



Mapping Content on Gender and Sexuality in Indian Languages

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Spaces can be real and imagined. Spaces can tell stories and unfold histories. Spaces can be interrupted, appropriated and transformed through artistic and literary practice.

- bell hooks

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INTRODUCTION

This study is an effort to document and analyse initiatives in the creation of content on gender and sexuality in Indian languages. This final report outlines the challenges related to multilingual content creation and digitization, and the possibilities to bring such content on open knowledge platforms such as Wikimedia projects.

Wikimedia projects are a pivotal part of the larger knowledge ecosystem, particularly in the digital sphere. Wikimedia projects comprise many volunteer-led platforms such as Wikipedia,¹ Wikisource,² Wikidata,³ Wikimedia Commons⁴ etc. and contribute to efforts in creating knowledge that is available openly to a wider public. Wikimedia projects also have a documented gender gap and bias, largely defined in terms of disparities in availability of content on and participation by women on these platforms. English Wikipedia notes the gender bias as *“the fact that Wikipedia contributors are mostly male, that relatively few biographies on Wikipedia are about women, and that topics of interest to women are less well-covered.”*⁵ The Gender gap portal on Wikimedia Meta-Wiki further notes that, *‘Two kinds of gender gap exist within, and do harm to, the Wikimedia world: (a) a content gender gap (meaning that more men than women are covered in the mainspace content of our wikis), and (b) a participation gender gap, meaning that more men participate in the peer production communities of Wikimedia.’*⁶ Wikimedia Foundation (WMF)’s Project Rewrite notes that, *‘only 18.3%⁷ of the content in all Wikimedia projects, including biographies on Wikipedia, are of women, and only 15%⁸ Wikipedia contributors are women.’*⁹ The latest WMF Community Insights Report (2021), based on a large

¹ “Main page, Wikipedia”, Wikipedia accessed August 01, 2022. <https://www.wikipedia.org>

² “Main page, Wikisource”, Wikisource accessed August 01, 2022. https://wikisource.org/wiki/Main_Page

³ “Main page, Wikidata”, Wikidata accessed August 01, 2022. https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Wikidata:Main_Page

⁴ “Main page, Wikimedia Commons”, Wikisource accessed August 01, 2022. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Main_Page

⁵ “Gender Bias on Wikipedia”, Wikipedia, accessed August 1, 2022.

https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Gender_bias_on_Wikipedia&oldid=991093125

⁶ “Gender Gap”, Wikimedia-Meta-Wiki, accessed August 30, 2022. https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/Gender_gap

⁷ “Main page, Humaniki”, Wikipedia accessed July 01, 2022. <https://humaniki.wmcloud.org/>

⁸ “Community Insights/Community Insights 2021 Report/Thriving Movement”, Wikimedia Meta Wiki accessed August 14, 2022.

https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/Community_Insights/Community_Insights_2021_Report/Thriving_Movement#Community_and_Newcomer_Diversity

⁹ “Project Rewrite”, Wikimedia Foundation accessed August 01, 2022 <https://wikimediafoundation.org/participate/rewrite/>

survey of 2500 contributors from projects across the world, illustrates that "*Although women were still markedly underrepresented among contributors, there was a modest increase in women contributors between 2019 and 2020*"¹⁰

It is observed that in most available literature on this topic, gender gap and bias are used interchangeably, and denote primarily differences in participation and content on diverse Wikimedia platforms; efforts in this space have also looked largely at representational parity with the aim of enhancing content on topics of gender and sexuality, with a primary focus on women. While gender gap would largely indicate a disparity in terms of representation and engagement by men and women in certain areas, bias also indicates forms of epistemic inequalities, in terms of preference for or discrimination against a particular gender.¹¹ However, the discourse around gender gap and bias is not limited to women,¹² even in the context of Wikimedia projects; rather it extends to lack of content and nuanced discourse on broader topics related to gender and sexuality, and allied topics such as feminism. This is both in terms of participation by and content about individuals belonging to structurally marginalized gender and sexual identities, although in recent years there have been more efforts to address this disparity, especially at a global level.¹³

Since the problem of the gender gap and bias is vast and diverse, and not limited to only aspects of participation and content, there have been studies that seek to understand the issue within Wikimedia communities across many languages.¹⁴ Similar attempts have been made by Indian language Wikimedians and by independent researchers on the issue of the gender gap and bias on Wikimedia projects in the Indian context. Some instances include research by Harshey (2014), Chakraborty and Hussain (2018) and Ray and Dutta (2020), among others. There have also been

¹⁰“Community Insights/Community Insights 2021 Report” Wikimedia Meta-Wiki, accessed August 01, 2022

https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/Community_Insights/Community_Insights_2021_Report

¹¹UNICEF. 2017. “Gender Equality: Glossary of Terms and Concepts”. *UNICEF Regional Office for South Asia*. <https://www.unicef.org/rosa/media/1761/file/Gender%20glossary%20of%20terms%20and%20concepts%20.pdf>

¹²LGBT+ Wikimedians is a global, intersectional user group working on topics of interest to LGBT+ communities around the world. See: “Wikimedia LGBT+/Portal”, Wikimedia Meta-Wiki, accessed August 01, 2022. <https://w.wiki/noG>

¹³See global events such as “Wiki Loves Pride” Wikimedia Meta-Wiki accessed August 01, 2022.

https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/Wiki_Loves_Pride; and “Queering Wikipedia” Wikimedia Meta Wiki, accessed August 29, 2022. <https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/QW2022>

¹⁴“Community Insights/2020 Report/Contributors”, Wikimedia Meta-Wiki, accessed August 01, 2022 https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/Community_Insights/Community_Insights_2020_Report

a set of studies by Lannon (2013), Chang (2019)¹⁵ and Koteeswaran (2021)¹⁶, supported by the Access to Knowledge Programme at the Centre for Internet and Society¹⁷, which provide insights and nuances on the gender gap/bias prevalent within Indian language projects.

From the landscape of these studies, we see that the problem of gender gap and bias is dynamic, with several recurring challenges: gender disparity in participation in Wikimedia projects and content creation, infrastructural issues, including access to devices and internet¹⁸, lack of women in leadership and administrative positions in Wikimedia projects, the need for training and capacity building and addressing concerns related to community health etc.

Earlier research has pointed out these issues within the Wikimedia ecosystem, but these are not unique or limited to the Wikimedia space alone. They are prevalent elsewhere on the internet and digital public sphere as well. This project will look at what content-related challenges are in the wider digital domain, especially concerning language and digitisation, and how they affect Wikimedia projects, in particular content on gender and sexuality. This study therefore seeks to understand the content production process in multimedia formats on gender and sexuality in Indian languages by individuals and organisations who may not be part of the Indian language Wikimedia communities but have been working in this realm. This research attempts to understand the existence and operation of the gender gap and bias in the larger context of knowledge production on gender and sexuality in Indian languages. The objectives of this research project are as follows:

- a. To understand existing disparities in digital content on gender and allied topics in Indian languages and the impact of the same on content creation in Indian language Wikimedia projects.

¹⁵ Ting-Yi Chang, “Bridging the Hidden Gap: Examining Female Editors’ Identity and Agency Negotiation Process within Indian Wikimedia Projects and Communities”, (Bachelor’s thesis., University of Toronto Scarborough, 2019) <https://cis-india.org/Bridging-the-Hidden-Gap-T-Chang>

¹⁶Bhuvana Meenakshi Koteeswaran, “Bridging the Gender Gap: A report on Indian Language Wikimedia Communities” https://cis-india.org/A2K_BGG_Report_2021

¹⁷“CIS-A2K/Research”, WikiMedia Meta-Wiki, accessed August 01, 2022 <https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/CIS-A2K/Research>

¹⁸While this challenge is not unique to women, previous research on Wikimedia projects and data on internet users across the world illustrates that there is wider disparity in adoption and use of digital technologies by women, as compared to men and boys. See: Alexandra Tyers-Chowdhury and Gerda Binder, “What We Know About the Gender Digital Divide for Girls: A Literature Review”, UNICEF, 2021.

- b. To map the nature of repositories available with institutions working on gender and allied topics, specifically focusing on women, non-binary and LGBTQIA+ related content.
- c. To enlist the possible ways to overcome challenges that arise from the gender gap in content creation and access on open knowledge platforms, based on suggestions by stakeholders in the digital ecosystem.

This study explores aspects of content production, Indian languages, digital documentation, issues of open access to such content and related challenges. An important learning from an overview of previous research is that there is a need to connect these efforts in bridging the gender gap within the larger, mainstream discourse related to content creation on gender and sexuality online in Indian languages. As is apparent, the problem of the gender gap is widely prevalent in the larger digital ecosystem, and this has an impact on how content is produced on Wikimedia projects as well.

Various stakeholders, both individuals and organisations working in the areas of gender and sexuality in Indian languages by producing content, developing pedagogy and outreach have contributed to this research as interviewees, sharing their experiences, lived realities and insights.

BACKGROUND

The United Nations Development Programme's on Gender Inequality Index ¹⁹ notes that ,
“Gender inequality remains a major barrier to human development. Girls and women have made major strides since 1990, but they have not yet gained gender equity. The disadvantages facing women and girls are a major source of inequality. All too often, women and girls are discriminated against in health, education, political representation, labour market, etc.—with negative consequences for development of their capabilities and their freedom of choice”. The issues around gender in various fields have also witnessed increasing documentation, research and debate in policy, advocacy, academia, popular culture etc.

¹⁹“Gender Inequality Index”, Human Development Reports, August 01, 2022
<https://hdr.undp.org/en/content/gender-inequality-index-gii>

Issues related to gender, its intersection with other social and cultural identities and how this shapes processes of knowledge production have been documented for a long time by various scholars and practitioners, and have given rise to new waves of writing and movements.²⁰ While the available literature is largely academic, this includes much contemporary scholarship about women's writing, and emergence of early feminist thought, contributing to knowledge production across fields and realms by women.²¹ The participation and articulation of experiences by women across social movements gave rise to a huge corpus of knowledge that has continued to inform further work in this space.²²

Over the last two decades, there has also been significant growth in content production on gender and sexuality in digital spaces, including, in many cases, a transition from physical print and paper world, to the online world.²³ However, digital divides still persist, particularly in the global South, which also determine access and use of digital infrastructures of knowledge production by women and marginalised groups. In India, as noted by the Human Development Index (HDI), the percentage of India's total population that were internet users, jumped from 7.5% in 2010 to 34.5% in 2020.²⁴ Details of the gender composition of internet users was not included in the HDI reports for India, but these are available elsewhere across multiple independent reports and research studies. For instance, the ICUBE Report 2020 report by the Internet and Mobile Association of India (IAMAI) and Kantar points out that in India, male users and female internet users constitute 58% and 42% of the total population of online users, respectively. Additionally, the ratio of males to females in urban India is 57:43 and that in rural India is 58:42.²⁵ This makes it evident that the gender gap is still prevalent in the digital ecosystem.

²⁰ Rege, Sharmila, ed. 2003. *Sociology of gender: The challenge of feminist sociological thought*. SAGE Publications India,.

²¹ Tharu, Susie J., and Ke Lalita, eds. *Women Writing in India: 600 BC to the early twentieth century*. Vol. 1. Feminist Press at CUNY, 1991.

²² Rege. 2003. *Sociology of gender: The challenge of feminist sociological thought*

²³ Burgess, Jean, Elija Cassidy, Stefanie Duguay, and Ben Light. "Making Digital Cultures of Gender and Sexuality With Social Media." *Social Media + Society*, (October 2016). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305116672487>.

²⁴ "Dimension: Mobility and Communication", Human Development Report, United Nations <https://hdr.undp.org/en/indicators/43606>

²⁵ "Internet Adoption in India", Kantar, June 2021

https://images.assettype.com/afaqs/2021-06/b9a3220f-ae2f-43db-a0b4-36a372b243c4/KANTAR_ICUBE_2020_Report_CL.pdf

LITERATURE REVIEW

This overview of literature aims to provide an insight into existing scholarship on the gender gap in Indian Wikimedia projects.

At the global level, in the realm of research studies on gender gap²⁶ in the Wikimedia ecosystem, there has been work on topics such as the metrics for quantifying the gender-related content gap²⁷, Humaniki, a diversity data tool,²⁸ surveys on the gender of editors²⁹ etc. There have also been independent studies on this — for instance, studies from a feminist perspective on Wikipedia’s epistemological structure and how it may reproduce forms of systemic bias³⁰, and studies that have focussed in-depth on gaps in content and participation, primarily focussed on women’s engagement with Wikimedia projects.³¹ These include studies led by community members, and with a focus on movement strategy.³² Recent work has also examined the prevalence of the gender gap across various Wikimedia projects,³³ not Wikipedia alone, and efforts to understand these knowledge gaps from the perspectives of diverse linguistic³⁴ and gendered communities.³⁵

²⁶ “Gender gap/Research” Wikimedia Meta-Wiki, accessed August 01, 2022

https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/Gender_gap/Research

²⁷ “Research:Metrics for Quantifying the Gender Content Gap” Wikimedia Meta-Wiki, accessed August 01, 2022

https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/Research:Metrics_for_quantifying_the_gender_content_gap

²⁸ “Research:Humaniki, a diversity data tool to create awareness about gender gap on Wikimedia projects”

Wikimedia Meta-Wiki, accessed August 01, 2022

https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/Research:Humaniki_a_diversity_data_tool_to_create_awareness_about_gender_gap_on_Wikimedia_projects

²⁹ “Research:Surveys on the gender of editors”Wikimedia Meta-Wiki, accessed August 01, 2022

https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/Research:Surveys_on_the_gender_of_editors

³⁰ Menking, Amanda, and Jon Rosenberg. “WP:NOT, WP:NPOV, and Other Stories Wikipedia Tells Us: A Feminist Critique of Wikipedia’s Epistemology.” *Science, Technology, & Human Values* 46, no. 3 (May 2021): 455–79.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0162243920924783>

³¹ Marit Hinnoaar, Gender inequality in new media: Evidence from Wikipedia, *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, Volume 163, 2019, Pages 262-276, ISSN 0167-2681, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2019.04.020>.

<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0167268119301234?via%3Dihub>

³²Ferran-Ferrer et al, “The Gender Perspective in Wikipedia: A Content and Participation Challenge.”

<https://www2022.thewebconf.org/PaperFiles/215.pdf>.

³³ Beytía, Pablo, Pushkal Agarwal, Miriam Redi, and Vivek K. Singh. 2021. “Visual Gender Biases in Wikipedia: A Systematic Evaluation Across the Ten Most Spoken Languages.” SocArXiv. December 1. doi:10.31235/osf.io/59rey.

³⁴ Ivonne Kristiani (2021) Encouraging indigenous knowledge production for Wikipedia, *New Review of Hypermedia and Multimedia*, 27:3, 245-259, DOI: [10.1080/13614568.2021.1888320](https://doi.org/10.1080/13614568.2021.1888320)

³⁵Miquel-Ribé, Marc, Andreas Kaltenbrunner, and Jeffrey M. Keefer. “Bridging LGBT+ Content Gaps across Wikipedia Language Editions.” *The International Journal of Information, Diversity, & Inclusion (IJIDI)* 5, no. 4 (2021): 90–131. <https://doi.org/10.33137/ijidi.v5i4.37270>

Efforts to document and address the gender gap in Wikimedia Projects in India

In addition to research and related efforts, there are various initiatives and Wiki projects globally, such as Women In Red³⁶, Art+Feminism³⁷, Wiki Loves Women³⁸, Gender Gap Task Force³⁹, and projects such as Feminism⁴⁰, Women's History⁴¹, Women in Technology⁴² among others working with contributors from across the world. Furthermore, women in the Indic Wikimedia Communities have been key members in planning global and regional events such as Wiki Loves Folklore⁴³, Wiki Loves Love⁴⁴ and Wiki Women for Women Well Being.⁴⁵ A number of Indian language communities have also actively been organising events and activities during International Women's Day and Women's History month⁴⁶, and as part of the Wiki Loves Pride campaign.⁴⁷ There have also been significant collaborations with organisations working in these spaces to aid content donation and reuse efforts across languages.⁴⁸

³⁶“Wikipedia: WikiProject Women in Red”, Wikipedia, accessed August 01, 2022 .
https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Wikipedia:WikiProject_Women_in_Red&oldid=974821153

³⁷“Art + Feminism”, Wikipedia, accessed August 01, 2022
<https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Art%2BFeminism&oldid=972372729>

³⁸“Wikipedia:WikiProject Wiki Loves Women”, Wikipedia, accessed August 01, 2022
https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Wikipedia:WikiProject_Wiki_Loves_Women&oldid=917451350

³⁹Wikipedia:WikiProject Countering systemic bias/ Gender gap task force”, Wikipedia, accessed August 01, 2022
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:WikiProject_Countering_systemic_bias/Gender_gap_task_force

⁴⁰Wikipedia: WikiProject Feminism”, Wikipedia, accessed August 01, 2022
https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Wikipedia:WikiProject_Feminism&oldid=984745837

⁴¹“Wikipedia: WikiProject Women's History”, Wikipedia, accessed August 01, 2022
https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Wikipedia:WikiProject_Women%27s_History&oldid=971659605

⁴²Wikipedia:WikiProject Women in Technology.”, Wikipedia, accessed August 01, 2022
https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Wikipedia:WikiProject_Women_in_Technology&oldid=693454093

⁴³“Commons: Wiki Loves Folklore 2019”, Wikimedia Commons, accessed August 01, 2022
https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=Commons:Wiki_Loves_Folklore&oldid=512743547

⁴⁴“Wiki Loves Love 2019”, Wikimedia Meta-Wiki, accessed August 01, 2022
https://meta.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=Wiki_Loves_Love_2019&oldid=19865865

⁴⁵“Wiki Women for Women Well Being 2018”, Wikimedia Meta-Wiki, accessed August 30, 2022.
https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/Wiki_Women_for_Women_Wellbeing_2018

⁴⁶See “International Women's Month Editathon 2022” Wikimedia Meta-Wiki, accessed August 29, 2022
https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/International_Women%27s_Month_2022_edit-a-thon and “Celebrate Women” Wikimedia Meta-Wiki, accessed August 29, 2022. https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/Celebrate_Women

⁴⁷“Wiki Loves Pride, India”, Wikimedia Meta-Wiki, accessed August 29, 2022.
https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/CIS-A2K/Events/Wiki_Loves_Pride_2014

⁴⁸Some recent examples in collaboration with CIS-A2K include: “Category:Books Published by Lek Ladki Abhiyan,India,” Wikimedia Meta-Wiki, accessed August 30, 2022.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Books_published_by_Lek_Ladaki_Abhiyan_India and “Category: Books by Bindumadhav Khire”, Wikimedia Meta-Wiki, accessed August 30, 2022.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Books_By_Bindumadhav_Khire

There have also been several studies by Indian Wikimedians and independent researchers highlighting some of the major challenges and efforts related to bridging the gender gap across projects. For instance, based on her observations on content creation across three themes on English Wikipedia — violence against women, women and the law and women and performance — Harshey (2014) notes the lack of feminist perspective, and thereby gender sensitivity in the content produced as part of the project, and shares several learnings on how this also impacts the processes of content generation on the project.⁴⁹

Lanon (2013) documents the unique experiences of women in Indian Wikimedia communities, making a distinction between their experiences and the experiences of editors in the West. The study brings out the process by which the participants seek to bridge the gap within varied socio-cultural contexts.⁵⁰ Furthermore, as an important study from the global south, Lanon notes the need to contextualise the strategies to address the lived realities of women in Wikimedia communities. Chang (2019) further elaborates how women in Indian Wikimedia communities, who are already present in a smaller proportion than their male counterparts, surmount challenges to the expression of their agency and identity. The study addresses the attributes of skill, calling to action the need for training and exposure that would enable women to contribute to the movement in a consistent and sustained manner.⁵¹ This observation on technical barriers to participation was also reckoned by Chakraborty & Hussain (2020)⁵², who remarked on the conflict faced by (mostly) women between managing domestic work and participating in online spaces. Each of these studies offer several recommendations, such as increased capacity-building in specific skill-sets through training and workshops, addressing infrastructural needs such as lack of access to devices and internet, building diversity and support groups, and recognition of efforts by women Wikimedians etc. Furthermore, it addresses the issues of safety and community

⁴⁹Sohnee Harshey, “‘Creating Knowledge’: Mapping the nature of content and processes on the English Wikipedia”, Advanced Center for Women's Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences (April 2014): <http://cscs.res.in/dataarchive/textfiles/creating-knowledge2019-mapping-the-nature-of-content-and-processes-on-the-english-wikipedia-sohnee-harshey-tiss>

⁵⁰Eva Jadine Lannon, “Same Gap, Different Experiences: An Exploration of the Similarities and Differences Between the Gender Gap in the Indian Wikipedia Editor Community and the Gap in the General Editor Community”. Scarborough: TSpace- IDS Senior Students Theses, University of Toronto (September 2014): 5-123 <http://hdl.handle.net/1807/65775>

⁵¹ Chang, 2019 “ Bridging the Hidden Gap”

⁵²Chakraborty, Anwsha, and Netha Hussain. 2022. “Documenting the Gender Gap in Indian Wikipedia Communities: Findings from a Qualitative Pilot Study”. *First Monday* 27 (3). <https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v27i3.11443>.

health in online spaces. This includes discussion on proactive strategies such as developing mechanisms for conflict management, creating redressal mechanisms for vulnerable groups and fostering safe and healthy working environments.

Koteeshwaran (2021), being the most recent in the context of research at CIS-A2K, attempts to draw an overview of the problem of the gender gap in the last few years. The study continues from work done by Chang, focusing on online, offline and sustainable participation by women Wikimedians in Indian communities. While some themes — such as traditional gender roles, community health, participation and leadership in community events, access and technical skills — are recurring, newer findings showed increased use of social media for mobilisation within the community, the need for peer groups, and safe spaces etc. In addition to recommendations to address the above, the study calls for increased research on the gender gap in Indian language Wikimedia projects to gain a better understanding of these challenges..

This project is, in some ways, a continuation of the learnings of Koteeshwaran's report but also an attempt to examine the problem of gender gap and bias outside Wikimedia projects. Thereby, this project focuses on three major thematic areas:

1. Content creation on gender, sexuality and allied areas such as feminism,
2. Digital ecosystem and
3. Indian languages.

To understand these areas, the larger community of content producers and the nature and forms of content produced on gender and sexuality have remained in focus. However, unlike earlier projects, this study has tried to also explore the problem of the gender gap by moving outside the traditional gender binary through conversations on diverse gender and sexual identities. Most importantly, this project consciously seeks to address its intersection with socio-cultural structures such as caste, a significant determinant of lived realities of the Indian subcontinent that has been absent in earlier research.

Gender in the Digital

The internet has rapidly become a default medium for information dissemination and communication over the last decade in many parts of the world. With the rapid growth in users, as mentioned earlier, the functions of the internet have extended well beyond networking, content creation and commodity consumption, and fostered a space for discourse, advocacy and mobilisation, among other things. Despite this, a lack of understanding of the internet and digital technologies, and its reach, regulation and control often render it inaccessible for many of us. The difficulty in keeping up with such advancements, in science and technology in general, have often led to them becoming a ‘black box’. Critiquing this, Bruno Latour (1987)⁵³ argues that the practice of isolating the advancement of technology from people causes a decontextualization of science and technology from the social realities around it.

Deploying Latour’s critique of the black box to the analysis of the technological advancement of digital technologies, and particularly the internet, the question that arises here is whether such advancements help resolve significant social issues, or do they also facilitate reproduction of social issues alongside social structures that are exploitative in nature. This question could be interrogated by examining the internet and digital spaces through the lens of gender and sexuality, which then reveal several forms of exclusion and challenges of access. A growing body of critique has demonstrated the internet as a gendered space, highlighting in particular, the gap between male and female users, which reproduces existing power asymmetries prevalent in offline worlds in various ways.⁵⁴ Munro (2013) attributes the fourth wave of feminism to the digital space, citing instances of call out culture and growing vocabularies related to gender.⁵⁵ This digital expression of an assertive feminist self is beyond the functions of the internet as a space of information dissemination, rendering it now as a space for political mobilisation, building solidarity and constructing a more nuanced political vocabulary.

Furthermore, within this milieu emerges the landscape of feminist political assertion in the digital space, and the expression of lived realities, often in creative and innovative ways on

⁵³Latour, Bruno, “*Opening Pandora’s Black Box.*” *Science in action: how to follow scientists and engineers through society.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, (1987).

⁵⁴Chadha, Kashika. 2020. “Digital Literacy in India: Structural Constraints and the NEP 2020.” Social and Political Research Foundation. <https://sprf.in/digital-literacy-in-india-structural-constraints-and-the-nep-2020/>.

⁵⁵Munro, Ealasaid. “Feminism: A Fourth Wave?”. *Political Insight* 4, no. 2, (2013), 22-25. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1111/2041-9066.12021>

digital platforms is seen as a catharsis. The existence of assertive feminist individuals in the digital is an act of resistance.⁵⁶ Many feminist mobilisations in the digital space have focussed on community building, and a push for more transparency and accountability from stakeholders engaged in development and regulation of data, software and technological platforms, including social media⁵⁷. Hence, the digital space is a catalyst for the feminist movement and several forms of knowledge production and consumption; thereby, contradicting the dominant narrative of technology being a ‘black box.’

Similarly feminist interventions on the internet have helped to refine, redefine, dismantle and reconceptualize understandings of the digital, and added an important and evolving dimension to the public and mainstream discourse on gender and sexuality, namely that of digital activism. One of the earliest instances of this in India was the Pink Chaddi campaign,⁵⁸ which opened up the internet as a space for protest, activism and collective engagement on questions of gender and sexuality.⁵⁹

The last decade has unfurled the political potential of the internet, with the most recent example being the #MeToo movement. Though #MeToo was a term coined in 2006 by Tarana Burke to bring into the limelight the sexual violence against black women, it was popularized in 2017, when prominent Hollywood figures were called out online for harassment at the workplace. The same year in India, PhD Scholar and Dalit Queer Activist Raya Sarkar, published a list of sexual harassers in academia on Facebook popularly known as the LoSHA, receiving mixed responses, including backlash from organizations and individuals that were ‘feminist’.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Green, Eileen and Carrie Singleton. 2013. “‘Gendering the Digital’: The Impact of Gender and Technology Perspectives on Sociological Imagination.” In *Digital Sociology: Critical Perspectives*, edited by Kate Orton-Johnson and Nick Prior, 34-50. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

⁵⁷ Malhotra, Aavriti Malhotra et al., “How to Build a Feminist Internet and Why It Matters,” *APRIA Journal: Feminist By Design*. 04 (April 7, 2022), <https://apria.artez.nl/issue/feminist-by-design/>.

⁵⁸“Main page, Pink Chaddi Campaign”, Wikipedia accessed August 01, 2022 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pink_Chaddi_Campaign

⁵⁹ Subramanian, Sujatha. "From the streets to the web: looking at feminist activism on social media." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2015): 71-78

⁶⁰Niveditha Menon, “Statement By Feminists On Facebook Campaign To “Name And Shame”” *Kalifa*, 4 October 2017 <https://kalifa.online/2017/10/24/statement-by-feminists-on-facebook-campaign-to-name-and-shame/#comment-269819>

Yet another instance was in 2018, when the picture of former twitter CEO Jack Dorsey holding a ‘Smash Brahminical Patriarchy’ poster with a group of journalists went viral on Twitter, with users calling for a virtual caste war.⁶¹ Another recent instance was Google withdrawing an invite and cancelling the talk of Thenmozhi Soundararajan, a US based anti-caste activist.⁶² These instances draw attention towards the need to address other power hierarchies that influence social and material realities of gender and sexuality, especially in the context of marginalised communities. They also offer multiple perspectives to re-analyze the approach to the larger discourse around gender and sexuality in India, and shift the focus to intersections with social and political factors such as caste, class etc; which this research takes up very consciously as well.

Remarking on the problematic understanding of the digital divide in the USA, Gorski argues how the reduction of the digital divide to just access has “*failed to account for the historical and current social, cultural, political, and economy of power and privilege of which the digital divide is a symptom.*”⁶³ Similarly, in the context of India, literature so far has identified how the attributes of class and formal education, and significant factors of caste, gender, religion and sexuality that shapes the social experiences of individuals and Indian society, remain unaddressed when thinking of the digital divide.⁶⁴ Feminism in the digital age, in the context of India is quite different considering its regional and linguistic diversity alongside factors of stratification such as caste, class and religion that intersect with identities of gender and sexuality. This is important as context to these discussions, given that access to the internet is determined by caste, class, region, and formal education, among other factors.⁶⁵

The outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, enforced an unforeseen shift to online education, and recent studies by educational institutions and policy-making organisations have drawn attention

⁶¹“CEO Jack Dorsey holds placard saying Smash Brahminical Patriarchy, now there is caste war on Twitter”, 20 November 2018

<https://www.indiatoday.in/technology/news/story/ceo-jack-dorsey-holds-placard-saying-smash-brahminical-patriarchy-now-there-is-caste-war-on-twitter-1392314-2018-11-20>

⁶²Tanuja Gupta, “Google Caste Equality Labs”, accessed August 01, 2022

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2022/06/02/google-caste-equality-labs-tanuja-gupta/>

⁶³Gorski, P. C. . Privilege and Repression in the Digital Era: Rethinking the Sociopolitics of the Digital Divide. *Race, Gender & Class*, 10(4), (2003) 145–176. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41675106>

⁶⁴Gita, Chada. “Pandemic Conversations: Gender, Marginalities, and COVID-19” *Economic and Political Weekly* (2021) <https://www.epw.in/engage/article/pandemic-conversations-gender-marginalities-and>

⁶⁵Chadha, Kashika. 2020. “Digital Literacy in India: Structural Constraints and the NEP 2020.”

toward the issues around online education faced by students from marginalised sections, specifically in terms of basic infrastructural needs such as electricity, device sharing within household, stability of internet connection, data availability etc. all of which are determined by the asymmetry of power and privilege.⁶⁶ In this light, this research makes a conscious effort to understand feminist interventions in the digital while considering the context of privileges and inequalities on the internet in India and otherwise.

ON METHODOLOGY

As stated by Steinke (2000), *“Qualitative research claims to describe life-worlds ‘from the inside out, from the point of view of the people who participate. Doing so seeks to contribute to a better understanding of social realities and to draw attention to processes, meaning patterns and structural features.”*⁶⁷ This study, which aims to capture experiences and lived realities of gender disparities in processes of content production across diverse spaces and platforms, adopts a qualitative approach as well, comprising semi-structured interviews and focused group discussions (FGDs).

The larger thematic of this report, that of gender and sexuality is a boundless arena with knowledge in different languages and formats. Therefore, this study focused on two sub-themes to obtain specific insights, namely on a. Feminist Production and Publication; and b. Cultural History. The rationale behind choosing the former is the key objective of this research, which is to map the nature and process of content production on gender and sexuality across different areas of work. The latter is related to this in terms of the close relationship between cultural history, lived realities and efforts in knowledge production. Further, based on the researcher’s proficiency in Indian languages, Kannada, Marathi, Telugu and Tamil were chosen as the focus languages for this project.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ “Online Classes: An Accessibility Report”, Ambedkarite Students Association, Tata Institute of Social Sciences Mumbai, 18 July 2020 <https://www.instagram.com/p/CCwUINcnVTN/?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y=>

⁶⁷Steinke, A Companion to Qualitative Research, SAGE Publications, (2000) 3

⁶⁸CIS-A2K/Research/Mapping Repositories on Gender and Sexuality in Indian Languages, Wikimedia Meta-Wiki, Accessed August 01, 2022 https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/CIS-A2K/Research/Mapping_Repositories_on_Gender_and_Sexuality_in_Indian_Languages

This project sought to understand the process of content production and its challenges across various domains; respondents were therefore selected⁶⁹ from the following categories -

- 1) Artists
- 2) Content Creators and Curators⁷⁰
- 3) Educators and Facilitators
- 4) Writers and Translators

The respondents were selected based on their engagement with one or more areas of work mentioned above, in both online and offline formats, as well as multiple Indian languages. The study also looked at people working to produce content in sub-themes across diverse formats and languages other than English. This study had a total of 19 semi-structured interviews, of which 15 were conducted with individuals, and four were structured as focused group discussions with organisations, all conducted virtually, on telephone and email, owing to the pandemic. There was also participant observation of a Tamil literary festival organised as a part of Dalit History Month.

All interviews were conducted after obtaining a signed consent form. In cases where respondents faced difficulty sharing signed forms, oral consent was obtained on record. These interactions were in Kannada, Telugu, Tamil, Hindi, Marathi and English. The conversations were with individuals and organisations engaging in content production through different roles, such as researchers, educators, translators, facilitators etc., on various aspects of gender and sexuality. Upon completion, a draft of the report was shared with all the respondents for their review and comments. Considering the linguistic diversity of the research, there was assistance provided in the review process. Given the anonymisation of the data, the section on findings has been written in a narrative manner, without verbatim quotes. Where observations are not accompanied by citations of external literature, they are findings from this research study.

⁶⁹Mapping Repositories on Gender and Sexuality in Indian Languages A Short Update , Wikimedia Meta-Wiki, Accessed August 01, 2022

https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/CIS-A2K/Research/Mapping_Repositories_on_Gender_and_Sexuality_in_Indian_Languages_-_A_Short_Update

⁷⁰ The term curators here refers to individuals who may not produce original content, but curate a selection of material around topics of gender and sexuality, especially with the affordances of social media, thereby offering interesting and diverse perspectives on contemporary discourse in this space.

The early learnings of this research were presented at the Wiki Workshop 2022.⁷¹ The comments and discussion on this paper at the workshop have added to my understanding of the larger topics covered in this report.

My long-time engagement with the Dalit Movement, and roles at organisations working on gender, sexuality and feminism throughout my formal education has helped me understand aspects of the larger discourse in this realm. My ability and proficiency in Indian languages (considered in this study), access to original and translated works on gender, sexuality and feminism has helped me obtain deeper nuances on these topics. The interactions throughout this study have enriched my insights and sharpened my views.

LIMITATIONS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE RESEARCH METHODS

Given that we were already looking at a small pool of people— those working on producing/facilitating digital content production on gender and sexuality in Indian languages—identifying potential respondents who met these parameters was difficult. Many of the respondents are also established voices in the field and were kind to make time to share insights with us. There has also been considerable difficulty in reaching out to respondents over the last year, as the pandemic and growing digital fatigue have cut off interactions with a few prominent individuals..

As a researcher on this project, I have learned and unlearned. Though I had minimal training in working and engaging with Wikimedia platforms during my undergraduate education, I felt very new to the space and took time to understand the different projects and initiatives. Over time, I have learned to create and edit on Wikipedia and familiarised myself with Wikimedia-related research.

⁷¹Srinivas, Yashashwani. 2022. "The Digital Gender Disparity: Understanding the Gender Gap and Bias in Digital Knowledge Ecosystems." Wikiworkshop. https://wikiworkshop.org/2022/papers/WikiWorkshop2022_paper_26.pdf

OBSERVATION AND FINDINGS

This section presents the findings from the study of the process and challenges of content production on gender and sexuality in Indian languages and its digital documentation. The data offers several learnings on the intersectional nature of the problem of digital content production on gender and sexuality as well as how linguistic and technological barriers complicate this problem further. To provide deeper insights and dwell on nuances of these observations, the findings of this research are divided into thematic sections.

Nature of the Content Produced

Content production as a process does not occur in isolation; rather, beginning from the ideation to dissemination it lies at a juncture of various attributes such as social structure, movements, protest politics etc. In particular, content on gender, sexuality and feminism that is critical of existing social structures, practices, customs etc., makes the process of content production even more challenging. This section attempts to elaborate on the key learnings of this research project on the nature of the content produced by different organisations and individuals on gender, sexuality and feminism, followed by the challenges and privileges.

As noted by participants in the study, a significant part of the efforts in production of content on gender, sexuality and allied areas like feminism have been located within the women's movement, with roots in activism and advocacy for empowerment of women and girls. The pioneering, and well documented stage of these efforts in content production is said to have begun in 1970-80,⁷² which witnessed international attention towards the subject of gender. In India, the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Government of India published a 'Towards Equality' report within this milieu.⁷³

The report investigated various aspects of women's lives, such as demographic profile of women across all states, and included insights on education, law, marriage etc., and significantly changed

⁷²On 18th December 1972, a proposal submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations was approved by the [United Nations Commission on the Status of Women](#) declaring the year 1975 as the International Year for Women.

⁷³Towards Equality Report, 1974, accessed August 01, 2022
<https://pldindia.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Towards-Equality-1974-Part-1.pdf>

the questions about women, their empowerment and development. The change was not seen merely in the realm of policy and state but across academia, literature, movements and organisations, to name a few. This decade eventually saw the emergence of the women's movement in post-colonial India, expanding and giving rise to individuals, organisations and institutions that led to focussed efforts in content creation and mainstream discourse about gender, sexuality and feminism.

As observed by the respondents, many who have worked in this field for decades, the women's movement, and more significantly the content production landscape around gender and sexuality have also been informed by other social movements in India, including the growing discourse around identities, community and marginalisation.

Several organisations working at the grassroots in this sector, including educational institutions have contributed significantly to identifying and addressing visible knowledge gaps, primarily pertaining to education, awareness, safety and rights in the arena of gender, sexuality. In addition to the steady growth of mainstream discourse on development, advocacy and women's rights, a large part of research in these spaces has also focused on a feminist critique of existing knowledge across fields and disciplines.⁷⁴ Importantly, as evinced in the work of many women's studies centres, but also in an increasing number of independent research and publishing organisations as well as in work of individuals, there is a focus on the articulation of discourse on gender, sexuality and feminism from a global South perspective. As observed by respondents in this study, the growth of content production on gender, sexuality and feminism in Indian languages and the discourse around it has been an important effort towards dismantling a monotone understanding of 'gender' and breaking through a predominantly Anglocentric and academic approach seen in the space earlier.

Additionally, as observed in the interviews, a particular shortcoming arises while discussing the 'nature' of content produced, which is the homogenisation of 'women' as a single, uniform category. This refers to a certain predominant labelling or articulation of diverse experiences of individuals under an umbrella term such as narratives of 'Indian women.' However, it has been pointed out that the experiences of women across the subcontinent vary across various factors

⁷⁴Rege, Sharmila, ed. *Sociology of gender: The challenge of feminist sociological thought*.

such as caste, class, religion, region, sexuality etc. They also note that most literature on gender and sexuality, as well as within the feminist movement in India, has homogenised the location and identities of women. This has been the result of a number of factors, given the history of the women's movement and the absence of global, multicultural narratives around gender and sexuality.⁷⁵ This practice has only recently seen a growing body of critique in the last few decades. For instance, the rise of a Dalit consciousness around the early 1990s gave rise to a new class of intellectuals, across fields,⁷⁶ as a result of which literary writings from this period were critical of social structures of caste and gender and its operation as a nexus of power and privilege.⁷⁷ Between 1994 and 1996, a total of 98,349 cases were registered with the police nationwide as crimes and atrocities against the Dalits. Of these, 38,483 were registered under the Atrocities Act. A further 1,660 were for murder, 2,814 for rape, and 13,671 for hurt.⁷⁸ This increasing caste violence gave rise to resistance through writing that worked on dismantling this homogenisation of the experiences, problems and articulation of women in India, and thereby fostering the emergence of Dalit feminist thought.⁷⁹

Several interviewees, who have been actively engaged in social movements for decades observe how this homogenisation has contributed to the invisibility and marginalisation of communities in the public sphere. For instance the role of Dalit women across movements in colonial and post colonial India. Even though Dalit women have been part of the anti-caste movement, (particularly the movement led by Dr BR Ambedkar between 1924 to 1956) there is a lack of recognition of this.⁸⁰ Similarly, in post colonial India the movement for a formation of a separate Telangana state saw participation and articulation by Dalit women, yet this lacks documentation.

⁷⁵Arya, Sunaina, and Aakash Singh Rathore, eds. 2010. *Dalit Feminist theory: A reader*. Taylor & Francis. Also see Lukose, Ritty A., and Ania Loomba, eds. 2012. *South Asian Feminisms*. 1 ed, Durham: Duke University Press. .

⁷⁶Pa, Ranjith. "Dalit Cinema in India." *The Dalit Truth (Rethinking India series): The Battles for Realising Ambedkar's Vision*, Penguin Random House India Private Limited, 2022, pp. 127-143

⁷⁷Ambedkar, Bhimrao Ramji. "Castes in India: Their mechanism, genesis and development." *Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches*. Vol 1. Department of Education, Government of Maharashtra.

⁷⁸National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, *National Crime Records Bureau (M.H.A.), Statement Showing Cases Registered with the Police Under Different Nature of Crimes and Atrocities on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes from 1994 to 1996* (New Delhi: Government of India, 1997)

⁷⁹Guru, Gopal. "Dalit women talk differently." *Economic and Political Weekly* (1995): 2548-2550.

⁸⁰Urmila Pawar and Meenakshi Moon, *We also made History: Women in the Ambedkarite Movement* (translated by Wandana Sonalkar). New Delhi: Zubaan, 2008.

Similarly, as observed by respondents, the gradually changing understanding and articulation of gender beyond the traditional binary and the long history of the queer movement in India has not seen enough documented discourse on this multiplicity of identities. For example with respect to caste and sexual identities, they note this lack of discourse to be an outcome of caste privilege that both shields and accords exposure and access selectively to queer people, including many cis people but also some trans-non binary queer people. These structural dynamics of power and privilege also affect ways to become visible, create, access, consume content, and engage across platforms.

The other shortcoming is the dichotomisation of the knowledge produced on gender, sexuality and feminism into 'mainstream' and 'margin'. Several scholars such as Gopal Guru and Gail Omvedt have discussed the nature of knowledge production by individuals and organisations from marginalised groups, which even today continue to be labelled as 'margin' and rarely accepted as mainstream. This impacts the recognition of the creator and content, further affecting its prospects for publication, dissemination, translation and eventual role in the wider public discourse.

Thereby, there is a need to acknowledge this multiplicity of identities and perspectives when producing content on gender, sexuality and feminism. There is an emphasis here on adopting an intersectional approach, something that is already quite significant in research and practice particularly in the social sciences even though the term itself also is quite contested, given its origins in western, and often Anglocentric feminist and epistemic frameworks.⁸¹ A lot of work on feminist content production, methodologically and theoretically, has been conscious of various intersections of other identities with gender and sexuality. Many of the interviewees observe in their work how poverty, caste, class and religion impact gender discrimination, although much of this remains to be documented and analysed, particularly in Indian languages.

While the term 'intersectionality' may be new, as illustrated above, there has been practice of addressing gender critically while considering social structures such as caste for , particularly in terms of content produced by systematically marginalised communities such as Dalits. This is further illustrated in the experiences and work by queer communities in India, which highlights

⁸¹Shah, Abhishek. "Is 'Intersectionality' a Useful Analytical Framework for Feminists in India?," EPW Engage, accessed August 28, 2022. <https://www.epw.in/engage/discussion/intersectionality-useful-analytical-framework>.

how for a long time, there have been gaps in acknowledging and addressing these intersections and their impact on the mainstream narratives about gender, sexuality and feminism.

Many respondents note that the discourse around gender, sexuality and feminism is also constantly evolving. There is a need to build a more nuanced understanding around some of these concepts as also spaces for articulation, research and change. Several organisations working in education, including in developing programmes and curricula on gender, sexuality and feminist work, speak of multifold challenges in engaging with these areas from a pedagogic perspective and the need for more collaborative efforts in this space, particularly in working with young adults and children. Many of these people have also been working across Indian languages and have faced similar challenges in effectively translating these concepts in the classroom. Developing nuanced curricular content on gender, sexuality and feminism in Indian languages has been challenging, especially for young adults and children. These challenges have also included the need to address gender-based discrimination and violence, closely tied to other forms of systemic social exclusion.

Another important observation shared by many participants, several of whom have been engaged with social movements for years, is that many early initiatives in publishing and content production in this space have been community-led and voluntary, often emerging as a direct result of their activist and development work. All our respondents remarked that their experiences in household work, educational institutions and in the larger public sphere were the impetus for engaging with feminist and related social movements and working on content production of knowledge on gender, sexuality and feminism as a process of catharsis. They noted that some have begun their careers by publishing with organisations run or managed by activists, many of whom are women. Furthermore, several respondents also observed that individuals and organisations working in this space often lack recognition, funding, profits and infrastructural support, along with the challenge of constantly navigating predominantly male-dominated spaces in fields like publishing and academia for instance.

To summarise, one can understand that the nature of the content produced on gender, sexuality and feminism is dynamic and ever-evolving. The process of content production also reproduces societal bias in specific ways, including by particular perspectives being rendered invisible. The emergence of multiple social movements related to identities and marginalisation in India and

their critical approach to work on gender and sexuality has brought many of these missing perspectives, realities and experiences into the realm of content production. Wikimedia projects, which play a significant role in contributing to the more extensive knowledge ecosystem and have been working towards bridging its gender gap, must be accordingly attentive to these multiplicities and intersections of identities, experiences and perspectives in their content creation efforts and build on work closely with individuals and organisations engaged in these spaces and movements.⁸² Building on the recommendations in the report by Koteeshwaran, collaborative knowledge production communities such as Wikimedia need to continue actively fostering safe and friendly working environments with redressal mechanisms for marginalised groups.⁸³ Further, there is a need to set up initiatives that will work towards knowledge production on gender, sexuality and feminism from the perspectives of the marginalised, who are otherwise systemically erased from knowledge spaces.

Digital Spaces and movement of Content From Paper to Pixel

Over the last few decades, with much technological advancement across fields, many countries have witnessed an increased prevalence and use of the internet. The last two years, mainly fueled by the COVID-19 pandemic, pushed the world to a more significant reliance on digital media and technologies. The move towards digitalisation has also significantly impacted the field of content production on gender and sexuality, and feminist work. This section elaborates on observations of this research on the effects of the growth and change in the digital ecosystem on initiatives in content production.

The advent of the internet and digital media technologies have played an essential role in addressing the gender gap, particularly in spaces of activism, even education and creative

⁸²An example of such a collaboration is ‘Whose Knowledge’, a global campaign to centre knowledges of marginalised communities, begun as a project with the Wikimedia foundation, and communities in India and across the world. See: Whose Knowledge?, Wikimedia Meta-Wiki, accessed August 30, 2022

https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/Whose_Knowledge%3F

⁸³See some ongoing conversations here as part of the “Movement Strategy 2030”, Wikimedia-Meta Wiki, accessed August 30, 2022.

https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/Strategy/Wikimedia_movement/2018-20/Recommendations/Provide_for_Safety_and_Inclusion; and the development of a “Universal Code of Conduct”, Wikimedia Meta-Wiki, accessed August 30, 2022.

https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/Universal_Code_of_Conduct#3.2_%E2%80%93_Abuse_of_power_privilege_or_influence

expression, and with new forms of digital publishing.⁸⁴ One of the significant impacts of the digital turn on the content production process is the availability of diverse, more cost-effective platforms for publication and dissemination of content, thereby helping offset challenges of navigating barriers in the traditional publishing industry. This is important, particularly for smaller organisations and individuals with limited resources, labour, infrastructure and networks that work against systemic oppression. Additionally, for content on gender, sexuality and feminism, as well as for work done by marginalised communities which often do not find a space in traditional publishing spaces and mainstream media, digital platforms offer an important space for creative expression, activism and much original content.

The respondents pointed out that the digital has diversified the content produced through multimedia formats, eventually leading to an evolution in the market for different types of content in these thematic areas. The outcomes of this have been many born-digital content production initiatives. Given the cost-effectiveness of many of these platforms, digital publishing of content has evolved in a big way, with several new feminist publishing spaces emerging over the last decade or so, with much original content available online, and several efforts in the digitisation of older, printed content. However, the digital space comes with its challenges too.

This transformation from traditional publishing to digital has not been lucid or free of challenges. Though digital publishing has been cost-efficient compared to running physical content production initiatives, a significant challenge arises with the cost involved in keeping up levels of digital literacy, infrastructure and skills of navigating the online world. For instance, the dynamic nature of digital infrastructure requires various tools and skill sets, particularly when it comes to digitisation and outreach of analogue and published content. Any digital presence also requires one to have access and affordability to buy devices, pay for the internet, and the skills to use these. Much of this infrastructure, particularly concerning scanning, digitisation, storage and curation, needs significant investment and a demand for constant upgradation. Digitisation processes in archives and other memory institutions have further complexities, especially in sourcing, acquisition and rights of the content, and conditions of its digitisation, availability, and use to the wider public. In addition to the technical challenges mentioned above by respondents,

⁸⁴Burgess et al. 2016. "Making Digital Cultures of Gender and Sexuality With Social Media".

they also note that legal barriers such as copyright restrictions, and lucid ways to understand and engage with the policies on open access and intellectual property rights (especially in Indian languages) further complicate the efforts in this space.

Born-digital Content and Social Media

Yet another important observation under the theme of digital space, that has been pointed out by most respondents is the predominant outcome of growing internet use and technology, or social media, a pivotal part of the digital world. Social media spaces have evolved to be a space for the production of original, multimedia content on a range of topics as well. The increasing prevalence of social media platforms has benefitted content production in two significant ways—the expansion of formats for producing new content and diversity in the spaces for disseminating this and existing, printed content after digitisation.

Social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and YouTube have ushered in a proliferation of content across different genres and formats, especially audio-visual. The range produced is also highly diverse; in addition to extended form writing, it covers every genre from satire to poetry and across formats such as Instagram reels to illustrations and cartoons. The affordances of the digital often provide a different kind of engaging storytelling, where people not only look for entertainment but also as a space for political discussion. For example, the short video features across these platforms have given rise to a new range of content creators who contribute significantly to mainstream discourse on gender, sexuality and feminism.

Social media spaces have played a crucial role in publishing and dissemination, particularly of works that did not find their way into traditional areas. Many of the writers amongst our interviewees have published much of their earlier work on social media platforms and found an engaging community of readers. This reliance on social media, particularly Facebook and Whatsapp, as a medium of publication has eventually turned out to be advantageous as it helps in dissemination, building community and solidarity.

Though social media has been the medium of choice for sharing original content by many individual creators, it also comes with its risks. As noted by many respondents, creating and

sharing content related to gender, sexuality and feminism online, particularly with its intersections with caste, religion and accessibility, has opened individuals and communities to further marginalisation and violence. As social media may be a space of exposure and self-articulation, it also comes with its inherent invisibilities. Several respondents have spoken about the culture of hate and abuse that continues to prevail on social media platforms, particularly in discussions around gender, sexuality and feminism and intersections with caste, religion, class and accessibility.

A recent report of a research study undertaken and published by the Centre for Internet and Society, on ‘Online Caste-Hate Speech: Pervasive discrimination and humiliation on social media’⁸⁵ looks at the specific contours of caste-hate speech on social media platforms, and potential strategies to address the same. In addition to the need for unpacking how digital platforms are controlled and regulated, the authors also emphasise development and better implementation of community guidelines for the protection of marginalised and vulnerable groups online, which would aid visibility of their work and enable safe and productive engagement in these spaces.

In pursuit of addressing the critical aspect of the digital presence of content on gender and sexuality, a significant focus area of Wikimedia projects through this research has been the learnings from the study which elaborate on various affordances and challenges of digital technologies. While digital spaces have helped individuals and organisations identify and grow a target audience and produce content accordingly, there have also been significant challenges in engaging with this space. This occurs particularly in areas which may not be viable in the traditional publishing spaces or have been kept out of the same due to systemic forms of social exclusion. Future it illustrates a need for more documentation, digitisation and archiving initiatives, as well as regulation of the gatekeeping around existing corpora of material. Important interventions in this space include exclusively digital platforms run with and without institutional support, such as online feminist, anti-caste and queer archives that have emerged in the last few years.

⁸⁵Kain, Damni, et al. *Online caste-hate speech: Pervasive discrimination and humiliation on social media*. 15 December 2021. <https://cis-india.org>, Bengaluru, Centre for Internet and Society (CIS), https://cis-india.org/internet-governance/blog/online_caste-hate_speech.pdf. Accessed 5 June 2022.

Further, the ‘recognition’ and visibility of content, particularly on themes related to gender, sexuality and feminism in the digital space, is affected by several technological and socio-economic factors. During this study, we have been asked what, why and how specific individuals, organisations or collectives have a Wikipedia page while others in the same realm do not. This is a question that came to me during the early days of this research as well. While all Wikimedia projects have refined criteria for content creation, including policies and guidelines, initiatives such as bridging the gender gap help understand the processes and factors that affect the visibility and availability of certain forms of content on these platforms. Hence, the lack of digital presence or documentation of an existing corpus of knowledge produced on gender, sexuality and feminism is an outcome of various factors such as systematic forms of bias, lack of infrastructural support, access to devices, affordability of skills and tools, amongst others.

Indian Languages

India is known for its diverse cultural profile, with languages being a pivotal contributor to this diversity. With the vast presence of various languages, there lies the immense potential for content production on gender, sexuality, and feminism. This research has aimed to understand some facets of the development of content in Indian languages, its challenges and privileges.

The aspect of diversity does not lie only among different languages; instead, it exists within every language in terms of multiple dialects, accents and forms of use. While everyday conversations and communication happen across these various dialects and accents, there exists a hegemony in forms of knowledge production across languages. There are two issues that most of the respondents highlighted: the predominance of English in content production and the brahminization of Indian languages, with both further complicated by colonial infrastructures of knowledge production. English has steadily grown as the language for socio-economic mobility, and is the language for most academic and research-based content, as well as an essential aspect of digital literacy. For instance, most courses and curricula on gender, sexuality and feminism carry content produced in English and very few original Indian language resources and translations, thus further impacting the larger discourse in this area.

The trajectories of growth of Indian languages have also been very different and diverse, especially in their use in education, administration and governance, publishing and popular culture. The process of knowledge production is an exercise of power, which is determined by socio-cultural and economic factors such as formal education, caste, class, religion, gender and sexuality, accessibility among others. This has led to the systematic invisibility of nuances of languages, including dialects and pronunciation. A key observation that recurred in multiple conversations with respondents in this research is the hegemony within Indian languages that they term 'brahminical'. The respondents have pointed out how caste and class privileges, and the predominance of cisnormativity and heteronormativity in education, employment, cultural spaces etc. has impacted the kind of language that has been used for content production. Furthermore, they assert how the dominance of English is relatively newer than hegemony within Indian languages. The interviewees also note that before discovering the politics around using a certain kind of language, this is the form of language imitated by many of them in the early days of their careers.

Gradually, over time, there is an understanding, particularly from marginalised communities such as Dalits, of how the social realities they are talking about are alienated from the language used to produce knowledge on it. With this, there has been a deviation from using such language and bringing in more nuances of languages as used by diverse communities, including across dialects and accents, adding colloquialisms etc., especially into the formal, literary and academic space. This has enabled a strong counter-culture around forms of literature, research and news media, which has drawn attention towards these issues in publication and dissemination of content etc. Platforms like Wikimedia, as collaborative knowledge repositories must strive towards creating and fostering content in counter-hegemonic language, across these nuances and variabilities.

Translation is another crucial aspect of knowledge production in Indian languages. The translation could be between Indian languages, from Indian languages to English and other foreign languages, and vice versa. Translation as a process becomes crucial as it widens the readership and consumption of content. However, traditional publishing spaces have for long had reservations about publishing on particular themes, including on gender, sexuality and feminism, and especially regarding caste. These factors have impacted not only publication but also dissemination of the knowledge and content produced, thereby, the process of translation. It has

been observed by respondents that there have been challenges with publishing on caste and gender in particular, under the name of commercial success. They further note that akin to publishing and digitisation, translation has been governed by the industry's mandates, with commercial interests often overtaking the creative and political objectives of the published content.

A panel on Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar's Writings and Speeches at the recently concluded Versol Literary Meet⁸⁶ looked at some of these issues related to the politics of translation in detail⁸⁷ with a focus on three key issues -a. reduction of Dr. Ambedkar's scholarship to caste; b. Linguistic challenges in translation; c. The politics around translation- appropriation and representation.

During the course of this research, respondents pointed out these issues quite often. For instance, some respondents point out how on various occasions, they are commissioned to write or invited to deliver a talk only on matters of 'caste' while their realm of work is much broader. It is also understood that only works of a certain stature or exposure are translated across languages, and even when such work does make it to that stage of visibility, there is also an expectation that it is about marginalisation and victimhood rather than acknowledging it as part of history and culture.

Another critical challenge is the loss of social contexts of translation which is an outcome of a lack of vocabulary (both academic and non-academic), appropriation and representation. Our respondents have mentioned there is 'loss in translation' in most cases precisely because there is a lack of political synchronisation between authors and the translators, given differences in their social locations and lived realities. It has been noted that the appropriation and misrepresentation of culture and art forms⁸⁸ of marginalised communities have also extended across several areas of content production, leading to the erasure of public acknowledgement. Surprisingly, most respondents whose works have been translated to English point out that this translation gave them more recognition than the original work in Indian languages.

⁸⁶A Dalit Literary Meet organised on 29th and 30th of April, by Neelam Cultural Centre, as a part of Dalit History Month.

⁸⁷The panel discussion was titled "Inclusion and Omission of Babasaheb Writings in Tamil Scenario", and the panelists included - Advocate AB Rajasekharan, Member of Editorial Board, Neelam Publications and Prabhakaran, Writer-Activist,

⁸⁸ Keerthana Chandragiri, "15 Dalit Art Forms You Should Totally Know About" accessed August 01, 2022 https://www.buzzfeed.com/amphtml/keerthana_chandragiri/15-dalit-art-forms-you-should-totally-know-about

Notably, the gendered nature of Indian languages has been reiterated by several interviewees. Many of them who are educators and researchers observe this dissonance, particularly in engagement with translations of content related to gender, sexuality and feminism and how this is taught in the classroom. They reflect on how in the early years, the absence of a discipline like gender/women studies was also an impediment in terms of offering a context to these discussions, and the importance of locating feminist discourse within Indian languages. The lack of an intellectual and conceptual vocabulary for specific terms, such as ‘queer’ or ‘homosexuality’ in these languages, remains another barrier. Importantly, most Indian languages, even in everyday use, are gendered and recognise gender only as a binary, which limits forms of engagement with it as well. For instance, as shared by respondents, it is more difficult for trans people to write or share lived experiences, as they often have to adopt one of these two identities or a term like the third gender, which also indicates a hierarchy among identities. Many respondents therefore emphasise the need for contextualisation of the discourse on gender, sexuality and feminism given these lived experiences and multiplicity of perspectives. This exercise is further complicated by a reliance on Western and Anglocentric frameworks, given how the discourse has evolved in the Indian context, and limited availability and access to resources in local languages. They also note a lack of understanding of the history of many of these concepts, such as the separation of sexuality and gender, or conceptual terms which emerge as a result of reverse translations across local languages, adding additional layers of meaning.

Translations of crucial texts from many social movements have been essential to building a discourse around gender, sexuality and feminism in Indian languages. Still, it is necessary to have these speak to each other, and to the discourse that emerges from English. Apart from the challenges of translating technical and conceptual terms, there is also a need to archive and build on the existing corpus of these materials and make them more easily accessible, particularly to foster diverse forms of multilingual pedagogy. Hence, a dire need exists to unearth the huge corpus of knowledge that has been critical of societal structures and include them in the growing discourse in these fields. There needs to be active translations done across Indian and foreign languages and rethink pedagogic models in terms of how best students can engage with these resources and a multiplicity of perspectives related to gender and sexuality. In addition to this, proactive initiatives in translation and related areas such as publishing, digitisation and archiving

would also contribute to wider visibility and access to resources in these areas in Indian languages.

Language in India, has been a factor to determine geographical boundaries often for governance and administrative purposes, besides being an element of culture and diversity. Alongside language, there have been other elements of the social fabric such as gender, sexuality, religion, caste, class etc that also enact as boundaries. While language has been a barrier to access in various instances, many significant social problems have united communities across these barriers, and collaborative work across languages has played an essential role in this. The Dalit Movement in Post-colonial India⁸⁹ that emerged with the birth of the Dalit Panthers⁹⁰ in the 1970s in Maharashtra is an example of this. Influenced by the Dalit panthers, a literary protest movement that began with public criticism of Kannada Literature for its romanticisation and glorification of social problems, emerged as one of the most democratic movements in India under the name of Dalit Sangharsha Samithi in the late 1970s.⁹¹ The movement emerged in other states too, like in Tamil Nadu with the influence of the Panthers, and with the rage of the gruesome caste atrocity incident in Tsundur in Andhra Pradesh. The translation of Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar's Writings and Speeches⁹² during the centenary in 1991, gave rise to consciousness around these issues.⁹³ This resulted in an entirely new class of intellectuals, breaking the barriers of language, cultural hegemony and brahminical monopoly in knowledge production across Indian languages and making critical interventions across fields and disciplines.⁹⁴ It most importantly brought into the limelight the lesser-known works on the intersection of gender and caste.

⁸⁹Omvedt, Gail. *Dalits and the democratic revolution: Dr Ambedkar and the Dalit movement in colonial India*. SAGE Publications India, 1994.

⁹⁰"Main page, Dalit Panthers", Wikipedia accessed August 01, 2022 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dalit_Panthers

⁹¹ Tharu, S., and K. Satyanarayana. "Steel Nibs are Sprouting: New Dalit Writing in South India Dossier 2: Kannada and Telugu." (2013).

⁹²"Writings and Speeches of Babasaheb B.R Ambedkar," Writings and speeches of Babasaheb DR. B.R. Ambedkar (Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, Govt. of India), accessed August 30, 2022, <http://drambedkarwritings.gov.in/content/index.php>

⁹³ Pa Ranjith. 2022. *Dalit Cinema in India*.

⁹⁴Satyanarayana and Tharu. 2013. *The Exercise of Freedom: An Introduction to Dalit Writing*. New Delhi: Navayana.

IN LIEU OF A CONCLUSION

Through this study, we had several informative and enriching interactions with individuals and organisations actively working on producing knowledge on gender, sexuality and feminism in Kannada, Marathi, Tamil, and Telugu. The scope of these interactions and nature of data collected have extended much beyond the immediate study, given that the respondents work across several wide-ranging areas and topics. That said, the recommendations of this study may not be relevant to all Indian languages given the multiplicity and diversity within languages, and varying discourse and work in the areas of gender and sexuality, which add nuance and complexity to both the challenges and interventions needed in the space. This study provides an overview of the process of content creation, the challenges in working across formats, their digital documentation and recommendations to create sustainable forms of knowledge production. Existing scholarship on Wikimedia projects, an integral part of the digital knowledge production ecosystem, points out similar issues at the crossroads of gender and digital content creation. Listed below are the findings of this study focusing on content creation on gender and sexuality in Indian Languages. These observations also resonate with learnings pointed out in earlier research discussed in the review of literature.

- a. **Asymmetries of power:** The discourse around gender, sexuality and feminism is also about dismantling existing structures of power and privilege. These asymmetries of power are systemic, often resulting in newer, multiple forms of marginalisation and invisibility. This is further perpetuated through language, literary circles, education, research and publication etc., creating obstacles for marginalised sections of society. The process of content creation and the ecosystem within which knowledge is produced have similarly been biased. However, several social movements, forms of advocacy and activism have also actively disrupted the process of knowledge production. Therefore, content production on gender, sexuality and feminism as a process needs to consciously consider social factors such as caste, class, region, education etc., as they shape the cultural context. There is a need to deploy an intersectional perspective in strategies to map, document and address knowledge gaps concerning gender, sexuality and feminism. Collaborations with individuals and institutions working in the field, capacity-building with subject experts, and consistent engagement with the developing

discourse in these fields would be helpful in fostering diversity in perspectives and methods in this space.

- b. **Infrastructural and Technical Gaps:** The dynamic nature of the digital ecosystem creates a need for one to keep learning skills and acquire tools for better engagement with these spaces. This might not be possible across sections of the society, particular women, non-binary and queer individuals and marginalised and vulnerable groups given the issues around access and affordability. Digital literacy or the ability to navigate, engage with and effectively use the internet and digital tools require capacity building and upgradation of skill-sets and platforms, which further contributes and is perpetuated by issues of access. Even for those working with digital content creation, including documentation, publishing and social media, hiring external expertise with these skill sets and tools is expensive and resource-intensive. In addition to digital literacy, infrastructure and resources for content creation and dissemination remain persistent challenges, as well as disparities in their availability and access across different sections of society.
- c. **Sustainable Ecosystem** - The content creation process is time-consuming and requires infrastructure, resources, funding, and engagement by the larger community for its sustenance. Most individual content creators and organisations we engaged with began as voluntary, often by people across diverse gender and sexual identities working with limited time and resources at their disposal. The lack of revenue generation still remains a significant challenge here, and there is a dire need to create an ecosystem that helps communities sustain these processes. This includes efforts toward translation, digitisation, archiving and dissemination for wider public use. Support with infrastructure, resources and skills, visibility, and engagement within the larger community would therefore be essential to evolve and thrive these efforts and initiatives.

This study proposes the following recommendations concerning efforts in content production on gender, sexuality and feminism.

- d. **Multiplicity of Perspectives:** The knowledge produced on gender, sexuality and feminism is dichotomised into marginal and mainstream, thereby creating a hegemony of

the knowledge produced and producers. This is an outcome of existing social structures such as caste, class, religion, language, accessibility etc., and there is a need to recognise the impact of these socio-cultural factors, particularly in efforts in content creation, whether in publishing, activism, digitisation and archiving, research and pedagogy or on open knowledge platforms like Wikimedia projects. The approach towards sourcing, creating and making content available in this diverse area should be attuned to these aspects within the more significant, mainstream discourse on gender, sexuality and feminism.

- e. **Documentation:** There is a need for sustained efforts in mapping and documenting content produced on gender, sexuality and feminism by individuals and organisations across diverse platforms, including social media. As illustrated by learnings from the report, content production has taken multifarious forms, with significant born-digital original content now available in various formats. Much printed content, particularly in Indian languages, or those produced by marginalised communities, including in non-dominant languages, may not have adequate exposure and visibility. Therefore, effective strategies must be developed to document such content effectively and encourage access and use.
- f. **Education and Pedagogy:** Educational spaces have been the mainstay for much of the prolific content creation process on gender and sexuality in research, pedagogy, publication, and discourse building. Many of these are also connected to development organisations actively working in the field. There is a need to leverage these networks to allow for lived, contextual experiences to inform efforts in content production. Given that the framework for many conversations in this space has also been very Anglocentric, content in Indian languages would be an essential addition to thinking about multilingual pedagogy on gender, sexuality and feminism. Active translations, digital documentation and archiving of content for educational purposes, and making them readily available, particularly under open access licences, would be an excellent way to bolster efforts in research and pedagogy. Exploring intersections with Wikimedia projects regarding content creation and use in open access platforms and developing new pedagogic tools as

part of collaborations with educational institutions also offer a direction to encourage forms of multilingual pedagogy.

- g. **Infrastructure and Capacity-Building:** The conversations with various organisations and individuals reveal several infrastructural, technological and funding gaps in the larger ecosystem of content production on gender and sexuality. While these are wide-ranging and systemic issues, efforts to bridge these could include creating a support system that facilitates peer learning and creating a pool of resources for content producers. Engaging with organisations working closely in the field through initiatives in digitisation, capacity-building, and fostering digital literacy would also be beneficial for Wikimedia projects and communities to understand the challenges in the larger digital domain which impact content creation on specific topics.
- h. **Safety and Community Health:** There are several learnings related to safety and community health that emerge from the interviews, given the sensitive nature of some of the topics, such as gender, sexuality and caste identities of individuals, and forms of systemic marginalisation and invisibility. As noted in the discussions, there are also issues of access to and regulation of platforms, mainly social media, which have led to gate-keeping, trolling and unhealthy working environments both offline and online. These require collaborative efforts, including training, sensitisation efforts, and redressal mechanisms across platforms. While several Wikimedia projects have community health mechanisms in place to address issues of trust and safety, it would be productive to share best practices through collaborations, awareness and sensitisation workshops with organisations in this field for an understanding of the various nuances of these issues, and how they affect online engagement, particularly by marginalised and vulnerable groups, and therefore the gender gap and bias in terms of content creation and participation.
- i. **Diversification of Wikimedia Projects:** The Wikimedia Projects are undoubtedly a pivotal part of the digital world. The global presence of the Wikimedia Projects could bring recognition to the lesser-known and neglected individuals and organisations working on gender, sexuality and feminism. As observed by several interviewees, individuals and organisations working with the queer and Dalit movements have been producing content on gender, sexuality and feminism way before the intersectional

approach was adopted in research and practice in India. There have been efforts to bring these conversations to Wikimedia platforms through specific Wiki projects and initiatives globally. It would be essential to encourage more diversity in content creation initiatives across projects, within communities, and led by individuals and organisations from these communities.

This research study is an effort at understanding better some of the nuances of the process of content creation on gender and sexuality in Indian languages, its digital presence and factors that impact their wider availability and use. Given the expansive thematic areas covered, and the range of areas of work, the report endeavours to bring together perspectives and observations on these processes, and outline some of the key challenges and potential strategies to address the same.



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ANNEXURES

Annexure 01: Questionnaire For Individuals

Content Creators/Curators

1. Could you introduce yourself and your work in the arena of gender, sexuality and feminism?
2. What were your motivations for producing content on gender, sexuality and feminism; what factors brought you here?
3. Can you tell us a little about the creative/curatorial process of producing content on gender, sexuality and feminism? What are the factors that influence the process?
4. What are the major platforms (online/offline) that you produce content for?
5. What are challenges and privileges arising in the process of producing content on gender, sexuality and feminism, how do you address them?
 - Challenges of producing Indian language content;
 - Challenges of working on digital platforms/digitisation of printed content;
 - Challenges of the nature of the content itself (gender/sexuality/feminism);
6. From our previous studies we understand that the digital space is sharply gendered. What has been your experience with the digital transition in content production, particularly with respect to content on gender, sexuality and feminism?
7. What are your observations on reach, readership, mobility and use (or reuse) of knowledge/content related to gender, sexuality and feminism in Indian languages?
8. Do you have any experience working with the open access /free knowledge movement/resources such as Wikipedia, Creative Commons etc? Do you have any observations on digitisation and open access to Indian language content on gender/sexuality/feminism?

9. What are your suggestions or insights on how to sustain efforts in producing and sharing content related to gender, sexuality and feminism in Indian languages?
10. Any other learnings in this space that you may want to share with us? What are your recommendations and strategies on how content production spaces may address disparities related to gender and sexuality?
11. Could you point us towards any other individuals/organisations working in Indian languages in these areas?
12. Any questions you may have for us or about this report? Additional Questions for

Questions Specific to Writers/Translators

1. What has been your experience of writing and translation particularly on gender, sexuality and feminism, especially in the digital? Are there any insights on publication and dissemination of your writings/translations on gender?
2. Are there any specific challenges you would like to highlight in the area of translation and publishing on these topics, in Indian languages?
3. What has been the digital presence of your writing/translations on gender and sexuality? Have you engaged with any open access platforms as part of the publication process?

Questions Specific to Educators

1. Can you tell us a little about the process of developing and teaching the courses you offer on gender and sexuality?
2. How does teaching-learning in an Indian language inform your larger pedagogic goals?
3. Are there specific challenges you would want to highlight in terms of developing a course on gender and sexuality? How do you address them?
4. Have digital, open access platforms played a role in developing your course on gendersexuality/feminism? Could you elaborate on the same?

Questions Specific to Artists

1. What has been your experience of doing creative/artistic work in gender/sexuality/feminism? Could you take us through your creative process and the factors that inform it?
2. Are there any specific challenges related to doing creative work in this space, in the digital medium and/or across Indian languages that you wish to highlight? ?
3. What is the digital presence of your work? Do you engage with any open access platforms?

Annexure 02: Questionnaire for Organisations/Community Initiatives

1. Could you begin with introducing the organisation and its work in the areas of gender/sexuality/feminism.
2. What were your motivations to begin producing content on gender/sexuality/feminism? Could you describe the nature of your collections, and thematic areas and platforms where it is available.
3. Can you briefly take us through your curatorial process? How is this process of content production and curation different from other kinds of work the organisation does?
4. What were some of the challenges and privileges the organisation had/has with respect to its content production on gender, especially in Indian languages?
 - Challenges of producing Indian language content;
 - Challenges of working on digital platforms/digitisation of printed content;
 - Challenges of the nature of the content itself (gender/sexuality/feminism).

5. What have been the community reactions to your work and content on gender/sexuality/feminism? Could you speak a little more on the role you see for your work in the larger public discourse on a gender gap or bias in this field?
6. What have been some of your learnings and observations with respect to gender/sexuality/feminism while working in the field.
7. From our previous studies we understand that the digital space is sharply gendered, what has been your experience with the digital transition in content production, particularly with respect to content on gender/sexuality/feminism?
8. What are your observations on reach, readership, mobility and use (or reuse) of content related to gender/sexuality/feminism in Indian languages?
9. Do you have any experience working with the open access /free knowledge movement/resources? Are there any observations on digitisation and open access to Indian language content on gender/sexuality/feminism.
10. What are your suggestions or insights as to sustain efforts in producing and sharing content related to gender/sexuality/feminism in Indian languages.
11. Any other learnings in this space that you would like to share with us?
12. Could you point us towards any other individuals/organisations working in Indian languages in these areas?