

What Works to Connect Women to Digital Technology?

Evidence from India

Yale *Inclusion Economics*

Inclusion India
Economics CENTRE

USC Dornsife
*Center for Economic
and Social Research*



Photo Credit: Ishan Tankha

The Opportunity

Mobile Phones
Reshaping The
Economic
Lives of The
Poor...

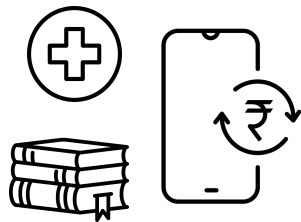


5.4+ billion people subscribed to a mobile service in 2022

4.4 billion people used mobile internet.¹



Phones **facilitate access to information** and **improve market functioning**.²



Value-added services can **reduce poverty, improve educational, financial, and health** outcomes.³

¹ GSMA (2023), ² Jensen (2007), Aker (2010), Jensen and Miller (2017), ³ Aker et al. (2012), Ksoll et al. (2014), Suri and Jack (2016), Cadena and Schoar (2011), Karlan et al. (2016), Zurovac et al. (2014)

...for the world's most marginalized women, a mobile phone doesn't just make their old life more convenient; it can help them build an entirely new life. That's because connectivity is a *solution* to marginalization.

- *Melinda French Gates, 2019*

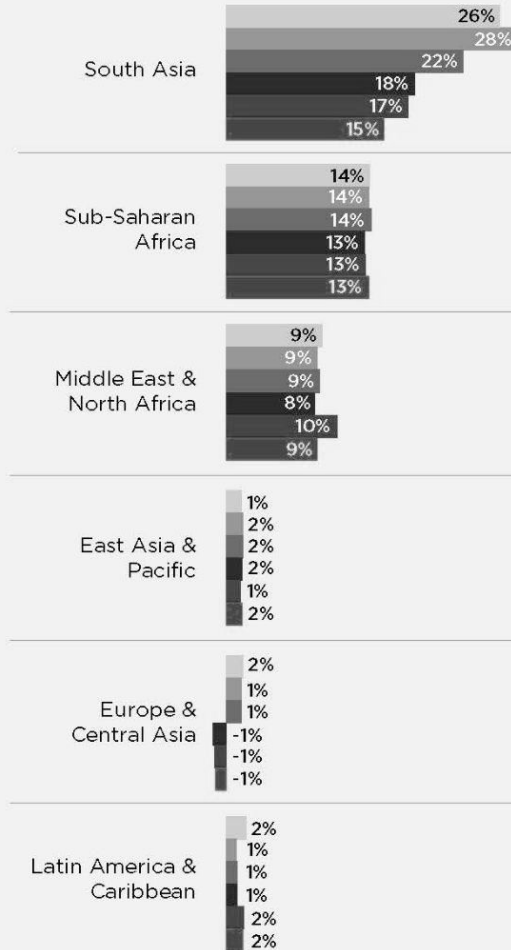
Digital technologies facilitate opportunities across society and... can be great equalizers in terms of giving those who have access equal opportunity and availability to information, to education, to networks in a way that improves and empowers themselves, their families, their community, and all of society benefits.

- *Kamala Harris, 2023*

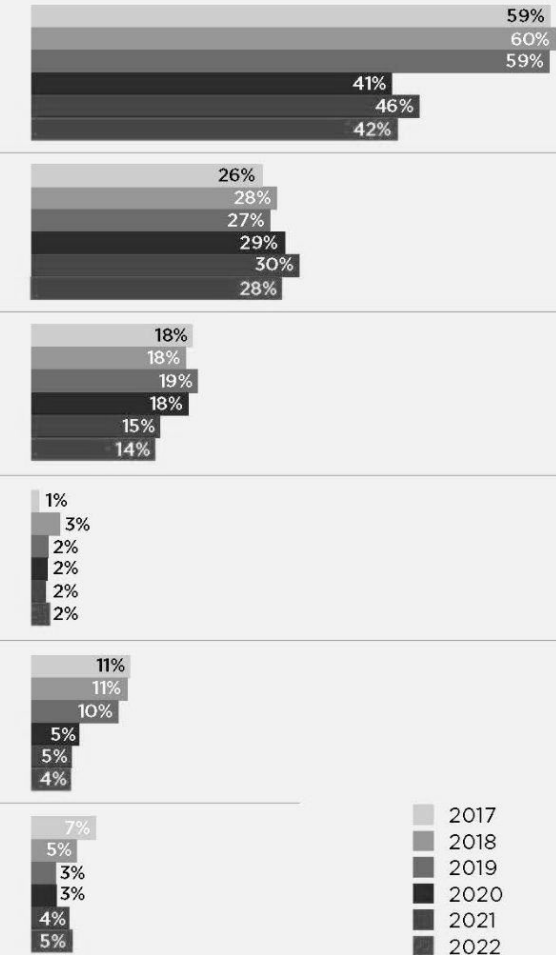
The Challenge

Gender Gaps in South Asia + Africa are Large, Persistent

Gender gap in mobile ownership



Gender gap in smartphone ownership



Source: GSMA (2023)

Today: Policies Designed to Address Distinct Barriers to Female Use

1

Ease **economic constraints** via **free distribution** of smartphones

+

2

Ease **skill constraints** via **digital capability training**

+

3

Work around **norms constraints** via a **gender-appropriate use case**

Context

Chhattisgarh

Multidimensional Poverty

30%

NFHS-4 (2015-16)



16%

NFHS-5 (2019-21)

Female Phone Ownership

31%

NFHS-4 (2015-16)



41%

NFHS-5 (2019-21)

Female Labor Force Participation

48%

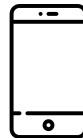
NFHS-4 (2015-16)



54%

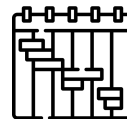
NFHS-5 (2019-21)

Intervention 1: Project SKY



Free smartphones to female household heads

Micromax/Jio provided Bharat 2+



Timeline

August - September 2018
Distributed almost 3 million phones



Program Enhancements

Network expansion
Digital literacy training
Pre-loaded government apps



Intervention 2: Woman-Centered Digital Capability Training



Dialing



Taking a photo



Receiving Calls



Internet voice search



Engage women in small groups

Interactive practice



Short duration

Focus on high-value skills



Take-home brochure to reinforce learning

RCT + Short-Run SKY Event Study

Baseline survey randomization

Pre-SKY Distribution
106 villages

Post-SKY Distribution
106 villages



Compare outcomes in pre vs post distribution villages to assess short term (~2-3 week) effect of SKY

Intervention randomization

Village level randomization

Pure control
32 villages

Any Treatment
180 villages



Assess impact of training, use case in the usual way.

Endline 2.5+ years post intervention

Individual level randomization

Training only
25% eligible women

Training + Use Case
75% eligible women

Evaluating the Long-Run Impact of SKY: A Regression Discontinuity Approach

SKY Eligibility

- Eligible village: 1000+ population per 2011 Indian census
- All gram panchayats (GPs) with 1+ eligible village received program

Study Sample

- 13 of Chhattisgarh's 33 districts
- Focus on GPs with 2+ villages to maximize RD balance
- 684 GPs within +/- 99 of population cutoff

Survey Data

- 15 male, 15 female surveys: smartphone ownership, use, norms + downstream outcomes by gender
- 2-3 key informant surveys per GP: community-wide economic, health impacts
- ~5 years post SKY

Compare outcomes in GPs just above/below eligibility threshold to measure impact (Cattaneo 2023)

This Project: Three Policies Designed to Address Gender Gaps

1

Ease **economic constraints** via **free distribution** of smartphones



2

Ease **skill constraints** via **digital capability training**

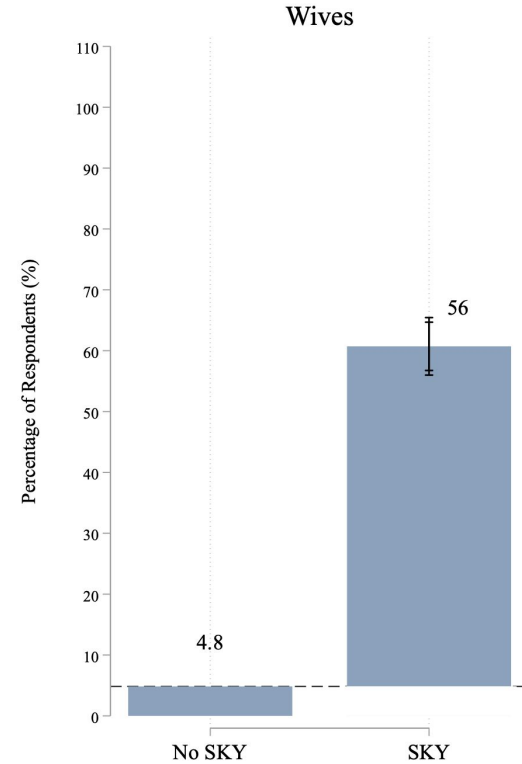
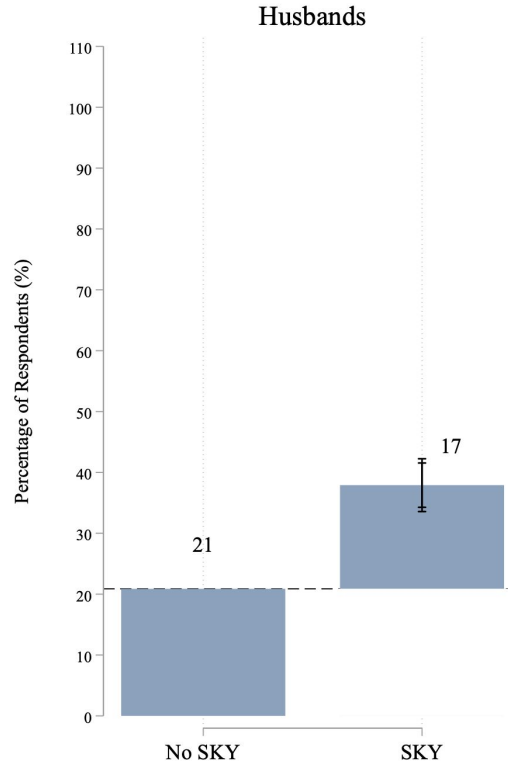
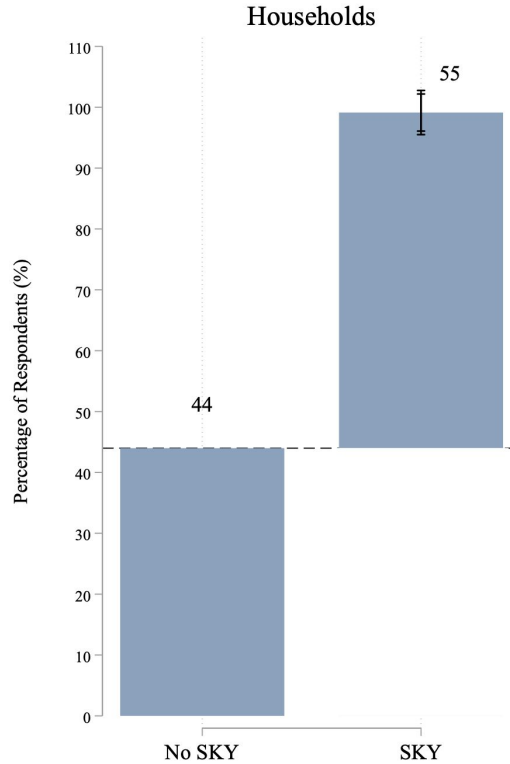


3

Work around **norms constraints** via a **gender-targeted use case**

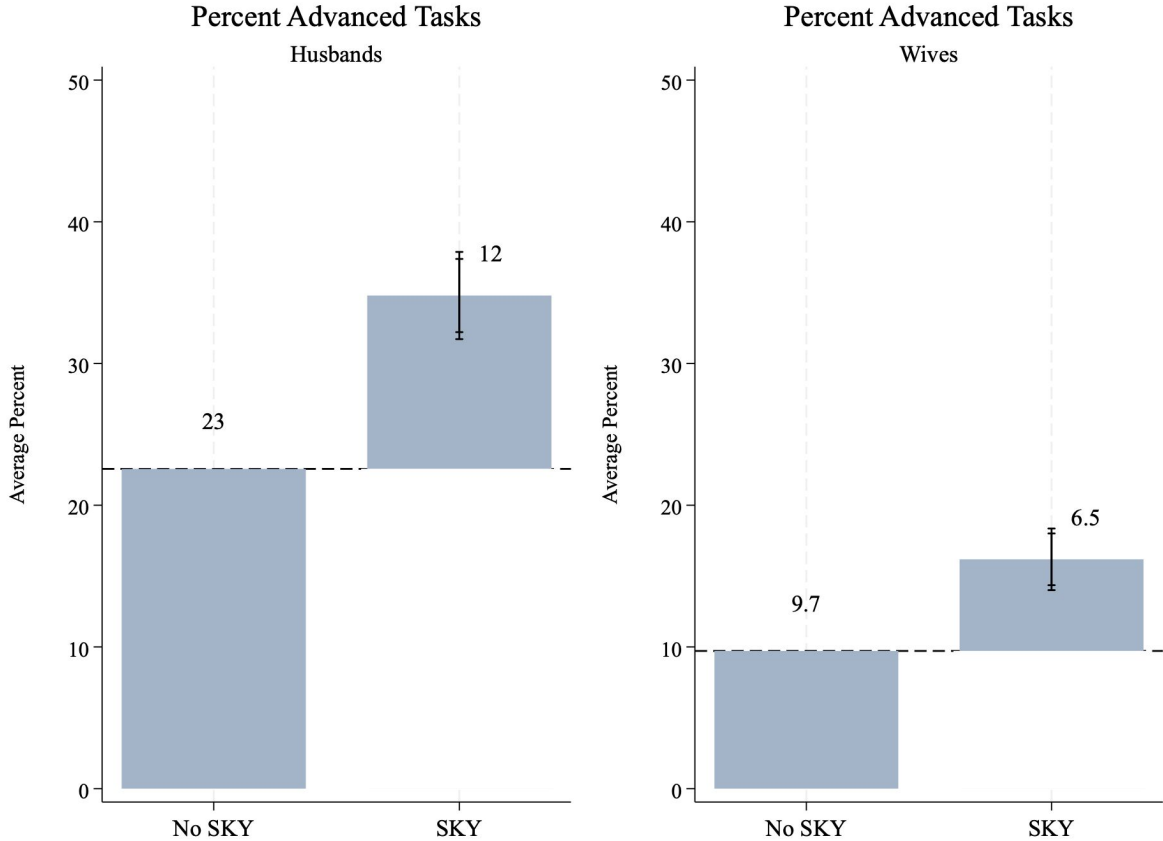
Short Run: SKY Increases Access to Smartphones

Smartphone Ownership Among:



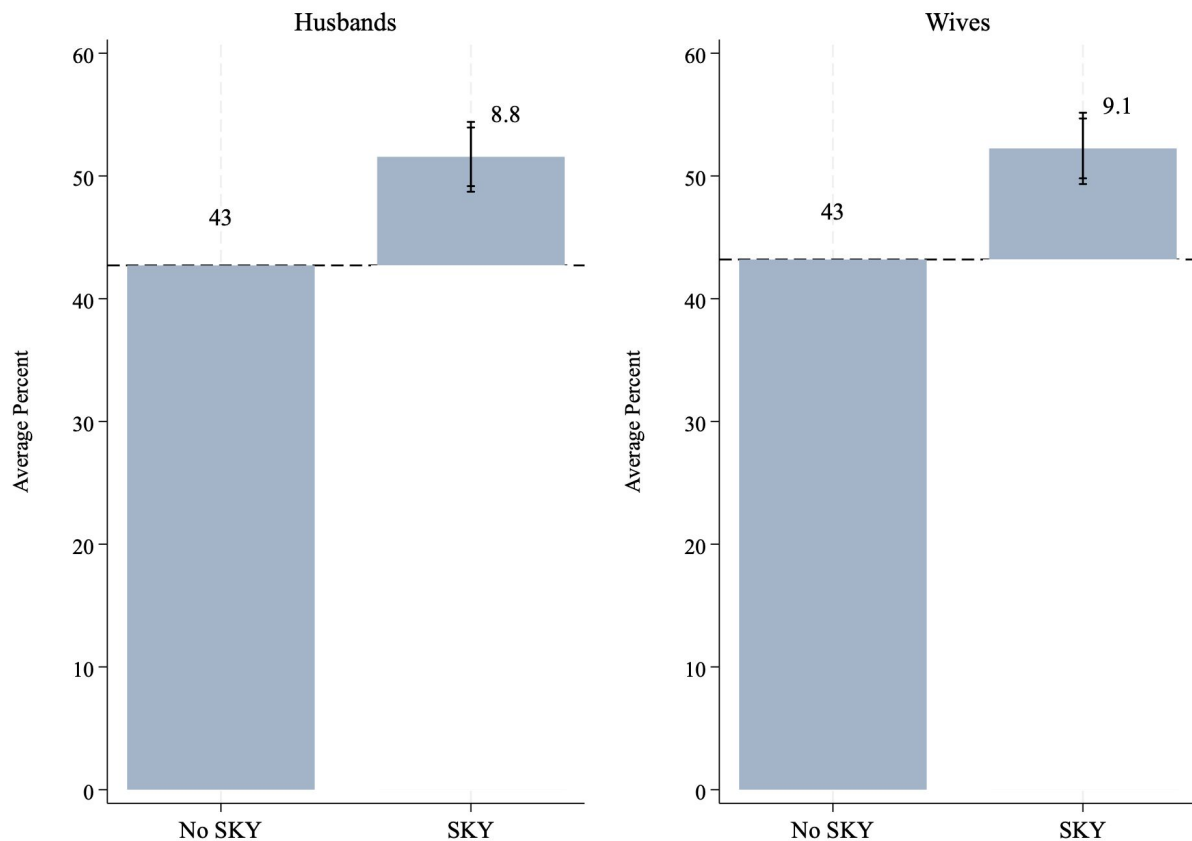
Short Run
SKY Increases
Women's
Smartphone
Use, But
Gender Gaps
Grow

Percent Advanced Phone Tasks Performed



Short Run
Phones Seen
as More
Appropriate

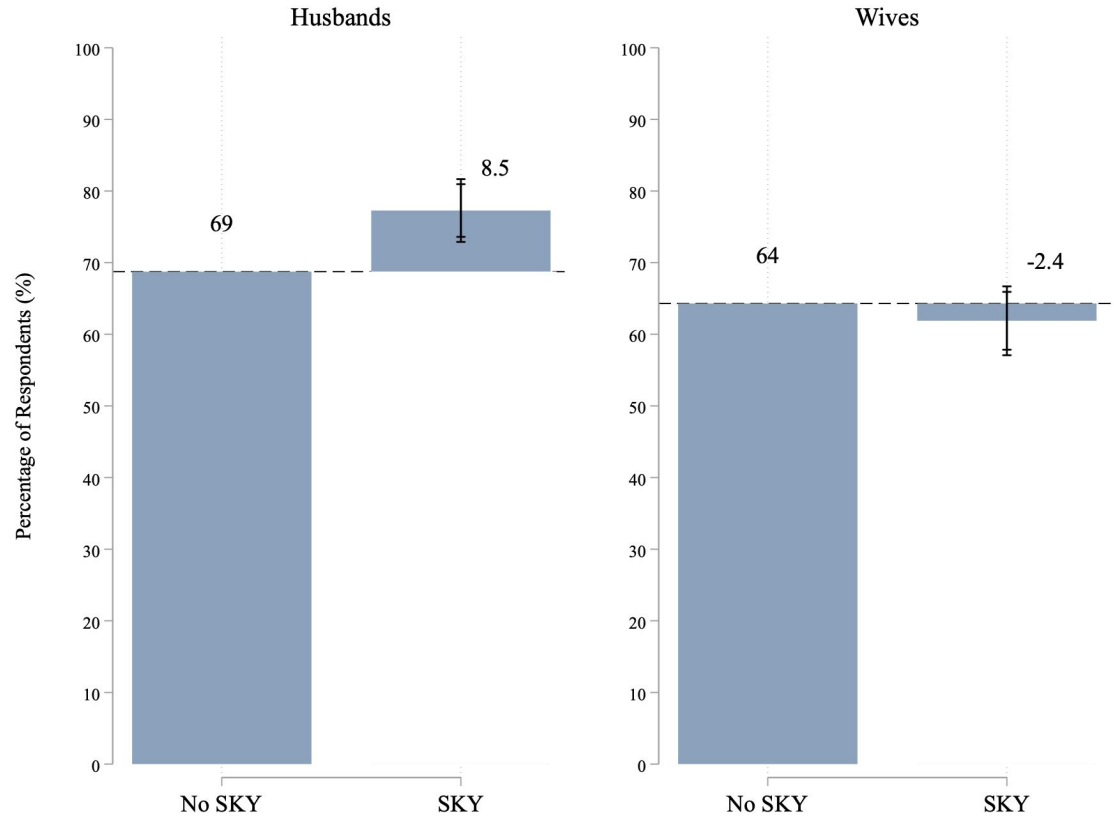
Percent of Time Agrees Married/Unmarried Women Can Use Phones



Short Run

Men Perceive Phones as Less Useful for Women

Agrees men have more use for phones than women do



Contextualizing Long Run, Post SKY Impacts

In “Treatment” GPs

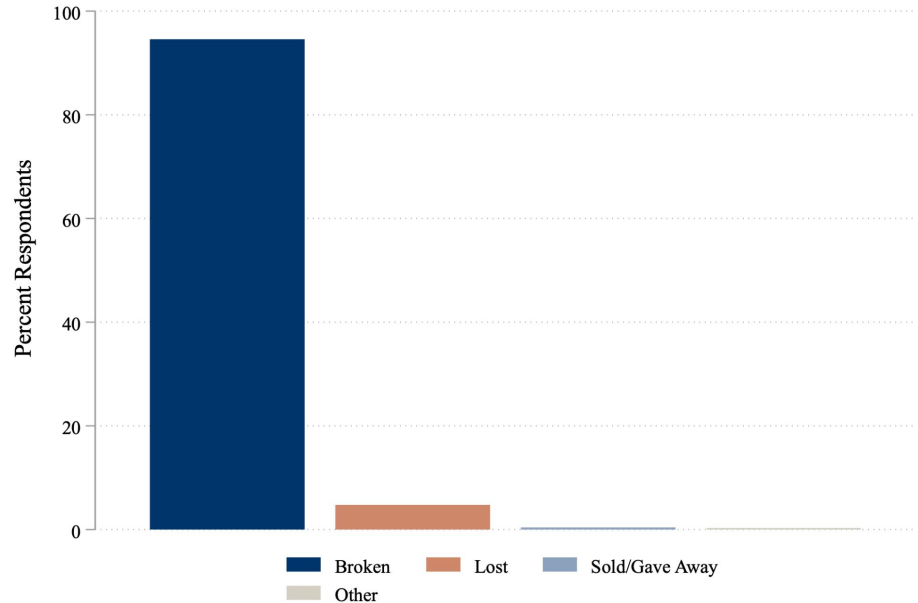
59%

reported receiving
a phone from SKY

10%

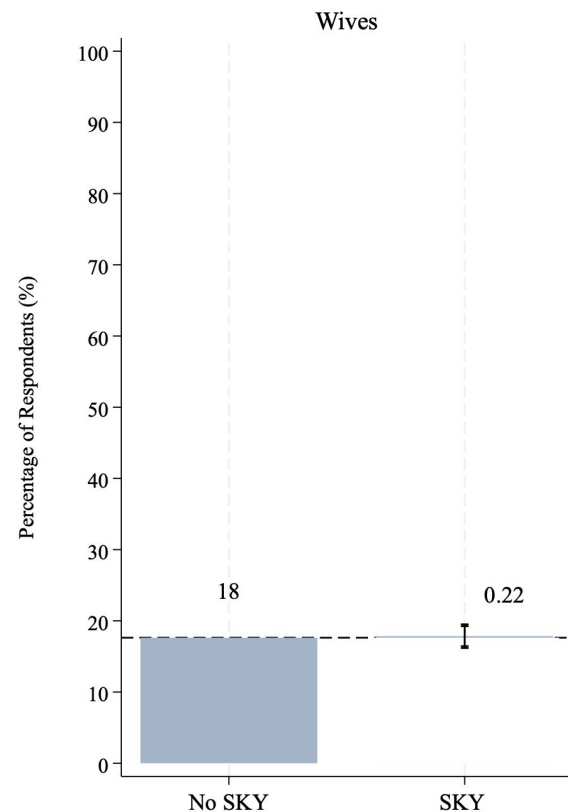
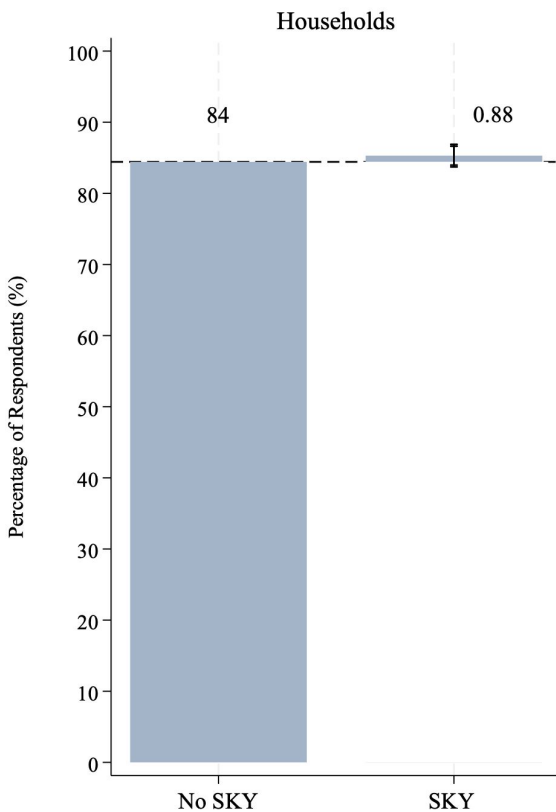
of recipients still
have SKY phone in
house

What Happened to SKY
Phones?



Long Run
High Levels
Household,
Low Levels
Female
Smartphone
Ownership

Smartphone Ownership



Long Run
No Sustained
Impact on
Women's
Phone Use,
Associated
Norms

Gender gaps in use indices

20

p.p. gender gap
in basic use

26

p.p. gender gap
in advanced
use

Phone use among
married women
inappropriate

Men have more use
for a phone than
women do



42%

73%



47%

78%

This Project: Three Policies Designed to Address Gender Gaps

1

Ease **economic** constraints via **free** distribution of smartphones



2

Ease **skill** constraints via **digital** capability training

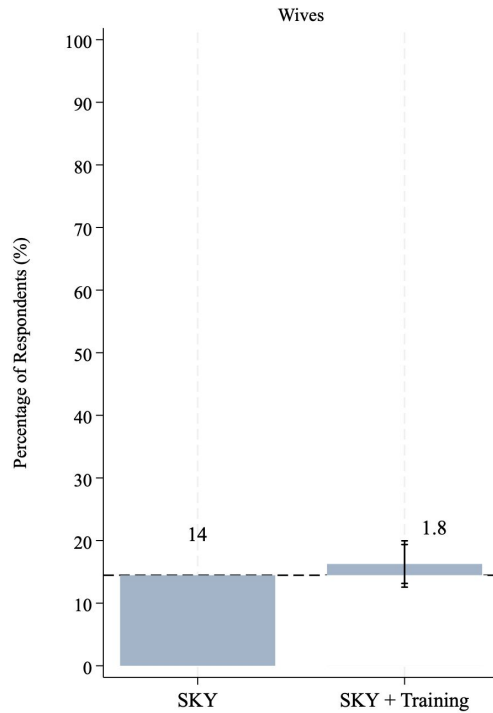


3

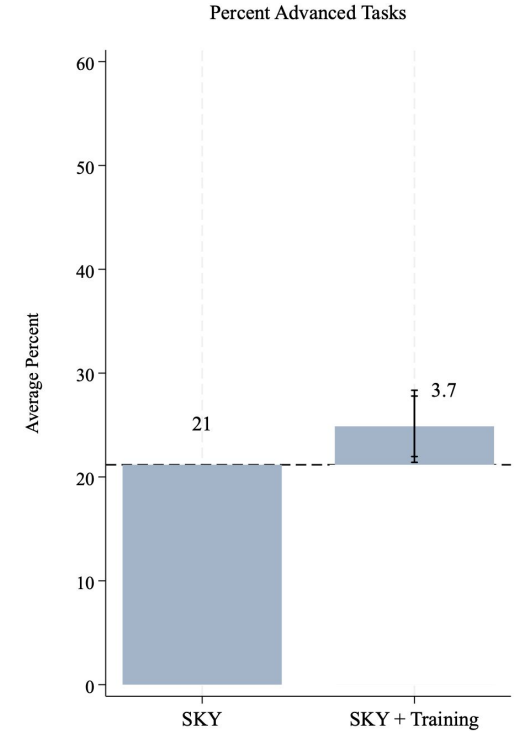
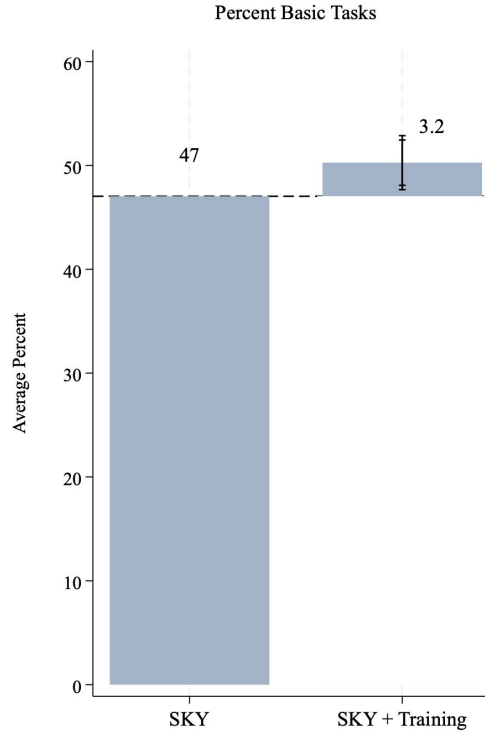
Work around **norms** constraints via a **gender-targeted** use case

Training Increased Women's Phone Use

Phone Ownership

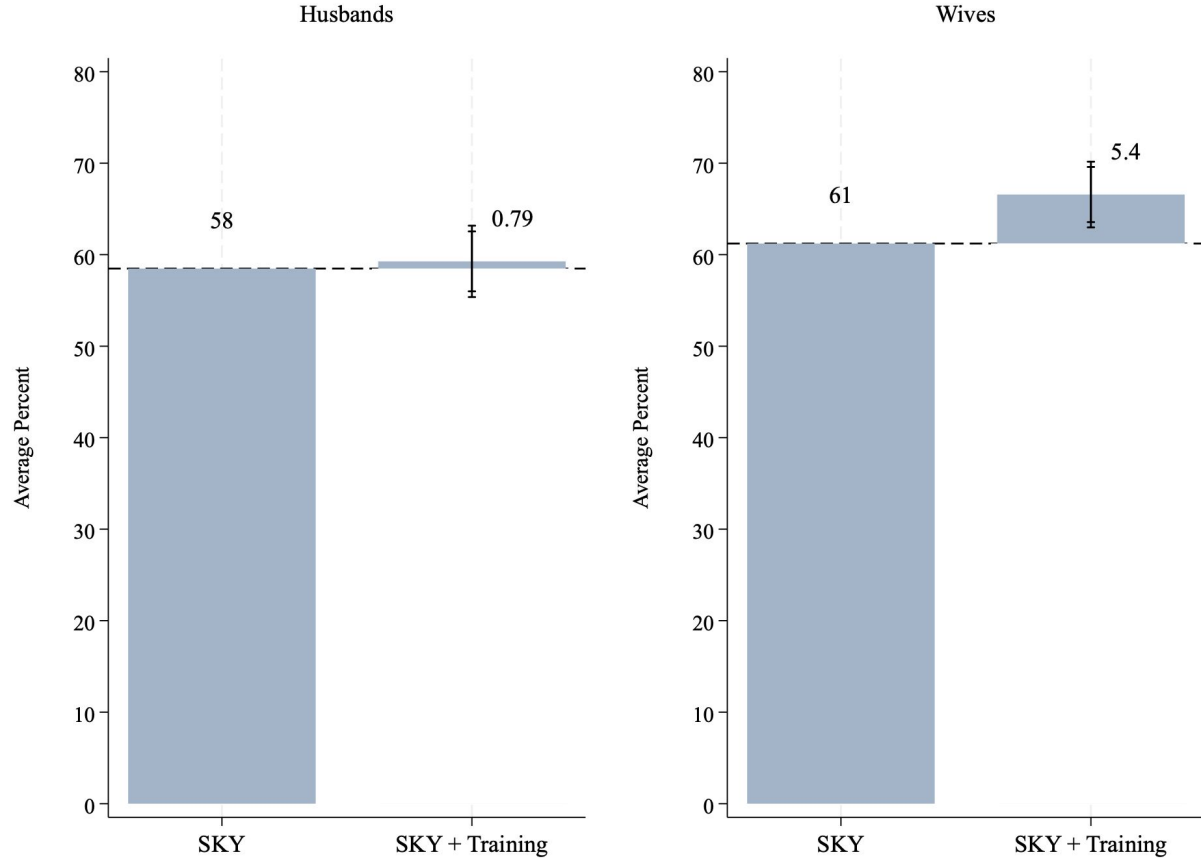


Phone Usage

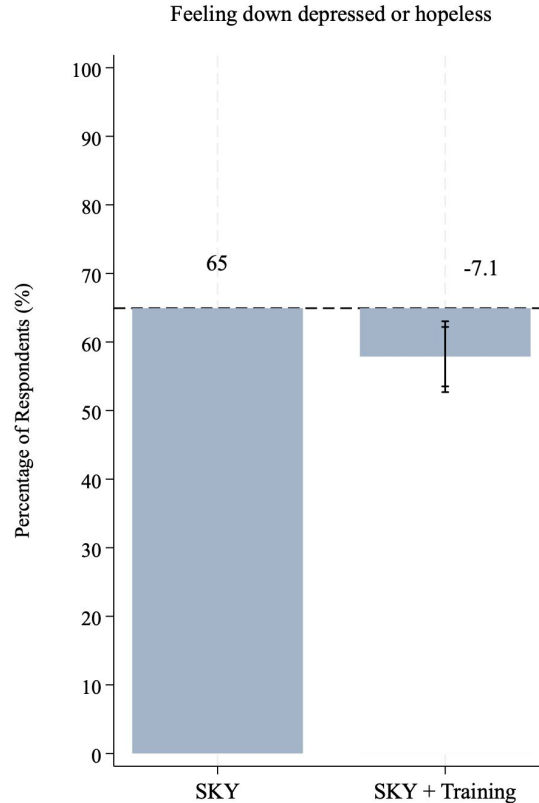
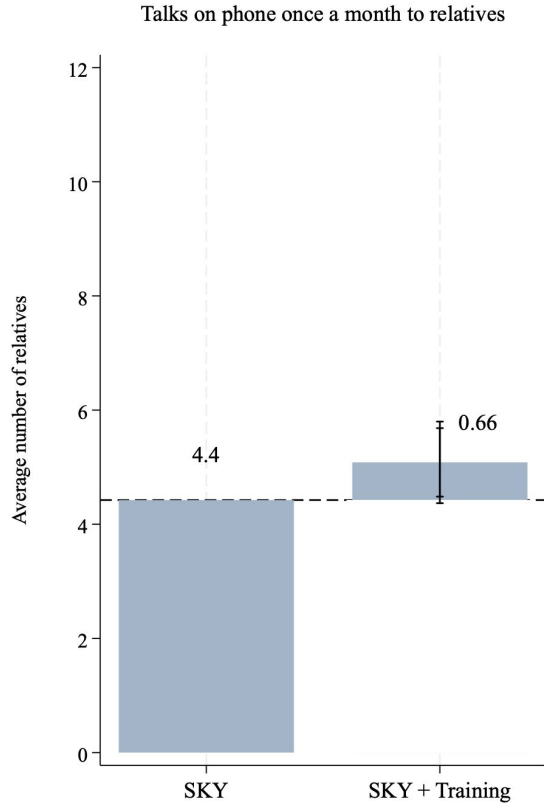


Training Liberalized Women's, But Not Men's Views on Mobile Use

Percent of Time Agrees Married/Unmarried Women Can Use Phones



Training Increased Social Connectedness and Improved Mental Health



Hypothesis

Stronger social connections



Better mental health

Conclusion + Policy Lessons

- Free distribution provided a short-run boost, but impacts fade out in long run
 - Hypothesis: quick depreciation + no sticky change in norms
 - TBD: Heterogeneity
- Investing in women's digital capabilities yields lasting benefits
 - Extends to basic and advanced use
 - Points to intra-household barriers to learning
- Limited knock-on benefits from a (popular!) gender intentional use case

