

Cybercrime, Complaint Attrition and Enforcement Outcomes in Cyberstalking and Online Harassment: Analysis of National and Haryana Official Statistics, 2019–2025

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Abstract: *Background:* Cyberstalking and online harassment are widely reported to be under-recorded in India, but the size of the gap between victimisation, complaint, registration and conviction has rarely been quantified from official sources.

Objective: To analyse national and Haryana official statistics for 2019–2025 to describe trends in recorded cybercrime and in the cyber stalking/bullying head, to measure the attrition between complaints and registered cases, and to assess enforcement outcomes.

Methods: A descriptive analysis of secondary data from the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) Crime in India reports, the National Cyber Crime Reporting Portal (NCRP), parliamentary replies and Haryana Police statements, using growth rates, compound annual growth rates, shares, conversion ratios and rates per lakh population. Figures that could not be reconciled across sources were excluded or tested in sensitivity checks.

Results: NCRB-registered cyber crime rose from 44,735 cases (2019) to 86,420 (2023), an increase of 93.2% (17.9% a year), while the cyber stalking/bullying head rose only from 771 to 1,305 (69.3%), and its share of all cyber crime fell from 1.7% to 1.5%. Cyber fraud and cheating together rose from 21.5% to 42.1% of recorded cases. Only 8–15 convictions a year (0.9–1.6% of registered cases) were recorded under the stalking head in 2019–2021. NCRB cases equalled 11.7% of NCRP incidents in 2021 and 5.4% in 2023; in 2024 only 2.43% of 20,33,316 portal complaints became FIRs. In Haryana, complaints rose from 1,362 (2019) to 66,784 (2022) and about 1.15 lakh (2023), while NCRB cases rose from 564 to 751, so the ratio of cases to complaints fell from 41.4% to 1.0% and 0.7%. Haryana's 2023 rate of 2.6 cases per lakh was far below that of Telangana (52.1) and Karnataka (35.9), and only 103 women-centric cyber crimes were registered against 15,758 crimes against women.

Conclusion: Official statistics record the visible tip of cyberstalking. Registration capacity, not incidence, appears to be the binding constraint, and it is weakest where complaint volumes grow fastest. Separate counting of cyberstalking, reporting of outcomes and investment in registration and forensic capacity are needed.

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Introduction

Cyberstalking, the use of electronic communication to pursue, monitor or intimidate a person repeatedly, has expanded with mobile internet, social media and, more recently, stalkerware and synthetic media. Internationally, population surveys show that stalking victimisation is common: the Bureau of Justice Statistics (2022), in *Stalking victimization, 2019*, reports on stalking in the United States, and the Pew Research Center's *The state of online harassment* (Vogels, 2021) found that a large share of American adults had experienced online harassment. UN Women's policy brief *Technology-facilitated violence against women* (UN Women Europe and Central Asia, 2023) documents the scale of digital abuse of women across thirteen countries in Europe and Central Asia.

In India, the official picture is built from two sources that measure different things. The NCRB's annual *Crime in India* counts cases registered by the police, with cyber stalking/bullying of women and children as one crime head. The National Cyber Crime Reporting Portal (NCRP), run by the Indian Cyber Crime Coordination Centre, counts complaints and incidents reported by citizens, most of them financial frauds. The gap between the two, and between registration and conviction, is the empirical heart of the problem of enforcement: a harassment that is never recorded cannot be investigated, prosecuted or deterred.

Haryana is a useful setting. It is a rapidly urbanising state with several National Capital Region districts (Gurugram, Faridabad, Sonapat), a high internet density of about 85% in 2024 but a wide digital gender divide (only 31.5% of women own a mobile phone against 59.6% of men in NFHS-5), and 29 cyber police stations by 2025. This paper uses secondary data to answer three questions. (1) How have recorded cybercrime and cyber stalking/bullying changed nationally between 2019 and 2023, and what has happened to their share? (2) How large is the attrition between complaints and registered cases, nationally and in Haryana? (3) What do the available outcome data show about charge-sheeting and conviction?

Review of Literature

2.1 Stalking and cyberstalking: concepts and prevalence

Spitzberg and Cupach (2007), in *The state of the art of stalking: taking stock of the emerging literature*, reviewed the research on stalking and established the behavioural core of repeated, unwanted pursuit, and Spitzberg and Hoobler (2002), in *Cyberstalking and the technologies of interpersonal terrorism*, applied the concept to electronic media. Sheridan and Grant (2007), in *Is cyberstalking different?*, compared cyberstalking with offline stalking, and Nobles et al. (2014), in *Protection against pursuit: a conceptual and empirical comparison of cyberstalking and stalking victimization among a national sample*, did so with national survey data. Dreßing et al. (2014), in *Cyberstalking in a large sample of social network users: prevalence, characteristics, and impact upon victims*, measured prevalence in a social-network sample, and

Kaur et al. (2021), in *A systematic literature review on cyberstalking: an analysis of past achievements and future promises*, synthesised the field. Reyns et al. (2011), in *Being pursued online: applying cyberlifestyle-routine activities theory to cyberstalking victimization*, extended the routine-activity framework of Cohen and Felson (1979), *Social change and crime rate trends: a routine activity approach*, to online exposure; the framework implies that more time online raises the opportunity for victimisation, which is consistent with the rapid growth in connectivity in Indian states. Pittaro (2007), in *Cyber stalking: an analysis of online harassment and intimidation*, described the typical modes of online harassment.

2.2 Cybercrime against women in India

Jaishankar and Kosalai (2007), in *Victims of stalking in India: a study of girl college students in Tirunelveli city*, provided an early Indian survey of stalking victimisation. Halder and Jaishankar (2011), in *Cyber gender harassment and secondary victimization: a comparative analysis of the US, UK and India*, introduced the problem of secondary victimisation, in which the complainant is harmed again by the response to the complaint, and Halder (2016), in *Cyberstalking victimization of women: evaluating the effectiveness of current laws in India from restorative justice and therapeutic jurisprudential perspectives*, evaluated the law. Their book *Cyber crimes against women in India* (Halder & Jaishankar, 2017) set out the legal and social context. More recent work includes Dar and Nagrah (2022), *Are women a soft target for cyber crime in India*, Sankhwar et al. (2024), *Cybercrime in India: an analysis of crime against women in ever expanding digital space*, Pandey and Dikshit (2023), *Cybercrime and violence against women in India: repercussions of technology in the epoch of globalization*, Narayani (2024), *Women's safety in digital space*, Beliraya and Abhilasha (2020), *Cyber crime against women in India: legal challenges and solutions*, Sri Rakshaa and James (2022), *A study on the cyber-crime offences against women*, and Malik and Choudhury (2019), *A brief review on cyber crime: growth and evolution*. For the study area, Sharma et al. (2025), in *Cyber violence against women in Haryana: a socio-legal dimension*, address Haryana directly. Most of these works discuss official figures only in passing, and few connect the NCRB and NCRP series.

2.3 Law, enforcement and the use of statistics

Comparative legal scholarship has examined whether criminal law can reach cyberstalking: Chik (2008), in *Harassment through the digital medium: a cross-jurisdictional comparative analysis on the law of cyberstalking*, Goodno (2007), in *Cyberstalking, a new crime: evaluating the effectiveness of current state and federal laws*, Hazelwood and Koon-Magnin (2013), in *Cyber stalking and cyber harassment legislation in the United States: a qualitative analysis*, and Cox (2014), in *Protecting victims of cyberstalking, cyber harassment, and online impersonation through prosecution and effective laws*. Citron (2009), in *Law's expressive value in combating cyber gender harassment*, argued that law's expressive and deterrent roles depend on enforcement. Henry and Powell (2018), in *Technology-facilitated sexual violence: a literature review of empirical research*, reviewed the empirical evidence on technology-facilitated sexual violence. A Parliamentary committee report (Lok Sabha Secretariat, Committee on Empowerment of Women, 2026), *Fourth report: Cyber crimes and cyber safety of women*, is the most recent official examination of the problem.

2.4 Research gap

The literature supplies concepts, comparative law and survey prevalence, but few studies reconcile the official Indian data series, quantify attrition from complaint to conviction, or compare a state with national figures. This paper does so with explicit rules for handling inconsistent figures.

Methodology

3.1 Design and data sources

The study is a descriptive, retrospective analysis of secondary data. Four kinds of source were used: (1) NCRB *Crime in India* reports for 2019 to 2023, including Annexure I (crime-head-wise cyber crime cases) (National Crime Records Bureau, 2019–2024, 2023, 2025); (2) data from the National Cyber Crime Reporting Portal, as given in Ministry of Home Affairs replies in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha (Lok Sabha, 2025; Rajya Sabha, 2025, 2026) and in the Parliamentary committee report (Lok Sabha Secretariat, Committee on Empowerment of Women, 2026), and I4C data as of June 2026 (Ministry of Home Affairs, Indian Cyber Crime Coordination Centre, 2026); (3) Haryana Police and state government statements, as in the Vidhan Sabha reply of December 2023 (Haryana Vidhan Sabha, 2023) and press reports of official figures (The Tribune, 2023, 2025); and (4) Census and NFHS-5 indicators for the context of the state. NCRB data are cases registered by the police; NCRP data are complaints or incidents reported by citizens. The two are not directly comparable, since the portal includes a large volume of financial-fraud complaints and counts complaints that may never become FIRs. The NCRB figures also follow a principal-offence counting rule, so a composite crime is counted under its most serious head.

3.2 Indicators and computations

The following indicators were computed from the tabulated counts: year-on-year growth; five-year growth (2019 to 2023) and the compound annual growth rate, $CAGR = (V_{2023}/V_{2019})^{(1/4)} - 1$; the share of a crime head in total cyber crime; the charge-sheeting rate (cases charge-sheeted ÷ cases registered) and the conviction ratio (convictions ÷ cases registered in the same year, an approximation because convictions relate to earlier cases); the conversion ratio (registered cases ÷ complaints or incidents); and the rate per lakh population. Where counts are available, 95% Wilson intervals are given for proportions.

3.3 Data-quality protocol

Because the compiled series contain inconsistencies, the following rules were applied and are reported in the table notes. (1) For total cyber crime in 2023, the NCRB figure of 86,420 was used, which is consistent with the reported rise of 31.2% over 65,893 in 2022; an alternative figure of 86,128 that appears in another compilation was not used. (2) The cyber stalking/bullying figure for 2022 (1,471) is taken from the NCRB crime-head table; the parliamentary compilation of charge-sheet and conviction data lists 2022 as not separately verified, so outcome rates are computed for 2019–2021 only. (3) The rate per lakh for Delhi was recomputed from its case count and population (407 cases, 1.9 crore population = 2.1 per lakh); the compilation's value of 21.4 is not consistent with its inputs. (4) State conviction rates in the 2023 comparison, which are zero for most states and 70% for Delhi in a single category,

could not be verified and were not used. (5) A Haryana NCRB figure of 1,815 cases for 2024 is not used, since State-wise NCRB tables for 2024 had not been released at the time of compilation. (6) For Haryana complaints, the 2019 figure of 1,362 and the 2022 figure of 66,784 reported by Haryana Police are used; sensitivity tests use an alternative 2019 figure of about 9,900 and the 2023 figure of 1,08,055 reported to 15 December 2023 (The Print, 2023). (7) Figures for crimes against women in Haryana in 2022 and 2023 follow the NCRB-based reports (16,743 and 15,758), which differ from approximate values (about 17,200 and 18,500) in an earlier table. No inferential tests across sources were attempted, since the series are not independent samples.

Data Analysis and Results

4.1 National trends in recorded cybercrime, 2019–2023

Table 1. Cyber crime cases registered in India by head, 2019–2023 (NCRB)

Head	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	Growth 2019–23 (%)	CAGR (%)
Total cyber crimes	44,735	50,035	52,974	65,893	86,420	93.2	17.9
Under IT Act	30,846	29,643	27,427	31,908	44,237	43.4	9.4
Under IPC (cyber)	13,800	20,201	25,384	33,798	41,849	203.3	32.0
Cyber stalking/bullying	771	872	1,176	1,471	1,305	69.3	14.1
Cyber blackmailing/threat	362	303	689	696	689	90.3	17.5
Obscene/explicit content	4,203	6,308	6,598	6,896	7,893	87.8	17.1
Cyber fraud	6,229	10,395	14,007	17,470	19,466	212.5	33.0
Cyber cheating	3,367	4,480	6,343	10,509	16,943	403.2	49.8

Source: NCRB, *Crime in India 2019–2023* (thesis Table 1.8). Growth and CAGR computed. Totals exceed the sum of IT Act and IPC cases by 89, 191, 163, 187 and 334 cases in 2019–2023, which presumably relate to other special and local laws.

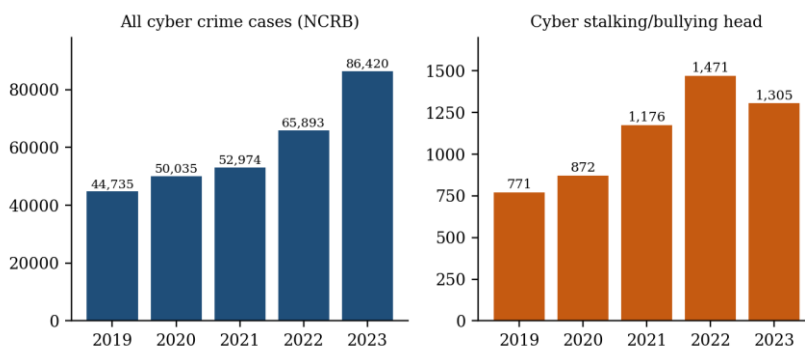


Figure 1. Total cyber crime cases and cyber stalking/bullying cases registered in India, 2019–2023.

Recorded cyber crime nearly doubled in four years, from 44,735 to 86,420 cases (+93.2%; CAGR 17.9%). Year-on-year growth was 11.8% in 2020, 5.9% in 2021, 24.4% in 2022 and 31.2% in 2023, so growth accelerated in the last two years. Cases under the IPC (cyber) grew faster (203.3%) than cases under the IT Act (43.4%), and IPC cases overtook none of the IT Act total but narrowed the gap from 17,046 to 2,388. The cyber stalking/bullying head grew by 69.3% (CAGR 14.1%), peaking at 1,471 in 2022 and falling to 1,305 in 2023. Cyber blackmailing/threat grew by 90.3%, and obscene or explicit content by 87.8%. By contrast, cyber fraud rose by 212.5% and cyber cheating by 403.2%.

Table 2. Share of selected heads in total recorded cyber crime (%)

Head	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Cyber stalking/bullying	1.7	1.7	2.2	2.2	1.5
Cyber blackmailing/threat	0.8	0.6	1.3	1.1	0.8
Obscene/explicit content	9.4	12.6	12.5	10.5	9.1
Cyber fraud + cheating	21.5	29.7	38.4	42.5	42.1

Source: computed from Table 1. Fraud and cheating are listed as separate heads in the source and are summed here.

The share of cyber stalking/bullying peaked at 2.2% in 2022 and fell to 1.5% in 2023, below its 2019 share of 1.7%. Financial crime moved the other way: cyber fraud and cheating together rose from 21.5% of recorded cases in 2019 to 42.1% in 2023. The growth of the registered caseload is therefore driven largely by financial crime, and the relative visibility of harassment in the statistics has declined, even though the stalking head itself grew in absolute terms.

4.2 Charge-sheeting and conviction under the stalking head

Table 3. Cyber stalking/bullying of women and children: registration, charge-sheeting and conviction

Year	Registered	Charge-sheeted	Convicted	Charge-sheet rate (%)	Convictions per 100 registered	Convictions per 100 charge-sheeted
2019	771	463	12	60.1	1.56	2.59
2020	872	438	8	50.2	0.92	1.83
2021	1,176	702	15	59.7	1.28	2.14
2022	1,471*	n.a.	n.a.	—	—	—
2023	1,305	n.a.	n.a.	—	—	—

Source: thesis Table 1.3 (parliamentary replies reproducing NCRB data; *Crime in India* 2021, 2023) and Table 1.8. *2022 registered figure from the NCRB head-wise table; outcome data for 2022 and 2023 were not available. The head combines women and children. Rates computed.

Between 50.2% and 60.1% of registered cases were charge-sheeted in 2019–2021, which is a moderate rate, but convictions were extremely few: 12, 8 and 15 a year, or 1.56, 0.92 and 1.28

per 100 registered cases, and between 1.8 and 2.6 per 100 charge-sheeted cases. The Wilson 95% interval for the 2021 conviction ratio (15 of 1,176) is 0.8% to 2.1%. Because convictions in a given year relate in part to cases registered in earlier years, the ratios are only approximate, but with registrations rising over the period, a lag would make the true ratio of convictions to cases slightly higher, not lower. Even then, the order of magnitude is clear: for every hundred registered cases, at most two reach conviction. The charge-sheet rate for 2021 (59.7%) is similar to that for 2019 (60.1%), so the shortfall arises at trial, not at the charge-sheet stage.

4.3 The reporting gap: portal incidents, complaints and registered cases

Table 4. NCRB registered cyber crime cases compared with NCRP incidents

Year	NCRP incidents (lakh)	NCRB registered cases	Cases as % of NCRP incidents	NCRP complaints / FIRs
2021	4.52	52,974	11.7	—
2022	10.29	65,893	6.4	—
2023	15.96	86,420	5.4	—
2024	22.68	not yet released	—	20,33,316 complaints; 49,582 FIRs (2.43%)

Source: thesis Tables 2.2 and 4.4 (NCRB; Ministry of Home Affairs replies; parliamentary report of 20 August 2025). Ratios computed. NCRP figures include a large share of financial-fraud complaints.

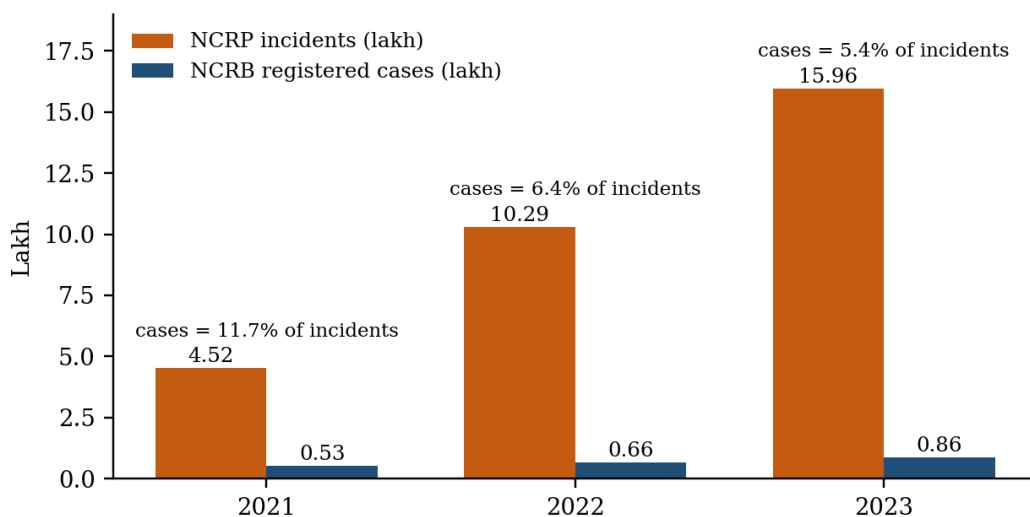


Figure 2. NCRP incidents and NCRB registered cases, 2021–2023 (lakh).

The portal's incidents grew 3.5-fold in two years (4.52 to 15.96 lakh), while the NCRB's registered cases grew 1.6-fold, so the registered cases fell from 11.7% of portal incidents in 2021 to 6.4% in 2022 and 5.4% in 2023. In 2024, only 49,582 of 20,33,316 portal complaints (2.43%; Wilson 95% CI 2.41–2.45%) became FIRs. The most conservative reading, that most portal complaints concern financial fraud and many are resolved by freezing funds without an FIR, still leaves a large attrition, and it is consistent with the explanations offered in the

Parliamentary committee's report: reluctance of police to register, lack of technical capability and the volume of fraud complaints.

Table 5. NCRP complaints involving women and children

Indicator	Year	Figure
Complaints involving women and children	2021	72,301
Complaints involving women and children	2025	1,73,766 (+140.3% over 2021)
Complaints in categories of offences against women	2024	48,335
Complaints in categories of offences against women	2025	76,657 (+58.6% over 2024)
Cyberbullying, stalking and sexting complaints	2025	45,832
Fake or impersonation profile complaints	2025	46,784
Identity theft and profile hacking complaints	2025	34,533

Source: Rajya Sabha reply, March 2026 (Rajya Sabha, 2026), as reported in Storyboard18 (2026), and thesis Section 2.4.5. Growth computed. The 2025 sub-categories overlap and their base population is not stated in the source; they are not summed.

Portal complaints concerning women rose by 58.6% in a single year, from 48,335 in 2024 to 76,657 in 2025. Within the wider category of complaints involving women and children, which grew by 140.3% between 2021 and 2025, complaints about cyberbullying, stalking and sexting numbered 45,832 in 2025, more than thirty-fold the 1,305 cases registered by the NCRB under the stalking head for 2023 (the years differ, and the NCRP category is wider, so the ratio is an order-of-magnitude comparison and not an estimate of conversion). Three explanations of the 2025 rise compete: higher incidence, higher willingness to report and wider awareness of the portal, and a change in classification. The data do not allow them to be separated.

4.4 Haryana: complaints, cases and enforcement

Table 6. Cyber crime complaints and NCRB-registered cases in Haryana

Year	Complaints received by Haryana Police	NCRB cases registered	Cases per 100 complaints	Sensitivity: alternative complaints figure and ratio
2019	1,362	564	41.4	$\approx 9,900 \rightarrow 5.7$
2020	—	656	—	—
2021	—	622	—	—
2022	66,784	681	1.0	—
2023	$\approx 1,15,000$	751	0.7	1,08,055 (to 15 Dec) $\rightarrow 0.7$
2024	$> 1,30,000$	not released	—	—

Jan–Mar 2025	> 33,000	—	—	—
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Source: thesis Tables 1.9, 4.4A and 5.2; Haryana Police figures as reported by *The Tribune* (2023, 2025) and *The Print* (2023); NCRB data (National Crime Records Bureau, 2025). Ratios computed. The complaint and case figures measure different things.

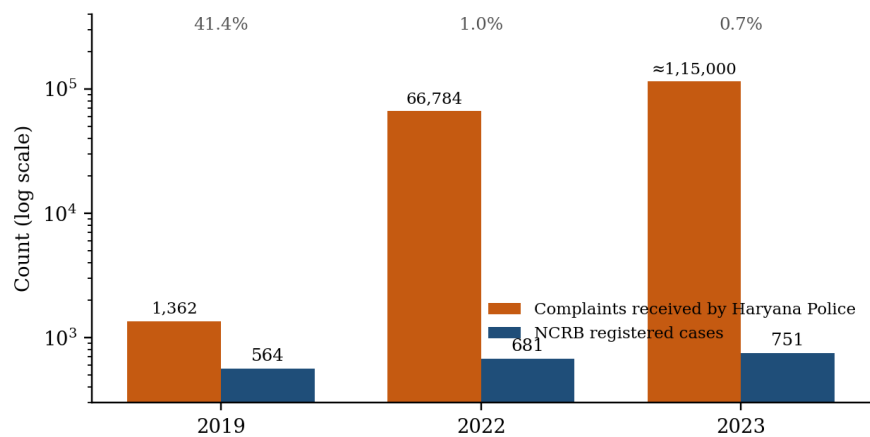


Figure 3. Complaints received by Haryana Police and NCRB-registered cyber crime cases (log scale), with cases per 100 complaints.

Haryana's complaint volume grew 49-fold between 2019 and 2022 (from 1,362 to 66,784, which the press reported as a rise of about 5,000%; *The Tribune*, 2023) and more than 85-fold by 2023, while NCRB-registered cases grew only from 564 to 751 (+33.2%). Cases per 100 complaints fell from 41.4 in 2019 to 1.0 in 2022 and 0.7 in 2023. The sensitivity tests show that the decline does not depend on a single figure: with the alternative 2019 complaints figure of about 9,900, the ratio in 2019 would be 5.7, still eight times the 2023 value. In Gurugram, 19,725 cyber-fraud complaints in the first half of 2024 led to 597 FIRs (about 3%), according to a press report quoting police data (*The Tribune*, 2024), which supports the same pattern at district level. The official explanations emphasise fraud workload, and Haryana's institutional innovations, the State Cyber Crime Coordination Centre and the integration of the 1930 helpline with the emergency number, were designed for financial fraud. With 29 cyber police stations in 2025, more than 1.30 lakh complaints in 2024 correspond to roughly 4,500 complaints per station per year (about 12 a day), an illustrative workload figure only, since the year of the complaints and of the station count differ.

Table 7. Cyber crime rate per lakh population in selected States, 2023

State	Cases (2023)	Population (crore)	Rate per lakh (computed)	Rate per lakh (source)
Telangana	18,236	3.5	52.1	52.1
Karnataka	21,889	6.1	35.9	35.9
Kerala	3,295	3.5	9.4	9.4
Maharashtra	8,103	11.2	7.2	7.2

Tamil Nadu	4,121	7.2	5.7	5.7
Uttar Pradesh	10,794	20	5.4	5.4
Rajasthan	2,435	6.9	3.5	3.5
Haryana	751	2.9	2.6	2.6
Delhi	407	1.9	2.1	21.4 (not consistent)

Source: thesis Table 1.16 (NCRB Crime in India 2023; Census 2011 with projections). Rates recomputed; conviction-rate column not used.

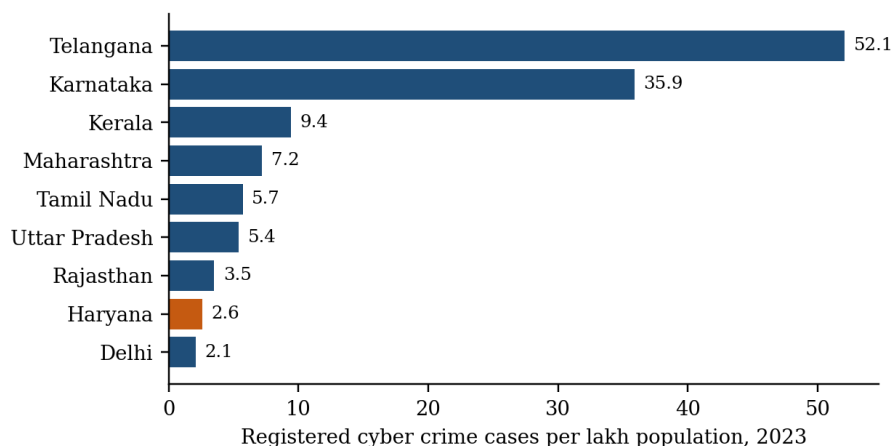


Figure 4. Registered cyber crime cases per lakh population, selected States, 2023.

Haryana's registered rate of 2.6 cases per lakh in 2023 was about one-twentieth of Telangana's (52.1) and one-fourteenth of Karnataka's (35.9), and also below Maharashtra (7.2), Uttar Pradesh (5.4) and Rajasthan (3.5); only Delhi (2.1) was lower. These differences are far larger than plausible differences in incidence given Haryana's internet density and urbanisation. They are more likely to reflect differences in registration practice and cyber-policing capacity. Telangana, which leads in registrations, has dedicated cyber police stations and forensic units.

Table 8. Haryana indicators on crimes against women and the judicial response, 2022–2023

Indicator	Figure
Crimes against women, Haryana, 2022	16,743
Crimes against women, Haryana, 2023	15,758 (rate 110.3 per lakh women; fifth highest in India)
Crimes against women, India, 2023	4,48,211 (charge-sheet rate 77.6%)
Haryana share of national crimes against women, 2023 (computed)	3.5%
Women-centric cyber crimes registered in Haryana, 2023	103

Women-centric cyber crimes as % of Haryana crimes against women (computed)	0.65%
Women-centric cyber crimes as % of Haryana cyber cases, 751 (computed)	13.7%
Charge-sheet rate, Haryana crimes against women, 2023	56%
Convictions in trials concluded, Haryana, 2023	818 of 6,006 (13.6%)
Cyber police stations in Haryana, 2025	29 (three more planned)
Cyber stalking/bullying cases in Haryana, 2020–2023 (secondary compilation; to be verified)	97

Source: thesis Tables 4.4A and 5.2 (NCRB Crime in India 2023, as reported by PTI and The Tribune). Computed values marked. The Haryana stalking figure is from a secondary compilation and was not verified against NCRB tables.

In 2023 Haryana registered 103 women-centric cyber crimes against 15,758 recorded crimes against women, so cyber offences were only 0.65% of the total although the state's women were increasingly online. The overall conviction figure of 13.6% (818 of 6,006 concluded trials) and charge-sheet rate of 56% for crimes against women in Haryana, compared with a national charge-sheet rate of 77.6%, point to weaker enforcement even for conventional offences. The context is a wide digital gender divide: according to NFHS-5, 31.5% of women own a mobile phone against 59.6% of men (a gap of 28.1 points) and 19.8% of women have used the internet in the last year against 43.2% of men (23.4 points). Women who have less access to devices are also less able to use the portal, which requires digital literacy, so the divide may suppress complaints from the very group that the stalking head is meant to protect.

Reported decisions of the Punjab and Haryana High Court from 2023 to 2026, summarised in the thesis, deal with online harassment mostly through bail and quashing jurisdiction. The court has refused pre-arrest bail where there were threats, weapons, viral circulation of video or large-scale extortion, and has accepted that limited transmission of intimate material to one person is treated differently from public posting. Reported decisions that squarely interpret the stalking provision in an online setting are few, which may be a limit of the sources used.

Discussion

Official statistics describe enforcement, not incidence. The central finding is that three numbers that should be linked are not: complaints, registered cases and convictions. Nationally, registered cases were 5.4% of portal incidents in 2023 and 2.43% of complaints became FIRs in 2024; under the stalking head, fewer than two cases in a hundred ended in conviction. Where growth in complaints has been fastest, in Haryana, conversion has collapsed. Hidayat and Anwar (2024) The pattern is what would be expected if registration capacity were the binding constraint, and it is the pattern predicted by the concern that the complainant is harmed a second time by the response to the complaint (Halder & Jaishankar, 2011). Because each stage depends on the previous one, an inadequate response to complaints cannot be separated from the apparent size of the problem, and the registered rate per lakh should not be read as a measure of how common cyberstalking is, as the Haryana-Telangana contrast shows.

Financial crime crowds out harassment in the statistics. Cyber fraud and cheating together doubled their share of recorded cases, from 21.5% to 42.1%, and the stalking head's share fell to 1.5%. The official responses, such as helplines and recovery systems, are designed for fraud, as the Haryana institutions illustrate. In this setting, harassment complaints compete for the attention of a small number of cyber police stations with a much larger volume of fraud complaints. The comparative literature on cyberstalking law (Citron, 2009; Hazelwood & Koon-Magnin, 2013; Cox, 2014) stresses that law's value depends on enforcement; the Indian data suggest that the enforcement bottleneck, rather than the absence of a provision, is the first problem to be solved for stalking.

What the counting rules hide. The NCRB's principal-offence rule counts a composite crime only under its most serious head, so cyberstalking that accompanies another offence disappears from the stalking head; the head also combines women and children, and stalking can be recorded under blackmail, defamation or morphing. These features mean that the stalking head, at 1,305 cases, is a lower bound with unknown error. Joshi and Wamankar (2025) A separate count of cyberstalking, with sub-heads for repeated communication, monitoring, impersonation and image-based abuse, would make the data usable for policy. The Parliamentary committee on women has itself drawn attention to the gaps in the reporting system (Lok Sabha Secretariat, Committee on Empowerment of Women, 2026).

Haryana: a gap between context and registration. Haryana combines a high internet density with a wide digital gender divide, a patriarchal social context in which families often press victims to settle privately, and a rapidly urbanising NCR belt. The low registered rate (2.6 per lakh), the small number of women-centric cyber crimes (103) and the low trial conviction rate for crimes against women (13.6%) suggest that few women's complaints become cases. This agrees with the socio-legal account of Sharma et al. (2025) of cyber violence against women in Haryana and with the analysis of women's vulnerability in Dar and Nagraath (2022). The attrition is not unique to Haryana, but the Haryana data allow a clear illustration, since complaint numbers are published by the state police.

Policy implications. Four measures follow. (1) Count cyberstalking separately, with disaggregation by gender and by age, and publish outcome data (charge-sheets, trials, convictions) by year and crime head. (2) Track the conversion of NCRP complaints to FIRs by category, so that harassment complaints are not hidden in fraud totals. (3) Create dedicated, trained harassment desks within cyber police stations, and invest in forensic capacity, since the thesis's evidence shows that the volume of fraud complaints dominates workload. (4) Reduce barriers to complaint for women, including the digital-literacy barrier to the portal, through assisted reporting at police stations and women's helplines.

Limitations

The study relies on compiled secondary data, and several series are incomplete or inconsistent; the treatment of each inconsistency is documented in Section 3.3, and some conclusions, such as the Haryana conversion ratio, depend on complaint figures from press reports of police statements and not on audited statistical publications. NCRB and NCRP data measure different units, so ratios between them are indicative. NCRB data have a lag of about two years, and no

NCRB figures after 2023 were available; 2024 and 2025 data are announcements. Conviction figures for the stalking head cover only 2019–2021 and combine women and children. Naidu and Priya (2025) The analysis is descriptive: it cannot establish why attrition occurs, which requires primary data from victims and police, as in the companion study.

Conclusion

National and Haryana official statistics show a large and growing volume of cyber complaints but a small and slowly growing number of registered cases, and a minute number of convictions. Recorded cyber crime in India rose by 93.2% between 2019 and 2023, driven mainly by fraud and cheating, while the cyber stalking/bullying head rose by 69.3% and its share fell to 1.5%. Fewer than two in every hundred registered stalking cases ended in conviction. Registered cases were 5.4% of portal incidents in 2023, and 2.43% of portal complaints became FIRs in 2024. In Haryana, complaints rose 49-fold from 2019 to 2022, while registered cases rose by a third, so cases per 100 complaints fell from 41.4 to 1.0; the state's registered rate of 2.6 per lakh is far below Telangana's 52.1, and only 103 women-centric cyber crimes were registered in 2023. The evidence indicates that registration and investigative capacity, not incidence, limits what the statistics reveal. Reform of data collection, separate counting of cyberstalking, tracking of complaint-to-FIR conversion and investment in cyber police capacity are the practical priorities. Future research should link complaint-level data to outcomes and combine official data with victim surveys.

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