

Gender and Economic Policy Discussion Forum

'Towards Bridging Digital India's Gender Divide'

FORUM XXIV | 10 OCTOBER 2017

BRIEFING NOTE 24

HIGHLIGHTS / KEY POINTS

- India's digital gender divide is vast and is largely attributed to its structural antecedents -- underlying gender divides in income, education, employment and restrictive gender social norms.
- The digital gender divide manifests in the lack of access to digital resources and the absence of digital literacy skills. This digital gender gap in access and use needs to be contextualized against underlying social, economic, structural inequalities and cultural factors.
- Digital technologies should act as tools for women's empowerment and not surveillance and control.
- Gender sensitive features need to be built into policies and programmes at the design stage with appropriate follow up actions in order to realize the true potential of digital India to further women's empowerment.
- Digital technologies are not just tools or enablers. They are ingredients of a new socio-economic order that poses new concerns for gender justice. Therefore, bridging the gender digital divide is about addressing emerging exclusions in the new socio-economic paradigm.

With an aim to “transform India into a digitally empowered society and knowledge economy”, the Government of India's Digital India programme was launched on July 2nd, 2015 and has since then been prioritized in most policy agendas in India. Centered on three principal components, namely, Digital Infrastructure as a Core Utility to Every Citizen, Governance and Services on Demand and Digital Empowerment of Citizens, the programme seeks to bring about inclusive growth by ensuring that several products and services along with government services are made available to citizens electronically with coverage extended to rural areas.

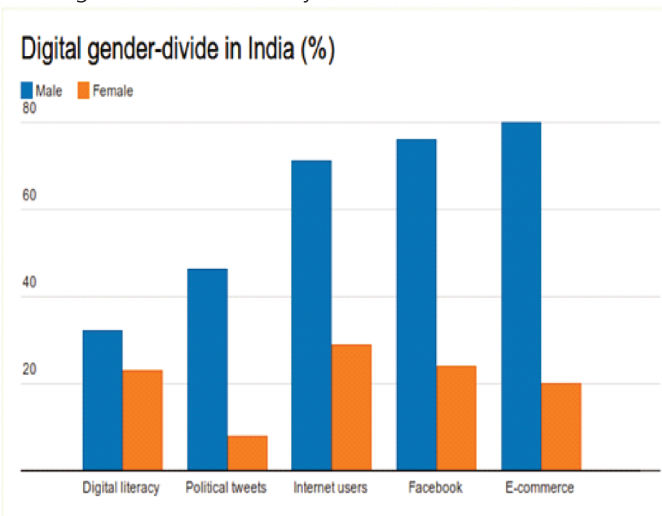
However, in spite of concerted efforts over the last two years, the digital gap in India is still vast, not to mention the gaping digital gender divide. This digital gender divide is largely attributed to the lack of access to digital resources and the absence of digital literacy skills (Subramanian, 2017). Several studies have shown that women's access to mobile phones and the internet is significantly less as compared to men, both in rural and urban India. This gender gap in access, it is argued, should be interpreted “as symptomatic of underlying structural inequalities – especially in education and income – between women and men; and refrain from naive digital divide analyses that will result in ineffectual ‘give-access-get-empowerment’ solutions” (Gurumurthy & Chami, 2014). Otherwise, “digital technologies can act as tools of control and surveillance, not empowerment” (Aneja & Mishra, 2017). Moreover, an understanding of the digital gender divide requires a deeper consideration of not just economic factors but the deeply entrenched social and cultural values that restrict and discourage women's access to and use of digital technologies (Subramanian, 2017).

In the foregoing context, ISST, with the support of HBF, proposed the twenty – fourth Gender and Economic Policy Discussion Forum on ‘Towards Bridging Digital India's Gender Divide’. The discussion forum was held in Casurina Hall at India Habitat Centre on October 10, 2017. Five speakers were invited for the forum that was moderated and chaired by M. R Anand, Principal Economic Advisor, Department of Telecommunications, Ministry of Communications, Government of India. Comprising the panel were Nandini Chami, Senior Research Associate at IT for Change; Padmapriya Sastry, Associate Project Director for the Gates – funded Maternal and Child Health

Project at BBC Media Action, India; Osama Manzar, founder of Digital Empowerment Foundation; Devahuti Choudhury, Associate Director of Client Insights for Impact at Grameen Foundation, India and Anja Kovacs, Director, Internet Democracy Project, India. This brief draws upon the discussions during the twenty – fourth Gender and Economic Policy Discussion Forum and highlights the key policy issues that need to be addressed and the actions that need to be taken for bridging India's gender related digital divide.

India's Digital Gender Divide

An estimated 80 % of the world's population lives within reach of a mobile signal and about 6 billion subscribe to mobile phones worldwide¹. In developing countries, mobile phone subscription accounts to 5.2 billion². According to the GSMA 2016 report on mobile economy, almost half of India's population now subscribe to a mobile service, making it the second largest mobile market in the world and also the second largest smart phone market in the world, having overtaken United States in the first half of 2016 and growing rapidly to take the lead position by 2020³. India's tryst with the digital revolution is largely seen as very progressive, and on the face of it presents a rosy picture of digital inclusion⁴. However, according to the GSMA 2015 report on gender gap, women are 36% less likely to own a mobile phone in India than men, which translates into an estimated 114 million fewer women owning mobile phones⁵. There are even more significant gender gaps in mobile internet usage, noted Padmapriya Sastry. In fact, the 2016 GSMA survey showed that India has one of the highest skews in the digital gender divide among the countries surveyed⁶.



- About 29% of India's 462 million active Internet users are women (Boston Consulting Group 2016)
- Men are 62% more likely than women to be Internet users, and 25% more likely to own a SIM card (GSMA, cited in Scroll 2016)
- Less than 46% of women own and use a mobile phone (NFHS 2016)

Source: Nandini Chami, XXIV GEP Forum, October 10, 2017

Dr. M. R. Anand stated that gender related digital divide is a global phenomenon and drew attention to conclusions made in the World Development Report (2016) that digital dividends were not spreading rapidly enough and there were persistent digital divides across gender, geography, age and income within each country. He, therefore, stressed on making conscious efforts for bridging the digital divide that persists in myriad ways.

Osama Manzar elucidated that with every step of progress that is made to declare the necessity of digital inclusion, little or no option is left for people who do not have access to digital medium and for those who are digitally illiterate. Hence there is a need for gender based targeting at the design stage of the programmes. Padmapriya Sastry underscored that the challenges that women face to effectively use or even access the internet are several. Low literacy levels, limited digital literacy, little spending power and authority over purchasing decisions, and the relatively high cost of value added services, data and smart phones have all contributed to the digital gender gap in India. Nandini Chami posited that one of the challenges to women's effective use of the internet include lack of relevant content online in local language and low levels of digital fluency among Indian women and girls. There is also pervasive online violence against women and gendered surveillance that inhibits use. Devahuti Choudhury stressed on the need to take into account behavioural factors in order to be able to bring about change in use of digital technologies, especially financial behaviour. Anja Kovacs emphasised that debates about digital literacy should take into account social and cultural factors, and not viewed separately from them, because digital literacy is informed by and rooted in them.

India's Rural Digital Gender Divide: Stories from Bihar

One Step Forward & Two Steps Backward?

"There is no entitlement in the country that you can access without the role of digital– that's the irony of life today... That actually tells the story of the role of digital in our lives."

Osama Manzar, XXIV GEP Forum, October 10, 2017

The Digital Empowerment Foundation, founded by Osama Manzar, has been working in over 300 locations all across the country, in about 100 districts and claims to have impacted almost 50% of women in terms of connectivity, digital access, digital literacy or access to entitlements through the digital. Osama Manzar highlighted that in rural areas, women are much more affected because of the digital than men. This is because the men migrate out of these areas for jobs while the women are left behind. It is the women then who are most dependent on entitlements and for that reason NREGA, for example, as a policy is reserved one – third for women. So that means that if the access to payment is dependent on digital, one – third of the population of the beneficiary is dependent on digital access⁷. The vignette below illustrates some ground realities that the digital plays in the lives of women residing in rural Bihar.

The Case of Muzaffarpur, Bihar

In Muzaffarpur in Bihar more than 400 women from a local village called Maniari left their homes to spend several days in a place where there was one computer with internet connectivity providing information related to NREGA labour workers. These women claimed that they had not received their NREGA payment but was listed on the official NREGA website as paid. The only way they could prove otherwise is to access the Internet and get the print out of their status and approach the Panchayat to question the authenticity of the information provided on the website.

Osama Manzar, XXIV GEP Forum, October 10, 2017

Talking of the digital from a gender perspective in the Indian context, Osama Manzar laid out four pointers that are crucial for balancing the digital gender divide:

- **Access:** Access here refers to broadband and connectivity because connectivity and broadband here becomes a basic requirement for access to entitlements which in turn forms the basic means of the economy of rural India.
- **Institution:** Women – centric institutions like panchayats, teaching communities, community of health workers and self –help groups should be targeted in policy debates and measures where the digital can play a role for them to get more empowered.
- **Culture:** Given India's patriarchal structure, culturally women are less likely to obtain or use digital technologies – even possess a mobile phone than men. Even if they do, they are usually second hand phones passed down from a male member in the family. Osama Manzar felt that mobile phones are a marker of empowerment, confidence and independence that shows signs of bringing about equality and that has the potential to challenge patriarchy in India at a larger scale.
- **Policy:** Osama Manzar, raised an important question with regard to policies related to digital – where digital is not only a medium – but an infrastructure, a language. How far is that policy designed and driven with gender sensitivity? He suggested that an evaluation of the policies is needed on the extent to which they have factored in the gender dimension.

Overall, Osama Manzar stressed on the need for gender based targeting in each of the above dimensions, which needs to be incorporated in digital policies and programmes at the design stage itself.

The Question of Content: Mobile Health for Women Health Workers in Rural Bihar

Padmapriya Sastry, based on BBC Media Action's (BBCMA) experience of delivering mobile health education and skill, stressed on the criticality of content as a trigger to

women's adoption of digital services and how it has transformed their lives. Between 2011 and 2015 BBCMA and its partners implemented an ambitious project to improve family health outcomes in Bihar – one of the poorest and populated states in India, called Shaping Demand and Practices. The initiative is part of Ananya—a collaboration between the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and the Government of Bihar and other partner⁸. Since 2016 BBCMA have been working towards sustainably transitioning these tried and tested communication outputs developed as part of Shaping Demand and Practices to the Government of Bihar. BBCMA was tasked with creating behaviour change communication campaign for the most undeserved and marginalized segments of rural Bihar. They had the task of reaching 23 million women of child – bearing age and 200,000 community health workers with life saving information in a media dark state. Data showed that 82% of men and women had access to mobile phones but their handsets were not smartphones. Moreover they were old, used, damaged and very basic.

“Majority of these grey market copycat handsets do not support local language fonts. Even if they support, 70% of people are illiterate in rural Bihar. Interestingly, when we had started off this project, the majority of the subscribers have owned a mobile phone for less than a year. So low literacy and very recent adoption of mobile and technical literacy is very very low - 91% have never sent a sms. All they know is to make and receive calls. Despite these challenges, the simple fact that mobiles are increasingly ubiquitous provides an unparalleled opportunity to impact lives. And that's where we say that the beauty is in simplicity.”

Padmapriya Sastry, XXIV GEP Forum, October 10, 2017

Padmapriya Sastry highlighted that these health workers form the backbone of the health system, and are the only source of information for families in rural communities with low media coverage. But they lack necessary skill sets and tools required to deliver effectively on their jobs. Realizing that the mobile phone has a huge potential to empower health workers, BBCMA rolled out several mobile health interventions and services taking fundamental issues of professional pride, credibility and empowerment into consideration. Some of their Mhealth services were as follows:

Mhealth education services for health workers

Mobile Kunji	An audio-visual job aid for health workers to use during counselling sessions with rural families.
Mobile Academy	Anytime, anywhere training course delivered via mobile phone, to expand and refresh the health workers knowledge and strengthen their interpersonal communication skills.

Gupshup Potli An audio stimulus for outreach based communication designed to equip health workers to have conversations with, discussions with the families in the particular platform.

Mhealth education services for beneficiaries

Kilkari It delivers free, weekly, time-appropriate audio messages directly to the mobile phones of mothers and other family members on key issues related to pregnancy and child health. This starts from second trimester of pregnancy and goes until the child turns 1.

Source: Padmapriya Sastry, XXIV GEP Forum, October 10, 2017

Padmapriya highlighted, even though Kilkari is primarily aimed at women, it has been designed in such a way that it targets the whole family and is not restricted to women alone. This is because the content is placed on a mobile phone and the handset is mostly with the men. This would prompt the men to share information with their wives. With an approach to equitable health communication through the design of Mhealth services, Padmapriya Sastry demonstrated the potential of digital technologies to enable cost-effective solutions for reaching marginalised populations, especially women, many of whom lack access to essential health information and services. And this has only been made possible through not just the technology but relevant, quality content. BBCMA's Mobile Academy and Kilkari services have been adopted by the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare. It is believed to be the first national adoption of Mhealth services ever seen globally, noted Padmapriya Sastry.

Padmapriya Sastry through her presentation observed that despite several challenges, digital technologies provide an unparalleled opportunity in terms of reach and there is a huge potential for women to leverage digital tools for empowerment. However there is a need to address the gender divide in mobile ownership, ensure content in local languages or fonts which is relevant to a localized context. Localized meaningful content is needed and crucial for acceptance and can tilt the scales more sharply than just making tech available or affordable.

Low Income Women's Digital Financial Inclusion

Grameen Foundation India has been working with low income segments, particularly women, to further information services and financial services through digital mediums since 2010. Devahuti Choudhury, in her presentation highlighted the typical profiles of a low income household and the position of women within – especially their access to digital mediums and the repercussions thereof on digital inclusion.

A Typical Household Profile served by Financial Service Providers: Low Income Segment

- Average household size is 4.9 for rural and 4.7 for urban

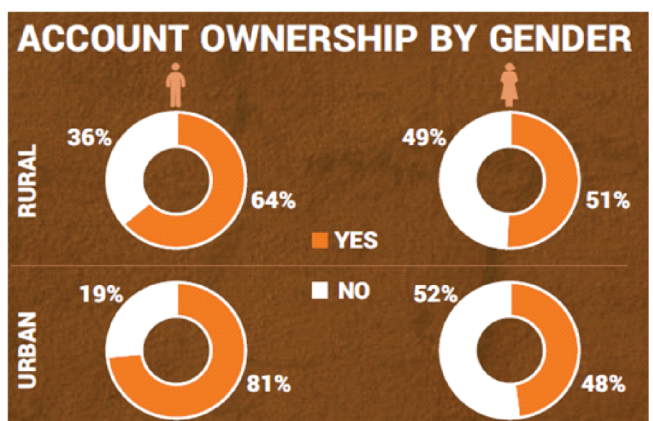
- Average earning members per household are 1.72
- 32% of household members are educated upto the primary level.
- About 20% have completed at least secondary education
- 43% of households are engaged in non-farm labour, 20% in services and just about 9% in agriculture
- 13% of children in the age group of 5-18 years do not attend school

Source: Devahuti Choudhury, XXIV GEP Forum, October 10, 2017

Taking a closer look at the household financial behaviour, Devahuti Choudhury pointed out that these households did a financial planning which over time has only improved. Devahuti then highlighted how women are placed within this particular kind of household ecosystem:

- 43% of women are illiterate, 24% have completed primary education and 18% have completed secondary education
- 39% of them are earning members
- 43% of clients have mobile phones
- 87% of clients have bank accounts – this has lesser to do with their own agency and more to do with the Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana (PMJDY) thrust on making sure that everybody has a bank account. 233 million new bank accounts have been opened under the PMJDY⁹.

But what is interesting about the financial behaviour of women is that 72% of the women respondents showed a preference to save through formal institutions vis – a – vis their male counterparts who prefer to keep money at home. In spite of the fact that these women have limited agency to access bank accounts they show a higher preference. A gendered analysis of account ownership has revealed that ownership is very fragmented for women from low income segments in rural areas.



Source: Devahuti Choudhury, XXIV GEP Forum, October 10, 2017

Moreover, the most important drawback in low income segment households is that penetration of mobile phones is limited to basic handsets. A similar observation was made by Padmapriya Sastry. Functions that women can perform using a mobile phone are very limited. At the most they know how to receive a call. The numbers are

insignificant even for functions like sending SMS, reading SMS or using internet. And the type of phone also ownership deepens the challenge for digital inclusion. Therefore, access to digital media doesn't guarantee usage.

“While the phones can look as a very enticing tool for us to further their (women's) empowerment – further the kind of information services we can provide, the options in terms of functions are very limited – both for practitioners and in terms of the capacity of the women whom we are trying to target.”

Devahuti Choudhury, XXIV GEP Forum, October 10, 2017

Devahuti Choudhury also highlighted the potential of mobile phones as an enabler for financial empowerment. Using regression, to see if mobile phones are an influencer in financial behaviours of women, it was found that the confidence of repayment of loans increases for about 4 times through women who own a personal smart phone. Similarly, the likelihood of these women owning an account increases by two times, if she has a mobile phone as compared to women to who do not have a personal mobile, noted Devahuti. Similarly in terms of usage of financial services, the increase is about two times for cases where women have undergone financial literacy training. This translates as “investment into their capacity building, investment into making sure that whatever engagement models you are presenting in front of them – they can adequately use those¹⁰”.

Given that government programmes like PMJDY and JAM trinity (India government's initiative to link Jan Dhan accounts, mobile numbers and Aadhar cards) can bring the low income segment, particularly women, into the fold of formal financial services, Devahuti observed that it is important to analyse women's participation in financial decision making. The data presented by her showed that:

- 88% of the women still solicit opinions from male members for accessing new financial products.
- 60% take joint decision for availing loan
- 64% take joint decision while only 5% women alone take decision on usage of availed loans
- Only 6% of clients decided to avail the loan themselves
- 42% of the clients manage the loan repayment

Hence, the agency of managing repayment or any transaction with the formal institution is mostly managed by men.

“From a digital India perspective, some of these points really need to be considered where there is this reality within which women live and if you really want digital empowerment which is another reality all together – and in order to marry those two – you have to think of some of these behavioural insights which define the existence of women vis – a – vis the different stakeholders that they deal with vis – a – vis their own inhibitions that they have.

Devahuti Choudhury, XXIV GEP Forum, October 10, 2017

Through her presentation, Devahuti underscored, that investment in capacity building of women, access and ownership of digital mediums such as mobile phones and other related infrastructure are of paramount importance to bridge the digital gender divide. For information services it is important to recognize the digital realities within which women operate or function and that is key for any programmatic design. Understanding of triggers and barriers that nudge behavioural change, she felt, will prompt sustainable engagement with digital mediums. These realities, in her opinion, should be recognized both from policy and practise perspective. It is only then that the potential of Digital India to further gender empowerment can be realized.

Bridging the Gender Digital Divide: The Access Divide and Beyond

“Is working towards bridging the gender divide in access and use enough to promote a gender equitable digital India?”

Nandini Chami, XXIV GEP Forum, October 10, 2017

Nandini Chami, in her presentation elucidated that equality in access and use to the digital is not sufficient to bridge the digital gender divide and therefore, one must look beyond the question of access. She considers the digital as not just a tool or enabler but as an emerging paradigm that is “restructuring all domains of our social world, raising new concerns for gender justice”¹¹. Focusing on the impacts of the emerging digitalised economic paradigm on women's life – choices, she reinstated the inequality that characterizes the digital economy. Almost 95% of women in paid work are in the informal sector while there already is an existing challenge of not being able to count women's workforce participation. Citing the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and World Economic Forum (WEF), Chami pointed out how digitalization would take away the offshore advantages and restructure global labour chains. Since the number of job losses in women – dominated occupations is estimated to be higher, digital automation would affect even the limited percentage of women – dominated occupations in the formal sector disproportionately, let alone women in informal sector jobs¹². Moreover, if women – run Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) are taken into consideration, there is lack of institutional support and an online web presence. This makes it difficult for them to have a competitive edge over other e – commerce marketplaces that already have an online presence. A survey showed that 90% of the SMEs do not have a website or are not even registered on an e – commerce platform¹³. While the government initiated platform, Mahila e-Haat, is laudable for its attempt to create an e – market targeted at women – run enterprises, and build their capacities for expanding their online market base, the mere provisioning of a platform cannot serve as a leveler. Voicing her concern for the unregulated nature of the SMEs, Nandini Chami raised a valid question: “Even if we ensure that all SMEs have a web presence and we are able to get them online, tomorrow

how do we ensure that a platform like Mahila e – haat is competitive with something like Amazon or how do we deal with this particular fact in the platform economy?”

“A February 2017 survey showed that, less than 6% of the institution credit portfolio that is directed at SMEs goes to women run SMEs.”

Nandini Chami, XXIV GEP Forum, October 10, 2017

What further exacerbates the situation for women’s economic participation is SME’s lack of access to institutional credit. Even though it is important for women-run enterprises to get micro credit, questions have been raised about the power of fintech and financial sector innovations for creative disruption that encourages innovation. In such a situation, it is important to ensure that there is room for innovation, while guarantying financial stability and that the excesses of over – financialization is checked so that it does not lead to discriminatory lending or reverse redlining, as has previously been seen in the context of United States¹⁴.

In terms of policy and programming for gender equitable digital India, Nandini Chami suggested some measures ranging from efforts to bridge gender divides in access and use top rotecting women’s right to free expression, privacy and freedom from violence in the digitally mediated public sphere. Moreover, she mentioned that creating a public goods digital infrastructure – ranging from broadband connectivity to digital platforms such as e – marketplaces to public data commons – that can bring economic justice for women is a crucial element that can further a more gender equitable digital India

Social Norms and the Gender Digital Divide

The Internet Democracy Project headed by Anja Kovacs has conducted extensive research on the issue of surveillance in the digital age from a gender perspective. Anja underscored that Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) can be empowering, among other things, because of the new opportunities for expression and communication and the new avenues of access to information they provide. However, they can be disempowering because of, for example, the new forms of surveillance they make possible and the polarisation they seem to have fostered. How do gendered social norms in India at the intersection of these trends impact women’s access to and use of ICTs?

Surveillance, she explained, shapes women’s access to technology in fundamental ways. Firstly, it limits the access women have to technology. Taking the example of mobile phone bans for young women, unmarried women issued by khap panchayats in Haryana and Western UP, she elucidated that in practise, complete bans were not very successful since girls there usually has some access to phones. However, a strong argument was made, even by social activists working for women’s empowerment, that access should be at home and always under supervision, who otherwise did not support the ban. What Anja underscored, through the narrative is that

“at the crux of that was a broader fear of girls gaining increasing independence – but fundamentally it was a fear of creating spaces for privacy for young women where they could use mobile phones as they saw fit to have conversations and communications with people, especially young men, that the families had not approved of.”

Anja Kovacs, XXIV GEP Forum, October 10, 2017

A similar narrative of fear surrounding the use of Facebook was also highlighted by Anja. The usage of Facebook, which is socially looked upon as a space where relationships are formed between young and unknown men and women, becomes a taboo for young girls and is the prime reason why they are prohibited from using this technology. However, there is far greater acceptance, for example, of WhatsApp, because with WhatsApp it is easier for parents to surveil communications and more importantly, communication is with someone whose number is already on the phone¹⁵. So at least there is a sense that there is a community of people that the larger family knows as well.

Critically looking at the idea of surveillance through Safety Apps designed to prevent violence against women, Anja commented that “it is a misguided effort, not just in terms of the amount of money that is being put into it but because, most violence against women happen by people they know – while safety apps are geared to the idea that the big threat is the stranger out there on the street”. However, some of these Safety Apps have interesting features, like a “laxmanrekha” so that the contacts can create an area or geographical boundary for the women, which if they overstep or breach, sends messages to the emergency contacts synced with it. Hence, this kind of surveillance by family members, in the name of safety perpetuates severe restriction and control over women and limits their freedom of movement on a large scale.

“...to fully benefit from what the information society or the digital age has to bend to offer, you should be able to participate fully in such a way that you maximise the exercise of human rights, whether they are economic, social or cultural rights or political and social rights.”

Anja Kovacs, XXIV GEP Forum, October 10, 2017

Another aspect that Anja emphasized on is social norms that play out in the levels of online abuse in India, in terms of trolling or web online abuse or even the misuse of images on the internet. Such abuses are faced by groups of women from different social classes on a regular basis. Anja also underscored that debates about digital literacy should be contextualised in social and cultural factors and not viewed separately from them because digital literacy is informed from and rooted in them.

Towards a Gender Equitable Digital India: Some Action Points

Dr. M.R. Anand observed that bridging the digital divide in terms of gender will require conscious efforts and may not happen automatically. Furthermore, the gender dimension needs to be inbuilt at the stage of the design of policies and interventions taking into account the societal context.

At the conceptual level, there is a need for a structured approach for organising ideas on what actually are the gender related issues in the digital context. Alongside, it is also important to drill down to specific actions in domain areas where gender related issues need to be addressed. It is also important to identify legal or organizational obstacles to equal access benefits of ICT. He outlined 5 dimensions in that regard:-

- First, there is a need to understand if gender based digital divide is rooted in technology or if it is a manifestation of more deep rooted bias in society. There is a possibility that some specific technologies may accentuate gender biases and create a divide. In that case, it may be necessary to identify the bias implicit in a technology or its design and correct it. However, if biases are embedded deep in society, then it may be necessary to address the root causes rather than hope to deal with symptoms that may only get manifested in the digital domain. In either case, the idea is to be alert to the possibility that existing gender divide do not get reinforced or aggravated by digital technologies. There is also a need to overcome biases.
- Second, there are specific segments that form the digital ecosystem. These include: digital infrastructure, device penetration, ownership, pattern

of usage, digital identity, opportunities for entrepreneurship, digital literacy, security, R & D etc. Osama Manzar provided a more compact and useful categorisation of the elements of the digital ecosystem comprising access, entitlement, institutions, culture and policy. It is necessary to identify gender related issues or problems relating to each of these domain areas so that policies and actions that follow from the same are fine – tuned and appropriately focussed to address gender based digital divide.

- Third, the digital ecosystem operates within a legal and organizational framework. No framework can be perfect but it follows that if there is a tension between the design of the digital ecosystem, including the legal framework, and the norms in a society, then either one or the other has to give way. Therefore, in dealing with this gender related digital divide the legal and organizational framework needs to be kept in view and reformed if needed.
- Fourth, digital technologies need to be blended with domain knowledge in application areas related to livelihoods in a manner relevant to the local context. The domain areas could be agriculture, industry, services including health, education, entertainment and so on. Each domain area has unique problems and a knowledge base. From a practitioner's perspective, it is more useful to contextualise 'gender related digital divide' by drawing examples from each of these domain areas.
- Finally there is a need to have proper metrics that measure gender related outcomes and data on the outcomes spanning the entire digital ecosystem.

Endnotes

¹Devahuti Choudhury at GEP Discussion Forum XXIV, 10th October, 2017

²Devahuti Choudhury at GEP Discussion Forum XXIV, 10th October, 2017

³Padmapriya Sastry at GEP Discussion Forum XXIV, 10th October, 2017

⁴ Osama Manzar at GEP Discussion Forum XXIV, 10th October, 2017

⁵Padmapriya Sastry at GEP Discussion Forum XXIV, 10th October, 2017

⁶Nandini Chami at GEP Discussion Forum XXIV, 10th October, 2017

⁷ Osama Manzar at GEP Discussion Forum XXIV, 10th October, 2017

⁸Padmapriya Sastry at GEP Discussion Forum XXIV, 10th October, 2017

⁹Devahuti Choudhury at GEP Discussion Forum XXIV, 10th October, 2017

¹⁰Devahuti Choudhury at GEP Discussion Forum XXIV, 10th October, 2017

¹¹Nandini Chami at GEP Discussion Forum XXIV, 10th October, 2017

¹²Nandini Chami at GEP Discussion Forum XXIV, 10th October, 2017

¹³Nandini Chami at GEP Discussion Forum XXIV, 10th October, 2017

¹⁴Nandini Chami at GEP Discussion Forum XXIV, 10th October, 2017

¹⁵Anja Kovacs at GEP Discussion Forum XXIV, 10th October, 2017

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Speakers at the Forum

Nandini Chami, IT for Change

Padmapriya Shastri, BBC Media Action

Osama Manzar, Digital Empowerment Foundation

Devahuti Choudhury, Grameen Foundation, India

Anja Kovacs, Internet Democracy Project

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