Universidade do Minho
Escola de Psicologia

Filipa da Silva Pereira

Ciberassédio na adolescência: Prevalência(s), reações à vitimação e mediação parental

outubro de 2015

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Ciberassédio na adolescência: Prevalência(s), reações à vitimação e mediação parental

Tese de Doutoramento em Psicologia Aplicada

Trabalho efetuado sob orientação da
Professora Doutora Marlene Matos

outubro de 2015

DECLARAÇÃO

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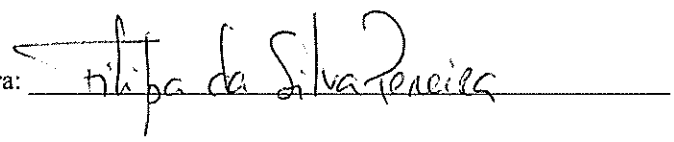
Assinatura: 

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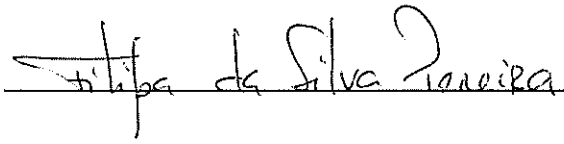
Assinatura: 

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CIBERASSÉDIO NA ADOLESCÊNCIA:

PREVALÊNCIA(S), REAÇÕES À VITIMAÇÃO E MEDIAÇÃO PARENTAL

RESUMO

Cada vez mais jovens têm acesso às novas tecnologias de informação e comunicação (TIC), maximizando-se o número de oportunidades de informação e de interação. Esse avanço tecnológico e societal tem colocado, contudo, novos dilemas, designadamente a ocorrência de ciberassédio. A investigação neste campo de estudo recente - o ciberassédio na adolescência - enfrenta diversos desafios, persistindo uma pluralidade de lacunas conceptuais e metodológicas a nível (inter)nacional.

A presente dissertação tem como principal objetivo mapear e identificar a natureza da vitimação por ciberassédio e por *cyberstalking* na adolescência. Investigar os fatores preditores da cibervitimação, discutir o papel do medo na definição de vitimação por via do *cyberstalking* e compreender o processo de mediação parental na gestão do risco *online* dos adolescentes, são objetivos adicionais e, igualmente, fundamentais.

O primeiro capítulo, de conceção teórica, apresenta o estado da arte atualizado sobre o cibercrime e o ciberassédio na adolescência, destacando-se os elementos sociais, psicológicos e digitais centrais para a compreensão destes fenómenos. Da revisão da literatura, sobressai a existência de uma diversidade de formas, estratégias e dinâmicas de vitimação *online*. À luz das atuais perspetivas teóricas no domínio da Vitimologia, reflete-se criticamente sobre os potenciais fatores de risco para a vitimação online. O segundo trabalho, igualmente de caráter mais conceptual (capítulo IV), teve como intuito proceder à demarcação do conceito de *cyberstalking*. Nele discute-se a ambiguidade da sua definição, os principais obstáculos ao seu estudo junto da população adolescente e o potencial nocivo que a vitimação por *cyberstalking* encerra. Em paralelo, elabora-se uma discussão crítica sobre os diferentes pontos de convergência e de divergência entre os fenómenos de *cyberstalking* e de *cyberbullying* na adolescência.

Relativamente aos trabalhos empíricos, o primeiro estudo (capítulo II) teve como propósito captar a experiência de ciberassédio, com particular incidência no estudo dos seus intervenientes, dinâmicas e reações à vitimação (i.e., sentimento de medo e procura de ajuda). A amostra era constituída por 627 adolescentes (12-16 anos de idade). Através de um inquérito de autorrelato, concluiu-se que o ciberassédio é uma experiência comum entre os adolescentes (60.8% foi vítima), sendo que 66.1% das vítimas reportou estar duplamente envolvida enquanto vítima-agressor (i.e.,

overlap). Cerca de 24% foi alvo de ciberassédio durante 2 ou mais semanas, 37% manifestaram medo e 45.9% procurou ajuda após o ciberassédio. O segundo estudo empírico (capítulo III) identificou os fatores preditores da vitimação online. Com base na mesma amostra, realizou-se uma análise de regressão logística. Os resultados corroboraram a relevância da teoria dos estilos de vida e de rotina *online* na compreensão da cibervitimação. Adolescentes mais velhos, que reportaram um maior número de comportamentos de risco e de agressão, e uma menor "tutela" parental, apresentaram uma vulnerabilidade face à vitimação significativamente superior aos restantes adolescentes. O terceiro estudo empírico (capítulo IV), teve como propósito estudar uma modalidade da vitimação *online* que tem sido negligenciada pela literatura da especialidade: ser alvo de *cyberstalking* na adolescência e a problematização do critério "medo". Os resultados confirmaram que o *cyberstalking* é uma forma agravada de ciberassédio (42.4% das vítimas manifestou medo após a vitimação) e igualmente prevalente entre os adolescentes inquiridos (61.9% reportou ser vítima). A partir de uma análise de regressão logística concluiu-se que o medo resulta da interação complexa entre variáveis demográficas associadas ao próprio adolescente (i.e., ser rapariga), às dinâmicas da vitimação (i.e. persistência, tipo de comportamentos experienciados) e às características do ciberagressor (i.e., ser homem e mais velho). Consequentemente, considerou-se crítico assumir o medo como uma resposta inevitável à vitimação ou como elemento-chave na delimitação entre vítimas e não vítimas. No último estudo empírico (capítulo VI) explorámos as perceções de pais e filhos sobre os comportamentos de risco *online*, a cibervitimação, as estratégias de mediação parental e a sua eficácia. Das 385 díades pais-filhos analisadas, concluiu-se que os pais minimizam a prática de comportamentos de risco *online* e de experiências de ciberassédio, enquanto os adolescentes subestimam o grau de mediação parental que é exercido. A par disso, concluiu-se que o exercício da mediação parental e a perceção de eficácia dos pais variam em função da idade e do sexo dos adolescentes: as raparigas e os adolescentes mais novos foram alvo de maior mediação parental e percecionaram um maior grau de eficácia parental.

A presente dissertação finaliza com a discussão integrada dos principais contributos e implicações para a investigação e para a prática profissional decorrentes dos resultados obtidos. Recomendações dirigidas a adolescentes, famílias e escolas, são, igualmente, avançadas e discutidas.

CYBER-HARASSMENT IN ADOLESCENCE:
PREVALENCE, REACTIONS TO VICTIMIZATION AND PARENTAL MEDIATION

ABSTRACT

An increasing number of young people have access to the new information and communication technologies (ICT), maximizing the quantity of information and interaction opportunities that they have. However, this technological and social advance has brought new dilemmas, such as the advent of cyber-harassment. Research in this recent field of study – cyber-harassment in adolescence - faces several challenges, persisting a plurality of conceptual and methodological (inter)national gaps.

This dissertation aims to map and to identify the nature of victimization by cyber-harassment and by cyberstalking in adolescence. Investigate predictors of cyber-victimization, discuss the role of fear in the definition of victimization via cyberstalking and understanding the process of parental mediation in the management of an adolescent's online risk, are also, critical goals.

The first chapter presents the updated state of the art of cybercrime and cyber-harassment in adolescence, highlighting the central social, psychological and digital elements to understand these phenomena. From the literature review, emerges the existence of a diversity of forms, strategies and dynamics of online victimization. In the light of the current theoretical perspectives in the field of Victimology, we reflect critically on the potential risk factors of online victimization. The second work (chapter IV), intends to carry out the definition of the cyberstalking concept. In this chapter we discuss the ambiguity of this concept, the main barriers to their study amongst the adolescent population and the potential harm of cyberstalking victimization. In parallel, we elaborate a critical discussion on the different points of convergence and divergence between cyberstalking and cyberbullying phenomena in adolescence.

Regarding to empirical works, the first study (chapter II) aims to capture the experience of cyber-harassment, focusing particularly on the study of their actors, dynamics and reactions to victimization (i.e. the feeling of fear and seeking help). The sample consisted of 627 adolescents (12-16 years old). Through a self-report survey, we concluded that cyber-harassment is a common experience among adolescents (60.8% were victims), and 66.1% of victims reported being doubly involved as victim-aggressors (i.e., overlap). About 24% were a target of cyber-harassment for 2 weeks or more, 37% reported fear and 45.9% were seeking help after cyber-harassment

victimization. The second empirical study (chapter III) identified predictors of online victimization. Based on the same sample, a logistic regression analysis was performed. The results confirmed the importance of online lifestyle-routine activities on understanding online victimization. Older adolescents, who reported a higher number of risky behaviors and aggression, and a lesser parental "guardianship", presented a vulnerability to victimization significantly higher than the other adolescents. The third empirical study (chapter IV), aims to study a modality of online victimization that has been neglected by the literature on this subject: being victim of cyberstalking in adolescence and the problematization of the "fear" criterion. Results confirmed that cyberstalking is an aggravated form of cyber-harassment (42.4% of victims reported fear after victimization) and equally prevalent among the surveyed adolescents (61.9% reported being a victim). From a logistic regression analysis, it was concluded that fear results from a complex interaction between demographic variables associated with the adolescent (i.e. being a girl), to the dynamics of victimization (i.e., persistence, type of behaviors experienced), and to the cyber-aggressor's characteristics (i.e., being a man and older). Consequently, we consider to be critical to assume fear as an unavoidable reaction to victimization or as a key element in the delimitation of boundaries between victims and non-victims. The last empirical study (chapter VI) explored the parental and adolescents' perceptions about online risky behaviors, cyber-victimization, parental mediation strategies and their effectiveness. From the 385 dyads of parent-child analyzed, we concluded that parents minimize the existence of online risky behaviors and cyber-harassment experiences, while adolescents underestimate the level of parental mediation implemented. In addition, we found that the exercise of parental mediation and the perception on parental efficacy vary according to adolescent's sex and age: girls and younger adolescents were targeted by higher parental mediation and perceived a greater level of parental effectiveness.

This dissertation concludes with a discussion on the major contributions and implications for research and practice arising from the obtained results. Recommendations addressed to adolescents, families and schools, are also advanced and discussed.

ÍNDICE DE CONTEÚDOS

ÍNDICE DE TABELAS

LISTA DE PUBLICAÇÕES

A presente dissertação é constituída pelas seguintes publicações originais, correspondentes aos capítulos da tese:

CAPÍTULO I

Pereira, F., Matos, M., & Sampaio, M. (2014). Cyber-crimes against adolescents: Bridges between psychological and a design approach. In M. M. Cruz-Cunha & I. M. Portela (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Digital Crime, Cyberspace Security, and Information Assurance* (pp. 211-230). Pennsylvania, USA: IGI Global. doi:10.4018/978-1-4666-6324-4.ch014

CAPÍTULO II

Pereira, F., Spitzberg, B., & Matos, M. (2015, aceite para publicação). Cyber-harassment victimization in Portugal: Prevalence, fear and help-seeking among adolescents. *Computers in Human Behavior* (Fator de impacto 2.694; Quartil 1).

CAPÍTULO III

Pereira, F., Spitzberg, B., & Matos, M. (2015). *Predictors of adolescent cyber-harassment victimization applying lifestyle-routine activities: Are there red flags?* Manuscrito submetido para publicação.

CAPÍTULO IV

Pereira, F., & Matos, M. (2015). Cyberstalking entre adolescentes: Uma nova forma de assédio e perseguição? *Psicologia, Saúde & Doenças, 16*, 57-69. doi:10.15309/15psd160207

CAPÍTULO V

Pereira, F., & Matos, M. (2015). Cyberstalking victimization: What predicts fear among Portuguese adolescents? *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 1-18. doi:10.1007/s10610-015-9285-7 (Fator de impacto .419; Quartil 2).

CAPÍTULO VI

Pereira, F., Spitzberg, B., & Matos, M. (2015). *Comparing parent's and adolescent's perceptions about the adolescent's online risks and parental mediation*. Manuscrito submetido para publicação.

INTRODUÇÃO

O crime, enquanto prática de conduta antijurídica e condenável, persiste desde o início da civilização humana, representando um aspeto caro da sociedade e, por isso, objeto de preocupação generalizada (Hollin, 2013). Com o advento e a massificação das tecnologias de comunicação e informação, vulgo TIC (e.g., Internet, computador, portátil, telemóvel, tablet), o crime passou do domínio físico para o domínio *online*, configurando incidentes de cibercrime.

Entre a diversidade de epifenómenos que o cibercrime engloba (Kim, Jeong, Kim, & So, 2011; Kraemer-Mbula, Tang, & Rush, 2013), a presente dissertação centra-se especificamente no estudo do ciberassédio. Devido à heterogeneidade de comportamentos que o ciberassédio pode incluir (e.g., *sexting*, bullying, *stalking*), a definição e a sua demarcação conceptual, enquanto conceito científico, representa um desafio para os/as investigadores/as que adoptam este fenómeno como objeto de estudo.

O ciberassédio, também denominado de assédio *online* ou ciberagressão, refere-se a um padrão de agressão interpessoal, repetida, persistente e indesejada, mediado via TIC (Bilic, 2013; Hazelwood & Koon-Magnin, 2013). Assim, por definição, o ciberassédio situa-nos num novo contexto: o ciberespaço. Importa, por isso, destacar o que é peculiar na arquitetura deste submundo: a possibilidade de anonimato, a comunicação assincrónica e evasiva, a vasta audiência e a ubiquidade da vitimação/agressão (Boyd, 2014). As expressões amplamente difundidas "You Don't Know Me" e "You Can't See Me" parecem corroborar essa arquitetura, surgindo como mote encorajador para uma certa "desinibição comportamental" (Suler, 2004) e, consequentemente, a perpetração do ciberassédio isenta de medo de sanções ou represálias significativas (Berson & Berson, 2005).

Ser alvo de ciberassédio significa a omnipresença indesejada do agressor, muitas vezes desconhecido (Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2006) e a possível vivência sob uma potencial ameaça, na entropia de um novo ataque. Não obstante, o facto de o ciberassédio não antever o confronto físico direto entre a vítima e o agressor culmina muitas vezes em discursos sociais de banalização, minimização da violência *online*, e/ou de normalização de condutas facilmente censuradas se enquadradas no mundo tangível (Mishna, Saini, & Solomon, 2009). O ciberespaço parece, assim, transformar os comportamentos dos seus utilizadores e moldar as suas reações e interpretações.

Apesar do ciberassédio ser um fenómeno muito recente, várias investigações dentro deste campo recente da Vitimologia têm revelado a sua expressão crescente, designadamente em faixas etárias cada vez mais precoces. Finkelhor, Mitchell, e Wolak (2000) conduziram o primeiro estudo

conhecido sobre vitimação *online* junto das populações mais jovens (10 - 17 anos de idade). Concluíram que 6% dos adolescentes americanos foram vítimas de assédio *online*, pelo menos uma vez ao longo da vida. Por sua vez, na Europa destaca-se o trabalho de referência que tem vindo a ser desenvolvido pela rede EU Kids Online. No seu estudo, os adolescentes portugueses reportaram uma prevalência de vitimação igual a 7%, comparativamente à média europeia de 12% (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, & Ólafsson, 2011).

É precisamente no estudo do ciberassédio junto dessa "nova" comunidade de vítimas, a dos adolescentes, que esta dissertação incide. A escolha do estudo do ciberassédio na adolescência como objeto de estudo justificou-se não só pela progressiva e preocupante expressão da vitimação *online* documentada pela literatura internacional nesse grupo etário, mas também pela escassez de estudos realizados em Portugal, o que pode comprometer os desenvolvimentos, no plano nacional, no domínio da prevenção e da intervenção (Simões, Ponte, Ferreira, Doretto, & Azevedo, 2014). O facto da população adolescente apresentar características propícias para uma maior vulnerabilidade ao nível da violência associada ao uso das TIC foi outro fator crucial para esta escolha. Especificamente, a adolescência enquanto período evolutivo de vida que ocorre entre os 10 e os 19 anos de idade, é uma fase na qual diversas experiências desenvolvimentais ocorrem (OMS, 2014). Adicionalmente, a adolescência é marcada pelo processo de construção de identidades (e.g., pessoal, social, sexual) e de descoberta, de si, dos outros e do universo. Deste modo, apesar de nascidos "em efervescência do conceito de virtualidade" (Reis, Ramiro, & Matos, 2013, p. 121), os adolescentes não detêm as habilidades sociocognitivas necessárias à reflexão sobre a complexidade do mundo virtual, a relação entre comportamento e consequência e nem mesmo à compreensão do poder de tomada de decisão relacionado com o comportamento *online* (OMS, 2014). Ainda assim, cada vez mais, os jovens aderem às TIC e às redes sociais em particular, percecionando-as como um ambiente altamente profícuo para exercitar e explorar os seus "projectos do eu" (Giddens, 1991; Livingstone & Brake, 2012).

Paralelamente, a interdependência entre as oportunidades e os riscos inerentes à natureza experimental da comunicação virtual tem estimulado o debate sobre a necessidade de uma navegação digital mediada pelos pais. Diversos estudos (e.g., Baumrind, 1991; Helsper, Kalmus, Hasebrink, Sagvari, & Haan, 2013; Liu, Fang, Deng, & Zhang, 2012; Livingstone & Helsper, 2008) têm amplamente documentado que, embora os jovens se tornem cada vez mais autónomos durante a adolescência, a mediação parental pode cumprir um papel *pivot* na restrição da suscetibilidade adolescente e na prevenção de comportamentos de risco online. No entanto,

segundo Rosen, Cheever, e Carrier (2008), pais e filhos divergem nas suas perceções sobre os comportamentos de risco *online*, com implicações para a resolução de situações danosas que lhes dizem respeito. A existência de um fosso geracional no conhecimento e na utilização da Internet é outro fator que pode dificultar o processo de mediação parental e a respetiva prevenção da vitimação (cf. Valcke, De Wever, Van Keer, & Schellens, 2011). No presente trabalho mostrou-se, desde logo, relevante um olhar sobre os pais desses adolescentes, para uma compreensão contextualizada e sistémica das práticas digitais e dos riscos *online* em que os adolescentes incorrem. A parca atenção científica deste objeto de estudo em Portugal e a lacuna de medidas nacionais que promovam respostas de mediação parental *online* adaptadas a estes paradigmas em mudança foram também motes inspiradores para o interesse por esse domínio. A inclusão dos pais no presente estudo permitiu ampliar as questões de investigação iniciais e, na nossa perspetiva, ao ser inovador enriqueceu a nossa análise do fenómeno.

Este trabalho pretende, desse modo, produzir conhecimento integrado e contextualizado sobre a temática do ciberassédio vivido na adolescência, na sua relação com as atividades digitais adolescentes, com as práticas de mediação parental e com o background sociocultural e político que particulariza a vitimação dos adolescentes portugueses por via do ciberassédio. A preocupação em examinar o contexto mais amplo desta forma de vitimação e em compreender como é que o processo de vitimação dos adolescentes se (re)constrõe nas suas várias relações com o meio envolvente, situa o presente estudo na última vaga da Vitimologia: a Vitimologia crítica (Spalek, 2006; Walklate, 1992). Avançamos também algumas recomendações em termos de políticas e boas práticas, das indústrias aos governos, não descurando o insubstimável papel das famílias e das escolas. O pragmatismo deste trabalho, enquanto elo entre a teoria e a prática, foi sem dúvida uma das exigências que norteou todo o processo de investigação. Nesse sentido, podemos enquadrá-lo no âmbito da Vitimologia Aplicada.

A presente dissertação está organizada em dois capítulos teóricos e quatro empíricos, correspondendo cada um deles a um artigo científico já publicado ou submetido a uma revista de circulação internacional, conforme informação disponível ao longo desta dissertação. Os estudos desenvolvidos foram concebidos sequencialmente, respondendo a questões de investigação e hipóteses específicas. Nesse sentido, assiste-se a uma intertextualidade entre os artigos produzidos. A leitura da presente dissertação reflete um percurso de investigação pautado por um conhecimento que se pretendeu alcançar, gradualmente, mais consistente, mais aprofundado e

focao em torno do objeto de estudo - o ciberassédio nas suas variadas formas de expressão, resposta e prevenção.

O primeiro capítulo, de conceção teórica, tem como objetivo contribuir, a partir de uma perspetiva dialógica entre a Psicologia e o *Design*, para uma visão global e integrada e muldisciplinar sobre a pluralidade de fenómenos que o cibercrime engloba, destacando o complexo campo do ciberassédio. Produz-se uma descrição objetiva sobre esta temática, apresentando dados que atestam a sua proliferação entre os adolescentes e que caracterizam as particularidades desse tipo de vitimação. Adicionalmente, discriminam-se alguns dos fatores de risco e protetores, bem como as principais teorias explicativas no domínio da Vitimologia que são úteis para um maior entendimento sobre a etiologia do ciberassédio. Finaliza-se aludindo a algumas estratégias de prevenção do cibercrime na adolescência com vista a influenciar políticas, nomeadamente ao nível de *design* digital.

O capítulo II corresponde ao primeiro estudo empírico, desenvolvido junto de uma amostra de adolescentes entre os 12 e os 16 anos de idade. Neste, toma-se como objeto de estudo a vitimação por via do ciberassédio. A partir da noção de que os comportamentos de ciberassédio podem surgir no decurso de qualquer interação *online*, independentemente do perfil dos seus intervenientes, procura-se captar a prevalência da sua experiência e uma 'radiografia' das dinâmicas, dos respetivos intervenientes e das respostas à vitimação (i.e., medo e procura de ajuda), tendo em conta a possibilidade de sobreposição de papéis entre vítimas e agressores (i.e. overlap ou duplo envolvimento).

O capítulo III corresponde ao segundo estudo empírico e resulta da necessidade de conhecer os fatores preditores do ciberassédio, uma vez que o estudo de prevalência anterior demonstrou que esta é uma experiência bastante comum na adolescência e com consequências importantes ao nível psicossocial. Atendendo à escassez de estudos (inter)nacionais nesta área teoricamente fundamentados, o presente capítulo discute o modo que a vitimação por ciberassédio, vivida na adolescência, pode ser compreendida a partir da teoria dos estilos de vida-atividades de rotina online (Eck & Clark, 2003).

Os capítulos IV e V direcionam o leitor para uma faceta específica do ciberassédio: o *cyberstalking*. Este foco fundamentou-se nos níveis preocupantes de violência em contexto *online* reportadas no capítulo II. Na data em que se projetaram estes estudos, nem o *stalking* nem o *cyberstalking* gozavam do necessário reconhecimento científico ou jurídico no contexto português.

Apenas em 2011 se publicou o primeiro inquérito de vitimação sobre *stalking* em Portugal (Matos, Grangeia, Ferreira, & Azevedo, 2010) e em 2013 se iniciaram os primeiros debates na Assembleia da República com vista à criminalização do *stalking*, vindo esta a efetivar-se em Agosto de 2015 através do crime de "perseguição" (Art.º 154-A, decreto n.º 382/XII, de 23 de julho). Dar a necessária e urgente atenção científica e social ao *cyberstalking* e contribuir para os debates ativos a nível (inter)nacional sobre a inevitabilidade do critério medo para a sua definição legal (e.g., Matos, Grangeia, Ferreira, & Azevedo, 2012; Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002; Purcell, Pathé, & Mullen, 2004), contribuíram também para o enfoque nesse epifenómeno da cibervitimação ao longo desta dissertação. No entanto, não seria útil avançar para um estudo empírico sobre o *cyberstalking* na adolescência sem antes abordar a ambiguidade da sua definição e discutir a sua demarcação conceptual do conceito de *cyberbullying*, largamente difundido e reconhecido no contexto português. O capítulo IV, de carácter teórico, tem precisamente esse objetivo. Por sua vez, o capítulo V, de natureza empírica, produz uma análise das dinâmicas do *cyberstalking* vividas na adolescência, dos perfis dos seus atores e do medo como resposta face ao *cyberstalking*. Reflete-se, ainda, de forma crítica e empiricamente fundamentada, através de uma análise de preditores, sobre as implicações do medo enquanto critério-chave para a demarcação entre ser ou não vítima.

O capítulo VI é o último capítulo empírico desta dissertação. Este inclui duas amostras - os pais e os adolescentes -, produzindo-se uma análise centrada na díade pai-adolescente. Pretende-se conhecer os comportamentos de risco online em que os adolescentes incorrem, quais as consequências negativas que daí resultam, e de que forma os pais interferem nessa interação entre o adolescente e as TIC. Conhecer a perceção dos pais e dos adolescentes sobre as práticas *online* da outra face da díade, contrastando-os, foi outro dos objetivos. Este *design* de investigação permite-nos identificar disparidades e semelhanças nas respostas da díade, proporcionando um conhecimento maior sobre a realidade portuguesa.

Esta dissertação encerra com uma discussão crítica e integradora dos principais contributos conceptuais, empíricos e metodológicos e macrossociais, elencando-se igualmente diretrizes para investigações futuras no campo da Vitimologia.

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CAPÍTULO I

CYBER-CRIMES AGAINST ADOLESCENTS: BRIDGES BETWEEN PSYCHOLOGICAL AND A DESIGN APPROACH[1]

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CAPÍTULO I

CYBER-CRIMES AGAINST ADOLESCENTS:

BRIDGES BETWEEN PSYCHOLOGICAL AND A DESIGN APPROACH

Abstract

At young ages there is an increase in reports of intimidation, harassment, intrusion, fear, and violence experienced through Information Technologies (IT). Hacking, spamming, identity theft, child pornography, cyberbullying, and cyberstalking are just few examples of cyber-crimes. This chapter aims to contribute, from a psychological and design perspective, to an integrative viewpoint about this complex field of cyber-crime. In this chapter, the most common types of cyber-crimes, epidemiological data, and the profiles of cyber-victims and aggressors' are approached. The studies that identify the factors contributing to IT misuse and to growing online vulnerability, principally in adolescents, are also discussed. Likewise, the central explanatory theories for the online victimization and the risk factors for victimization and perpetration online are addressed. Finally, some cyber-crime prevention strategies are anticipated, in particular among young people, seeking to provide clues to the consolidation of recent policies, namely at the digital design level.

Introduction

During the last 15th years, the Internet and the other ITs have radically transformed the world, mainly in terms of communication and social interaction. In areas such as science, education, health, public administration, commerce and the development of the global net, the Internet offers an unmatched variety of benefits. Therefore, information technologies turn out to be a communication tool deep rooted in the quotidian of world population. This applies especially to youths who present high indices of utilization and digital skills (Haddon, Livingstone, & EU Kids Online network, 2012; Madden et al., 2013). In this way, it is not surprising, as IT imposes as a mean of mass communication, the increase in reports of harm, intimidation, harassment and violence experienced through IT: experiences commonly known as cyber-crime (Dempsey, Sulkowsk, Dempsey, & Storch, 2011).

Cyber-crime is a concept that integrates a set of activities related to the use of telecommunications networks for criminal purposes (Kraemer-Mbula, Tang, & Rush, 2013) and it is described in the Portuguese law nº 109/2009 of 15th of September. It can comprises a diversity of (1) anti-social activities, such as those supported by computers (e.g., sending spam, malware) and (2) offenses aimed at a specific target (e.g., cyberstalking, cyberbullying; Kim, Jeong, Kim, & So, 2011). To accomplish cyber-crime activities, there are a variety of manipulation techniques (e.g., bribe, threat) and different ways through which Internet users can find themselves involved in risk behaviors (e.g., contact with strangers, the sharing of personal information; Whittle, Hamilton-Giachritsis, Beech, & Collings, 2013). However, the Portuguese penal code only contemplates as cyber-crime, anti-social activities supported by computer (material damages of technical content). In contrast to what happens in the United States, for example, cyberstalking or cyberbulling is not criminalized in the Portuguese law as a criminal offense, being only possible to criminalize individual actions that make up this form of persistent persecution and harassment (e.g., threats, identity theft and invasion of privacy).

The Internet turned into a space in which the more traditional crimes may take new forms and prosper in a totally immaterial environment (Clarke, 2004). The criminal activities that previously required the physical presence of his actors, in a place and specific time, are now possible independently of the physical location or time (Reyns, 2013). Because of this, the mysticism that surrounds the cyberspace and the anonymous nature of Internet means that individuals with reduced likelihood to start a criminal act in the real context (e.g., children and

adolescents) can easily began to have a high probability to do so in the online context (McGrath & Casey, 2002).

As acknowledged previously, with the diffusion of IT, there is a tendency for cyber-crime to increase, both in its frequency as in the sophistication of the acts and techniques to commit it. However, it is not possible to eradicate this side of the online world. Thus, the solution is to investigate those new forms of cyber-aggression in order to understand, control and minimize potential forms of cybernetic victimization and their impact (physical, mental and social health loss; Marinos et al., 2011).

Despite cyber-crime being looked at with a growing scientific interest, this has not been sufficiently reflected from the psychological approach, which may have an important role in understanding the key factors that allow an early identification of features and enables the prediction of the course and evolution of these behaviors.

Cyber-crime is substantially different from traditional crimes, since it benefits from the timelessness, the possibility of anonymity and the absence of a restricted space (Yar, 2005). There are several theories that have been developing explanations about cyber-crime, including the routine activity theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979), the general theory of crime (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990) and the social learning theory (Skinner & Fream, 1997).

After exploring the cyber-victims and aggressors' profiles, we address the main contributions of the above-mentioned theories for the understanding of the data related to cyber-aggressors and cyber-victims. The recognition of the steps implicated on cyber-crime and the conditions that facilitate it, permits allows the development of preventive actions towards cyber-crime (Clarke, 2004).

This chapter is organized as follows: the first part describes the literature background about cyber-crime in general population, specifically against IT devices and against IT users. Part two analyzes cyber-crime against adolescents, discussing common cyber-crimes typologies and targets, and risk factors for cyber-victimization in adolescence are also discussed. Subsequently, various issues and controversies are discussed (e.g., strengths and weaknesses) related to psychological and digital approaches to cyber-crime against adolescents. The role of the victim, the aggressor, the digital environment, and the importance of parental involvement in cyber-crime prevention are problematized. Finally, solutions and future directions to achieve enhanced security of adolescents are addressed.

Background

The Norton cyber-crime report (2011), carried out by Symantec-Norton, concludes that more than 2/3 of online adults (69%) were victims of cyber-crime throughout their lives, which is equivalent to more than a million victims per day and 14 victims per second. In 2012 the Norton Cyber-crime Report documented worsening in cyber-victimization to 18 victims per second. At the same time, during the year of 2010, cyber-crime grew 337% in Portugal and in Spain, which corresponds to nine million cyber-attacks (Kasperksy Lab, 2010). The most common targets are, according to the aforementioned study, men between 18 and 31 years, who access the Internet often via cell phone.

According to Bossler and Holt (2010), sending malicious software (e.g., spam, malware) is the most common type of cyber-crime. Their study shows that 37% of American college students ($N = 573$) have experienced this type of victimization during the year of 2009. More specifically, 16.8% was a target of password theft; 9.8% experienced the improper access to their computer data and 4.4% was victim of credit card theft through electronic means. In relation to these forms of theft, invasion and misuse, spamming, phishing and hacking are the three most common ways to acquire sensitive data (e.g., usernames, passwords, banking information) towards financial gain and scams (e.g., obtain goods and services or sell information to other cyber-aggressors; Kraemer-Mbula et al., 2013). The number of spammers has grown exponentially and the new trend points to the growing use of social networking sites (e.g., Facebook, MySpace) for the diffusion of indiscriminate messages, inducing Internet users to access web pages with malware (e.g., virus, worms, Trojan horses, spyware; Kraemer-Mbula et al., 2013). In turn, phishing is a sophisticated form of spam that appears many times through an email of an apparent reliable entity. Hacking happens when a non-authorized person breaks into a computer (Holt, 2007). This last strategy is generally known as cyber-terrorism and is achieved through the application of specific tools that requires superior programming skills to the earlier mentioned forms of digital crime (Kraemer-Mbula et al., 2013).

Despite the existence of various anti-virus software, encryption and fraud detection, the ENISA Threat Landscape Report (Marinos, 2013) assumes that we are witnessing a growing proficiency, sophistication and effectiveness by cyber-criminals that outweigh the protection and preventive mechanisms. In addition, the current literature has pointed to the combination of online methods (e.g., through Trojans, phishing, hacking) with offline methods (e.g., intercepting mail and bank documents, verification of the victims personal garbage) for accessing private information

and for the execution of identity theft and other frauds, which may indicate more effectiveness and extent of the illegal practices committed (Kraemer-Mbula et al., 2013).

Considering its consequences, data from the Norton cyber-crime annual report (2012) indicate that the cost of cyber-crimes supported by computer has as principal aggressors and targets adults' population and it ascends to 110 billion dollars annually. It illustrates the vast business and economic impact of this emerging phenomenon. Besides adults, the "actors" can also be children and adolescents, especially when we talk about the forms of cyber-crime against the person and/or their dignity (e.g., cyberstalking, cyberbullying and harassment) and it can result in important emotional and social implications at the individual level). The EU Kids Online network (2013) concluded that about 15 to 20% of online adolescents have reported significant levels of discomfort and threat regarding this form of cyber-crime experience. Because some adolescents achieve offline encounters with strangers and are targets of cyberbullying and/or cyberstalking, they are becoming more likely to experience a greater impact (Almeida, Delicado, & Alves, 2008; Bocij, 2004; Haddon et al., 2012; Helsper, Kalmus, Hasebrink, Sagvari, & Haan, 2013). Still, it is especially pertinent to point out that not all risk means negative experiences or damage to the adolescent: it depends on the individual and social factors such as self-confidence, acquired skills and mediation held, and prior experiences of victimization and / or perpetration in the cyberworld (Smahel, Helsper, Green, Kalmus, Blinka, & Ólafsson, 2012; Vandoninck, D'Haenens, & Roe, 2013).

In that context, online harassment (e.g., cyberstalking, cyberbullying) is a form of cyber-crime that involves sending threatening or sexual messages through email, instant messaging services or posts in online chats (Bocij, 2004; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002) and it can lead victims to feel fear, emotional and psychological stress, equivalent to harassment and persecution experienced in the real world (Finn, 2004). In Bossler and Holt's study (2010), online harassment was the second most common form of victimization experienced by college students (18.8%). However, the complexity of the phenomenon and the different settings and samples taken in the study of online harassment are some of the obstacles to reliable comparison of the online harassment incidence and to understand the phenomenon. The fact that this crime occurs in the virtual environment, guided by anonymity, innovation and versatility of the strategies of intrusion used, makes the understanding of online harassment and the study of the profiles of cyber-victims more complex (Pratt, Holtfreter, & Reisig, 2010; Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2007).

After the explanation of the two bigger forms of cyber-crime and respective targets this chapter presents some contributions, which are focused on cyber-crime against people as an emerging topic of concern, especially among adolescents. The type of crime (against the person and their dignity), the population, the psychological and emotional damage, as well as the invisibility of this cyber-crime typology in the Portuguese penal code, justify the relevance of this approach focus. We also expect to contribute to the acknowledgement of the necessity to develop effective strategies at the preventive level.

Cyber-Crime against Adolescents

Adolescence is a phase that is characterized by the need for sexual and moral maturity as well as the construction of identity (Subrahmanyam, Greenfield, & Tynes, 2004). The complexity involved in understanding oneself leads to an increased curiosity on specific topics (e.g., sexuality) and to the need of adolescents to extend their interpersonal relationships (e.g., make new friendships with peers or adults) and to explore multiple social and relational contexts. As a result, their social activity and exposure to different interpersonal relationships is greater (Subrahmanyam et al., 2004). In order to broaden these opportunities for socialization and development, adolescents have joined cyberspace (as a complement to the real world), specifically social networks.

Concerning the American reality, the study of Pew Internet & American Life (Madden et al., 2013) concludes that one in four adolescents, between the ages of 12-17 (N = 802) are "cell-mostly" internet users; they mostly go online using their phone instead of using some other device such as a desktop or laptop computer. Ninety-five of these adolescents used the Internet during 2012, 78% had a cell phone, and almost half (47%) of them own smartphones (Madden et al., 2013). In Europe, studies with adolescents suggest similar results. The network EU Kids Online (2011) concluded that 93% (N = 25142) of European adolescents (9-16 years) access the Internet at least once a week and 60% access all, or almost every day, and the average daily time spent online is 88 minutes. The study also documents that 59% of adolescents are registered in a social network and within those active users, 26% have the profile in public mode. The most popular networks are Facebook and Twitter, but new types of social networks continue to arise and some, like Instagram or Pinterest, begin to engage many members. In Portugal, for example, 54% of adolescents use the Internet daily and about half of the adolescents above 11 years old have reported signs of Internet overuse (the second highest value in European terms) (Smahel et al.,

2012). Smahel et al. (2012) also revealed that Portugal is one of the countries where more adolescents access the Internet in their bedrooms (67% vs. 49% of the European average) and where fewer parents access the Internet (30%), noting that youth population is the one that masters the use of IT. Based on these data, it is evident the great vulnerability of adolescents towards victimization and perpetration of negative behaviors in the virtual environment (Bilic, 2013; Wolak, Mitchel, & Finkelhor, 2006, 2007).

The Internet seems to be a virtual laboratory and a stage for a series of developments and transformations in the process of construction of adolescents' identity (Palfrey & Gasser, 2008). One of the reasons for this increasing membership and digital enhancement may be the fact that adolescents perceived too many restrictions in the real world (e.g., need for physical confrontation, geographical and temporal limitation) and/or feel rejected by the social and cultural patterns prevailing in offline world (e.g., on the sexuality theme) (Palfrey & Gasser, 2008). Adolescents need to be constantly connected to their peers may also cause a greater adherence to IT and the establishment of an increasingly positive attitude about cyberspace. However, recent estimates on Internet usage habits suggest that adolescents are sharing an increasing amount of information at different public virtual environments (Madden et al., 2013). Based on these data, and bearing in mind that the virtual environment assigns a greater fragility to information disclosed (e.g., increases the potential for manipulation, falsification and misuse), it is understandable the greater vulnerability of these adolescents to the online victimization (Bilic, 2013; Wolak et al., 2006, 2007).

So, recent estimates on adolescence cyber-crime indicate that this is a growing and transversal problem (Madden et al., 2013; Marinos, 2013; Marinos et. al., 2011; Mitchell, Finkelhor, Jones, & Wolak, 2010; Wolak et al., 2007) that may take different forms and involve several Internet resources (e.g., chat rooms, social networks, email) and mobile devices (e.g., image or text messages; Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre [CEOP], 2013; Haddon et al., 2012). However, there are still few studies on cyber-crime that answer the question of "how" and "why". Therefore the next section presents an analysis of predominant online risks among adolescents, seeking to answer the question: How do the conditions of access and use, as well as the cyber-activities, constitute risk factors for adolescent cyber-victimization?

Common cyber-crimes typology and targets

About 5722 (N = 25000) European adolescents (9-16 years) already experienced one or more online risks, being Portugal one of the European countries associated with a moderate use

and an incidence rate of low-risk online (Helsper et al., 2013). According to the EU Kids Online project, the risk exposure to sexual explicit material (e.g., pornography) seems to be the most common European threat (4 out of 10 adolescents have already experienced it). These data are in accordance with the previous European and international literature (CEOP, 2013; Marcum, 2008; Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2004; Wolak et al., 2007). In addition, the viewing of violent content (e.g., maltreatment of animals or people, real murders, torture) seems to be experienced in a proportion of 1 in every 3 adolescents. Being the target of cyberbullying and cyberstalking, for example, comes in the fourth place (in a proportion of 1 in every 5/6 online adolescents), followed by being a target of unwanted sexual comments, reported by 1 in every 10 adolescents in Germany, Ireland and Portugal. Finally, scheduling offline meetings with someone who's adolescent just met online (another adolescent or adult) seem to be one of the less common risks (1 in every 11 adolescents) (Helsper et al., 2013). This victimization sorting is also the ranking of the most reported concerns by online adolescents – biggest concern to the exposure to inappropriate content, while they are less worried about the possibility of offline meetings with someone unknown – which may go against the trend of many parents and digital prevention professionals (which typically care more about the risk of contact with strangers; Livingstone, Kirwil, Ponte, & Staksrud, 2013).

On the basis of these data, it is possible to conclude that, once online, children and adolescents have high probability to find potentially disturbing material and expose themselves to violent and/or sexual content. These data must be analyzed in the light of the literature and studies on multiple victimization in childhood and youth (e.g. Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Turner, 2007), taking an intersectional approach (e.g. Berguer & Guidorz, 2009). Studies in this field indicate a significant percentage of children who experience multiple types of victimization and suggest the cumulative risk of the disadvantaged children and young people (Finkelhor et al., 2007). The intersections of some disadvantage conditions (poverty, lower socioeconomic status, lower education) and socio-demographic characteristics (lower age, being a girl) may potentiate the risk of cumulative victimization in cyberspace. Girls, for example, are slightly more likely to use chat rooms and other communication platforms, being more easily targeted by unwanted messages and/or unpleasant questions (by strangers online) about their personal life. On the other hand, boys tend to play more online and show a greater tendency for the involvement in risk situations (e.g., hacking) and to the exposure to violent or pornographic content (Livingstone & Haddon, 2009; Helsper et al., 2013). Boys also seem to be more likely to achieve offline meetings with individuals who they only met

over the Internet (Livingstone & Haddon, 2009). Similarly, it is important to highlight that, although older adolescents with a higher socioeconomic status can get access more often and longer to a greater number of IT, the experience of cyber-crime seems to be higher among younger adolescents with social disadvantages (Livingstone & Haddon, 2009). Such vulnerability is due to the fact that online victimization is related to the adolescents' digital literacy skills, which in turn also relate to the socio-economic level of the household and their respective countries' development (Livingstone & Haddon, 2009; Palfrey & Gasser, 2008). Older adolescents, who belong to more educated households and digitally more developed societies (e.g., United States) have greater probability to present digital literacy rates (e.g., possess greater knowledge and skills), which gives them a higher capacity of online risk management and of problem solving. These competencies are sustained by the formal (e.g., through schools) and informal (e.g., parenting) educational systems, which often teach safety skills to adolescents and emphasize their critical judgment. Instead, younger adolescents who belong to aggregates and to digitally less-developed countries tend to have lower literacy rates, lacking the number of teachers and guardians that are able to transmit the skills required for the use, management and prevention of the online risk (Palfrey & Gasser, 2008).

Once cyber-crime in adolescence is a complex and dynamic concept, encompassing a variety of ambiguous and controversial ways, it has not been easy to know the phenomenon of cyber-crime against adolescents as a whole neither to determine objective and static cyber-victimization profiles (Marcum, 2008). Thus, it becomes necessary to develop more investigations in this area, as individuals and society give evidence of their digital development.

Factor risks for cyber-victimization in adolescence

Despite the rise of cyber-crime threats, the understanding and explanation of cyber-crime is still at an embryonic stage of development, since there are limited investigations available with research focus on the adolescent phase and/or that privilege sufficiently comprehensive methodological approaches (e.g., quantitative and qualitative, with victims and aggressors) for the understanding of cyber-crime. However, some authors have examined some risk factors – at situational, at peers and at individual levels - that may explain the greater vulnerability of adolescents (Helsper et al., 2013; Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2003, 2007; Wolak et al., 2004; Ybarra, Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2007). Through the analysis of these factors and the exploitation of their interaction, we intended to provide a better understanding of the complexity of

the adolescent victimization in the online world, and to compete for the opportunity to act in a preventive and increasingly effective way.

Cyber lifestyles-routines

Marcum (2008) examined how the online routine activities affect the probability of adolescents becoming online victims. According to this study, the sharing of personal information (e.g., name, address and pictures) is one of the risk factors that best predict the online victimization of adolescents. These results were consistent with other empirical studies that concluded that adolescents who spend more time online, participating in a wide range of online activities (e.g., social networks, chat rooms, games) and discussing sexual matters with virtual contacts, are also the most likely to encounter a online hazard (Helsper et al., 2013; Mitchell et al., 2007; Sengupta & Chaudhuri, 2011; Wolak et al., 2007; Ybarra et al., 2007). Virtual environments frequented by adolescents also seem to predict an increased predisposition to this victimization. More specifically, adolescents between 9 and 16 years of age ($N = 9904$) are commonly subjected to inappropriate content (e.g., violent, pornographic), mainly due to surfing in video sharing websites, such as Youtube (32%). The general sites (29%) and the social networking sites (13%) and online games (10%) also appear to provide a greater risk of exposure to inappropriate material (Livingstone et al., 2013). On the other hand, chat rooms and other communication platforms tend to be often associated with the experience of unwanted contact by unknown users (43%) and the risk of conducts related to interpersonal violence (27%) (e.g., cyberbullying, cyberstalking, sexting) (Livingstone et al., 2013). This is precisely the principle supported by the online routine activities theory (Eck & Clarke, 2003): the achievement of certain routine activities and the frequency of certain virtual environments are factors that may explain the victim's exposure and, consequently, the greater vulnerability to cyber-victimization. Risk opportunities arise when a motivated aggressor intersects, in an unprotected environment (e.g., no filters, blocking the window, low parental mediation) with a vulnerable target (Cohen & Felson, 1979). The fact that Internet broke through adolescents' lifestyles increased the process of changing their daily routine activities the likelihood of adolescents intersects with a motivated cyber-aggressor. The fact that digital literacy at certain ages, parents-children generations and households could still be very incipient and/or uneven increases the likelihood of online surfing under low protection. Consequently, criminal opportunities multiply in adolescent population. Although the cyber-victim and aggressor may never have interacted in the same physical place, the integrity of these theories would be ensured by the

aggressor-victim interaction within a virtual unprotected network. However, it is pertinent to note that adolescents' vulnerability to cyber-victimization does not result only from the simple convergence of the vulnerable target, the motivated aggressor and of the unprotected environment. In fact there are no data that support the suggestion that only just adolescents spend long periods of time online, and share information about them. Nevertheless, the risks that adolescents face are substantial (Palfrey & Gasser, 2008). As a result, there is a need to explore additional risk factors associated with potentially deviant peers or friends and individual psychological characteristics.

Deviant behaviors and association with deviant peers

The risky lifestyles, including the practice of crimes based on computer misuse (e.g. hacking), crimes against people (e.g., cyberstalking, cyberbullying) and the association to deviant cyber peers have been considered important risk factors for the increased experience of cyber-crime (Bossler, Holt, & May, 2012). More specifically, the fact that adolescents had some friends who occasionally become involved in piracy crime or other illegal behaviors seem to increase the likelihood of these to also become involved in cyber-crime activities as an aggressor (Hollinger, 1997). Thus, there is a process of social learning and behaviors' imitation, as advocated by the social learning theory (Skinner & Fream, 1997). The prolonged coexistence with deviant peers leads to a constant exposure to criminal practices and to the possibility of transmission and learning criminal strategies. Access to cyber-crime software (e.g., hacking) is also facilitated, by a kind of social reinforcement between these peers to commit cyber-crime. Such cyber-crime is often assumed as legitimate and necessary (Bossler & Holt, 2009, 2010). However, this contact with the criminal world could have two mainly consequences: 1) the proximity to motivated cyber-aggressors, and 2) the reduction of individual protection of adolescent (increasing the vulnerability to be a potential target). In the same context, the practice of offline and/or online harassment against other peers or individuals can also increase the risk of the aggressor become a cyber-crime victim. Given a previous harassment experience, some victims may exhibit high levels of reactive aggression, being able to carry out retaliatory attacks, through IT, against their aggressor (Sontag, Cleman, Graber, & Lyndon, 2011; Ybarra et al., 2007). We can witness, in this case, that the roles overlap between victim and aggressor. For this reason, although there are certain factors that may be more related to victimization or online perpetration, it is not correct to dichotomize the

standardization of risk factors, since the fact that a person became a victim may also explain the practice of cyber-crime (Jennings, Piquero, & Reingle, 2012).

Socio-psychological characteristics

Livingstone et al. (2011) and Wolak et al. (2004) concluded that adolescents with psychological problems (e.g., depression, isolation), with relationship problems with parents and/or friends and belonging to minority groups (e.g., gay groups), are more likely to face the risk of contacts and grooming.

The personality traits, still incipient, and the socio-psychological characteristics also seem to influence the way adolescents interact with the online world (Olson, Daggs, Ellevold, & Rogers, 2007). In particular, low self-confidence and self-esteem and poor social competence and problem solving, present a greater vulnerability for adolescents to be manipulated and to respond in accordance with the motivations of cyber-aggressors, even developing strong emotional ties with their cyber-aggressors (Livingstone & Helsper, 2007). These individual characteristics are advocated by the general theory of crime (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). This theory conceptualizes crime as a result of low self-control, and there is a set of studies that corroborate this relationship (Buzzell, Foss, & Middleton, 2006; Higgins, 2005; Higgins, Felll, & Wilson, 2006; Higgins & Makin, 2004). Being adolescence a phase of development of the ability to control impulses, digital media can be a potentially dangerous tool.

In the online world, the metrics that matter to adolescents are how many "friends" they have on their social profile, how many comments they can attract to their Facebook wall and who is saying what and to whom, via the Internet (Palfrey & Gasser, 2008). This means that adolescents are focused on being accepted and on expanding their relations and competencies, regardless of the risk (e.g., sharing of private information). Accordingly, and regarding to the general theory of crime referred above, low self-control (characteristic of this age) leads to the adolescents tending to act impulsively (e.g., in order to achieve benefits and instant gratification), without reflecting sufficiently on potential risks and consequences of their actions (e.g., contact from strangers, legal punishment or retaliation attacks) (Bossler & Holt, 2010). Similarly, the low tolerance can lead to frustration among adolescents, with the complexity of many digital security devices (e.g., jammers of Windows, alarm systems), ending with the not regular update of these devices or even installing them at all (Schreck, 1999). The same is true, for example, in social networks, in which definitions of privacy and security are too complex and demanding for younger users. As a result, they surf

the Internet unprotected, increasing their vulnerability to criminal victimization (Bossler & Holt, 2010; Forde & Kennedy, 1997).

Another individual characteristic of adolescents is the zeal for privacy. When they use IT and interact with content and virtual contacts, one of the normal procedures of adolescence is therefore to avoid any controls or parental supervision. However, the absence of monitoring and parental mediation is a risk factor that adds to the previously stated (Livingstone & Haddon, 2009; Marcum, 2008; Wolak et al., 2004).

As above mentioned, the type of online activities, the type of peers and the personal characteristics of adolescents' vulnerability are important components in order to understand the cyber-victimization. Additionally, cyber-crime can be a "normal" and common experience in the daily life of adolescents, due to the growing need for adherence to new activities and exploration of new experiences of freedom, allowed by the virtual environment (Haddon et al., 2012). The investigation of risk factors based on lifestyles, peers, individual characteristics and routine activities of individuals is therefore crucial, and can provide important insights for designing situational prevention initiatives for the different types of cyber-crime against adolescents (Reyns, Henson, & Fisher, 2011).

Issues, Controversies, Problems

According to the presented information, the online victimization seems to be due not only with psychological and developmental characteristics but also with to the preferences and choices of the activities that adolescents do while they are online.

However, this assumption should not be reflected as a problem of the victims (i.e., was the victim that exposed herself too much) (Clarke, 2004). In fact, some forms of cyber-crime can effectively take place even if the victim is provided with digital protection systems (e.g., anti-virus, antispyware and firewall). That is why the principle of the routine activity theory is subject to empirical controversy. If, from one point of view, Choi (2008) argues that the use of digital protection decreases the probability of a computer be target by malware, on the other, Reyns et al. (2011) state that, in the case of cyberstalking, for example, this method is not fully effective in protecting targets against unwanted contacts and threats. The same is also corroborated by Marcum (2008). In addition, some young people, because they are digital natives or because they have superior knowledge of technology, can alter security settings and/or filter preferences that their parents, teachers or educators have defined for their safety (e.g. against pornography). At the

level of exposure of adolescents to pornography and other inappropriate content, one must still point out that often these experiences happen because the adolescents are looking for them. Although parents, educators and professionals in the field can choose to believe otherwise, a set of studies has documented that about a third of American adolescents (10-17 years) who were exposed to pornography were in fact looking for it (e.g., Wolak et al., 2007). The same is also true in the real world. How many adolescents did the educators surprise while viewing, on their own initiative, a magazine or a porno video?

Exposure to risk during adolescence is therefore a common reality, necessary and inevitable, extensible to the virtual world and the real world. Often, adolescents do not perceive these risks as an adverse situation, but as an opportunity to promote a moral development experience, and sexual identity. However, experiences in the virtual world can differ from experiences in the real world, because: 1) the immaterial nature of cyberspace, 2) to the reduced probability of mediators (e.g., parents and educators) between the adolescents and the experience, 3) to the increased diversity of information available. While in the physical world educators may feel safer about the kind of content that adolescents have access, in cyberspace this awareness may be diminished. In addition, it is much easier to access disturbing information via the Internet, maximizing the chances of unwanted criminal victimization. The fact that cyberspace is a place where users can present themselves often in the form of an avatar (fictional character), or an anonymous user, leads to greater behavioral disinhibition, characterized by a greater sense of freedom, creativity, relaxation and sense of impunity (Blais, Craig, Pepler, & Connolly, 2008). Such characteristics may thus substantiate the greatest difficulty in reducing the online impulses and a greater propensity of adolescents, including female, to engage in socially objectionable activities (e.g., of cyberbullying, cyberstalking, identity theft), either as targets or as cyber-aggressors (Alexy, Burgess, Baker, & Smoyak, 2005; Curtis, 2012; Finkelhor, Mitchell, & Wolak, 2000). Finally, we highlight that the impact of physical experiences can be confined and restricted to a time and a specific space, while the online victimization (e.g., cyberstalking, cyberbullying) tends to have uncontrollable proportions by the victim and being witnessed by dozens or thousands of users (e.g., colleagues, relatives, strangers). Take as an example the sharing of private information or victimization by cyberbullying: from the moment that the information and the insults are disseminated by IT, the adolescent has no control over its proportion, about who gains access to information and how it is being interpreted by others. In this way, the online environment can

maximize the diffusion and impact of victimization, transforming the victim perception about these experiences.

Several studies have been documented the importance of parental involvement for the promotion of online safety of adolescents, for the critical use of ICT and for the crime prevention (Helweg-Larsen, Schütt, & Larsen, 2012; Hertz & David-Ferdon, 2011; Livingstone & Haddon, 2009; Marinos, et al., 2011; Sengupta & Chaudhuri, 2011; Whittle et al., 2013; Wolak et al., 2004). The aim is not to implement a restrictive mediation or authoritarian posture, which limits access to information or freedom of exploration and expression of young people. On the contrary, it is intended to adopt a parental mediation that is fair and moderate (e.g., parents as a source of information and support before, during and after the online surfing) (Helpser et al., 2013, Marinos, et al., 2011). Teaching safety skills to adolescents, as well as instrumental tasks and/or information seems to be a crucial protective factor that helps adolescents to develop their digital and safety skills (Livingstone & Haddon, 2009). Teaching technological skills to professors and parents will be also necessary in order to overcome differences in the level of knowledge between themselves and the adolescents (Marinos, et al., 2011).

Regarding the difficulty in controlling impulses by adolescents while they are online, it is also important to reflect on that issue. Bossler and Holt (2010) in their study with university sample concludes that, while the low self-control has been associated with cyber-crime where the individual is the specific victim (e.g., cyberstalking, information theft); the same is not the case when individuals were victim of cyber-crime based on computer misuse (e.g., malware, identity theft). Consequently, the static vision that any cyber-crime (based on the specific target choice and on a random choice) is always a product of disadvantage and that people involved in cyber-crime present difficulties in terms of psycho-cognitive (e.g., low self-control), economics (e.g., membership of disadvantaged households) and/or social (e.g., isolation) skills, must be rejected (Clarke, 2004; Palfrey & Gasser, 2008). In contrast, this viewpoint can also be adopted when we are dealing with the scenario of perpetration (versus victimization) by an adolescent. Regarding an adolescent as a hacker or cyberbullying aggressor, for example, this cannot be also explained by adolescents' disadvantage but rather by the presence of sophisticated digital skills and higher social status among peers. The social learning theory approach strengthens this last idea focused on perpetration behaviors. Certain types of cyber-crime perpetration result of learning procedures, pursuit techniques, specific and advanced computational programming and monitoring, being the adolescents also taught motive, means and specific rationalizations that legitimize the practice of

cyber-crime (Fox, Nobles, & Akers, 2011; Skinner & Fream, 1997). In some cases, adolescents are extremely capable of assessing the risks and the potential consequences of their actions in the online environment, acting informed, conscious and controlled.

Another perspective that should be abandoned is the idea that all cyber-aggressors (adolescents or adults) begin their online browsing with the goal of finding criminal opportunities (Clarke, 2004). In fact, the existence of many available criminal opportunities can easily attract people in general to commit situational crimes, whether they had the motivation or not. Take as an example the number of available literature – through books, journals, and websites – which enables, either children or adolescents or adults, to have a fast learning about new forms of cyber-crime to those who occasionally had access to this type of information. In this field, we must also point out that some risks and criminal opportunities that adolescents are daily exposed do not result necessarily from the characteristics of the context, the peers or the individual. Sometimes these results are caused by the way the digital design itself is built and how the designers design the use of virtual resources. The design of social networks (which contains thousands of adolescent users), for example, contains specific fields that encourage the sharing of a large amount of personal information. However, these pages can hardly guarantee the total privacy of user identity, or even the stability of the information disclosed. Although sometimes adolescents create their virtual identities thinking in a private and secure environment, the truth is that, due to the need for conservation and users attraction, the digital design allows the contact with unknown users, as well as the location (fast and free) of the social profiles, from the search engines available on the Web. This enables the rise of improper access to personal information, the augmented exposure to crime and the decrease of the notion of privacy and security. Everything that could be "our" is attainable by thousands of users, inhabitants of this global village that is the Internet.

Solutions and Recommendations

Cyber-crime is common in modern society and in most cases committed by individuals who are socially integrated.

Towards digital protection of adolescents, we ought to invest more in the awareness of digital protection measures, complemented by a parental balanced mediation. Contrary to the notion of restriction, there is a need for a creative use, proactivity, consciousness and informed criticism of IT by the adolescents. In this way, the importance of initiatives of the academic community is reinforced (e.g., Aventura Social project), such as telecommunications initiatives

(e.g., New Project Genesis, Norton Cyber-crime Index), organizational (e.g., DADUS project, safer Internet Centre, SeguraNet project, MiudosSegurosNa.Net project) and the media, all of whom have developed important advances in online security and promotion of good practices of adolescents, without limiting their activities online.

Since the lower educational level and the lower socio-economic status are associated with higher levels of risk, it is recommended to investment in awareness and education to families, schools and less privileged neighborhoods, in order to increase competence in the use of the Internet and in the understanding of its risks. Schools present a leading role in digital education, as they may present resources greater than those of their parents, being therefore in a privileged position to educate adolescents in an effectively and efficiently way (Livingstone & Haddon, 2009). These forms of awareness should be adapted as new risks arise (e.g., via cell phone or other platforms of content generated by users), addressing both cyber-crimes types (based on computer and crimes against people). The ultimate goal should be the infusion of this knowledge in the general population (especially among the most vulnerable group, but also among the others). In this way, it prevails the need to redesign the current pedagogical proposal remains, to ensure the inclusion of a couple of hours centered on digital education. These hours could be included in an existing discipline or a curriculum unit set up for this purpose. With regard to the curriculum, these should focus on the development of digital skills, critical thinking and decision-making of adolescents, as well as the ethical, legal and safe use of digital media. This is the approach advocated in the CyberSmart Australian program. Nevertheless, we must recall the importance of preparing the teacher through awareness-raising and specific training on the subject. In this way they will be able to bring knowledge to the classroom and effectively prepare students for the new model of society: the digital society.

Regarding the cyber-crime prevention against adolescents, it is recommended to redesign the interface basing it on the video-sharing sites, online games, social networks and chat rooms. Since technology evolution, the economy, politics and culture shape the processes of diffusion and use of Internet, these digital protection mechanisms should also be the constantly developed and evaluated. A multidisciplinary perspective (e.g., psychology, criminology, economics, demographics, design) during the construction, implementation and evaluation of the effectiveness of the prevention strategies used is also crucial (Clarke, 2004).

One important role is had by the designers. Designers use their knowledge to understand the needs of users and the technologies available, to develop new products, systems or services

that satisfy the needs and desires of consumers (Press & Cooper, 2003). Crime is one factor that occurs within this process. In many cases the ineffectiveness of designers to anticipate the vulnerability of their creations to crime or the use of those creations to commit criminal acts means that individual victims and society in general have to deal with a legacy of opportunities for crime (Ekblom, 1997). Therefore, it seems that designers belong to the group of professionals who are better placed to address crime issues. Pease (2001) observes that designers are trained to anticipate several issues: the needs and desires of users, environmental impacts, ergonomic aspects, etc. As such they are the best placed to anticipate the criminal consequences of products and services and make easier to gain the technological race against crime. As such, design can be used as a tool to prevent crime, incorporating features in potential targets that transform the criminal event in a less attractive act for criminals and therefore breaking the criminal event. This could be done with a variety of mechanisms that need to be addressed during the design development phase (Ekblom & Tilley, 2000). Towards reducing criminal opportunities, Cornish and Clark (2003) have proposed 5 main techniques that are based on: (1) the increasing of the effort, (2) the increasing of the risk, (3) on reducing the rewards, and (4) reducing provocations and (5) on removing excuses. These main techniques present 25 sub techniques all focused on breaking the criminal event. These techniques have already been applied in the design field trough the Design against Crime initiative (Design Council, 2002, 2003). Although this initiative had the focus on the real world, some studies had made particular correlations to the virtual environment (Wooton, Davey, Cooper, & Press, 2003). One particular study by Wooton et al. (2003) had developed the crime life-cycle model to help and encourage designers to implement preventive measures in their creations. This model, that divides the criminal event in 10 phases, describes ways to address the crime, before, during and after the criminal event. Additionally, in the context of cyber-crime, Verma et al. (2012) have proposed several techniques to prevent crime that is in line with the concept of preventing crime trough design. These techniques are centered in measures to reduce opportunities through the use of authentication technologies, adequate language and placing alerts. Nevertheless, digital design, far from security software development, can also, create intuitive and secure virtual environments, by developing clean and not dubious virtual spaces. Accordingly, the digital manipulation of criminal opportunities can certainly decrease the motivation for crime, the rewards and increase the likelihood of identifying the potential cyber-aggressor (causing changes in the criminal behavior).

In sum, the criminal prevention must focus not only on individuals, but also on interaction routines, design interfaces and on the control structures and incentives that are applied on digital users.

Conclusion

In recent decades society has seen profound changes in how to deal and conceptualize crime. Similarly to traditional crime, cyber-crime has brought with it a series of risks, insecurities and problems of social control, becoming a true test of social order and government policies, as well as a challenge for civil society, democracy and human rights (Garland, 2001). In this sense, this chapter is helpful to understand the social and psychological elements relevant to the domain of cyber-crime.

Empirical data indicates that cyber-crime can be a common experience in online adolescents' routine, due to the growing need to engage in new activities and explore new freedom experiences, allowed by the virtual environment (Haddon et al., 2012). Also, the economic and individual impact of this emerging phenomenon is being documented.

The type of online activities, the type of peers, and the personal characteristics of adolescents' vulnerability are components that can help understanding cyber-victimization. However, it is important to remember that, despite some risk factors (e.g., online exposure, criminal association) and recommendations (e.g., information and awareness-raising) that were presented in this chapter are transversal to all age groups, socio-psychological characteristics that adolescents present make them a peculiar group. Adolescents are a risk group with needs (e.g., information, guidance) and specificities (e.g., developmental level) that are a priority at the intervention level. In this sense, further investigation of risk factors based on lifestyles, peer network, individual characteristics and an individual's routine activities is crucial, as it can provide important insights for designing situational prevention initiatives for the various types of cyber-crime against this specific and priority group: adolescents (Reyns et al., 2011).

Nevertheless, the addressed controversies highlight that there is no single understanding for cyber-crime against adolescents. There is the increasingly need to conceptualize cyber-crime against adolescents as a product of interaction of the existing theoretical perspectives and of a multitude of intrinsic and extrinsic risk factors. This chapter advocates the necessity of field agents (e.g., psychologists, criminologists, digital designers) to conceptualize cyber-crime as a complex phenomenon that requires an integrative approach of different areas of knowledge.

As cyber-crime is transcultural, it also requires the effort of establishing more cyber-crime research partnerships between different countries, as well as a judicial and criminal recognition, in order to increase the success of the investigation and discourage the practice of this type of crime by its criminalization.

Future Research Directions

The subject of cyber-crime against adolescents has not yet been sufficiently explored in all its dimensions, although currently there is a growing body of national (e.g., Aventura Social project, SeguraNet, DADUS project, Internet Segura), European (e.g., EU Kids online network, Inform to Prevent Project [LEAD], ENISA, ClickCEOP button) and international projects (e.g., CyberSmart, Pew Internet & American Life Project) which focus their attention on IT use. More scientific studies are needed to estimate the extent and severity of this phenomenon in order to create specific structures to give appropriate answers to the needs of adolescents' victims of cyber-crime.

This domain, stresses the importance of participants selection be random and held in the community itself (versus clinical specimen or forensic), being also useful to opt for a decoded language and enhance the collection of data online, with adolescents. This investigator attitude ill enable a better overall understanding of cyber-crime and provide a higher availability of teenagers to get involved in this kind of studies. In regard to ethical guidelines, it will be required to provide immediate answers aimed to the resources of the community, whenever an adolescent is in online risk.

Exploratory interviews with adolescents who are cyber-aggressors and/or cyber-victims are needed. Future investigations should focus on integrated and complementary methodologies (use of qualitative and quantitative design), as well as a constant dialogue between research and action. This will provide a greater insight into the motivations, the dynamics and the context of the occurrence of cyber-crime. An additional advantage would be the knowledge and understanding of existing problems in terms of digital design and difficulties and/or needs of victims when they are using the Internet. In addition, it becomes pertinent to investigate strategies that are more effective in responding to different types of online risk.

Based on this knowledge, the role of the primary sector (e.g., at the awareness campaigns level) may be more focused and efficient. Being Portugal one of the European countries in which the parental mediation is based on the application of restrictive measures on Internet access (Helsper et al., 2013), there is a need for further promotion of awareness-raising actions, among

parents and educators: 1) a greater awareness for the potential that IT provide to education and psycho-social development of adolescents, and 2) improved skills for active parental mediation (e.g., through parental involvement).

We must reflect on the prevention of cyber-crime in general and on the online victimization in particular, since for example, there are currently more than 1 million Portuguese homes that already have mobile Internet access in which a few clicks stand between adolescents and adult content.

National initiatives such as the National Commission for Data Protection (e.g., through the Project DADUS, the creation of "Quiz na ótica do utilizador" and the self-assessment questionnaire of identity theft), the APAV (e.g., through its online page aimed at the safety of young people) and of the SeguraNet (e.g., through their activities, awareness-raising, promotion of videos and games), for example, must be valued and expanded. It becomes therefore important to continue to invest in the construction and dissemination of electronic platforms to support the population, as well as in the construction of specific guidelines for the self-assessment of risk. These are the current best practices which allow testing the knowledge of the general population and the level of awareness on how to use the computer and Internet services.

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Key Terms and Definitions

Adolescence: Stage of human development that marks the transition between childhood and adulthood. According to the UN this phase extends between 15 and 24 years of age, while the World Health Organization defines adolescents as the individual who is between 10 and 19 years of age.

Criminal victimization: To have been the target of some sort of crime that can cause discomfort and damage.

Cyberbullying: A form of violence that involves the use of IT to commit repeated and intentional hostile behavior against a peer of the same context of the cyber-victim.

Cyberstalking: A pattern of behavior implemented repeatedly and intentionally, that is not desired by the target(s), with the use of IT. Some of the behaviors include routine and seemingly harmless actions (e.g., posting on Facebook, sending email), but also unambiguously intimidating actions (e.g., sending threatening messages, identity theft).

Digital design: Focuses on the design of digitally mediated environments and experiences. It is centered in the development of digital platforms, web and mobile products.

Harassment: Unpleasant and unwanted behaviors that someone is repeatedly subject to, during a given period of time.

Online risk: Likelihood of anyone being exposed to a danger or adverse situation, during navigation in the virtual world.

CAPÍTULO II

CYBER-HARASSMENT VICTIMIZATION IN PORTUGAL: PREVALENCE, FEAR AND HELP-SEEKING AMONG ADOLESCENTS[2]

[2] Este capítulo foi escrito em inglês americano para efeitos de submissão na revista *Computers in Human* Behavior. Atualmente, o capítulo encontra-se aceite para publicação, com *major revisions*, na referida revista (Quartil 1).

CAPÍTULO II

CYBER-HARASSMENT VICTIMIZATION IN PORTUGAL: PREVALENCE, FEAR AND HELP-SEEKING AMONG ADOLESCENTS

Abstract

Cyber-harassment is one of today's biggest problems in adolescent health. This study aimed to determine the prevalence of cyber-victimization among Portuguese adolescents. It also explored the nature, patterns and victim's responses, namely fear and help-seeking. A representative number of 627 adolescents, aged 12-16, enrolled in schools from northern Portugal and Azores answered an online survey. The prevalence of repeated cyber-victimization was 60.8% during lifetime. Most of them (66.1%) had also been cyber-aggressors at least once during their lifetime. About 24% were victims for at least two weeks or longer, 37% reported fear and 45.9% sought from help, mainly from relatives and friends. Girls reported more fear and more help-seeking, whereas boys were more often victim-aggressors. Compared to younger adolescents, older adolescents were more victimized, reported less fear and engaged in less help-seeking. The subgroup of victim-aggressors reported a higher diversity of cyber-victimization than the victim-only subgroup. Victims were more afraid encountering unknown cyber-aggressors compared to acquainted aggressors. Persistent victimization increased fear, whereas fear increased help-seeking behaviors. The victim-aggressor subgroup engaged in less help-seeking than the victim-only subgroup. Those who sought help considered it helpful. Implications for educational, social and political practices are discussed.

Keywords: Cyber-harassment, victimization, persistence, fear, help-seeking, helpfulness.

Introduction

Most present day adolescents in developed countries have been brought up in a technologically dependent world, being eager adopters of multiple technologies in order to satisfy their personal needs of interaction and exploration (Boyd, 2014; Madden, et al., 2013). Consistent with these trends, Portugal has experienced a continuous increase in Internet access (Internet Live Stats, 2014). Most children up to 15 years old (90%) have Internet at home and 87% of them use it via broadband (Statistical National Institute, 2014). The first access to the Internet for Portuguese children and adolescents (9-16 years old) averages about 10 years of age (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, & Ólafsson, 2011). More than 50% of them use Internet and laptops daily, 35% use smartphones and 31% use tablets, with increasing rates among boys and older adolescents (Ponte, 2012; Simões, Ponte, Ferreira, Doretto, & Azevedo, 2014).

Despite the many benefits that the time spent online can provide, high levels of information and communication technologies (ICTs) use have been associated with greater online exposure and greater opportunities to be a target and/or aggressor of harassment, intrusion and surveillance mediated by ICTs (e.g., Brake, 2014; Livingstone & Helsper, 2010; Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002). Adolescents use ICTs to stay in touch with others, share files, learn about sex, test romantic experiences or even harass others (Finn, 2004; Lenhart, Ling, Campbell, & Purcell, 2010; Madden et al., 2013; Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002), as well as commit crimes (APAV, 2015; Finkelhor, Turner, Shattuck, & Hamby, 2013). However, the unique features of online technology use (e.g., lack of physical boundaries, anonymity, efficiency, comfort and ease, degree of distress) and the unique perceptual and conceptual challenges of adolescence (e.g., lack of maturity, life experience and cognitive ability, tendencies to push boundaries and underestimate the possible costs of their behaviors; Erikson, 1963; Johnson, Blum, & Giedd, 2010) clarify why it is essential develop research focused on cyber-harassment among adolescents.

Cyber-Harassment among Young People

Cyber-harassment refers to any kind of repeated, persistent and unwanted ICT-mediated interpersonal aggression (Bilic, 2013; Bocij, 2004; Hazelwood & Koon-Magnin, 2013; Pereira, Matos, & Sampaio, 2014). Estimates from the Youth Internet Safety Surveys (YISS) concluded that online harassment increased from 6% in 2000 to 9% in 2005 and 11% in 2010 (Jones, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2012). Victims were mostly female and older in age, whereas cyber-aggressors tend to be boys and known people of the victims (Novo, Pereira, & Matos, 2014; Ybarra & Michell, 2007).

The Pew Internet Project revealed that 15% of adolescents, aged 12-17, received an improper sexual image, 19% were cyber-bullied and 4% were aggressive with someone online (Lenhart, 2007; Lenhart et al., 2010; Lenhart, Madden, Smith, Purcell, & Rainie, 2011). Up to 15% have received peer to peer sexual messages or images, 12% of 11-16 year olds were bothered or upset with something online, and 3% have sent or posted such messages (Livingstone et al., 2011). For example, Zweig, Dank, Yahner, and Lachman (2013) found that 26% of adolescents from 7th-12th grades had experienced cyber-dating abuse. Invading online privacy, harassing sexually, monitoring and controlling were the most common and accepted behaviors reported by adolescents (Draucker & Martsolf, 2010; Zweig et al., 2013). As such, this kind of cyber-harassment often overlaps with more serious forms of cyberstalking and cyber obsessional relational (ORI)[3] (Cupach & Spitzberg 1998, 2000; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2014; Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002). Research on harassment and stalking among intimate partners have been associated to victimization with greater probability of being targeted for the longest periods (McEwan, Mullen, & MacKenzie, 2009; Pereira & Matos, 2015b).

Most research to date has focused on victims of cyber-harassment. There is increasing recognition, however, that victims are sometimes also aggressors of online and realspace harassment (i.e., double involvement; e.g., Jennings, Piquero, & Reingle 2012; Law, Shapka, Domene, & Gagné, 2012; Matos et al., 2012; Posick, 2013). Investigations are only beginning to explore the degree of overlap, level of fear, and distinctions among people who have only been victims (victim-only), compared to those who are doubly involved aggressor-victims (Sampson & Laub, 1990). However, previous data found that boys and older adolescents are those who more often report a double involvement (Aricak et al., 2008; Law et al., 2012; Matos et al., 2012).

In Portugal, knowledge about adolescent involvement on cyber-harassment is still nascent. Even so, scholars concur that Portuguese adolescents face especially high risks for violence and victimization. Livingstone et al. (2011) found that 7% of Portuguese, aged 9-16, experienced one or more risks online, with higher rates among girls and older adolescents from low socio-economic families. Ferreira, Martins and Abrunhosa (2011) found that the cyberstalking was the third most cited risk online faced by Portuguese adolescents (age 10-18), and as many as 16% of adolescents have been cyber-bullied (Matos, Vieira, Amado, & Pessoa, 2012). Recent data (Novo et al., 2014)

[3] Both constructs are defined as a process of unwanted pursuit of intimacy, caused by incompatible relationship goals and definitions between victim and stalker (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2014). Compared to ORI, stalking implies a greater sense of fear or threat (Cupach & Spitzberg, 1998; Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002). Stalking may also be motivated by the end of relationship (including the victim death), whereas ORI is expressly motivated by an intent by the pursuer to achieve a greater level of (typically romantic) intimacy (Cupach & Spitzberg, 1998).

indicated that 33.1% of Portuguese adolescents perpetrated broader cyber-harassment while 18.2% perpetrated typical behaviors of cyberstalking (e.g., monitoring, sending exaggerated messages of affection and excessively 'needy', disclosive or demanding messages). The overlap of aggressor-victims was of 93.3%.

With the increasing diffusion of ICTs, the trend of cyber-harassment around the world is likely to increase. In Portugal, the percentage of adolescents bothered online appears to have increased from 7% in 2000 to 10% in 2014 (Simões, Ponte, Ferreira, Doretto, & Azevedo, 2014). However, national awareness campaigns are rare, typically unsystematic (e.g., APAV, SaferInternetPT, Aventura Social, MiudosSegurosNa.Net), and national plans against specific forms of online victimization are currently non-existent.

How is Cyber-Harassment Affecting Adolescents' Daily Life?

Previous studies (e.g., Livingstone & Haddon, 2009; Mitchell, Ybarra, Jones, & Espelage, 2015) have documented that cyber-harassment is associated with serious public health problems. Consequences of cyber-harassment include significant psychological and emotional problems for victims, including fear, discomfort, threat, anger and sadness (e.g., Fenaughty & Harré, 2013; Livingstone et al., 2011). These symptoms tend to be worse for girls and younger victims than for boys and older adolescents (Henson, Reyns, & Fisher, 2013; Ybarra, Mitchell, Wolak, & Finkelhor, 2006), even when experiencing similar amounts or types of victimization (Livingstone & Haddon, 2009). An increasing number of aggravating features (i.e., multiple aggressors, persistence, repetition, covert and anonymous harassment) also increase the likelihood of adolescent distress (Fenaughty & Harré, 2013; Mitchell et al., 2015). Previous studies also found that being victimized by males and older individuals increases the report of fear (Henson et al. 2013; Pereira & Matos, 2015b; Ybarra et al., 2006). Researchers, however, have found that not all victimization is disturbing to the adolescent (e.g., d'Haenens, Vandoninck, & Donoso, 2013; Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2006). Protective factors (e.g., high self-esteem, social support, digital skills) and barriers related to stigma and cultural gender-role norms may help to understand these findings (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Haddon & Livingstone, 2012).

Is Help-Seeking a Common Behavior among Adolescent Cyber-Harassed?

Help-seeking has been considered as one of the most popular coping strategies among cyber-victims (d'Haenens et al., 2013; Hasebrink, Gorzig, Haddon, Kalmus, & Livingstone, 2011;

Machackova, Cerna, Sevcikova, Dedkova, & Daneback, 2013; Priebe, Mitchel, & Finkelhor, 2013). In this context it is defined as an Internet-coping strategy that marshals emotional support from other people in reaction to a negative experience on the internet. However, the help-seeking literature suggests that cyber-victims are less likely to seek help than victims in real space (e.g., Dooley, Gradinger, Strohmeier, Cross, & Spiel, 2010), although most of them have perceived it as a helpful strategy in moderating impact and/or stopping online victimization (Aricak et al., 2008; Livingstone et al., 2011; Machackova et al., 2013).

Girls and younger children from lower income families are more likely to employ the communicative strategy of help-seeking (d'Haenens et al., 2013; Hasebrink et al., 2011; Mascheroni & Ólafsson, 2014; Staksrud & Livingstone, 2009). Also, victims who perceived more serious victimization (e.g., reported more fear) are more likely to tell someone about cyber-harassment and seek help (Livingstone et al., 2011; Mishna, Saini, & Solomon, 2009; Optem, 2007; Priebe et al., 2013). In contrast, being involved in some anti-social behaviors seems to suppress this response (Pasupathi, McLean, & Weeks, 2009; Priebe et al., 2013).

When adolescents do seek help, they tend to prefer informal (e.g., parents, friends) more than formal (e.g., police, mental health professionals) support (Mascheroni & Ólafsson, 2014). Less is known about which factors increase an adolescent's willingness to seek formal or/and informal support. Information is also lacking about the helpfulness and effectiveness of different support activations, and what contextual factors may moderate it. To our knowledge, no study has yet investigated the specific interrelationship of these factors in a sample of both adolescent victims and victim-aggressors of cyber-harassment.

Research Problem and Hypotheses

The central question is to know how prevalent cyber-harassment victimization is among adolescents, to acknowledge its patterns (e.g., victim-aggressor relationship) and also to know how common double involvement is. Another question is to know how adolescents react to cyber-victimization, through the analysis of two dimensions – fear and help-seeking. These dimensions were chosen because fear has been one of the victimization reaction most discussed internationally, especially in the cyberstalking area (e.g., Pereira & Matos, 2015a, b; Purcell, Pathé, & Mullen, 2004; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2014). It is even suggested by some countries legislations (e.g., Italy) as a key criterion on definition of online victimization and problematized as a boundary between victims and non-victims. In turn, help-seeking has been indicated on previous literature

(e.g., Livingstone et al., 2011; Mascheroni & Ólafsson, 2014) as one of the most common reactions to victimization among adolescents, reflecting an effective coping strategy in ameliorating their emotional reestablishment. Further, the context of help-seeking (with or without fear) and its helpfulness were explored.

Based on previous theoretical and empirical background, we hypothesize: first, cyber-harassment during lifetime is a common victimization experience among adolescents; second, some adolescent are also victim-aggressors. Third, we hypothesize that not all victims are afraid, but long-term victimization (i.e., the persistence) will increase fear. The same trend is hypothesized relating help-seeking following victimization, specifically, not all victims seek help, but fear increase help-seeking behavior (fourth hypothesis). Fifth, the adolescent victims seek help more often from informal support sources and assess it as helpful.

Portugal recently has approved the National Strategy for Cyberspace Security and has ratified the Convention of Istanbul, a pan-European legal framework against all forms of violence, which includes online (e.g., cyberstalking) forms. Such institutional recognition highlights the importance of conducting research on such forms of aggression, as there is not yet a thorough and well-grounded conceptual understanding on the multiple facets of victimization by cyber-harassment among adolescents. A deeper understanding allows innovation in terms of professional (e.g., web design) and social (e.g., psychoeducational campaigns) practices and interventions to reduce victimization. Results will also inform promotion of adolescent communication and self-management skills to protect adolescents from harmful online experiences. At present there is a gap between evidence of victimization and evidence-based specialized and focused (inter)national programs to sensitize and train parents, teachers and formal sources in preventing victimization and providing support to victims (e.g., *Cyberbullying* COST IS0801; *CyberTraining* Project; *Education for New Technologies* Course; *SMART* Program).

Method

Procedures and Participants

The Portuguese National Commission for Data Protection (CNPD), an independent agency, the General Directorate of Education and all school Directors of schools that participated in the present study, reviewed and approved this study. To ensure an inclusive representation of the student population from the northern region of Portugal's mainland and the autonomous region of

the Azores, the survey used a stratified, clustered random sampling design in which private (n = 9) and public schools (n = 11) were the sampling units. Schools were selected according a stratified sampling, based on schools list provided by Portuguese General Directorate of Education (N = 487). Explicit and informed consent was requested of 1340 randomly selected students, and of respective parents once they were underage (i.e., under 18-years-old). Eligible respondents were adolescents, ages 12-16, who were user ICTs for more than 6 months in any location. No financial assistance, compensation or incentives were provided to participants. Nevertheless, at the end of the project, the participants benefitted from an awareness session about the risks on cyber-world and on cyber-aggression.

A total of 645 students (48.1%) completed the online survey (via ESurvey Creator Sofware) between March and June 2013, in the classroom context and in the presence of the lead researcher. All procedures were scrutinized by a group of (cyber)stalking researchers, and piloted with 70 adolescents, prior to survey implementation. After pilot test, the language of some questions was simplified and some items of cyber-harassment scale were deleted. These changes allowed to optimize the final version of the measures. At the end, participants received an informative flyer that included the researcher's contacts in order to support participants to clarify some doubts and/or to support in case of cyber-victimization and/or cyber-perpetration.

After data entry, all research data were screened. Eighteen participants were excluded from the analyses due to the missing data, leaving a sample of 627 adolescents (age M = 13.98; SD = 1.35; 54.9% females). The average age of first access to the Internet was 9.04 years old (Min = 1, Max = 14, SD = 2.41). To date, adolescents from public school have used on average four ICT devices (Min = 0, Max = 7; SD = 1.33), while adolescents from private school have used an average of five ICT devices (Min = 2, Max = 7; SD = 1.29). Adolescents from private schools tended to self-perceive a greater digital ability than other adolescents, although this did not achieve statistical significance (Ms = 2.95 for adolescents from state schools versus 3.08 for adolescents from private schools, SDs = .83 and .81, respectively, p = .074).

Measures

Cyber-harassment Assessment Scale. A 5-point Likert-type scale, constituted by 18 items, aimed to assess the prevalence of cyber-harassment perpetration or victimization among adolescents. These items were adapted mostly from a previous measure developed by Spitzberg and Hoobler (2002) in their study of cyberstalking. Some items were deleted that had been written

specifically for adult samples, and another three items were written that were more relevant to an adolescent sample. For each aggression item, adolescents were asked both if: "Someone already did it against me" (victimization) and "I already did it against someone" (perpetration). Adolescents identified how many times (from 0 = *never* to 5 = *five or more times*) they experienced and/or they perpetrated each behavior, over their lifetime. Cronbach's alpha was .90 for both the cyber-victimization and cyber-perpetration scales. For this report, those adolescents who only perpetrated cyber acts were not analyzed (for further information about cyber-perpetration data, see Novo et al., 2014).

For each behavior experienced, adolescents were asked about sex and age of cyber-aggressor, if it was known. For adolescents who had experienced one or more cyber-harassment behaviors during their lifetime, other filter questions were asked, including: cyber-aggressor relationship (i.e., *friends*, *intimate partners*, *known* [e.g., relatives, neighbors] and *unknown people*), persistence of victimization (based on a 6-point Likert-scale; 0 = *less than 2 weeks*; 5 = *2 or more years*), fear impact (response options were *Not frightened*, *A little frightened* and *Very frightened*), and help-seeking. In case of experiencing more than one episode of victimization and being targeted by multiple cyber-aggressors, adolescents were instructed to take into account only the most significant cyber-incident of their lives.

Help-seeking questions first asked if help was sought (0 = *no* and 1 = *yes*). Victims who responded positively were asked "who have you talked to?" Multiple responses were possible and the answers were grouped as informal (i.e., *relatives*, *friends*, *school people*, *acquaintances*) or formal (i.e., *mental health professionals*, *police*, *justice*, *legal* a*dvice* and *social or victim support services*) sources of support. Those who reported using a particular resource were further asked about its helpfulness (response options were 0 = *Not important*, 1 = *A little important* and 2 = *Very important*).

Results

Cyber-Harassment Victims and Overlap (Hypothesis 1 and 2):

As displayed in Table 1, although 30.1% of adolescents reported never having been victims of cyber-harassment, 69.9% of adolescents reported some level of victimization during their lifetime. This supports our first hypothesis which expected that cyber-harassment victimization would be a common experience among adolescents. Of these, 60.8% were a victim of repeated

acts of cyber-harassment (i.e., a victim of any online behavior more than once, *or* any two or more different online behaviors at least once). About 33.9% of these repeated victims were victims only. In contrast 66.1% of these repeated victims admitted having already perpetrated cyber-harassment, at least once in their lifetime (see Table 1), confirming our second hypothesis concerning overlap cases among repeated victims. Boys reported being victim-aggressors more often than girls, and older adolescents reported more often to have been victim and victim-aggressor as compared to younger adolescents (see Table 1). In order to define the victimization by cyber-harassment based on more rigorous criteria, all subsequent analyses related to patterns and reactions to victimization are focused on repeat victims, whether they were also victim-aggressors or not.

The patterns and characteristics of repeat cyber-harassment victims are detailed in Tables 1 and 2. On average, adolescent victims were targets of four different behaviors, with the subgroup of victim-aggressors reporting victimization from a higher diversity of behaviors than victims-only (M = 4.91 vs. 2.73, respectively). Regarding persistence, 75.9% of victims experienced cyber-harassment for less than 2 weeks (a meaningful threshold; see Purcell et al., 2004), 11.5% reported being victim between 2 weeks and 1 month, 6.6% were victims for more than 1 year, 3.7% were victims between 1 and 6 months, and 2.4% between 6 and 12 months. Adolescents from private schools were targeted of cyber-harassment for longer duration than victims from public schools (p = .043). About 39.1% of victims reported to be targeted by an unknown aggressor (see Table 2). Among those who could identify their cyber-aggressor's characteristics, the majority of adolescents reported having been targeted by males (57.2%) and by individuals who were the same age as the victim (61.4%). Concerning victim-aggressor relationship, 42.3% were targeted by friends. According to victims, intimate partners were more persistent than friends as cyber-aggressors, Z = -2.35, p =.019. Acquaintance aggressors were also more persistent than unknown cyber-aggressors, Z = -3.24, p =.001.

Table 1

Frequency of cyber-harassment for the entire sample

	Overall		Sex					
			Male	Female				
	N = 627	Portuguese Nationality	*n* = 283	*n* = 344	χ^2	Age	r_{pb}	Cyber-harassment behaviors
	n (%)	%	%	%	*p* value	*M* (*SD*)	*p* value	*M* (*SD*)
Non-victim	189(30.1)	30.8	33.6	27.3		13.65(1.34)		—
Victims at least once	438(69.9)	69.2	66.4	72.7	.090	14.12(1.33)	**.000**	2.63(3.23)
Repeated victims	381(60.8)	60.2	57.6	63.4	.141	14.20(1.30)	**.001**	4.17(3.31)
Victims only	129(20.6)	34.2	24.5	40.8		13.94(1.31)		2.73(2.03)
Victim-aggressors	252(40.2)	65.8	75.5	59.2	**.001**	14.33(1.28)	**.005**	4.91(3.59)

Table 2

Prevalence rates, nature and characteristics of cyber-harassment and adolescent's responses after victimization (n = 381)

		Persistence			Fear			Help-seeking		
	Repeated victims *n* (%)	< 2 weeks *n = 289* %	≥ 2 weeks *n = 92* %	χ^2 *p* value	No *n = 239* %	Yes *n* = 142 %	χ^2 *p* value	No *n* = 206	Yes *n* = 175 %	χ^2 *p* value
Adolescent victim's characteristics										
Female	218(57.2)	54.7	65.2	.075	49	71.1	**.000**	52.4	62.9	**.040**
Age (M)	14.20	14.17	14.28	.483	14.26	14.10	.244	14.35	14.02	**.012**
Public school	287(73.3)	77.9	67.4	**.043**	71.5	81.7	**.026**	70.9	80.6	**.029**
Cyber-harassment behaviors										
Receiving calls without any apparent justification	317(83.2)	84.8	78.3	.145	85.4	79.6	.145	86.9	78.9	**.037**
Receiving exaggerated messages of affection	165(43.3)	40.5	52.2	**.049**	36	55.6	**.000**	39.8	47.4	.135
Monitoring or receiving gifts via mobile phone or social network	150(39.4)	39.1	40.2	.849	36	45.1	.079	40.8	37.7	.542
Receiving insulting messages	147(38.6)	34.3	52.2	**.049**	31	51.4	**.000**	35.4	42.3	.171
Pretending to be me	133(34.9)	31.8	44.6	**.026**	26.4	49.3	**.000**	30.1	40.6	**.033**

Receiving excessively "needy", disclosive or demand messages	109(28.6)	26	37	**.042**	24.3	35.9	**.015**	28.2	29.1	.832
Sabotaging my private reputation ('good name') in school / group / society	96(25.2)	18.3	46.7	**.000**	16.3	40.1	**000**	19.4	32	**.005**
Obtaining my private information without permission	85(22.3)	20.8	27.2	.198	19.2	27.5	.062	21.4	23.4	.629
Receiving pornographic or obscene pictures or messages	77(20.2)	18.7	25	.189	18.4	23.2	.256	22.8	17.1	.169
Receiving threatening written messages, photos or images	56(14.7)	11.1	26.1	**.000**	9.6	23.3	**.000**	13.1	16.6	.341
Attempting to disable my mobile phone, computer or other electronic device	50(13.1)	11.1	19.6	**.036**	10	18.3	**.021**	11.2	15.4	.219
Receiving sexually harassing messages	48(12.6)	9.7	21.7	**.002**	10.9	15.5	.189	13.6	11.4	.526
Exposing my private information to others	47(12.3)	9	22.8	**.000**	9.2	17.6	**.016**	9.2	16	**.045**
Altering and / or taking over my electronic identity	39(10.2)	7.3	19.6	**.001**	7.1	15.5	**.009**	7.3	13.7	.039
Using my computer to get information on others	23(6)	4.2	12	**.006**	4.6	8.5	.127	5.3	6.9	.535
Assuming risk behavior on my behalf	19(5)	2.4	13	**.000**	4.2	6.3	.350	4.9	5.1	.897
Meeting first personally and then harassing me through the internet or mobile phone	14(3.7)	1	12	**.000**	2.1	6.3	**.033**	2.4	5.1	.160

Meeting first online and then pursuing, threatening or hurting me personally	14(3.7)	1.7	9.8	**.000**	2.1	6.3	**.033**	3.4	4	.756
Cyber-aggressor characteristics										
Sex[a]: Male	218(57.2)	54.3	66.3	**.043**	49	71.1	**.000**	53.4	61.7	.102
Female	189(49.6)	49.8	48.9	.879	50.6	47.9	.605	47.1	52.6	.286
Unknown	220(57.7)	56.1	63	.237	56.1	60.6	.390	56.3	59.4	.539
Both sex	111(29.1)	25.6	40.2	**.007**	27.6	31.7	.397	27.2	31.4	.364
Age[a]: Older	134(35.2)	23.2	44.6	**.030**	26.8	49.3	**.000**	31.1	40	.069
Younger	53(13.9)	11.8	20.7	**.032**	14.2	13.4	.818	13.6	14.3	.845
Same age	234(61.4)	60.6	64.1	.539	60.3	63.4	.544	60.7	62.3	.748
Unknown	233(61.2)	59.5	66.3	.245	57.3	67.6	.046	60.2	62.3	.676
Different ages	107(28.1)	24.6	39.1	**.007**	25.5	32.4	.149	25.7	30.9	.267
Relationship: Friends	163(42.8)	46	32.6		47.3	35.2		41.3	44.6	
Romantic partner	11(2.9)	2.1	5.4		3.8	1.4		4.4	1.1	
Known people	8(2.1)	.7	6.5		2.5	1.4		2.4	1.7	
Unknown people	149(39.1)	39.1	39.1		34.7	46.5		38.3	40	
Different degrees of kinship	50(13.1)	12.1	16.3	**.001**	11.7	15.5	**.048**	13.6	12.6	.359
Cyber-harassment perpetration	252(66.1)	65.4	68.5	.587	68.2	62.7	.271	71.8	59.4	**.011**

[a] Multiple choices possible for each behavior experienced by adolescent victims.

Fear Resulting from Cyber-Harassment Victimization (Hypothesis 3):

Hypothesis 3 anticipated that not all victims are afraid, but long-term victimization (i.e., the persistence) will increase fear. Descriptive statistics found that fear was reported by 37.3% of repeat victims: 28.6% of them reported little fear and 8.7% greater fear. Girls were the most fearful victims (p = .000). Adolescents from public schools were also more afraid (p = .026) than those from private schools. Table 2 shows the most fearful behaviors. A Mann-Whitney test revealed that there was increased fear when cyber-harassment was more persistent, Z = -5.59, p = .000. Therefore, hypothesis 3 received strong support. Additional analysis found that adolescents reported more fear when victimized by males (p = .000) and by older cyber-aggressors (p = .000). Victims of unknown cyber-aggressors were also more afraid than those victimized by friends, Z = -2.60, p =.009).

Help-Seeking and Perceived Efficacy of Support Resources (Hypotheses 4 and 5):

Hypothesis 4 expected that not all victims would seek help, but fear would increase help-seeking behavior. Results found that 45.9% of the victims sought help. Most of them were girls (p = .040) and youngers adolescents (p = .012; see Table 2) who were attending public schools (p = .029). A test of differences concluded that fear from experiencing cyber-victimization increased the degree of reported help-seeking, χ^2 = 67.97, p = .000; φ = .388. These findings confirm hypothesis four. However, as Table 2 shows, only four cyber-harassment behaviors were significantly associated with help-seeking, which were not necessarily linked to the most persistent and/or fearful behaviors (e.g., receiving calls without any apparent justification). This seems to qualify hypothesis four, indicating that persistence and severity of behavior is not necessarily the basis for victim fear.

Table 3 indicates all informal and formal sources of support used by adolescents and how helpful each source was rated. Based on literature, hypothesis 5 stated that adolescent victims would seek help more often from informal sources and assess it as helpful. The findings pointed at the same direction: adolescents sought help mainly from informal support sources (93.7%), specifically from relatives and friends, assessing this coping strategy as helpful (see Table 3). According Table 4, adolescents who were targeted for longer (i.e., with more persistence) sought for help from formal support sources more often (p = .032), whereas the adolescents who felt more afraid after victimization were those who perceived a greater level of helpfulness from their support sources (p = .006).

Table 3

Help-seeking among victims (n = 175)

	% Who used it	% who said the resource was a lot/very helpful
Informal[a] (*n* = 164)		
Relatives	75.3	97.7
Friends	74.1	96.9
School people	25.3	95.5
Other people you know	17.8	93.5
Formal* (*n* = 11)		
Health professionals	4	85.7
Police	1.7	66.7
Justice	.6	0
Legal advice	.6	0
Social or victim support services	.6	0

[a] Multiple choices possible.

Table 4

Help sources and perception about their helpfulness for victims, by cyber-harassment's characteristics and cyber-aggressor's relationship (n = 175)

	Help sources		χ^2	Effectiveness		χ^2
	Informal	(In)formal	*p value*	No	Yes	*p value*
Cyber-harassment characteristics						
Victim for 2 weeks or longer	25	54.5	**.032**	0	27.6	.169
Being afraid	58.5	72.7	.353	0	61.2	**.006**
Cyber-aggressor's relationship						
Friends	43.9	54.5		80	43.5	
Romantic partner	.6	9.1	.233	0	1.2	.599

Known people	1.8	0	0	1.8
Unknown people	40.2	36.4	20	40.6
Different degrees of relationship	13.4	0	0	12.9

Discussion

The present study pioneered several insights about cyber-harassment among Portuguese adolescents. It provided an in-depth view of its prevalence, patterns, characteristics (e.g., the extent to which aggression and victimization overlap), and victim responses concerning fear and help-seeking.

The majority of Portuguese adolescents (60.8%) surveyed reported that they have been victims of repeated cyber-harassment. Most victims also reported a double involvement in cyber-harassment, both as aggressor and as victim. Further, these findings indicate that adolescents doubly involved were targeted of a higher number of cyber-harassment behaviors. Older adolescents were more likely to be victims (cf., Wolak et al., 2006), whereas older boys were more often victim-aggressors (Aricak et al., 2008; Law et al., 2012; Matos et al., 2012). The high cyber-harassment victimization among adolescents from private schools may be expected because they reported higher access to different ICT and would, therefore, be more exposed online and more vulnerable to victimization. The tendency of adolescents from private schools (versus adolescents from state schools) self-perceiving a higher level of digital competence may also help to explain why victims from public school were more afraid and sought help more often. However, these assumptions should be taken with high degree of caution and require further investigation. These results about victimization and double involvement corroborate the first and second hypothesis of the current study. They also are consistent with some previous studies of aggression (e.g., Sampson & Lauritsen, 1990; Livingstone & Haddon, 2009; Jennings et al., 2012; Matos et al., 2012), although the research on online double involvement is sparse (e.g., Law et al., 2012). This can have different interpretation: previous experiences of online victimization may promote reactive aggression (Crick & Dodge, 1996; Pereira et al., 2014), suggesting a role inversion. On the other hand, the perpetration of cyber-harassment may increases the risk of the cyber-aggressor become also a cyber-victim (Law et al., 2012; Novo et al., 2014), suggesting an accumulation of both roles. Findings related to aggressor-victim overlap suggest a change in the Victimology paradigm. The traditional paradigm of victimology centers on the dichotomization of victim-aggressor roles. The overlap evidence, in contrast, assumes that victims and aggressors in the online context are, in

fact, more alike than they are different (Posick, 2013). Future studies should reexamine their measurement and design considerations, and explore these possibilities in more detail. Including qualitative methods (e.g., focus groups) may provide a useful approach related to approval of cyber-harassment among adolescents and to a possible "evolution" of the cyber-victims and cyber-aggressors' roles.

When comparing the total prevalence of cyber-victimization and overlap in the present study, we observe, however, that they were higher than reported in previous findings (cyber-victimization - e.g., Livingstone et al., 2011; Jones et al., 2012; Mitchell, Finkelhor, Wolak, Ybarra, & Turner, 2011; overlap – e.g., Jennings et al., 2012; Sampson & Lauritsen, 1990). Several methodological differences (e.g., different sampling, range of behaviors assessed and temporal reference) and the broader definition of ICT-based harassment compared to other studies limited only to Internet (e.g., Ybarra et al., 2011) could account for these discrepancies between studies and should be taken into consideration when designing surveys and interpreting results. Our study also focused on assessment of overlap only among the subsample of repeated victims rather than among the larger sample. This enabled us to collect a larger range of cyber-harassment incidents and may account for the high overlap rates founded (Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Turner, 2007).

Independent of such discrepancies, the present data have important implications for the practice and theory. Specifically, this study establishes some norms for online violence in adolescence and a comparison level for violent behaviors experienced and perpetrated in the key developmental period of adolescence (Machado, Caridade, & Martins, 2010; Law et al., 2012). One explanation for the high prevalence found in this study is the ease and anonymity of experiencing and committing aggressive behaviors and immediate retaliation that ICTs offer (i.e., a situational explanation; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004). Another explanation may lie in the incipient development (e.g., immaturity, regarding the relationship initiation and negotiation processes; Subrahmanyam, Greenfield, & Tynes, 2004) of adolescents and their relative inability to discern the legal, moral, and social consequences of perpetrating aggressive acts online (i.e., a maturation explanation; Pettalia, Levin, & Dickinson, 2013). Similar findings by Grangeia (2012) on unwanted relational pursuit among Portuguese college students found that almost 60% of victims had also perpetrated aggression. Furthermore, in Grangeia (2012), 72.2% of Portuguese college victims of unwanted relational pursuit perceived their experiences as "something normal". This may suggest that patterns of aggressive behavior are learned and modeled at early ages, highlighting the need

for early violence prevention programming addressed to both potential victims as well as cyber-aggressors.

Our second research goal consisted of exploring the nature and patterns of victimization. Although the majority of adolescent victims experienced relatively routine behaviors (e.g., calls) with low levels of offence and intrusiveness, some of the adolescents reported more serious behaviors related to hyper-intimacy (e.g., excessive, disclosure and redundant messages of affection; pretending; sexually messages), intrusion (e.g., monitoring acts), and threat behaviors (e.g., sabotaging; spreading rumors; threatening messages) (cf. Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002's labelling). In general, these varied behaviors seem to overlap what normally are considered common scenarios of cyberstalking, cyber-ORI and unwanted relational pursuit (Grangeia, 2012; Cupach & Spitzberg, 1998; Pereira & Matos, 2015a; Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002). The fact that there were significant associations between most of the reported behaviors by adolescents and greater persistence of cyber-harassment indicates that cyber-harassment tends to be prolonged and persistent over time. Like cyberstalking, for example, the present data suggest a strategic and dynamic progression of cyber-harassment pattern over different stages, where the failure of previous tactics, and related coping tactics, may lead to new strategies over time (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004; Grangeia, 2012; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2014). It may also reflect the perceptions held by adolescents about cyber-harassment, and unilateral intentions of courtship and approach behaviors, specifically, as mainly a non-intrusive, "normal" or expected behavior among young ages. Romantic lyrics and popular Portuguese sayings (e.g., *If at first you don't succeed, try, try again; Anything is possible if you try hard enough; Persistence pays*) may help to maintain these legitimatization dynamics, as well as the progression and maintenance of persistent patterns of unwanted cyber-harassment.

The majority of victimization occurred mostly within close and frequent relationships, including friends and known people. These results are in accordance with the literature (e.g., Wolak et al., 2006). Compared to anonymous or stranger harassment, relationship familiarity may actually exacerbate cyber-victimization hazards, as these are relationships that may be more trusted, thereby leading victims to be less inclined to realize their victimization, less likely to seek third-party intervention, and perhaps be more traumatizing due to the sense of betrayal involved. Supplementary analysis brought interesting findings and additional relevant implications for this study. For example, victims of friends experienced a less persistent cyber-harassment campaign than victims of intimate partners. Victims of acquaintances were also targeted for longer periods

of time than those victimized by unknown contacts. This is consistent with literature on harassment in general, which indicates that prior relationship may be a useful means of determining potential intrusiveness and duration (Björklund, Häkkänen-Nyholm, Roberts, & Sheridan, 2010; McEwan et al., 2009; Pereira & Matos, 2015b).

This study also addressed adolescent responses to victimization. As found in previous studies (e.g., d'Haenens et al., 2013), most adolescents were not afraid, confirming the third hypothesis. High levels of cyber-harassment experience and the frequent practice of mediatisation of crime and other social deviations by the Portuguese media (e.g., Pinto, Pereira, Pereira, & Ferreira, 2011) may have led to its normalization and cultural acceptance of such acts, thereby decreasing the fear among victims. However, as expected, we found that persistence increased fear. This same factor appear to moderate the trauma of victimization in previous studies (Grangeia, 2012; Sheridan, Blaauw, & Davies, 2003). One possible explanation is that adolescents become afraid when frequent behaviors they may ordinarily consider normal (e.g., unwanted text messages or images related with affective and intimate topics, insults and threats) are used in abnormal ways (i.e., excessively, or in excessively exploitative or intrusive ways). In accordance with the literature (e.g., Hawker & Boulton, 2000), it is also possible that the always-available nature of mobile ICTs (e.g., smartphone, tablet) and the more direct and covert nature of these acts, may have led the victims to perceive such incidents as more personal and serious, being more afraid. In contrast, theft of one's electronic identity, having personal information disclosed electronically and being harassed online by offline contacts, and vice versa, could have been perceived as less threatening by adolescents because they occurred less often in the sample and, likewise, may have seemed like an anomaly — just a passing, odd occurrence. Although these forms can increase fear by increasing the audience to their harassment, they have been associated with less enduring trauma for adolescents (e.g., Hawker & Boulton, 2000). Nevertheless, among adolescent victims, girls were more likely to be afraid as compared to boys (e.g., Fenaughty & Harré, 2013; Spitzberg et al, 2010; Ybarra et al., 2006). Furthermore, although the most persistent cyber-aggressor was an acquaintance, most adolescents were more afraid facing cyber-aggressors who were unknown, male and older than adolescents. These findings may reflect the conventional idea that adults and males have more power, and more power implies greater potential threat or harm (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). In addition it reflects feelings of powerlessness and an inability of victims to take action against an unknown cyber aggressor (Ybarra et al., 2006).

In support of the fourth hypothesis, and consistent with most prior research (e.g., Livingstone et al., 2011; Prieber et al., 2013), most adolescents did not seek help. Developmental reasons (e.g., developing their adult identity, affirmation their autonomy from "old-fashioned" parents) and the possible trend of normalization of these acts may help explain this apparent adolescent reluctance to seek help (Whitman, 2007). However, when they did this, there were the group of girls and younger adolescents who reported to sought more for help as compared to older adolescents and boys (Pasupathi et al. 2009; Priebe et al., 2013).Traditional societal scripts on the gendered nature of fear (e.g., Harris & Miller, 2000; Spitzberg, Cupach, & Ciceraro, 2010) may help to understand these sex discrepancies; while developmental and maturation aspects of adolescence may help to explain this difference based on the age. In contrast, feelings related to shame, guilty and responsibility about what happened may justify why victim-aggressors, in the present study, were more likely to not seek help (Pasupathi et al. 2009; Priebe et al., 2013). As expected, fear was positively associated with increased help-seeking. This finding is in line with studies that conceptualize help-seeking resulting from greater perceived seriousness of online experience (e.g., Mishna et al., 2009; Prieber et al., 2013; Optem, 2007). However, as found in Priebe et al. (2013), not all distressed adolescents sought help and not all adolescents who sought help were afraid. Help-seeking seems to be, therefore, influenced more by the nature of behavior (i.e., more abnormal, overt behaviors vs. covert harassment) rather than by the simple condition of fear (Slonje & Smith, 2008; Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002; Priebe et al., 2013). This reinforces the importance in future studies of investigating the role of fear in eliciting coping strategies. In the EU Kids Online study, for example, only those who reported being bothered were analyzed (Livingstone et al., 2011).

When adolescents did seek help, they sought it from informal support sources more often than from formal sources of support and perceived it as helpful (Mascheroni & Ólafsson, 2014), confirming the fifth hypothesis. However, previous findings claiming that adolescents prefer seeking help from friends rather than parents (Mishna et al., 2009) were not confirmed by this study. No one sought help only from formal support sources. One reason for this under-utilization may be related to the lack of national anti-cyber-harassment policies, programs and institutions, as well as feelings of shame, and from fear of retaliation by the cyber-aggressor. Nonetheless, longer victimization increased the adolescent's help-seeking from formal support sources, consistent with prior research (e.g., Reyns & Englebrecht, 2010). This suggests that more persistent incidents are

more complex and may need specialized skills to solve the problem. It may also indicate that informal sources of assistance have been exhausted without success.

In line with findings of Machackova and colleagues (2013), the victims who reported being afraid perceived higher helpfulness from help-seeking, suggesting that it promoted victim's perception of control. It further suggests that the subjective experience of fear may be somewhat independent of duration and highlight the importance of taking into account both objective measures (duration) and subjective factors (fear) when determining the seriousness of cyber-harassment victimization, especially when considering the legal definition of cyberstalking. These findings also indicate the importance of parent responsibility in supporting adolescents, since they were most likely to be the first adults to be informed of cyber-harassment victimization. Further, it emphasizes that the cessation of cyber-harassment is not only the victim's responsibility and does not depend only on the support and/or intervention that adolescents can receive. To stop victimization, intervention programs will also need to directly address potential and actual cyber-aggressors in order to hold them responsible and deter them from aggressing. In fact, treatment outcome research indicates that a combination of interventions for victims and aggressors may be the most effective in stopping aggressive behaviors (Durfee, 2013; Lipsey, 2009). These results underscore the pressing need for the social and political recognition of a diversity of forms of relational pursuit that occur in online context and for the development of services specialized in adolescent cyber-harassment victims in general (e.g., intervention programs for victims and aggressors, more help lines). Such institutional and programmatic public health campaigns may allow adolescents access to publicly available information and support, thereby facilitating disclosure.

Limitations

A few limitations of this study must be noted. First, adolescents were asked only if they had experienced and/or perpetrated cyber-harassment. They were not asked if they perceived themselves as victims or aggressors (acknowledgement). This may have resulted in an over-reporting of both victimization and aggression. Second, the survey assessed the double involvement on cyber-harassment, without asking the chronological order of those in experiences. For example, we do not know whether adolescents are primary victims or primary aggressors, and whether one experience or the other is a risk factor for the other. Third, the survey did not assess other victimization consequences or responses beyond fear and help-seeking. Several reactions (e.g.,

isolation, depression, suicidality, self-efficacy) and coping strategies (e.g., confrontation, ignoring) can occur in combination. Offline experiences – another unassessed variable in the present study - may also have affected victims' responses (Hasebrink et al., 2011).

Conclusions

This study adds to the existing literature by providing evidence that most adolescents in Portugal are victims of several forms of cyber-harassment. Furthermore, one of the most relevant contributions of this study the cyber-harassment process is that most adolescent victims are also cyber-harassment aggressors. Those who harass others seem to be caught in a continual or self-reinforcing cycle of victimization by, and perpetration of, aggressive behaviors. Such findings suggest a new perspective of online harassment as a complex, sometimes reciprocal and dynamic process. Moreover, this study demonstrates that there are specific characteristics of victims, aggressors and cyber-harassment episodes associated with variations in victimization persistence, fear and help-seeking. These factors can be used to identify adolescents who are more vulnerable, aggressors who pose the greatest risk of serious cyber-harassment, consequent damage to victims, and to inform the importance of social support in the reestablishment of the victim's psycho-emotional well-being. Such a paradigm is needed to inform adolescents, parents, teachers, educators, social and victim support professionals and policy if the struggle against cyber-harassment is to be successful.

Taking in consideration the evidence-based support provided by this study, we suggest that future psychoeducational and intervention programs should emphasize: (1) media education (towards prevention); (2) deconstruction of traditional normative beliefs about the use of violence; (3) promotion of healthy relationships; (4) awareness about nature, consequences and costs of cyber-harassment, (5) reduction of barriers that restrict the help-seeking behavior, and, finally (6) develop good practices within help professionals (e.g., legal, educational, health).

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CAPÍTULO III

PREDICTORS OF ADOLESCENT CYBER-HARASSMENT VICTIMIZATION APPLYING LIFESTYLE-ROUTINE ACTIVITIES: ARE THERE RED FLAGS?[4]

[4] O presente capítulo está escrito em inglês americano e foi submetido em 2015 para publicação na revista *Youth & Society* (Quartil 1).

CAPÍTULO III

PREDICTORS OF ADOLESCENT CYBER-HARASSMENT VICTIMIZATION APPLYING LIFESTYLE-ROUTINE ACTIVITIES: ARE THERE RED FLAGS?

Abstract

Cyber-harassment has become a common experience, especially among adolescents who are transitioning between the trends of increasing velocity of communication, social networks, mobility patterns and access to multiple modes of technological interaction. These same features that enable cyber-harassment also provide the potential for this relatively new form of violence to have more devastating effects than its more traditional forms. To date, however, there is little knowledge of the factors that contribute to cyber-victimization in adolescence. This study is part of a broader project on cyber-harassment among a representative group of 627 Portuguese adolescents, aged 12-16 years old. It explores the predictors of cyber-harassment victimization using the online lifestyle-routine activities approach. Results indicated that cyber-victimization increases when adolescents are older, use tablets, add unknown people to their social networks, have already perpetrated cyber-harassment, and have a lower parental guardianship. Each of these "red flags" suggests practical implications, which are elaborated in discussion.

Keywords: Cyber-harassment, victimization, adolescents, predictors, lifestyle-routine activities.

Introduction

In an increasingly cyber-based culture, the term cyber-harassment refers to harassment through an electronic medium. Harassment generally refers to repeated unwanted intrusions, annoyances, impositions, threats, or other aggravating or intimidating actions that typically imply a form of dominance or coercion. With the anonymity of the Internet, asynchronous modality, durability of online expressions, lack of social cueing and presence, and greater opportunity for disinhibited behavior in often unregulated contexts, the potential for cyber-harassment is extensive (Boyd, 2014; Brake, 2014; Lapidot-Lefler & Barak, 2012). Cyber-aggressors can send unwanted and persistent emails or messages with threatening, obscene or insulting nature, and such information can be distributed to mass audiences at the push of a button. Cyber-aggressors can also monitor and pursue users on sites or inveigle themselves and impersonate another person (Mapel, Short, & Brown, 2011; Sheridan & Grant, 2007). Some cyber-aggressors can also become more comfortable with harassing a victim online and move to real space, increasing their sense of omnipresence in the victim's life and perpetrating even more threatening and aggressive actions (Kuzma, 2014; Van Wilsem, 2011).

The difficulty of legally enforcing and punishing aggressive online behaviors is another factor that increases the false sense of security online and the behavioral disinhibition online, making it easier for any person to commit, or be victimized, online (Blais, Craig, Pepler, & Connolly, 2008; Bocij & McFarlane, 2003; Marcum, Higgin, & Ricketts, 2014). In this sense, it is not surprising that low-risk offline victims can become high-risk victims in the cyberworld (McGrath & Casey, 2002).

Despite the many benefits of online interactions for Internet and new media users in general (Boyd, 2014; Chou & Edge, 2012; Johnson, Blum, & Giedd, 2010), the last few years the digital-born millennial generation has witnessed increasing rates of victimization by cyber-aggressors, mainly among the youth population (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, & Ólafsson, 2011; Madden et al., 2013; Matos & Ferreira, 2013). The Youth Internet Safety Survey (YISS), a nationally representative study of American 10-17 years old, found that cyber-victimization rate grew from 6% to 9% between 2001 and 2005 and from 9% to 11% between 2005 and 2010 (Jones, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2012). In European research, the comparison from 2010 to 2014 (Livingstone, Mascheroni, Ólafsson, & Haddon, 2014) showed that youth aged 11-16 years old were more likely to be bothered or upset online (from 13% to 17%), mainly due to increased exposure to hate messages (from 13% to 20%), sexual images (from 15% to 17%), self-harm sites (from 7% to 11%)

and cyberbullying (from 8% to 12%). Specifically in Portugal, there was an increase from 7% to 10% in the proportion of children and adolescents who reported having been troubled online (Simões, Ponte, Ferreira, Doretto, & Azevedo, 2014). Previous research with this sample found that 60.8% were repeated victims of cyber-harassment, and within those, 66.1% admitted had been victim-aggressors (i.e., overlap; Pereira, Spitzberg, & Matos, 2015) and 61.9% were cyber-stalked (Pereira & Matos, 2015). With regard to perpetration, 33.1% of Portuguese adolescents aged 12-16 years, had perpetrated repeated cyber-harassment and 18.2% perpetrated cyberstalking behaviors (Novo, Pereira, & Matos, 2014). More surprisingly, aggressor and victim roles overlapped extensively; fully 93.3% of those who reported cyber-harassment victimization also reported perpetrating such behaviors.

Because of its widespread effect on the psychology, emotional, and social interactions of individuals, cyber-harassment can have serious consequences. For example, adolescent victims can experience fear, powerlessness, frustration, isolation, anxiety and sleep disorder (Blauuw, Winkel, Arensman, Sheridan, & Freeve, 2002; Livingstone, Kirwil, Ponte, & Staksrud, 2013; Staude-Muller, Hansen, & Voss, 2012). These negative reactions can in turn affect their academic standing and even their family and friends (Marcum et al., 2014). Investigating the correlates of youth cyber-victimization is, therefore, an important first step in directing both future research and intervention programs aimed at protecting the well-being of vulnerable youth online.

Vulnerability Factors for Cyber-Victimization in Adolescence

In order to understand adolescent vulnerability for cyber-harassment victimization, scholars have explored different theoretical perspectives and different measures have been assessed the likelihood of victimization. Despite the critical view of some researchers (e.g., Ngo & Paternoster, 2011; Yar, 2005), the theoretical perspective of online lifestyle-routine activities (Eck & Clark, 2003) provides one of the most flexible understandings of the online vulnerability (Bossler, Holt, & May, 2012; Choi, 2008; Marcum, 2008; Reyns, Henson, & Fisher, 2011; Reyns, Henson, Fisher, Fox, & Nobles, 2015). According to routine activities (RA) theory, most online criminal acts end up from opportunistic intersections in digital "hot spots" and times where there is a convergence of likely aggressors, suitable targets, and absence of deterrents such as capable guardian (Cohen & Felson, 1979).

In the cyberworld, suitable targets include users who maximize the exposition of their personal information and of their digital profile to multiple users, making them more visible,

attractive and accessible to motivated aggressors (Eck & Clark, 2003; Holt & Bossler, 2008). According to research among adolescents and college students, victimization is gendered (see Reyns et al., 2015 for more information on gender-based theoretical models) and older adolescents (the peaks around 13-14 years old) are at greater risk of victimization than boys and pre-pubescent adolescents (Brake, 2014; Simões et al., 2014). Victims seem to be more likely to engage in risky online behaviors or present a lower ability to manage online problems (Bocij, 2004). Thus, vulnerable cyber-victims can include those who engage in high Internet use (Madden et al., 2013; Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2007), talk with unknown online individuals (Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2007; Sengupta & Chaudhuri, 2011), discuss sexual matters online (Quayle, Jonsson, & Lööf, 2012), disclose personal information (Helsper, Kalmus, Hasebrink, Sagvari, & De Haan, 2013; Marcum, 2008; Staksrud, Ólafsson, & Livingstone, 2013; Pereira, Matos, & Sampaio, 2014), and use file-sharing software to download images or visit X-rated web sites (Livingstone et al., 2013). Individuals who perpetrate computer crimes (e.g. hacking) or anti-social online behaviors (e.g., online harassment, stalking or bullying) seem also to be at higher risk to become victimized (i.e., overlapping between the cyber-aggressor and cyber-victim's positions; e.g., Bossler & Hotlt, 2010).

In addition to the exposure factors identified by lifestyle-routine activities theory, it also predicts that lack of regulation or oversight increases victim vulnerability. In this context, the absence of capable guardianship represents a lack of behavioral control (Felson, 1987). In cyberspace, it can be translated by a lack of digital literacy skills and competence (Association of Colleges and Research Libraries, 2010), physical guardianship (i.e., filtering software, setting rules; Choi, 2008) and parental mediation (i.e., an absence of parental competence to mediate adolescents' e-activities; e.g., Bocij, 2004; Law, Shapka, & Olson, 2010). Related to lack of oversight, accessing to the Internet in private spaces (e.g., bedroom) puts individuals at increased risk for victimization, as it is more difficult to monitor adolescent' activities online (Law et al., 2010; Sengupta & Chaudhuri, 2011). In turn, if most recent findings have corroborated the inverse relationship between active parental guardianship and cyber-victimization (e.g., Baumrind, 1991; Law et al., 2010; Ybarra, Finkelhor, Mitchell, & Wolak, 2009), research on how online physical guardianship affects victimization risk is inconsistent (Choi, 2008; Marcum et al., 2010). As such, it is necessary to explore further the effect of different type of strategies applied by parents in turn.

Most previous studies have been focused on individual characteristics of youths engaging in online victimization (e.g., isolation, depression, self-control – e.g., Bossler & Holt, 2010;

Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990), and have generally excluded important contextual factors (e.g., online lifestyle-routine) and guardianship factors, mainly linked to parental mediation (e.g., involvement, tracking, surveillance). Further, research on predicting cyber-victimization has distinguished youth who are victims from those who are victim-aggressors, resulting in a lack of understanding whether relationships between cyber-harassment victimization and perpetration.

Present Study

The present study explores the effects of situational factors on cyber-harassment in general. In particular, this study applies the routine activities theory perspective (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Garofalo, 1987) to determine if exposure to motivated aggressors, risky online behaviors and capable guardianship affect the likelihood to be victim.

This line of research extends previous studies on cyber-harassment predictors in three ways. First, unlike other studies that tend to focus on prediction of specific events based on a limited number of cyber-behaviors, the current study focuses on a broader set of behaviors that can match different phenomena of online victimization (e.g., online sexting, cyberbullying, cyberstalking). Second, it incorporates extensive assessment measures addressed to adolescents' risky online behaviors and their guardianship tactics, including physical (i.e., filter software), personal (e.g., adolescent digital competence) and parental guardianship (i.e., parental mediation). Third, the present study includes the variable cyber-harassment perpetration in the form of deviant activity and risky behaviors in predicting online victimization. Regarding Portugal, this line of research is very important since previous studies have evidenced increasing rates of online victimization in adolescence and significate rates of fear of victimization (cf. Simões et al., 2014; Pereira et al., 2015). The fact that there are still no established national plans against online aggression gives additional relevance to this line of research.

The present work expects to contribute to the identification of situational factors that predict online victimization in order to inform parents, teachers and professionals about what specific actions that should be taken into consideration when designing and implementing psychoeducational programs to enhance adolescent Internet safety at various stages of development. In this way, (inter) national campaigns can be more focused and effective and parents can improve their mediation practices regarding adolescent's online use. All of these advancements are important to reduce adolescent victimization, fear, and the perpetual cycle of

adolescent exposure to violence (e.g., Jennings, Piquero, & Reingle, 2012; Law et al., 2010; Ngo & Paternoster, 2011; Pereira et al., 2015).

Method

Sample and Procedure

The present study uses data from a larger Portuguese study on cyber-harassment experience and reactions to victimization. It is based on a representative sample of the number of adolescents, aged 12-16, enrolled in Portuguese state (n = 11) and private (n = 9) schools from northern region of Portugal's mainland and the autonomous region of the Azores.

The study received approval from the Portuguese Data Protection Authority (CNPD), General Directorate of Education and director of each group/school. Upon approval, informed consent was sought from a random sample of students and their parents (N = 1340 adolescents invited). Inclusion criteria were defined by adolescents between 12 and 16 years old, who were Internet users for at least 6 months. No financial, assistance, compensation or incentives were provided to participants. Nevertheless, at the completion of the project, participants were offered an awareness session about the risks of cyber-activity and cyber-victimization.

A total sample of 627 adolescents (age M = 13.98; SD = 1.35; 54.9% females) successfully completed the online survey (via ESurvey Creator Sofware) between February and June 2013, in a classroom and in the presence of the first author. At the end, participants received an informative flyer that included the researcher's contacts in order to support participants to clarify some doubts and/or to offer support in case of cyber-victimization and/or cyber-aggression. As Table 5 illustrates, about 61% of adolescents had experienced a repeated form of cyber-harassment at some point in their lives (see Pereira et al., 2015). This group of victims is the present study sample (N = 381). Victims were 42.8% males and 57.2% females, with an average age of 14.26 years old (SD = 1.30). Most of them were Portuguese (96.1%) and attended the third cycle of education (76.6%) at state schools (75.3%). The average age to the first access to the Internet was 9.04 years old (Min = 1, Max = 14, SD = 2.41).

Measures

Dependent variable

Cyber-harassment victimization. Cyber-victimization was assessed by a set of 18 items, measured on a 5-point Likert-type scale (from 0 = *never* to 5 = *more than five times*; α = .90). An adolescent was coded as a cyber-victim if s/he was a victim of any listed online behavior more than once, or any two or more different listed online behaviors at least once. The self-recognition of victimization was assessed based on the question: "Someone already did it against me." Descriptive statistics for cyber-harassment victimization are presented in Table 5.

Independent variables

Online exposure to motivated cyber-aggressors. The current study incorporates three aspects of exposure: (a) number of ICT devices owned by the adolescent, (b) whether adolescents talk with unknowns online contacts, and (c) number of cyber-practices. To capture the number of cyber-practices, a scale was constituted by 12 behaviors (α = .75) measured on a 5-point Likert-type. As Table 5 displays, this sample of adolescent cyber-victims is connected to ICTs and to the Internet in a number of ways, having an active participation into the virtual world. Higher scores for each of these measures represented higher online exposure and activity by adolescent that might increase potential exposure to motivated aggressors and likelihood of victimization according to the online lifestyle-routine activities theory.

Risky online activities and behaviors. Risk was assessed based on two scales: the cyber-risk scale; and the cyber-aggression scale. The first scale was operationalized by 12 behaviors via a 5-point Likert-type (α = .64). The items were written to assess online exposure (e.g., "giving information about hobbies and routines life on social networks"), risks (e.g., "arranging face-to-face meetings with online contacts"), and protective behaviors (e.g., "blocking unwanted contacts") of adolescents. The second measure assessed adolescent online perpetration via the same set of 18-items cyber-harassment victimization scale, measured on a 5-point Likert-type scale (from 0 = *never* to 5 = *more than five times*; α = .90). The self-recognition of perpetration was assessed based on the question if: "I already did it against someone". For both cyber-risk and cyber-aggression scales, higher score represented higher risk online and deviance that might reflect higher online proximity to motivated aggressors and higher target suitability to be victim, based on online lifestyle-routine activities theory. Table 5 shows that cyber-victims had been engaged in a range of risk online behaviors. A significant percentage further reported victim-aggressor status.

Online capable guardianship. Mediation was assessed by asking adolescents about their digital competence self-perceived (on a 5-point Likert-type) and the use of filter software (response options were 0 = *No* and 1 = *Yes*). Further, two scales assessed adolescent perception of parental mediation of ICT usage: the parental cyber-involvement; and the parental prohibitions scales. The first scale consisted of 10 items using a 5-point Likert-type scale (e.g., "Informs you about ICT dangers"; "Knows which online pages do you access and with whom do you communicate", "Asks you about what are you seeing and doing online"). This measure demonstrated good reliability (α = .89). The second scale assessed adolescent perception about monitoring and restrictive practices imposed by parents (e.g., spending a lot of time on Internet; talking with strangers via Internet). This construct was operationalized by 9 items using a 5-point Likert-type scale (α = .83). Lower scores of these four variables reflected a lack of online capable guardianship that might increase an individual's attractiveness as an online target. Table 5 highlights the propensity for adolescent confidence in using ICT devices. Adolescents also appear to perceive a moderate level of parental mediation; but only 10% of them admitted to using filter software.

Table 5

Variables, scales and descriptive statistics for victims sample (N = 381)

Variable	Scale	*M* (*SD*)	Min - Max
Dependent variable			
Cyber-victimization	(0 = *no*; 1 = *yes*)	0.61 (.49)	0-1
Independent variables			
N of ICTs	(N of adolescent ICT)	4.49 (1.33)	1-7
Talking to unknown online	(0 = *no*; 1 = *yes*)	0.29 (.45)	0-1
Cyber-practices	(N of online activities)	8.86 (1.85)	2-12
Cyber-risk	(N of online risk)	5.96 (2.46)	1-12
Cyber-aggression scale	(N of online harassment)	1.85 (2.70)	0-18
Digital competence	(Mean level of digital competence)	3.08 (.80)	0-4
Use of filter software	(0 = *no*; 1 = *yes*)	0.10 (.30)	0-1
Parental cyber-involvement	(N of online involvement)	7.62 (2.61)	0-10
Parental prohibitions	(N of online prohibitions)	6.24 (2.54)	0-9

Control variables			
Sex	(0 = *male*; 1 = *female*)	0.57 (.50)	0-1
Age	(Mean level of age)	14.20 (1.30)	12-16

Control variables

Demographics. The effect of sex (0 = *male*; 1 = *female*) and age (in years) were controlled for in the following statistical analyses.

Statistical Analyses

SPSS 22 was used to summarize the data. The correlation matrix and association tests between independent variables and the victimization category are displayed in Table 6. Second, a logistic regression model enabled examination of the relationship between the cyber-victimization variable (dichotomous nature) and the independent variables (see Table 7). The reference group in this analysis was adolescents who were not cyber-victims.

Results

The correlation matrix (Table 6) illustrated that many of the items derived from online lifestyle-routine activities theory were significantly related to cyber-harassment victimization. All variables measuring online exposure to motivated cyber-aggressors and risky online activities and behaviors were positively correlated with cyber-harassment victimization. Having a higher number of ICTs devices, talking with unknown online contacts and having a larger number of cyber-practices, cyber-risks and cyber-aggression behaviors increased the likelihood of victimization. Only two variables of online capable guardianship were negatively correlated with cyber-victimization, which appear to be suppressor variables of victimization: parental involvement and prohibitions. In contrast to expectations, adolescent self-perceived digital competence was positively correlated with cyber-harassment victimization. That is, adolescents who perceived greater digital competence were seen as more suitable targets for cyber-harassment victimization. Physical guardianship (i.e., filter software) had no-influence on cyber-victimization. Finally, older adolescents were positively correlated with cyber-harassment victimization.

In order to know which items of the scales were specially associated with victimization, all items were dichotomized into those who admitted having or perceiving no ICTs/behaviors, versus those having or perceiving at least one ICT/behavior. Table 7 shows in detail which type of ICT

devices, cyber-practices, cyber-risks, cyber-aggression and parental mediation were associated with cyber-harassment victimization. Due to the number of separate analyses and the relatively large sample, only those significant associations at $p < .01$ are reported. The findings from the correlation matrices justified further regression analysis.

Predicting Cyber-Harassment Victimization: Logistic Regression Analyze

Table 8 reports the logistic backward Wald regression analysis for this study. The tolerance coefficients show that multicollinearity was not a problem in the regression model. Data showed that 75.1% of the cases of cyber-harassment victimization could be accurately classified by eight significant predictors: the use of tablets, *OR* = .52, 95% CIs [.35 – .78], $p \leq .001$, adding strangers as online friends, *OR* = .53, 95% CIs [.34 – .78], $p \leq .01$, and by four risky online behaviors related to cyber-aggression: "Sending exaggerated messages of affection", *OR* = .08, 95% CIs [.02 – .35], $p \leq .001$; "Phoning without any apparent justification", *OR* = .20, 95% CIs [.12 – .34], $p \leq .001$, "Monitoring or sending gifts via mobile phone or social network", *OR* = .06, 95% CIs [.01 – .26], $p \leq .01$, "Sending insulting messages", *OR* = .36, 95% CIs [.14 – .93], $p \leq .05$. Parental knowledge about adolescent's online contacts was also a significant predictor, *OR* = 1.75, 95% CIs [1.06 – 2.90], $p \leq .05$, as well as the adolescent age, *OR* = 1.25, 95% CIs [1.08 – 1.44], $p \leq .01$. This parental guardianship item revealed negative beta weights in combination with the other items in the global model. This suggests there could be a suppressor variable. More specifically, adolescents who used a tablet and added friends in their social networks people who they never met personally increased their odds of cyber-harassment victimization. Those who had sent exaggerated messages, phoned, monitored or insulted others online, also greatly increased the odds of cyber-victimization between more than 1 and 3 times. In contrast, victimization emerged as less likely to happen with adolescents whose parents had knowledge about their online contacts (i.e., indicating an increase of capable online guardianship).

Table 6

Correlation matrix for independent variables

Sl. No.	Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	Cyber-victimization	—										
2	Number of ICTs	.10**	—									
3	Talking to unknown online contacts	.31***	.05	—								
4	Cyber-practices	.14***	.30***	.15***	—							
5	Cyber-risky behaviors	.25***	.03	.37***	.28***	—						
6	Cyber-aggression scale	.73***	.07***	.26***	.20***	.30***	—					
7	Digital competence	.15***	.18***	.12**	.29***	-.05	.12**	—				
8	Filter software	.05	.04	7-.06	-.00	-.06	-.02	-.03	—			
9	Parental involvement	-.10*	.13**	-.02	.16***	-.13***	-.12**	-.05	.13***	—		
10	Parental prohibitions	-.18***	.08*	-.07	.07	-.11**	-.19**	-.08*	-.09*	.50***	—	
11	Sex	-.06	-.01	-.08	-.15***	-.16***	-.19***	-.04	.04	.13**	.07	—
12	Age	.24***	-.06	.21***	.09*	.25***	.18***	.01	-.04	-.20***	-.19***	-.04

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$.

Table 7

Adolescent cyber-practices, cyber-risks and parental guardianship descriptive and association with cyber-harassment victimization (N = 627)

	Not victims (*n* = 246)	Victims (*n* = 381)	Correlation test
Online exposure			
Use of Tablet	31.5%	68.5%	12.30***
Use of IPod	29.7%	70.3%	7.89***
Publishing texts, images or other online	37.1%	62.9%	11.90***
Looking erotic or pornographic pages	28.8%	71.2%	6.62**
Risky online activities and behaviors			
Adding strangers as online friends	27.8%	72.2%	36.91***
Not blocking online contacts from strangers	35.8%	64.2%	7.24**
Arranging offline meeting with someone who they only met online	14.5%	85.5%	22.24***
Not talking with parents about uncomfortable online experiences	35.4%	64.6%	7.71**
Providing personal information to unknown online users	28.3%	71.7%	16.06***
Sending exaggerated messages of affection	2.8%	97.2%	45.35***
Sending excessively 'needy', disclosive or demanding messages	5.3%	94.7%	19.58***
Phoning without any apparent justification	11%	89%	91.88***
Monitoring or sending gifts via mobile phone or social network	2.1%	97.9%	63.86***
Sending pornographic or obscene pictures or messages	7.4%	92.6%	11.99***
Sending threatening written messages, photos or images	0%	100%	13.34***
Sending sexually harassing messages	0%	100%	11.9***
Sending insulting messages	7.6%	92.4%	37.95***

Exposing private information about one person to others	5.6%	94.4%	8.82**
Pretending to be someone else	16.3%	83.7%	11.70***
Obtaining someone's private information without permission	6.4%	93.6%	23.00***
Using another person's computer to get information on others	4.8%	95.2%	10.83***
Altering and/or taking over the electronic identity of a person	0%	100%	7.23**
Parental guardianship			
Knowledge about online pages visited by adolescents	41.2%	58.8%	9.63**
Knowledge about adolescent's online contacts	43.1%	56.9%	14.28***
Knowledge about adolescent's texting via mobile phone, email or chat rooms	43%	57%	7.23**

*** $p \leq .001$; ** $p \leq .01$

Table 8

Logistic regression predicting cyber-harassment victimization.

Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	OR [IC .95]
Use of tablet	.65***	.20	10.23	.52 [.35 – .78]
Adding strangers as online friends	.64***	.20	10.33	.53 [.36 – .78]
Sending exaggerated messages of affection	2.53***	.76	11.09	.08 [.02 – .35]
Phoning without any apparent justification	1.61***	.27	34.95	.20 [.12 – .34]
Monitoring or sending gifts via mobile phone or social network	2.78***	.74	14.10	.06 [.01 – .26]
Sending insulting messages	1.04*	.49	4.41	.36 [.14 – .93]
Parental knowledge about adolescent's online contacts	-.56*	.26	4.81	1.75 [1.06 – 2.90]

Age	.23***	.08	9.10	1.25 [1.08 – 1.44]
Chi-Square: 225.80***				
-2 log Likelihood: 614.11				
Cox & Snell: .30				
Nagelkerke: .41				

*$p \leq .05$; *** $p \leq .001$

Discussion and Conclusions

The purpose of the present study was to explore the predictors of cyber-harassment victimization, testing the link between this dependent variable and the online lifestyle-routine activities theory measures. Results corroborate the importance of online lifestyle-routine theory in helping to understand cyber-victimization, as almost all of the lifestyle activities were significantly correlated with one another, and some of them were also significant predictors of victimization.

In the current study, the evidence that as risky online activities and behaviors increase the likelihood of cyber-victimization increases is supportive of lifestyle-routine activities research by Bossler and Holt (2008) and of Reyns et al. (2011). As suggested before, specific risky-activities on social networking sites or into the Internet in general may facilitate online exposure and victimization (Holt & Bossler, 2009; Marcum, 2008; Marcum et al., 2010; Reyns et al., 2015). In this case, adding strangers as online friends was a significant predictor of victimization because this act maximizes the exposure of personal information to a larger population of users, decreasing their personal guardianship while increasing the likelihood of intersecting with a larger group of motivated aggressors. Likewise, cyber-aggression was a strong predictor of victimization because deviance increases the closeness to motivated aggressor, decreasing the guardianship and making cyber-victimization more likely for example, by former victims as a form of "revenge" or "payback" (Bossler & Holt, 2009; Mishna, Khoury-Kassabri, Gadalla, & Daciuk, 2012; Sontag, Clemans, Graber, & Lyndon, 2011). This means that violence perpetration and victimization strongly predict each other, suggesting a perpetual cycle of exposure to violence and perpetration of violence. Based on these results, we can have important implications for victimology and support the recommendation against dichotomizing individuals into different groups of victims and aggressors, since it could mask notable similarities between victims and aggressors (Jennings et al., 2012; Law et al., 2010; Pereira et al., 2015; Posick, 2013). The fact that participation in harassment by

perpetrating hyper-intimacy, intrusion or insulting behaviors have been more significant predictors of victimization may suggest that these behaviors can be perceived as more intrusive and traumatic for victims, triggering likelier negative reactions such as aggression or association with deviant peers (Mishna et al., 2012; Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002). Future research should take into account the overlapping cyber-harassment aggressor/victims in adolescence as an important group to better understand the etiologies and effects of such harassment.

Relating to guardianship measures, the only predictive variable was parental involvement (i.e., parental knowledge about adolescent's online contacts). In contrast to expectations, no support was found relating to filtering software to effective guardianship. Software protection may be more effective in protecting Internet users from more instrumental cyber-crimes (e.g., hacking, financial crime; obtaining a computer virus) than from more aggression-targeted forms of cyber-harassment. However, given that few adolescents admitted to using filtering software, the null finding may be a result of limited power or restricted range. In addition, the finding that having greater digital competence was positively correlated with cyber-victimization is in contrast with the literature on cyber-harassment (e.g., Association of Colleges and Research Libraries, 2010) and on online RA theory. This counterintuitive finding may reflect two complementary explanations. First, competence tends to arise from amount of time and experience with a medium, which is an opportunity variable. The more experienced an adolescent is, the more exposure there is, and the more exposure there is, the more likely it is that the adolescent encounters strangers, aggressors, and conflicts resulting in aggression. As reported in Table 6, adolescents with higher level of digital competence had at greater contact with strangers, adopted a higher number of cyber-practices, as well as a higher number of cyber-aggression behaviors, which were positively correlated with increasing cyber-victimization. Second, it is possible that a greater sense of digital competence may lead adolescents to a false perception of security and low risk, making them more disinhibited and more venturesome in their online activities and interactions that make them as opportunistic targets for victimization. The fact that digital competence was not a significant predictor of cyber-victimization may suggest an indirect mediation link between these two variables, depending on cyber-practices and cyber-risks performed by adolescent victims.

Although it has not been clearly established in the existing online RA theory literature if any particular guardianship measures is more important in explaining cyber-victimization, these results are critical since they support the notion that warm and responsiveness parenting behavior may result in children with greater efficacy and defensive capability in their online lives, compared with

those who are products of more authoritarian and restrictive parenting (e.g., using filter software; Baumrind, 1991; Law et al., 2010). Thus, instead of emphasizing physical guardianship through monitoring, controlling and tracking adolescents online parents need to be educated in ICT literacy skills to prevent reactive "panics" toward social media. Parents need to be collaborative partners, and when possible, teachers, in guiding their children to employ more responsible Internet use by their adolescents (Boyd, 2014; Law et al., 2010).

Finally, based on the outcomes of the correlation matrix and regression model, it is clear that age mediated the level of engagement on risky online behaviors and of the parental mediation, being determinant of whether adolescents report being victimized or not. In specific, being older was predictive of cyber-harassment victimization. This likely happens because older adolescents seem to be a special group who have more need to be constantly connected via mobile ICTs, and to take part in a broader range of online contexts, exposing themselves to a broader online audience and engaging in different risky online activities (Livingstone et al., 2011; Staksrud et al., 2013; Subrahmanyam, Greenfield, Kraut, & Gross, 2001). Quayle et al. (2012) also explain adolescence as a time to explore sexual desires, having their first sexuality experimentation and unrequited loves. If older adolescents are more likely to get emotionally involved in different relationships and accumulate experiences seriously distorted (e.g., dating violence, stalking, sexual abuse) (Baumgartner, Valkenburg, & Peter, 2010; Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner, & Holt, 2009; Soo & Bodanovskaya, 2012), then they may be more likely to get entangled in complex, vengeful, frustrating, and aggressive webs of relationships. The inverse relationship between parental involvement and adolescent age and cyber-risks as well, helps explain the greater vulnerability of older adolescents, while stressing the importance of parental guardianship.

Limitations and Implications

The primary limitations of this study bear consideration. First, the data were collected using questionnaires. Social desirability might influence adolescents' reports of their Internet use behavior, and aggressors' reports of perpetration, even in anonymous questionnaires. However, the use of an electronic survey was probably more effective in reducing socially desirable responses than if a paper survey instrument. Second, independents measures included few macro or micro-level influences, and no explicitly dyadic factors could be included. If aggressors are harassment victims as well, it is essential that dyadic factors eventually be included in such research. Third, victimization and perpetration of cyber-harassment was studied without asking about chronology;

that is, what happened first. Thus, it is not possible to speculate about whether or not victims doubly involved in cyber-harassment are reactive or proactive cyber-aggressors. Future work must carefully examine adolescents who are doubly involved more closely. Fourth, there are likely numerous possible risk factors related to opportunistic targeting of cyber-harassment behavior, including real-space proximity to motivated aggressor and guardianship, including parent-child mutual time online. Clearly, additional aspects of online lifestyle-routine activities need to be included in online RA theoretical literature, and additional theoretical constructs need to be brought in to complement RA theory. Related to online guardianship, for example, the significance of software requires further investigation since few adolescents reported using such widely available tools. Examining parental digital literacy in regard to such tools may be important in future research.

Despite these limitations, we believe that this work is an important step in improving researchers' understanding of how online lifestyle-routine activity theory can be an important perspective in explaining victimization in the virtual world, mainly against adolescents – the digital born. It is time to examine the new criminal affordances given by online technologies and to continue to develop effort to import more traditional theories about the crime into both the real-space and the cyberspace world. The current study is an example of how a broadly analyzed theory of victimization can be integrated into the cyberspace context. Based on the outcomes presented, the online lifestyle-routine activity theory is useful in understanding cyber-harassment victimization reported by adolescents. Results also indicate specific safeguards youth, parents, and administrators need to take in order to decrease adolescent online victimization. Further, the reciprocal relationship between aggression and victimization suggests the need of a higher degree of professional attention and parental involvement addressed to adolescents doubly involved in cyber-harassment. In this domain, developing family-based prevention is critical in increasing youth recognition on risk factors to online victimization, in improving parental skills on computers and on Internet and in maximizing healthy parent-child communication about the potential dangers associated with their online activities.

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CAPÍTULO IV

CYBERSTALKING ENTRE ADOLESCENTES: UMA NOVA FORMA DE ASSÉDIO E PERSEGUIÇÃO?[5]

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CAPÍTULO IV

CYBERSTALKING ENTRE ADOLESCENTES: UMA NOVA FORMA DE ASSÉDIO E PERSEGUIÇÃO?

Resumo

Com a crescente difusão das tecnologias de informação e comunicação, fenómenos como o *cyberstalking* começam a ter maior expressão e visibilidade social, podendo ter como alvos adultos, crianças e/ou adolescentes. A par do consenso na literatura sobre os pressupostos centrais do *cyberstalking* (e.g., persistência, intenção, deliberação, indesejabilidade), persiste uma enorme controvérsia em torno da sua definição. O presente artigo procura contribuir para a clarificação dessas inconsistências e para a demarcação do conceito, mormente do fenómeno de *cyberbullying*. Um conjunto de elementos que tipificam o *cyberstalking* estão refletidos neste trabalho. Estes devem ser considerados na sua triagem, análise e no plano de atuação junto dos "atores", assim como em programas de prevenção dirigidos a adolescentes que visam a educação para uma saúde em termos globais, tal como a define a Organização Mundial de Saúde (OMS). Reflete-se ainda criticamente acerca dos elementos comuns e divergentes entre o *cyberstalking* e outras formas de vitimação online (e.g., *sexting*, *cyberbullying*). Conclui-se que o *cyberstalking* está presente entre os adolescentes e não deve ser considerada uma dimensão "menor" de vitimação nesse grupo. Pelo contrário, é uma forma de perseguição inovadora face ao *stalking* no mundo real e distinta do *cyberbullying*.

Palavras-chave: Cyberstalking; stalking; vitimação; adolescentes.

Abstract

With the increasing diffusion of information and communication technologies, phenomena such as cyberstalking begin to have more expression and social visibility, and may have targeted adults, children and / or adolescents. However, despite the consensus in the literature about the central assumptions of cyberstalking (e.g., persistence, intent, deliberation, undesirability, there remains a great controversy surrounding its definition. This article aims to contribute to the clarification of these inconsistencies at the level of the assumptions of cyberstalking and to the demarcation of this concept, especially of the phenomenon of cyberbullying. A set of elements that typifies cyberstalking are reflected in this work. These should be considered in its screening, in the analysis and in the plan of action with the "actors", as well as prevention programs aimed to adolescents, which aim a health education, such as defined by World Health Organization (WHO). It is also critically reflected on the common elements and divergent between the cyberstalking and other forms of online victimization (e.g., sexting, cyberbullying). We conclude that cyberstalking is present in adolescents population, so this should not be considered a "minor" dimension of victimization in this group, but rather as an innovate form compared to physical stalking and different from cyberbullying.

Keywords: Cyberstalking; stalking; victimization; adolescents.

Introdução

O *cyberstalking* (também designado por *stalking* online, eletrónico ou virtual) está associado à intrusão, assédio persistente e perseguição, perpetrado através das tecnologias de informação e comunicação (TIC) (Burmester, Henry, & Kermes, 2005). Como construção sociocultural, surge no mundo ocidental durante o último século, reflexo do progressivo reconhecimento do *stalking* (i.e., assédio persistente no mundo real) e da acentuada difusão das TIC (Carvalho, 2011).

Apesar do consenso na literatura sobre os elementos centrais do *cyberstalking* (e.g., persistência, intenção, deliberação, indesejabilidade), a complexidade do constructo e o seu insuficiente reconhecimento têm resultado em diferentes definições e interpretações do fenómeno (Bocij, 2003). Consequentemente, não há unanimidade entre os investigadores acerca dos pressupostos que o definem, nem há evidências estatísticas únicas que expressem a real dimensão do fenómeno (Sheridan, Blaauw, & Davies, 2003). A literatura também não é unânime quanto à valorização do critério de medo e ameaça na apreciação de um padrão de comportamentos de *cyberstalking* (Mullen, Pathé, & Purcell, 2000), nem estabelece inequivocamente uma referência temporal ou quantitativa, única e específica, sobre a duração e a frequência da ação do agressor: o *cyberstalker* (Dennison & Thomson, 2002). Por último, há uma tendência para se extrapolar, equivocamente, conceitos como ciberagressão, ciberassédio, *spamming*, *sexting* e *cyberbullying* como casos de *cyberstalking* (Sheridan & Grant, 2007). Essa propensão é ainda maior quando o foco de atenção se centra na população juvenil, o que tem limitado o conhecimento sobre a natureza do *cyberstalking* entre os adolescentes. Esta ambiguidade conceptual impede um diagnóstico correto do fenómeno, podendo colocar em causa a promoção do bem-estar e saúde geral dos adolescentes, mais especificamente na dimensão social e emocional (Campos, Zuanon, & Guimarães, 2003).

Os desenvolvimentos científicos em torno da clarificação do *cyberstalking* visam pois, o esclarecimento dessas incoerências conceptuais e a comunicação mais adequada entre os investigadores da área. Outro contributo será a progressiva consciencialização social para o problema, estimulando a mudança de atitudes e comportamentos face a fenómenos complexos como este e a promoção do bem-estar dos adolescentes através de uma atuação multinível (Campos et al., 2003). Através do (re)conhecimento precoce de casos de *cyberstalking*, os agentes do terreno (e.g., psicólogos, educadores) poderão intervir de forma preventiva nos fatores de risco e de proteção. Esta intervenção é particularmente pertinente junto dos grupos mais vulneráveis à

vitimação (i.e., jovens do sexo feminino, utilizadores ativos das TIC sob baixa proteção) (Frydenberg, 2008). É ainda fundamental identificar as necessidades das vítimas de *cyberstalking*. Oferecer aos adolescentes uma educação para a saúde baseada nas suas necessidades e na forma como o *cyberstalking* é experienciado na adolescência é essencial para um desenvolvimento pessoal, moral, sexual e social positivo (Campos et al., 2003). São, pois, esses os objetivos deste trabalho.

De acordo com estudos recentes, a população juvenil é aquela que apresenta maior destreza digital. Um estudo desenvolvido por Madden et al. (2013), junto de 802 adolescentes (12-17 anos), apurou que o *Facebook* está profundamente integrado no quotidiano adolescente, sendo cada vez maior o número de informação pessoal partilhada. Em 2010, o estudo HBSC/OMS revelou que cerca de 98.6% dos jovens portugueses com 11, 13 e 15 anos tinham, pelo menos, um computador em casa e 92.9% tinham acesso à Internet (Matos et al., 2012). Mais recentemente, um estudo europeu com jovens dos 9 aos 16 anos de idade (N = 25 000), revelou que as crianças portuguesas (67%) são aquelas que mais acedem à Internet através dos próprios computadores portáteis (Haddon, Livingstone, & EU Kids Online Network, 2012). Nesse estudo, Portugal apresentou uma média de idade para a primeira utilização da Internet igual a 10 anos de idade, concluindo-se que a população jovem é aquela que domina o uso dessa TIC.

Com base nesses dados, facilmente se compreende a maior vulnerabilidade dos jovens para a vitimação e a perpetração do *cyberstalking* (Bilic, 2013; Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2006, 2007). Para essa maior vulnerabilidade, concorre também o facto de os adolescentes apresentarem características específicas, como por exemplo o desenvolvimento incipiente da sua identidade e habilidade social (Subrahmanyam, Greenfield, & Tynes, 2004). A curiosidade e a necessidade em explorar múltiplos contextos sociais (virtuais e reais), diferentes papéis e estilos relacionais são superiores nos adolescentes, maximizando-se a exposição a diferentes relações interpessoais (Matos, 2008; Subrahmanyam et al., 2004). O estudo do *cyberstalking* não deve por isso circunscrever-se à população adulta: os adolescentes também são potenciais atores desse fenómeno, quer como alvos, quer como perpetradores. É importante entender o impacto destas relações sociais virtuais precoces e potencialmente desestruturantes nas estruturas cognitivas e afetivas dos adolescentes, de modo a atuar-se eficazmente (Kennedy & Kennedy, 2004). Porém, o foco de investigação sobre *cyberstalking* tem-se centrado quase exclusivamente em população adulta e universitária (e.g., Carvalho, 2011; Melander, 2010; Sheridan & Grant, 2007; Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002). Uma das explicações poderá ser o facto desta se situar já na idade adulta,

evitando-se pedidos de autorização morosos junto dos cuidadores que, não raras vezes, dificultam o processo metodológico. Outro fator poderá ser a tendência para se confundir diferentes termos e equacionar, por exemplo, o assédio e a perseguição *online* entre os adolescentes como casos exclusivos de *cyberbullying*, abuso sexual e/ou *sexting*.

O presente artigo assume o *cyberstalking* como um fenómeno mais amplo do que os supracitados o qual, a par da conotação negativa, engloba uma conotação aparentemente positiva na génese do assédio por parte dos adolescentes. Tomem-se como exemplos os temas do amor não correspondido entre os jovens, quer sejam conhecidos ou não.

Face ao exposto, é necessário um debate crítico sobre a vitimação *online* entre os adolescentes e as suas implicações para a saúde e o bem-estar global dos mesmos. O reconhecimento dessa dimensão, das suas configurações possíveis e do seu potencial impacto só é possível através do investimento científico em metodologias abrangentes (e.g., quantitativas, qualitativas) e com um elevado rigor na consciencialização dos constructos. Nesta sequência, está em curso um estudo empírico que pretende mapear a experiência de *cyberstalking* entre os adolescentes Portugueses (12-16 anos de idade). Os principais objetivos são: 1) conhecer a prevalência de vitimação/perpetração; 2) analisar o perfil das cibervítimas e dos *cyberstalkers*; 3) caracterizar as dinâmicas, *modus operandis* e cenários do *cyberstalking*; 4) aceder às perceções sobre risco online e práticas parentais de supervisão online; e 5) conhecer os fatores de risco para uma maior vulnerabilidade como alvo. Este projeto visa, em última análise, promover a educação para a saúde, através da utilização positiva das TIC e a prevenção do ciberassédio e do *cyberstalking* em particular, entre os adolescentes.

Em contraste com o plano internacional (e.g., Estados Unidos da América, Inglaterra, Nova Zelândia), Portugal ainda não integrou legalmente o *stalking*, nem qualquer estatuto relativo ao *cyberstalking*. O Código Penal Português não pune os agressores pelo crime de *cyberstalking* como um todo, mas por comportamentos isolados relacionados com o assédio sexual, a violência doméstica, a ameaça, a coação, entre outros. Será esta forma de criminalização suficiente para responsabilizar os (*cyber*)*stalkers* e para a proteção eficaz das vítimas?

O presente artigo avança com alguns contributos para a definição e demarcação do *cyberstalking*, dando conta da complexidade e das implicações deste para a saúde dos alvos.

Definindo o (*Cyber*)*Stalking*

À medida que as TIC se tornam um meio de comunicação de massas, assiste-se a um aumento de relatos de intimidação, assédio e violência experienciados por via das TIC, o que favorece o aparecimento de constructos inovadores que procuram dar significado às experiências individuais dos seus alvos (D'Ovidio & Doyle, 2003).

Cyberstalking define o uso da Internet, correio eletrónico ou outro dispositivo de comunicação com o objetivo de perseguir outra pessoa (US Department of Justice, 1999). Este envolve um grupo de comportamentos em que um indivíduo, grupo ou organização utiliza as TIC para assediar outro indivíduo, grupo ou organização (Bocij, 2004). O *National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey* (NISVS, 2010) revelou que 18% das vítimas de stalking autoidentificadas tinham entre 11 e 17 anos de idade. Finkelhor, Mitchell, e Wolak (2000) verificaram também que 6% dos jovens entre os 10 e 17 anos experienciaram assédio *online*. Sessenta e três por cento dos seus *cyberstalkers* eram jovens e 24% eram adultos. O estudo transcultural de Ferreira, Martins, e Abrunhosa (2011), com jovens entre os 10 e os 18 anos, constatou que o *cyberstalking* é o terceiro risco *online* mais relatado pelos adolescentes portugueses. Por sua vez, Carvalho (2011), a partir de uma definição mais abrangente, revelou que 74.8% dos universitários portugueses experienciaram pelo menos um comportamento de *cyberstalking*.

Internacionalmente, o (*cyber*)*stalking* é identificado por: 1) um padrão de comportamentos, 2) repetidos, 3) intencionais e 4) não desejados pelo(s) seu(s) alvo(s) (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007). Alguns dos seus comportamentos incluem ações rotineiras e aparentemente inofensivas (e.g., postar na página de *Facebook*, envio de correio eletrónico), mas também ações inequivocamente intimidatórias (e.g., envio de mensagens ameaçadoras, roubo de identidade; Grangeia & Matos, 2011). Esses podem, ainda, ser realizados de forma direta (e.g., dirigidos diretamente ao alvo para exercer coação, controlo e intimidação) ou indireta (e.g., criação/divulgação de texto e imagens falsas com cariz obsessivo) (Bocij, 2003, 2004). Estudos anteriores revelaram que, em média, são concretizados seis comportamentos diferentes, perdurando entre um a dois anos (Sheridan et al., 2003; Tjaden, 2009). A pluralidade desses atos, pela sua natureza, contexto, persistência, deliberação e indesejabilidade, constitui uma autêntica campanha despoletando não raras vezes a 5) perceção de medo justificável ou ameaça credível[6] (Mullen, Pathé, & Purcell, 2001; Sheridan et al., 2003). De acordo com Sheridan et al. (2003), o

[6] Por ameaça credível entende-se que qualquer "pessoa razoável" sujeita às mesmas circunstâncias que o alvo experiencia um nível semelhante de medo, ansiedade, insegurança e ameaça (Tjaden, 2009).

critério de medo justificável e ameaça credível são, inclusive, aqueles que permitem distinguir o padrão de ciberassédio do de *cyberstalking*. Embora os comportamentos de ambos os constructos se sobreponham, segundo estes autores, a principal diferença assenta no facto do *cyberstalking* despoletar maior medo e *stress* emocional (Sheridan et al., 2003). Por outras palavras, o *cyberstalking* é uma forma agravada de ciberassédio e poderá ser considerado um crime doloso, tal como se assume no *stalking* em alguns países (Luz, 2012).

As Indefinições do *Cyberstalking*: Um Olhar Crítico

A aparente simplicidade da definição apresentada não tem afastado a grande ambiguidade na conceptualização do *cyberstalking*. Enquanto alguns autores (e.g., Bocij & McFarlane, 2002) assumem o *cyberstalking* como uma problemática social distinta, outros conceptualizam-no como uma mera extensão do *stalking* (Meloy, 1998; Ogilvie, 2000). Persistem, portanto, muitas questões em aberto quanto à operacionalização e criminalização do *cyberstalking* e sobre as implicações do mesmo para o desenvolvimento saudável dos adolescentes. Se por um lado este fenómeno é entendido por um conjunto de comportamentos, por outro, subsistem incoerências sobre a quantidade de comportamentos necessários (e.g., algumas definições legais admitem ser necessários dois ou mais comportamentos [e.g., *Michigan Compiled*, leis 750.411h,750.411i], enquanto outras não fazem qualquer referência). A par disso, se internacionalmente é consensual que a repetição é um dos conceitos centrais do *cyberstalking*, mantém-se a indefinição acerca da sua duração (Bocij, 2003; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007): o padrão de conduta deverá perdurar duas semanas, seis meses ou dois anos?

É deveras difícil perceber onde está o limite entre o lícito e o ilícito. Contudo, considera-se não ser legítimo impor um limite temporal necessário para a experiência de *cyberstalking*, nem um número mínimo/máximo de comportamentos. Qualquer enquadramento temporal e comportamental implicará sérios constrangimentos sociais e criminais (Bocij, 2003). Do mesmo modo, a descrição exaustiva das condutas e das TIC que medeiam o contacto indesejado pode ser inútil, uma vez que um número finito de TIC e de atos poderá culminar na exclusão de experiências diferentes, mas igualmente válidas. O constante avanço tecnológico faz também com que uma listagem esteja rapidamente desatualizada (devido ao surgimento de novas formas de intrusão; D'Ovidio & Doyle, 2003). Nesta sequência, defende-se a necessidade de se optar por uma definição suficientemente abrangente de modo a incluir todas as experiências e graus de vitimação (i.e., desde o menos impactante ao mais intrusivo). O alvo é quem está apto a avaliar

se a versatilidade, persistência, durabilidade e intensidade dos comportamentos configuram um cenário de perseguição intimidatório, intrusivo e indesejado. É, pois, o seu caráter intrusivo que permite discernir um padrão de comportamentos lícitos dos criminais, independentemente da quantidade ou classificação dos atos perpetrados. Porém, importa atender às diferenças encontradas nas perceções sobre o *cyberstalking*. Mais especificamente, pode ter lugar diferentes perceções dependendo do sexo, do tipo de relação anterior com o *cyberstalker*, da cultura ou do país onde se realize o estudo (Mullen, Pathé, Purcell, & Stuart, 1999; Sheridan et al., 2003; Tjaden, 2009). Genericamente, os homens têm versões mais brandas da sua experiência comparativamente às mulheres e estas identificam mais facilmente um caso de *stalking* e a respetiva intenção do perpetrador em causar medo/apreensão, comparativamente aos homens (Dennison & Thomson, 2002; Grangeia, 2012).

Mundo *Online versus Offline*: (Des)Continuidades?

Será que o *cyberstalking* é um conjunto de comportamentos independentes do *stalking* convencional? Ou será apenas uma extensão do mesmo?

Alguns investigadores têm desenvolvido estudos comparativos entre o stalking e o *cyberstalking* (Alexy, Burgess, Baker, & Smoyak, 2005; Curtis, 2012; Sheridan & Grant, 2007) e, na realidade, esses atestam uma grande probabilidade da ocorrência simultânea de *stalking* e de *cyberstalking* num único caso de assédio e perseguição. Um estudo com 4446 estudantes femininas americanas apontou que 25% (n = 581) das estudantes alvo de *stalking* foram também alvo de mensagens de correio eletrónico indesejadas (US Department of Justice, 1999). Spitzberg e Hoobler (2002) corroboram esta sobreposição entre os fenómenos, ao concluírem que 25% (n = 232) do stalking entre os universitários foi mediado pelo computador. Dessa forma, os casos de assédio e perseguição podem variar entre integrar exclusivamente o *cyberstalking*, exclusivamente o *stalking*, ou incluir ambos os padrões de perseguição (Sheridan & Grant, 2007).Uma análise comparativa entre o *stalking* e o *cyberstalking* permite perceber que ambos os constructos partilham, por definição, os conceitos centrais anteriormente descritos (e.g., repetição, intencionalidade, indesejabilidade, medo e ameaça credível). Paralelamente, o *stalker* e o *cyberstalker* partilham o desejo de exercer poder, controlo e influência sobre o alvo, tendendo a escalar na frequência e na gravidade da perseguição, face à não correspondência do alvo (Reno, 1999). Em ambos, os agressores são frequentemente (ex-)parceiros íntimos, ainda que os *cyberstalkers* tendam mais facilmente a assediar indivíduos desconhecidos, familiares, colegas e

amigos (Curtis, 2012; Phillips & Spitzberg, 2011; Sheridan & Grant, 2007). Todavia, o facto do *cyberstalking* se concretizar a partir das TIC e no ciberespaço permite que o *cyberstalker* se mova num ambiente especialmente atraente e vantajoso. Ou seja, existem particularidades do *cyberstalking* que contrastam com o *stalking*. Primeiro, o *cyberstalking* extravasa as barreiras geográficas associadas ao *stalking*. O *cyberstalker* tem a oportunidade de perseguir o alvo quer esteja na mesma zona geográfica, ou num país diferente (Reno, 1999). A segunda vantagem prende-se com a possibilidade de anonimato através das TIC, favorecida pela variedade de táticas gratuitas e de fácil concretização (Reno, 1999). Uma vez protegido pelo anonimato, torna-se mais difícil identificar a identidade do autor dos contactos indesejados (Bocij, 2003). Por este motivo, assume-se que os *cyberstalkers* exibem, normalmente, uma maior proficiência informática comparativamente aos *stalkers* convencionais (Hutton & Haantz, 2003). Em terceiro lugar, as TIC, e especificamente a Internet, facilitam o processo pelo qual o *cyberstalker* incentiva outras pessoas a assédiar o alvo (Reno, 1999). Esta forma de perseguição denomina-se *stalking* por procuração (i.e., *stalking by proxy*) e pode incluir a divulgação do contacto pessoal do alvo em páginas de encontros sexuais (Bocij & McFarlane, 2002). O alvo fica assim exposto e vulnerável a estranhos, sendo alvo de solicitações sexuais indesejadas e, por vezes, ofensivas (Bocij & McFarlane, 2003). O quarto aspeto dissonante prende-se às variáveis demográficas dos agressores (Curtis, 2012). Enquanto no *stalking* são os indivíduos mais velhos e do sexo masculino que habitualmente compõem o grupo de *stalkers*, no *cyberstalking* há uma maior probabilidade de os agressores serem mais jovens e do sexo feminino (Alexy, et. al, 2005; Curtis, 2012; Finkelhor et al., 2000). De facto, a população mais jovem é aquela que apresenta maior aptidão e destreza digital. Similarmente, o ciberespaço é o ambiente privilegiado para o ensaio e desenvolvimento de certas competências sociais e para a exploração da identidade e sexualidade jovem (Matos, 2008; Subrahmanyam et al., 2004), bem como um lugar onde os utilizadores podem apresentar-se sob a forma de um avatar (i.e., personagem fictícia). Assim, há uma maior desinibição comportamental desta população no ciberespaço e uma maior sensação de liberdade, criatividade e relaxamento, especificidades que podem também explicar a maior propensão do sexo feminino para esse tipo de assédio (Blais, Craig, Pepler, & Connolly, 2008; Matos, 2008). Desta forma, o misticismo que envolve o ciberespaço e a natureza anónima da Internet leva a que indivíduos com reduzida probabilidade para protagonizar o *stalking* convencional, passem facilmente a ter alta probabilidade no *cyberstalking* (McGrath & Casey, 2002).

Face ao exposto, entende-se que o *cyberstalking* não tem que ser necessariamente entendido como distinto do *stalking*, mas sim como uma estratégia i) inovadora, ii) versátil (variedade de recursos mediadores e de potenciais atos indesejados), iii) competente (assédio em vários contextos, na esfera pública e privada), iv) omnipresente (maior probabilidade de contacto diário com o alvo) e v) extensa (maior alcance no número e na diversidade de alvos).

Renova-se assim a pertinência dos estudos terem como foco o paralelismo entre o *stalking* e o *cyberstalking*, centrando o seu interesse científico nas especificidades do *cyberstalking* na adolescência (e.g., dinâmicas, contextos, intervenientes e impacto), em vez de na sua definição enquanto fenómeno extremado do *stalking*.

Cyberstalking versus *Cyberbullying*: Conceitos Distintos, a Mesma Realidade?

As diferentes definições e amostragens adotadas no estudo do *cyberstalking* são um dos entraves à comparação fiável da sua incidência e à compreensão da essência do fenómeno (Sheridan & Grant, 2007). Devido a isso, alguns estudos sobre ciberagressão, *spamming*, *sexting* e *cyberbullying* são erradamente citados como extensões de *cyberstalking* (Sheridan & Grant, 2007). Porém, uma análise aprofundada poderá demarcar o *cyberstalking* face aos restantes termos. A ciberagressão refere-se a um leque de atos que inclui todas as formas de violência realizada no ciberespaço, perpetradas de forma unidirecional ou bidirecional (Dempsey, Sulkowski, Dempsey, & Storch, 2011). O *spamming* consiste no envio de mensagens de correio eletrónico com fins publicitários, enquanto o *sexting* refere-se ao envio e troca de mensagens de texto ou imagens com conteúdo sexualmente explícito (Farber, Shafron, Hamadani, Wald, & Nitzburg, 2012).

A par das extrapolações supracitadas, a demarcação entre o *cyberstalking* e o *cyberbullying* é aquela que tem suscitado maior debate científico. Tal controvérsia tem ainda mais relevo quando o foco de atenção se concentra na população adolescente, às quais se associam comummente experiências entre os pares e em contexto escolar.

O *cyberbullying* é uma extensão do bullying e define-se por ser uma forma de violência que recorre às TIC para perpetrar comportamentos repetidos, intencionais e hostis, contra o(s) par(es) que pertencem ao mesmo contexto escolar (Bilic, 2013; Hinduja & Patchin, 2008; Tokunaga, 2010). O *cyberbullying* justifica-se ainda pelo desequilíbrio de poder existente entre os intervenientes (Amado, Matos, Pessoa, & Jager, 2009; Dempsey et al., 2011). Relativamente ao seu protótipo, os (*cyber*)*bullies* são reconhecidos como mais altos, fortes, agressivos, impulsivos

e com um maior status e popularidade entre o grupo de pares (Wang, Iannotti, & Nansel, 2009), enquanto os alvos são mais fracos, tímidos, introvertidos, com baixa autoestima e menor número de amigos (Hinduja & Patchin, 2010; Matos & Gonçalves, 2009). Através da agressão, ameaça e coerção, o (*cyber*)*bullie* adquire um especial destaque e respeito perante os pares, reafirmando a sua posição social no grupo (Almeida, 2006).

Deste modo, a conceção de que todo o tipo de vitimação *online* vivida pelos adolescentes constitui *cyberbullying* e que o *cyberstalking* na adolescência é apenas um subtipo de *cyberbullying* (Cf., Amado et al., 2009; Beran & Li, 2007; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004) é um mito. Nem toda a vitimação *online* ocorre unicamente entre pares conhecidos, que partilham o mesmo contexto escolar e que cumpram o critério de desequilíbrio de poder. Testemunho disso é o estudo de Madden et al. (2013), que concluiu que 17% dos jovens que navegam na Internet já foram alvo de mensagens de estranhos, que causaram medo e desconforto. Em 2005, um estudo com adolescentes (N = 1 501) entre os 10 e os 17 anos revelou também que 55% dos ciberagressores apenas faziam parte da rede virtual do alvo e que 49% dos adolescentes conseguiram ignorar as mensagens recebidas ou bloquear os contactos indesejados (Wolak et al., 2006). A organização *Working to Halt Online Abuse* (2010) revelou também que 71% das mulheres que se auto identificaram como cibervítimas (57%) admitiram ter uma relação anterior com o *cyberstalker* (e.g., ser vizinho, familiar, ex-parceiro). Ao equiparar-se as dinâmicas de *cyberbullying versus cyberstalking* poder-se-á ainda averiguar que, quanto ao critério de poder, o bullie apresenta uma posição hierárquica superior ao alvo *a priori* à vitimação e é essa característica que permite e justifica o início da violência. Ao invés, no *cyberstalking* essa posição "vantajosa" do *cyberstalker* é normalmente conquistada ao longo do processo de vitimação. É através do processo da escalada dos comportamentos que o *cyberstalker* se torna cada vez mais dominador e intrusivo (Grangeia & Matos, 2010). De salientar ainda a diferente motivação para o comportamento de *cyberstalking* e de *cyberbullying*. Enquanto no *cyberbullying* a motivação é unicamente negativa (Amado et al., 2009; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004), no *cyberstalking* existe uma maior variedade de motivações. A meta-análise de Spitzberg e Cupach (2003) comprova essa diversidade ao concluir a presença de fatores: 1) íntimos (e.g., ciúme, abandono ou rejeição); 2) associados à agressão (e.g., raiva, inveja, intimidação, controlo), 3) a desordens mentais (e.g., transtornos delirantes ou de personalidade) e 4) ao conflito de tarefas (e.g., disputas de dinheiro), na motivação para o *stalking*. Do mesmo modo, enquanto no *cyberbullying* existe plena consciência do impacto e do medo que o alvo irá percecionar (Carvalhosa, Lima, & Matos, 2001), no *cyberstalking* esta consciência

poderá não existir, principalmente quando motivados por razões íntimas. Contrariamente à noção de causalidade presente no bullying (i.e., prática do comportamento com a consciência de que irá causar determinado impacto), assiste-se a noção de previsibilidade do *cyberstalking* (i.e., o autor tem, ou deveria ter, consciência de que o alvo experienciará um medo razoável). O conceito de previsibilidade é inclusive explicitado na alínea b) do *Model Stalking Code* da legislação norte-americana. Deste modo, o *cyberstalking* resulta sempre de um padrão de comportamentos com contornos meticulosos, deliberados e extensíveis a uma maior audiência e motivação (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2003).

Neste sentido, alerta-se a sociedade e os *experts* na área para a urgência de ações psicoeducativas que visem a correta identificação dos fenómenos em causa. No caso do *cyberbullying*, é crucial operacionalizar o grau de parentesco entre os intervenientes, bem como o(s) motivo(s) que precipita(m) o comportamento de assédio (Morais, 2007). A avaliação precipitada e adulterada dos atos cibernéticos poderá comprometer o processo de orientação e proteção do bem-estar dos alvos, e tardar a resolução eficaz de uma situação adversa.

Discussão

O *cyberstalking* na adolescência é um fenómeno recente, complexo, inovador, distinto do *cyberbullying* e de outras formas de vitimação entre adolescentes.

Sublinha-se a necessidade da definição jurídica dos conceitos de duração e de ameaça privilegiarem termos mais abrangentes, como "durável" e "razoável", em detrimento de outros mais objetivos e limitados. Ainda que essa terminologia encerre o risco de impedir a criminalização do *cyberstalking* de modo objetivo, essa é a forma de prevenir a descredibilização de possíveis vítimas. A singularidade deste fenómeno impõe novos contributos sensíveis às interpretações e às influências culturais do fenómeno, uma vez que o *cyberstalking*, sendo um produto da construção social, pode ter implicações evidentes para a perceção de bem-estar e saúde global nos adolescentes.

O *cyberstalking* não é substancialmente diferente do *stalking* convencional. Os estudos que documentam a ocorrência simultânea de comportamentos *online* e *offline* permitem concluir que o *cyberstalking* poderá ser um modo complementar de perseguir e intimidar no mundo real. Não obstante, a omnipresença, a versatilidade e a inovação das estratégias que o *cyberstalking* ostenta fazem com que este fenómeno encerre um maior potencial de intrusão, exequibilidade e extensão, comparativamente ao stalking convencional.

O *cyberstalking* e o *cyberbullying* têm propriedades claramente distintas: o contexto, a relação entre agressor e alvo, a posição hierárquica destes e a motivação do agressor. Considerar que a violência entre pares se restringe ao *cyberbullying* significa ignorar a complexidade das dinâmicas e motivações que a violência interpessoal entre os adolescentes poderá significar.

Sendo pois evidente que nem toda a vitimação *online* adolescente poderá ser qualificada como *cyberbullying*, urge um maior investimento social e científico no reconhecimento e na atenção do *cyberstalking* na adolescência. O desenvolvimento de estudos com *design* mistos, a análise das complexidades do *cyberstalking*, da sua vivência (e.g., significados, impacto) e das respetivas necessidades na educação para a saúde, são outras das prioridades. Enquanto não se investir no reconhecimento e no estudo do *cyberstalking* é certo que, social e politicamente, é como se o problema não existisse.

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CAPÍTULO V

CYBERSTALKING VICTIMIZATION: WHAT PREDICTS FEAR AMONG PORTUGUESE ADOLESCENTS?[7]

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CAPÍTULO V

CYBERSTALKING VICTIMIZATION:

WHAT PREDICTS FEAR AMONG PORTUGUESE ADOLESCENTS?

Abstract

A large body of research clearly demonstrates that adolescents use technology to a staggering degree and that they are one of the main groups that are vulnerable to online victimization. However, the study of cyberstalking, which is a form of cyber-harassment victimization, has been limited to the adult population and has resulted in some controversy regarding whether fear is a definitional criterion for this phenomenon. In Portugal, the study of cyberstalking among adolescents is limited, as it is not yet a target of scientific research, public politics or social attention. The current study assessed the cyberstalking victimization of 627 Portuguese adolescents (12- to 16-years-old). The prevalence of victimization, the cyber-victim's profile, cyberstalking dynamics, the cyberstalker's profile, parental cyber-involvement and adolescents fear reporting were analysed. The majority of the current sample admitted to having been the victim of cyberstalking at some point in their life, and nearly half of the adolescents reported experiencing fear after the victimization. A logistic regression model was developed to predict fear reporting. Consistent with previous research, the results indicated that fear is strongly associated with female victims and shed light on the self-perception of online risk and a number of parental involvement practices. Being the target of 1) messages of exaggerated affection, 2) persistent cyberstalking or 3) older cyberstalkers was also associated with fear. These results underscore the importance of understanding fear as a complex emotion that results from the interaction of different variables. Thus, it is critical to adopt fear as a key criterion of the cyberstalking definition. Implications for social, educational, political and judicial practices are also discussed.

Keywords: Adolescents; cyberstalking; fear; predictors; victimization

Introduction

Fear is often the greatest and most lasting legacy of victimization, bridging socio- economic, cultural, ethnic and structural boundaries (Moore and Trojanowicz 1988; Machado 2004; Fox et al. 2009). As an emotional response, fear is characterized by a sense of danger and anxiety (Garofalo 1981) in response to external stimuli and is contiguous to the crime context. Fear typically compromises the quality of life of the victim and of the community in general (Moore and Trojanowicz 1988; Doran and Burgess 2012). According to previous literature (e.g. Warr and Stafford 1983; Jackson 2008), fear can be conceptualized as the combination of the personal and social perceptions of risk with the seriousness of the criminal offence to which an individual is subjected.

Over the last 50 years, the academic community's interest regarding the factors related to the nature and predictors of a fear of crime (i.e. involving a physical confrontation between a victim and an aggressor) has resulted in hundreds of studies with the adult population (e.g. Garofalo 1981; Ferraro 1996; Fox et al. 2009; Matos et al. 2012). This focus has created the perception that fear is a problem primarily in this context and with this population exclusively. However, cyberspace expansion has increased public concern about the subversive implications of ICT-mediated communication. The media's reporting of severe cyber-harassment cases against random adults, adolescents and children both internationally and in Portugal has magnified anxieties, as this reporting typically amplifies the so-called moral panic or cyberphobia related to new technologies (Sandywell 2006; Boyd 2014). Recent research has focused on new crimes that occur inside and through the digital network. An example of one such new crime is cyber-harassment, which targets adults, adolescents and/or children and can often trigger a sense of fear (Livingstone and Haddon 2009; De Fazio and Sgarbi 2012; Henson et al. 2013; Mitchell et al. 2014; Pereira et al. submitted).

Within the range of epiphenomena within cyber-harassment, cyberstalking has been the focus of special scientific interest. Although existing data document its worrying prevalence (e.g. Spitzberg and Hoobler 2002; Sheridan and Grant 2007; Spitzberg and Cupach 2007; De Fazio and Sgarbi 2012), knowledge about the nature, complexity and impact of this problem remains insufficient, particularly among the younger population (Reyns et al. 2012; Pereira and Matos 2015). In fact, previous literature has identified children and adolescents as digital born (Matos and Ferreira 2013) and as especially vulnerable to online victimization in general (Livingstone et al. 2013; Marcum et al. 2014; Pereira et al. 2014) and to behaviours of monitoring, controlling

and sexual harassment in particular (Zweig et al. 2013; Stonard et al. 2015; Pereira et al. submitted). A cognitive and developmental immaturity, lack of life experience, tendency to challenge limits and underestimation of potential consequences are characteristics of youths that also contribute to their greater vulnerability online (Subrahmanyam et al. 2004, 2006), reinforcing the pertinence of placing scientific attention on this group.

In countries where stalking and/or cyberstalking are crimes (e.g. the US, Australia, Italy and the UK), fear after victimization is one element that has contributed to defining the threshold for the criminalization of the phenomenon as a whole (De Fazio 2009). In Portugal, these forms of harassment are not yet understood by most people as unacceptable or as a crime (Grangeia and Matos 2011; Matos et al. 2012). Thus, the current research is relevant for both international and national contexts, as it contributes to the understanding of cyberstalking among adolescents and the consequences of cyberstalking victimization. It also aids in the identification of factors that predict fear impact to inform parents, teachers and professionals about what they should consider when approached by adolescent victims. The present work also informs the on-going national anti-cyberstalking policies (e.g. psychoeducational and intervention programs), mainly among adolescents, and reflects critically on the inclusion of fear as a key criterion of the (cyber)stalking definition.

Cyberstalking among Adolescents

Cyberstalking is recognized as a diffuse subset of behaviours that are included in the wider spectrum of interpersonal violence termed cyber-aggression or technological aggression (Spitzberg and Hoobler 2002; Spitzberg and Cupach 2014). Specifically, cyberstalking relates to the use of the Internet, e-mail or other electronic devices to stalk or harass someone (Reno 1999). In the absence of a universal definition and for the purposes of the current study, cyberstalking is defined as a set of repeated and planned stalking behaviours in which a person imposes inappropriate and unwanted forms of communication, contact or an intention to approach in virtual space. A number of these behaviours include routine actions that are apparently inoffensive (e.g. posting on Facebook or sending e-mails) as well as clearly intimidating actions (e.g. sending threatening, coercive and intimidating messages) (Grangeia and Matos 2011; Pereira and Matos 2015).

How widespread is Cyberstalking among Adolescents?

The US Attorney General Report (Reno 1999) presented the first official data regarding cyberstalking in the general population and estimated that there are approximately 475,000 victims per year. Since this report, the few published estimates regarding the extent of cyberstalking have varied widely across studies, in part due to differences in methodological principles and definitions (Fisher et al. 2002; Alexy et al. 2005; Sheridan and Grant 2007; Baum et al. 2009).

However, previous literature indicates that cyberstalking victimization ranges between 1 and 31.5 % for the general population (Reyns et al. 2012) and between 5 % (Marcum et al. 2014) and 11 % (Jones et al. 2013) for the younger population (10- to 17-years-old). These data suggest that online victimization is a similar problem to conventional stalking victimization, which ranges from 2 to 13 % for men and from 8 to 32 % for women (Tjaden and Thoennes 1998). Furthermore, recent data reveal that this problem is growing at a rapid pace, particularly among adolescents (Wolak et al. 2007; Marcum et al. 2014; Novo et al. 2014; Pereira et al. submitted).

In Portugal, despite some scientific progress in the area (e.g. Carvalho, unpublished manuscript; Novo et al. 2014; Pereira and Matos 2015), the scientific understanding of cyberstalking is limited and embryonic as recent academic concern about this phenomenon has primarily focused on adults and stalking in the physical context (e.g. Matos et al. 2011, 2012; Ferreira and Matos 2013; Pereira et al. 2015). Yet, recent studies have examined cyberstalking among Portuguese adolescents and college students. For example, Carvalho (unpublished manuscript) found that 74.8 % of Portuguese college students (n = 111) were victims of at least one cyberstalking behaviour. Mendes (unpublished manuscript) documented that 5% (n = 199) of male college students (18- to 63-years-old) were victims of cyberstalking during their adolescence and 6% were victims of this practice during their adolescence and adulthood. Recent data with the present sample concluded that 18.2% of adolescents admitted to having perpetrated behaviours of cyberstalking at least once (Novo et al. 2014).

Previous literature suggests that more cyber-victims are females and more cyberstalkers are males (D'Ovidio and Doyle 2003; Sheridan and Grant 2007; Cavezza and McEwan 2014; Novo et al. 2014; Pereira et al. submitted). However, Finkelhor et al. (2000) and Curtis (unpublished manuscript) found that there is a greater likelihood that the harassment that occurs in cyberspace is perpetrated by females and those of unknown relationship than males.

Is Fear an Unavoidable Effect of Cyberstalking Victimization?

The impact of online victimization on adolescent victims of cyber-harassment is well documented. For example, data from the Youth Internet Safety Survey (YISS) with 1500 American adolescents between 9- and 19-years-old revealed that approximately one-third of the adolescents had suffered clinically significant negative emotional consequences (e.g. fear, annoyance and irritation) after online victimization (Ybarra et al. 2006). Recently, the Pew Internet & American Live Project (Madden et al. 2013) concluded that 17% ($N = 802$) of American Internet users (12- to 17-years-old) reported experiencing fear and discomfort due to receiving unwanted messages from strangers. In Europe, the multinational research project named EU Kids Online, which examined 25,000 adolescents aged 9- to 16-years-old (2009–11), including Portuguese adolescents, revealed a similar magnitude of impact. Other studies have also documented second-order (i.e. a direct impact on third parties such as family and friends) and third-order (i.e. a social sense of fear and apprehension about the possibility of new victimization) negative effects of cyberstalking victimization (Mapel et al. 2011; Spitzberg and Cupach 2014).

However, not all online victimization produces disruptive and undesirable consequences (Spitzberg and Cupach 2014). Similar to victimization in general, the impact may be moderated by several factors (Fergus and Zimmerman 2005; Wright and Masten 2005). Cyber-victims may have personal resources (e.g. high self-esteem) and/or other protective factors (e.g. parental support and effective monitoring) that allow them to moderate the impact of negative experiences and preserve their psychosocial condition, thereby becoming resilient victims (Windle 1999). Previous literature indicates that there is a gender bias in the experience of fear (Spitzberg et al. 2010). In general, men have milder versions of these experiences, whereas women experience stalking and the stalker's intention as a cause for fear/apprehension (McFarlane et al. 2000; Spitzberg et al. 2010; Grangeia and Matos 2013). The immateriality that is inherent to cyberspace, the absence of an immediate physical confrontation and the higher probability of anonymity may also lead to a false perception of security and low risk as perceived among Internet users, particularly younger users (Henson et al. 2013). Therefore, the perception and the experience of fear after victimization may be reduced or absent, even when the experiences are framed as typical cases of cyberstalking. Therefore, fear after cyberstalking victimization may vary according to a range of structural and/or social peculiarities of the samples being studied (Warr and Stafford 1983; Sheridan et al. 2003; Spitzberg et al. 2010; Mitchell et al. 2014), which is critical to the issue of whether fear is an unavoidable feature of cyberstalking victimization. As such, a number

of international studies (e.g. Baum et al. 2009; Curtis, unpublished manuscript) have continued to describe fear as one of the most important criteria for the conceptual demarcation of the cyberstalking phenomenon. Thus, two open questions are as follows: (1) To what extent does the cyberstalking definition require the inclusion of the fear variable? (2) How does fear vary and what are the implications of such variation for the definition of the condition of "victim"? This issue has been addressed in the literature, namely, the factors that might best predict fear after cyberstalking victimization have been examined.

What Features Enhance Fear among Adolescent Victims?

Although studies examining fear among adolescents are rare, different variables have been shown to empirically contribute to the likelihood of fear after stalking and cyberstalking victimization. Sex and age are highlighted as being among the most prevalent characteristics of victims (e.g. Mapel et al. 2011; Wolak et al. 2006). Female adolescents between 10- and 13-years-old expressed the highest levels of fear after online victimization (e.g. Wolak et al. 2006).

Research has also linked the experience of fear to the perception of risk (e.g. Jonathan 2009; Truman 2005), with factors related to parental involvement (e.g. Dürager and Livingstone 2012; Rosen et al. 2008), the dynamics of the victimization (Blaauw et al. 2002; Johnson and Kercher 2009; Mitchell et al. 2014), the structural variables of the cyberstalker (e.g. age and sex; Mitchell et al. 2014) and the victim-aggressor relationship (Fisher et al. 2002; Matos et al. 2012). In general, individuals who perceive greater online risk report have greater fear of crime (Jonathan 2009; Truman 2005). These victims have greater online exposure and experience, are more aware of the risk, lack security and are vulnerable to becoming victims (Mesch 2000). The EU Kids Online project found that adolescents (9- to 16–years-old) whose parents engage in active mediation skills (e.g. talking with adolescents about the Internet, sitting down with them during their online navigation and encouraging them to use the Internet safely) have a decreased perception of online risk and lower levels of discomfort and fear (Dürager and Livingstone 2012).

With regard to the dynamics of the victimization, several studies examining stalking in college and adult populations have shown that the more intimate, intrusive, diverse and persistent the tactics of the stalker, the greater the level of fear experienced by the victim (Blaauw et al. 2002; Johnson and Kercher 2009; Matos et al. 2012; Mitchell et al. 2014; Pereira et al. submitted). Adolescents who are victims of older individuals (e.g. adults) and of the opposite sex also report

greater fear after victimization. Additionally, adolescents manifest higher levels of fear when they are victimized by unknown cyberstalkers (Ybarra et al. 2006, Pereira et al. submitted).

The current study was designed to investigate cyberstalking victimization among Portuguese adolescents and the factors that contribute to fear resulting from this specific form of online victimization. We examined cyberstalking victimization in a sample of Portuguese adolescents. We performed association tests to examine fear and its potential predictor factors, including the characteristics of the victims, the parental mediation, the dynamics of the victimization and the characteristics of the cyberstalkers. We also performed a binary logistic regression analysis to predict fear as a result of cyberstalking victimization.

Method

Participants

The present study is part of a larger project examining the prevalence of global cyber-harassment victimization among Portuguese adolescents (see Pereira et al. submitted, for detailed information). The sample consisted of 627 adolescents (54.9% females) between 12-and 16-years-old (M = 13.98; SD = 1.35). Of the participants, 97% were Portuguese. Most of the participants attended the third cycle of basic education (79.3%), and 25 % had a vocational education, 73% attended state schools and 27 % attended private schools. The average age of first Internet use was 9-years-old (SD = 2.41, Min = 1; Max = 14). Most of the adolescents (66.7%) lived with both of their biological parents.

Measures

Data collection was conducted based on two questionnaires that were programmed for online administration via the eSurvey Creator software (enuvo GmbH, Zurich, Swiss). All procedures were previously assessed by senior researchers who were experts in victimology, namely in (cyber) stalking issues. In addition, we conducted a pilot study with 70 adolescents to test the data collection measures that allowed for adapting and optimizing the final version of the measures.

Inventory of behaviours and attitudes regarding information and communication technologies (ICT). A questionnaire consisting of two parts. The first part assesses adolescents' sociodemographic characteristics, family backgrounds and perceptions of ability and risk

associated with Internet surfing. The second part of the questionnaire consists of different scales. For the purposes of this study, we focused on the parental cyber-involvement scale, as perceived by adolescents. This scale consists of ten items, adapted from international measures (e.g. Baumrind 1971; Lamborn et al. 1991; Maccoby and Martin 1983), that are assessed on a 5-point Likert-type scale (0 = *never*, 1 = *rarely*, 2 = *sometimes*, 3 = *most of the time* and 4 = *always*). This scale demonstrated good reliability (α = 0.89).

Cyber-Harassment Assessment Scale. A questionnaire that assesses adolescents' behaviours with regard to victimization and the perpetration of cyber-harassment in general (for more information cf. Pereira et al. submitted). For the purposes of this research, only the data concerning the cyber-victimization will be addressed (see Novo et al. 2014 for more information on cyber-aggression). From a set of 18 general items (α = 0.90), we selected the six behaviours that best described a pattern of cyberstalking behaviours, as follows: "receiving exaggerated messages of affection"; "receiving excessively 'needy', disclosive or demanding messages"; "receiving pornographic or obscene pictures or messages"; "receiving sexually harassing messages"; "obtaining someone's private information without permission" and "using the victim's computer to obtain information about others". The participants answered the following question, "Have you ever been the victim of this type of behaviour through information and communication technologies (ICT) against your will?' using a 5-point Likert scale (0 = *never* to 5 = *5 or more times*). Victimization was identified based on participants' self-reporting. Those who had experienced one or more cyberstalking behaviours during their lifetime answered specific questions regarding the duration of the cyberstalking (based on a 6-point Likert scale, 0 = *less than 2 weeks*, 5 = *2 or more years*) and their fear as a result of the cyber-victimization (response options were *not afraid*, *a little afraid* or *very afraid*). Furthermore, the adolescents were asked to identify the cyber-aggressor's characteristics (i.e. gender, age and relationship to the victim) for each cyberstalking behaviour that they experienced. A multiple choice option was possible for the question regarding the cyberstalker's sex and age group.

Procedures

Following authorisation from the National Commission for Data Protection, the General Directorate of Education and the director of each group/school proceeded to collect the express informed consent of 1340 parents and students enrolled in 20 state schools (n = 11) and private

schools (n = 9) in the Northern Region of Portugal and Azores. The selection of adolescents and their parents was random.

Schools were selected according to a stratified sampling based on a list of state and private schools provided by the Portuguese General Directorate of Education. In total, 645 adolescents (48.1% of the total) completed the online questionnaire between January and June of 2013. To ensure the standardization of all of the procedures, data collection via online questionnaires was performed in the presence of the first author in a classroom context. Adolescents who were not active users of ICT for at least 6 months were pre-excluded from the sample. Following data collection, all of the participants received an informative flyer that included the researcher's contact information. No financial assistance, compensation or incentives were provided to the participants. Nevertheless, at the conclusion of the project, the participants benefited from an awareness session addressing the risks of the cyberworld and victimization.

Following data entry, 18 participants were excluded from the analysis due to missing data related to important variables (e.g. in the case of a drop-out) and to a lack of consistency in some of the datasets (e.g. answering the same level of accordance or frequency for all of the questions based on the Likert-scale responses).

Statistical Analyses

Descriptive statistics, including frequency distributions, were used to summarize the data related to the profiles, cyberstalking victimization dynamics and fear. Furthermore, differences in the characteristics between the adolescent victims who were afraid and those who were not afraid were tested using association and correlation tests. A binary logistic regression analysis was also performed. All of these statistical analyses were performed with SPSS for Windows version 22.0.

Results

Cyberstalking Prevalence

Who are the victims?

Of the total sample (N = 627), 61.9% of the adolescents reported having been repeated victims of cyberstalking, i.e. they were victims of a single cyberstalking behaviour more than once or they were victims of two or more different behaviours at least once. Of these, 52.5% were female and 47.5% were male, with an average age of 14.26 years (Min = 12; Max = 16; SD = 1.30). Most

of the adolescents were of Portuguese nationality (95.8%) and attended the third cycle (75%) of state school (76.3%). The average age of first Internet access was 9.9 years old (*Min* = 1; *Max* = 15; *SD* = 2.41). Of the victims, 97.5% self-perceived a higher digital ability, and 59.3% perceived themselves to be at low online risk (i.e. *none* or *a little*). Approximately 61% of the participants lived with both of their biological parents. According to the adolescents, their parents used an average of eight practices of active mediation (e.g. "talk to the student about the benefits of using ICT") in response to their online navigation (*Min* = 0, *Max* = 10; *M* = 7.61; *SD* = 2.62).

Cyber-victimization: What are the patterns of behaviour and persistence?

On average, the adolescents were the targets of 2.15 cyberstalking behaviours (*Min* = 2; *Max* = 6; *SD* = 2.15). The most common forms of victimization were "receiving exaggerated messages of affection" (69.9%) and "receiving excessively 'needy', disclosive or demanding messages" (46.2%), followed by "obtaining private information without permission" (36%), "receiving pornographic or obscene pictures or messages" (32.6%), "receiving sexually harassing messages" (20.3%) and "using the victim's computer to obtain information about others" (9.7%). Approximately 26% of the participants revealed that they were the victims of cyberstalking for 2 weeks or more (a meaningful threshold cf. Purcell et al. 2004), with 12.7% being victimized for between 2 weeks and 1 month, 4.2% for between 1 and 6 months, 5.5% for at least 1 year and 3.4% for 6 months to 1 year.

Who are the cyberstalkers?

Dummy variables were created for the cyberstalker's sex and age given that the adolescents were instructed to identify their cyberstalkers' characteristics for each cyber stalking behavior that they experienced.

Most of the victims reported having been the target of male cyberstalkers (72%) at least once, followed by female cyberstalkers (61.4%) and by those of an unknown sex (61%). Additionally, 68.2% of the cyberstalkers were the same age as the victims, and 63.1% of the adolescents were not able to identify the cyberstalker's age. Almost half of the cyberstalkers (48.3 %) were older than the victims, and 18.2% were younger than the victims.

When asked about the victim-stalker relationship during their worst experience with cyberstalking, 43.6% of the adolescents reported that the cyberstalkers were friends, 36.4% were unknown to the victims, 4.7% were current or former romantic partners, and 2.5% were

acquaintances. Finally, 12.7% of the adolescents reported have been targeted by multiple cyberstalkers from different victim-stalker relationships. Association tests revealed that the adolescent victims who were cyber-stalked by former or current romantic partners were victims of this cyberstalking for a longer period of time [$\chi^2(1) = 8.13$, $p \leq .01$].

Fear resulting from cyberstalking among adolescents

Most of the victims (57.6%) were not afraid following their cyberstalking victimization. Of the victims who reported being *afraid* (43.4%), 34.3% were moderately afraid (i.e. *a little afraid*), and 8.1% were *very afraid*.

The most feared behaviour was "receiving exaggerated messages of affection" (33.5%), followed by "receiving excessively 'needy', disclosive or demanding messages" (21.6%). Other fearful behaviours were as follows: "obtaining private information without permission" (16.5%), "receiving pornographic or obscene pictures or messages" (14%), "using the victim's computer to obtain information about others" (13 %) and "receiving sexually harassing messages" (9.3 %).

A correlation matrix was created to examine the fear variable. Due to the number of separate analyses and the sample size, only the variables that were significantly associated with fear and that had a $p < .01$ are reported.

Females [$\chi^2(1) = 18.85$, $p \leq .001$] and victims who perceived a higher level of online risk [$\chi^2(1) = 14.75$, $p \leq .001$] reported significantly greater levels of fear than the other victims. Contrary to expectations, reported fear was greater when the number of parental cyber-involvement practices was higher [$rsp = .211$, $p \leq .001$]. To determine which items of the parental cyber-involvement scale were associated with fear, all ten items were dichotomized according to those who had not used that practice and those who had used it at least once. On this scale, adolescents reported greater levels of fear when their parents knew the messages that were exchanged via ICT [$\chi^2(1) = 7.26$, $p \leq .001$] and remained seated by their side during their online navigation [$\chi^2(1) = 8.91$, $p \leq .001$]. Adolescents who were victims of "exaggerated messages of affection" were more afraid than adolescents who did not report having been the victim of this behaviour [$\chi2(1) = 6.81$, $p \leq .001$]. Those who were victims of cyberstalking for a longer period of time (e.g. 2 weeks or more) were also more afraid [$\chi^2(1) = 7.58$, $p \leq .001$]. Finally, there was a greater expression of fear when the cyberstalkers were male [$\chi^2(1) = 10.36$, $p \leq .001$] and older than the adolescent victims [$\chi^2(1) = 1.15$, $p \leq .001$].

Table 9 presents the frequencies of the variables and the association values from the chi-square tests for fear and the other independent variables.

Table 9

Chi-square tests of fear and the characteristics of the cyber-victims, the parental cyber-involvement practices, the cyberstalking dynamics and the cyberstalker's profile

		Not afraid *n* = 136 (%)	Afraid *n* = 100 (%)	χ^2	Cramer's *V*
Cyber-victims					
Sex	Female	23.3	29.2	18.85***	.28***
	Male	34.3	13.1		
Self-perception of online risk	Yes	17.4	23.3	14.75***	.25***
	No	40.3	19.1		
Parental cyber-involvement practices					
Knowledge of messages exchanged via ICT	Yes	32.2	30.9	7.26**	.18***
	No	25.4	11.4		
Presence of parents during the adolescent's online navigation	Yes	40.7	36.9	8.91**	.19**
	No	16.9	5.5		
Cyberstalking dynamics					
Receiving exaggerated messages of affection	Yes	36.4	33.5	6.81**	.17**
	No	21.2	8.9		
Persistence	< 2 weeks	46.6	27.5	7.58**	.18**
	≥ 2 weeks	11	14.8		
Cyberstalker profile					
Male	Yes	36.9	35.2	10.36***	.21***
	No	20.8	7.2		
Older	Yes	21.6	26.7	15.01***	.25***
	No	36	15.7		

*** $p \leq .001$; ** $p \leq .01$

Predicting Fear Reporting: Regression Analysis

A binary logistic regression analysis (*enter* method) was performed to examine predictions regarding the variance of fear as a result of cyberstalking victimization. The variables that were significantly associated with fear were used as potential predictors. The model was statistically significant, explaining 71.2% of the total variance. Table 10 presents the overall results for each variable.

The results confirmed our expectations. Specifically, female victims and those with a greater self-perception of online risk were more likely to be afraid (0.40 and 0.36 times more fear, respectively). Victims of "exaggerated messages of affection" were more likely to be afraid (0.51 times more) than those who were not victims of this behaviour. The same trend was evident when the victims were the target of cyberstalking for longer periods of time (i.e. 2 or more weeks); these adolescents were 0.48 times more likely to be afraid than those who were victims for less than 2 weeks. In addition, victims of older cyberstalkers were 0.45 times more likely to express fear. The remaining variables (i.e. the parental cyber-involvement practices and the sex of the cyberstalker) did not significantly contribute to the prediction of fear. However, the data suggest that victims whose parents were aware of the messages exchanged via ICT and who remained present during the adolescents' online navigation tended to be more afraid following their victimization (0.55 and 0.49 times more afraid, respectively) than victims whose parents did not adopt these practices.

Table 10

Binary logistic regression analysis: Predictors of fear

Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	OR [IC .95]
Sex of the cyber-victim	.92**	.32	8.10	.40[.21-.75]
Self-perception of online risk	1.03*	.42	6.13	.36[.16-.81]
Knowledge of messages exchanged via ICT	.60+	.35	2.96	.55[.28-1.09]
Presence of parents during the adolescent's online navigation	.71*	.42	2.82	.49[.22-1.23]
Receiving exaggerated messages of affection	.67*	.34	3.92	.51[.27-.99]
Cyberstalking persistence	.73*	.35	4.35	.48[.25-.96]
Male cyberstalker	.39	.38	1.07	.68[.32-1.42]
Older cyberstalker	.79**	.31	6.57	.45[.25-.83]

Chi-Square: 59.87***

-2 log Likelihood: 261.78

Cox & Snell: 0.22

Nagelkerke: 0.30

Note. Variable to predict: fear (0 = *Not afraid*, 1 = *Afraid*). Dichotomous predictors: sex of the cyber-victim (0 = *Male*, 1 = *Female*); self-perception of online risk (0 = *No*, 1 = *Yes*); parents' knowledge of messages exchanged via ICT (0 = *No*, 1 = *Yes*); presence of the parents during the adolescent's online navigation (0 = *No*, 1 = *Yes*); receiving exaggerated messages of affection (0 = *No*, 1 = *Yes*); cyberstalking persistence (0 = *Less than 2 weeks*, 1 = *2 or more weeks*); male cyberstalker (0 = *Not male*, 1 = *Male*); older cyberstalker (0 = *Not older*, 1 = *Older*).

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$.

Discussion

This study examined cyberstalking victimization among adolescents and was the first to do so in the Portuguese context, where cyberstalking is not yet considered a crime. This study also analysed the fear resulting from cyberstalking victimization and, consequently, the implications of adopting fear as a key criterion in the definition of this phenomenon. Furthermore, this study focused on parents' roles and responsibilities with regard to their children's well-being in the online context, which is another major contribution to the field.

Approximately 62% of the adolescents in this study reported having been victims of cyberstalking, of whom 53.5% were female. Although studies on cyberstalking among adolescents are rare, a quick review of the previous literature indicates that the victimization rates from the current study are greater than the global reference values (between 5 and 11%) for online victimization among adolescents (e.g. Jones et al. 2013; Marcum et al. 2014). Several factors may have influenced these results, including methodological differences (e.g. sampling, definition criterion, range of behaviours assessed and temporal reference), and these factors should be taken into consideration when designing surveys and interpreting results. The Portuguese legal gap, to the date of data collection, may also explain this high prevalence rate. The criminalization of these cyberstalking practices could be used as a mechanism of dissuasion and penalty for those who perpetrate these behaviours, supporting the need to criminalize cyberstalking phenomenon. Moreover, most of the adolescents perceived themselves as having a higher digital

ability/competence (97.5%) and a low risk online (59.3%), which may have encouraged an increased exposure to neglectful and/or risky cyber-practices, resulting in greater suitability/vulnerability and increased reports of victimization. Portuguese youth's early access to the Internet may be accompanied by a gap in specialized training regarding ICT, which may lead to a false self-perception of online security.

Thus, national awareness campaigns are needed to inform people about the characteristics, dynamics and consequences of cyberstalking to provide more conscious, critical and safe online navigation, to facilitate self-recognition by potential victims and to prevent cyberstalking victimization. Public policies of this nature will also address the apparent tendency of normalization of online violence and the high cultural acceptance of these acts among young populations. In Grangeia (2012), 72.2% of Portuguese college victims of unwanted relational pursuit perceived their experiences as "something normal". Future research should focus on this topic with increasingly younger ages to reverse this trend.

The higher prevalence of victimization reported by females is consistent with previous literature (e.g. Finkelhor et al. 2000; Alexy et al. 2005; Curtis, unpublished manuscript; Marcum et al. 2014; Pereira et al. submitted). One possible explanation for this result may be related to females' greater use of different digital communication platforms (e.g. chat rooms) compared to males (Livingstone et al. 2013; Boyd 2014; Lenhart 2015). According to Livingstone et al. (2013), these digital platforms are associated with increased experiences of unwanted contact and an increased risk of interpersonal violence (e.g. cyber-harassment, cyberstalking and sexting). A second potential explanation may be related to traditional gender roles, cultural norms and masculinity. Specifically, females are more likely to be supervised online, are less tolerant when experiencing cyberstalking behaviours and are more strongly predisposed to report experiences of victimization than males (Bocij 2003; Spitzberg et al. 2010), who are traditionally trained to be dominant, brave, independent and more tolerant of aggressive behaviours (Akbaba et al. 2015). Given these sex stereotypes, males may have been overly engaged in the mind-set that the unwanted approaches were performed in a non-threatening manner and they may have reported that they were not the target of cyberstalking behaviours (Grangeia and Matos 2013; Akbaba et al. 2015).

This study's results revealed that cyberstalking was perpetrated primarily by male cyberstalkers and by people who were familiar with the victim (e.g. friends, acquaintances and family members), with the purpose of initiating, maintaining or renewing a closer relationship than

the desired (Finkelhor et al. 2000; D'Ovidio and Doyle 2003; Cavezza and McEwan 2014; Pereira et al. submitted). This type of cyberstalking can be understood as an "extension" of or a new method of conventional courtship, consistent with previous research (King-Ries 2010; Cavezza and McEwan 2014; Stonard et al. 2015; Pereira et al. submitted). According to Mullen et al. (2009), this scenario is particularly evident at younger ages and is consistent with the more conservative and prevalent definitions of stalking as a pattern of unwanted relational pursuit. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that a significant number of the victims were not able to identify the profile of their cyberstalker. All of these cases illustrate the relative diversity of the actors involved in adolescent cyberstalking. Furthermore, these cases reflect the anonymous nature of the Internet and how easy it is to use ICTs to harass and stalk others without concern for possible sanctions (Pettalia et al. 2013; Cavezza and McEwan 2014).

Cyberstalking in the context of intimacy was the type of victimization that persisted for the longest periods ($p \leq .01$). This finding corroborates previous studies and reaffirms the influence of intimate relationships in the prolonged nature of harassment and stalking (McEwan et al. 2009; Matos et al. 2012; Pereira et al. submitted).

Most of the adolescents did not report experiencing fear after cyberstalking victimization. A number of cyberspace factors (e.g. lack of physical contact, anonymity and asynchronicity of communication) may have contributed to this lack of fear (Henson et al. 2013). The fact that Portugal has not yet criminalized cyberstalking may also have contributed to the perception of such victimization as a normative experience and less serious. In addition to political issues, the role of the media may influence this new culture of violence. For example, in Portugal, the media often seek information categories that captivate the interest of society. Violent hate crimes, domestic violence, dating violence among the youth, cyberbullying and stalking are some of the most common examples. The dissemination and the daily exposure of children and adolescents to clusters of violent images and information (e.g. via TV news, magazines, radio or newspapers) may also contribute to the increased perception of violence as a normative and ordinary experience, mitigating the adolescents' fear reports. Moreover, it is important to consider the possibility that the victims experienced reactions other than fear (e.g. anger, depression and guilt) and to consider the influence of possible protective factors (e.g. self-concept, self-esteem and competence in problem-solving) in the reduction of this emotional response. However, it is important to note that approximately 50% of the victims experienced fear and 8.1% reported having been very afraid after their victimization. Comparing this finding with Pereira et al.'s (submitted) research on global cyber-

harassment, we conclude that, there is a higher likelihood of adolescents reporting fear when experiencing cyberstalking than when facing cyber-harassment in general (43.4% vs. 37.3%). Understanding this may allow us to better match cyberstalking as an aggravated form of cyber-harassment, as suggested by the extensive body of literature in this area (e.g. Cupach and Spitzberg 1998; Spitzberg and Hoobler 2002; Spitzberg and Cupach 2007, 2014; Pereira and Matos 2015). However, it also problematizes fear as a key criterion for distinguishing between victims and non-victims. As this study corroborates, the set of cyberstalking behaviours that triggered fear in some victims did not trigger fear in other victims. Fear was not an unavoidable response to cyberstalking victimization for all victims. In contrast, the experience of fear may be influenced by the specific characteristics of the cyber-victims and cyberstalkers, as well as by the cyberstalking dynamics.

Although the victimization rates were similar for the two sexes (47.5% for males; 52.5% for females), regression analyses revealed that being female contributed to the prediction of greater fear. These data are consistent with previous empirical studies examining stalking and cyberstalking (e.g. Ybarra et al. 2006; Spitzberg et al. 2010; Mapel et al. 2011; Matos et al. 2012; Henson et al. 2013) and support the conclusion that fear reinforces the socially constructed notion of female vulnerability and passivity. The traditional idea that masculinity does not allow space for fragilities and insecurities, including the expression of fear, may have compromised males' likelihood of reporting their experiences of fear (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

Interestingly, the current study found that greater online risk perception was a predictor of greater levels of fear reported after victimization. Thus, adolescents who perceived themselves as particularly vulnerable to the risk of cyberstalking were unable to manage their own victimization, expressing more fear (Henson et al. 2013). We posit, therefore, that a subjective and psychological definition of vulnerability influenced the expression of fear after cyber-victimization in the current study (Dietz and Martin 2007).

In contrast to Dürager and Livingstone (2012), the present study found that there was an increased tendency for adolescents to report fear when their parents were more involved. Among the various existing explanations, one possibility is that parents who knew of the messages exchanged via ICT and had direct knowledge of their adolescents' online navigation were more likely to increase their adolescents' awareness of the risks of and vulnerability to victimization, thereby increasing their adolescents' warning effect, perception of surveillance and the severity of the impact of cyberstalking. A second potential explanation from the individual adjustment

perspective is that parents do not provide the most useful and effective responses when they are informed of online incidents. Livingstone and Haddon (2009) proposed this explanation and argued that blaming and/or punishing their children, prohibiting access to the Internet and/or simply advising about unhelpful or unrealistic practices regarding what to do (e.g. repeatedly asking the cyberstalker to stop or keeping in contact with the cyberstalker to control his/her behaviour) are some of the parenting practices that may contribute to fear after victimization.

Notwithstanding the importance of the intrinsic features of the victims and their family backgrounds, the current data suggest that examining cyberstalking behaviours is useful for predicting victims' fear. This is particularly evident in the case of receiving exaggerated messages of affection. According to the previous literature, this is a typical stalking behavior in the context of intimacy and this behaviour is characterized by the desire to exercise control and power over the victim (Fraser et al. 2010). Thus, this type of cyberstalking is empirically characterized by a higher frequency of intimidating and intrusive strategies and an increased risk of the persistence, escalation and recidivism of the behaviours (McEwan et al. 2007; Mohandie et al. 2006). These strategies cause the victims to feel afraid as they anticipate that their experience with cyberstalking will become disruptive. Persistence was also a predictor of fear (e.g. Johnson and Kercher 2009; Mitchell et al. 2014), suggesting that there may be a "dose effect" and potential consequences (e.g. personal, social and cognitive) related to the omnipresence of the cyberstalker and the cumulative victimization for the cyber-victims (Finkelhor et al. 2007).

The combination of these elements with the cyberstalker profile supported the development of a fear prediction model with greater sensitivity and practical applicability (e.g. for understanding and differentiating clinical interventions). Indeed, older cyberstalkers triggered the greatest level of fear in the victims (Ybarra et al. 2006; Henson et al. 2013). These data highlight the importance of considering socio-cultural issues, specifically the stereotypical image of a "typical" aggressor (i.e. someone older, stronger and harsher) who subordinates the victim, which results in feelings of hypervigilance, frustration, powerlessness and threat (Henson et al. 2013). According to this stereotype, a male aggressor should trigger the greatest amount of fear in the victim (Matos et al. 2012). However, the growing awareness of the likelihood of cyberstalking being perpetrated by females (in the current study, 61.4% of the victims were targeted by female cyberstalkers) may help to understand the non-significance of this variable. Therefore, we may be witnessing a transformation in the experience of fear based on the particular context of victimization (i.e. conventional vs. online).

Given the previous discussion, we conclude that fear is a result of a complex interaction between different factors that cannot be understood in a singular manner or taken as a standard, required or decisive response in the study of cyberstalking. Thus, in the realm of jurisprudence, it does not seem legitimate to sustain fear as an intrinsic condition of cyberstalking victimization and/or as a differentiating criterion between victims and non-victims. Similar to other authors studying the topic of stalking (e.g. Kamir 2001; Matos et al. 2012; Ferreira and Matos 2013), we reinforce the need for increased attention to the multiplicity and multidimensionality of the different factors that are in constant interaction (Dietz and Martin 2007). The assessment of cyberstalking based on standardized and objective criteria neglects idiosyncrasies and socio-cultural, family and situational effects. Such an assessment promotes, in a preliminary, erroneous and illegitimate manner, the discrimination of a group of victims (i.e. those who are not afraid) that is important for the global and integrative comprehension of the cyberstalking phenomenon as a crime.

Limitations and Implications

One of this study's limitations is that victimization by cyberstalking was measured according to only six behaviours. Second, adolescents were asked whether they had experienced cyberstalking behaviours without asking whether they perceived themselves as victims (i.e. self-identification), which may have resulted in an over-reporting of cyberstalking experiences. Third, only two groups of victims were examined in the current study (i.e. those who experienced and those who did not experience fear). Therefore, victims who reported experiencing high levels of fear were analysed in the same group with those who self-reported low levels of fear. Detailed analyses based on a wider set of behaviours across different levels of fear (i.e. *no fear*, *a little fear* and *much fear*) would allow us to identify common and/or specific variables for each scenario of victimization and would contribute to a better understanding of fear as an emotional response to cyberstalking victimization.

Nevertheless, this study yielded new information that significantly contributes to research regarding cyberstalking among adolescents and to the discussion related to fear issues, indicating a number of future directions. Contrary to common sense, cyberstalking is a real and common experience in the daily routine of adolescents. Therefore, it is essential to include cyberstalking in the current public agenda and to implement specific educational and political measures against violence (e.g. awareness-raising, appropriate legislation, national plans of differentiated intervention and prevention). It is important to develop a quality system of education to 1) increase awareness

of online violence among adolescents, 2) deconstruct stereotypes related to fear as a symptom of vulnerability and fragility and 3) demystify the most famous myths related to online victimization (e.g. lack of impact).

Although cyberstalking has a significant potential impact, fear is not an unavoidable response. However, this does not mean that victims who have no fear-related effects do not require help and a judicial response (e.g. restraining order). There is a relevant need to intervene and develop a specific, meaningful and effective paradigm of support for all victims, regardless of whether they are afraid. In addition, it is necessary to better understand the effects of parental involvement and adopted coping strategies (e.g. avoidance, negation, negotiating and confrontation) on the psychosocial (mal)adjustment of adolescents. The current study showed that the family's role is not limited to providing a computer and the Internet to children. Families have responsibilities and duties, namely, educating their children and adolescents about safer online surfing and helping them manage their online victimization.

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CAPÍTULO VI

COMPARING PARENT'S AND ADOLESCENT'S PERCEPTIONS ABOUT THE ADOLESCENT'S ONLINE RISKS AND PARENTAL MEDIATION[8]

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CAPÍTULO VI

COMPARING PARENT'S AND ADOLESCENT'S PERCEPTIONS ABOUT THE ADOLESCENT'S ONLINE RISKS AND PARENTAL MEDIATION

Abstract

Adolescents are constantly exploring and adapting their online behaviors. This highlights the critical role of parents. The present study includes Portuguese parent-adolescent dyads (N = 385). They completed a survey to explore and compare their perceptions about adolescents' online risky behaviors, cyber-victimization, parental mediation strategies and their efficacy. According to the results, parents and adolescents did not differ on perceptions' about parental efficacy. However, parents greatly underestimated their adolescent's risky behaviors and victimization experiences. In turn, adolescents perceived a lower level of parental mediation than parents reported. Parents perceived a greater number of online risky behaviors for boys compared to girls; and reported a higher number of parental mediation strategies for girls and younger adolescents compared to boys and older adolescents. On the other hand, girls and younger adolescents perceived a higher parental mediation and efficacy levels compared to boys. Implications for education guidelines and policies involving parents and adolescents are discussed.

Keywords: Parent and adolescent perceptions, Internet, online risky behaviors, cyber-victimization, parental mediation, efficacy.

Introduction

The Internet plays a pivotal role in all aspects of society-business, education, politics and communication. This virtual world signals a new culture dominated by the first digitally native generation of young people (Matos & Ferreira, 2013; Pasquier, 2005). This characteristic clearly differentiates the post-millennial generation from previous generations, enabling much greater access to social relationships, knowledge, and technical abilities than their parents or other adults had at a similar age (Grossbart, McConnell-Hughes, Pryor, & Yost 2002; Valcke, De Wever, Van Keer, & Schellens, 2011). This technological generation gap presents the prospect of a variety of different levels of exposure to internet contents and activities. According to report of Statista (2015), about 53.2% of the worldwide Internet users are between 15 and 34 years old, about 34% are between 35 and 54 years old and less than 13% of individuals are 55 years old or over. In USA, fully 95% of ages 12-17 years old are online *versus* 87% of adults (Pew Research Center, 2012, 2014). The same trend occur in Europe, where 94% of those aged 16-24 are regular internet users, more than double the proportion in the 55-74 age group (46%). Similarly, the higher education of individuals, the greater rate of Internet usage (Cardoso, Mendonça, Lima, Paisana, & Neves, 2014; Eurostat, 2013). Based on the cross-cultural study of EU Kids Online, about 93% of Portuguese adolescents access the Internet at home (versus 72% at school), mainly in a private place, such a bedroom (67% vs. 49% of the European average; Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, & Ólafsson, 2011). According Pontes, Patrão and Griffiths (2014), about 60% of Portuguese adolescents (N = 593) exhibit symptoms of Internet addiction.

The growing access to and use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) by youth all over the world have increased the level of insecurity and concern of parents regarding its potential new risks and negative effects on users (Duque, 2012; Huang, 2010; Livingstone & Brake, 2010; Ponte, 2012). Several researchers found that many adolescents disclose personal information online or personally get in touch with strangers they met online (Livingstone et al., 2011; Madden et al., 2013; Pereira, Spitzberg, & Matos, 2015b). About 15% of 11-16 years old have received peer-to-peer sexual messages or images (Livingstone et al., 2011); between 5% and 61% have experienced cyber-harassment (Jones, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2013; Pereira, Spitzberg, & Matos, 2015a), cyber-bullying (Almeida, Correia, Esteves, Gomes, Garcia, & Marinho, 2008; Livingstone, Mascheroni, Ólafsson, & Haddon, 2014; Matos, Simões, Camacho, Reis, & Equipa Aventura Social, 2014) or cyberstalking (Pereira & Matos, 2015). Negative psychosocial and

physical consequences of these online experiences have been documented by several studies (e.g., Huang, 2010; Livingstone et al., 2011; Pereira & Matos, 2015).

Such research reveals the critical role parents could be playing in mediating adolescent Internet usage. Accordingly, to examine the parental knowledge about the online behaviors of adolescents, their mediation strategies and how adolescent perceive them are pivotal in understanding how today's families interact, deal with and manage the online world on daily routines.

(Un)Safe Internet Use and Parental Mediation Role

The strategies parents use to manage adolescent online lives and to prevent their risks are forms of parental mediation, which is defined as a set of parenting behaviors involving supervision of adolescent media use and guidance to understand and interpret media content (Clark, 2011; Pinto, Pereira, Pereira, & Ferreira, 2011). As such, two main patterns of parental mediation have been identified: active mediation and restrictive mediation (Lwin, Stanaland, & Miyaaki, 2008). The first is linked to active parental involvement in the adolescent's online life. Those who actively mediate their adolescents stay around, discuss with adolescent about Internet opportunities and risks, teach them about net-safety and/or check the computer screen. In contrast, restrictive mediation involves the introduction and enforcement of rules, prohibitions and restrictions, prior to adolescents' Internet usage. Limiting the number of hours online, prohibiting the viewing of certain websites or the accessing to specific Internet platforms are few examples of these rules (Lwin et al., 2008). Research on the parental role regarding their adolescents' Internet use is a relatively new research subject, particularly in Portugal. Efforts toward examining parent-adolescent agreement concerning adolescents' online risky behaviors and/or of parent mediation are even sparser.

The few existing studies of parental mediation indicate that most parents do get involved in some way in their adolescents' Internet use, feel aware of adolescents' Internet usage, and feel confident about their ability to help them with their online behavior (Livingstone et al., 2011). However, many scholars have found that adolescents and parents differ in their reports regarding online risks, with many parents being unaware of adolescent's online risks and tending to underestimate the negative incidents experienced by their children (Byrne, Katz, Lee, Linz, & McIlrath, 2014; Livingstone et al., 2011; Livingstone & Bober, 2004; Rosen, Cheever, & Carrier, 2008). The same differences are found when testing the level of agreement between adults and

adolescents regarding to what extent which parents are mediating their adolescents' media use. In most of the cases, adolescents underestimate the amount of parental mediation strategies reported by their parents (Duerager & Livingstone, 2012; Rosen et al., 2008; Wang, Bianch, & Raley, 2005). Despite these divergences, when questioned about the efficacy of parental practices, both adolescents and parents tend to perceive parental mediation as very useful, especially for the younger age group (9-12 years old; Livingston et al., 2011).

Studies also indicate that adolescent sex and age are important variables linked with parental concerns about their adolescent's online risky behaviors and with parental mediation strategies (Valcke, Bonte, Wever, & Rots, 2010). In this case, parents of younger adolescents seem to be less concerned about online risks, but they are getting more involved and more aware about their adolescents' online lives as compared to parents of older adolescents (Almeida, Alves, Delicado, & Carvalho, 2011; Eurobarometer, 2008; Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2005; Rosen et al., 2008). In addition, some studies have found that parents are more likely to know about and mediate girls more so than boys' Internet usage (Almeida et al., 2011; Rosen et al., 2008). Evidence of sex differences in relation to adolescent online risk perceived by parents is almost nonexistent, but apparently parents seems to perceive the boys as more involved in online risky behaviors compared to girls (e.g., Mesch, 2009).

Given this conceptual framework on parental mediation and the empirical studies on adolescent's online risks and the role of parents, we conclude that more research is needed to examine the nature of adolescent online risks and respective parental mediation strategies. There is also a need to investigate the degree and nature of correspondence or divergence in parent-adolescent dyads regarding policies and strategies that may be appropriate for this context.

Current Study

Most scholarly efforts have focused on examining adolescents' reports on their online behaviors and parental mediation strategies without comparing parental perceptions or self-reports. Further, although adolescent age and sex have been well-documented as influencing parenting behavior, how they specifically influence parental knowledge on their adolescents' online activities and mediation strategies are still not clear. Most research has explored parental strategies without testing their efficacy as perceived by adolescents. To fill those gaps, the present study includes parents and adolescent's self-reports and assesses (dis)agreement within these dyads in regard to: 1) adolescents' online risky behaviors, 2) cyber-victimization, 3) parental mediation, and 4)

perceptions on its efficacy. It also explores how adolescent demographics affect parental perception about adolescent risk and their mediation strategies. In order to pursue these research objectives, the following research hypotheses are posited:

H_1: There are significant differences within parent-adolescent dyads in reporting adolescent online risky behaviors and cyber-harassment victimization, and in regard to parental mediation. Specifically, the differences anticipated are that:

1.1. Parents underestimate the extent of online risky behaviors of adolescents;

1.2. Parents underestimate the extent of cyber-victimization of adolescents;

1.3. Adolescents perceive a lower level of parental mediation strategies than parents report.

H_2: Parental self-perceptions of mediation efficacy do not differ from their adolescents' perception.

H_3: Adolescent age and sex affect parental perceptions about their adolescents' online risky behaviors and their own parental mediation strategies. Specifically, it is anticipated that:

3.1. Parents perceive less risky behaviors for younger adolescents than for older adolescents;

3.2. Parents perceive a higher level of risky behaviors for boys than for girls;

3.3. Parents apply a higher number of mediation strategies for younger adolescents compared to older adolescents;

3.4. Parents report using a higher number of mediation strategies for girls compared to boys.

Method

Procedures and Participants

After Portuguese National Commission for Data Protection (CNPD) and Ministry of Education approval, we contacted a random sample of 1340 adolescent students from 20 basic and secondary schools from northern region of Portugal's mainland and the autonomous region of the Azores. Adolescents received an envelope that included a letter informing parents about the survey, an invitation to parent[9]-adolescent pairs to participate in the survey and consent forms for both parent and adolescents.

[9] In the present study, 'parent' refers to the mother/father or other adult who takes care of the adolescent and who is most involved in the target adolescent's Internet use.

In total, 721 parents (53.81%) and 645 adolescents (48.13%) completed the survey, between January and June of 2013. Parents were given the option of completing an online questionnaire or responding to the same questions as part of a paper and pencil questionnaire at home. Adolescents responded to an online questionnaire that was administrated in the schools' computer lab, in the presence of the first author. Participation was voluntary and responses were kept confidential. Adolescents were also informed that they could refuse or discontinue participation in the study at any time. At the end, all participants received an informative flyer that included the researcher's contact information and information about cyber-harassment and how to deal with these experiences.

For the subsequent report, a further screening was conducted to match adolescents with their respective parents and exclude participants whose adolescents or parents did not participate. Matching of adolescents to parents was accomplished by a code comprising the initials of the adolescent's full name and their birthday date.

A total of 385 (28.81% from the total sample) dyads were included in the analyses. Adolescents were between 12 and 16 years old (M = 14.01, SD = 1.37, 57.4% female) and were mostly enrolled in the third cycle (77.9%) in state schools (76.9%). The average age for the first access to the Internet were 9 years old (SD = 2.27). The majority of them (54.3%) reported access to the Internet from a private place in their home.

Parents (76.9% female) ranged in age from 20 to 66 (M = 42.97, SD = 5.92). The majority was Portuguese (97.6%) and married (80.1%). Fifty-eight percent did not complete high school, 19.2% were high school graduates, 13.9% were college graduates, 3.9% completed some postgraduate work and 3.4% had a bachelor's degree. Almost three-quarters (73.3%) of parents were employed. The majority of parents used the Internet "*sometimes*" or "*more often*" (77.5%) and self-rated themselves as being moderated Internet users (52.1%). About one-third (34.2%) of them perceived themselves as fully able to help adolescents online but 41.4% of parents stressed the need for moderate or higher educational orientation about how to deal with cyber-harassment victimization.

Measures

The data were collected through two questionnaires, which were later linked to form a dyadic pair: one for adolescent and one of his/er parent. Both surveys focused on the following topics:

Online risky behaviors. Adolescent and parental perceptions about the adolescent's cyber-risks was operationalized by a set of 10 behaviors measured via a 5-point Likert-type scale for both the adolescent (α = .62) and parent (α = .68) surveys, with higher score representing higher cyber-risks. The "I don't know" option was only provided for parents' survey. These items were adapted mostly from international measures (e.g. Baumrind, 1971). Although the reliability was low, behavioral scales can be treated as an index rather than a scale, such that reliability is less relevant (see Streiner, 2003).

Cyber-victimization. Adolescent cyber-harassment victimization was reported by adolescents and parents, based on a set of 18 items, measured on a 5-point Likert-type scale for adolescents (from 0 = *never* to 5 = *more than five times*; α = .89) and with a dichotomous answer for parents (0 = *no*; 1 = *yes*; α = .81). These items were derived a previous measure developed by Spitzberg and Hoobler (2002).

Parental mediation. It was measured through two scales, the items of which were mostly adapted from international measures (e.g., Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). *The parental involvement scale* aimed to assess the dyadic perception of parental active mediation strategies of adolescent ICT use. It was measured through 10 items for adolescents (α = .89) and 15 items for parents (α = .91), using a 5-point Likert-scale for both surveys (e.g., "Watching videos online or playing online games together"; "Sitting down with adolescent during their online navigation", "Asking about what they are doing online"). The *parental prohibitions scale* aimed to assess adolescent and parental perception about restrictive parental practices. This construct was operationalized by a set of 9 items using a 5-point Likert-type scale items in both surveys (α = .84 for adolescents; and α = .76 for parents).

Parental self-efficacy. Adolescent and parental perception about parental efficacy concerning mediation strategies was measured by a single question, identical for both parents and adolescents: "In your opinion, is the parental Internet supervision effective?" Response options varied from 0 (*non-effective*) to 5 (*totally effective*). The "Not applicable" option was also provided in case they have not identified any effort of parental mediation.

Results

To What Extent Are Parents Aware of Adolescent's Risky Behaviors? (Hypothesis 1.1)

Almost all adolescents (99.7%) reported at least one online risky behaviors (*M* = 5.61, *SD* = 2.46). The most frequent risk behaviors are shown in Table 11. About 80% of parents were also aware about the global amount of risky behaviors that their adolescent was taking online, with no statistically differences between the dyad members (*Ms* = 4.66 for parents versus 4.63 for adolescents, *SDs* = 2.69 and 2.05, respectively, *p* = .886). However, z-test analyses for each of the adolescent's online risky behaviors revealed that parents greatly underestimated the extent to which their adolescent was taking risky behaviors online (see Table 11). This finding confirms $H_{1.1}$.

Table 11

Parent's perceptions about their adolescent's unsafe online behaviors and adolescent's reporting

Risky online behaviors	Parent not sure about risk behaviors	Parent perceives risk behaviors	Adolescent risk behaviors	z-test
Disclosing full name and personal data online	15%	33.7%	78.2%	12.32***
Not blocking online unknown contact	17.8%	20.1%	73%	14.05***
Not talking to parents when feeling uncomfortable or threatened online	13.8%	15.8%	36.1%	-6.30***
Not controlling privacy when publishes information online	14.3%	11.9%	61.3%	14.53***
Adding unknown users to her/his social network	18.6%	9.9%	56.1%	12.50***
Looking erotic or pornographic pages	11.5%	5.5%	19.7%	5.82***
Not having security measures when using internet or public computer	9.1%	5%	37.7%	9.73***

Sending photos to unknown users	5.1%	4.9%	8.6%	2.21*
Giving personal information when asked by unknowns	7.8%	3.2%	9.1%	3.33***
Making friends online and meeting them offline	6.4%	2.7%	13.5%	5.45***

Note. The percentages in the table indicate a total of parents who agreed and agreed et al, and a total of adolescents who indicated did it.

*$p < .05$; ***$p < .001$.

To What Extent Are Parents Aware of Adolescent Cyber-Victimization? (Hypothesis 1.2)

Among adolescents, 70.6% reported they have been victimized by at least one cyber-harassment behavior (59.2% for girls and 40.8% for boys). However, only 31.4% of the 379 parents who responded to this question reported that such experiences had occurred at least once over their adolescent's lifetime. Table 12 displays the cyber-harassment behaviors reported most by adolescents and by parents. Paired comparisons showed that parents and adolescents did differ in the amount of cyber-harassment behaviors reported (*Ms* = 2.89 for adolescents versus .67 for parents, *SDs* = 3.38 and 1.51, respectively, $p = .000$). Indeed, parents greatly underestimated the extent to which adolescents were victims online (see Table 12), confirming the $H_{1.2}$.

Table 12

Parents' perceptions about adolescents cyber-victimization and adolescents reporting

Cyber-victimization behaviors	Parent believes	Adolescent reports	z-test
Receiving calls without any apparent justification	58%	78.3%	4.12***
Receiving exaggerated messages of affection	19.3%	39.7%	3.93***
Monitoring or receiving gifts via mobile phone or social network	7.6%	35.7%	5.75***
Receiving excessively 'needy', disclosive or demand messages	7.6%	25.4%	4.05***
Receiving pornographic or obscene pictures or messages	7.6%	19.9%	3.04***

Obtaining my private information without permission	6.7%	21.7%	3.61***
Receiving sexually harassing messages	5%	11.4%	1.98*

Note. The percentages in the table indicate a total of parents who said yes, and a total of adolescents who indicated experienced it at least once.

*$p < .05$; ***$p < .001$.

To What Extent and How Are Parents Mediating Their Adolescent's Internet Usage? (Hypothesis 1.3)

Parental active mediation strategies

Findings indicates that 12.8% of parents assumed had never or almost never been involved in their adolescent's Internet activities, 42% reported they had been often or always involved in their adolescent's Internet activities, and 45.2% of them reported had been moderately involved. Table 13 presents the most commonly reported active parental mediation strategies. However, as displayed in Table 13, z-tests between parent and adolescent reports indicate statistically significant differences for almost all of the parental mediation strategies (see Table 13). Paired comparison tests also found that parents and adolescents disagreed on the amount of global parental strategies, with adolescents perceiving a lower level of parental mediation strategies than parents reported (M = 8.69 for parents versus M = 7.78 for adolescents, SDs = 1.97 and 2.55, respectively), $t(234) = 4.59$, $p = .000$. This gives strong support to the $H_{1.3}$.

Table 13

Parental mediation strategies and knowledge on adolescent's online activities

Active mediation strategies	Parent reports	Adolescent perceptions	z-test
Talking about Internet dangers	77.9%	59%	5.63***
Being aware about the adolescent's photos published online	73.9%	61.5%	3.63***
Asking to adolescents about what they are doing online	71%	52.5%	5.29***

Being aware about online websites accessed by the adolescent	58.7%	49.6%	2.51*
Talking about the benefits of ICT usage	51.3%	38.2%	3.65***
Being aware about the adolescent's online contacts	48%	33.7%	3.99***
Having someone near to adolescent during his/er online navigation	34.8%	12%	7.47***
Being aware about the adolescent's online messages	29.8%	22.1%	2.42*
Creating an email account together	27.8%	16.9%	3.64***
Watching videos online together	21.5%	18.2%	1.13

Note. The percentages in the table indicate a total of parents who indicated do it often or always and a total of adolescents who acknowledge that parents did it often or always.

*$p < .05$; ***$p < .001$.

Parental restriction strategies

Regarding parental restriction strategies (see Table 14), z-test and paired comparison tests confirm that parent-adolescent dyads members' reports were also statistically different, with adolescents less likely to perceive parental restrictive strategies than their parents ($M = 7.27$ for parents versus $M = 6.38$ for adolescents, $SDs = 1.89$ and 2.53, respectively), $t(223) = 4.21$, $p = .000$. These results give additional support to the $H_{1.3}$.

Table 14

Parents' versus adolescents' perceptions about parental restrictions strategies

	Parents	Adolescents	z-test
Talking with unknown people online	73.3%	66.7%	1.98*
Spending a lot of time on Internet or electronic devices	58.3%	48.8%	2.61**
Shopping online	57.2%	45.7%	.43

Disclosing personal information	57.2%	58.7%	-.18
Frequenting chat rooms	34.6%	29%	-6.18***
Using filtering or blocking software	22.3%	10.4%	4.12***
Downloading	20.8%	17.2%	-1.27
Creating a social network profile	19.3%	17.6%	-.57
Creating an email account	15.3%	15.4%	.001

Note. The percentages in the table indicate a total of parents who indicated do it often or always and a total of adolescents who acknowledge that parents did it often or always.

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$.

To What Extent Is Parental Mediation Effective? (Hypothesis 2)

Hypothesis 2 expected that parental self-perceived mediation efficacy would not differ from their adolescent's reports of parental mediation efficacy. Comparison analysis revealed no statistically significant differences between parent's and adolescent's perceptions, $z = -1.16$, $p = .246$. H_2 was supported.

Are Adolescent Age and Sex Affecting Parental Mediation Strategies? (Hypothesis 3)

There was no statistical power when analyzing the influence of adolescent's age on parental report about adolescent's online risky behaviors. This result refutes the $H_{3.1.}$ which expected that parents world perceive less risky behaviors for younger adolescents than for older adolescents. In contrast, a t-test of differences confirmed the $H_{3.2.}$: parents were more likely to perceive a higher level of risky behaviors from boys as compared to girls, $t(334) = 4.40$, $p = .000$.

Regarding to the variance of parental mediation strategies according to adolescent's age, a correlation test found that parents of younger adolescents were more likely to applied a higher number of parental active mediation strategies, $r = -.23$, $p = .000$, and of restrictive strategies, $r = -.21$, $p = .000$, as compared to parent of older adolescents. They were also more likely to use both active and restrictive mediation strategies in the case of girls than boys, $t(383) = -2.77$, $p = .006$. These findings confirm the $H_{3.3.}$ and the $H_{3.4.}$

Supplementary Analyses

Several additional statistical analyses were performed to discern if adolescent perception of parents' mediation efficacy varied according to adolescent demographics. Findings revealed that girls and younger adolescents tended to rate their parents as more effective compared to boys and older adolescents, $Z = -2.52$, $p = .012$ and $rsp = .14$, $p = .008$, respectively. Statistical analysis (partial correlations) taking into account the adolescent's age revealed that parents of younger adolescents were also younger adults, $r = .15$, $p = 003$, had a higher educational background, $rsp = -.16$, $p = .002$, greater access to a computer, $rsp = -.21$, $p = .000$, to a laptop, $rsp = -.11$, $p = .031$) and to the Internet, $rsp = -.13$, $p = .010$, and were more likely to consider themselves as more digitally literate, $rsp = -.12$, $p = .029$, than parents of older adolescents. This group of younger parents was also the one who reported a higher number of active mediation strategies, $r = -.17$, $p = .001$, and a higher confidence level to help adolescents' victims online, $r = -.23$, $p = .018$.

Discussion

The present study analyzed parents and their adolescents' self-reports and assessed (dis)agreement within these dyads regarding the adolescents' online risky behaviors, cyber-victimization, parental mediation and its efficacy. It also explores how adolescent demographics corresponded to parental perceptions of the adolescents' risk, their mediation strategies; and adolescents' perception on parental efficacy.

Adolescents are using Internet at ever-younger ages and admit to being engaged in a range of online risky behaviors. Parents were mostly aware of the possibility of adolescents engaging in online risks. When comparing parents and adolescents, however, the proportion of adolescents involved in different risky behaviors was twice as high (or more) than the rate perceived by parents. Parents were also able to recognize that their adolescents were already targeted by cyber-harassment, but only at half the rate reported by adolescents (31.4% versus 70.6%). These findings corroborate several studies suggesting that, despite their efforts at Internet mediation, parents are not fully aware of their adolescents' level of risk (Byrne et al., 2014; Livingstone et al., 2011; Livingstone & Bober, 2004; Rosen et al., 2008). These discrepancies within the parent-adolescent dyad may be aided by the fact that more than half of adolescents in the present study reported going online in a private place at home and about one third reported not talking to their parents when something or someone online made the adolescent feel uncomfortable or threatened

(McAfee, 2012). This lack of communication may have hindered mediation and problematized the concrete parental knowledge about the online lives of their adolescents.

In terms of parental mediation, results confirm that parents report applying a range of active and restrictive parental mediation strategies to try to manage adolescent's online risks and to stay involved in and aware on their adolescent's online lives. The level of disagreement, however, was also evident regarding the two subsample' responses to this topic. This finding is corroborated by previous studies (e.g., Duerager & Livingstone, 2012; Rosen et al. 2008).

Despite adolescents perceiving a lower level of parental active and restrictive mediation strategies, both dyad members reported that parents preferred mediating Internet usage at home through active practices. Discussing Internet dangers, asking adolescents about what they are doing online and being aware of the adolescent's photos published online were some of the mediation practices most reported by both parents and adolescents. In contrast, restrictions related to downloading, creating online accounts or network profiles and using filter software (i.e., restrictive strategies) were reported by fewer dyads. This result contrasts with European studies that labeled Portuguese parents as protective mainly through restriction strategies (Helsper, Kalmus, Hasebrink, Sagvari, & De Haan, 2013). It is possible that, with the increasing diffusion of online technologies and access among Portuguese households (National Institute of Statistics, 2014) and a tendency of educational policies to adopt instructional technologies (Nikken & Schols, 2015), a higher number of parents are being more exposed to the Internet and inculcating a less restrictive public attitude. Consequently, parents may be trying to achieve a greater balance of parental mediation strategies so that their adolescents can take advantage of the opportunities of the Internet without taking too many risks. The fact that most parents reported using the Internet frequently and recognized themselves as moderate users may give additional support to this interpretation. According to Eurobarometer (2008) and Livingstone and Helsper (2008), the more parents are familiar with the Internet, the greater the confidence in coping with online risks and, therefore, the less fear and the fewer restrictions may be applied. However, these findings on Internet mediation constantly need to be considered carefully: some parents and adolescents may have overemphasized parental mediation strategies by giving socially acceptable answers.

There was an expected high level of agreement between parents and adolescents, consistent to previous studies (e.g., Livingstone et al., 2011) in regard to effectiveness of parental mediation. It is not possible, however, to ascertain which level of parental mediation efforts are more accurate, or more effective in reducing online vulnerability.

Results showed that parental mediation efficacy varies by adolescent age and sex. Parental concerns about their adolescents' online risky behavior and mediation strategies also differ according to the adolescent's sex and age (Almeida et al., 2011; Livingstone & Bober, 2004; Padilla-Walker, Coyne, Fraser, Dyer, & Yorgason, 2012). Boys were perceived by parents as experiencing a greater range of online risks compared to girls. In contrast, consistent with findings by Almeida et al. (2011), compared to younger boys, younger girls were subjected more to both active and restrictive parental mediation strategies. This suggests that the mediation strategies employed by parents does not depend on the parental perception about adolescent's risky behaviors as much as perceptions of vulnerability to those risks. Rather, parental mediation strategies seem to result from an interaction between gender stereotypes and parental perceptions of adolescent's overall maturity. Although other studies have not found adolescent sex differences in parental mediation (e.g., Valcke et al., 2010), a gender perspective conceptualizes boys stereotyped as more independent, adventurous, risky, aggressive, computer skilled, and less tolerant of parental authority in Internet-related contexts compared to girls (Almeida et al., 2011; Henwood, Plumeridge, & Stepulevage, 2000; Livingstone, Kalmus, &Talves, 2014; Matos, Gaspar, Simões, & The European KIDSCREEN Group, 2013). This might explain why parents perceived a greater risk for the boys, but used more mediation strategies amongst girls (commonly perceived as more vulnerable, sensitive and more amenable to discipline). Nevertheless, this parental bias must to be "worked", since previous indicate that both boys and girls have equal probability to get involved in online risks and experience cyber-victimization (Pereira et al., 2015b; Wolak et al., 2006). There is an extensive literature reporting a greater online risk and cyber-victimization associated with older adolescents (e.g., Pereira et al., 2015a, b; Livingstone et al., 2011; Wolak et al., 2006). In contrast, parents may decrease their regulation in late adolescence due the growing autonomy of children as they move from adolescence to young adulthood. This reflects a natural and appropriate transition of parenting style (Padilla-Walker et al., 2012; Ponte & Simões, 2009). However, if parents do not give their adolescents concrete training on Internet safety at an earlier age, this lack of parental regulation in older ages can increase behavioral problems in online environments, as documented by delinquency research in the face-to-face context (Camacho & Matos, 2008; Farrington, 1989; Hoeve, Dubas, Eichelsheim, Van Der Lann, Smeenk, & Gerris, 2009).

Regarding parental mediation efficacy, girls and younger adolescents – those who were target of greater parental mediation – were the ones who perceived higher levels of parental

efficacy. Indeed, younger adolescents in the present study had younger parents, who had a higher educational background, greater digital skills and perceived a lower impact resulting from adolescent's online victimization. According to Eurobarometer (2008), these demographics reflect groups with less difficulty in understanding what the Internet is, what it allows or how to mediate it. For example, Almeida et al. (2011) found parents with higher education adopted a much more interventionist approach vis-a-vis their adolescents' online activities. Therefore, it is not surprising that this group of adolescents has been the target of a higher level of effective parental mediation, compared to older adolescents. This result has important implications for policy and practice, since current findings suggest that being digitally skilled provides greater protective advantage than age or generation; Helsper & Eynon, 2009; Valcke et al., 2010). Furthermore, it directs researchers to affirm that, although setting rules and restrictions is important, it is even more critical for parents to create a positive and trusting environment between parent-adolescent (Eastin Greenberg, & Hofschire, 2006; Matos, Simões, Tomé, Gaspar, Camacho, & Diniz, 2006; Tomé, Camacho, Matos, & Diniz, 2011). Competent communication is key in all forms of parenting and it is not any different when it comes to digital parenting.

Taking into account that younger parents apply a higher level of active and restrictive mediation strategies gives reason to expect the reduction of the generational technological gaps in the future. Nevertheless, given that literacy is recognized as a plural and dynamic concept (Pereira, Pinto, & Moura, 2015), parents are strongly encouraged to participate in up to date psychoeducational programs about the use of Internet. Parents will be expected to assimilate sex- and age-appropriate mediation for their adolescents and become more effective in their parental practices. In this domain, schools can play a pivotal role in providing support to parents. For example, schools can design workshops or training interventions for parents focused on understanding adolescent needs, the nature of online risky behaviors and how to deal with safer Internet practices (O'Neill, & Staksrud, 2014). Increasing parental understanding of risks, without being alarmist or sensationalist, is particularly important in the specific case of Portugal, where most parents have greatly underestimated or minimized the adolescent risks.

Limitations and Implications

Some limitations of the present study deserve consideration. First, the survey asked parents and adolescents sensitive questions related to private, often unnoticed, sometimes secret or illicit online practices of everyday life. As a result, this could have resulted in socially desirable

responses. Second, the items of the present survey related to online risk behaviors and parental mediation may not have captured all types of risky behavior and parental mediation strategies. Including qualitative and longitudinal designs in future studies will allow to examine a more comprehensive pattern of Internet use and mediation. Last, as a cross-sectional study, the methodology does not causal justify interpretations. Despite these limitations, this study provides important findings as well as theoretical and practical implications. It adds empirical evidence to the question that parental mediation of their adolescent's online activities is dynamic and not an easy task. In contrast, mediation results from a complex and inter-related set of adolescent and parental background variables. Nevertheless, the results indicate that parents clearly need to develop additional efforts to deconstruct gender stereotypes, to take a more active role in mediating adolescents and to become more aware of their adolescents' online experiences, mainly amongst boys and older adolescents. Adolescents are also called to increase dialogue with parents about their online routine activities and their negative experiences online. As pointed out by the literature (e.g., Baumrind, 1991; Law et al., 2010; Mascheroni & Ólafsson, 2014; Pereira et al., 2015a, b; Ybarra, Finkelhor, Mitchell, & Wolak, 2009), parents can be an effective social support and protective factor against online risk and cyber-victimization. As found by Valcke et al. (2010), this study also stressed the role that parental e-education can play. This is especially relevant to the finding in this study that the digital literacy of parents contributed to greater knowledge about adolescent's online behaviors and experiences, more mediation and higher level of perceived parental efficacy.

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DISCUSSÃO INTEGRATIVA

Ao longo da presente dissertação, foram apresentados e analisados os principais dados empíricos resultantes de escolhas metodológicas delineadas e fundamentadas pelo estado da arte, procedendo-se a uma reflexão sobre as suas implicações teóricas e práticas, bem como sobre as limitações de cada estudo. Propomo-nos agora destacar, de modo transversal e integrado, os principais contributos dos trabalhos realizados ao longo deste percurso, a nível conceptual, empírico e metodológico e, finalmente, a nível macrossocial.

O presente estudo coloca a sua ênfase não só no processo de definição e de compreensão das diversas experiências de ciberassédio vividas na adolescência, como também abre espaço para uma reflexão contextualizada sobre a demarcação dos conceitos de ciberassédio e de *cyberstalking* em relação ao *cyberbullying*. A necessidade de demarcação destes conceitos surgiu, desde logo, a partir da revisão da literatura sobre o objeto de estudo em causa. Durante esse processo, deparamo-nos com um vasto leque de ambiguidades e incoerências ao nível da operacionalização e delimitação conceptual do ciberassédio vivido na adolescência, o que acarretaria dificuldades para a nossa prática empírica. Se diversos autores adotavam o *cyberbullying* como "toda e qualquer forma" de assédio *online* perpetrado ou vividos pelos adolescentes, outros assumiam o *cyberbullying* como uma forma específica de ciberassédio. A par disso, surgia na literatura uma constante alusão ao conceito "*cyberstalking*" como forma específica de *cyberbullying*. Essa imprecisão conceptual documentada pela literatura era igualmente evidente entre os professores, os educadores e os alunos, do ensino secundário e universitário, com quem tivemos a oportunidade de debater questões teóricas, conceptuais e metodológicas associadas à cibervitimação na adolescência. Enquanto investigadores preocupados com o rigor científico e com as possíveis repercussões que essas inconsistências poderiam refletir para a prática profissional (e.g., ao nível da sinalização e intervenção adequada), surgiu a necessidade de, primeiro, clarificar a operacionalização e a demarcação dos vários conceitos envoltos nas dinâmicas de vitimação *online* que são alvo a população de crianças e adolescentes. Esse exercício era tanto ou mais importante perante as evidências estatísticas que destacavam a população de crianças e adolescentes como utilizadores digitais cada vez mais ativos e entre os quais se multiplicavam os relatos de experiências "secretas" vividas na web. Dessas preocupações decorreram os capítulos I e IV, de conceção teórica.

Da leitura transversal de ambos os capítulos conclui-se que a vitimação online é um fenómeno emergente e complexo, fruto da evolução das sociedades modernas e para o qual ainda

não existe a necessária atenção e reconhecimento a nível científico, social e/ou político. Essa lacuna é ainda mais observável quando nos centramos na comunidade de crianças e adolescentes, comummente percecionadas pelo senso comum como alheias a esse tipo de violência.

A partir do capítulo I, conclui-se que o ciberassédio é uma forma específica de cibercrime e no qual se incluem distintos epifenómenos, designadamente o *cyberstalking* e o *cyberbullying*. Adotar o ciberassédio como objeto de estudo é, portanto, assumir como "pano de fundo" a vitimação relacional por via das TIC. Exige adotar uma visão macro, global e inclusiva sobre a complexidade de experiências, dinâmicas, atores, reações e implicações que a vitimação *online* poderá acarretar.

Numa lógica de complementaridade, o capítulo IV revelou-se relevante não só por permitir dar visibilidade social ao fenómeno de *cyberstalking* numa "nova" população de vítimas – a de adolescentes –, mas também por refletir sobre a ambiguidade na conceptualização e na conformidade social que caracterizam essa faceta específica do ciberassédio. Esclareceram-se, ainda, os pontos de convergência e de divergência conceptual entre os conceitos de *cyberstalking* e de *cyberbullying*. Através desse esforço conceptual, julgamos poder contribuir para um maior rigor científico em futuras investigações sobre o ciberassédio e, consequentemente, para um melhor esclarecimento da comunidade em geral.

O segundo contributo conceptual deste trabalho prendeu-se com a problematização do medo enquanto elemento central na delimitação entre vítimas e não-vítimas de *cyberstalking* (capítulo V). Três motivos tornaram pertinente essa análise: primeiro, o facto de este ser um dos tópicos que tem sido alvo de grande debate no domínio do estudo do *cyberstalking*; segundo, o facto de se assistir, internacionalmente, a uma grande heterogeneidade na definição legal do conceito; terceiro, o facto de Portugal estar, à data destes trabalhos, a iniciar um debate sobre a criminalização do *stalking*. Tendo em conta toda essa conjuntura, considerou-se ser este o momento propício para desenvolver estudos que pudessem informar a prática e, quicá, a política nacional.

Ao longo dos dois capítulos supracitados (IV e V), reconhece-se o *cyberstalking* na adolescência como uma forma agravada de ciberassédio. Porém, no capítulo V concluiu-se que assumir o medo como resposta emocional indispensável para uma condição de vítima, seria conceber as vítimas e as suas reações a partir de um olhar homogéneo. A evidência de que mais de metade das vítimas de *cyberstalking* que integram o estudo empírico 3 (capítulo V) não ter reportado o sentimento de medo após a vitimação, veio reforçar que esta reação não é inevitável

ou imprescindível para se estabelecer a condição de vítima. Adicionalmente, o facto de o *cyberstalking* e o ciberassédio no geral, ocorrer num contexto pautado por características propícias à banalização ou normalização da violência *online* (e.g., ausência de confronto direto, virtualidade, aterritorialidade; Boyd, 2014), leva-nos a colocar a possibilidade de muitas vítimas de *cyberstalking* não reportarem medo por não reconhecerem tais experiências como ilícitas. Em Portugal, essa dificuldade no reconhecimento da vitimação por via do *cyberstalking* pode ser agudizada pela parca atenção social dirigida a este conceito. Essas circunstâncias sugerem-nos precisamente um novo cenário dentro da Vitimologia: o estudo de vítimas que não se reconhecem como tal, mas que merecem, no entanto, igual atenção social e científica (Spalek, 2006). Indubitavelmente, esse grupo de vítimas terá que ser incluído nas investigações que visam analisar de forma inclusiva o campo complexo das experiências e reações à vitimação por via do *cyberstalking*. A compreensão e o mapeamento do *cyberstalking* e do ciberassédio na adolescência não têm sido, todavia, uma tarefa fácil para os investigadores. A ausência de instrumentos especificamente desenhados para a avaliação do risco *online* e a escassez de teorias ou abordagens explicativas do ciberassédio na população adolescente são alguns dos principais constrangimentos à compreensão e progresso científico neste domínio de estudo. Adicionalmente, estudos longitudinais futuros com adolescentes vítimas seriam pertinentes para se analisar os "pontos críticos" que permitem a transição da perceção de comportamentos "normativos" para comportamentos objetivamente intimidatórios e para a configuração destes fenómenos (e.g., evolução estratégica dos comportamentos, escalada da frequência ou severidade das condutas). Ainda assim, não podemos ignorar o progressivo conhecimento e visibilidade que o conceito de *cyberstalking* tem conquistado no contexto nacional. Ao contrário do que acontecia nos finais de 2011, atualmente notamos a sua referência no Código Penal Português (CPP), através da lei antiperseguição, publicada em Agosto de 2015 (Art.º 154-A). Essa alteração ao CPP, também fruto dos vários trabalhos científicos desenvolvidos (e.g., Grupo de Investigação sobre *Stalking* em Portugal [GISP]) e de alguns casos judiciais de *stalking*, reflete e salvaguarda precisamente as nossas preocupações enquanto investigadores. Mais especificamente, a necessidade de aumentar o reconhecimento de casos de *cyberstalking*, de proteger as vítimas e de responsabilizar os seus agressores.

A nível metodológico, uma das contribuições da presente investigação prendeu-se com a ênfase em estudos de natureza preditiva, designadamente a predição da vitimação por ciberassédio, tendo por base a teoria dos estilos de vida e atividades de rotina *online* (Eck & Clark,

2003). Esse enfoque constitui-se como uma ferramenta fundamental para promover boas práticas "no terreno", ao nível da avaliação do risco e do desenvolvimento de medidas de proteção diferenciadas e intervenções eficazes junto dos adolescentes (prevenção primária), dos principais grupos de risco (prevenção secundária) e das vítimas em particular (intervenção remediativa). A par disso, este estudo ajudou a clarificar o modo como as abordagens explicativas da violência no contexto físico poderão ser apropriadas para uma leitura da violência no meio virtual.

Em termos macrossociais, concluiu-se que o risco *online* é determinado de forma multicausal e, como tal, exige ser abordado numa perspetiva compreensiva e sistémica. Fatores sociodemográficos/desenvolvimentais (i.e., maior idade), situacionais (e.g., contacto online com estranhos, agressão online) e familiares (i.e., conhecimento sobre as atividades e rotinas digitais dos filhos) dos adolescentes estão interligados quer com os fatores de risco, quer com os fatores de proteção para a vitimação.

Ao nível dos fatores de risco para a vitimação *online*, destaca-se o facto da presente dissertação ter captado e mapeado os casos de vitimação "pura" e os casos de duplo envolvimento (i.e., *overlap*, vítimas que admitiram igualmente ser ciberagressores). Isso permitiu não só informar sobre a grande permeabilidade que as categorias de "vítima", "agressor" e "vítima-agressor" podem ter (cf. capítulo II), como ainda concluir que a agressão *online* é um forte preditor da própria vitimação (cf. capítulo III). Não foi possível, contudo, conhecer as causas e o contexto de emergência dessa categoria de vítimas de ciberassédio (aquelas que admitem um duplo envolvimento). Não obstante, os dados sugerem uma continuidade ou perpetuação da vitimação *online* através da própria exposição do adolescente à violência online. Tendo em conta que a adolescência é um dos períodos desenvolvimentais onde os padrões de violência são aprendidos e modelados (Bandura, 1973, 1977), urge, no nosso entender, uma maior atenção científica e macrossocial dirigida a este grupo de adolescentes em particular. Estudos longitudinais com adolescentes vítimas devem ser desenvolvidos para conhecer o contexto de emergência de adolescentes que admitem o duplo envolvimento. Esta maior atenção e enfoque são tanto ou mais relevantes quando nos encontramos numa sociedade cada vez mais tecnologicamente dependente (Patrão, 2015; Pontes, Patrão, & Griffiths, 2014), onde a difusão progressiva das TIC nem sempre é acompanhada da necessária educação para os media e competência digital (Pereira, Pinto, & Moura, 2015; Pinto, 2003; Pinto, Pereira, Pereira, & Ferreira, 2011; Reia-Baptista, 2005).

Tendo em conta a posição privilegiada dos pais para promover a educação para os media e concretizar a mediação necessária entre o adolescente e o uso das TIC (cf. Livingstone, Haddon,

Görzig, & Ólafsson, 2011; Tomé, Camacho, Matos, & Martins, 2013), o capítulo VI é um contributo para a compreensão do papel dos pais no processo de gestão do risco *online* dos adolescentes.

O esforço dos pais para se manterem atualizados sobre as atividades de rotina e experiências *online* dos seus filhos está patente em diferentes capítulos. Esse esforço foi inclusive valorizado pelos filhos ao reconhecê-los como mediadores digitais adequados (capítulo VI) e como principal fonte de apoio após a vitimação por ciberassédio (capítulo II). Contudo, a análise na díade pai-filho permitiu concluir que a maioria dos pais apresenta uma perceção porventura "ingénua" em relação ao potencial de risco *online* dos adolescentes e à taxa de incidência de ciberassédio. Essa tendência é mais patente naqueles que apresentam menor escolarização, menor número de práticas de envolvimento parental e menor competência para agir face à vitimação por ciberassédio. Em contraste, pais mais letrados demonstraram ser mais atentos, mais envolvidos digitalmente e mais competentes para intervir face à vitimação *online*. De acordo com os dados do capítulo VI, pais mais letrados parecem ainda formar filhos mais conscientes, informados e atentos para os perigos da web (uma vez que reportaram mais medo e mais procura de ajuda após a experiência de ciberassédio). Essa relação entre a perceção parental e o comportamento *online* dos adolescentes parece traduzir a expressão amplamente difundida no senso comum "os filhos são o reflexo dos pais". Não nos parece todavia legítimo assumir uma relação de causalidade entre a competência/mediação exercida pela figura parental e a vulnerabilidade *online* dos adolescentes. Tal como enunciado anteriormente, o risco e a vitimação *online* são processos multicausais. Pelo contrário, os dados supracitados permitem realçar o papel *pivot* que a educação e a literacia para os media assumem no processo de gestão do risco *online* e de erradicação do ciberassédio na adolescência. Enquanto não houver um investimento sólido na educação para os media e no reconhecimento social e político dos fenómenos em estudo, os pais e a sociedade em geral vão continuar a minimizar a existência de riscos e os adolescentes vão continuar a minimizar a potencial gravidade dos atos ilícitos experienciados e perpetrados *online*.

Ao longo dos últimos anos têm vindo a ser desenvolvidas várias iniciativas nacionais de foro social, político, e educacional com vista à inclusão digital (e.g., programa e-Escolas e e-Escolinhas), à educação para os media (e.g., Agenda Portugal Digital, Plano Tecnológico para a Educação, Projeto Escolinhas Criativas) e ao combate ao cibercrime (e.g., Centro Nacional de Cibersegurança, Estratégia Nacional de Segurança do Ciberespaço). Acrescente-se, ainda, outras iniciativas tal como o Seguranet, APAV para Jovens e a InternetSegura.pt. No meio académico, a

violência *online* tem granjeado progressivamente uma maior atenção e interesse, surgindo já integrado em investigações relacionadas principalmente com a Vitimologia, a Criminologia e a Comunicação. Igualmente, na prática profissional tem havido um esforço no desenvolvimento de recursos úteis à promoção da literacia digital de adultos, como por exemplo, o lançamento de cursos *online* ministrados pelo blogue MiudosSegurosNa.Net, pela equipa Aventura Social e, mais recentemente, pelo projeto LIDIA. No entanto, a visibilidade e a compreensão do ciberassédio na adolescência é um processo em curso, subsistindo várias insuficiências ao nível da sua prevenção e adequada intervenção.

Tendo em conta o trabalho apresentado, parece-nos pertinente continuar a investir em iniciativas públicas (e.g., cursos de formação, peças noticiosas) com vista a uma maior mediatização e reconhecimento dos fenómenos de ciberassédio e de *cyberstalking* ocorridos na fase da adolescência. A par disso, importa apostar no desenvolvimento e na disseminação de "mais e melhores" programas educacionais anticiberassédio dirigidos aos adolescentes. Atendendo às especificidades das diferentes fases de desenvolvimento jovem e ao padrão genderizado nas reações dos adolescentes à vitimação (cf. capítulo II e V), os programas educativos devem ser inclusivos e adaptados aos públicos-alvo. Isso possibilita uma maior responsabilização dos adolescentes pelas suas condutas *online*. Paralelamente, irá promover um maior reconhecimento do medo e da procura de ajuda como reações válidas face à vitimação, independentemente de estereótipos tradicionais associados ao género (e.g., os rapazes nunca têm medo). Em termos individuais e interpessoais, seria ainda útil o desenvolvimento de programas de promoção de relacionamentos saudáveis, onde fosse possível trabalhar competências de comunicação, resolução de problemas e gestão de conflito. Acrescente-se ainda o foco de intervenção no desafio de mitos e crenças culturais legitimadoras da violência exercida *online*. Neste domínio, parece-nos importante que investigações futuras incluam no seu plano de trabalhos um *design* de investigação qualitativo (e.g., focus grupo) com o propósito de explorar as perceções dos adolescentes sobre as potencialidades versus riscos do uso das TIC e sobre as crenças legitimadoras da violência online em específico. Isso possibilita um maior conhecimento e eficácia na intervenção junto dos adolescentes. Por último, mas não menos importante, futuros programas de intervenção deverão reforçar as competências de relacionamento interpessoal face a face, uma vez que a substituição desse modelo de interação pode ter preocupantes implicações no desenvolvimento cognitivo e social adaptativo do adolescente.

Os professores e educadores poderão desempenhar um papel primordial junto dos adolescentes, bem como junto dos pais com idade superior, com menor índice de escolarização e de competência digital (principal grupo de risco cf. capítulo VI). O desenvolvimento de *guidelines* (e.g., Ação COST IS0801 direcionada ao *cyberbullying*; Pereira et al., 2014) dirigido aos professores responsáveis pela educação para os media é outra das recomendações avançadas pelo presente estudo. Acresce ainda a necessidade da instituição Escola canalizar esforços para a erradicação da violência entre colegas e em contexto escolar, uma vez que grande parte dos participantes adolescentes reportaram ter sido alvo por parte de amigos, que poderão, porventura, pertencer ao contexto escola.

No plano conceptual, a elevada prevalência de casos de duplo envolvimento reitera a necessidade de alguma mudança no paradigma vitimológico. Referimo-nos especificamente à necessidade de se romper com a leitura dicotómica do papel de vítima e de agressor, uma vez que o conjunto de dados apresentados confirmou que estas posições não são, muitas vezes, estáticas ou mutuamente exclusivas (cf. Grangeia, 2012; Posick, 2013). É particularmente importante que os profissionais de primeira linha (e.g., psicólogos, profissionais de saúde) invistam na sua formação para estarem aptos a realizar um despiste precoce de casos de vitimação, agressão ou de duplo envolvimento. Esse processo constitui-se como uma ferramenta fundamental para a adequada avaliação do risco e o desenvolvimento de um plano de intervenção mais ajustado e eficaz. É igualmente importante que estes profissionais detenham a formação adequada para prestar às vítimas um apoio mais efetivo e responsivo às suas necessidades. Os planos de intervenção para fazer face ao ciberassédio e ao *cyberstalking* devem ainda incluir a intervenção com vítimas e ciberagressores, de forma a maximizar a possibilidade de cessação da vitimação.

Face ao exposto, as políticas para fazer face ao ciberassédio na adolescência devem incluir uma intervenção de cariz comunitário e global, através da qual diferentes medidas e agentes são chamados a intervir de modo ativo, colaborativo e consertado, para atenuar as dificuldades das "novas" vítimas *online*, produzindo respostas preventivas e/ou remediativas eficazes (cf. perspetiva da vitimologia crítica). Só através da ação atempada e multidisciplinar entre as diferentes áreas do saber (e.g., Psicologia, Direto, *Design*, Informática) será possível atingir mudanças sociais efetivas no domínio da diminuição da vitimação *online*.

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ANEXOS

ANEXO I

CARTA REMETIDA ÀS INSTITUIÇÕES DE ENSINO A SOLICITAR COLABORAÇÃO NA RECOLHA DE DADOS

Universidade do Minho

Escola de Psicologia

Assunto: Pedido de colaboração no estudo "*Cyberstalking*: Comportamentos e atitudes na adolescência".

Exmo. Senhor(a) Diretor(a)

No âmbito do Doutoramento na área de Psicologia da Justiça, em curso na Escola de Psicologia da Universidade do Minho (Braga), estamos a desenvolver uma investigação intitulada "*Cyberstalking*: Comportamentos e atitudes na adolescência".

Qual é o objetivo central deste estudo?

Este estudo procura compreender a relação entre comportamentos e atitudes dos adolescentes face às tecnologias de informação e comunicação (TIC) e o fenómeno de vitimação por *cyberstalking*[10] na adolescência. Importa ainda perceber os padrões de supervisão parental exercidos junto dos adolescentes aquando a utilização das respetivas TIC e a sua relação com o comportamento dos próprios adolescentes.

Quais são os contributos associados a este estudo?

Este estudo visa desenvolver formas adequadas de alertar os jovens para os potenciais riscos existentes aquando a utilização das TIC (ex.: internet) e prevenir futuros casos de vitimação por *cyberstalking* entre adolescentes. Os agentes educativos também poderão usar a informação deste estudo para adequar sua intervenção junto dos adolescentes. Por último, todos os adolescentes que integrarem o estudo irão beneficiar de uma ação de sensibilização que lhes fornecerá conhecimentos acerca dos *media* digitais, riscos e estratégias de proteção da privacidade online.

[10] Comportamentos de assédio repetido e intencional, em que uma pessoa impõe a outra formas indesejáveis de comunicação, contacto ou intenção de aproximação. Esses comportamentos ocorrem através de meios tecnológicos (telemóveis, computadores, portáteis, PDAs, e outros).

Quais são os procedimentos associados a este estudo?

A realização deste estudo envolve a recolha de dados, através do preenchimento de um questionário *online*, junto de adolescentes entre os 12 e 16 anos de idade (inclusive), de escolas públicas e privadas do país. O seu preenchimento tem uma duração média de 20 minutos e será aplicado pela investigadora responsável pelo estudo, sendo previamente requerida uma autorização dos alunos em causa e respetivos encarregados de educação, através de um pedido de consentimento informado.

Como é que a confidencialidade é garantida?

O participante não precisa de se identificar em momento algum do estudo e a informação fornecida será introduzida anonimamente num computador. Posteriormente todos os questionários serão guardados durante um período e, após a conclusão do estudo, serão destruídos.

Tendo em conta o supracitado, vimos solicitar **a autorização de V. Ex.ª para a administração de um questionário aos alunos do estabelecimento de ensino** que dirige.

No âmbito desta recolha haverá sempre o cuidado de minimizar possíveis interferências nas atividades letivas.

Por último, informamos que este estudo foi previamente autorizado pela Comissão Nacional de Proteção de Dados e pelo Ministério da Educação e é financiado pela Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia [FCT] – ref.ª SFRH/BD/78004/2011.

Caso considere que são necessárias informações adicionais, estamos totalmente disponíveis para qualquer esclarecimento, através dos seguintes contactos: filipa.psi@hotmail.com; Telemóvel: 913043470.

Agradecemos desde já a atenção dispensada de V. Ex.ª para este assunto.

Com os melhores cumprimentos,

A investigadora — A Orientadora Científica

_____ _____

ANEXO II

PEDIDO DE CONSENTIMENTO INFORMADO DIRIGIDO AOS ENCARREGADOS DE EDUCAÇÃO DOS ADOLESCENTES

Universidade do Minho
Escola de Psicologia

Pedido de Consentimento Informado

Pedimos-lhe que autorize que o(a) seu(sua) educando(a) participe no estudo de doutoramento que está a ser realizado pela investigadora Filipa Pereira - Escola de Psicologia da Universidade do Minho -, sob supervisão científica da Professora Doutora Marlene Matos.

A participação é voluntária e consistirá no preenchimento de um inquérito **anónimo** sobre atitudes e comportamentos, com a duração de 15 minutos. A sua decisão de autorizar ou não autorizar não terá qualquer consequência. No entanto apelamos à vossa colaboração, a qual é de extrema importância para o estudo em causa.

Qual o objetivo central deste estudo?

Este estudo procura compreender a relação entre comportamentos e atitudes dos adolescentes face às tecnologias de informação e comunicação (TIC) e o fenómeno de vitimação por *cyberstalking*[11] na adolescência. Importa ainda perceber os padrões de supervisão parental exercidos junto dos adolescentes aquando a utilização das respetivas TIC e a sua relação com o comportamento dos próprios adolescentes.

Quais são os contributos associados a este estudo?

Este estudo visa desenvolver formas adequadas de alertar os jovens para os potenciais riscos existentes aquando a utilização das TIC (ex.: internet) e prevenir futuros casos de vitimação por *cyberstalking* entre adolescentes. Os agentes educativos também poderão usar a informação deste estudo para adequar sua intervenção junto dos adolescentes. Por último, todos os adolescentes que integrarem o estudo irão beneficiar de uma ação de sensibilização que lhes fornecerá conhecimentos acerca dos *media* digitais, riscos e estratégias de proteção da privacidade online.

[11] Comportamentos de assédio repetido e intencional, em que uma pessoa impõe a outra formas indesejáveis de comunicação, contacto ou intenção de aproximação. Esses comportamentos ocorrem através de meios tecnológicos (telemóveis, computadores, portáteis, internet, e outros).

Como é que a confidencialidade é garantida?

Você e o seu educando(a) não precisam de se identificar em momento algum do estudo e a informação fornecida será introduzida anonimamente num computador. Desta forma, em nenhum caso haverá a possibilidade de corresponder um determinado dado ao respetivo adolescente e/ou encarregado de educação. Posteriormente todos os questionários serão guardados durante um período e, após a conclusão do estudo, serão destruídos.

Quem posso contactar se tiver dúvidas relacionadas com o estudo?

R: Filipa Pereira, Escola de Psicologia da Universidade do Minho; 96 90 760 57; projectocyberstalking@hotmail.com

✂----------

(Cortar esta parte de baixo e devolver ao diretor de turma)

☐ **Aceito** que o meu educando participe neste projeto e autorizo a utilização de dados confidenciais para a investigação.

Assinatura do Encarregado de Educação: _____

Data: _____ /_____ /2013

Assinatura do(a) adolescente: _____

Data: _____ /_____ /2013

ANEXO III

PANFLETO DE SENSIBILIZAÇÃO ENTREGUE A TODOS OS ADOLESCENTES QUE PARTICIPARAM NO ESTUDO

O que é o *Cyberstalking*?

Se...

Alguém te está a enviar *mails* ameaçadores, a divulgar fotos tuas sem autorização, a controlar-te, a invadir as tuas contas de *mail* ou os teus perfis em redes sociais, entre outros, então poderás estar a ser vítima de *cyberstalking*.

Definição

Comportamentos de perseguição repetida e planeada, em que uma pessoa (conhecida ou não) impõe a outra formas inadequadas de comunicação, de contacto ou intenção de aproximação. Esses comportamentos ocorrem através de meios eletrónicos (telemóveis, computadores, portáteis, PDAs, IPAD, IPhone e outros).

Como e Porquê?

Riscos Associados

- × Frequência de salas de chat;
- × Contacto com estranhos;
- × Ter perfis públicos;
- × Falta de proteção;
- × Elevada utilização da internet;
- × Falta de supervisão e de estratégias de proteção online.

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Fui vítima. E agora? O que fazer?

- PÁRA algum tempo para refletires, evitando uma represália;
- EVITA todo o tipo de CONTACTO com o/a *cyberstalker* (agressor);
  - Diz-lhe, uma única vez, que não queres ter qualquer tipo de contacto com ele/a;
- NÃO RESPONDAS a telefonemas, ou a mensagens, mesmo que seja para o/a tentar afastar.
- BLOQUEIA o utilizador agressor, se o serviço utilizado como meio de agressão o possibilitar;
- GUARDA todas as PROVAS possíveis de contactos (ex.: mensagens de texto);
- DENUNCIA a situação: ao serviço de internet utilizado na agressão (ex.: rede social, blogue, fórum), aos teus pais e às autoridades, se necessário.

Não tenhas medo! Pede Ajuda!

APAV – Internetsegura.pt
Linha de apoio: 808 91 90 90;
Serviço de Psicologia da Universidade do Minho
253 604 245;
servpsi@psi.uminho.pt;
Forças Policiais: PSP, GNR, PJ.

Informa-te!

APAV – Internetsegura.pt
808 91 90 90; www.internetsegura.pt
Miúdos Seguros na Net:
http://www.miudossegurosna.net
Projeto P3:
http://p3.publico.pt/node/1667
Blog Black Angels SL:
http://www.blackangelsl.net/2011/ciberstalking-perseguicao-e-assedio-na-rede/

Caso sejas tu o autor (*cyberstalker*) de algum desses comportamentos contra outra/s pessoa/s, STOP! O *cyberstalking* pode ter consequências graves para ti e para a vítima!

Coloca-nos questões!
Filipa Pereira
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Universidade do Minho
Correio electrónico:
projetocyberstalking@hotmail.com

***Cyberstalking*: Protege-te!**

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