls is crucial, as responding often escalates situations, with creators learning that ignoring and promptly deleting negative comments is more effective. Some use negative experiences to educate their audience about inappropriate behavior, aiming to foster a more respectful online community. Reporting severe cases, such as stalking or threats of violence, to authorities is crucial for personal safety and highlights the importance of legal recourse in combating TFGBV.

“...what I do most of the time, and even yesterday I put up a post and said, “You know what? I have been very tolerant about divergent views, but when it becomes abusive, derogatory, and attacks against women, I will resort to blocking people.” People have been telling me, “Why are you entertaining these people? Just block them.” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“...thought that I could really do an in-depth news piece about it. That is how I responded to kind of inform people who maybe thought the way (blogger - name redacted) thought. The first one was with the musician. Honestly, I just cried. I did not know what to do, because it took me by surprise, and I didn’t know if I could report somewhere. Later on, even with the politician, I did not take it very seriously... I think the only one I reported was the stalker, and then the one on rape and gender-based violence, I used it as a teachable moment, that this is not right because of A-B-C-D reasons. Many people watch a lot of these interactions, and maybe it is only 10% of the people can walk away knowing something they didn’t know before; that is how I approach it.” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“...Delete all negativity. I must admit that initially for myself and the other three ladies that I was on YouTube with, our initial reaction was to always “fight back,” meaning responding to some of these comments individually and giving pushback. But with time, we realized that what that does is that it takes back from you and fuels the conversation. Usually, most of these people online want to get a reaction from you, so, my approach these days is that if I see a comment that affects me even slightly, I will delete and block that person so that I do not give it any more thought. Any other approach just makes me think about it longer, and fuels the conversation a lot more. In my mind, I think that is what these people who do these things online want.” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

Awareness of Laws/Policies For Survivors and to Punish TFGBV Perpetrators

The interviews with content creators showed that most of them lacked awareness about the laws in Kenya aimed at protecting survivors and punishing perpetrators of TFGBV. Out of the 12 interviewed, 9 were unaware of these laws, while the remaining 3 mentioned a few but noted significant gaps in their knowledge and the effectiveness of these measures. There was a concern, from one content creator who pursued a multi-year legal case against a gossip blogger, that the system was not set up to succeed.

“...I have just heard of the Cyber (Crimes Act) thing. Cyber security? Yes, but I have not heard of it... These ones of online bullying I have not seen.” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“...I think there are, if you look at the Cyber Security bill, and even when someone is harassing you on your phone. We’ve seen cases where people actually went and reported, and the perpetrators got fined. A lot of people think the best thing is to disengage and continue with their lives. I also know of the Council for Responsible Social Media Network of Kenya, I think that is what they are called. They have a landing page on their website where you can report mistreatment and malpractice on social media. If you are being harassed, you can go and report it there. But, the thing is you kind of feel like even if you report this person, they will still be online. So then, what is the point? I think that is where a lot of people sit when it comes to reporting these issues. You just decide to disengage. I feel like if we had a bigger framework, one that also works with these big tech companies...Even when you report someone on the platform, say a tweet on Twitter, it recommends that “Maybe you might want to block this person.” There is no consequence that is swift or fast, either in the country’s legislation or on the platforms against perpetrators. Most of what happens is users being told what to do, which is a bit unfair.” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“...I think the Chief Justice launched the SGBV courts. She launched the first one at the end of 2021 and these are courts that are specifically for survivors of (gender-based) violence. Meaning that your case is not going to be in the dock with a hundred other cases of robbery and fact or whatever. It’s a court specifically to deal with issues of violence. I believe it might be under-resourced...” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

“...Aside from the Cyber Crimes Act, I do not know of any organizations, individuals, or platforms that exist to assist even further, beyond being able to report.” In-Depth Interview: Experienced Content Creator.

Many content creators are vaguely aware of legal frameworks like the Computer Misuse and Cyber Crimes Act. They lack detailed knowledge of how these laws protect TFGBV survivors or how to use them to report and punish perpetrators. Even when they know about some legal mechanisms, they doubt their effectiveness, feeling reporting procedures are weak and consequences for offenders are not severe enough. Some know about specialized SGBV courts but note they lack resources for timely justice. Content creators call for a broader framework involving tech companies and stricter consequences for offenders. They seek increased awareness of legal resources and better support systems to address online harassment effectively.

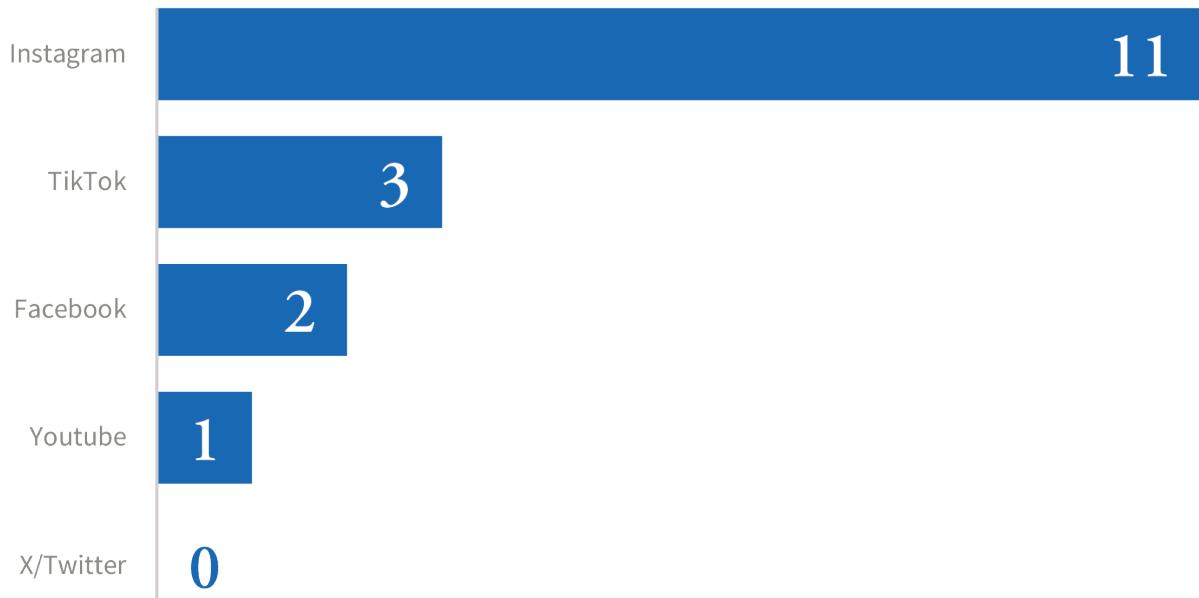
Co-Creation Workshop Findings

Platforms Where Content Creators Feel Most Safe

During the co-creation workshop, emerging content creators shared their opinions, experiences, and ideas. Together with Pollicy and Nendo, the content creators went through the day-long workshop with a view to creating a knowledge product based on their experiences.

Among the questions posed to the content creators using the online survey Mentimeter, was their view on the social media platforms where they felt the most safe. Out of 25 respondents, 17 opted to answer the Mentimeter quiz. 11 perceived Instagram as the safest platform followed by TikTok. Among the reasons provided by the content creators to their perception was that with Instagram, the audience were more friendly. The creators also listed having more control over the conversations they engage in. Instagram was also mentioned to provide features such as turning off comments and likes. The second in this rank was TikTok since it allows authentic content without much judgment, as presented by the content creators. An honorable mention was Facebook where the emerging content creators contradicted some of the experienced content creators who said that the audience is not as judgemental and they are not subject to stranger opinions. X/Twitter was perceived as the least safe among the platforms listed, with the highest percentages in the lower rankings.

Safest platforms ranked by emerging content creators



*A total of 17 content creators

Figure 22. Safest platforms ranked by emerging content creators.

As part of their interpretation of the safety of platforms, the content creators further interpreted safety in terms of audiences on social media platforms. For instance, they mentioned that platforms with audiences that are more friendly, supportive, and accommodating are perceived to be safe platforms.

During the co-creation workshop, content creators present were asked to describe in one word the character of the audience in mentioned platforms.



Figure 23. Describing the audience of Instagram as the safest social media platform

Most of the content creators cited X/Twitter as the most unsafe platform and attributed it to cyber mobs such as Kenyans On Twitter (KOT). KOT is a term used to loosely describe all Kenyan Twitter users, who sometimes coalesce around a unified national or international goal.⁵⁶ The emerging content creators also mentioned that X as having too many idlers who share negative comments. The content creators also expressed criticism over a lack of control over who sees and shares their content or information, which exposes them to greater criticism and cyberbullying.

“I only posted a cute selfie (on X) but weuh! The attack I got ...” Respondent: Emerging Content Creator.

“Twitter warriors are constantly looking to undermine and disgrace women and they enable each other...” Respondent: Emerging Content Creator.

“Twitter people just wait to attack and things trend without fact-checking and people are so bitter here NKT...” Respondent: Emerging Content Creator.

“Trolling and generally online gender-based violence is normalized on Twitter...” Respondent: Emerging Content Creator.

In the co-creation workshop, the content creators were allowed to describe the audience of the most unsafe platform in one word and their responses were: bullies, jealous, brutal, shameless and idlers as seen in the word cloud below. These sentiments were generally directed to the X audience which was said to have the most negative users.



Figure 23. Describing the audience of X as the least safe social media platform.

⁵⁶ Kaigwa, M. (2017). From Cyber Café to Smartphone: Kenya's Social Media Lens Zooms In on the Country and Out to the World. In: Ndumo, B., Weiss, T. (eds) Digital Kenya. Palgrave Studies of Entrepreneurship in Africa. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-37-57878-5_7

Effective Strategies in Preventing TFGBV Against Content Creators from the Co-Creation workshop

The insights from the workshop underscore the dual nature of social media for content creators in Kenya—a powerful tool for growth and expression shadowed by the persistent threat of online harassment. The Dada Disinfo report serves as a resource for understanding these dynamics, aiding content creators, policymakers and platform activists, in navigating the digital landscape more safely and effectively. Regular updates and further research are recommended to keep abreast of evolving platform trends and safety measures. Based on the insights shared by the content creators during the workshop, there were five solutions to tackle TFGBV among Kenyan social media users:

- **Enhanced Safety Features on Platforms:** Advocating for and implementing stronger safety measures on social media platforms including quicker response times to reports of abuse, more sophisticated algorithms for detecting harmful content, and tools that allow users greater control over interactions, such as comment filters and blocking capabilities.
- **Education and Awareness Programs:** Providing educational resources about digital safety, online rights, and the implications of sharing content online through workshops, webinars, and online courses to empower creators and users to protect themselves from online harassment and take action if they experience TFGBV.
- **Support Networks:** Encouraging the development of support networks within and across social media platforms to provide immediate support, advice, and solidarity to those experiencing TFGBV, reducing isolation survivors might feel.
- **Community Guidelines and Reporting Mechanisms:** Platforms are accountable not to be aiding and abetting TFGBV. More is needed with safety, while upholding freedom of expression and speech. Platforms must commit to taking action building on clear and accessible community guidelines explicitly addressing gender-based violence and harassment along with effective reporting mechanisms that lead to swift action. Awareness raising among new and existing users ought to be mandatory to inform them on guidelines and reporting. These mechanisms raise confidence that the platforms will take their external regulation and trust and safety reporting with greater care.
- **Partnerships with NGOs and Law Enforcement:** Social media platforms can partner with NGOs specializing in digital rights and gender-based violence to provide resources and support. Collaborations with law enforcement can also ensure that there are real-world consequences for perpetrators of TFGBV, thereby deterring such behaviors.

These solutions can help create a safer online environment, reducing the prevalence of TFGBV and supporting those who experience it.

Social Media Analytics Findings on TFGBV

Examples of TFGBV Behavior

TFGBV appears online in some of the following ways:

1. **Sexual Harassment:** includes unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours, and other verbal or physical harassment of a sexual nature perpetrated through online or technological means.



My lawd 😭😍❤️; Nipee please 🙏😭❤️

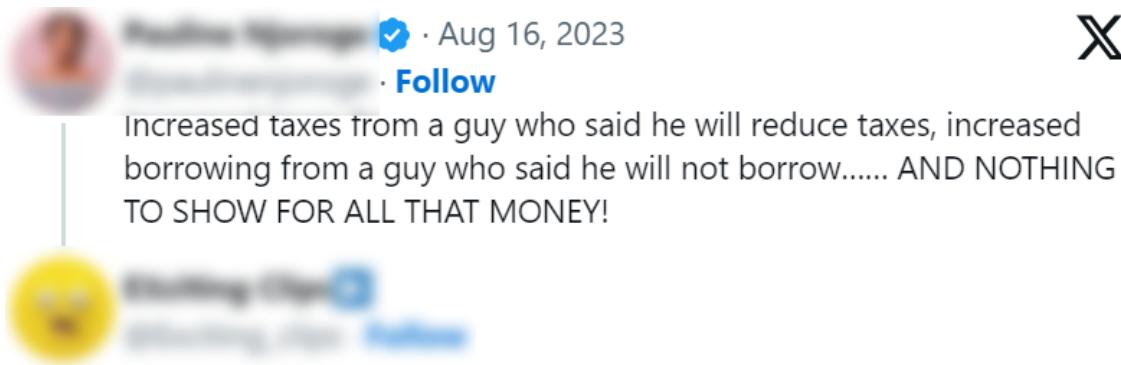
Figure 24. A X User makes a sexual pass at a content creator.

2. **Online harassment** includes any form of unwanted online communication intended to harm, intimidate, or threaten an individual. This includes sending sexually explicit or abusive messages, making derogatory comments, or spreading rumors about someone online.



I'd pay in euros to watch Passaris & Sabina scissor

Figure 25. A X user publishes sexual innuendo.



Hey you Barren woman. Shut up!

Figure 26. A X user harasses a political blogger.

3. **Sextortion:** This is a form of blackmail that involves threatening to publish sexual information, such as intimate images, or coercing an individual into sexual activity or unlawful extraction of money through threats and intimidation.



Figure 27. A X user harasses a content creator, implying they have access to intimate images.



Figure 28. A X user sexually harasses a content creator threatening to leak intimate images.

4. **Stalking** refers to repeated and unwanted surveillance or monitoring of an individual's online activities.

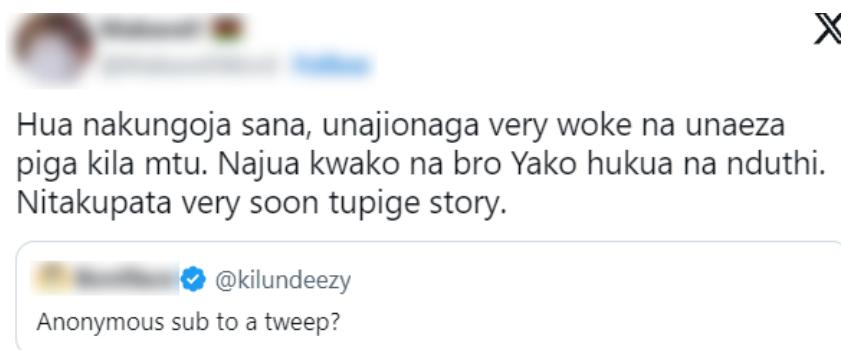


Figure 29. A X user suggests they have been stalking someone, noting information about a relative they follow. They claim they will say hello soon.

5. **Hate speech:** This includes any form of online communication that is intended to degrade, intimidate, or threaten an individual or group based on their race, ethnicity, religion, gender, or sexual orientation.



That Plug wa viatu should not be promoted in his business in whatsoever means untill he changes his sexuality

Figure 30. A X user dismisses the LGBTQIA+ community broadly and specifically threatens a content creator and their business.

6. **Defamation:** involves the public release of false information that damages a person's reputation and has the intention of humiliating, threatening, intimidating, or punishing the individual.

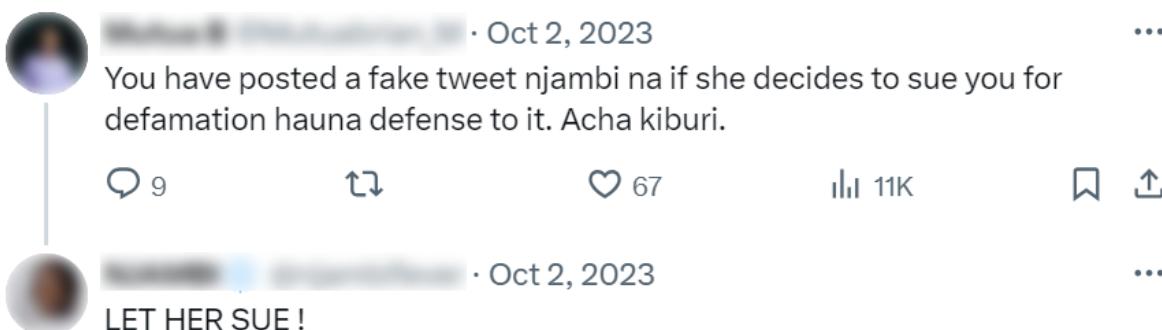


Figure 31. A X user challenges a gossip blogger who defamed a content creator.

Online Impersonation: creating a fake profile and assuming someone's identity for nefarious purposes, including destroying someone's reputation or threatening her safety.

For instance, a fake X account posing as entertainment YouTuber Mungai Eve has been found to share NSFW content, occasionally with the intention of misleading audiences into believing that the images depict Mungai Eve herself.

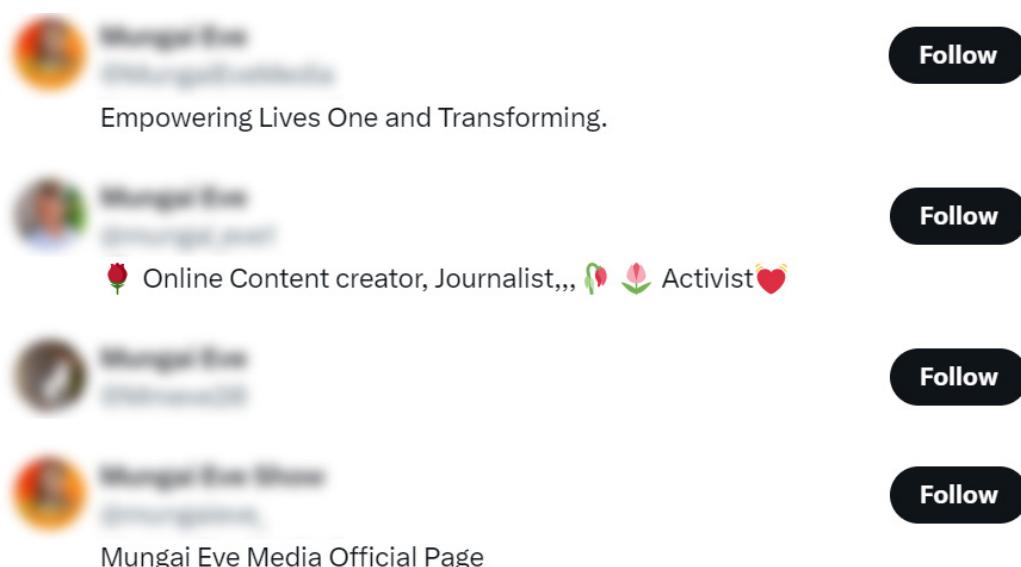


Figure 32. Multiple X profiles impersonating a popular Kenyan entertainment YouTuber.

Common Themes and Patterns of TFGBV

After cleaning the social media mention dataset, Nendo, in collaboration with Pollicy, generated a word cloud highlighting common keywords. The data shows instances of coordinated behaviour characterised through phrases such as “sexual abuse,” “gender-based violence,” “threat,” and “rape.” The size of the words below is commensurate with their volume.



Figure 33. A social media word cloud of keywords and phrases.

Some hashtags experienced significant attacks, including for women in politics and public life such as the First Lady of the Republic of Kenya Rachel Ruto being cyberbullied for her hairstyle during the King and Queen of the United Kingdom, under the #RoyalVisitKenya, hijacking the official hashtag and delivering appearance-based attacks to the First Lady. Additionally, the analysis unveiled certain patterns in cyberattacks.

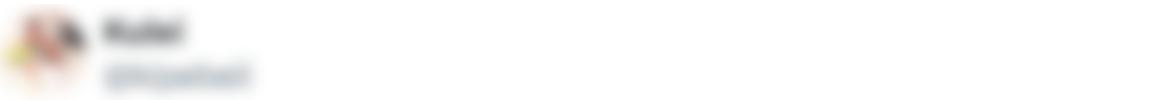
The analysis also uncovered specific patterns in the cyberattacks:

- Retweets and Replies: 38% of the dataset - the majority of these gendered violence posts were directed toward figures through replies to their tweets. Tweets on almost any subject matter, including lifestyle, governance, and politics elicited responses containing gendered violence from some notorious perpetrator accounts.

◊ Tweets on politics, governance, and corruption from political blogger Pauline Njoroge such as this tweet received the replies below.



Mount the donor and shut up!



Somebody tell this bitch to shut up! [@paulinenjoroge](#) you shared our taxes and slept with Murathe for the last 5yrs what are lecturing us about Jubilee?



Hey you Barren woman. Shut up!

Figure 34, 35, and 36. X users harass a political blogger.

◊ Tweets from former nominated Senator Hon. Millicent Omanga regarding politics and economics, such as this tweet, received the replies below.



Propaganda machine Madam matako biggy



Kwani tabia za Malaya hua sawa Kila mahali?

Hata wa high-end hotels ni sawa tu na wale wa luthuli.

Hawanaga heshima.

Figure 37 and 38, A X user sexually

A post by Nairobi County Woman Representative Hon. Esther Passaris celebrating her birthday, which included a picture of her, received the following replies.



Can I spread thigh legs?



Nipee ningware



Damn nipee nigware tu 🙄

Figure 39 and 40. X users sexually harass a prominent woman member of parliament.

Posts from TikToker, radio host, and actress Azziad Nasenya featuring pictures of herself in various contexts, such as tweet 1 and tweet 2, also received similar sexualised messaging and online harassment.



Azziad shida Yako wewe ni malaya,unadinywa kila pande



Poko haram

Figure 41 and 42. X users sexually harass a popular content creator.

A significant trend was observed for a category of perpetrators who can be described as “Gain Train Bullies”. A gain train is a tactic used by social media users to get followers and engagement by organizing a mob to follow each other and interact with content to achieve higher reach and stats. These coordinated follow and interaction trains take place predominantly on Instagram and X. The individuals participating frequently hijack all the trending topics, spamming them to reach more users, sometimes known as trendjacking,⁵⁷ with the hope of gaining reach for their posts and growing their accounts. From the investigation, a number of individuals who were in these Gain Trains perpetrated TFGBV. This was done by trolling and sexually harassing women content creators - and used the resulting engagement and notoriety to gain more followers.

These accounts that participate in “gain trains” have an average of 30,000 followers and high tweet volumes on their accounts, averaging close to 70,000 tweets. Over time, their behavior indicates that individuals or groups might engage in TFGBV to boost engagement without facing consequences. From the network analysis done on the social media listening data, the following are ways in which the abusive content gets shared online.

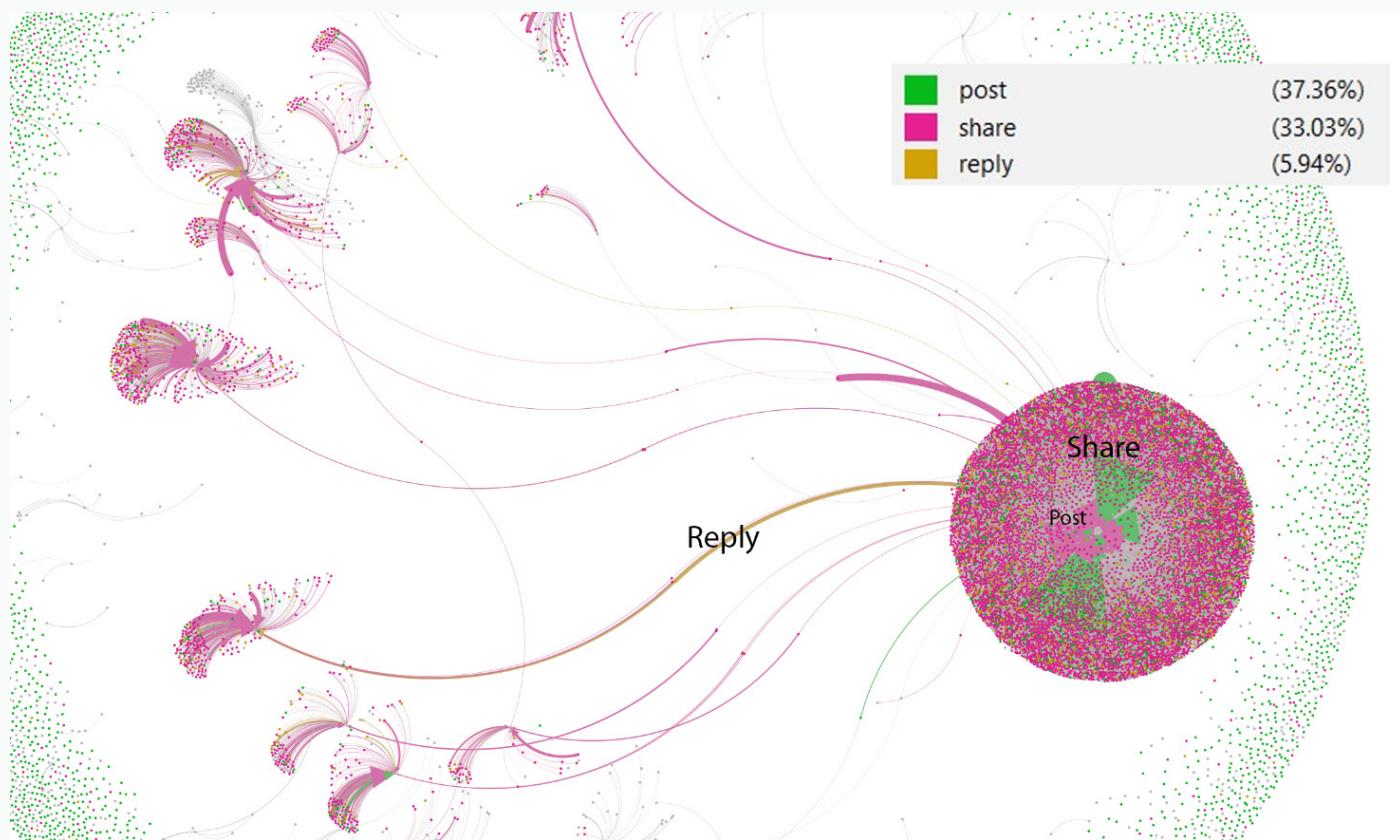


Figure 43. A network map of social media listening data

A sample of the boolean query appears below to capture some of the different phrases that were referenced.

Further analysis of the dataset required deeper categorisation of the data. Nendo created different harassment categories and classified the mentions to rank the most prevalent forms of TFGBV within the dataset.

⁵⁷ Nendo, 2021 Trend Report, The future of ‘trendjacking’ - meaningful or menace? https://assets.website-files.com/59ad2221052e560001d6401f/605af5f76a686a033103f5d7_Trend%20Report%202021.pdf

Unset

"Unazeeka bila kunipea" OR "supported by a prostitute" OR "Arsenal washinde alafu unipe mech" OR "Women belong to the kitchen"

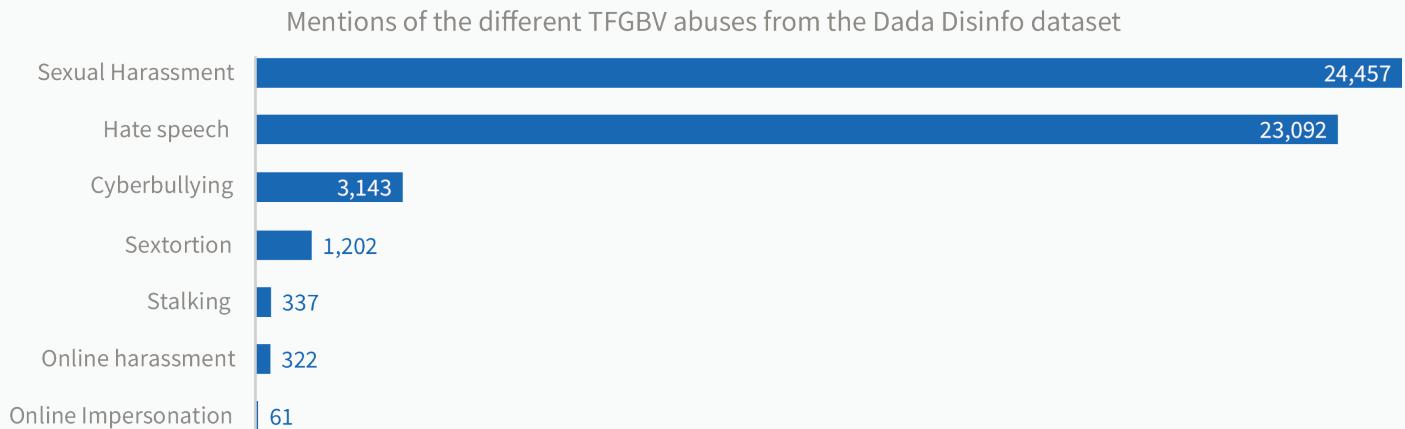


Figure 44. A graph featuring different TFGBV abuses from the Dada Disinfo dataset.

Sexual Harassment posts and **Hate Speech posts** were the most commonly observed forms of online abuse, with 24,457 and 23,092 mentions respectively. This suggests that these two types of abuse are major pain points within the community of women online in Kenya, as witnessed by this mainly X (Twitter) dataset. Their high frequency indicates widespread issues as they occupy 46% and 44% of the TFGBV examples online.

Cyberbullying, while significantly less mentioned (3,143), compared to the top two categories, still represents the next greatest number of incidents. This indicates ongoing challenges with bullying behaviors online that can affect mental health and well-being of the victims.

Sextortion and **Stalking** had fewer mentions (1,202 and 337 respectively), but the serious nature of these abuses means they remain critical areas for attention and action. These lower numbers could also indicate underreporting due to the sensitive nature of the abuses.

Emotional Analysis of Abusive Tweets Online

Using the social media listening platform Brandwatch, Nendo analyzed the emotions of the tweets limited to the English language. Brandwatch seeks to use the strings of text against psychologist Dr. Paul Ekman's six emotions - anger, disgust, fear, joy, sadness, and surprise.⁵⁸ Out of the data analyzed, the most prevalent sentiment observed was "Anger" which occupied 58% of the posts analyzed. This was followed by 19% "Sadness" and 12% "Disgust". When a sentiment analysis was done, evaluating the posts to see which are positive, negative, or neutral, the composition of the mentions contained 89% negative emotions, indicating that the authors are highly provocative, eliciting strong emotional reactions from the users. This could be related to controversial, upsetting, or polarizing subjects.

⁵⁸ Brandwatch, Sentiment and Emotion Analysis https://social-media-management-help.brandwatch.com/hc/en-us/articles/4555786479901-Sentiment-and-Emotion-Analysis#h_01FBQFXM0STXNEH86F8YYFNAGF

Different emotions within the Dada Disinfo dataset by percentage

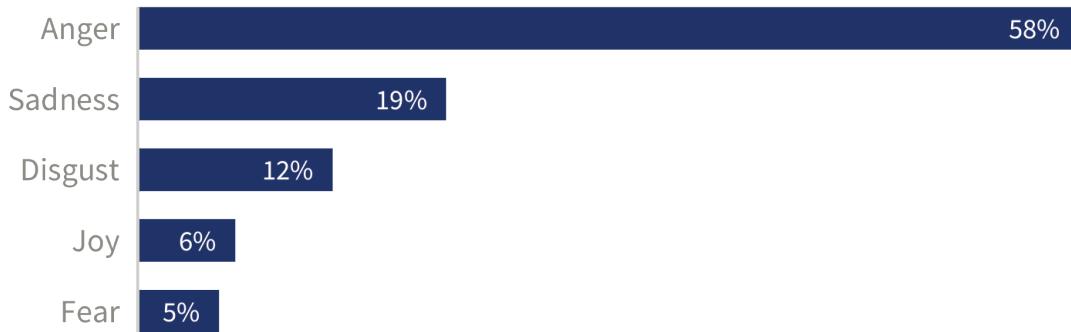


Figure 45. An ‘emotion map’ showcasing the different emotions within the Dada Disinfo dataset.

Such intense emotions can contribute to or indicate a polarized environment where the middle ground is scarce, and women online get fairly negative emotions projected onto them.

Social media platforms can amplify these emotions through echo chambers where users predominantly see and engage with content that aligns with their views, intensifying their emotional reactions and sentiments. In the absence of investment in local moderation for Kenyan and African indigenous languages, and algorithmic accountability, there will not be enough clarity to examine the problem at its cause. An analogy would be that when a perpetrator interacts with the abusive content (or publishes it) and the platform doesn't remove the original material, then the social media platform's algorithm may just feeds them more of this content, and the perpetrator, having been desensitized, normalizes the abusive content and bears no consequences for their actions.

Targeted Content Creators

During the period of analysis, the following Kenyan content creators who received the most abusive comments were:

Vera Sidika, a Kenyan social media influencer, socialite, and reality TV star, stands out with the highest number of negative mentions (191) making her the most negatively discussed woman in the dataset.

Avril, a Kenyan singer, songwriter, and entrepreneur, stands out with the second highest number of negative mentions (133). This was after information leaked about her being a victim of domestic abuse and her step towards sharing photographs and an intervention from the local authorities. Multiple authors accused her of clout-chasing and added negative sentiments by victim blaming and shaming.

Jacque Maribe, a political journalist and former news anchor, was in the public eye as part of a murder case, where she stood trial as an accomplice. The case and its intrigues played out in the public domain and perpetrators criticized her perceived lack of empathy and emotion in response to a serious situation. This was after the hearing of a criminal case in which she was involved and found innocent.

Milly Chebby, a prominent lifestyle content creator, entrepreneur, and YouTuber was notably mentioned in 71 negative posts. She has undergone body shaming and been a target of trolls over multiple successive years from 2021⁵⁹ to 2024, recounting how she upset she was when perpetrators targeted her baby.⁶⁰ This data emerged again in this dataset.

59 Pulselive (2021) Terence Creative’s bold message to critics body shaming wife Milly Chebby <https://www.pulselive.co.ke/entertainment/celebrities/terence-creatives-message-to-those-cyber-bullying-his-wife-milly-chebby/dmp6cbv>

60 Nairobi News (2024) Exclusive: Milly Chebby: Trolls targeting my baby almost made me quit social media <https://nairobinews.nation.africa/exclusive-milly-chebby-trolls-targeting-my-baby-almost-made-me-quit-social-media/>

Negative mentions focused on content creators in the Dada Disinfo dataset

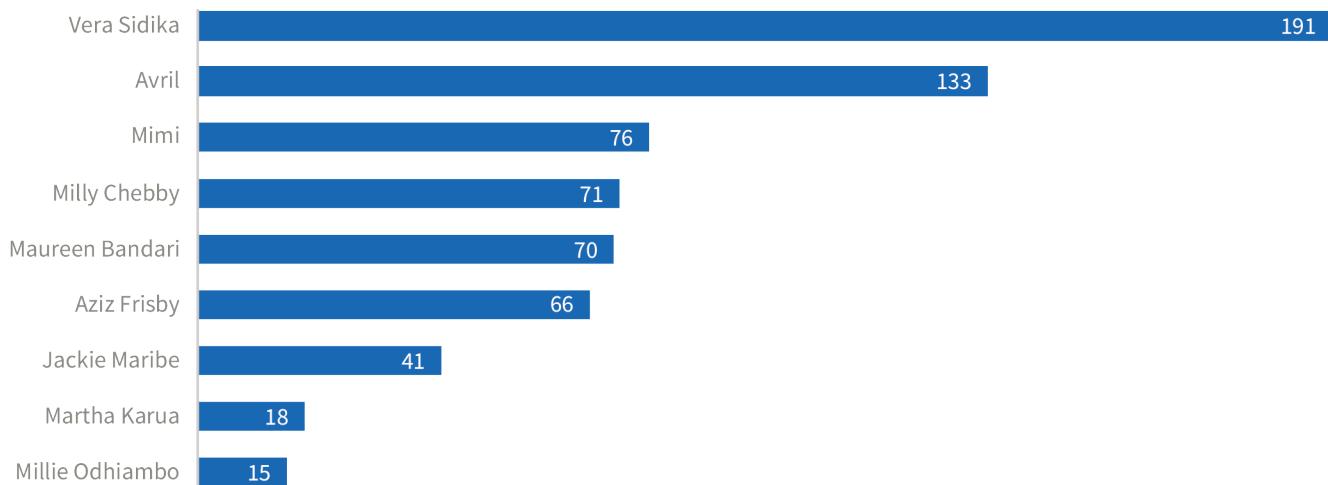


Figure 46. A ranking of negative mentions focused on content creators in the Dada Disinfo dataset.

During the workshop, emerging content creators described perpetrator profiles on sticky notes, and the word cloud below shows the keywords they used. They found it notable that family and friends sometimes create fake accounts to attack and troll them. These profiles sought attention and spread hateful messages to boost their engagement and likes while targeting the content creator accounts.



Figure 47. A word cloud of perpetrator descriptions by emerging content creators

In addition, content creators evaluated different platforms, sharing their opinions on their benefits, pros and cons, and the actions they take to protect themselves from TFGBV..

“I faced a lot of cyberbullying and felt revolted after trying to create conversations on mental health and struggles that content creators go through...” - Respondent: Emerging Content Creator.

Conclusion & Recommendations

Conclusion

Dada Disinfo's report on TFGBV in Kenya highlights its prevalence, particularly affecting content creators and women across social media platforms, where it is increasingly becoming normalized. There are notable differences in understanding TFGBV across demographics, especially among males aged 25-34, indicating a need for better education and outreach. Content creators demonstrate a nuanced understanding of TFGBV, recognizing various forms such as online harassment, doxxing, cyberbullying, and stalking, with Instagram and TikTok deemed safer than X, formerly Twitter, which faces issues like organized cyber mobs and fewer safeguards.

Women bear the brunt of TFGBV, leading to significant emotional and psychological tolls, often resulting in the abandonment of public-facing ambitions and roles, especially on X. Perpetrators appear to be primarily men and anonymous accounts online contribute to a culture of normalization and encouragement among perpetrators while silence from the public isolates victims and survivors.

Dada Disinfo's report emphasizes the urgent need for comprehensive solutions to combat TFGBV, including awareness, prevention, and support mechanisms, alongside enhancing legal frameworks and collaboration with technology companies and social media platforms. Initiatives like the #EndFemicideKE campaign exemplifies the collective effort to raise awareness and advocate for systemic change regarding gender-based violence in Kenya online and offline.

Recommendations

In light of these findings, this study makes the following recommendations to various stakeholders

Tertiary Institutions:

- Incorporate TFGBV education into curricula across disciplines, departments, and length of courses, whether short courses and diplomas or full degrees. Creating media literacy units aimed at students as well as on-ramp programmes for teenagers can lay the groundwork for greater awareness.
- Establishing on-campus support services for survivors including counseling and legal aid can deliver support closeby.
- Support greater intra-institutional research initiatives on TFGBV prevalence and intervention strategies among the student body, alumni, and neighboring communities.

Legal System:

- Strengthen and enforce existing laws about TFGBV in consultative and clear ways to aid prosecution and the ends of justice.

- Establish specialized courts or utilizing existing units for TFGBV cases.
- Allocate sufficient budget for law enforcement to delicately handle TFGBV cases and evidence effectively.
- Create measures to protect survivors from secondary victimization before, during, and after legal proceedings.
- Implement measures including tracking down and prosecuting individuals responsible for TFGBV.

Civil Society:

- Provide support services counseling, and legal aid for survivors of TFGBV.
- Conduct joint cross-sectoral research further investigate and understand the inner workings of TFGBV across cities, platforms, and languages.
- Jointly invest in collaborative advocacy, such as a national ‘public service announcement’ style behavior change campaigns to raise public awareness about TFGBV and challenge harmful societal norms.
- Collaborate in joint help-line (toll free) and series of web-based resources that can be accessed data free (zero rated by a telecoms provider as part of corporate social responsibility).
- Collaborate with other stakeholders to develop community-based interventions for prevention and response at local levels such as at county or city-level.

Media:

- Promote accurate and sensitive reporting on TFGBV and GBV in their print, radio, podcast, and online stories.
- Commit to proactive online community management and sensitive reporting when publishing stories on TFGBV.
- Commit airtime and pro-bono advertising annually to distribute messaging on behavior change, for perpetrators, and resources for victims regarding TFGBV.
- Contribute, across all online and mainstream media with disclaimers in reporting, stories, and publications to a joint help-line that provides share helpful disseminate information about available support services and legal remedies.
- Amplify the voices of survivors and advocates in the media.
- Create awareness about TFGBV- by spotlighting its occurrence, nature, and how to protect oneself.

Citizens:

- Educate the public about TFGBV and challenge harmful attitudes.
- Build empathy and compassion in support for survivors through storytelling and experience sharing.
- Hold duty bearers accountable for addressing TFGBV.
- Practice digital safety and minimize risks and avoid spreading harmful information.
- Practice reporting of content on each of the social media platforms regularly as a first step of a larger citizen-to-citizen behavioral adjustments.

Government/Policy Makers:

- Allocate resources for comprehensive TFGBV prevention and response strategies.
- Develop policies promoting gender equality and supporting survivors.
- Enforce laws addressing TFGBV and fund law enforcement training.
- Support documentation of gender-based violence and integrate TFGBV into police training.

Social Media Platforms:

- Commit to discussions on platform and algorithmic transparency and accountability. Inviting experts to review current community standards and practices.
- Implement and enforce community standards with adequate moderation capacity to prohibit TFGBV content.
- Provide greater transparency through Trust and Safety reports focused on East Africa and tailored to regional nuances with external checks.
- Provide academic, policy, and external vetted entities with zero-cost access to public platform data (for non-commercial purposes) to aid tracking of the spread and mitigation measures of TFGBV.
- Provide resources for reporting TFGBV instances with swift resolution of citizen reports, thanks to local language-speaking support staff.
- Sponsoring training and capacity building of key local stakeholders in necessary tools, techniques, and matchmaking with international best-practice organizations addressing TFGBV to co-create local solutions.
- Cooperate with local authorities while abiding by local freedom of expression and speech laws regarding TFGBV.

The Platform Solutions and Features

Access to Platform APIs for Public Interest Research Firms and Organizations

Provide Access to Platform APIs for Research and Organizations: Accessing social media data for research has become costly and complex since the closure of Facebook's API and Twitter's API limit. Platforms like Twitter and Meta should allow access to social media data for research institutions and humanitarian organizations to develop tools and solutions for addressing TFGBV.

Platform Sensitisation Campaigns

Conduct Platform Sensitization Campaigns: Targeted awareness campaigns on social media platforms are crucial for addressing online harms. Platforms should create campaigns targeting reported abusers and individuals searching for abusive content. Short-form pop-up content can alert potential perpetrators to the harm of posting TFGBV content, potentially curbing online abusive tendencies.

Localized Content Moderation

Implement Localized Content Moderation: Developing content moderation machine learning programs for local languages is essential. Current models primarily focus on English, overlooking other dialects, mispronunciations,

and slang in TFGBV context. Access to social media data in local languages can broaden TFGBV content capture, addressing language diversity challenges

Perpetrator Bundling

Introduce Perpetrator Bundling: Perpetrators often create pseudo accounts to continue online abuse after being blocked. Platforms should introduce a feature allowing survivors to report multiple accounts exhibiting similar harassment trends. This feature enhances online protection, especially during cyber mob attacks. This can be matched with identification techniques to pick up on coordinated inauthentic behavior, such as similar IP addresses for multiple accounts that get flagged for TFGBV.

Transparency Features

Implement Transparency Features: Platforms should provide transparency in actions taken against reported accounts. Survivors should be notified of actions taken against reported accounts, providing closure and confidence in platform usage.

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Appendix

Curated List of Keywords used for this study

Boolean Query

(ujinga,mjinga, malaya, hoe, whore, prostit*, akili, brain*, head, mbwa, umbwa, fala,лага, ass, matako, puss*, nude*, matit*, curv*, f?ck, fuck*

<<< Online Harassment >>>

((I, We) NEAR/5 “kill you”)
, “stop it!”, (“shut up” NEAR/4 woman), “abusing me”, “abuse her”,
(nitaku* NOT nitakuwa, nitakua), nyanyas*, kudhulumiwa,
msupa, pumpum, mpoa, mafuta, puta, upuzi, upus,

<<< Stalking >>>

stalking, nitakufuata, nitakupata, “najua kwako”,
“know your location”, “know her location”,

<<< Revenge Porn >>>

((“I will leak”, leaked, video, nude*) AND (ex, boyfriend, former, revenge)),

<<< Sextortion >>>

coerce, nitaleak, ((“leta pesa”, lipa, tuma, send) AND
(leak, nitaleak, nisileak, leaked, nudes, video, link)),

<<< Cyberbullying, Defamation>>>

(You NEAR/5 “not beautiful”), (kiatu NEAR/5 ni),
fisi, “slay queen”, chapa, umechapa, amechapa,
simp, “mke mume”, umebeat, amebeat,
shoga, “mtoto laptop”, “ben 10”, “chips funga”,

“kichokonoo”, “body count”, “dhuluma za nyumbani”, garagaria*,
“forced marriage”, unfat, “red thigh babe”, “red thigh”,
mjinga, jinga, “no brain”, “no brains”, mefi, mavi, ufala,
“married men”, “married man”, socialite, bimbo,
“kept man”, “kept woman”, “side chic*”, “chipoi*”,
hoe*, ((huyo, huo, we, ana*) AND (malaya, hoe*, akili, prostitute)),

<<< Hate Speech >>>

insult, “that bitch”, “mashoga”, “shoga”, “madame wanakuwanga”,
“women are very”, “these bitches”,

<<< Online Impersonation >>>

“fake account”, (beware NEAR/5 fake),

<<< Doxing >>>

“Releasing your information”, (dropping NEAR/5 (“private info”, “phone number”, number)),

<<< Sexual Harassment >>>

rape, “r?pe”, ass, baka, bakwa, manyako, tomb*,
kubakwa, kuma, “nyash”, milaya, pokko,
nadai, nipee, kuzama, nizame, “naomba mech”,
“naomba ku*”, ukaniipa, ukinipa, peana, kupea*, kupewa, “gender-based”
, “domestic abuse”, “sexual harassment”,
“intimate partner violence”, “sexual abuse”, “sexually abuse”, “sexually abusing”,
(mech NOT (mpira, ligi, odds, CAF, Yanga, game)),
fira, malaya, “want to be raped”, “toa mimba”,
matako, pochi, “smash you”, “stick to”, pudesh,
kinembe, “body count”, pussy, pussies, ti??ies, nyondo*,
matit*, kuni, rungu, s?tick, stick, f?ck*, “thic*”,

<<< Sexual Harassment - variation >>>

“naomba mech”,

“naomba ku*”, ukanipea, ukinipea, peana, kupea*, kupewa, “gender-based”

, “domestic abuse”, “sexual harassment”,

“intimate partner violence”, “sexual abuse”, “sexually abuse”, “sexually abusing”,

((wewe, wee, nataka, “uko na”, nita*, “ako na”,

ana, naomba, nipee, peana, nadai, pea*) AND

(rape, “r?pe”, ass, baka, bakwa, manyako, tomb*,

kubakwa, kuma, “nyash”, milaya, poko,

nadai, nipee, kuzama, nizame,

(mechi NOT (mpira, ligi, odds, CAF, Yanga, game)),

fira, malaya, “want to be raped”, “toa mimba”,

matako, pochi, “smash you”, “stick to”, pudesh,

kinembe, “body count”, pussy, pussies, ti??ies, nyondo*,

matit*, kuni, rungu, s?tick, stick, f?ck*, “thic*”))))

<<< Personalities >>>

AND (@JulieGichuru, “Julie Gichuru”, @MwendeFrey, “Mwende Frey”, @BevalyneKwambo3, “Bevalyne”, @murugi_munyi, “Murugi Munyi”, “Yummy mummy”, @thee_Pluto, Sidika, @thatchickLynda, “Lynda Nyangweso”, “Linda Nyangweso”, @NatalieGithinji, “Natalie Githinji”, @GraceMsalamé, Msalamé, @kate_Actress_, “Kate Actress”, @tats_kenya, “Tatiana Karanja”, @CeceSagini, “Cece Sagini”, @OwinoSueh, Sueh, @sheilaajjie, @MamaRachelRuto, “Rachel Ruto”, @Kipyegon_Faith, “Faith Kipyegon”, @Nakhumicha_S, “Nakhumicha”, @Wavinya_Ndeti, “Wavinya Ndeti”, Iam_ronoh, “Ronoh Chebet”, @MillyWaJesus, “wa Jesus”, “wa jeso”, @jacque_maribe, Maribe, @jmatubia, Matubia, @LilytheGenie, @CarolineMutoko, “Mutoko”, “Caroline Mutoko”, @MathaiWanjira, “Mathai Wanjira”, @wawiranjiru, @njokindungu_LJ, @AnneWaiguru, Waiguru, @Adelleo, Adelle, @AzziadNasenya, Azziad, @wahukagwi, Wahu, @Size8reb,n, “Size 8”, @VickyRubadiri, “Vict,ia Rubadiri”, @SN_Hassan, “Sarah Hassan”, @nadia_mukami, Nadia, @JahmbyKoikai, “Njambi Koikai”, @Fena_menal, “Fena”, @ElsaAngel19, Elsa, Majimbo, @BettyMKyallo, “Betty Kyallo”, “Betty Kyalo”, @Misskih,o, “Patricia Kih,o”, @Kambua, Kambua, @TerryanneChebet, “Terryanne Chebet”, @Lillian_Muli, “Lilian Muli”, “Lillian Muli”, @gladyswanga, “Gladys Wanga”, @EstherPassaris, Passaris, @TabithaKaranja, “Tabitha Karanja”, Keroche, @njeriburugu1, Burugu, @Doct,Gladys, @wandiagichuru, @Michellemorgan, @AngieNicoleOD, @evedsouza, @MsCathyPhiri, @Sonalmaherali, @kenyanpundit, “Ory Okolloh”, @JuneGachui, @AngelWaititu, “Maureen Waititu”, @paulinenjoroge, “Pauline Njoroge”, @MichelleNtalami, Ntalami, @Diana_Bahati, “Diana Bahati”, @lynn_ngugil, “Lynn Ngugi”, @karennnyamunbo, “Karen Nyamu”, Samido, Samidoh, @charlruto, “Charlene Ruto”, @AkotheeKenya, Akothee, @KameneGoro, Kamene, @IamKwambox, Kwambox, @zubeida_koome, @sabina_chege, “Sabina Chege”, @MwalimuRachel, “Mwalimu Rachel”, @Natalie_Tewa, “Natalie Tewa”, @lizwala, Amakove, @MarthaKarua, Karua, @Anitanderu, @KING_KALALA, Kalala, MDQ, @muthoniDQ, @Nikita_Kering, Kering, @BrendaWairimu, “Brenda Wairimu”, @Joey_Muthengi, @shixkapienga, @AnneKiguta, “Anne Kiguta”, @MillicentOmanga, Omanga, @AnerlisaMuigai, “Anerlisa Muigai”, “Analisa Muigai”, @olivegachara, “Olive Gachara”, @aminaabdirabar, “Abdi Rabar”, Abdirabar, @JustIvyAfrica, “Just Ivy”, @GladysShollei, Shollei,

“Tracy Wanjiru”, @TracyWanjiru_, @Sanaipei_Tande, Sanaipei, @MercyMasika, “Mercy Masika”, @JoyceOmondi, “Joyce Omondi”, @PierraM, “DJ Pierra”, “Pierra Makena”, @talliaoyando, “Tallia Oyando”, “Talia Oyando”, @M_della, “Della Mbaya”, Della, @OBurrows, @NjeriWaMigwi, “NjeriwaMigwi”, “Njeri * Migwi”, @hon_faithmwaura, “Faith Mwaura”, @LuluHassan, “Lulu Hassan”, @AwinjaNyamwalo, Awinja, “Jackie Vike”, “Jacky Vike”, @maureenkunga, (Maureen NEAR/7 Elani), “Maureen Kunga”, @StellaMwangi, STL, @Victoria_Kimani, “Victoria Kimani”, @hon_wamuchomba, Wamuchomba, @MKapombe, Kapombe, @Femi_One, “Femi one”, @MercyKyallo, “Mercy Kyallo”, “Mercy Kyalo”, @CarolRadull, Radull, @JamilaMohamed, “Jamila Mohamed”, @Gladys_Gachanja, “Gladys Gachanja”, @KirigoNgarua, @M_Chidzuga, Mwanaisha, @janetmachuka_, “Janet Machuka”, @wfayzah, “Faizah wanjiru”, @Shikohkihika, “Shiko Kihika”, “Shikoh Kihika”, @susankihika, “Susan Kihika”, @janengoiri, “Jane Ngoiri”, @Winnie_Odinga, “Winnie Odinga”, @brendamulinya, “Brenda Mulinya”, @CiruMuriuki, “Ciru Muriuki”, @kush_tracey, “Kush Tracy”, “kitt kiarie”, “@themisstiramisu”, “Michelle ‘Shikie’ Wanjiku”)

<<< Irrelevant Mentions >>>

NOT (merchandise*, laptop*, shoes, phone*, “lucky winner*”, odds,
bet, Whatsapp, stake, 07*, (“+” NEAR/2 254*), 254*, download, Kes*, Ksh*,
GG, Promo, Promocode, “ vs “, Mpesa, Winning, Paybill, Airtime, price)

