DIGITAL INCLUSION IN LATIN AMERICA WHERE AND HOW DO WOMEN INHABIT CYBERSPACE?

Tania Meneses Cabrera

School of Social Sciences Arts and Humanities – ECSAH

Sello Editorial
Universidad Nacional
Abierta y a Distancia

DIGITAL INCLUSION IN LATIN AMERICA WHERE AND HOW DO WOMEN INHABIT CYBERSPACE?

Author:
Tania Meneses Cabrera

Research Group
Cyberculture and Territory

LAGHCIB Network
Laboratory Global History & Cyberspace
CONICET - Universidad de Buenos Aires

UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL ABIERTA Y A DISTANCIA – UNAD

Jaime Alberto Leal Afanador

Chancellor

Constanza Abadía García

Vice-Chancellor for Academic and Research

Leonardo Yunda Perlaza

Vice-Chancellor for Educational Media and Learning Mediation

Édgar Guillermo Rodríguez Díaz

Vice-Chancellor for Applicants, Students, and Alumni Services

Leonardo Evemeleth Sánchez Torres

Vice-Chancellor for Interinstitutional and International Relations

Julialba Ángel Osorio

Vice-Chancellor for Social Inclusion, Regional Development, and Community Outreach

Martha Viviana Vargas Galindo

Dean, School of Social Sciences Arts and Humanities

Juan Sebastián Chiriví Salomón

National Director, Research Management System (RMS)

Martín Gómez Orduz

Director, UNAD University Press

Digital inclusion in Latin America Where and how do women inhabit cyberspace?

Author:
Tania Meneses Cabrera

Research Group: Cyberculture and Territory
LAGHCIB Network
Laboratory Global History & Cyberspace
CONICET - Universidad de Buenos Aires

305.4
M543

Meneses Cabrera, Tania
Digital inclusion in Latin America Where and how do women inhabit cyberspace?/ Tania Meneses Cabrera --. [1st ed.]. Bogotá: Sello Editorial UNAD /2022. (Research Group: Cyberculture and Territory)

e-ISBN: 978-628-7786-16-5

1. Digital inclusion 2. Cyberspace 3. Cyberculture 4. Gender digital gap 5. Gender equity I. Meneses Cabrera, Tania

e-ISBN: 978-628-7786-16-5
School of Social Sciences Arts and Humanities – ECSAH

Sello Editorial UNAD
Universidad Nacional Abierta y a Distancia
Calle 14 sur No. 14-23
Bogotá, D.C.

November 2024

Translated by: Smart translators
Layout: Natalia Herrera Farfán / Hipertexto SAS
Cover illustration: Julián Rojas Mantilla (Sociologist and Designer)

How to cite this book: Meneses Cabrera, T. (2024). *Digital inclusion in Latin America Where and how do women inhabit cyberspace?* UNAD, University Press. https://doi.org/10.22490/UNAD.9786287786165

Content

List of figures

List of tables

Book review

The book addresses the issue of digital inclusion from a gender perspective. Although it is an essay book, it applies an exhaustive documentary review, the analysis of public policy discourse and current discussions in the field of cyberculture in its argumentation. It is the result of several research and academic experiences on the matter with the *Laboratorio de la Historia Global del Ciberespacio* (LAGHCIB - Lab. Global History & Cyberspace) Network.

It also provides a context of the technological transformation, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on women's lives, and the historical framework in the access to technology, an inequality that, together with other historical disadvantages, leads to digital gaps, mainly in the way of knowing and describing the world. From an interpretation of governmentality, this text presents an archaeological analysis of the ICT public policies, and then interconnects it with cognitive capitalism and cultural colonialism theories as structural factors of such inequality.

The book aims to understand these emerging complexities as part of the search for alternatives and ways to use technology to promote participation and good living. It is a critical and reflective look at cyberculture from a gender perspective that is ethically, geographically and politically located in Latin America and is part of a path of research, experiences and understandings that the author considers useful to contribute to science, technology and society in the field of gender studies.

Author review

Tania Meneses Cabrera

Bucaramanga, Colombia.

tania.meneses@unad.edu.co

See published work: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6808-8043

See research profile: https://scienti.minciencias.gov.co/cvlac/visualizador/generarCurriculoCv.do?cod_rh=0001136461

PhD in Culture and Education from the University of Arts and Social Sciences -ARCIS, Chile. Master's in education from Universidad Santo Tomas de Aquino (2010) and Sociologist from Universidad Nacional de Colombia (1998). Research fellow of the Fundación Carolina. Researcher in the field of Latin American culture and education, biocentric educator, promoter of collective intelligence in digital education and rights activist.

She is currently an associate professor at the Universidad Nacional Abierta y a Distancia - UNAD, Colombia, where she works in the Sociology program as a researcher and teacher at the School of Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities. She has several publications in her areas of interest, particularly cyberculture, gender studies and social research and is an active member of the Laboratory Global History & Cyberspace Network.

Foreword
The issues related to women and digital inclusion

Thanks to this book by Tania Meneses, which is now before our eyes, sociocultural research in Latin America and the Caribbean is expanding. For some time now, they have been focused on making progress on theoretical and methodological aspects that show a notable evolution in the approach to women as a subject of study.

So-called "women's history" and gender theories clearly challenge the patriarchal models of the West. Many women from the margins, from vulnerable groups, from the ignored chaos of the continent's interior, have sought strategies to break the dominant discourse. The feminine tried to create a strong sense of identity, structuring "their" linguistic world and re-signifying "their" present. The current scenario shows us women acting amid impetuous technological and social changes.

This eagerly awaited book by Tania Meneses studies in detail topics that represent a great contribution to studies on Latin America in the globalized world. The continent continues to be explored from methodological approaches that explain the problematic of the role of women in cybernetic environments. Contemporary social sciences are opening their discursive field to the interpretation of the narratives of everyday life and the interweaving of technology in local and global life.

The premises arising from wide-ranging discussions within feminist and post-feminist currents have had the positive result of increasingly dismantling stereotypes. Today, the power networks that kept women in anonymity for a long time are clearly visualized and a new awareness is emerging about the responsibilities that can be exercised by men and women alike.

However, although the scenography of the world changed dramatically, the same did not apply to social behavior. The cultural spaces traditionally assigned to women have not been redistributed: the home, the kitchen, the body.

Technology has been, since its origins, thought of and conceived as a field of development for male subjects. Western women have entered this field through the various revolutions that wars and science provided them. But they were disadvantaged by the inequity of the equation that resulted from the components: man + technology / woman - technology.

In the world wars women went to the factories, operated tools and heavy machinery; they built weapons, automobiles and everything that was required for daily life in the countries at war. Then they continued to work because the world discovered that women were effective and that their workforce was needed.

Today in Southeast Asian countries, most of the workers in microchip and technology assembly factories are women who work more than fourteen hours a day. The same is happening in the West. They are women exploited for 'technological' purposes. However, when it comes to handling the devices in the companies, the ones summoned will be the 'secretaries' or personnel in charge of bosses (men) who order them what to do with computers, mobile phones and laptops connected to the network. This is replicated in an unfavorable situation for women in Latin America.

As Tania Meneses reveals, when she compares reality with hard statistics, it is estimated that women are 21 percent less likely to have their own mobile phone. These restrictions disengage women from networks and make them highly defenseless subjects. They are assaulted, they receive the media punishment of having their photos on the network or their private chats exposed to the community. Thus, violated and severely blackmailed, they must accept what a world built by men orders them to do.

The dependence is on that device that becomes a prized object. We estimate one or two devices at most per family (a telephone and/or a computer) and they will have to take turns using the devices, without any privacy regarding the data they share. The feeling of coercion will always be present in the permissions, administered by the men of the group (father, brothers, sons, etc.). The women in the household will be dependent on this 'administration' that does not consider them fit to use the devices freely. Tasks associated with chatting or matchmaking are seen as negative in a world where women are always one step away from being judged as 'sluts' based on their online activities.

Even women scientists, who spend many working hours on their computers, are exposed to being told "that they are not doing anything 'productive', i.e. 'that they are not working' and are perhaps having fun online. And there is always the "suspicion" about what they

generate on screens during their personal time. But men can engage in any practice and even visit porn sites, send each other messages with pictures that cannot appear on women's devices. They can contact prostitutes or lovers without being penalized by society.

However, the relationship between women and technology was not always like this. If we remember the advertisements of the first technological products in the magazines and newspapers of the last century: automatic washing machines, toasters, stoves, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, blenders, etc., we notice that they are all items intended for women. And they "command" them for the welfare of the household, i.e., the man and their children. For years, these were women's favorite gifts and the ones that used to be dedicated on birthdays, Women's days, Mother's days, etc. And this is still the case.

Nowadays, household appliances are still very popular on special occasions. But also, the latest technology (computers, laptops, netbooks and smartphones) is the favorite item of women in the lower, middle and upper classes. Many of them use the devices for their jobs. The technology industry is associated with the fashion industry, which designs accessories for the devices, some of which are very popular brands. In this way, the woman-object appears once again in the space of brands that capture customers for their most valuable products.

At the same time, a movement is developing in which women see themselves as active agents of change. Women are involved in the process of reclaiming their space in the advances of technology. And that demand involves the right to the possession of instruments that allow them to dominate cyberspace to leave their message, to defend their rights, to upload their scientific production, their artistic creation, their books, their music, their voice. These are the only ways to build networks of knowledge and sisterhood, together with other women of the world.

The stratagems that these women put into play are the stepping-stones in the construction of a new feminine discourse as an attempt to deconstruct the patriarchal system of the West. As we have seen throughout the centuries, negotiation and force are two strategies that alternate in the history of the struggle for women's rights. The two mechanisms function as responses to the cultural violence that has always hovered over women's spaces.

On the one hand, despite the existence of a legislative context that promotes the equality discourse, women often discover that this equality remains dormant on paper and in theory. In this sense, Tania Meneses' analysis is absolutely enlightening.

If we accept Foucault's argument that what is "true" depends on who takes control of the discourse, it is therefore logical to think that men's domination of discourse has for

centuries imprisoned women in a network of male “truths”. Hopefully, the barriers of disregard and marginalization will gradually be broken down as women acquire the desired empowerment. This will be possible through the creation of new languages that will allow them to insert themselves intelligently into spaces that were traditionally forbidden.

Perhaps, thanks to technological inclusion and the possibility of more inclusive cyberspace, the authoritarian discourse can finally be shattered. And women will advance from private spaces to public spheres, from domestic life to the biopolitical register. We welcome this book and welcome Tania, tireless worker for women’s rights.

DRA. ALICIA PODERTI
Coordinator. LAGHCIB Network
Laboratory Global History & Cyberspace
CONICET - Universidad de Buenos Aires
apoderti@conicet.gov.ar

Introduction

Digital inclusion in Latin America faces serious contradictions as the gaps in access to infrastructure, information and knowledge are related to deep cracks in a society that is growing in a complex inequality. In the last decade, smartphones and home internet plans have reached many households, although still at a high cost, even when other basic needs are still waiting to be improved. One example is drinking water, which is still not accessible to everyone, nor does it reach Latin American homes with the same quality and speed as broadband and satellite internet. These contradictions are the ones that should mark routes of collective and political decision making so that science-technology-society relations generate good living in communities.

Digital inclusion is also located in this context of contradictions, and with many more consequences and potential if it is analyzed from a gender perspective that makes it possible to understand the structural inequalities that affect women. Undoubtedly, there are historical and structural disadvantages that generate serious obstacles that affect both women - given that they are half of the population and that the roles of care and education continue to be their own task - and communities, in general, and their quality of life. This will be the focus of this text.

The United Nations has emphasized in its assemblies the need to eradicate the digital gap between genders and improve the use of instrumental technology, particularly information and communication technologies (ICTs) as a strategy for the promotion and empowerment of women and girls (UN, 2016). Thus, the relevance of the question posed in this text insofar as, although the inclusion-exclusion of technologies is widespread in the region and is not an exclusive problem of women, it is in their bodies and in the construction of their subjectivities where power relations that sustain a gender digital gap that not only has to do with access to technology, but with the construction of the world and how it is narrated; and, along this path, the possibility or not of having certain types of opportunities in their life trajectories.

Where and how do women inhabit cyberspace?

The where and how pose a problem not only of contents, roles and forms, but also a relationship with the territory, a topos in and out of cyberspace, understood as an anthropological territory through which cyberculture emerges. Thus, the first part of the text presents a narrative that draws a map of the place, but also of the interconnections, of everything in that territory to enunciate and denounce transnational capitalism and its project of expansion of technology and, in that order, the connections with colonialism and dependence. This is how the concept of the digital gap and its gender approach continues to be explored, highlighting the meaning and intentionality of naming something.

From these understandings, an analysis of the discourse on the digital agenda proposed by ECLAC in the year 2020 is presented from an archeological approach as a contribution to identify the power-knowledge relations that underlie these documents guiding public policy for the entire Latin American region. It also includes an analysis of the social appropriation practices that allow women to understand the formal paths led by governmentality, as well as the emerging and emancipatory practices that are already emerging on the Internet and outside it, stressing four fundamental elements: space, body, violence and authorship.

For this type of analysis, the theoretical contributions of De Lauretis (1994) and Wajcman (2006) are important references, mainly in relation to governmentality, and Foucault (1984) as a transversal conceptual basis for exploring power-knowledge relations in the information society. The aim is to establish an analytical framework from cyberculture (Levy, 2004) that allows understanding the processes involved in the construction of a subject-woman that is intended to be formed from public policy in ICT as a governmentality device in Latin America, in contrast with the identification of emerging practices of freedom in ICT users in this region; women who inhabit cyberspace as citizens and not only as consumers.

From the idea of construction of a gender digital gap discourse as a biopolitical device, the political and sociocultural conditions that promote the use and appropriation of these technologies are identified, characterizing the factors associated with gender digital gaps in the Latin American case in the key with authors such as Bonder (2002)for ECLAC, and the critical analysis of Sassen (2003), Vega (2007), Escobar (2005), Castro (2010), Lazzarato (2015), among others.

The work of Michel Foucault, as a theoretical and methodological support, is essential to explore the constitution of subjectivities and the dynamics of governmentality from an anatomy of discourses, applying archeology and genealogy as tools for analysis; although it transcends to a more current and specific analysis from gender studies with the contributions of academics such as Haraway (1991), Preciado (2002), Butler (2006),

Braidotti (2004), mainly, who have recognized the androcentric marks in Foucault's work, but also the richness of his work for the analysis of the current conditions of society.

Through archeology, the documents produced by governmental institutions are analyzed, making visible in the statements and discourses the power-knowledge relations, the techniques and exercises of time control, the production of the body and the production of subjectivity. Under the Foucauldian concept of *enunciation*, they become the center of the analysis when understood as: "The modality of existence of a set of signs, modality that enables it to be something more than a simple set of material marks: to refer to objects and subjects, to enter into relation with other formulations and to be repeatable" (Albano, 2006, p. 36).

The determination of objects and subjects through discursive formation, as well as their materiality and interrelation, allow us to establish the following statements as axes of the analysis carried out in the first phase of the research: 1) citizenship, 2) participation, 3) education, 4) productivity. These statements emerge from the discursive framework present in the public policy documents for the region. In this phase, each statement is subject to the following archaeological operations: archaeological isomorphisms, archaeological isotopies and correlations, discursive regularity and temporal vectors of derivation; defined by Albano (2006) and understood as the discursive strategies used in the framework of the power relations generated by governmental discourses.

Similarly, and based on the principles of the epistemology of complexity, archaeological operations are modeled by means of the polar representation of statements, enunciative derivation trees and relational continuity matrices. These forms of representation make it possible to account for the historical horizon of the conformation of the ideological determinations that convey such discourses and the relations between knowledge and power generated by them, while serving as a tool for the synthesis of the analysis carried out; a methodological task that will be evident in the different graphs and relational matrices that accompany this text.

As for genealogy, it addresses the question of power in the statements of governmental practices, using the Foucauldian proposal, working on the practices produced by governmentality. From this analysis, the genealogy of power relations and the constitution of subjectivities is undertaken, from which the conditions of positivity (reforms, programs, protocols, as well as ICT democratization devices) and the subject as a product of true discourses, historical and cultural regimes, and the constitution of subjectivities are deepened.

From this logic, public policy is confronted with the emergence of practices of use and appropriation by women users and collectives with a gender focus that permanently use the network as a mediator of freedom practices. By means of a socio-cultural analysis that

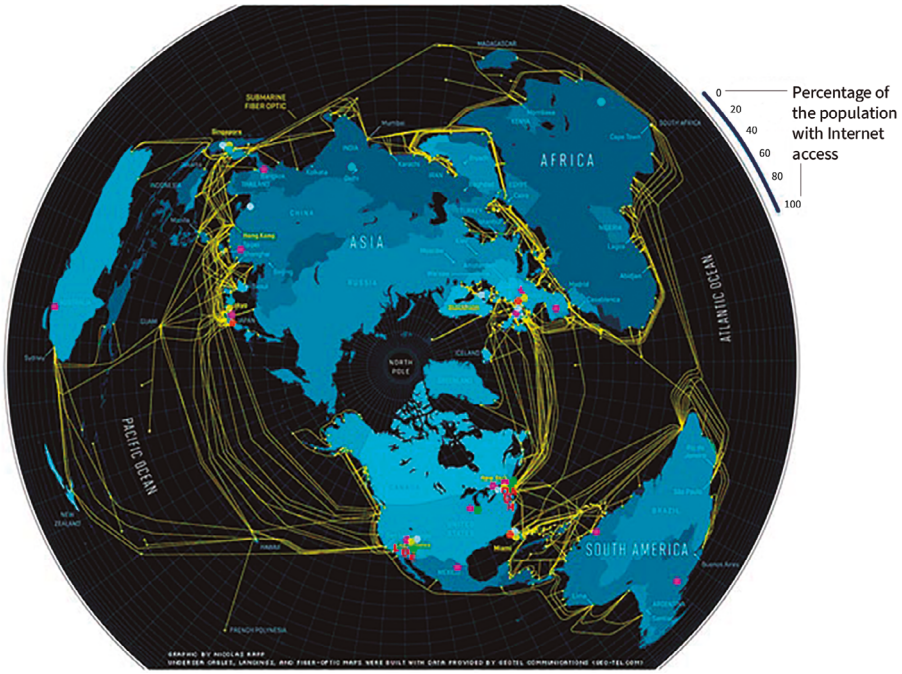
allows reconfiguring the concept of gender digital gap, vindicating the feminine presence in these contexts of cultural change and the leap from the subject-woman that operates as a strategic variable of governmentality towards the possibilities of the historical subject-woman, understood as the one capable of carrying out solidarity modalities, liberation and freedom practices; that is, from the subject-woman as a product of government practices to the emancipated subject-woman.

Constructing alternatives of understanding that allow tensioning hegemonic readings and repositioning the discursive field on gender, from the postcolonial approach, allows dealing with the forms of governance of women in the contemporary world, increasingly mediated by relations with information and communication technologies, in which it is not only important to debate from theory and academia, but also from the spaces of political activation mediated, also, by ICTs.

Finally, we synthesize what we consider to be open and moving reflections on the cultural changes that technologies have produced in women's lives and the challenges in gender equity that we still must build. In this sense, this text has a critical and reflective spirit about cyberculture with a gender approach, is ethically, geographically and politically located in Latin America and is part of a path of research, experiences and understandings that are considered useful to contribute to the field of gender studies in the line of science, technology and society.

Chapter 1
The map. Coordinates of a moving present

Figure 1. *Network World Map*



Source: Norfipc (2022).

This Internet world map shows the network and fiber optic channels at the bottom of the ocean with which it is possible to interconnect countries and users. It was created by Nicolas Rapp with data from Geo-tel.com.

It seems that the best way to write about science-technology-society relations and not suffer from programmed or perceived obsolescence in the narrative of the present is by resorting to science fiction. But if we stop for a moment in the now and take information from yesterday, we find that everything does not go as fast as we think and that the

structural understandings of social problems are hard to understand, old buildings perched on the same territories where power has been systematically exercised for centuries.

For girls and women, the present time is an opportunity to look unabashedly at the misogyny that is hidden and normalized in different areas of life and in relation to technology. If we review some of the background of this belief system that has put women at a disadvantage, we see that it originates in cultural structures that permeate the education of girls and boys in a differential way for the learning of certain roles throughout their life trajectories.

Feminization and masculinization continue to be promoted from early childhood education and throughout the formative cycle, gender stereotypes are reaffirmed, which bring about different consequences, including the fact that there are still low indicators of digital literacy, as well as low participation in positions of power and technological and political decision-making. It is a fact that prejudices, normative provisions and social expectations are a reason that continues to limit the quality of education and the thematic and practical interests chosen by many girls and women, resulting in their being a minority in the disciplines of science, technology, engineering and mathematics, in professional programs linked to these disciplines and, along this same path, the little possibility of reaching high postgraduate training programs such as masters and doctorates.

According to the report *Cracking the Code: Girls' and women's education in science, technology, engineering and mathematics* (*STEM*) (Unesco, 2019), women enrolled in STEM-related programs account for only 35% of the total and only 3% of young women who complete higher education choose studies in the field of information and communication technologies (ICT). A list of statistics could go on and on, showing the seriousness of this inequality, especially when the present and near future is related to a productive sector that demands innovation, social welfare, inclusive growth and sustainable development mediated by technologies in its processes and services.

In this sense, it is worth reflecting on what happened in the year 2020 as a space-time of global rupture that, as a result of a pandemic-syndemic, disruptively transformed social relations and forced a large part of the planet's population to engage in a digital transformation based on the use and appropriation of information and communication technologies that in other circumstances of greater stability would have taken years to achieve. This digital transformation has had an even more severe impact on inequalities, including those of access and appropriation of technology, both in terms of the differences between urban and rural areas and between population groups in terms of age, schooling and socioeconomic level, mainly.

In Latin America, with the singularity that characterizes each country, but with points in common, manifestations of the digital gap that were already on the map of inequalities emerged; and that, given the health emergency and the need for the system not to collapse,

revealed a sociocultural framework that, in addition to technological infrastructure, needs to settle old social debts to put technology on the side of the people as a service and not as a consumption strategy.

The measures taken by most governments, such as confinements, curfews, restrictions on mobility and gatherings, as well as mass vaccination in the year 2021, forced to move public spaces to private spaces. With the two worlds confined to the place of habitation, screens appeared as the agora that made it possible to meet, manage and work. Technology companies arranged their known, improved and reinvented tools for a life that began to function on the screens while passing, behind people and cameras, pets, children, dishes, brooms, among others. These same companies continue to ask themselves how to meet the demands in material, technological and energetic inputs to produce at the pace of the needs of multiple teleservices that are already demanded by millions of inhabitants in the world; designs, ergonomics, contents, graphic environments and aesthetics that still reflect a patriarchal world both in its forms and in the ethics that prioritize economic development over the care of life itself.

Since their entry into the Industrial Revolution as a workforce, women were already familiar with the multiple tasks of being employed outside the home and working inside, doubling and tripling their workdays, only that in the case of the pandemic in 2020, everything happened in the same place. Some of them were already adapted to remote work or teleworking due to the practices of labor precariousness given by the apparel factories, which take advantage of the needs and restrictions in the lives of women to propose them as a tricky compensation to work from home so that the care of the children and the household are not affected as significantly as when the woman is away from home all day.

In pandemic times it was different. All the people with whom the living space was shared were there and required attention. All the basic needs to be satisfied found the home as a refuge of demand: productivity, leisure, recreation, rest, food, protection, recognition, among others, which quickly led to an increase in the physical, intellectual and emotional work of most women in the world. And although in some households this tension allowed redefining coexistence agreements among its members or ratifying dynamics of greater equity, the world of care is still installed in women's bodies, and this makes the relationship with technology have some characteristics that are worth analyzing as visible and invisible gaps.

In this map of an era and some events, some data from the reports produced by research on issues of digital inclusion are dissenting by presenting not only figures, but much more complex understandings for which connectivity is not enough and in which the need for significant connectivity and digital resilience of households are raised as more relevant indicators that account for problems that are by no means new, but with emerging characteristics or that were invisible due to less relational data.

In this regard, the Development Bank of Latin America in its conference on digital inclusion (CAF 2021) states that 32% of the population of Latin America and the Caribbean -244 million people- do not have access to internet services and that, in addition, inclusion is not only about access, but also about meaningful experience in people's lives. Therefore, frequency and quality access and navigation infrastructure are required, a concept recently proposed by the Alliance for an Affordable Internet as an advance to more relevant measurements to generate information on digital gaps; this without directing the gaze towards a focus on the needs of cultural mediation to gain other signifiers.

Figure 2. *Meaningful connectivity*

1 **Regular use of the Internet:** Analyzes that people have regular and permanent access to the Internet.

2 **Appropriate device:** Analyzes that people have the necessary devices to connect when required.

3 **Sufficient data:** Analyzes that people have access to sufficient and permanent data to carry out daily activities.

4 **Adequate connection speed:** Analyzes that the connection speed is adequate to meet the demand they have.

Source: Alliance for Affordable Internet (2022).

1.1 The trap

The understandings developed here coincide in time with the dissemination of major political discourses regarding the social presence of ICTs, their potential for change and their contributions in all social contexts. Digitizing daily life and trusting that we are thereby resolving old debts of socio-cultural exclusion may be a great trap of this era.

Under conditions of extensive technological development, fundamental problems related to inequalities and inequities remain with intensity, as stated by the *World Social Science*

Report (2016). In this context also remain exclusions and inequalities for which historically women's organizations have worked in a diverse and organized way around the world and, in this same way, existing power relations in society prevail, determining the use and enjoyment of benefits, including those of technological development. It is evident that these technologies are not neutral to gender, ethnicity or socioeconomic status, although in the network these differences seem to have no relevance or are made invisible in other ways, just as they are in the physical world.

Gurumurthy (2004) was already warning us of certain increasingly strong and evident configurations:

> The ICT field is characterized by strategic control exercised by powerful corporations and nation-monopolies built through the intellectual property regime, increased surveillance of the Internet and the undermining of its democratic essence, and the exploitation of powerless people by capitalist imperialism, sexism and racism. Within the ICT field, women have relatively little ownership of and influence on decision-making processes, given their under-representation in the private sector and in government agencies that control this field. (p. 2)

The author identifies how governments have considered ICTs mainly as an economic and efficient governance opportunity, which is why they have accepted orientations, resources and support from the private sector, which ends up conditioning the relationship that societies have with this technological offer.

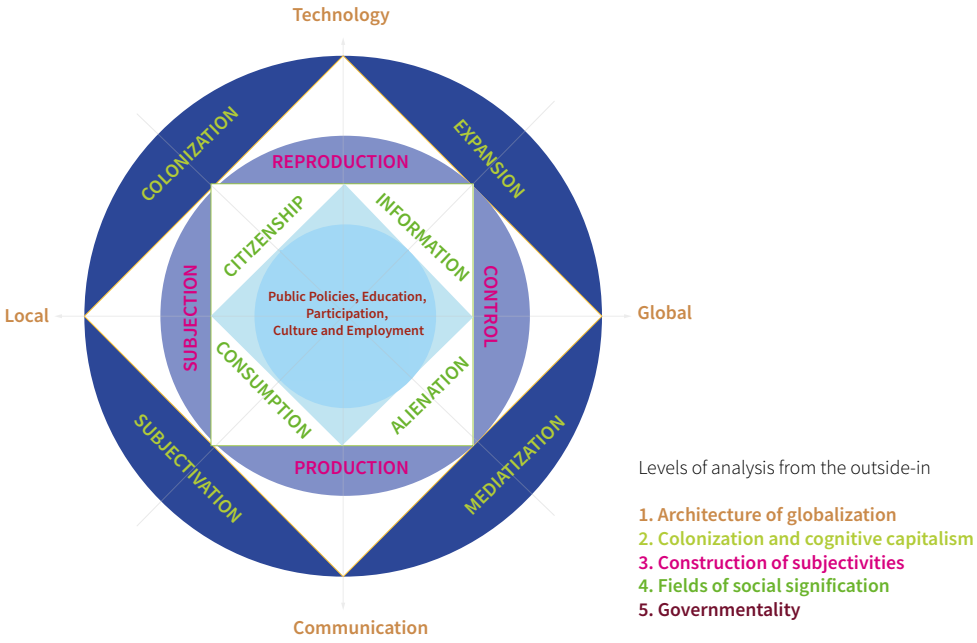
> Developed country governments are comfortable serving the interests of their ICT transnationals, while many governments in the Southern Hemisphere have pushed for job creation and export opportunities in the sector. Some governments have also been keen to explore opportunities in Internet governance, focusing on re-engineering their internal systems and processes towards greater efficiency. It is only recently that some developing country governments have taken initial steps to take advantage of the immense possibilities for using Internet governance as a platform for stronger democratic processes, including participation and accountability. (Gurumurthy, 2004, p. 16)

To better understand these questions, it is necessary to outline the historical, economic and political context in which the socio-cultural dynamics in which ICTs emerged and women's participation in this context is still in motion.

1.2 Transnational capitalism and the expansion of information and communication technologies in Latin America

In order to understand the spirit of an era that has radically transformed social relations and representations in the world and, particularly, the place of women in Latin America, it is necessary to describe and characterize the economic and socio-political context in which the Internet arrived in this territory and the way in which, through international policies, its penetration and massification has been promoted up to the present day.

Figure 3. *Polar statements. Circuits of transnational capitalism*



Source: Meneses Cabrera, T., & Aranda Bustamante, G. (2020)

The graph allows us to identify five levels of relationship that characterize the context at a macro level: level five outlines the architecture of domination in the technology-communication relationship at the global and local levels; level four presents the constituent elements of the capital model in its transnational phase, marked by the strengthening of its colonialist strategies through technological expansion; level three shows the relations of power-knowledge from biopolitics based on the understanding of the discourses of control, subjection, production and reproduction present in the

exercise of governmentality; level two infers the fields of social signification under levels of action in the exercise of citizenship, consumption, information and alienation; finally, level one identifies the foundations of the governmental discourse of the gender digital gap mediated by public policies in relation to the economy-employment, education, culture and political participation.

At the macro level of technology-communication relations, there are narratives that describe this context as one of technological expansion and often speak of globalization, the knowledge society, the information age and hybrid cultures as commonplaces for mapping an era. But behind these concepts, much nurtured by academics and politicians, are the bases of architectures of domination that underlie the language used by power to interpret current social changes.

In this sense, and referring to the latest research by Pierre Bourdieu, Vega (2007) states that fashionable notions have been imposed not because of their intrinsic superiority in understanding the problems of today's world, but because they have the explicit purpose of justifying and concealing new forms of domination and because they have had the financial and institutional support of the same dominant forces.

Releasing an invention such as the Internet just after a historical event such as the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1986 meant the apparent end of political and economic polarities, that is, the supremacy of capitalism as the only possibility and model for all societies to follow. This background is an issue that allows us to connect information and communication technologies with a historical period of global restructuring of capitalism. Thus, technologies are presented as part of the strategy of expansion and rejuvenation of capitalism through an informational economy (Castells, 2003, p. 45).

In other words, the last decade of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century allow us to identify the conditions that made it possible to receive technological progress in the way it did and the consequences that this would have on the use and appropriation of technologies. These years were marked by economic dynamics that began to need more and more resources to sustain their levels of production and consumption, requiring the strengthening of mechanisms for the exploitation of natural resources, aggravating environmental problems and, in turn, energizing processes of cultural homogenization, exacerbation of the consumer society, increase in poverty and inequality in the name of a development that is already environmentally and culturally unsustainable.

The 2010, 2013 and 2016 World Social Science Reports are clear in highlighting how it is increasingly necessary to pay attention to the plurality of contexts and how cultural dimensions are fundamental to articulate these contexts in the global and the local. These reports also point to the need to understand worldviews, beliefs, institutions and history,

and how these elements shape the way people perceive and react to a phenomenon. The local can be considered as the sum of a series of economic, social, gender, ethnic, institutional, political, technological, environmental and cultural dynamics. And it is in this sense that it is insisted that "there are no answers to global challenges that can be disengaged from the context" (Unesco, 2010, p. 3).

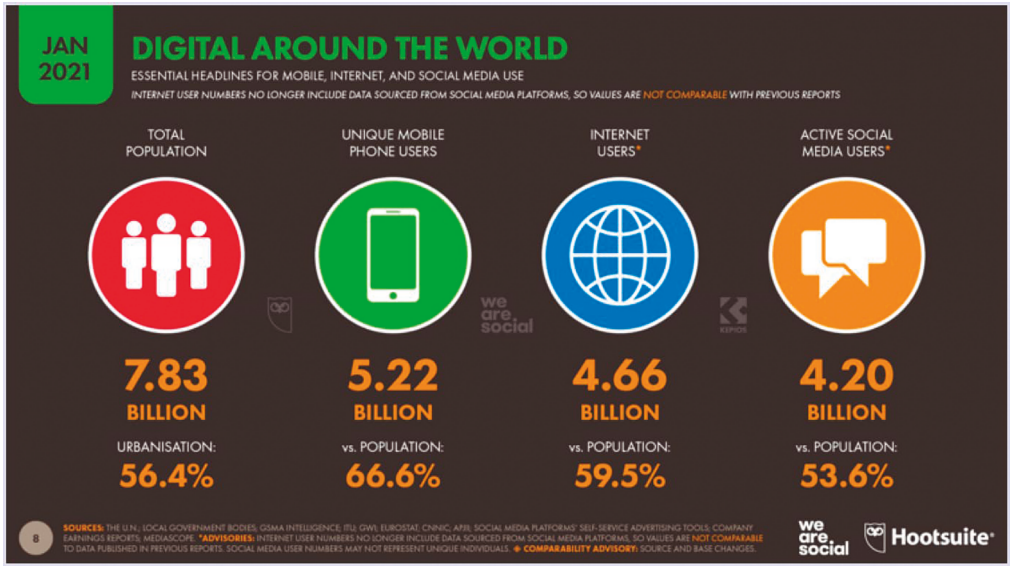
In this same report (2010), the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO) insists that poverty and inequality continue to be the burning issues of social science research in Latin American and Caribbean countries. In the past, Latin American scholars have made contributions to the social sciences worldwide on topics such as education, democracy and economic development. Now, the thematic focus is once again on inequality.

Under this scenario, the developmentalist project - which is economically and environmentally unsustainable, as has already been proposed by authors such as Leff (1994) and the theories of deep ecology - continues to strengthen globally through its model of transnational capital and free trade agreements between "rich" countries and subordinate "poor" countries. Under these relations a type of economy is strengthened that, through a matrix of networking, summons women to participate in sophisticated circuits of teleworking and flexible hours, presented as gender privileges. But as certain cultural conditions and stereotypes are maintained, such as the double workday, the multitasking of housework and family care, it is difficult not to think that what prevails is the continuity of the set of beliefs that constitute the patriarchal order under which the subjects are alienated, overexploited, controlled and demobilized from any other possibility of social organization.

This model can only be strengthened through technological expansion. In this sense, Castells (2003) shows us how by the end of 1995 there were approximately nine million Internet users worldwide; in 2000 there will have reached 350 million and by 2021 the figure will reach 4660 million users. And penetration continues to rise in the face of a world population of seven billion inhabitants with a map of great disparities in which the south-north gap continues to exist.

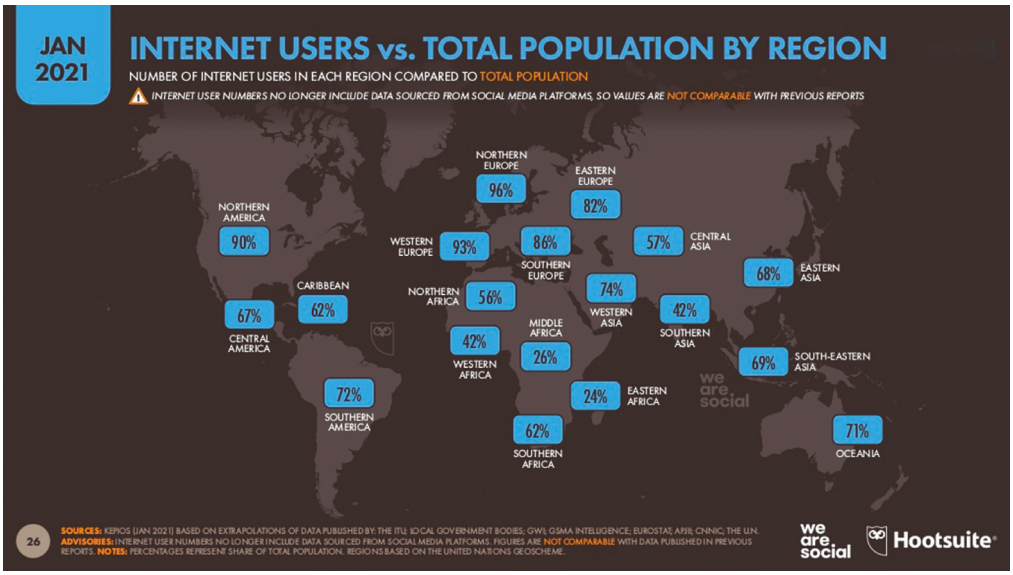
The Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO) insists that poverty and inequality continue to be the burning issues of social science research in Latin American and Caribbean countries.

Figure 4. *Internet users in the world. Hootsuite and WeAreSocial report, 2021*



Source: Scribd Company (2021).

Figure 5. *Number of internet users. Comparison by region*



Source: Scribd Company (2021).

At the Latin American level, Internet penetration has increased considerably and differentially by country and took different turns with the pandemic in 2020.

Venezuela, Trinidad and Tobago, the Dominican Republic and Brazil are the countries that currently have better figures, but not for this reason a better appropriation in terms of guaranteeing quality of life. In the case of Bolivia, Peru, Salvador and Honduras, which showed low indicators for 2018, increased significantly. However, digital inequalities have become more complex when the quality of access, use and appropriation is reviewed.

Table 1. *Internet penetration, 2018-2020. Based on data from 2017, 2018 and extrapolated to 2020*

	2018	2019	2020
Argentina	77.78%	81.42%	85.24%
Barbados	84.03%	86.37%	88.77%
Bolivia	48.22%	53.04%	58.34%
Brazil	74.22%	81.64%	89.80%
Chile	82.33%	82.33%	82.33%
Colombia	66.68%	71.40%	76.47%
Costa Rica	74.09%	76.88%	79.79%
Dominican Republic	74.82%	82.31%	90.54%
Ecuador	60.67%	64.27%	68.09%
El Salvador	37.20%	40.92%	45.02%
Guatemala	71.50%	78.65%	86.52%
Honduras	34.06%	36.60%	39.33%
Jamaica	60.58%	66.64%	73.30%
Mexico	65.77%	67.75%	69.79%
Panama	62.01%	66.45%	71.20%
Paraguay	64.99%	69.16%	73.60%
Peru	52.54%	56.65%	61.08%
Trinidad and Tobago	81.58%	86.06%	90.79%
Uruguay	70.21%	72.20%	74.24%
Venezuela	79.20%	87.12%	95.83%
Latin America (Weighted average)	68.66%	73.52%	78.78%
OECD (Weighted average)	83.93%	86.07%	88.33%

Note: The latest data provided by ITU are for 2017 and 2018 by country. Data for 2019 and 2020 have been extrapolated based on last year's growth rate with information provided by ITU.

Source: CAF (2020).

These penetration figures are the gateway to identifying a common history of ICT expansion in the region, a process in which governments, in almost all cases, accompanied the privatization of communications, promoted economic liberalization and the creation of cultural provisions through plans and programs for the community that privilege ways of seeing, knowing and acting in relation to technological objects as consumable, purchasable and useful devices. In conclusion, technology is seen as an important factor of economic development rather than as a cultural and symbolic object with the capacity to participate in the processes of subjectivation.

From this approach, it makes sense to recognize the role that private sector actors have played in the development of ICTs since they have been responsible for the basic architecture with which all actions in the digital world are carried out and for the permanent innovations in this sector as designers and creators of the entire offer in telecommunications, hardware, software and applications, in addition to controlling much of the Internet infrastructure such as IP addresses (Internet protocol) and domain name systems.

Reports published by specialized media analyze the different ways in which companies such as IBM, Microsoft, Oracle, among others, exercise substantial power in the ICT field as world leaders in the software market:

> United States of America (USA) is positioned as the enabler of most infrastructure, which has meant its power in this field, although some developing nations such as Taiwan, Korea and Malaysia play an important role in the production of hardware, while countries such as India stand out in the software sector and in outsourcing or subcontracting facilitated by information technologies. (Gurumurthy, 2014, p. 13)

These geopolitics of technology and its consequences for Latin America cannot be invisible since the region is also on a map of exploitation of resources such as coltan for the electronics industry, use and consumption of remanufacturing products of parts and devices that defines, also, relationships with technological development. In this sense, it is identified that in the last decade the efforts of the community and world organizations have focused on combating global warming but very little has been done in relation to the scarcity faced by the minerals used in electronic components and that are extracted in an uncontrolled manner.

It can be said that technological advances have implied complex dynamics in the relationship between private enterprise, governments, multilateral organizations and civil society in which, so far, the greatest gains continue to be for privileged minorities both in terms of economic profit and in terms of their use for the construction and dissemination of new knowledge.

Tamayo *et al*. (2007) make a genealogy of the development discourse and the history of the Internet for the Colombian case, presenting coincidences in the processes of expansion and consolidation of communications technologies and the Internet for the rest of the region and contributing to the understanding of the political, economic and cultural interests that positioned not only a technology, but, in the words of the authors, "the updating of the developmentalist discourse within the framework of neoliberal globalization".

In this context, the developmentalist discourse generates forms of use and appropriation of technology that culturally signify and modify established patterns and position new referents for social problems which, in the case of poverty, are related to the capacity to access and connect to the information transmitted through these communication channels. Likewise, with other problems that appear in the governmental discourse and distractors that blur the conditions of the region, its background and risks.

> If we may use an analogy, to develop and get out of poverty it is imperative to connect. The homogenization of terms, such as gender digital gap, ignores the dynamics of social contexts, their particularities and rhythms, and is a perfect excuse to induce poor countries to make structural changes that, rather than generating autonomy, facilitate processes of economic, political and cultural dependence. (Tamayo *et al*., 2007, p. 81)

In this context, it is important to identify that although some Latin American countries have witnessed important changes in the forms of government since 2000, which marked a change of era - as a result of the struggles of different social movements and organizations against neoliberal adjustments and globalization, including those for the recognition of the rights of sexual diversity -; these changes have not meant a substantial modification of structural conditions since they maintain neoliberal policies that, although they recognize positive aspects of the vindication of minority groups, imply the advancement of the dynamics of commodification of life and common goods in the region. In the case of criticism of extractivism, this represents an important contradiction considering environmental sustainability. As Svampa (2016) states, they bring to light classic debates of Latin American thought such as the question of the place of native peoples in the framework of current development models, the constant recreation of the situation of dependency and the return of infinite populisms.

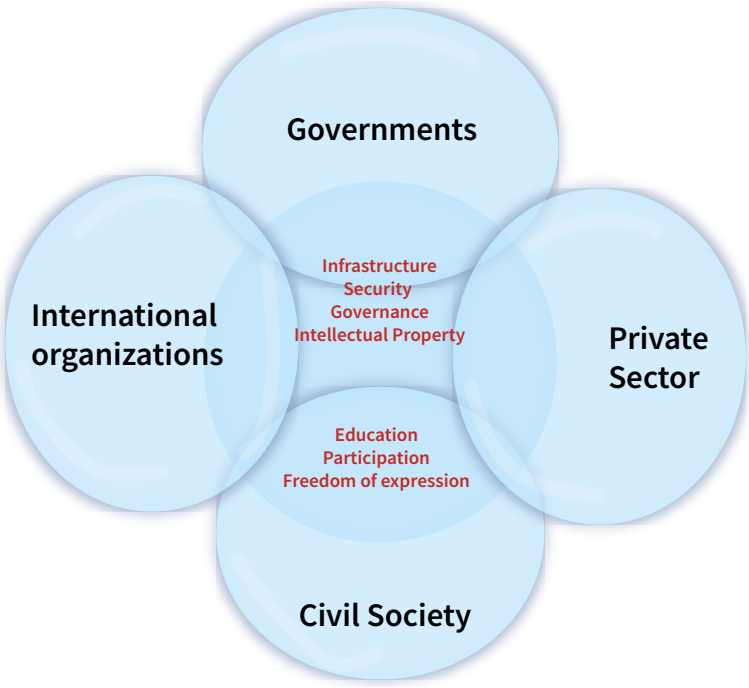
In this regard, she states that:

> Different governments emerged generically characterized as progressive that inserted a transitional scenario, embracing diverse ideological currents and political perspectives, from the most radical, to some institutionalist and classical ones. Among them, the most radical experiences such as

> Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador, linked to constituent processes and other progressive, albeit more conservative ones such as Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Chile. (Svampa, 2016, p. 325)

This change of era was accompanied by an important Latin Americanist narrative, which knew how to produce great expectations and the forms of participation of the popular, in the face of which it found severe limitations and growing fronts of conflict.

Figure 6. *Correlations present in public policy discussions for social, economic and political integration of ICTs. Actors and dimensions*



Source: Own elaboration.

1.3 The connections: colonialism-dependence

This context characterizes the socio-political matrix that emerges in Latin America with the arrival of ICTs in the region, which coincides with the struggles of different social movements and organizations against neoliberal adjustments and globalization. These struggles are succeeded by progressive leftist forms of government - understood as a horizon of change, following Svampa (2016) -, although a marked dependence persists, intensified by the relationship with telecommunications.

> In Latin America, the transition to neoliberal globalization through the so-called structural reforms meant both the accentuation of pre-existing inequalities and the emergence of new political, economic, social and cultural gaps, visible, on the one hand, in the fragmentation and loss of power in the popular sectors and broad sectors of the middle classes and, on the other hand, in the political and economic concentration of the internationalized power elites. The entry into a new socioeconomic order included both the opening and deregulation of the economy and a profound reform of the state apparatus, hand in hand with a highly exclusionary modernizing discourse. This dual process, which largely crossed the Latin American countries as a whole, led to the institutionalization of a 'new dependency' whose common feature would be the exacerbation of the power conferred to financial capital through its main economic institutions (IMF, World Bank). (Svampa, 2016, p. 404)

Under these dynamics of dependence, once again, elements of cognitive, cultural and political colonialisms, historically accepted and naturalized, are evident, emerging through practices linked to technology, which have redefined the relationship between the media and the configuration of the current order of society, deciding about what should be culturally maintained and what is susceptible to be updated.

Restrepo and Rojas (2010) make an approach to two concepts that allow contextualizing this colonial mark in the globalization orders. On the one hand, the coloniality of power, understood as a global power pattern of relations of domination, exploitation and conflict around labor, nature, sex, subjectivity and authority within the emergence and reproduction of the capitalist system. And, on the other hand, the coloniality of knowledge, understood as the epistemic dimension of the coloniality of power, expressed in the establishment of hierarchies of the modalities of knowledge production in which Western philosophy and science operate as paradigms that subordinate other modalities of knowledge.

In this sense, we speak of cognitive capitalism as an advanced phase of development of this economic-political system in which wisdom, knowledge and even the cultural sphere itself are placed at the center of wealth-generating productive processes. Brea (2007) calls these reconfigurations cognitive economies of knowledge. At the same time, he warns of a not-so-obvious transition from the classic economies of trade and merchandise to the new economies of network distribution, in which the only thing that can be regulated is access to the circulating flows of information and content.

For their part, Sunkel and Trucco (2012) identify how, at the beginning of the 21st century, a wide massification is achieved both in terms of access to electronic devices and Internet connection, positioning techno utopia as a cultural belief, which even in conditions of

inequality receives the paradigm of technological development in a positive way. Thus, the use of computers, mobile phones and later the Internet became popular, leaving the space of universities and companies to reach homes and, recently, the pockets of Latin Americans as an increasingly appropriate service in everyday life.

The structure for these circuits to function effectively in the accumulation of capital requires that they be incorporated through the educational apparatus. Education becomes, then, the platform that guarantees the complete penetration of a way of conceiving the world from the logics of cognitive capitalism. These configurations become visible in the educational policy that mimics business logic and values as a priority and horizon. Cultural and educational public policies become the ordering from which knowledge production practices that correspond to the characteristics of the commodification of symbolic goods are normalized, which is why so much attention is paid to regularizations in higher education, to intellectual property legislation and to global governance systems.

In these dynamics, forms of relationship that previously had another meaning are repositioned. On the one hand, collective work is vindicated under the mask of network collaboration, but not as cooperation, but as competition between collectives, since its purpose is the generation of capital. On the other hand, the individual is assigned full responsibility for their participation in the economy with the promotion of attitudes related to entrepreneurship and the idea of being an entrepreneur of themselves. Here we follow Lazzarato (2015) to understand such practices as constitutive of forms of government in which domination is carried out not by force, but by the conduction of behavior, from the provision of flexible and adaptive rules that condition the environment and make the subject behave in this or that way. This author speaks of completing the concept of governmentality in Foucault, starting from the understanding of the privatization of governmentality:

> The 'privatization' of governmentality forces us to consider non-state biopolitical devices. Since the 1920s, techniques of governance based on consumption have been developed. These techniques are deployed with marketing, surveys, television, internet, social networks, etc., which permeate life in all its dimensions. These biopolitical devices are at the same time devices of valorization, production of subjectivity and police control. (p. 13)

Another element is incorporated by Brea (2007), who shows how one of the keys to the establishment of cognitive-cultural capitalism is the flourishing of the computer industries, especially software and the apparatus for organizing and searching for accumulated information as autonomous generators of wealth. Likewise, the author proposes as another key factor the emergence of a mega-industry in which three industries converge: information technology, communication, and cultural and entertainment production.

This scenario of the three industries with the highest growth rate in the societies of advanced capitalism occurs in the context of the widespread implementation and development of new information technologies and electronic communication, by virtue of the development of the digital revolution that offers a network of channels for public distribution and consumption in the form of mass culture. This fully justifies the denomination of electronic cultural capitalism to designate this historical phase of a broad cycle (Brea, 2007, p. 54).

These logics of capital, which have to do both with technology-related industries and with the conception of converting once symbolic goods such as knowledge into merchandise and generating through crises their scarcity as part of the economic circuit of profit and loss, cannot be understood outside of an understanding of the role of machines both in their sense as artifacts and in the sense of the social machine that legitimizes them as the center of their relations. Lazzarato (2015) poses to us that capitalism is first and foremost a machinism arranged to its own ends:

> Today the production of subjectivity and the techniques of governmentality are inconceivable without the intervention of machines (...) Capitalism reconstructs a subjugation in which men function in the same way as mechanical parts, constituting components and human elements of machinism. For the management companies that are social networks (Facebook) or search engines (Google), for survey institutes, data banks, market research, marketing companies, etc., we do not constitute a subject, but rather a source of exchange and transformation of information. (pp. 182-183)

In this context of advanced capitalism is where the decline of the traditional apparatuses producing identity and sociability deepens, while at the same time an increase in social, geographical and physical mobility is perceived, but also in affective, gender and social role mobility, which proposes a sophisticated mode of production in which the object is the mass production of subjectivity. In this regard, Brea (2007) states:

> That displaced function by which the cultural ceases to be a bridge of relation with tradition, with the accumulated memory of the findings of humanity, an instrument of social reproduction to become above all a device and argument of production of individuation, in macro-factory of fictions that interweave the imaginary of a life of its own, in a gigantic industry of subjectivity. In its environment, capitalism - and all the possibilities of resistance against it - is instituted precisely as the form of biopolitics. (p. 61)

In this context, the colonial mark is also the permission we give as Latin American society to the hegemonic powers so that these conditions of cognitive capitalism may flow with

little resistance and under the tutelage of local governments that, based on their relations of dependence, follow the policies recommended by these powers.

To ask, then, about the women of Latin America, about their places, their voices and their roles in the dynamics of cognitive capitalism makes sense because from the politics of inclusion the technologies of government are perfected and, in this sense, capitalism ends up capturing their claims and struggles for its own strengthening.

The situation of women in this global scenario, where new contexts of production are valorized in a capitalist sense, has to do with what Sassen (2015) calls the existence of a systemic relationship between globalization and the feminization of wage labor, not only because of the increase of the active female population in the labor circuits, but also because of the characteristics of precariousness, flexibility, low remuneration, mobility and fragmentation added to the intensive exploitation of individual skills and knowledge typical of today's wage labor. These dynamics of cognitive capitalism, geographically localized, account for a structure of the world domination order that Morini (2014) explains as follows:

> Women from the South of the world, through the circuits of the globalized economy, are transformed into waged substitutes for the reproduction of women from the North of the world to the detriment of their own reproductive capacity/will; women from the North of the world become cognitive workers and are pushed towards production and even towards the horizon of an artificial and/or sterile life. (Morini, 2014, p. 82).

Thus, the colonial mark of cognitive capitalism on women's bodies moves in multiple ways and is strengthened in the inclusion policies designed to govern their behavior. Making visible a gender digital gap and operating practices for the appropriation of technologies, but at the same time limiting discussions on the gender approach in public policy and handling the problem of gender violence with insignificant palliatives are symptoms of the clarity that capitalism has in the use of fear as an insurmountable horizon of governmentality; fear that the history of women and the struggle for their rights knows very well.

From this horizon of ideas, the South and in particular Latin America maintain in force circuits of colonial order, understanding the conditions of its participation in the informational economy, not as creators but rather as appropriators, importers and users, sometimes not very qualified for these dominant technologies. This condition is what gives us politically and culturally the place of subordinates and generates processes of dependence at various technological levels that, far from being new for the region, signify the continuity of a history of dependence that for the case of cyberculture should be analyzed in greater depth, beyond the concern for access and the assumption of the

need for integration into the production model under the conditions of the hegemonic powers. Svampa (2016), in her analysis of the long life of marginality in the region and its metamorphoses, shows how Latin America continues to be the most unequal continent, how marginality is one of the major issues that warns us about the consolidation and scope of social inequalities.

At present, ECLAC (2012) indicates that 19% of the Latin American population would be under social plans (voucher or income transfer policy), that is, around 113 million people in 15 Latin American countries, regardless of their ideological position, and whose main beneficiaries are women heads of household. This is undoubtedly a disturbing fact that confirms the consolidation of a marginal pole and forces us to think about the consequences of the crystallization of a welfare-participatory citizenship model, highly dependent on the State, which offers subjects few possibilities to develop with political, social and economic autonomy.

In this sense, Latin America, as a cultural construction, is the referent of a common public policy that, from a global project, perceives the region in a similar way to how the subject-woman is perceived. In other words, it needs a horizon that will lead it to the "appropriate" model of development, a task in which governmentality is highly efficient.

Both Escobar (2005) and Castro-Gómez (2011), from a critical perspective of coloniality, propose to analyze the creative and inventive processes that communities and popular sectors "from below" carry out, driven by the need to reappropriate and technologically redesign certain models through the cultural practices of social movements in permanent tension and hybridization.

Although debates have been formulated from the academy that contribute to the understanding of the complexity of the political and cultural logics of the region -understanding it as a diverse region, but also with much in common- beyond the borders of the different social sciences and currents of thought that defend one or another perspective and above the epistemological nuances and their different approaches, these studies are contributing to the construction of a situated thought, important to forge one's own paths.

> Anthropological, economic and sociological studies have uncovered a dense network of local cooperation networks linked to the world of poverty and basic needs. They have shown that, historically, because of their peripheral and dependent condition, Latin American territories have been and continue to be factories of collective solidarity. Located outside the formal market and in the absence of the State, a large part of the popular sectors has had to develop and reproduce themselves through structures of reciprocity and self-managed forms of cooperation. (Svampa, 2016, p. 435)

These currents of thought have not only impacted academic discussions, but in some Latin American countries they have also permeated governmental discussions and influenced social movements. Ramírez (2015) raises the problem of the commons and the proposal to transcend towards a social economy of knowledge that, understanding the dynamics of cognitive capitalism, allows subordinated societies to work on a proposal that he calls "moving from the tragedy of the commons and the uncommons to the virtue of the commons", where the value of the public and the commons is redefined for a free social production and distribution of knowledge in which intellectual property rights are an exception to the standard of free circulation, so that knowledge, in plural, means social wealth.

Latin America, as a cultural construction, is the referent of a common public policy that, from a global project, perceives the region in a similar way to how the subject-woman is perceived.

Chapter 2
Dis-connections: digital access and appropriation gaps

It is evident how ICTs have managed to maintain a positive belief about human communication and the potential benefits of technology in the service of society. These beliefs are present and are the basis on which the thought of Western progress is based and is what Mattelart (2007) calls techno utopia, revealing how various schools of thought, from the 19th century to the present, have developed a positive representation of progress and the advancement of technologies.

These approaches have been widely appropriated by science and politics, strengthening the ideas and social imaginaries of communication in its technical aspect as social cohesion and promoters par excellence of transformations in societies and social groups. Remondino (2012) states that with each new ICT device, society's optimistic yearnings are updated, associating technology development with social ties and justifying the massification and democratization of technologies as the solution to many social problems.

In the various attempts to construct and conceptualize the term digital gap as a category of analysis, some authors, including Norris (2001), base their work on the assumption of the importance of ICTs and the Internet for improving productivity and their potential for participation in the global economy. For the case of developing countries, the author presents three levels of gap: between nations (global gap), between the info-rich and the info-poor (social gap) and between those who use the potential of the Internet to increase their participation in the political process and those who do not (democratic gap). The author attempts to define the digital gap as a set of access deficiencies that affect the potential development that could arise from the use of technology.

There are also more relational and complex approaches such as those proposed by Wellman (2003), which interweave the various gaps into four perspectives: access to technology, technological literacy, social access and social use. This model seeks to investigate more about user behavior on the Internet and identifies various attempts at conceptualization and measurement that have made progress in a more contextualized

perspective of the problem, although there is still a limitation in the configuration of the term, making invisible the conditions of inequality that existed prior to the arrival of the Internet and which, as mentioned above, are not resolved with the mass dissemination of ICTs.

Given, then, the multi-causality and complexity of this phenomenon, the infrastructure and technology penetration figures issued by different organizations -including the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), the United Nations (UN) specialize telecommunications agency responsible for regulating telecommunications at the international level- are very useful but must be accompanied by in-depth and critical analyses that also make it possible to distinguish elements of exclusion and colonization present in this gap.

2.1 Gender digital gap: more than discursive rhetoric, structural inequality

It is possible that in Latin America the current struggles and demands for equal participation in the information society do not have the political meaning that they had for women's social movements in Europe and the United States, which since the 1950s have been demanding the right to vote. Now the exercise of citizenship has requirements that need a technological use and appropriation and, with greater urgency, a deep reflection that allows to raise the political place of women in relation to science and technology.

Sketching some of the history of gender studies, it is evident that in a first stage the central theme was framed in the sexual difference: one was either a man or a woman and this condition was universalized. Thus, there was a cultural representation and a specific narrative to designate who were men or women and what were their roles, privileges and limitations in society. Later, it would be social and academic dynamics that would promote critical and constructive re-readings of these limited representations that did not allow progress in the field of study, nor in the conquest of fundamental rights.

De Lauretis (1994) warns that a gender approach based on sexual difference presents obstacles such as the universalization of male-female categories that makes it practically impossible to articulate differences between women and "women" and between men and "men", and makes invisible categories of difference such as ethnicity, social class, age, religion, among others. In other words, a universalization does not allow for the establishment of more complex social and cultural understandings, determined by multiple variables.

Likewise, the gender category falls into the trap of becoming more of a difference as a linguistic and cultural representation than from biological questions related to

sexuality. Hence the importance for postfeminist studies of rereading, deconstructing and reconstructing gender as representations with concrete implications, both subjective and objective for individuals in their material life.

It is important to consider that the cultural conceptions of masculine and feminine are complementary, although exclusive, categories in which human beings place themselves based on the symbolic system or system of meanings given in each culture. As explained by De Lauretis (1994), sex is correlated with cultural contents according to social values and hierarchies, which she calls gender systems, which, in all cultures, are intimately linked to political and economic factors. For this reason, the cultural construction of sex and gender and the asymmetry that characterizes all gender systems in different cultures, each in its own particular way, are understood as systematically linked to the organization of social inequality. Hence the history of women in the world.

These questions, both to feminist movements and to gender studies, have produced in feminist theory itself a permanent state of deconstruction that allows it to reconstruct itself as well. Butler (2006) recognizes the continuity of the radical critique of hegemonic social forms in the 1980s, trying to overcome the conception of gender from the sexual difference, from what for the 1990s and the current century have been called postfeminist studies, a deconstructive approach in which feminine and masculine subjectivities are repositioned.

In the context of this reflection we speak of a female subject, of a subject of feminism understood as a conception or understanding of a process of sociocultural representation and not of the woman herself. Women are historical subjects and complex social subjects in their diversity that have been defined by the discourses of gender technology that allow us to approach the understanding of the processes of representation and not precisely women, which is why what we call gender theories is in a permanent dynamic of construction (Wajcman, 2006).

It is interesting to see how the construction of gender continues today through various technologies, considering that historically the mass media have played this role and that now so does the information society as an organized institutional discourse with the power to control the field of social signification and then, to produce, promote andimplant gender representations. However, and as the hypothesis of this research proposes, the deconstructions of these representations also take place, subsist and coexist in the margins of hegemonic discourse.

In this context of dystopian and utopian perspectives that has been normalized for so long under the belief that the gender category conditions the favorable or unfavorable development of technological competences (Rodriguez, 2006) and that holds ICTs responsible for creating a condition of greater subordination for women, the condition of

diversity in what has been objectified as women is also recognized and multiple possibilities of uses and appropriations of ICTs are perceived. As stated by Justo (2008) when she speaks of logics that allow creating, sharing and co-creating from diverse orders and outside governmentality, which can become promising in the construction of freedoms using the Internet, and lead us to a world beyond gender polarities.

For her part, Firestone (1976) reminds us that cybernetics would offer the possibility of escaping the confines of the body and how this project would lead to the liberation of humanity from the tyranny of its biology. In this line of thought, years later, many feminist theorists began to reflect on the relationship of gender and the body within the discourse of cyberspace. At the same time, the dystopian discourses that view the insistence on the use of ICTs with suspicion assume that under the promotion of greater freedom, the risks are not measured, which is why women's movements continue to denounce the problems of exclusion and violence for both the connected and the unconnected.

For Latin America in particular, the transition from the 20th to the 21st century was characterized by feminist movements that had to overcome several dilemmas related to the permeation of the logics of movements in Europe and North America. They wondered about the relevance of doing the same things and in the same way, even in the use of the denomination of the category gender, which has been questioned by some Latin American feminists, as Gargallo (2007) exposes when considering that this term does not represent with relevance the Latin American reality that now, in the information society, globalizes and turns cyberspace into the supposed territory of anyone who wants to exist as to be recognized, respected, named, represented and declared in their active citizenship. Castillo (2014) presents it, stating that: "There is only politics when an excluded/invisible 'non-party' politicizes its situation and disturbs the established structure of the political/political order of representation, asserting itself as a universal representative and demanding the rearticulation of its particular position" (p. 19).

At the beginning of the 21st century, Bonder (2002) presented a diagnostic document to ECLAC in which she identified the lack of information as the greatest obstacle to enhancing the potential positive impacts of technologies, and how these, and especially information technology, can help policies and women to achieve their goals.

With regard to the effects of ICTs on social and gender equity and the current digital gap, the author argues that research must go beyond access, highlighting the need for policies to regulate and democratize the new information and knowledge technologies, as well as the importance of analyzing the collective imaginary that is being built around them and the different forms of subjectivity that the Internet is fostering within a vision of the future and of change in the social relations that define citizenship.

As a break with the contexts in which women's voices continue to be represented on various issues, including their place in the circuits of science and technology, the recent

contributions of postcolonial feminist studies propose, on the one hand, a critique of institutional feminisms driven, according to Gargallo (2007), by the control of popular and identity movements by various governments in the region. On the other hand, they identify that the use of ICTs has made it possible to transform the public space and the place of women in it, both for the service of institutionality and for what Valeria Fernández in Bidaseca's text (2013) has called "autonomous" in relation to the use of media by feminist collectives in Latin America.

> In the specific case of gender or feminist discourses in the media, and the use of these that women have perfected in recent years, has generated the birth and growth of a specific counter-audience, not limited to traditional media since women have empowered in the last decade other alternative spaces such as local radio stations, magazines and especially the Internet (portals, chat, lists, blogs), which have favored the deployment of counter-discourses whose purpose is to educate, inform and reinforce a worldview different from the hegemonic one. (Bidaseca, 2013, p. 433)

Likewise, in academic, institutional and informal scenarios, high priority has been given to reflect on the gender-technology relationship from the postcolonial horizon and, given the speed of the changes produced by technology and the complexity in intersection with gender, it is necessary to deepen and diversify points of view that allow us to understand and transcend the routes traced from governmentality in order to imagine others based on our own knowledge as a response to recognize the colonial mark both in the academy and in gender approaches, institutionalized or not.

At present, studies that intertwine the gender-technology variables are being crossed by questions from emotional capitalism and cyberfeminism, currents that timidly reach the academy and more slowly the gender social movements in Latin America, very possibly due to the priorities in relation to basic rights and the social appropriation of technologies. Although each country presents very different conditions in this regard, it is worth exploring them as a field of research.

From cyberfeminism, for example, one turns to outside developments to propose one's own reflections on the body, art and communication. In this sense, Ortiz (2014) has explored how the growing use of networked communication technologies constitutes a field of production of meaning that is of increasing interest for social research, especially the Internet.

> The research on the experiences that feminist women in Colombia have in Internet social networks, to reveal the uses and meanings they have constructed in relation to this type of technology and the possibilities

> offered by this virtual space through social networks, to mobilize the word, thought and motivate individual and collective feminist action. (p. 67).

Although there is evidence of actions and activism on the Internet led by women and feminist movements, these spaces have an important diversity, difficult to classify, and occur more as a phenomenon of response to certain situations, through denunciation, information, communication and art, fields in which social research has much to contribute. The works of Bidaseca (2004), Ortiz (2014) and Flores (2011) show some approaches where differences between the types of women internet users and their cyber-feminist practices are exposed, and differences are also marked between institutional and autonomous spaces that work in this field of feminism.

> Regarding cyberfeminism in Latin America, we can find Verónica Engler, who has made some journalistic reports on women and the Internet and addressed the issue of cyberfeminism. In the theoretical and academic field, Chela Sandoval and María Fernández stand out, as well as Coco Fusco, who is closer to the issues of identity and activism on behalf of migrants and women in maquiladoras, while doing multimedia work on women's issues, without fully immersing herself in net.art, although she did broadcast a live video with feminist themes over the Internet (which she calls net.performance). (Flores, 2011, p. 3)

Other analyses carried out in the context of theories critical of capitalism propose to review the relations between economic behavior and emotions to demonstrate how capitalism has nurtured an intense emotional culture, favoring the development of a culture of affectivity, often hypermediated by technologies, information and communication, in the forms of sociability proposed on the Internet. Illouz (2007) proposes to reveal how economic relationships have acquired a profoundly emotional character, how intimate relationships are increasingly defined by economic and political models of negotiation and exchange, and in what ways women are the main potential customers for new businesses in which emotions are involved.

2.2 Politics as techno-utopia: "new" discourses, old debts

In the reports of international organizations and in the summits of the information society (ISC), the existence of a digital gender gap has been evidenced, but this characteristic is only the context, since behind this relationship of inequity in the use of technology there are relational factors that make us think that the new technologies manifest old inequities.

These technologies are built from the androcentric model of science and patriarchy, i.e., they preserve the architecture of a system of beliefs and values that places the masculine as universal and stereotypes, censures and promotes certain ways of being a woman. However, despite this structure, these same technologies present appropriate conditions for empowerment and emancipation from the factors associated with the subordination to which women have historically been exposed.

The UNDP human development reports (2011, 2013), and in particular the Gender Inequality Index (GII), show how women continue to live in unequal conditions in several fundamental aspects such as food, health, education and, in general, access to basic goods and services, including knowledge, technology and information. In this sense, it is worth asking ourselves whether information and communication technologies have modified these inequitable relations in any way.

With this insistent publicity from multilateral organizations and the public policies that follow them, pressure is exerted on women to incorporate the use of ICTs into their lives under the promise of access and labor equity, participation in interactive learning and tele-training initiatives, and access to knowledge and information to empower and improve their lives; This is while maintaining invisible factors of reproduction of patriarchal values manifested in stereotypes about gender identities and in practices of violence and subordination in the use and social appropriation of these technologies, even more present in the current generations that are permanently exposed to the information that circulates through the mediatization of daily life.

2.2.1 Tracing the digital gap discourse

To understand a little more about the origin and context of the *gender digital gap* category, Ballestero (2002) identifies the beginning of the discussion, which was first expanded in the United States in the mid-1990s, when it became evident that significant social inequalities emerged and increased as computers and, in particular, the Internet developed.

This author notes that, although the priority of American public policies is not precisely the elimination of social inequalities, since the principle of individual freedom takes precedence over that of equality or social justice, public policies guarantee access to goods and services, but do not go beyond access. Under this same interest, research on gender and technology by Wajcman (2006) and Castaño (2008) has confirmed the importance of addressing aspects such as the digital gap, among others, considering the difficulties in access and permanence under equal conditions by women in relation to the factors of inclusion and political participation in the information society.

In 2003, at the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) and the declaration of principles, the participating countries promoted the CRIS campaign (Communication Rights in the Information Society) with the aim of influencing the agenda of the summit with issues related to government media and communication rights. This campaign emphasizes technologies as tools for an information society for all, criticizing the instrumental prevalence of technologies seen mainly as an end rather than as means to promote social change, oblivious to the real cultural and linguistic barriers and to the relations of technical, economic and political dependence and subordination between and within the North and the South of the world.

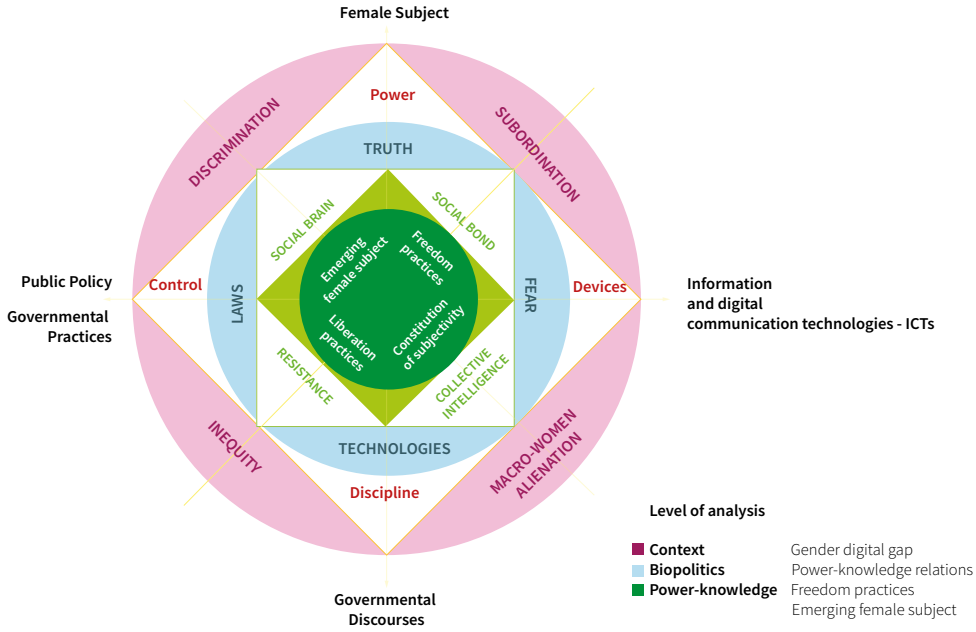
Likewise, this summit began the recognition of the non-neutrality of gender in digital spaces and the inequity present in the information society:

> We affirm that the development of ICTs offers enormous possibilities for women, who must be an integral part of the information society and must be very prominent actors in that society. We commit ourselves to ensuring that the information society fosters women's capabilities and their full participation on an equal basis in all spheres of society and at all stages of decision-making. To this end, we must integrate a gender equality perspective and use ICTs as a tool to achieve this goal. (WSIS, 2003)

Thus, we can perceive that the so-called information society is also a discursive construction that agencies and precedes the digital gap discourse and its gender component and that seeks to institute an economic and social model in which, once again, women's conditions are not dignified. As Sassen (2003) presents in her research with the cartography of globalization, concluding that it is necessary to understand the dynamics of globalization in its concrete forms to grasp the gender effects.

The figure represents the conditions of subordination to technology proposed under the category of *gender digital gap* in the discourses of governmentality and, on the other hand, the possibilities of emergence of different types of technological appropriation that re-signify its use and generate practical possibilities of liberation.

Figure 7. *Polar representation of statements related to the gender digital gap*



Source: Meneses and Aranda (2021).

2.3 Constitution of a discourse: gender digital gap

> **"The old mental habit (of philosophers) of thinking the masculine as synonymous with universal (...) the mental habit of translating women as metaphor, is a mental habit older and more difficult to break than the Cartesian subject."**
>
> **Braidotti (2004).**

The gender digital gap, as an indicator and discourse within public policies, has been present in initiatives at global, regional and national levels and, repeatedly, has been an instrument through which multilateral organizations promote a type of development and an idea of social progress for the region from a hegemonic perspective.

The World Summit on the Information Society organized by the United Nations -Geneva, 2003 and Tunis, 2005- and the Latin American Plans of Action for the Information Society

implemented since 2007 are some of the examples of this approach. There are also various programs and policies promoted by national governments that have sought to expand the benefits of these technologies under the assumption that they contribute to development and can become an opportunity for excluded sectors of the population, such as women.

The United Nations World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995) defined the media and new technologies as a crucial sector for achieving greater equality, democracy and social justice. The European Union, for its part, had already been warning about the problem of the low participation of women in the information society since 1992, as a precursor to the appearance of the concept of the digital gap in government discourse, referring to the socioeconomic difference created between those communities that have access to information and communication technologies and those that do not. This term -gender gap- also includes the differences between groups according to their ability to use ICTs effectively, due to different levels of literacy and technological capacity.

In this sense, gender studies have taken up the concept and have come to approach the phenomenon in a pluralistic manner, identifying three gaps related to access, use and appropriation. Castaño (2007) states in the reports of the E-equality Observatory how women use and take advantage of ICTs in all spheres of life, with increasing representation, but how at the same time there is a gender digital gap that manifests itself not only in the lower number of women users of ICTs, but also in the persistence of gender-specific structural inequalities that constitute barriers to their access and use.

At the beginning, when ICTs began to be widely disseminated and used, it was thought that some sectors, groups and countries that were lagging in the appropriation of the tools would soon be leveled out through access policies. However, the situation is much more complex if we recognize the existence of gaps in access, use, content and technological skills and, in the case of women, it is also necessary to review certain differential elements. In its report, the E-equality Observatory (2007) states that inequalities go beyond problems of access to equipment and Internet access possibilities (first gap), and that there are also inequalities in the production of information and content, that is, in the origins of information, in the availability of content and in the identity of the people who broadcast it (second gap).

Moreover, the second gender digital gap is not only quantitative -determined by the proportion of people who have access to ICTs- but also, and above all, qualitative, since it is marked by differences in technological skills (what people know how to do), intensity (how much they do) and type of use (what they do). This situation has a decisive effect on those who are already incorporated into these technologies and marks a situation of second-level gender inequality.

Thus, discourses based on the gender gap for the permanent promotion of ICT use are justification for the use of technological imperatives, as Rose (2003) explains how a specific discursive imperative is capable of modeling ways of life and, as a component of technologies of the human, forges processes of subjectivation.

> Ensuring that everyone has equal access to, and use of, ICTs helps reduce inequalities (goal 10), bringing information and knowledge to disadvantaged populations around the world, such as people with disabilities, women and girls. In addition, ICTs help achieve gender equality (goal 5), increasing women's access to health, food, education and other development opportunities such as political participation. Empowering women with digital skills is essential to enable them to access essential services that help them make their voices heard in their communities, their governments and on a global scale (International Telecommunication Union - ITI, 2005).

The discussion from these political scenarios has been quite concentrated on the issue of the gender digital gap and the possible strategies to reduce it through public policies. This has led to a perversion by minimizing the discussion on more structural aspects that intersect in the information and knowledge society related to employment, changes in working conditions, transformation of economic models and value creation, legal aspects, education, intellectual property and open knowledge, among other aspects that are clear in the final declaration of the civil society of the Information Society Summit, but that have not yet been implemented:

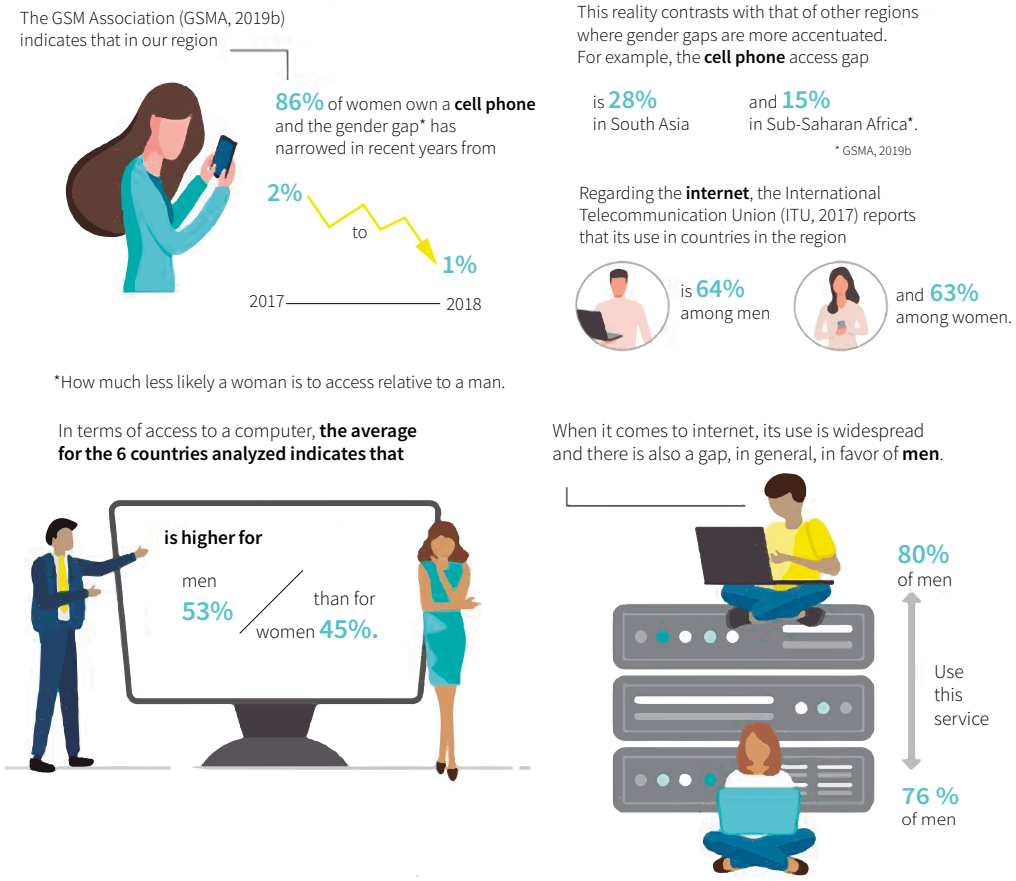
> We consider that technologies can be used as fundamental means and not so as ends in themselves, for which we recognize that reducing the digital gap is one more step, among others, on the road to achieving development in favor of all.
>
> The unequal distribution of ICTs and the lack of access to information for a large part of the world's population, phenomena often referred to as the digital gap, are in fact an expression of new asymmetries in the existing set of social gaps.
>
> These include gaps between North and South, rich and poor, men and women, urban and rural populations, those who have access to information and those who do not. Such disparities can be seen not only between different cultures, but also within national borders. The international community must exercise its collective power to ensure that States take action to reduce national digital gaps. (ITU, 2005).

In this sense, it is worth redefining the term gender digital gap, behind which there are interests that are insistently promoted by the telecommunications industry and embraced

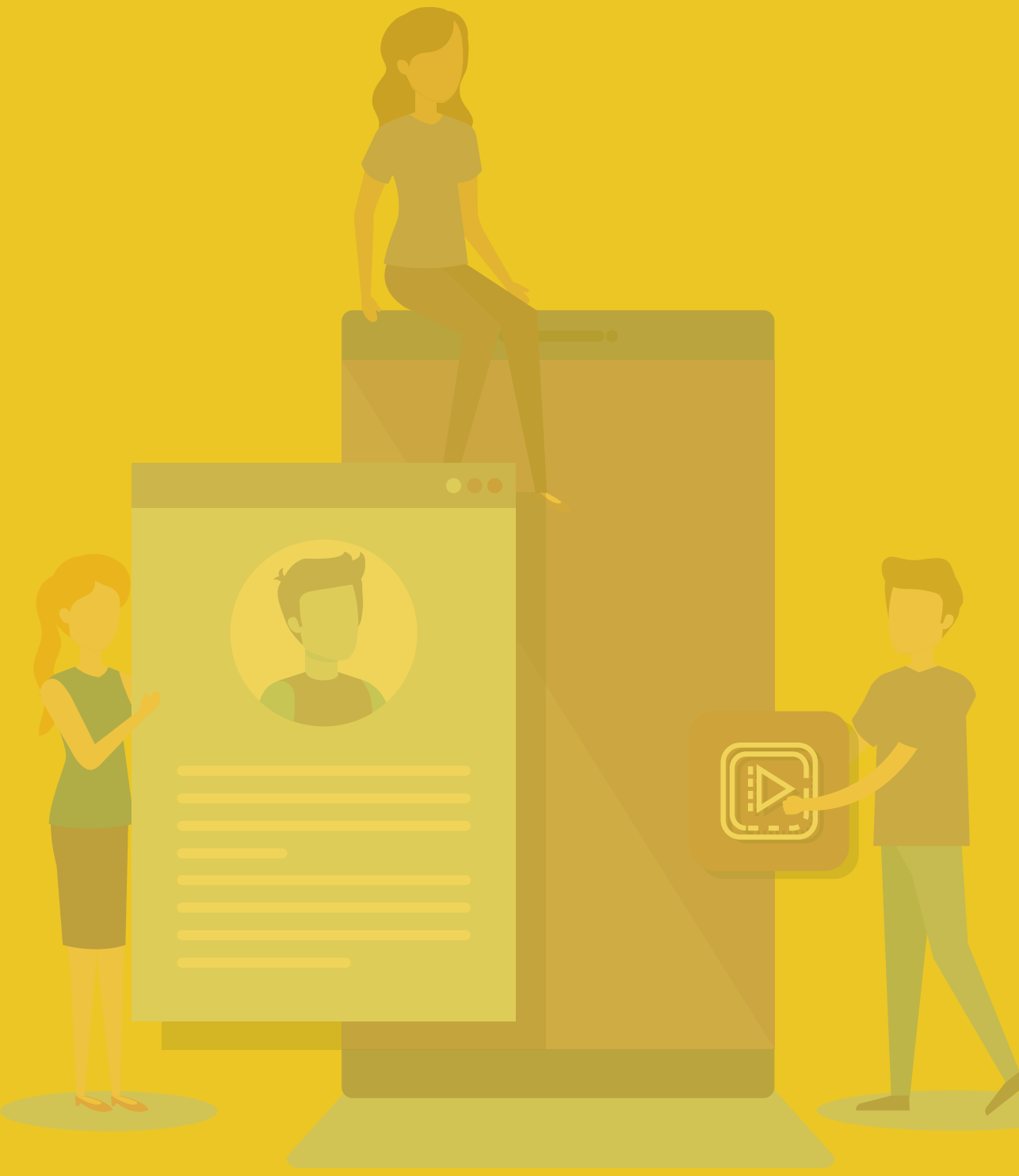
by multilateral organizations and Latin American governments in particular. Villanueva (2005) states that one of the problems, apart from the conceptual weakness of the term, is that even when it is possible to give the term a concrete and measurable charge, constructing it as a functional concept for a certain type of social analysis, it only serves to approximate in a very limited way the reality of access to and use of information and communication technologies and new media. For this reason, this author invites us to discard the digital gap to develop conceptualizations that are more useful for social studies in communication, sociology and culture, as well as for public policies.

Although it seems that the gap in access to devices is low, if we look at other indicators related to browsing time, skills, usage contrasted with age and socioeconomic situation country by country, we see more structural gaps in which women continue to be at a disadvantage.

Figure 8. *Digital gap and access to mobile phones and computer, 2018.*



Source: Agüero *et al*. (2020).



Chapter 3
The routes

"We must accept the paradox that, although technology aggravates inherited problems, we cannot change the world without technology."
Padilla (2012).

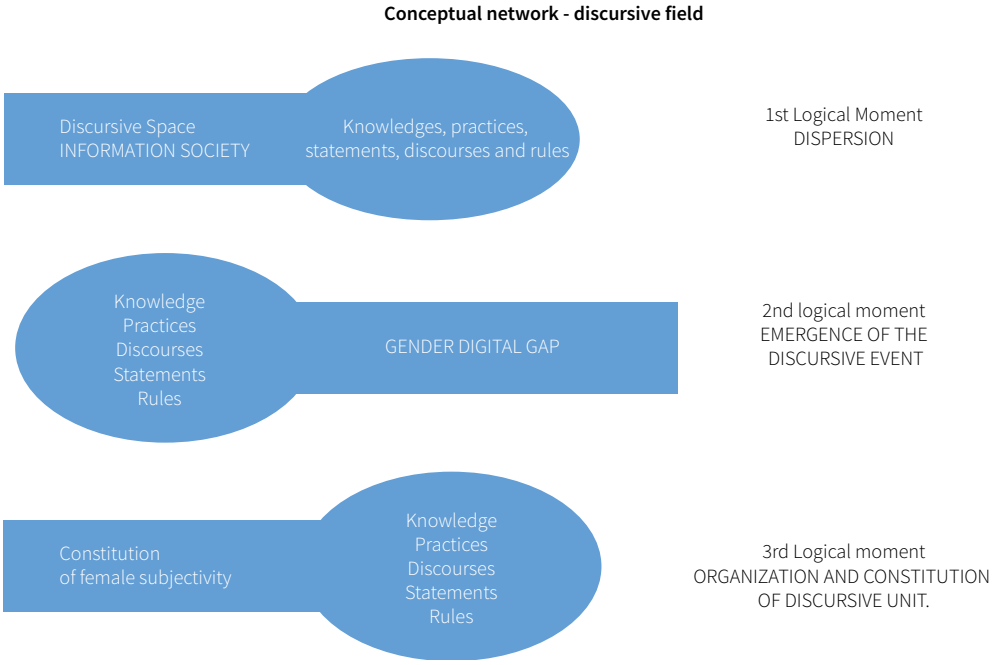
From this point on, and to deepen the argumentation of the theoretical developments proposed in the previous chapters of this book, some documents from international organizations and local governments will be taken as archives to apply archeology as understanding and method, referenced by Foucault in his extensive work. This exercise is marked by the attention he pays to the link between instances of power and discursive systems. In this chapter we will make use of these tools to unveil the discursive rules surrounding the gender digital gap and the power devices that are incubated there.

We start from the assumption that for the democratization of ICTs from a gender perspective, there are statements of a sociocultural nature in public policy that regulate the interactions of a discursive device by enabling normative modalities that would impact the constitution of the subject-woman proper to a normalized citizenship.

These statements show, in turn, a gap between the subject-woman proposed in the public policy model and the practices of use and appropriation of ICTs that are manifested in the world of life, which implies a reconfiguration of the concept of gender digital gap and which would question, in turn, the need to measure inclusion only in terms of access and through objective practices of a census nature.

From this perspective, we propose for the following analysis the construction of the conceptual network and the discursive field to see the conformation trend:

Figure 9. *Constitution of the gender gap as a discursive field*



Source: Own elaboration based on Albano (2006).

It is from this discursive field that the archive is constituted, considering the determination of objects and subjects through discursive formation, and their materiality and interrelation that allow establishing the following statements as the axis of the analysis: citizenship, education, participation and productivity.

These statements emerge from the discursive framework present in the public policy documents for the region, generally set out in the declarations issued by multilateral organizations and, specifically, in the digital agenda designed by ECLAC for Latin America and the Caribbean in the eLAC2020 Assembly, from which the local governments of each country, from their respective ministries of communications and education, design programs, projects and policies that impact the population with a perspective of social appropriation of technology.

3.1 Governmentality as an exercise of domination

A discursive event, put in archeological terms, is understood as the moment of irruption of a set of statements, practices and discourses that at a certain moment reach a degree of coherence and organization and can construct a domain of knowledge. It is precisely

this moment of emergence of the category of gender in public policies that seek to democratize the use and appropriation of technology that the following analysis is interested in unveiling.

In the international context, the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995), the Bavarian Declaration of 2003 and the World Summits on the Information Society (WSIS) held in Geneva (2003) and Tunis (2005) are identified as key to understanding the emergence of gender in the discursive event and its presence in the region's political initiatives.

Similarly, since the Regional Ministerial Conference of Latin America and the Caribbean, international organizations have been designing what they have called the fundamental principles of Latin America and the Caribbean for the transition to information societies. These dialogues on the relationship between ICTs, growth and equity culminated in the Rio Commitment (2005), which establishes the Plan of Action for the Information Society in Latin America and the Caribbean, known as eLAC.

In this path of governmentality mediated by information and communication technologies, Camacho (2013) provides an overview of the documents and specific meetings in which a gender perspective clearly emerges in Latin American policies, with particular emphasis on meetings such as the Mexico Consensus (2004), which proposes the need to promote access for all women to information and communication technologies with a view to both eradicating poverty and promoting development; the Brasilia Consensus (2010), which referred to the problems of women's access to new technologies and committed to promoting egalitarian, democratic and non-discriminatory media; and the Santo Domingo Consensus (2013), where the call for gender equality and the empowerment of women in relation to information and communication technologies was much more forceful.

In these regional agreements, the intention has been to promote policies that support the development of ICTs from a gender perspective. In the latest agreement reached in Santo Domingo, it is possible to appreciate the evolution of the intentions that have taken shape over the last decade. Whereas at the beginning the emphasis was on women's access to and participation in the media and new technologies and then goals were set for such access and use, such as, for example, the eradication of poverty and discrimination, the current emphasis is on the empowerment of women using ICTs.

Bianco *et al*. (2013) refer that the Santo Domingo agreement emphasizes that technologies are a means and not an end in themselves, and the need to develop policies that target children and youth to promote technological environments, since socially and culturally these practices are usually associated with men, among other factors that accentuate inequalities in terms of wages and employment.

This agreement also refers to an inclusive perspective that recognizes minorities such as women with disabilities, indigenous and LGBTTI people so that they are considered in public policies, welcoming their cultural and linguistic diversity, as well as the development of networks among women. The above, considering that in the discourses of governmentality, the gender category refers mainly, if not only, to women.

These achievements, present in the discussion, are not yet manifested in national digital agendas or in concrete inclusive practices through government programs because they are still a very controversial issue in some countries of the region, where the presence of the gender discourse is not well regarded in public policy by either the population or their legislators. On the other hand, no less significant in discursive formation, are the census, figures and statistical data as legitimizing elements of the discourses and their veracity, establishing a relationship of knowledge-power, in what can be said (Álvarez, 1995) that allows the discourse to gain positivity insofar as the scientific is considered true.

Critical socio-technical studies related to inclusion have come up with interesting findings that further complicate the concept of the gender digital gap and the understanding of the social context that links it to public policy, since initially only basic statistical data related to access and connection were evident. However, when these indicators are subjected to correlation analysis, confounding variables are identified which, in ECLAC studies, through the Observatory of the Information Society (OSILAC), are conceptualized as variables that give us confusing information, but once they are analyzed in correlation with others, they allow us to understand the phenomena more authentically.

For this case, the relationship of access to technology between men and women cannot be measured in a general way, but rather it is necessary to compare and control variables, since the confounding variable corresponds to the usual and long-standing factors of discrimination suffered by women in relation to employment and education, and when compared with the case of men of the same level of employment and education, it presents another behavior in the statistics (Hilbert, 2009).

In this sense, although there has been progress in the data related to access, use and appropriation of ICTs in the region differentiated by sex and age, these figures continue to be under-recorded and do not address relationships with the diversity of determining factors. Pávez (2010) confirms that in the Latin American context, the entities that produce information on these issues validate their public policy discourses based on figures and produce a map that, although it is of great importance for characterizing the region in key areas, also makes populations and gender conditions invisible in their homogenizing eagerness.

For example, it is stated that the gender gap has been closed by 70%. However, Hausmann *et al*. (2013) recognize that this is not sufficient progress compared to that of technology

itself, and the social dynamics related to it. Thus, issues that remain significant, such as the fact that in the productive-labor sphere women receive lower incomes regardless of their qualifications.

In this same sense of identifying data for the order of productivity, in 2014 ECLAC warned that 30% of women were engaged exclusively in unpaid domestic work and one in three of working age did not receive income. Similar information was identified by the Gender Equality Observatory (2015), which noted a significant increase in public representation during the last decade. These data generate a perception of women's condition from which needs can be defined, as well as desirable and measurable satisfiers in each timeframe, as proposed by the millennium goals. Thus, statistics become evidence of verifiable truths in government discourse.

In relation to general indicators of technological appropriation, Schaaper (2013, cited in Pávez, 2016) shows that:

> In the global panorama the existence of 1.3 billion women internet users and 1.5 billion men, figures that differ according to the level of development of the countries of 2 % for developed countries and can reach 16 % in developing countries, measuring only access and connection, evidence how in Latin America it is estimated that women are 21 % less likely to have their own mobile phone and it is estimated that less than 20 % of ICT specialists are women. (p. 47)

These mathematical truths are positioned in the discourse of a panorama in which women have a greater degree of restriction to participate in the information society, being left behind in the ICT world because they have greater barriers than men to the advantages offered by the digital world, which makes them subjects at risk.

The historical construction of the subject-woman, the object of public policy, has maintained the risk and vulnerability present in the control discourses, either because of the defense of their rights in relation to parity between men and women or because of the gender stereotypes from which they have been culturally assigned certain social roles (Zecchi, 2014).

It is from this general background that the construction of assumptions for the region is perceived in relation to the need to incorporate information and communication technologies and the discussions where women in the region began to appear, not so much from their condition of diversity as from their vulnerability. The paradigms that define them and characterize their problems are homogeneous and centered on poverty.

Although there are many governmentality documents produced in the last decade in this field, those presented below were chosen because they encompass the most significant policies and specifically the documents for Latin America, and because they develop in their discourse the four categories proposed for the analysis: citizenship, education, productivity and participation.

3.2 Citizenship, education, productivity and participation: statements that drive women's behavior in public policy

The political and economic orders deciphered in the previous chapters and their relationship with the promotion made for society and, with much more emphasis, for women to exercise their full citizenship and access educational and productive opportunities through the intensive use of information and communication technologies, propose us to approach these statements from the understanding of cross-border logics, precarization and conflict over common goods.

Alongside the deconstruction of citizenship and the ambivalences inherent in the constitution of civil society, Sassen (2003) refers to the practices that in one way or another daily actualize citizenship as constant social inventions that also have a translation on the legal plane. This perspective constitutes, in our opinion, one of her most suggestive contributions. Sassen relates this de facto citizenship (although exercised to different degrees and at different speeds) to presence and, on the other hand, to actions in the public sphere that give recognition and legitimacy to subjects traditionally disregarded in the public sphere.

Addressing the issue of women, gender relations and gender equity in the discourses of digital public policy in Latin America outlines trends that map interests in strengthening a belief system around the welfare and economy linked to the use of technology, while maintaining the traditionally established orders in relation to gender. It is very telling that all the digital agendas analyzed for this book are written from the normalized and legitimized masculine categories, even by the Royal Spanish Academy, which does not conceive as necessary or correct the use of differential gender categories such as "they" and "them" in the rules of Spanish grammar.

Language is evidenced, then, as a system of exclusion in which the construction of the world is done through words and the concepts, we use to define our relationships. However, it is also possible to find in it, elements for the generation of cultural and social changes and the construction of a sense of inclusion for men, women and all the diversities that may coexist. For this reason, it is important to observe the language used in the documents that express digital public policy and to mention the normalization of the masculine therein.

Although women's movements for the right to communication have made great progress through activism and politics, they have also done so in research, reflection and the construction of knowledge that accounts for the problems, the meaning of these approaches and the struggles themselves. In any case, these advances permeate public policy and objectify concrete actions in a very slow and limited manner.

In this sense, Sassen (2003) warns us that, although economic globalization and telecommunications have contributed to produce an urban spatiality that depends on de-territorialized, cross-border networks and territorial locations with massive concentrations of resources, these dynamics are not new.

> Over the centuries, cities have been at the intersection of supra-urban and even intercontinental scale processes. What has changed is the intensity, the complexity, the global reach of these networks and the ease with which significant portions of economies are now dematerialized, digitized and thus economic data can travel at great speed through these same networks. New, too, is the increasing use of digital networks by organizations in local territories, generally very impoverished, to carry out a variety of political initiatives both intra- and inter-urban. (Sassen, 2003, p. 35)

3.3 Trends in the gender approach to digital agendas in Latin America

Since the 2000s, each country in the region has been building its digital agenda as a tool proposed by the United Nations Economic and Social Council to prioritize the issue of development and international cooperation, emphasizing the role of information technology in the context of a global knowledge-based economy.

In this regard, Camacho (2014) warns that

> although these documents show a committed participation of international organizations and governments, with the objective of advancing in the transversal implementation of the gender perspective in policies aimed at overcoming the digital gap and promoting the generation of statistics and information on the gender gap and the differentiated impacts of ICTs, the results are incipient. (p. 37)

In this sense, the agendas have represented a thermometer for measuring and understanding the way in which the gender approach is proposed to be incorporated into ICT policies in the region, since, although all the documents pursue the ideal of

guaranteeing gender equity for equitable participation in the information society and as tools for achieving equity, they correspond to a single development paradigm that has been established as a model.

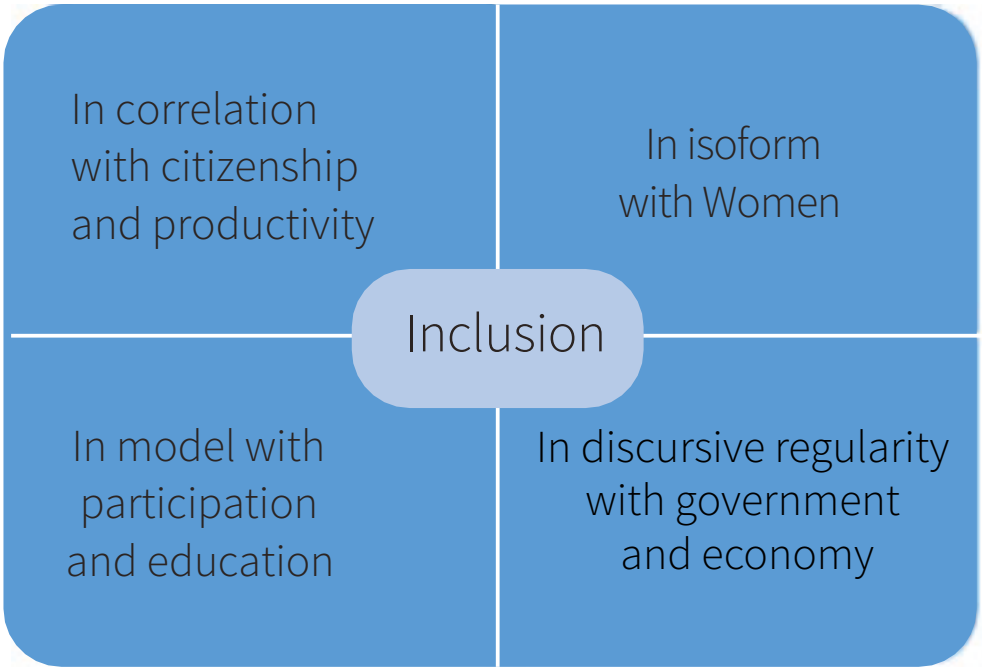
On the agendas there is a dilemma as to how ICTs can be used to exacerbate or transform unequal power relations, while at the same time it is hoped that they can contribute to the construction of gender equality. Despite this, it is evident that the technology sector, and ICTs in particular and with much more emphasis in the region, have traditionally been masculine spaces, to the point that a language that is not very inclusive has become naturalized and is visible in the digital agendas of the different countries.

Recognizing the institutional and social strength of multilateral organizations, such as ECLAC in this case, and their influence on the design of public policies, the work of these organizations as homogenizing devices of culture becomes evident, since their legitimacy lies precisely in the knowledge-power relations that institute their knowledge produced as a symbolic truth for governments. It cannot be ignored that they address crucial issues in times of transformation and transition, that they make social characterizations of high scientific rigor based on updated statistical data, and that they make progressive readings and proposals for societies as an efficient strategy for the installation of the politically correct model of modernity. The question is whether this model is socially and environmentally viable.

Historically, Latin American governments have appropriated these models based on a paradigm of human development that, although it recognizes expressions of poverty in non-economic dimensions to measure development, does not cease to reproduce a discursiveness of subjection. This, in the case of women, evidences the power of power and its discourse in the biopolitical sphere that manages to permeate, even, social struggles for equality. This is what Morini (2014) refers to when he puts forward his thesis on the feminization of work as a new paradigm.

> The rhetoric of equal opportunities guaranteed by judicial ordinances, ministries and commissions, by economic measures and white papers, by appeals to the culture of emancipation and by newspaper articles has had the effect of internalizing in women the need to put up barriers to contain their own radicalism. Even in the field of gender difference, some have accepted the logic of accounting, of the reconciliation of difference with that world that first renders them invisible and then entangles them by offering them spaces of defeated conformity. (p. 51)

Figure 10. *Analysis of the discourses of the gender digital gap from governmentality. Based on the model of archeological operations*



Source: Meneses and Aranda (2020).

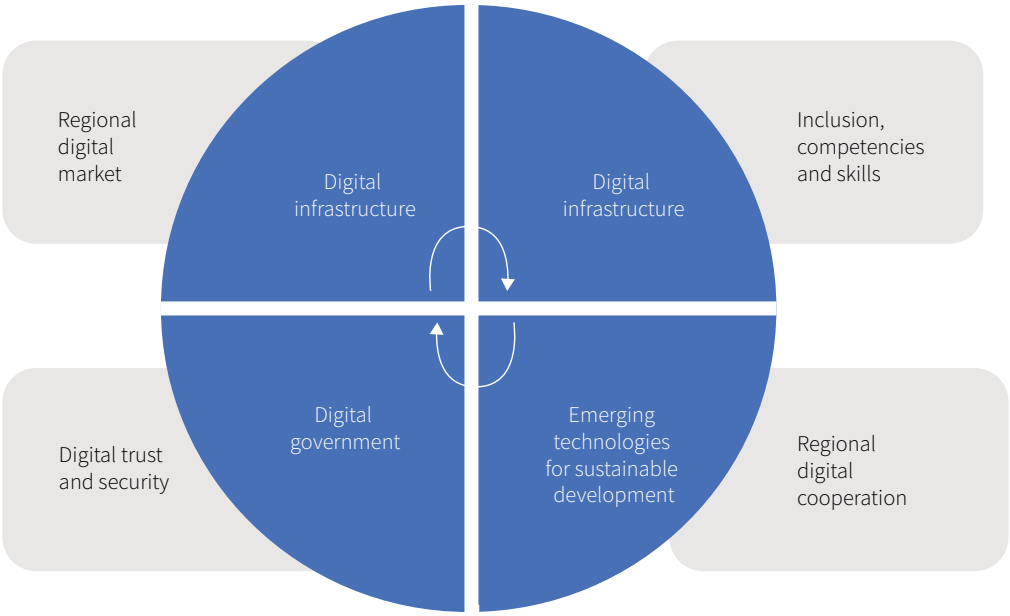
In this case, isotopies are understood as the grouping of semantic fields to give homogeneity of meanings to the text or exposition. A feature considered in this archeology to unravel the isotopy present in the discourses of digital agendas is linked to the markers for productivity, technological, political and social discourses.

For the case of isomorphisms, it implies that there are several coincidences in the evolution of processes taking place in different fields, in this case: economics, politics, sociology, demography, and whose existence depends on the general principles of a macrosystem. These features show that particular digital agendas exist insofar as they respond to the production of discourse of a broader and more powerful system, in this case, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, which, in turn, exists because it is subordinated to a macrosystem: transnational capitalism.

3.4 Digital Agenda for Latin America and the Caribbean (eLAC 2020)

Evidence of these processes of configuration of what can be said as true is configured in the discourse of the agenda, based on the 5 precedents, 8 areas of action and 39 objectives presented at the Seventh Ministerial Conference on the Information Society in Latin America and the Caribbean. In this virtual meeting that took place from November 23 to 26, 2020, in the context of the pandemic, a horizon is declared that must be implemented by each country in order not to continue deepening inequalities.

Figure 11. *Strategic areas of action (eLAC 2020)*



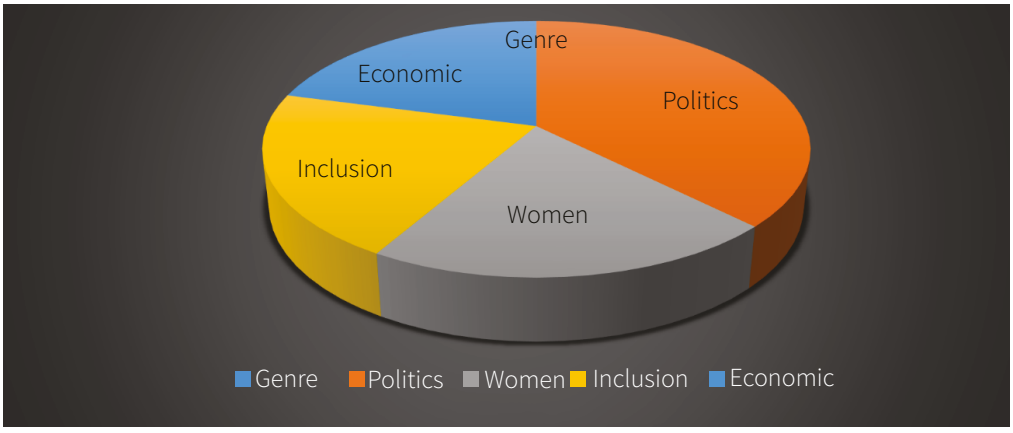
Source: Own elaboration.

Analyzing the agenda, it states the importance of paying special attention to girls, women and communities in unequal situations. However, it presents vulnerability as a condition of being and not of the conditions of the environment in which it is found. Governmentality declares people and communities "vulnerable" when their situation would correspond more objectively to calling them "vulnerable" since it is in the difficult access to opportunities that their condition emerges. Let us look in detail at some of the statements and projections given in the background, the areas of action and the proposed objectives:

The background presents the main historical commitments of eLAC in the Information Society Conferences regarding digital inclusion and the renewal that has been made in terms of international cooperation for such purposes; for 2020, with an increase in the challenges given the global and conjunctural complexity caused by the COVID-19 coronavirus disease pandemic and with a scenario characterized by an economic and social collapse of unexpected magnitudes. "Faced with this new reality, digital technologies have proven to be essential tools to facilitate physical distancing and mitigate the economic and social effects of the crisis" (eLAC, 2020).

According to the above, we can affirm that the ECLAC Agenda presents in the configuration of the discourse for the region the instrumental end in the economy-people relationship. From this same affirmation, technology is conceived as a solution, even though inequity is presented in a multi-causal way.

Figure 12. *Presence of a gender perspective on the agenda*



Source: Own elaboration.

Although the decidability of a concept is not enough to position a discourse, in the case of the agenda, the concept of "gender" was not mentioned; "women" and "inclusion" were mentioned 5 times, while "politics" had 9 mentions and "economy" had 11, being the concept with the highest tendency.

This discursive construction is reinforced in the objectives when they state the economy as the center of the appropriation of technology over welfare. Objective 6 states: to boost digital presence in conjunction with the adoption, dissemination and effective use of advanced digital tools associated with Industry 4.0 to promote productivity and competitiveness of companies and foster entrepreneurship and structural change, with emphasis on small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) and initiatives led by women.

With this same approach and to refer to gender issues, objectives 18 and 19 again mention significant elements that validate priorities:

> Objective 18: Establish a comprehensive and non-discriminatory perspective in public policies for digital inclusion, ensuring full access to and use of ICTs and emerging digital technologies for women, girls and older persons and promoting their participation and safety online, in addition to women's leadership in public and private decision-making spaces.
>
> Objective 19: Promote telework in the region, updating labor policies to ensure adequate social protection, social dialogue, decent work and the participation of workers in the digital economy, especially in the case of vulnerable groups and women.

A striking fact in the use of language is the orientation of the concept of "vulnerability" as an intrinsic characteristic and not as a product of social conditions from which it makes more sense to name populations and communities as "vulnerable", considering that this situation of vulnerability or marginality is a political position and one of responsibilities. It is also visible, in the discursiveness of this agenda, how the continuity of the concept of citizenship is established, framed in the principles of liberal political theory, specifically the contractualist conception and the defense of the equality of the fundamental rights of each individual. As stated by Vázquez (2010):

> The concept of citizenship inscribed within the paradigm of liberal political theory was built on a contractualist conception (the links between the individuals that make up society are established by means of a social contract) and based on the defense of the equality of the fundamental rights of each individual, who is the subject of law. It proposes a universal rationality (and a reason), which is why it is presented as monocultural. (p. 145).

In this sense, the individual is reaffirmed as the only subject of rights, conditioned to belonging to a national political community constituted as a State. That is, as a political organization that occupies a territory and is administered by a bureaucracy. Thus, a social or ethnic group cannot be a subject of law.

Similarly, for the author, the liberal concept of tolerance is based on a monocultural conception of value neutrality and equality among individuals. It is a matter of tolerance in the face of the undesirable, of tempering the attitude of rejection towards different beliefs and diverse ways of life by proposing a universal conception of the concept of a good life.

These common points of interpretation of citizenship, participation, education and productivity reveal the operational map in which neoliberal logics operate, designing cities, objects and subjectivities according to the needs of the economic system. Following Sassen (2003), who states that while the new telecommunications technologies facilitate the geographic dispersion of economic activities while maintaining systemic integration, they also have the effect of strengthening the importance of central coordination and the control functions of companies and markets. Large centers have massive concentrations of strategic resources that enable them to maximize the benefits derived from telecommunications and to manage the new conditions for operating globally. Even electronic markets rely on localized operators and banks.

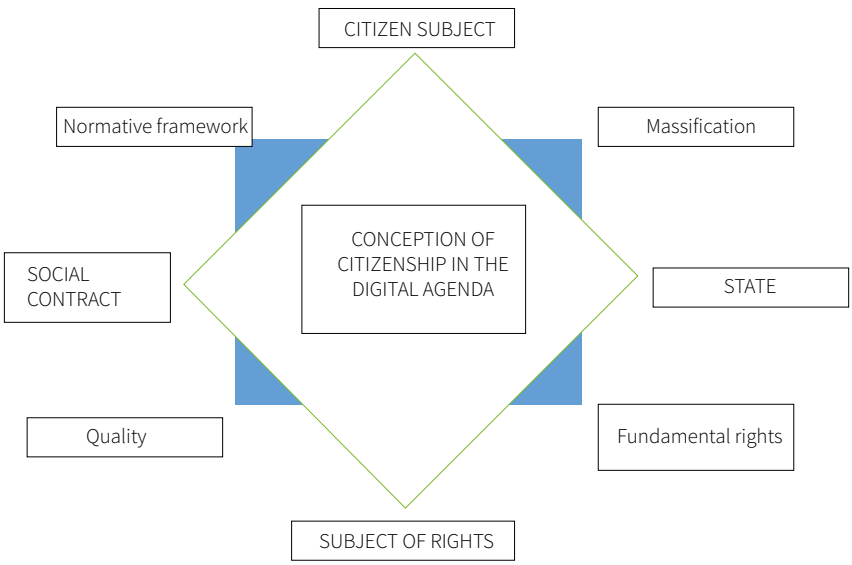
Applying the archeological model to the discourses, the operations that show the rules of constitution in the case of the eLAC 2020 agenda are shown below.

Statement 1: citizenship.

Discourse units:

These discourse units invoke the consideration of a citizen subject subjected to and reproducer of the system.

Figure 13. *Conception of citizenship in digital agendas*



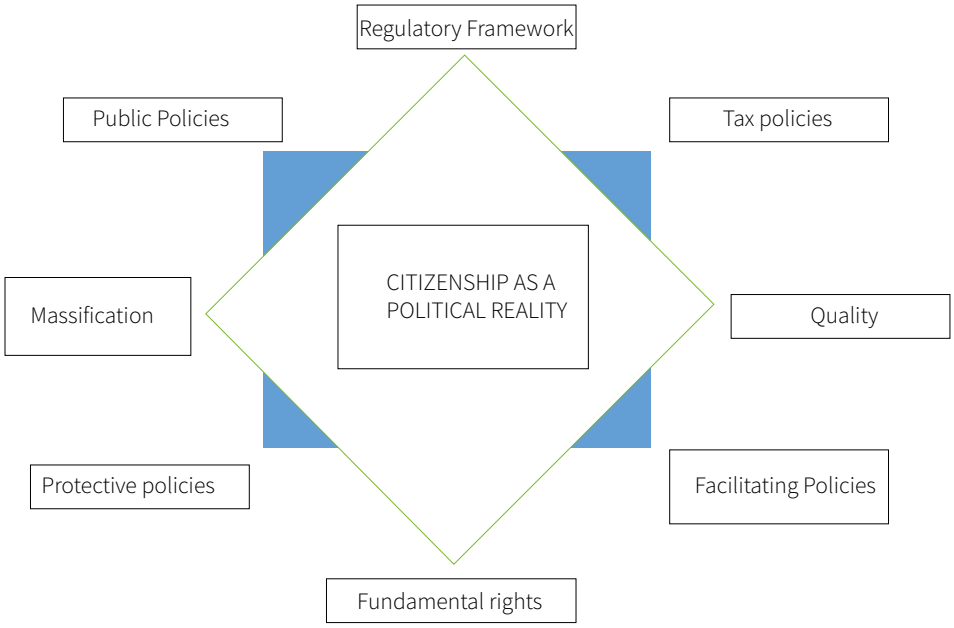
Source: Own elaboration.

Citizen subject / subject of rights: regulatory framework for digital development; work for the full respect of fundamental rights in digital development.

State / social contract: strengthen an open and transparent State; promote a more dynamic and innovative State; massify the use of State online services and guarantee their quality.

Immediate forms of continuity: the forms of continuity materialized in discourses that give meaning to the act of citizenship as a political, social, economic and cultural reality.

Figure 14. *Citizenship as a political reality*



Source: Own elaboration.

Political continuity: debate for the design of a gender equality policy in the digital environment; consumer rights on the Internet.

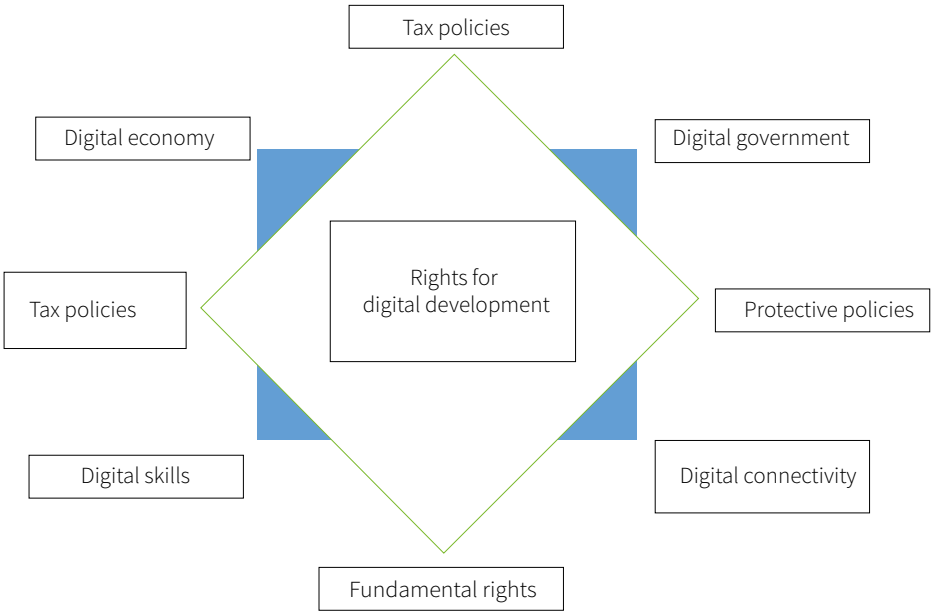
Economic continuity: rules on electronic means of payment; rules on digital public procurement; rules on digital taxes and tariffs.

Social continuity: personal data protection law; promotion of electronic signatures.

Cultural continuity: access to knowledge and copyright; facilitating mechanisms for the development of ICT professionals.

Emerging from a domain:

Figure 15. *Rights for digital development public policy dimension*



Source: Own elaboration.

Emerging from the economic domain: evolution of the telecommunications development fund; implementation of the considerations associated with the deployment of new high-speed mobile networks; transforming companies digitally; boosting the growth of the ICT sector; promoting entrepreneurship and digital innovation.

Emerging from the government domain: rights of users accessing the Internet; country vision on Internet governance; development of a cybersecurity strategy; comprehensive citizen information and care system; public health surveillance and health alert systems; information system for emergency and disaster management.

Emerging from the connectivity domain: monitoring the speed and quality of Internet service; improving digital connectivity with the rest of the world; national telecommunications infrastructure plan; modernization of infrastructure for connectivity with a focus on public health, education, security and municipal services; digital integration of rural areas; implementation of digital terrestrial TV.

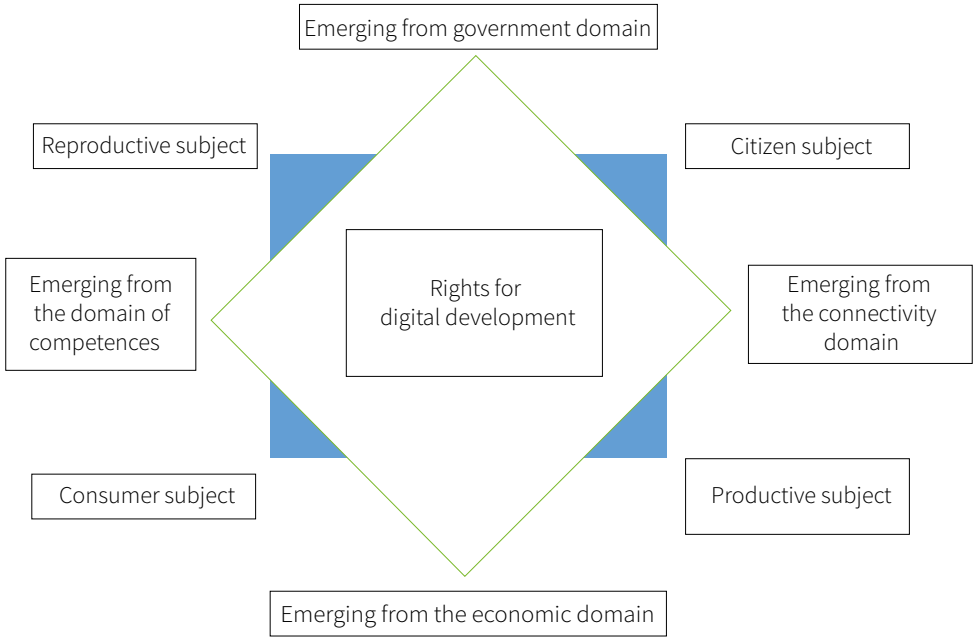
Emerging from the domain of competences: improving the quality of education through digital technologies; opening job opportunities in the digital era; training plan for practicing teachers; tablets for early education; platform for ICT skills.

Discourse facts:

Epistemological subject / moral subject / citizen subject / productive subject.

The facts of discourse are expressed in subjectivities around the way in which we face knowledge and live the world in humanity, as well as in their relations with reality and with the different ways of interpreting it and approaching its transformation. They imply a way of doing, a way of thinking, a way of preferring and responding to the needs of the environment.

Figure 16. *Rights for digital development economic dimension*



Source: Own elaboration.

It is under these discursive rules that the construction of a type of subjectivity is promoted and leads to a type of practices and actions that result in the character of the social relations of an era. As stated by Álvarez (1995) in relation to the understanding of Foucault's archeological proposal, when he affirms that: "The notion of politics of truth reveals in one of its aspects the relevance of truth within the techniques of power that shape individuals, subjectivities" (p. 167).

This is, then, a transition point of archeology applied to ICT policies and the genealogy of their practices as evidence of subjectivation processes by virtue, fundamentally, of power-truth practices that cross moral and socialization processes in general.

Statement 2: education

The conception of education in the agenda is implicit in the axes of digital economy and digital competences. This vision is manifested in the following statement:

> Strengthening the skills and competencies needed by teachers and students to develop in the knowledge society is a strategic decision for the country. To give a new impulse to this policy, the new opportunities that arise from technologies for the training and integral development of people in the different stages of their lives will be considered (Mexico's Digital Agenda).

Thus, these axes establish the discursive continuity of the concept of education framed in the principles of the neoliberal theory, specifically stated in the educational policy generated by the World Bank (2021):

> Education is a key driver of development and one of the most effective tools for reducing poverty and improving health, as well as for achieving gender equality, peace and stability. Education delivers significant and systematic income gains and counteracts rising inequality, but this potential is often untapped due to alarmingly low levels of learning. Providing all children with a quality education that helps them acquire skills needed in the world of work is key to ending poverty by 2030. (para. 1)

The World Bank is committed to supporting countries requesting funding or technical assistance to achieve Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4, which aims to ensure quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all by 2030.

The World Bank's support to the education sector focuses on areas that are important to developing countries such as:

- Increasing investments in early childhood development to facilitate lifelong learning and increase productivity in the future.
- Ensuring that children in school are actually learning essential skills.
- Reduce the barriers that girls and boys from disadvantaged communities face in accessing quality education.
- Bridging the wide gap between skills development, higher education and the labor market.
- Address structural problems at all levels to increase efficiency and transparency.
- Enhance the innovative results-based financing mechanism to respond to the demand from countries.

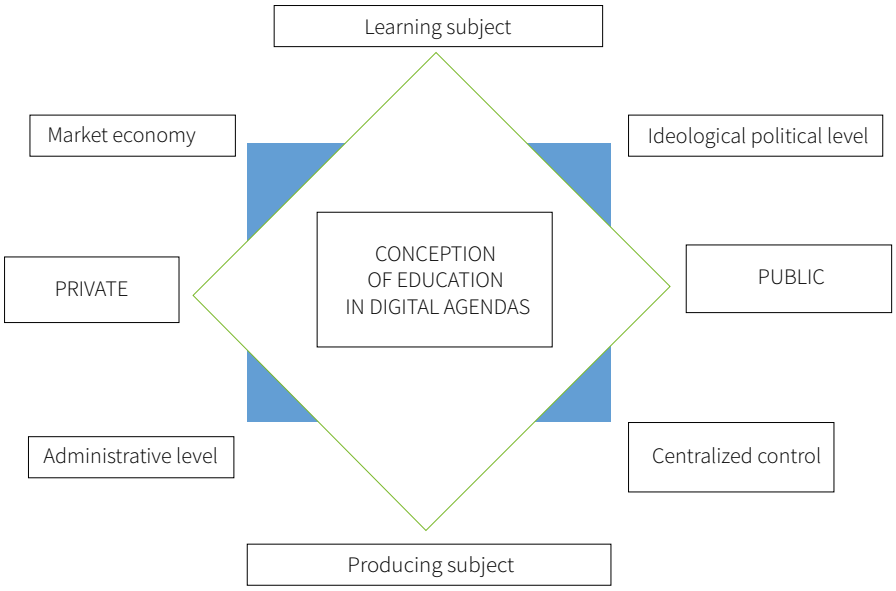
To help increase productivity in the labor market, the World Bank (2021) discusses how education can help address the skills mismatch that exists in many countries. The skills measurement tool "Skills for Employment and Productivity" sheds light on skills gaps and mismatches by generating new data on the skills of adult workers that can be compared internationally.

Analysis of the discourses underpinning the education statement in the digital agendas documents and World Bank documents allows for the graphing of the following archaeology:

Discourse units:

These discourse units imply the conception of education as an economic phenomenon, acquiring the category of commodity, in which the factors of the educational process are assimilated as inputs and the decision criteria are linked to efficiency and productivity.

Figure 17. *Educational dimension in digital agendas*



Source: Own elaboration.

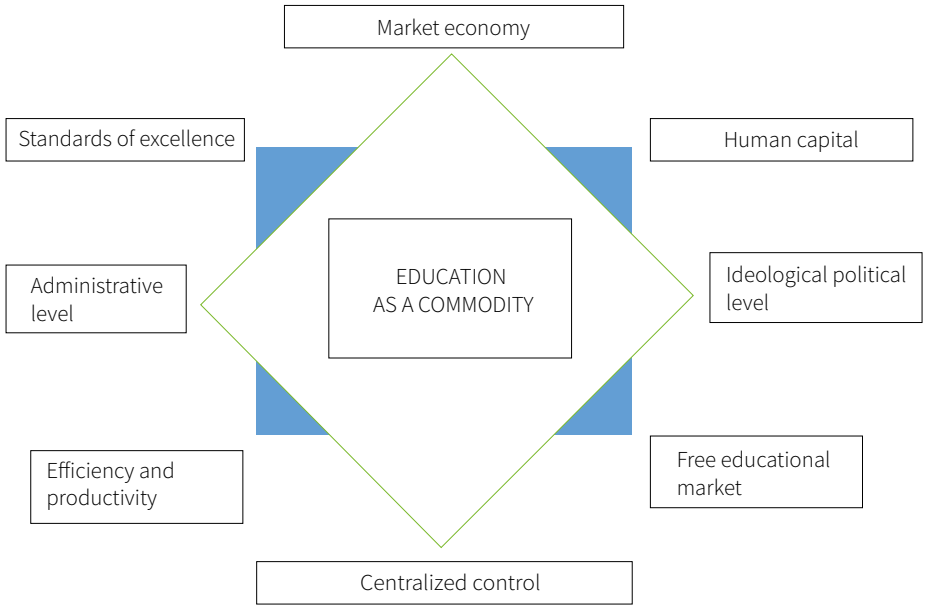
Learning subject / producing subject: focus on increasing the participation of women and regional digital companies through dissemination in the educational system, especially the university system, and contributing to the strengthening of entrepreneurship.

Public / private: Latin America has strong conditions and incentives for building a solid and sustainable technological innovation ecosystem that attracts large global corporations to establish their innovation centers in the region. Thus, through a public-private model, existing instruments for corporate innovation will be strengthened through a network of centers for applied research and innovation.

Immediate forms of continuity

The forms of continuity materialized in discourses that profile education not as a right, but as a commodity subject to the laws of the market.

Figure 18. *Education as a commodity*



Source: Own elaboration.

Political-ideological continuity: to improve the quality of education through technological contents and resources aimed at teachers and students.

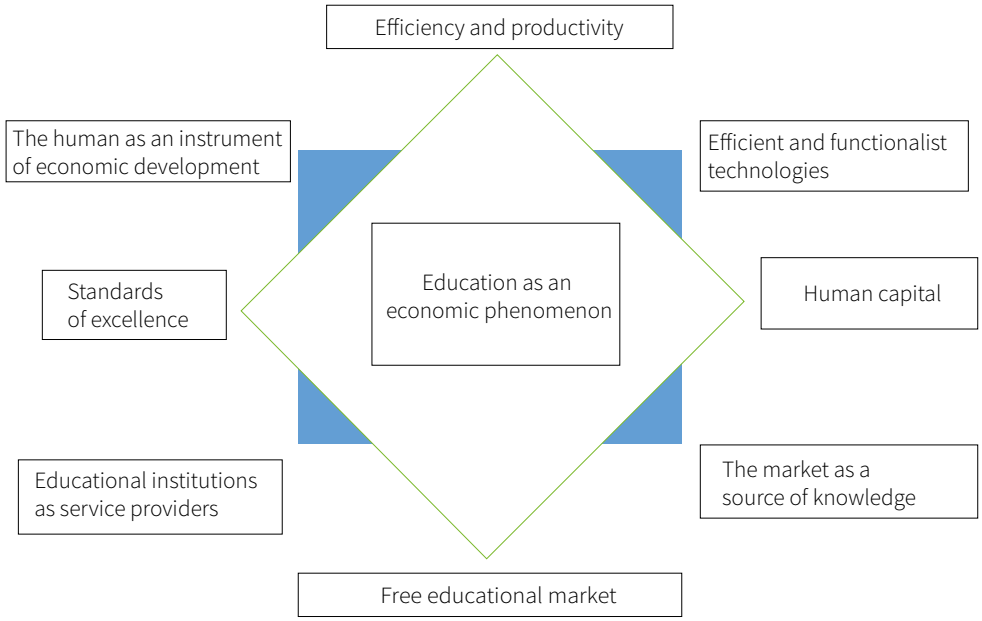
Economic-market continuity: to facilitate the employability and labor market insertion of graduates from technical and professional careers in information and communication technologies.

Administrative continuity: to promote entrepreneurship and digital innovation.

Centralized control continuity: strengthen the necessary skills and competencies of teachers and students to develop in the knowledge society as a strategic decision for the region.

Emerging from a domain:

Figure 19. *Education as an economic phenomenon*



Source: Own elaboration.

The human as an instrument of economic development: the trend of the proposals in the digital agendas is related to the low level of shared leadership between the public and private sectors and academia around training professionals, both at the technical and university levels. Some of the initiatives contemplated will be the development of profiles based on the international framework of qualifications SFIA (Skills Framework for the Information Age) present in the agendas of Chile and Colombia.

Educational institutions as service providers: network of public-private centers for digital innovation and technology transfer linked to national and international corporations and universities.

ICT companies under the strategy of the so-called smart industries, in the development of citizen solutions to support smart cities. Areas present in all agendas, with an evident prioritization of the urban.

The market as a source of knowledge: to improve the quality of education through technological content and resources aimed at teachers and students, and to facilitate the employability and labor market insertion of graduates from technical and professional careers in information and communication technologies. In terms of technological resources, notebooks will be delivered, and spaces will be adapted for community access and training of the communities. Delivery of electronic devices were present in the strategies of all the agendas.

Efficient and functionalist technologies: the agendas regularly propose strategies such as transversal ICT training modules in trades to promote access and permanence in the labor market for women and young people in vulnerable conditions, with emphasis on different capacities and special needs. Progressively, modules will be developed based on the most demanded ICT profiles in the market.

Training courses are also being promoted through virtual learning platforms and pressure on teachers to incorporate the use of technology as a pedagogical tool, for which specific programs are being proposed by the ministries of education.

Statement 3: participation.

Citizen participation included in the digital agendas is based on the discursiveness of the economic model, based on the World Bank's own interests. World Bank documents establish guidelines for the integration of citizen participation as a structural element legitimizing its policies. For this group, citizen participation:

> Implies leaving aside the conception that governments or the private sector are the only direct clients of the World Bank and including citizens in the public sector sphere and consumers/suppliers in the private sector sphere. Citizen participation, including beneficiary feedback, can support the World Bank's approach to development solutions in interventions where it can have the greatest impact, as well as incorporate feedback to learn from implementation experiences and make adjustments throughout the process.

To ensure that this conception of citizen participation is in line with the approach proposed by the World Bank, the following guidelines are included:

1. Information: provide citizens with balanced and objective information to help them understand problems, alternatives, opportunities and solutions.
2. Consultation: include feedback from citizens on analyses, alternatives and decisions.

3. Collaboration: working with citizens throughout the decision-making process or at some of its stages.
4. Empowerment: final decision-making is in the hands of citizens.

This policy designed by the World Bank is included in the various Latin American digital agendas from the following discursive materiality:

> Promote and sustain the development of public policies for digital development through a multisectoral body that addresses the scope and impact of technologies in different areas of society. The success of the Digital Agenda 2020 rests on the capacity we have as a State to provide follow-up and continuity to the different lines of action and to ensure the commitment of all the sectors involved. To this end, we will define the instances that allow us to generate the space for discussion of public policies on digital issues, which will become the vehicle to propose measures to ensure economic development, respect for citizens' rights and the strengthening of democracy to keep alive the digital development policy. (Digital Agenda Mexico)

The analysis of the discourses underpinning the participation statement, based on the Digital Agenda documents and the World Bank documents, allows us to chart the following archeology:

Discourse units:

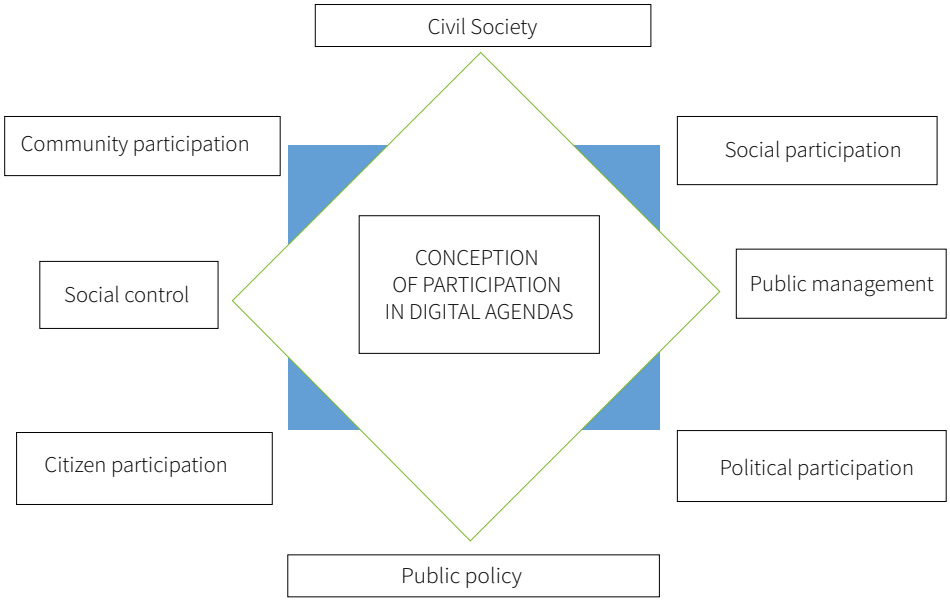
These discourse units imply the conception of participation as an identity phenomenon, in which the tension between class identity and national identity is projected and implies a vision of participation as depoliticization.

Civil society / public policies: government transformation is the construction of a new relationship between society and government, based on the experience of citizens as users of public services. This relationship will be built on the use and adoption of ICTs in government.

Public management / social control: actions will be implemented to improve government efficiency, transparency in public management and accountability, while increasing the government's responsiveness to the demands of citizens and organizations.

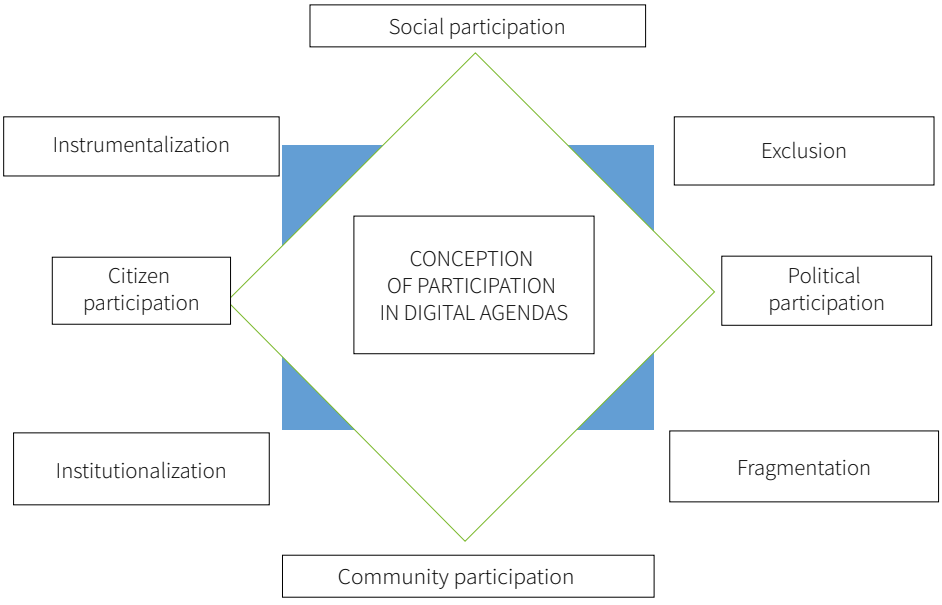
Immediate forms of continuity: the forms of continuity materialized in discourses that profile participation not as an increase in social participation, but as a legitimizer of the development model conceptualized in neoliberal policies and implemented by the World Bank.

Figure 20. *Processes of participation in digital agendas*



Source: Own elaboration.

Figure 21. *Participation as depoliticization*



Source: Own elaboration.

Political-ideological continuity: to improve the quality of education through technological contents and resources aimed at teachers and students.

Economic-market continuity: to facilitate the employability and labor market insertion of graduates from technical and professional careers in information and communication technologies.

Administrative continuity: to promote entrepreneurship and digital innovation.

Centralized control continuity: strengthen the necessary skills and competencies of teachers and students to develop in the knowledge society as a strategic decision.

Statement 4: productivity.

In this statement it is important to position ourselves on the basis of the conceptions that have been developed on the concept of cognitive capitalism to understand the development of an economy based on the dissemination of knowledge and in which the production of knowledge becomes the main bet on the valorization of capital, using public policy to position knowledge and truths around the use of information and communication technologies.

> The share of intangible and intellectual capital, defined by the proportion of knowledge workers and knowledge-intensive activities - IT services, R&D, teaching, training, healthcare, multimedia, software - is henceforth asserted as the key variable of growth and competitiveness of nations. (Vercellone, 2016, p. 67)

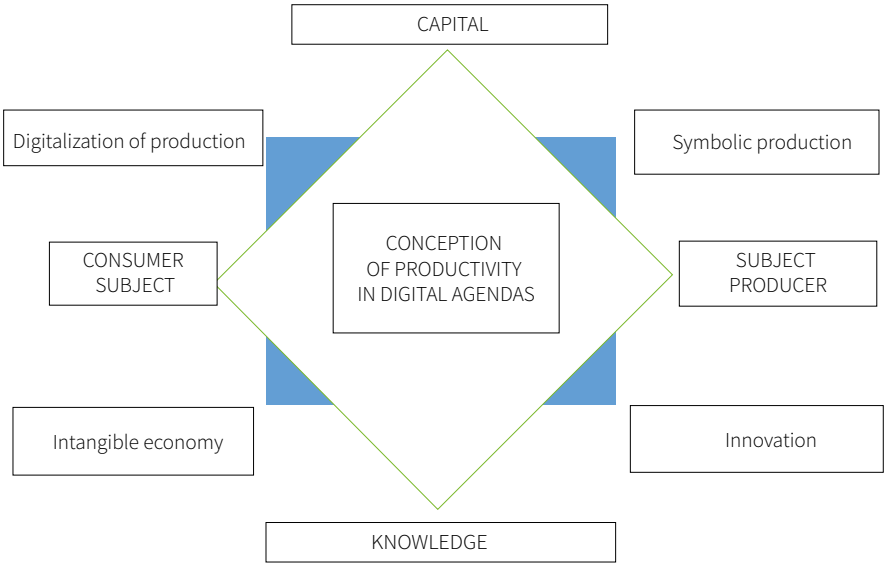
Discourse units:

These discourse units involve the conception of productivity from the coordinates of cognitive capitalism.

Capital / knowledge: development of the digital economy, Internet economy, information and communication technologies. The adoption of technologies in a cross-cutting manner in all productive sectors; promoting ICT massification policies, especially in smaller companies.

Producer/consumer subject: competencies of buyers and public decision-makers, management tools for public procurement of technology. Optimization of elements of the ICT procurement process in a manner consistent with government policies. It will include regulations, guidelines and new elements that favor the contracting of innovative solutions (Digital Agenda Colombia).

Figure 22. *Productivity in digital agendas*

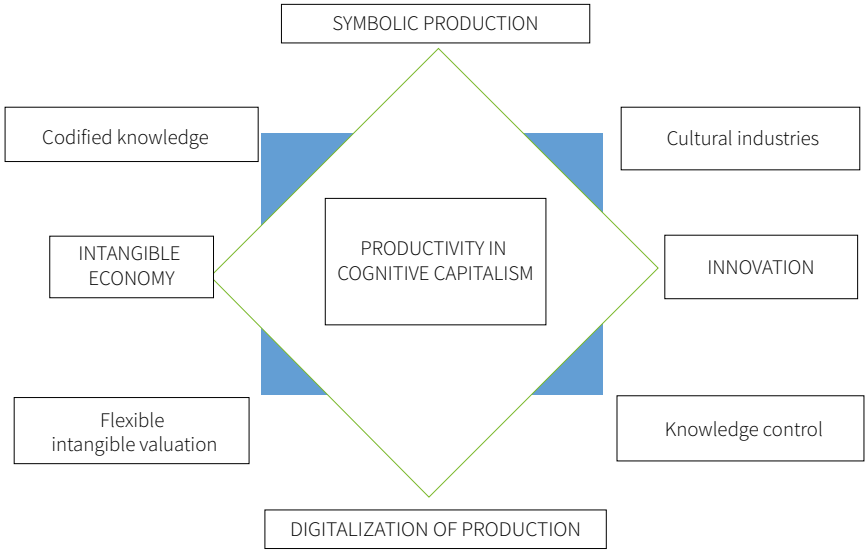


Source: Own elaboration.

Immediate forms of continuity:

The forms of continuity materialized in discourses that establish the production and control of knowledge as the foundations of capital valorization.

Figure 23. *Productivity as cognitive capitalism*



Source: Own elaboration.

Political-ideological continuity: business procedures and services with the State, in addition to access to relevant information, with a special focus on SMEs.

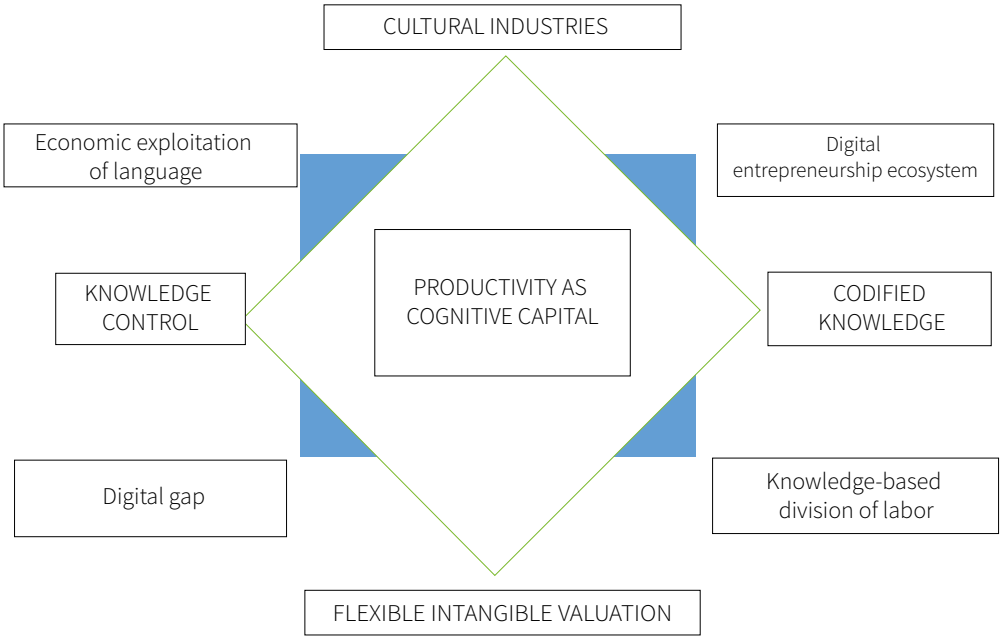
Economic-market continuity: generation of technological products and services that enable the modernization of traditional industries through the application of intensive solutions in digital technologies.

Administrative continuity: support program for micro, small and medium-sized enterprises to adopt ICT and Internet-based services and tools that include, for example, consulting for innovation in business processes, digital marketing strategies, online sales, web pages, among others. This will facilitate the process of adopting ICTs in SMEs and thus contribute to their growth and productivity.

Continuity centralized control: adoption of technologies in a cross-cutting manner in all productive sectors.

Emerging from a domain:

Figure 24. *Productivity as cognitive capital*



Source: Own elaboration.

Knowledge-based division of labor: digital transformation in strategic sectors through pilots that demonstrate the impact of digital technologies for the modernization of industry, such as sensorization, automatic production control, open data or the development of integrated technological solutions.

Digital entrepreneurship ecosystem: performance agreements in universities related to ICT careers to foster a digital entrepreneurship ecosystem.

From the identification of these domain emergencies in each of the statements and taking as a basis the eLAC 2020 agenda, it is possible to map the logics that we have proposed in this research, related to the configuration of a cross-border globalization and a cognitive capitalism that drives productivity relations marked by networking, which needs profiles qualified in the use of information and communication technologies; global dynamics that reach Latin America and men and women alike without any distinction of geography, gender, ethnicity or culture. In such sense Sassen (2015) warns:

> The variety of these global circuits, which enroll an increasing number of women, has grown stronger in a period in which the main dynamics connected with economic globalization have had significant impacts on developing economies. The latter have had to implement a package of new policies and adjust to the new conditions associated with globalization: structural adjustment programs, the opening of economies to foreign companies, the elimination of multiple state subsidies, the seemingly inevitable financial crises and the programmatic models of solution applied by the International Monetary Fund. In most of the countries involved, whether Mexico or South Korea, these conditions have clearly resulted in enormous costs for certain sectors of the economy and the population, in addition to the failure to significantly reduce government debt. (p. 97)

The variety of these global circuits, which enroll an increasing number of women, has grown stronger in a period in which the main dynamics connected with economic globalization have had significant impacts on developing economies.

Chapter 4
Women constructing subjectivities through space, body, violence and authorship

The history of the appropriation of technologies by Latin American women has its differences according to the conditions of each country, although with several common elements, previously developed in this text, given by a political orientation that acts on the region in a colonialist way.

The technology companies with which they govern business, the characteristics and quality of the technological infrastructure that reaches certain sectors of the population, especially the most vulnerable, as well as the programs and places for digital literacy, as in the case of Colombia the "vive digital" (live digital) points or the delivery of tablet devices, computer or mobile phones to public education students, are not only artifacts or physical and virtual environments, they are scenarios where codes, aesthetics, behaviors and governmental regulations are established as a transaction to this digital inclusion, which delineates a form of subjectivity constituent of appropriation. On the other hand, experiences outside governmentality have, in turn, practices and experiences that subvert these orders and allow emancipatory actions and constitute a different subjectivity.

From this reading, and with the support of Zafra's (2010) thesis, the following is an analysis of four categories that allow us to deepen the appropriation practices in and outside the governmental apparatus. Body, space, violence and authorship will speak of the way women inhabit the relationship with technology.

4.1 Governmentalized space

As part of the digital agendas in all Latin American countries, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), supported by local governments, implemented since 2010 the telecenters with different names in each country and as a strategy for digital literacy and inclusion that allowed more citizens to access the Internet and learn to manage, from there, issues of government, health, education, entrepreneurship, among others.

In this sense, the place from which women access the Internet makes a difference in the type and time of use, among other variations that impact their experience. And although the pandemic led households to be more connected and these spaces remained closed for a long time, access to electronic devices at home is prioritized by women for the use of other household members, mainly children who are studying or for teleworking, with lesser degrees of privacy. DiMaggio and Hargittai (2001) define this factor as inequity in the autonomy of use, referring specifically to the control that the user exercises over his or her time and practice.

> An important part of this dimension is the place from which the Internet is accessed, since there are different conditions and limitations if browsing from work, home, a library or a community center, for example, in terms of regulations, time limits, schedules, filters or technical impediments. From this point of view, access from home is important because users can potentially benefit from the convenience of the location. (p. 37)

4.2 Governmentalized body

Just as space expresses itself physically and digitally, the body also takes on these two presences. The physical and the virtual presence in cyberspace, and in both ways an identity is constructed that does not always have the same referents.

In the basic services of e-mail and information consultation, the body is not yet exposed as an image of itself, but a personal tracking is initiated through intelligent databases that capture information to consolidate large banks of information that correlate frequency of use, search with pages of interest and possible products to consume; also, basic personal data are exposed that are often used for advertising and marketing, without the consent of the female users.

Participation in forums and social networks such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram already make use of another kind of exposure of the body, which has more to do with the concept of identity and the body as information about who one is. The profile picture becomes less or more important in populations according to age and the option of anonymity or the presence of non-bodily images or images not belonging to the physical body are other possibilities of this identity exercise that is done by showing others the image of oneself.

The photo as a profile on social networks represents the physical presence in cyberspace, but there is the possibility of using one's own image or recreating it even hiding or distorting the age, corporeality, gender, or modifying some aspects of the photograph through editing

programs specialized in creating effects or modifications. Thus, the body that participates in virtual interactions is a body constructed from desired identities, thought and modified around different interests; women decide what and how they show themselves.

In this context, Illouz (2007) warns us that at first glance the internet allows for a much more flexible and open multiple self, when she states that a postmodern self consists of the conscious manipulations of one's own body, whether directly on the body or on the representation generated by a profile picture.

> While the postmodern self implies that there is no central self but only a multiplicity of roles to be played, the self that is rendered through the conjunction of psychology and internet technology is "ontic" in the sense that it assumes that there is a permanent central self and that it can be embodied through a multiplicity of representations. (p. 174)

These possibilities are also subject to be put at the service of productivity itself, since in several of the programs promoted in the telecenters, work is done so that the economic enterprises that you have or are created, are managed through social networks, for which the image that has to be projected of itself is the image of an idealized entrepreneur under the labels of a woman leader, determined, capable and independent; qualities that must be demonstrated in the profile built in these networks.

4.3 Governmentalized authorship

We have seen how government programs encourage in their campaigns an instrumental use and a passive relationship with technology. Even though most of the information on the Internet is produced by men, this gap remains invisible.

Strategies aim at digital literacy rather than inclusion, an attitude that perpetuates a system in which women have been silenced and in which female production has been the victim of constant ostracism. As stated by Zecchi (2014) from the cinema in relation to authorship in the media, women's works are easily forgotten, censored, misappropriated or poorly distributed.

Although in digital spaces other rules for authorship appear that enable production and distribution with fewer obstacles, in the case of women the obstacles are related to previous situations and factors that make them still a minority as authors behind the screen, which makes them vulnerable in their role as spectators or consumers.

At this point, there are no visible campaigns or publicity that focus on training women to produce and distribute content relevant to their interests, at least not from the digital

agendas or telecenters. Active participation is directed to entrepreneurial processes that in many cases have to do with the commercialization of local products and, in some others, with the prevention of violence on the Internet.

Authorship, as a female presence on the Internet or in the policies that define the relationship of women with technology from the spaces of governmentality, is oriented by the participation of female experts in institutions and organizations that research, characterize and propose actions from their places of power. In this sense, the participation exercises that are convened are under the assumption of the acceptance of the institutional conditions that decide what should be the actions and interactions of women with ICTs.

Likewise, a map of possible risks is made visible and constructed through which the entire apparatus of repression is managed under the justification of protection and where women have the same limitations to express themselves as in physical public spaces. Governmentality, then, invisibly manages fears of authorship, of speaking with one's own name, and instead promotes creative attitudes towards economic undertakings.

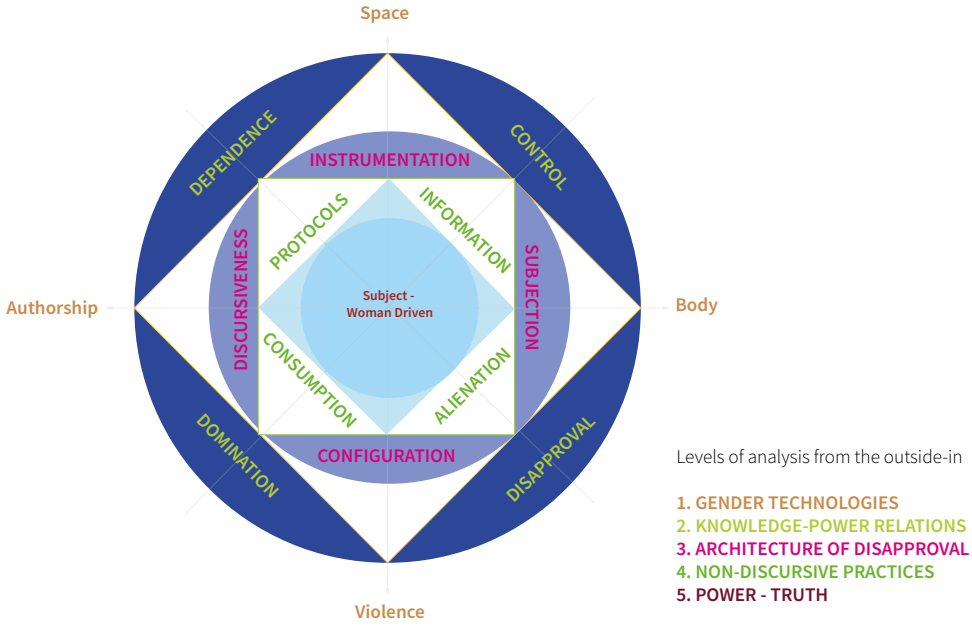
4.4 Governmentalized violence

The relationships between space, body and authorship configure the symbolic violences that are reproduced in the practices of governmentality and that have to do with the continuity of models of women that do not correspond to diversity, but also with the minimization of the violence that occurs in interactions on the Internet about which there is still no social consensus or clear limits.

Violence is the most distinctive feature of the disciplinary society in a patriarchal context, understood from the disciplinary uses made by the State to classify, normalize, reprimand, reform and punish. In this exercise of violence, the body will always be the recipient of such disciplines. And it is in this sense that governmentality programs have proposed to work on the prevention of harassment, abuse and manipulation of intimate information, as well as on direct situations of violence on the network through campaigns and specific legislation in the framework of computer crimes, under the approach of information security.

Conditions of vulnerability identical to those in the physical world are reaffirmed, where the risks and fears of women conditioned to feel responsible for the aggressions exercised on them under the justification of wearing certain garments in public are normalized, making them responsible and stigmatizing their behavior. It also happens through photography, chats, sexting (anglicized to refer to the sending of erotic or pornographic content via mobile phones) and other Internet exchange practices. These situations require cultural changes that are not yet addressed as a priority by government programs.

Figure 25. *Polar representation of the statements. Government practices as knowledge operators*



Source: Own elaboration.

4.5 From governmentality to emancipation

The fact that technology has historically been a male domain suggests that women's appropriation of it is itself a political project. And as active agents of change, women have been involved in the process of reclaiming technology (Gurumurthy, 2004).

History presents the predominance of conditions of domination that, although they have not always been present in the same way, have represented us in the social relations that we build, in each era and with its particular dynamics. The current era seems to give priority to technological development as a mechanism to strengthen the capital economy and, with it, competition as a way of existing in the world. But like all social dynamics it has its cracks. In this case, the presence of collaboration in digital processes proposes other forms of construction of subjectivities in which technology has played a very important role: free software, mobilizations convened through social networks, publication of classified files, massive signature pages against local/global policies, hackers, activists representing various causes against the dominant powers, among others.

In the face of this emergence of initiatives and social movements that manage their actions through technological interfaces, Sassen (2003) presents digital networks as contributors to the production of counter-geographies of globalization, dynamics that can be considered at multiple scales. Digital networks can be used by political activists for global or non-local transactions, or to strengthen communications or transactions within a city. In this sense, the author raises the importance of recognizing how new digital technology can support local initiatives.

> Through the Internet, local initiatives are integrated into a global network of activists without losing the horizon of concrete local struggles, enabling a new type of cross-border political activity centered on multiple digitally connected localities. Activists can develop networks to circulate not only information on issues related to the environment, housing, politics, etc., but also forms of political work and new strategies. (p. 45)

From this same horizon of understanding the emerging forms of participation through a platform, now with varied possibilities of interaction, Padilla (2012) wonders about what can and should be contained in an Internet struggle kit, about digital balaclavas, virtual pamphlets and the place of clandestinity; cyber-feminists inquire about the best ways to hack the patriarchy on the net; cyborg women are legitimized as the possibility of multiple and political subjects (Haraway, 1991); sexual diversity communities cooperate through websites for the transformation of their bodies and their identity; discussion groups are created on such controversial issues as abortion, contraception, polygamy; cyber-feminist art engages with issues such as women's sexual and reproductive lives and turns them into art and politics at the same time; beyond a struggle for rights, a struggle for other forms of coexistence and legitimate existence can be seen.

In these contexts of digital collaboration, Levy (2003) provides us with an approach that identifies transitions between what the author calls the territory of commodities, which corresponds to the discursivity called globalization, and the territory of knowledge, which corresponds to the discursivity called knowledge society.

In these contexts of transformation and fissure in the structure of cognitive capitalism, multiple practices emerge that fracture, even invisibly, the rules of governmentality and propose a different discursivity. In the case of the subject-woman, these practices make her visible, politicize her body and vindicate her creative processes. From this horizon of ideas, the analysis of the Wikipedia case as an experience of collective intelligence with a gender approach was taken as a methodological option.

4.5.1 Own space

Space, in the emerging experiences of participation in digital environments, is reconfigured differently, although it also needs to be seen in its dual representation: as a physical place and as a digital non-place.

In this sense, greater emphasis will be given to the analysis of the "own" space, referring to the place from where the connection and interaction on the Internet is accessed, either from home, a mobile device or free choice of a public space with open Wi-Fi connection, under the premise that emerging uses occur more in these places, unlike the practices of governmentality that use institutionalized places.

Zafra (2009) refers to the own connected room as the online scenario that increasingly frames political, labor and affective relationships, while allowing a more critical production in front of the computer:

> In the first place, the private space from which we connect to the Internet operates as a place of concentration, in the face of the incessant and dispersed flow of data and information that characterizes the era. This personal space is configured as a particular center of operations of online life, and consequently, also as a laboratory and study. The own connected room would be, in this sense, a potential scenario of creation, play and versatility where new opportunities arise with respect to the disciplinary systems of production and creative diffusion. (p. 2)

These spaces chosen to connect and interact provide anonymity, autonomy and freedom by modifying the conditions of direct surveillance, at least insofar as being observed and following the rules of an institutional space. In the case of personal devices for exclusive or personal use, they generate more confidence in terms of information security.

Although the previous aspects of surveillance and observation occur in cyberspace from the same way the Internet was designed, as it records the IP address of the equipment and browsing history, among others, the relationship of choice that means the physical space also impacts the choice in cyberspace, since there is no orientation or external conditioning so obvious to drive the behavior. It works more by interests and the greater the user's control and information, the more she can avoid the predetermined routes of some programs or pages that tend to propose new browsing windows based on the history and generate computer security actions so that what is shared has a minimum degree of privacy.

Cyberspace, as a space of multiple experiences and possibilities for information and interaction, generates as many risks as it does benefits, since it is a narrative that tells the physical world as it is, but alters the conventional space-time and the domains of access to information.

It is necessary, then, that the processes of use and appropriation of technology from a gender perspective educate beyond the instrumental in their own capacities for the need to filter information and, in that sense, to be able to choose where to be and how to participate so as not to fall into the same situations of management of public spaces that have excluded women through fear and subordination.

Breaking the dominant ways of inhabiting the spaces outside and inside the screens - previously in the cinema, television and now internet - tending to reinforce sexist patterns and consumer society is what was evidenced in the processes of reappropriation of the feminine that work collectives using the internet to denounce, mobilize and claim gender rights. Wikimedia is just one of the many cases that are being permanently activated on the Internet and that are developing strongly in Latin America, despite the digital gaps characterized in this book.

In this sense, taking public cyberspace is a powerful intervention on representations of and about women and a permanent transformation of physical and digital spaces based on what is said there and the recognition of diversity.

> Current uses of digital media suggest, in general terms, at least two new types of cross-border political activism. The first is the formation of city-based groups - in rural communities - that connect with similar groups in the rest of the world. The second type of digital network-centered politics is one that does most of its work through the network itself and thus may or may not converge on physical grounds, as happened in Seattle during the World Trade Organization meeting. In this case most of the work and political effort is focused on transactions through the digital network. Organizing against the Multilateral Agreement on Investment was a clear digital event. Nevertheless, when these digital political actions hit the ground, they can be enormously successful, especially in the big agglomeration points, the cities. (Sassen, 2003, p. 46).

An example is Wikipedia, in which a passive female user accesses a hypertext-type information experience, in which from basic information she accesses through other links to expand the information, allowing her to make superficial consultations or with greater rigor and depth when exploring other resources in the text. As part of the gender equity project, a review of articles that may be gender biased or reinforce stereotypes has been included. The user can always comment or participate in the information available.

In the case of the strategies used by Wikipedia, the exclusive calls for women stand out, which, although they may seem exclusive, are used to generate greater confidence in the learning processes of female users. Most of them are held in the facilities of non-governmental organizations dedicated to the defense of women's rights and free communication, in foundations and corporations that support the Wikipedia project, or on other occasions public spaces are used, but they always work in collective meetings, under the slogan "together", even if other tasks are also carried out individually and remotely, but for the collective.

These convening initiatives not mediated by institutionalism promote horizontal relationship practices both in physical spaces, where collaborative practices and collective intelligence are promoted, and in virtual spaces where these characteristics are maintained; they break the codes of power-knowledge since "we all know something" is privileged and because it is a voluntary work it does not involve subordination relations mediated by economic transactions, thus generating social dynamics different from those regulated by governmentality.

4.5.2 Free body

As the uses and appropriations of space in relation to technology mark the production of subjectivities, so too the body is always involved and related to its presence and participation in spaces, as a political body.

Emerging practices that propose a rupture of gender stereotypes and defend women's rights both in the physical world and in cyberspace recognize the reproduction of the body as an object and commodity that persists and spreads rapidly. From all the possibilities of ICTs today, it also recognizes the necessary practices of visibilization of the presence of the feminine and plays with the body and the visible and invisible image that interactions on the Internet allow.

From the Wikimedia project, the woman's body can be interpreted outside the screen, from her collective and individual participation in the programmed calls, from her presence in meetings with other women, her mobilization and her occupation of physical and digital public spaces.

This double bodily agency implies multiple representations of the self that can occur in the participation in social networks, but also in the processes of sociability in the physical networks that are established and in which the characteristics of virtual representation are preserved, since they are the ones that represent identity (Illouz, 2007).

In the advertising of such calls the body is thought of as a representation of emancipation and uses images as icons of libertarian women that maintain a message of insubordination over time and have meaning in the collective memory.

Inside and behind the screen, in their role as makers of stories (biographies of women who have contributed to the arts, science and culture) and in their role as creators of content, sometimes with visible or invisible bodies. Being in the network, present as they were in history, is an act of visibility and attention to the way official history has been told so far, behind the backs of the women who have participated, but also behind the backs of other human groups always silenced by the hegemonic power that decides who and in what way deserves to be remembered and be part of the collective memory.

From this experience the image of women's bodies does not have the feminine presence as a representation of hegemonic values (eroticism, object of desire, roles of mother and wife, victim), which have been traditional in the cinema and television screens and continue to be so on the internet.

In these emerging practices women are historicized from dynamics of social change, they are integrated into the production of knowledge of humanity and recognized as valid interlocutors of social processes.

4.5.3 Authorship as experience. Having a voice - creating content

From her research on the female presence in cinema, Zecchi (2014) proposes Plato's myth of the cavern to guide some questions about authorship that metaphorically are useful in the reflection on cyberspace and what appears on the computer screen when we connect.

> Who is responsible for organizing the parade of people and objects whose image is projected at the bottom of the cavern? Who lights and regulates the fire? Who composes the sounds and dialogues that produce the echoes and who decides on the objects passing in front of the fire? (p. 91).

These questions in relation to authorship on the Internet serve to unveil the masculinization of the origin of the contents and the low participation of women as authors on the Internet and thus disown the feminine. But it also recognizes how through the participation of women creators there is a process of reappropriation that involves a space, a look and an agency.

Wikipedia's experience in the promotion and training of women authors and content editors helps these emerging practices of collective intelligence to generate greater

impact. The strategies that this collaborative initiative has developed have to do with dissemination, which is why they have proposed campaigns such as "Tell our story; I edit therefore I am" and "Come edit with us", which are increasingly positioned in Latin American countries through the organizations they support and through social networks.

The training processes for authorship in which the project works favor topics such as Wikipedia, Creative Commons, digital security, non-sexist language, audio editing, video editing, free software, critical/feminist analysis of characters and narratives, and online content.

In this sense, this work of authorship also requires the appropriation of technological skills and political stance to choose the tools used in the processes of authorship -and here it is important to refer to free software and its emancipatory potential, since, due to its collaborative and open-source logics, it proposes a diverse relationship with technology-. Free software represents a field of feminist struggle that can enable fairer technologies that make visible the role of women in the technological world.

Authorship is, undoubtedly, one of the spaces where emerging practices promote relations of rupture with the hegemonic. The presence behind the screen deconstructs the neutrality of some discourses on the Internet, reveals the existence of a creator and mediator of knowledge highly excluded until now, and stops ignoring the feminine universe as an empowering and reaffirming action of a subjectivity that is not driven, but creative.

De Laurentis (1987) has explained how in hegemonic discourses, and in the case of technology, women are represented and universalized as essence, as patriarchal archetype and as "other" in relation to the masculine, simplifying the complexity of feminine diversity. Under this same thread Zecchi (2014) asks, in the case of cinema: "In what space are authentic female representations situated, is it possible to conceive a construction exempt from patriarchal normativization?" (p. 80).

It should be noted, then, that this feminine presence in the creation of content for the Internet can be as diverse as the social movements themselves that have claimed women's rights. Even this presence can also reproduce stereotypes of the patriarchal belief system that are installed in the narratives of many women, but, undoubtedly, participating as authors and interacting on the Internet in an active way allows a recognition of the gendered dimension of the screen and under this recognition there can be a more fertile work for emancipation.

4.5.4 Reported violence

However, the autonomy and freedom that can be had from one's own space and the representations of the body in the digital world that arise from emerging forms of

relationships, do not exclude a felt reality of the permanence of sexist, classist and discriminatory practices that are as common and accepted in the physical world as in cyberspace.

Gender violence and abuse against women are frequent patterns of behavior on the Internet; control, intimidation, silencing, censorship, among other actions, need to be recognized as gender violence on the Internet. In this sense, several experiences of women's organizations in Latin America are working to provide solutions. From this perspective, the project that stands out is "*Basta de violencia: derechos de las mujeres y seguridad en línea*" ("Stop violence: women's rights and online safety"), coordinated by the Association for Progressive Communications (APC) and carried out in Mexico and Colombia. This project seeks not only to denounce, but also to build effective care routes and concrete solutions to prevent cyberspace, as a public space on the Internet, from becoming a space of fear, as has historically been the case with public space for women based on certain beliefs reinforced by the patriarchal system. The culture of fear positions in emerging practices the culture of denunciation, of public manifestation and nonconformity, making gender violence visible and promoting narrative resources of rupture much more radical than those proposed in governmental prevention campaigns by having the freedom to use aggressive and even violent metaphorical language, not only towards the masculine, but also towards hegemonic patriarchal codes.

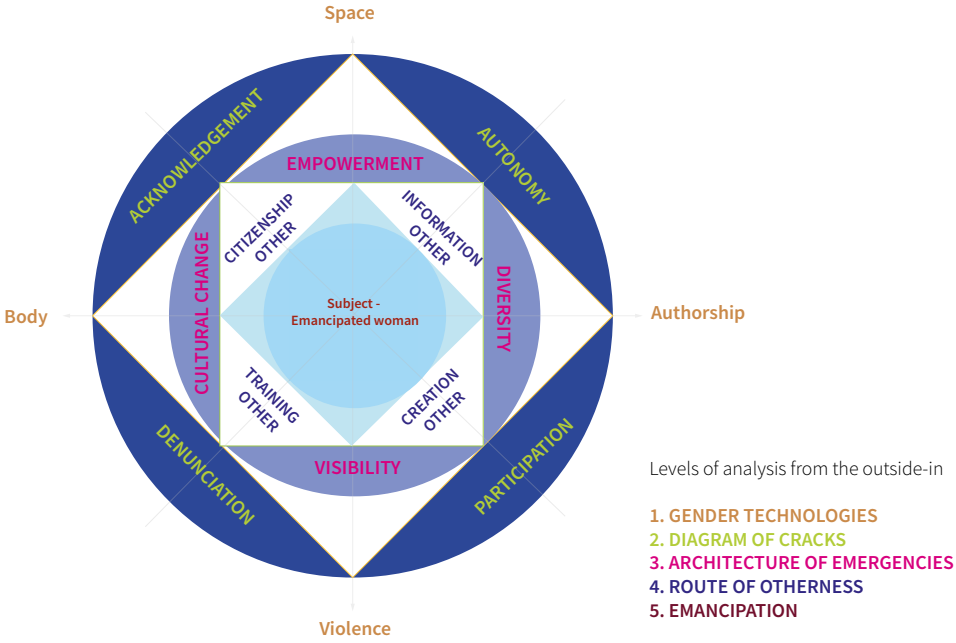
One of the main contributions of the Wikimedia project is to end stigmatization and allow the existence of stories that show the system of violence to which women have been exposed historically.

Until a few years ago, information on feminism was scarce in the encyclopedia and during the last three years not only has the number of articles with a gender focus increased, but also the contents with sexist or discriminatory language have been improved. These changes required the presence of women and the construction of narratives from the feminine point of view, otherwise many clues in sexist language would not have been evident, considering the pre-existing normalization of masculinized language.

In this sense, it is noteworthy the participation in Latin American dynamics and the Wikimedia Mexico group who have carried out an aggressive campaign to edit issues related to femicides and women's rights, an issue that articulates local actions with global problems through the relationship between technology and education.

Wikipedia's impact is also related to its polyglot characteristic, being available in 287 languages including indigenous languages and generating information and participation of indigenous groups through this strategy of collective construction of knowledge and access to information in Latin America. This, according to information from the Wikimedia Foundation.

Figure 26. *Polar representation of the statements. Emerging practices*



Source: Own elaboration.

Table 2. *Distances and proximities between governmentality practices and emerging practices*

Practices	Space	Authorship	Body	Violence
Governmentality	Physical: public, visible, free access conditioned and controlled in time and resources.	Participation focused on the acquisition of skills and skills of use.	Promotion of women's rights under the concept of equity.	Invisibility of their cultural diversity elements (ethnicity, age, interests).
	Digital: conditioned, guided, controlled and filtered.	Woman as a highly passive subject in front of information.	Emphasis on productivity.	Poverty labels.
		Predetermined contents.	Poverty and vulnerability label as a control mechanism.	Prevention of violence and security on the Internet.

Practices	Space	Authorship	Body	Violence
Governmentality				Forcing entry into productive circuits.
				Reproduce gender stereotypes in a symbolic way.
Emerging practices	Physical: diverse in place of access and control. With possibilities of privacy.	Transcends basic literacy and goes from user to distributor or author.	Proposes a break with patriarchal beliefs.	As a social response to emerging practices that transgress stereotypes.
	Digital: more open, unfiltered, unguided or guided within the same network of interests.	Greater freedom of expression and information search.	Breaks gender stereotypes.	Symbolic, in the coexistence of diverse understandings of approaches.
		Support of groups or networks.	Recognizes sexual diversity.	

Source: Own elaboration.

From these practices observed as emerging practices that propose other ways of relationship and production, cultural representations are transformed, which are decisive in the construction of new identities within contemporary society. Nash (2006) understands it as one of the axes of the sociocultural construction of difference, of the other, of the different social collective, and warns:

> The study of cultural representations of gender, as a central discourse in the construction of Western contemporaneity, sheds light on the sociocultural mechanisms that act in the continuous denial of women as political and historical subjects. Cultural representations thus play a decisive role as mechanisms of subalternity, although they can also act as forms of resistance. (p. 93)

In this sense, the forms of power and exclusion that this research has generated by excluding non-connected women in most reflections and understandings are also recognized and made conscious, affirming that any form of representation implies some degree of violence insofar as there is what is named and not what is hidden in the exercise of virtual ethnography.

Gender violence and abuse against women are frequent patterns of behavior on the Internet; control, intimidation, silencing, censorship, among other actions, need to be recognized as gender violence on the Internet. In this sense, several experiences of women's organizations in Latin America are working to provide solutions.

Chapter 5
Open reflections on gender-technology

The gender approach from the perspective of technology as culture works on the understanding of this relationship as a process in permanent dynamics of transformation, both of actions and of subjects. In this sense, the knowledge produced in this field is challenged by the speed with which technological changes occur, as well as changes in the relations of appropriation and construction of subjectivities.

Gender as a category and object of research goes far beyond the reference to women, although this bias in the use of the term has a preponderance when it comes to discourse and public policies in particular. It is necessary that it also transits and accounts for masculinities and the conditions of sexual diversity that manifest themselves, organize themselves and mobilize for their rights in both the physical and digital world.

The use of the archeological model accounts for power-knowledge relations, contributing to the understanding of a discourse analysis in terms of its immanent functioning, based on the rules that determine the formation, appearance, emergence and singularity of the gender digital gap as a positivity present in ICT public policies for Latin America and which, together with governmental practices, make up highly efficient power devices.

ICT public policies in the region link the gender approach in the discussion and practices, but without recognizing the multiple identities of the subject-woman (class, ethnicity, race, age), thus making invisible the relationship of these differences with the type of gender-technology interaction that occurs in multiple ways, and without understanding the complex intersections of gender and other social identities. This makes public policies and government strategies for access, use, appropriation and transfer of technology so efficient in their homogenizing function.

The current technological map has impacts for women and men all over the planet, but the geographical and cultural location has significant particularities in the way people live within this map, especially in the contemporary forms of social and labor organization

that produce a new world division of labor in which women are one of the most important productive forces to sustain the capitalist economic model.

The gender digital gap appears in the public policy for Latin America as an antecedent to a series of strategies and practices that from the governmentality promote the use and appropriation of technology by women without further differentiation by country, as a strategy to meet goals that the International Organizations of the United Nations System consider to be the development horizon for the region.

In the application of archeology from the statements related to education, participation, productivity and citizenship, the colonial mark related to the way public policies are designed and implemented, with the power of hegemonic discourses that permeate governments and with the economic interests that have historically defined our relationship as a region is evident.

The policies of governmentality in the gender-ICT relationship account for the emergence of the digital gap as a positive discursivity, at a key moment of adaptation of capitalism to new cultural orders, where common goods are perceived as new commodities that strengthen the logic of capital. In this context, digital agendas function as navigation charts for the fulfillment of transnational objectives in which characterizations, figures and conditions are repeated, where technology is presented as a possible solution to multiple situations and where Latin America and the Caribbean are perceived as a common territory, but where devices of competition between countries for the fulfillment of development indicators that privilege positions on the global map are also constituted.

The labor circuits in the economic orders of globalization pose the need to link women strategically in cross-border markets, proposing a feminization of cognitive work and an entry of all human capacities, including affective and sexual ones, into the circuit of economic, singular and collective relations. In these contexts, there is a need for women to appropriate and use ICTs as part of the qualification for these labor scenarios.

Labor feminization and precariousness are phenomena of globalization, in which, although a quantitative and qualitative change in women's labor participation is visible, this change has not meant a reordering of cultural practices in the assignment of roles in domestic spaces. On the contrary, and as this research reveals, telework policies are accompanied by the reproduction of stereotypes and gender roles that associate women with the care of the home and children, in addition to the workload.

Analyzing governmental practices and the emergence of other social practices regarding the use and appropriation of technologies by Latin American women, through issues such as space, the body, authorship and violence, evidenced in these categories the sexed

condition of the media and screens. As well as the permanence of a patriarchal belief system that uses the same codes towards women for control, fear and punishment in cyberspace as in physical spaces.

Digital inclusion from a gender perspective should be evaluated in relation to the types and capacities of use, which is what will provide a global vision of the phenomenon. Only when the focus is placed on the experience of female users in a differential and contextualized manner, will it be possible to explore the role of technology in their lives and the collective impact this has, particularly on those girls and women who have remained excluded or who were included, but then for different circumstances were unable to continue accessing or using ICTs.

Just as the practices of governmentality are marked by the colonial mark in the material, economic, legal and cognitive dimensions, the practices of feminist movements in Latin America also have a colonial imprint, even recognized in their own dynamics. Such is the case of cyberfeminism; this, not with the purpose of invalidating these forms of visibility, resistance and mobilization, but warning of the historical background of women's and gender equity movements in the region, which today are questioned within the heterogeneity of Latin American feminisms.

The considerations raised in this reflection induce us to take a critical look at technological development and its social impacts, beyond seeing the services we can access and the novelty of the artifacts; it is necessary to understand their condition of constructors of subjectivity and society to be able to take charge of their subordinating and emancipating dimension at the same time.

The tensions present between governmentality and the social emergencies of the Internet, when it comes to the defense of rights, including gender equity, mainly involve the discussion about Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) policies within the framework of neoliberal globalization, considering that these technologies are potentially capable of drastically altering the exchange of knowledge.

Through architectures of participation and collective intelligence it is possible to configure other types of social relations, even more so in a territory such as Latin America where cooperative relations are present in ancestral memory. For this reason, these architectures of social relations represent a threat to economic logics that seek to strengthen individualism by using the strategy of scarcity and crisis to justify, through public policies, intellectual property regimes that are socially unjust for all and, as we have argued throughout this book, more complex for women.

While cyberspace proposes to maintain hegemonic codes functional to power relations and traditional heteronormative statutes, it has also unleashed forms of relationship and participation of rupture that have made it possible to fracture these codes to give way to a more transcultural experience of social relations. In cyberspace it is possible to access information, interact and participate in social movements on highly controversial gender issues in the countries of the region that have to do with sexual and reproductive patterns previously controlled by the established orders. As evidenced in the virtual ethnography carried out on pages and blogs with these profiles.

The Internet can be seen as a space in which women's expectations build a place of their own, demarcate interests and movements, and leave a digital footprint that can be traced through the history of technological changes that identify contemporary society. The subjectivities that make themselves present on the network require continuity in research and collective action that allows the possibility of making hyperlinks with other subjectivities and promote a world that frees bodies from the crossings of the different signs that have been the object of discrimination of class, gender, sexual orientation and geographical origin.

Digital inclusion with a gender approach requires solving the socio-cultural, emotional, cognitive and attitudinal exclusions related to the perception and experience in the use of technologies, the self-confidence to master them appropriately and the ability to find them useful for personal and social needs. It is a challenge that requires further research not only from quantitative data, but also from the sociocultural imaginaries on the use of ICTs as a path towards understanding and overcoming barriers in the female appropriation of these technologies.

The advances of Web 4.0 and the rise of social networks have generated high expectations regarding the dynamics of social and political participation that must be analyzed with attention and methodological and theoretical creativity given the apparent speed with which some changes occur, but also because of the way in which traditions are maintained and reinforced. Aware of how revolutionary the arrival of artifacts that combine computing, communication and artificial intelligence services has been on a massive scale in the spaces of people's public and private lives, it is necessary to dimension the consequences of these phenomena.

References

Abraham, L., Vollman, A. y Mörn, M. (2010). *Women on the web: how women are shaping the internet*. ComScore Insight Withpapers.

Agüero, A., Bustelo, M. y Viollaz, M. (2020). *¿Desigualdades en el mundo digital? Brechas de género en el uso de las TIC.* Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo.

Albano, S. (2006). *Michel Foucault: glosario epistemológico*. Editorial Quadrata.

Alliance for Affordable Internet. (2022). *Conectividad significativa: desbloquear todo el poder del acceso a Internet*. https://a4ai.org/meaningful-connectivity/

Álvarez, J. (1995). *Michael Foucault: verdad, poder, subjetividad. La modernidad cuestionada.* Ediciones Pedagógicas.

Amigot, P. (2005). *Relaciones de poder, espacio subjetivo y prácticas de libertad.* Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Arriazu, R. (2007). ¿Nuevos medios o nuevas formas de indagación? Una propuesta metodológica para la investigación social on line a través del foro de discusión. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung*, *8*(3), 1-18.

Arte contra violencia de género (ACVG). (2007). *Arte contra violencia de género*. http://artecontraviolenciadegenero.org/?cat=4

Augé, M. (1996). *Los no lugares. Espacios del anonimato. Una antropología de la sobremodernidad.* Gedisa.

Baigorri, A. (2000). La fractura digital. Primer Congreso Mundial de Alfabetización Tecnológica. En A. Mattelart (2001), *Historia de la Sociedad de la Información* (p. 163). Paidós.

Bakardjieva, M. (2005). *Internet society: the Internet in everyday life*. SAGE.

Bakardjieva, M. (2006). Domestication running wild. From the moral economy of the household to the mores of a culture. En T. Berker (Ed.), *Domestication of media and technology* (pp. 62-79). Open University Press.

Balboni, M. (2009). Indicadores para la Sociedad de la Información en América Latina y el Caribe: avances y desafíos en la medición del acceso y uso de las TIC. *XIV Congreso Internacional sobre la Reforma del Estado y Administración Pública - CLAD 2009*. Salvador de Bahía, Brasil.

Ballestero, F. (2002). *La brecha digital. El riesgo de exclusión en la sociedad de la información*. Fundación Retevisión-Auna.

Banco Mundial. (2021). *Educación*. https://www.bancomundial.org/es/topic/education/overview#2

Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo (BID). (2020). *La educación en tiempos del coronavirus. Los sistemas educativos de América Latina y el Caribe ante COVID- 19*. BID.

Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo (CIMA). (2020). COVID-19: *¿Estamos preparados para el aprendizaje en línea?* CIMA.

Barbero, J. (2003). *Oficio de cartógrafo*. Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Barbero, J. (1987). *De los medios a las mediaciones. Comunicación, cultura y hegemonía*. Editorial Gustavo Gili S.A.

Bianco, M., Paricio, D., Cuevas, L., Finikin, L. y Rosero, R. (2013). *El cumplimiento del consenso de Brasilia en América Latina y el Caribe. Análisis de la sociedad civil*. Fundación para Estudio e Investigación de la Mujer.

Bidaseca, K. (2013). *Feminismos y poscolonialidad: descolonizando el feminismo desde y en América Latina*. Ediciones Godot.

Blondeau, O. y Sánchez, R. (2004). *Capitalismo cognitivo: propiedad intelectual y creación colectiva*. Traficantes de Sueños.

Boix, M. (2006). *Hackeando el patriarcado: la lucha contra la violencia hacia las mujeres como nexo. Filosofía y práctica de mujeres en red desde el ciberfeminismo social*. https://www.mujeresenred.net/spip.php?article880

Bonder, G. (2002). *Las nuevas tecnologías de información y las mujeres: reflexiones necesarias.* Cepal.

Boyer, A. (2012). Biopolítica y filosofía feminista. *Revista de Estudios Sociales*, (43), 131-138.

Braidotti, R. (2004). *Feminismo, diferencia sexual y subjetividad nómade*. EditorialGedisa.

Brea, J. (2007). *Cultura _RAM. Mutaciones de la cultura en la era de distribución electrónica*. Gedisa Editorial.

Butler, J. (2006). *Deshacer el género.* Paidós.

Butler, J. (2001). *El género en disputa: el feminismo y la subversión de la identidad*.Paidós.

Butler, J. (2002). *Cuerpos que importan. Sobre los límites materiales y discursivosdel sexo*. Paidós.

Butler, J. (2009). Performatividad, precariedad y políticas sexuales. *AIBR. Revista de Antropología Iberoamericana*, *4*(3), 321-336.

Cabrera, T. y Cardona, J. (2014). La etnografía: una posibilidad metodológica para la investigación en cibercultura. *Encuentros*, *12*(2), 93-103.

Cabrera, T. y Perdomo, P. (2015). La interacción pedagógica en un entorno virtual de aprendizaje: una mirada etnográfica. *Revista Temas*, (4), 163-172.

Cadavid, C. (2013). *Se agotan minerales usados en la tecnología*. http://www.alainet.org/es/active/66661

CAF. (2020). *El estado de la digitalización de América Latina frente a la pandemia del COVID-19*. https://scioteca.caf.com/handle/123456789/1540

CAF. (2020). *Las oportunidades de la digitalización en América Latina frente al COVID-19*. https://scioteca.caf.com/handle/123456789/1541

Camacho, K. (2013). *Análisis de la integración de la perspectiva de género en las agendas y políticas digitales de Latinoamérica y el Caribe*. Cepal.

Cardozo, J. y Cabrera, T. (2015). Transhumanismo: concepciones, alcancesy tendencias. *Análisis*, *46*(84), 63-88.

Carracedo, J. (2003). *Jerarquías y desigualdades en el diseño de las sociedades de la información: explorando la estratificación digital.* Universidad de Chile.

Castillo, A. (2014). *El desorden de la democracia. Partidos políticos de mujeres enChile*. Editorial Palinodia.

Castaño, C. (2008). *La segunda brecha digital*. Cátedra Ediciones.

Castaño, C., Martín, J., Vásquez, S. y Añino, S. (2007). *Observatorio e-igualdad, informe final*. Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

Castells, M. (2003). *La galaxia internet. Reflexiones sobre internet, empresa y sociedad.* Editorial Debolsillo.

Castells, M. (2009). *Comunicación y poder.* Editorial Alianza Madrid.

Castro, E. (1995). *Pensar a Foucault*. Biblos.

Castro, E. (2004). *El vocabulario de Michel Foucault. Un recorrido alfabético por sus temas, conceptos y autores.* Universidad Nacional de Quilmes.

Castro-Gómez, S. (2009). *Tejidos oníricos: movilidad, capitalismo y biopolítica en Bogotá (1910-1930).* Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.

Castro-Gómez, S. (2011). *La colonialidad del saber: eurocentrismo y ciencias sociales.* Fundación Centro de Integración, Comunicación, Cultura y Sociedad (CICCUS); Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLASCO).

Castro-Gómez, S. y Grosfoguel, R. (2007). *El giro decolonial: reflexiones para una diversidad epistémica más allá del capitalismo global*. Siglo del Hombre Editores.

Chaneton, J. (2009). *Género, poder y discursos sociales*. Editorial Eudeba.

Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (Cepal). (2012). *Las tecnologías digitales frente a los desafíos de una educación inclusiva en América Latina. Algunos casos de buenas prácticas.* Cepal.

Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (Cepal). (2014). *Informe de la XII Conferencia Regional sobre la Mujer de América Latina y El Caribe*. Santo Domingo, República Dominicana.

CEPAL. Agenda digital para América Latina y el Caribe (eLAC2020) https://comunidades.cepal.org/elac/es

Cooper, J. (2006). The digital divide: the special case of gender. *Journal of Computer Assisted Learning*, (22), 320-334.

Cuadra, A. (2009). *Epistemocrítica de la e-Comunicación. Elementos para una etnografía virtual de las prácticas científicas en la era digital*. CLACSO.

Cumbre Mundial sobre la Sociedad de la Información (CMSI) (2003-2005). *Declaración*. http://www.itu.int/wsis/basic/about.html

De Salvador, S. (2011). *Ciberactivismo ecofeminista*. Universidad Santiago deCompostela.

De Lauretis, T. (1994). La tecnología del género. Tendências e impasses: o feminismo como crítica da cultura. *Rocco*. 206-242.

DiMaggio, P., Hargittai, E., Celeste, C. y Shafer, S. (2001).

Desigualdad digital: Del acceso desigual al uso diferenciado. Desigualdad social , 355-400.

Duby, G. y Perrot, M. (1992). *Historia de las mujeres*. Taurus.

Dussel, E. (1994). *El encubrimiento del otro: hacia el origen del mito de lamodernidad*. Editorial Abya Yala.

Dussel, E. (2011). *Filosofía de la liberación*. Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Dussel. E. (2013). La teoría: "El giro descolononizador". [Video]. YouTube. https://wwwyoutube.com/watch?v=mI9F73wlMQE

Encuentro Latinoamericano y del Caribe de Acción y Práctica Feminista (ELCAP). (2011). *Relatoría Grupo de Trabajo Ciberfeminismo*. ELCAP.

Eribon, D. (1992). *Michel Foucault*. Editorial Anagrama.

Escobar, A. (2005). *El "postdesarrollo" como concepto y práctica social. Políticas de economía, ambiente y sociedad en tiempos de globalización*. Universidad Central de Venezuela.

Escobar, D. (2019). *Mujeres rurales en el despliegue de redes celulares y de acceso a internet*. GenderIT.org.

Estrada, J. (2014). Michel Foucault y la contra-historia. *Revista Historia y Memoria*, (8), 211-243.

Firestone, S. (1976). *La dialéctica del sexo*. Editorial Kairós.

Flores, J. (2009). *Ciberderechos: los e-derechos de la infancia en el nuevo contexto TIC*. https://www.pantallasamigas.net/ciberderechos-los-e-derechos-de-la-infancia-en-el-nuevo-contexto-tic/

Flores, C. (2011). *Ciberfeminismo y arte en Latinoamérica: fusión pendiente*. Mujeres en Red.

Floss, P. (2006). *Free Libre Open Source Software: Policy Support*. https://www.jamesleach.net/downloads/FLOSSPOLS-D16-Gender_Integrated_Report_of_Findings.pdf

Foucault, M. (1979). *Microfísica del poder*. La Piqueta.

Foucault, M. (1984a). *La verdad y las formas jurídicas*. Gedisa.

Foucault, M. (1984b). *La arqueología del saber*. Siglo XXI.

Foucault, M. (1985). *Saber y verdad*. La Piqueta.

Foucault, M. (1985). *Vigilar y castigar*. Siglo XXI.

Foucault, M. (2009). *Nacimiento de la biopolítica: curso del Collège de France(1978-1979).* Ediciones Akal.

Foucault, M. (2010). *El orden del discurso*. Tusquets Editores.

Fox, K. (1985). *Reflexiones sobre género y ciencia*. Instituto Alfons El Magnanim.

Fumagalli, A. (2010). *Bioeconomía y capitalismo cognitivo. Hacia un nuevo paradigma de acumulación*. Traficantes de Sueños.

Gargallo, F. (2007). Feminismo latinoamericano. *Revista Venezolana de Estudios de la Mujer*, *12*(28), 17-34.

Garzón, M. (2005). Si te dicen perra… tienen razón. Representación, identidad política y ciberfeminismo. *Revista Nómadas*, (23), 195-201.

González, L. (2007). *La metodología genealógica y arqueológica de Michel Foucault en la investigación en psicología social.* Departamento de Publicaciones del CEUP.

GSMA. (2019). *ConnectedWomen. La brecha de género móvil 2019*. https://www.gsma.com/mobilefordevelopment/connected-women-la-brecha-de-genero-movil-2019/

Gurumurthy, A. (2004). *Género y TIC. Informe general*. BRIDGE Institute of Development Studies.

Gutiérrez, R., García, Á. y Tapia, L. (2000). La forma multitud de la política de lasnecesidades vitales. En *El retorno de la Bolivia plebeya.* Muela del Diablo Editores.

Gutiérrez, R., García, Á. y Tapia, L. (2013). *La lengua subalterna I. Entrevista a Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M7Uuu8DT878

Hall, S. (2008). ¿Cuándo fue lo poscolonial? Pensar al límite. En S. Mezzadra (ed.),*Estudios postcoloniales. Ensayos fundamentales*. Traficantes de Sueños.

Hannan, C. (2001). *Gender Mainstreaming - A strategy for promoting gender equality: With particular focus on HIV/AIDS and Racism NYU Medical Centre*. Commission on the Status of Women 2001.

Haraway, D. (1991a). *Ciencia, ciborgs y mujeres: la reinvención de la naturaleza*.Cátedra.

Haraway, D. (1991b). A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist- Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century. En *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (pp. 141-181). Routledge.

Hardt, M. y Negri, A. (2002). *Imperio*. Paidós.

Hargittai, E. y Hinnant, A. (2008). Digital inequality: Differences in young adults' use of the internet. *Communication Research*, *35*(5), 602-621.

Hausmann, R., Tyson, L. y Zahidi, S. (eds.). (2013). *The Global Gender Gap Report2013*. World Economic Forum.

Herring, S. (2008). *Questioning the Generational Divide: Technological Exoticism and Adult Constructions of Online Youth Identity*. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/242101479_Questioning_the_Generational_Divide_Technological_Exoticism_and_Adult_Constructions_of_Online_Youth_Identity

Hine, C. (2004). *Etnografía virtual*. Editorial Universidad Oberta de Cataluña.

Hilbert, M. R. (2009). La información, el conocimiento y las TIC. En:¿ Quo vadis, tecnología de la información y las comunicaciones?: conceptos fundamentales, trayectorias tecnológicas y el estado del arte de los sistemas digitales. p. 12-32

Hoffman, D., Novak, T. y Schlosser, A. (2001). The evolution of the digitaldivide: Examining the relationship of race to Internet access and usage overtime. *The digital divide: Facing a crisis or creating a myth*, 47-97.

Hurtado, J. (2010). *Metodología de la investigación holística*. Quirón.

Illouz, E. (2007). *Intimidades congeladas. Las emociones en el capitalismo*. Kats Editores.

Instituto Internacional de Planeación de Educación (IIPE). (2015, 26 de marzo). *Webinar sobre derechos digitales desde un enfoque de género*. IIPE. http://www.buenosaires.iipe.unesco.org/multimedia/webinar-sobre-derechos- digitales-desde-unenfoque-de-g-nero

Jiménez, A. (2011). Subjetivación y sujeto en la obra de Michael Foucault. En *Desafíos en estudios sociales e interdisciplinariedad* (pp. 39-54). Universidad Francisco José de Caldas.

Justo, C. (2008). Reseña de "El tecnofeminismo" de Judith Wajcman. *Empiria*. *Revista de Metodología de las Ciencias Sociales*, (15), 192-194.

Katz, R. (2013). *La variable de género y el acceso a activos digitales*. Cepal.

Kleiman, A. (2015). *A qué llamamos brecha de género en Wikipedia*. http://www.wikimedia.org.ar/2015/07/08/a-que- llamamos-brecha-de-genero-en-wp/

Kyrou, A., Corsani, A., Rullani, E., Moulier, Y., y Lazzarato, M. (2004). *Capitalismo cognitivo, propiedad intelectual y creación colectiva.* Traficantes de Sueños.

Lajo, M., Baños, R. y Niella, M. (2008). Barreras de género y actitudes hacia las redes sociales en alumnado universitario de las facultades de educación. *Revista de Investigación Educativa*, *26*(1), 45-72.

Laval, C. y Dardot, P. (2015). *Común. Ensayos sobre la revolución en el siglo XXI*. Gedisa Editores.

Lazzarato, M. (2015). *Gobernar a través de la deuda. Tecnologías de poder del capitalismo neoliberal*. Amorrortu Editores.

Leff, E. (1994). *Ecología y capital: racionalidad ambiental, democracia participativay desarrollo sustentable*. Siglo XXI.

Levis, D. (2004). Cumbre Mundial sobre la Sociedad de la Información: modelo paraarmar. *Revista Signo y Pensamiento*, (44), 29-40.

Levy, P. (2004). Inteligencia Colectiva. Organización Panamericana de la Salud. Washington http://inteligenciacolectiva.bvsalud.orgLevy, P. (2007). *Cibercultura. La cultura de la sociedad digital*. Editorial Anthropos.

Lugones, G., Gutti, P. y Le Clech, N. (2007). *Indicadores de capacidadestecnológicas en América Latina*. Cepal.

Maldonado, T. (2007). *Memoria y conocimiento. Sobre los destinos del saber en laperspectiva digital*. Editorial Gedisa.

Marchant, I. y Yuki, T. (2014). *The State of Social Media in Latin America and theMetrics that Really Matter*. ComScore Presentations & Whitepapers.

Márquez, R. (2012). *Construcción de la identidad de género en las redes sociales de internet. El caso de Facebook* [tesis de maestría]. Universidad Rey Juan Carlos.

Mason, P. (2016). *Potscapitalismo. Hacia un nuevo futuro*. Paidós.

Massoni, S. (2007). *Estrategias. Los desafíos de la comunicación en un mundo fluido*. Homo Sapiens.

Mattelart, A. (2007). Historia de la Sociedad de la Información. Barcelona: Paidós, p. 163

Maturana, H. y Romesin, H. (2003). *La objetividad: un argumento para obligar*. JC Sáez.

Meneses Cabrera, T., & Aranda Bustamante, G. (2020). Sujeto - mujer y brecha digital de género.Discursos y Prácticas desde la gubernamentalidad en América Latina. Signo Y Pensamiento, 39(76). https://doi.org/10.11144/Javeriana.syp39.smbd

Mernissi, F. (1992). *El poder olvidado: las mujeres ante un Islam en cambio*. Icaria Editorial.

Mezzadra, S., Chakravorty, G., Young, R., Puwar, N., Talpade, C., Chakrabarty, D., y Mbembe, A. (2008). *Estudios postcoloniales: ensayos fundamentales*. Traficantes de Sueños.

Mignolo, W. (2003). *Historias locales/diseños globales: colonialidad, conocimientos subalternos y pensamiento fronterizo*. Ediciones Akal.

Mignolo, W. (2007). *La idea de América Latina: la herida colonial y la opción decolonial*. Gedisa.

Ministerio de las Telecomunicaciones (2004). *Documentos de política pública, programas y proyectos*. www.mintic.gov.co

Morini, C. (2014). *Por amor a la fuerza: feminización del trabajo y biopolítica del cuerpo*. Traficantes de Sueños.

Mujeres en Red. (2014). *Periódico Digital*. http://www.mujeresenred.net/spip.php?article1454

Mundial, B. (2018). Informe sobre el Desarrollo Mundial 2018.

Mungaray, M. (2005). Sujetos virtuales de conocimiento: Los retos de la informaciónen el hipertexto. *Revista Electrónica de Investigación Educativa*, (7), 13-18.

Nash, M. (2006). Identidades de género, mecanismos de subalternidad y procesos de emancipación femenina. *Revista CIDOB*, (73-74), 39-57.

Navarro, L. y Sánchez, M. (2011). Gender differences in Internet use. En M. Balboni, S. Rovira y S. Vergara (eds.), *ICT in Latin America. A Microdata analysis* (pp. 95-118). Naciones Unidas.

Negroponte, N. (1995). *Ser digital*. Atlántida.

Norris, P. (2001). Digital divide: Civic engagement, information poverty, and the Internet worldwide. Cambridge university press.

Norfipc. (2022). *Mapa mundial de las redes que permiten la conexión a internet*. https://norfipc.com/infografia/mapa-mundial-redes-conexion-internet.html

Observatorio de Igualdad de Género (OIG). (2015). A 20 años de la declaración y la plataforma de acción de Beijing. Notas para la igualdad. http://www.cepal.org/oig/noticias/noticias/9/54759/NotaIgualdad_16.pdf

Onda Rural. (2014). Comunicación, medios comunitarios y TIC para la Agricultura Familiar. *Foro en Comunicación para el Desarrollo y Medios Comunitarios para la Agricultura Familiar*. Roma, Italia.

Ong, A. (2012). Ciudadanía flexible: las lógicas culturales de la transnacionalidad y apostillas: una antropología de la transnacionalidad. *Revista de Teoría Política*, (2), 1-12.

Organización de las Naciones Unidas. (ONU). (1995). *Conferencia Mundial de las Naciones Unidas sobre la Mujer*. http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/Beijing%20full%20report%20S.pdf

Organización de las Naciones Unidas (ONU). (2005). *La mujer en el 2000 y después:igualdad entre los géneros y potenciación de la mujer por medio de las tecnologías de la información y las comunicaciones.* ONU.

Organización de las Naciones Unidas (ONU). (2016). *Promoción y protección de todos los derechos humanos, civiles, políticos, económicos, sociales y culturales, incluido el derecho al desarrollo*. ONU.

Ortiz, N. (2014). *Ciberfeminismo en Colombia: ¿en la desconexión o el enredamiento*? [tesis de maestría]. Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá.

Ossa, C. (2013). *Cultura y capitalismo cognitivo* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-WU_LqRsy1o

Ossa, C. (2016). *El ego explotado. Capitalismo cognitivo y precarización de la creatividad*. Universidad de Chile.

Padilla, M. (2012). El kit de la lucha en Internet.

Paredes, M. (2015). El concepto de arqueología. *El Acontecer Digital*, *1*(4).

Pavel, I. (2016). *Niñas y mujeres en América Latina en el mapa tecnológico.*IIPE; Unesco.

Pavez, M. (2010). *América Latina y las nuevas tecnologías*. Serie Políticas Sociales.

Pavez, M. (2014). *The Latinas' internet: meanings and practices in the everyday lives of disadvantaged migrant women in London* [tesis de doctorado]. The London School of Economics and Political Science.

Peña, P. (2013). *Mujeres rurales jóvenes en América Latina. Tan lejos y tan cerca de las TIC*. CLACSO.

Pineda, E., Meneses, T. y Téllez, F. (2013). Análisis de redes sociales y comunidades virtuales de aprendizaje. Antecedentes y perspectivas. *Revista Virtual Universidad Católica del Norte*, *1*(38), 40-55.

Pinker, S. (2009). *The Sexual Paradox: Men, Women and the Real Gender Gap*. Simon & Schuster.

Plant, S. (1998). *Ceros + Unos.* Editorial Destino.

Preciado, B. (2002). *Manifiesto contrasexual*. Editorial Opera Prima.

Proenza, F., Bastidas-Buch, R. y Montero, G. (2001). *Telecentros para el desarrollo socioeconómico y rural en América Latina y el Caribe*. FAO; UIT; BID.

Quijano, A. (2007). *Colonialidad del poder y clasificación social*. http://biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/clacso/se/20140506032333/eje1-7.pdf

Ramírez, R. (2015). *Seminario Internacional Capitalismo Cognitivo y Economía Social del Conocimiento* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E9I-1DxmGDwI

Ramírez, R. y Turrión, P. (2014). *La virtud de los comunes: de los paraísos fiscales al paraíso de los conocimientos abiertos*. Editorial Abya Yala.

Ravalli, M. y Vanoli, N. (2011). *Encuesta a adolescentes sobre consumo de medios*. UNICEF.

Remondino, G. (2012). Blog y redes sociales: un análisis desde las tecnologías de la gubernamentalidad y el género. *Revista Athenea Digital*, *12*(3), 51-69.

Restrepo, A. y Bustamante, X. (2009). *10 encuentros feministas latinoamericanos y del Caribe. Apuntes para una historia en movimiento*. https://pdfcoffee.com/10-encuentros-feministas-2-pdf-free.html

Restrepo, E. y Rojas, A. (2010). *Inflexión decolonial: fuentes, conceptos y cuestionamientos.* Editorial Universidad del Cauca.

Reverter-Bañon, S. (2013). Ciberfeminismo: de virtual a político. Teknokultura. *Revista de Cultura Digital y Movimientos Sociales*, *10*(2).

Rodríguez, A. (2006). *La brecha digital y sus determinantes.* Centro Universitario de Investigaciones Bibliotecológicas.

Rose, N. (2003). *Cuestiones de identidad cultural: identidad, genealogía e historia*.Editorial Amorrortu.

Rueda, R. (2003). Tecnologías informáticas: herramientas, metáforas y espacios culturales de investigación. *Nómadas*, (18), 128-139.

Rueda, R. (2008). Cibercultura: metáforas y prácticas sociales. *Nómada*, (28), 8-28.

Ruiz, M. (2011). Mujeres en el software libre. *Primer Congreso de Mujeres, Tecnología y Cultura Libre*. Colectivo Fosschix.

Sánchez, M. (2010). Implicaciones de género en la sociedad de la información: unanálisis desde los determinantes de uso de internet en Chile y México. *Journal of Technology Management & Innovation*. *5*(1), 1-19.

Sandoval, C. (2004). Feminismo ciborg y metodología de los oprimidos. En *Otrasinapropiables: feminismos desde las fronteras* (pp. 81-106). Traficantes de Sueños.

Sassen, S. (2003). *Contrageografías de la globalización. Género y ciudadanía en los circuitos transfronterizos*. Traficantes de Sueños.

Sassen, S. (2015). Expulsiones: brutalidad y complejidad en la economía global (Vol. 3090). Katz editores.

Sauquillo, J. (2001). *Para leer a Foucault*. Alianza.

Scribd Company. (2021). *Informe digital 2021*. https://www.slideshare.net/DataReportal/digital-2021-global-overview-report-january-2021-v01

Scuro, L. y Bercovich, N. (eds.). (2014). *Libros de la Cepal, N.° 131*. Cepal.

Scolari, C. (2004). *Hacer CLIC. Hacia una sociosemiótica de las interacciones digitales.* Editorial Gedisa.

Segato, R. (2002). Identidades políticas/Alteridades históricas. Una crítica a las certezas del pluralismo global. *Runa: archivo para las ciencias del hombre*, *23*(1), 239-275.

Segato, R. (2013). *La lengua subalterna II* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SdYN0yx5Q2Y

SITEAL. (2012). *La brecha digital en América Latina. Consulta de indicadores*. http://tic.siteal.org/indicadores/consulta

Spivak, G. (2009). ¿Pueden hablar los subalternos? En M. Sensi Pérez (ed. y trad.). Museu d´Art Contemporani de Barcelona.

Stallman R. (2002). *Software Libre para una sociedad libre*. http://biblioweb.sindominio.net/pensamiento/softlibre/

Sunkel, G. y Trucco, D. (2012). Nuevas tecnologías de la información y la comunicación para la educación en América Latina: riesgos y oportunidades. Cepal.

Svampa, M. (2016). *Debates Latinoamericanos. Indianismo, desarrollo, dependencia y populismo*. Edhasa.

Talbert, E. (2013). *Statis TIC and indicators on information and communication technologies and gender*.

Tamayo, C., Delgado, J. y Penagos, J. (2007). *Hacer real lo virtual: discursos del desarrollo, tecnologías e historia del internet en Colombia.* Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.

Telefónica. (2014). *Telefónica Global Millenial Survey: Global Results*. http://survey.telefonica.com/globalreports/

Unesco. (2010). *Informe Mundial de las Ciencias Sociales*. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000217366

Unesco. (2013). *Enfoque estratégico sobre TIC en educación en América Latina y el Caribe.* Unesco.

Unesco. (2019). *Descifrar el código: la educación de las niñas y las mujeres en ciencias, tecnología, ingeniería y matemáticas (STEM).* https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000366649

Unión Internacional de Telecomunicaciones (UIT). (2005). *Documentos oficiales de la Cumbre Mundial sobre la Sociedad de la Información (2003-2005)*. https://www.itu.int/net/wsis/outcome/booklet-es.pdf Recuperado en 13 de mayo de 2022, de http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.

Van Dijk, J. (2006). Digital divide research, achievements and shortcomings. *Poetic*,*34*(4-5), 221-235.

Vargas-Monroy, L. y Pujal, M. (2013). Gubernamentalidad, dispositivos de género, raza y trabajo: la conducción de la conducta de las mujeres trabajadoras. *Universitas Psychologica*, *12*(4), 1255-1267.

Vayne, P. (2004). Un arqueólogo escéptico. En D. Eribon (ed.), *El infrecuentable Michel Foucault, renovación del pensamiento crítico*. Letra Viva.

Vázquez, Amancio. (2010). El concepto de ciudadanía en la democracia liberal y sus límites. Cultura y representaciones sociales, 4(8), 140-157.

Vega, R. (2007). *Un mundo incierto, un mundo para aprender y enseñar: las transformaciones mundiales y su incidencia en la enseñanza de las cienciassociales.* Universidad Pedagógica Nacional.

Vercellone, C. (2016). Capitalismo cognitivo y economía del conocimiento. Una perspectiva histórica y teórica. F. Sierra Caballero, & F. Maniglio, Capitalismo financiero y Comunicación , 17-50.

Villanueva, E. (2005). *II Congreso Panamericano de Comunicación*. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

VNS Matrix. (1991). *Manifiesto de la Zorra Mutante*. http://w3art.es/estudios

Wajcman, J. (2006). *El tecnofeminismo*. Cátedra.

Wellman, B. et al. (2003): "The social affordances of the Internet for networked individualism". Journal of Computer Mediated Communication, 8(3).

Wilding, F. (2004). *¿Dónde está el feminismo en el ciberfeminismo?* School of theArt Institute of Chicago.

Zafra, R. (2010). *Un cuarto propio conectado: (ciber) espacio y (auto) gestión delyo*. Fórcola Ediciones.

Zecchi, B. (2014). *La pantalla sexuada*. Ediciones Cátedra.

Zizek, S. (2014). *Pedir lo imposible*. Ediciones Akal.

Sello Editorial
Universidad Nacional
Abierta y a Distancia

Sede Nacional José Celestino Mutis
Calle 14 Sur 14-23
PBX: 344 37 00 - 344 41 20
Bogotá, D.C., Colombia

www.unad.edu.co

9 786287 786165