

Digital practices, young people, and gender

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Abstract

Digital practices are ever more present in our daily lives, and in particular young peoples' lives are embedded in online activities. Digital technologies are shaping the way we work, communicate, socialize, participate, and interact with the physical world. It is crucial to understand how young people are using digital technologies to make sense of the world around them. Considering the persistent gender gap in information and communication technologies (ICT), for example, boys having higher confidence in their digital skills and more girls than boys perceive the Internet as an unsafe space, it is of particular importance to understand how young people are coping with the competences needed to live in a digital age. This paper presents a gender-based analysis of the results of the project 'Information Skills for Young People in the Digital Age' implemented in Setúbal, Portugal. Students from the fifth to ninth grade, 230 girls and 199 boys, aged 10 to 17 years old, answered an online questionnaire, and 30 students, 13 boys and 14 girls, participated in focus groups. The results analysis highlights gender differences and aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of digital practices among girls and boys in Portugal.

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Introduction

Digital practices are part of our lives, being one of the essential aspects of the ways we communicate, work, and socialize. Despite the fact that digital practices are increasingly a structural aspect of societies, they continue to be one of the areas of life where there are gender differences that, in turn, constitute an important source of social and economic inequality.

To participate fully in economic, social, and cultural life, digital literacies are crucial to navigate the complex digital landscape of today. Gender differences in digital practices must be better understood in order to take action towards greater equality.

The intersections between gender and digital practices constitute a growing field of research in the international academic context (Bailey, *et al.*, 2013; Cassell and Jenkins, 1998; Ferreira, 2017; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2008; Siddiq and Scherer, 2019), exploring issues such as practices, attitudes, self-representation, preferences, interests, and career development. However, research on the intersections between gender and digital practices in Portugal is very limited, focusing mainly on educational and career choices (Ferreira and Silva, 2016). This paper presents a gender-based analysis of the research results of the ‘Information Skills for Young People in the Digital Age (CIJED)’ project in Portugal. This project was developed at the Education and Training Research Center of the Polytechnic Institute of Setúbal (CIEF-IPS). The project’s goal is to study the digital uses and practices of children and young people (fifth to ninth grade) and to analyze the role of digital technologies in their lives and in the way they obtain information about the reality that surrounds them. This gender-based analysis aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of gender differences in digital practices among young people in Portugal.

Gender differences will be examined in relation to their social complexity. We understand gender identity as being shaped by the dynamics of physical, social, and emotional experiences that are the basis of identity (trans) formations (Fausto-Sterling, 2012). A critical perspective invites us to consider the subtleties and complexities of the social constructions of multiple masculinities and femininities identified in the gender literature, as well as the multiple gender representations of adolescents, highlighted by developmental psychologists (Halim and Ruble, 2010).

The research project used a mixed method integrating quantitative (questionnaire survey) and qualitative (focus groups) data collection. To disclose patterns of behavior and self-representation, all questions in the study were analyzed according to gender. The theoretical basis for analyzing the results is the notion of gender as a social construct: a culturally situated behavioral expression of an internalized individual identity that includes understandings of male and female (Marchbank and Letherby, 2014).

This paper begins with a theoretical analysis of the intersections between gender and digital practices, followed by the methodology of the research project. The presentation and analysis of results precede the conclusions.



Gender and digital practices

To participate fully in economic, social, and cultural life, skills are required to navigate today’s social environment, which is essentially digital and complex. However, not all children and young people have equal opportunities to develop digital skills. Aside from physical barriers, such as access to computers and the Internet, there are intangible factors, such as cultural norms, that shape opportunities for developing digital skills (Gilbert, 2010; Warschauer, 2003). In EU countries like Portugal, these intangible factors are the most important determinants of gender differences in the use of digital and Internet technologies. Even in countries with gender and socio-economic equality in access to education, there are still differences between girls and boys in terms of self-identified digital skills and experience with computers. These differences are not a reflection of material limitations, but rather of the interests of young people and how families and teachers understand what is best for girls and boys (Huws, 2019; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2015a).

Research conducted in Portugal, ‘Growing up between screens’, with children from three to eight years old and their families, disclosed different strategies of parental mediation for girls and boys: more promotion of autonomy and the exploitation of digital practices for boys, and more focus on issues related to safety for girls (Ferreira, *et al.*, 2017). By restricting or controlling more girls’ access to the Internet than boys, families can negatively affect the development and self-representation of girls’ digital skills, which may have a potentially lasting impact on their lives and ultimately society’s development.

The Net Children Go Mobile (NCGM) research project, carried out in 2014 in seven European countries, identified gender differences in digital practices (Mascheroni and Ólafsson, 2014). The results in all countries,

including Portugal, showed that boys claim to have more digital skills and show more confidence in their use of computers and the Internet. Another interesting fact was the significant increase in the use of digital mobile devices by girls, like smartphones with Internet access.

The research EU Kids Online conducted in 2018 in 19 European countries, including Portugal, highlights the existence of gender differences in the digital practices among young people (Ferreira and Cardoso, 2020). Gender stereotypes are clearly present in the way young people use digital technologies. For example, more boys than girls use devices such as laptops that have more potential for content production than smartphones, and girls have a greater presence on social networks associated with socializing and communicating. It is interesting to note that spaces strongly coded as male, as is the case with online games, are not identified by the participants as social networks. Practices related to civic participation, content creation and news consumption are reported more by boys than by girls, which appears to indicate less participation of girls in public space and in social and political intervention. These differences are consistent with gender inequalities in public participation in Portuguese society. According to the stereotype of masculinity associated with risk and proactivity, there are significant differences in self-representation, boys report more than girls to be able to solve new situations and do dangerous things for fun. While girls report greater use of mobile platforms, boys perceive themselves as more proficient in mobile digital skills (Ferreira and Cardoso, 2020).

These results are very interesting considering that girls more than boys report helping their parents when they need help with technology. Girls use more mobile digital devices and have the skills to help others, but they have less confidence in their mobile digital skills. The self-representation of mobile digital competences is clearly influenced by factors such as gender stereotypes than just young people digital practices. As a key finding of EU Kids Online (Ferreira and Cardoso, 2020), it is clear that girls' access to and use of digital technologies did not change gender stereotypes — what we see is the digital practices of girls and boys reproducing gender stereotypes.

The challenge is to understand gender equality in digital technologies, not just in terms of the number of boys and girls using it, but above all by creating contexts where children and young people can express their identities more freely, transcending the stereotyped gender categories, expanding the range of options available and opening up new and diverse areas of experiences and identities for both girls and boys.

One of the areas where there are greater gender differences in digital practices is linked to the world of work and occupations. Gender differences in educational and occupational choices are not related to differences in innate competencies between girls and boys, but rather to different self-representations in relation to skills and aspirations for the future (Ferreira, 2017). OECD studies (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2015b) identify social contexts and gender stereotypes as determining factors in future career decisions for girls and boys. For example, leisure activities for boys and girls, which are influenced by social context and gender stereotypes, are directly linked to self-confidence in their skills.

Research on gender differences in digital technologies often turns women into a “problem”, isolating digital technologies from broader social factors, such as gender stereotypes that shape social identities and opportunities. Research can contribute to increasing gender inequalities when it fails to address the most complex and important reasons why women do not choose to enter the occupational technology sectors. Analyzing the use of digital technologies without integrating questions related to gender stereotypes and the social context, can (re)produce the factors that contribute to gender inequality in digital technologies. This approach, rather than contributing to gender equality, can validate the idea that women are less interested in digital technologies and are less digitally skilled (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2008).

Gender equality in digital technologies refers not only to equal numbers of men and women, boys and girls, using these technologies, but also to the way they are used. What is important is that both men and women use digital technologies in a meaningful and productive way in order to improve individual well-being and democracy (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2008). When analyzing gender equality in digital technologies, it is necessary to consider that gender is not an isolated category, it is important to recognize the various ways in which gender, race, and socioeconomic class, as well as other categories, intersect to create a specific social identity from which each person interacts with daily life,

including interactions with digital technologies (Eubanks, 2011). Intersectional approaches are needed to fully understand gender inequalities in the use of technologies.

Education is a key area in promoting societal change, and schools are powerful instruments for promoting gender equality. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] (2008), what is crucial for the promotion of equality in digital technologies is not so much the use of education as a policy instrument for equality, but to ensure that schools do not reproduce existing inequalities in society.

Research design

The research project ‘Information Skills for Young People in the Digital Age (CIJED)’ aims to assess how students in the second and third cycle of education use digital technologies to obtain information and to form opinions on political issues, lifestyles, and consumption; whether and how they perceive the economic structure that surrounds the main Internet platforms and reflect critically on it; how they relate to digital influencers and how they construct meanings about them and the content they produce; and how they search, evaluate, and produce content on political topics, lifestyles and consumption, acting as disseminators of information and ideas.

Methods

The project used a questionnaire survey (quantitative) and focus groups (qualitative), planned in a complementary way. The questionnaires were answered in an online environment in the classroom. The structure of the questionnaire was organized in order to answer research questions ([Table 1](#)).

Table 1: Questionnaire structure.	
Research questions	Indicators
What are young people’s online uses and practices especially on social media?	Digital uses: which devices they use to access the Internet, what they do online and how often, age of the first smartphone, social networks they use, and which ones are preferred
How do they understand the economic structure that involves social networks?	Knowledge of Internet platforms: Questions about the social media business model and digital influencers
How do they build meanings about digital influencers and the content they produce?	
How do they research, evaluate, and	Online information: News sharing, importance of information

share informative content about the reality that surrounds them?	sources, interest in what is happening in Portugal and in the world, perception of online misinformation, feelings about online news.
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Focus groups were organized to further discuss quantitative questions in the questionnaires. The focus groups were organized based on a previous exploratory analysis of questionnaire results. The focus groups, besides exploring the same issues addressed in the questionnaire, involved students in a series of activities, such as:

- construction of digital profile on A4 sheet with cards to indicate devices, activities, and social networks in order of preference;
- debate based on four examples of false and true news;
- debate about four examples: Felipe Neto was indicted in November 2020 (just before the focus groups) by the Brazilian Public Ministry for the crime of corruption of minors, the Black Lives Matter movement, Greta Thunberg, and protests against Judge Neto Moura (a Portuguese case);
- game with keyword cards on the advantages and disadvantages of social networks. The fieldwork was carried out at the school cluster Sebastião da Gama, in Setúbal, Portugal, with students from the second and third cycles of schooling.

Characterization of the school cluster

The school cluster Sebastião da Gama, where the research took place, is situated in the city of Setúbal, in the Lisbon metropolitan area. Setúbal is a city with a population of 120.000 residents, at a distance of about 40 km. from Lisbon, the capital of Portugal. The school cluster Sebastião da Gama has six schools: three preschool and first cycle, one first cycle, one second and third cycle, and one third cycle and secondary, with a total of 135 classes and about 3.000 students. Students' age ranges from four years old to 17 years old. The educational system in Portugal is divided into preschool (for those under age six), basic education (nine years, in three cycles) and secondary education (three years). The students who participated in the research are from the School Aranguez (second and third cycle) and from the School Sebastião da Gama (third cycle and secondary).

School Aranguez has a total of 847 second and third cycle students (48 percent boys and 52 percent girls) and School Sebastião da Gama has 413 third cycle students (54 percent boys and 46 percent girls). Ages range from 10 years old to 17 years old.

The Directorate-General for Education and Science Statistics of the Ministry of Education uses the rate of students without School Social Action (state support for families with economic needs) and the average schooling years of parents, to characterize schools' socioeconomic context. The school cluster Sebastião da Gama, in the school year 2018/19 had 73.5 percent students without School Social Action, and the parents' schooling years average was 11.61 years (fathers 11.24 and mothers 11.97). This data on socioeconomic context, 2018/19, is the most recent available. Considering that the socioeconomic context of Setúbal has not changed in two years, the data of school cluster Sebastião da Gama in 2020/21 can be considered to be similar. The national average of second and third cycle students without School Social Action is 60.6 percent, and in Portugal only 47.8 percent of the population have completed 12 years of schooling. Considering the national context, school cluster Sebastião da Gama has a positive socioeconomic context.

Field work

The questionnaires were completed between 27 October and 4 December 2020. A total of 429 students (54 percent girls and 46 percent boys) answered the questionnaires. [Figure 1](#) represents the distribution of the questionnaire respondents' grade.

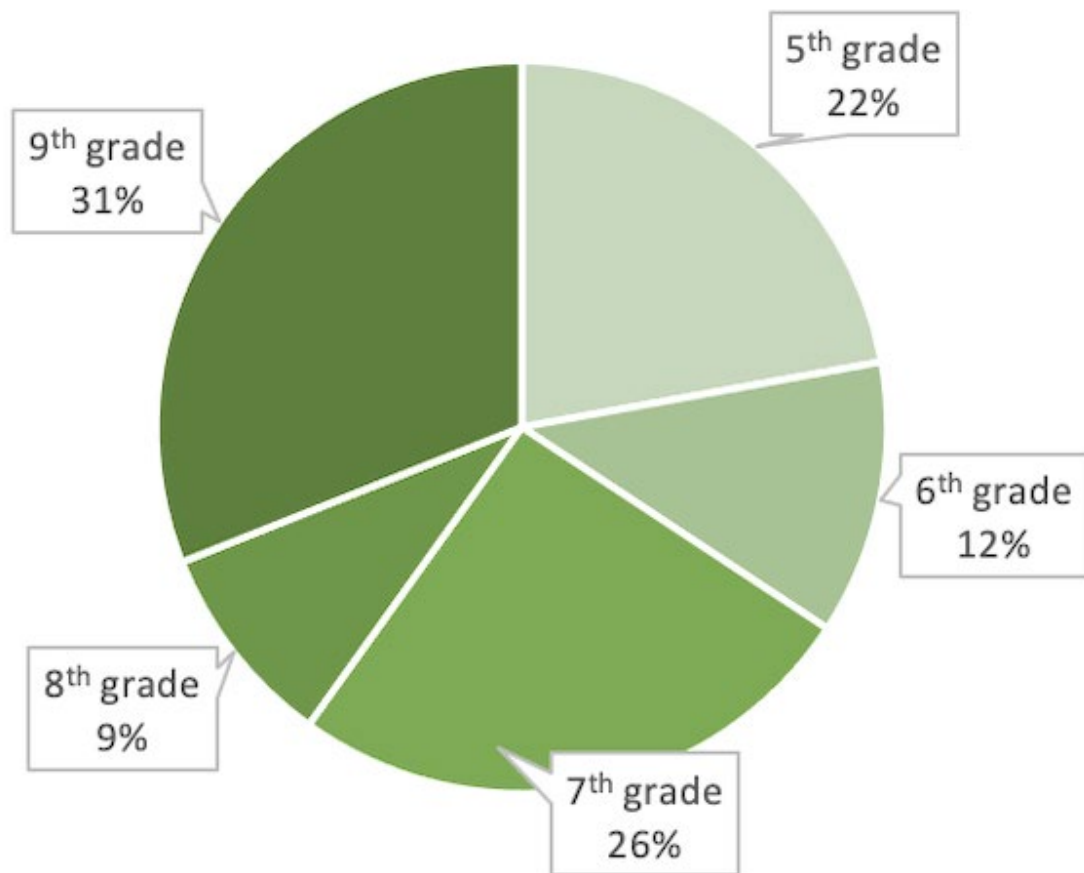


Figure 1: Percentage of the questionnaire respondents' grade.

Questionnaire respondents' age ranged from 10 to 17 years old ([Table 2](#)).

Table 2: Questionnaire respondents' age.								
Age	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Percentage	15%	17%	20%	14%	25%	5%	3%	1%

Four focus groups took place between December 2020 to April 2021, with about five participants each. The 30 participants, 13 boys and 14 girls, are students of the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth grades, aged 10 to 16 years old ([Table 3](#)). Each focus group had students from a specific grade, with the exception of the focus group of the fifth and sixth grades that had students from both grades.

Table 3: Focus groups' participants.

Grade	Girls	Boys	10 years	11 years	12 years	13 years	14 years	15 years	16 years
Fifth	1		1						
Sixth	4	1		3	2				
Seventh	4	2			6				
Eighth	1	7				7			1
Ninth	4	3					3	3	1
Total	14	13							

Results

A gender-based analysis of the findings was conducted to identify common aspects and differences between access and practices of boys and girls.

Both girls and boys have access to digital devices, namely smartphones, laptops, computers, and tablets ([Table 4](#)). Smartphones are the most common digital devices owned by participants, and there were no differences between girls and boys.

Digital device	Percentage
Smartphone	90.4%
Laptop	62.5%
Computer	20.0%
Tablet	45.7%
None	1.6%

In relation to the age at which they had their first smartphone, the average is 9.2 years old, with the average age of girls was 9.3 years and boys was 9.1 years old. The most common age to have the first smartphone was 10 years old, both for girls and boys.

When asked about how often they carry out the activities: watching videos on YouTube, follow social networks, watching streaming services, watching TV (open channels and paid channels), the results identified some differences between girls and boys ([Figure 2](#)).

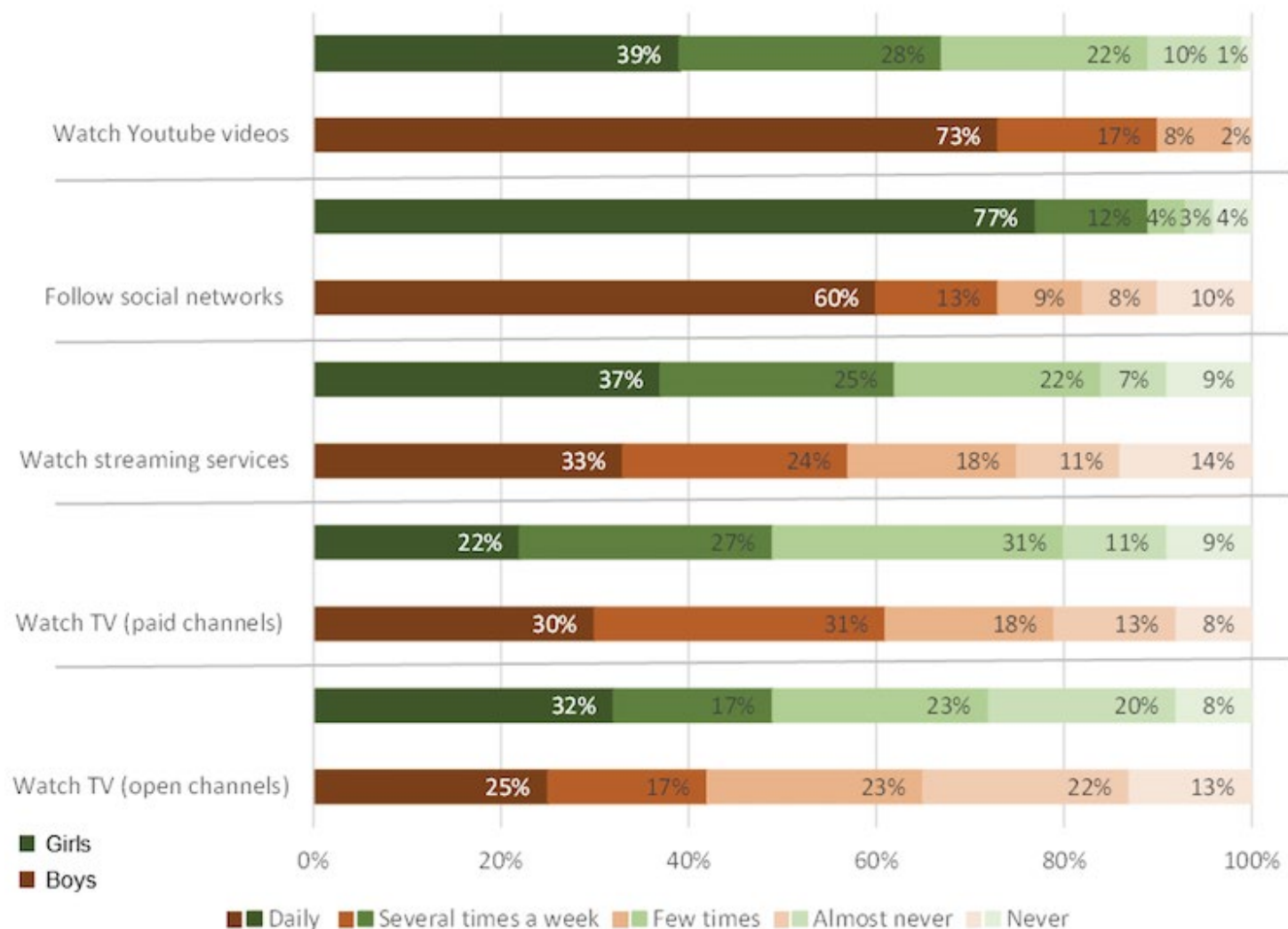


Figure 2: Frequency of activities.

The results identify a clear preference for watching YouTube videos and using social networks, when compared to watching TV (open or paid channels) or streaming services. These results are in line with previous research that identify a growing interest of adolescents on social networking sites (e.g., boyd, 2007; Livingstone, 2008; Livingstone and Brake, 2010; Shafer, Bobkowski, and Brown, 2013). There is a distinct difference between boys and girls in the two most frequent activities: watching videos on YouTube and following social networks. Boys watch YouTube videos more often than girls, and girls use social networks more often. Watching YouTube videos has been identified in other research (Ferreira and Cardoso, 2020) as being related to online games, a more common activity for boys than girls in Portugal.

Social networks were an important part of boys' and girls' online activities. However, girls used it more frequently and preference for specific social networks was gender related (Table 5).

Table 5: Social networks in which young people have a profile.			
Social	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage

networks	of total	girls	boys
Instagram	79%	84%	73%
TikTok	76%	88%	62%
Snapchat	56%	72%	37%
YouTube	70%	60%	83%
Twitter	39%	37%	43%
Facebook	45%	39%	52%
Pinterest	38%	55%	16%
Other	14%	12%	17%


The most common social networks used by participants were Instagram, TikTok, Snapchat, and YouTube. There were significantly more girls than boys using TikTok, Snapchat, and Pinterest, and more boys used YouTube.


These preferences were supported by results in an activity organized with focus groups. Participants filled a card with information about their digital profiles. To fill the card, they had to identify digital devices that they used, activities performed online, and social networks in which they had a profile. All the information was organized by preference order ([Figure 3](#)).


○ MEU PERFIL DIGITAL

Nome: _____
 Pseudónimo: _____
 Ano escolar: _____ Idade: _____


DISPOSITIVOS (coloca por ordem de preferência)



 SMARTPHONE



 CONSOLA



 PORTÁTIL

ATIVIDADES (coloca por ordem de preferência)



 JOGAR



 COMUNICAR
 COM AMIGOS



 ENTRETENIMENTO


 NOTÍCIAS

REDES SOCIAIS (coloca por ordem de preferência)


 INSTAGRAM


 WHATSAPP


 TIK TOK



 YOUTUBE

Figure 3: Example of a card with digital profile.

‘Communication with friends’ and ‘entertainment’ was picked by more girls, and ‘gaming’ was picked by more boys (Table 6). These results are in line with questionnaire results and with national research, such as EU Kids Online (Ponte and Batista, 2019) and Net Children Go Mobile (Mascheroni and Ólafsson, 2014).

Table 6: Preferred online activities.		
Online activities	14 girls	13 boys
Communication with friends	7	4
Gaming	1	5
Entertainment	6	3

For young people social network ads are one of the main sources of gender stereotypes (Halim and Ruble, 2010). Women are most often shown in advertisements like cosmetics and household products, while advertisements for men typically focus on cars, business products, or investments (Bailey, *et al.*, 2013). The way young people use and interact with online activities are gender related and interconnected with other aspects of their identities. Social representations of gender roles influence online activities and simultaneously these intensive online activities reinforce social representations (Dasgupta, 2018). In addition, women are more frequently sexually represented in social network advertising. These gender representations reinforce culturally constructed gender roles and relationships. The ways in which young generations present themselves in social networks also reproduce gender stereotypes (Dasgupta, 2018; Manago, *et al.*, 2008).

When asked about content that they usually shared on social networks, there was a distinct pattern that differentiated girls and boys (Table 7).

Table 7: Content usually shared on social networks.			
Content shared on social networks	Percentage of total	Percentage girls	Percentage boys
Politics	9.1%	10.9%	6.1%
Economy	9.1%	8.3%	8.7%
Lifestyle	35.9%	46.1%	20.9%
Brands and products	27.0%	31.7%	18.7%
Sports	40.3%	35.2%	40.0%
Art and culture	33.8%	41.3%	21.7%
Science	18.6%	17.4%	17.4%
Celebrities	50.1%	57.4%	36.1%
Other	25.6%	23.0%	24.8%

Girls were more likely than boys to share content on lifestyle, celebrities, brands, and products, and boys shared more content on sports. It is also important to note the low percentage of political and economic content shared by respondents. Considering the answers to the questionnaire, politics and economics were not central to the interests of young people.

Digital influencers are very important to young people; they are role models and they play an important role in their lives (Evans, *et al.*, 2017; Pedersen and Aspevig, 2018). As such, it is important to understand how young people view digital influencers. The characteristics associated with “digital influencer” (Table 8) indicated that most respondents did not perceive a digital influencer as someone paid to post content about brands and products. The economic aspect of digital influencers was not fully perceived by young people, making them more vulnerable to the influences of marketing strategies. This is of particular interest as respondents

acknowledged the economic nature of social networks in their responses (75.5 percent consider that social networks are businesses for their owners, or 78 percent boys and 73 percent girls).

Table 8: Characteristics associated with “digital influencer”.			
Characteristics	Percentage of total	Percentage girls	Percentage boys
A social network user who has a lot of followers	54.8%	52.2%	57.8%
A social network user who initiates styles and trends	41.7%	53.5%	28.1%
A social network user who gives his/her opinion on products	35.4%	41.3%	28.6%
A social network user who is paid to post content about brands and products	27.5%	31.3%	23.1%

Identifying a digital influencer as someone connected to products and lifestyle was more common for girls. Girls were more likely than boys to share content about lifestyles, celebrities, brands, and products.

One of the activities organized in the focus groups was a keyword card game about advantages and disadvantages of social networks ([Table 9](#)). The participants had to choose keywords and explain why. Blank cards were available so that they could add keywords as well.

Table 9: Keywords used in the activity “Advantages and disadvantages of social networks”.		
Access to information	Danger	Freedom
Addiction	Distraction	Fun
Art	Entertainment	Identity
Business	Exploration	Opportunities
Communication with friends	Exposure	Popularity

Construction	Expression	Fatigue
Creativity	Fake news	To know
Cyberbullying	Fantasy	To learn

The first keyword chosen by 14 girls and 13 boys who participated in the focus groups are identified in [Table 10](#). They were instructed to choose keywords according to their importance, the first chosen keyword being the most important. It is interesting to note that some keywords were only chosen by girls or only by boys.

Table 10: First keywords selected by girls and boys in the activity “Advantages and disadvantages of social networks”.					
Advantages	14 girls	13 boys	Disadvantages	14 girls	13 boys
Communication with friends	5	2	Danger	4	1
To know	2	4	Addiction	2	1
Art	2	1	Distraction	2	1
Entertainment	3		Cyberbullying	1	3
Opportunities	2		Exposure	1	3
Creativity		3	Fake news	1	2
Fun		2	Fake news	1	1
To learn		1	Identity	1	
			Entertainment	1	
			Fantasy		1

The number of participants was not sufficient to make general conclusions. However, it is interesting to note that boys referred more to the creative and productive aspect of social networks, while girls emphasized communication and entertainment aspects. The choice of “danger” as the first keyword as a disadvantage was more common among girls, indicating that the Internet was perceived as an unsafe space. These results are in line with other research that identified that boys used the Internet more for content production and girls mostly to socialize (Mascheroni and Ólafsson, 2014; Ponte and Batista, 2019). The last EU Kids Online questionnaire, conducted in 2018, identified that girls generally used the Internet to communicate with friends and family and to use social networks, placing emphasis on communication practices, and also on entertainment. On the other hand, boys mostly used the Internet for gaming, contact groups with related interests and hobbies, and to read news (Ponte and Batista, 2019).

Age differences were more difficult to analyze, considering the number of participants in the focus groups. However, based on previous research, such as EU Kids Online (Ponte and Batista, 2019) we know that the number and types of online activities varied with age, in what has been defined as a “ladder of opportunity” (Livingstone, *et al.*, 2011). At the bottom of the ladder were games and small surveys for schoolwork, at the top were creative uses and forms of digital participation, like producing a blog or creating and sharing content.

Conclusions

We are aware that this research is based on data retrieved from two schools from one town and is not representative of a national reality. However, the objective of the research was to foster knowledge on how students in the second and third cycle of education used digital technologies to obtain information and to form opinions on political issues, lifestyles, and consumption. This research project specifically aimed to assess whether and how young people perceive the economic structure that surrounds main Internet platforms, how they relate to digital influencers, and how they search, evaluate, and produce content on political topics, lifestyles, and consumption, acting as disseminators of information and ideas. Of all these objectives, this paper focused on those that reflect gender differences in order to better understand digital practices of girls and boys.

Even though the research was limited to two schools, the number of participants was high, with 429 students answering the questionnaire and 30 participating in focus groups. This was a positive aspect of the research, supporting the significance of the results.

Research results pointed to gender differences in digital practices among young people. The preference for specific social networks was gender related. For example, boys watched more YouTube videos and performed more online gaming than girls, they valued more creative and productive aspects of social networks and shared more content on sports. As for the girls, they used social networks more often than boys, emphasizing communication and entertainment, and they shared more content on lifestyle, celebrities, brands, and products. One particular aspect was particularly important, more girls than boys perceived the Internet as an unsafe space. These results corroborated previous research conducted in Portugal, such as EU Kids Online (Ponte and Batista, 2019) and Net Children Go Mobile (Mascheroni and Ólafsson, 2014).

What is more relevant is an understanding that gender stereotypes are reinforced by digital practices. There is a cyclical process of production and reproduction of gender stereotypes enacted by the digital practices of young people. The online environment reproduces the dominant gender binary, and digital practices reproduce gender representations, reinforcing stereotypes (Bailey, *et al.*, 2013; Dasgupta, 2018; Halim and Ruble, 2010; Manago, *et al.*, 2008). The European Institute for Gender Equality (2019) report on gender equality and youth, opportunities and risks of digitalization, identified that although young women and men have similar digital skills, young men indicated higher confidence in their digital skills; digital spaces were gendered spaces which hindered the participation of young women; political activities online were more fraught for girls and young women; exposure to online harassment has far reaching effects on the online engagement of young women, and gender norms were exacerbated online (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2019). The results of our research confirmed these findings and highlighted the urgency of diminishing the power of gender stereotypes in an online context. Education can have a crucial role in promoting the diversity of voices, opinions, and gender identity, supporting diverse ways of being a girl, a boy, or non-binary.

One key finding of recent research on gender and ICT is that girls have increasingly more access to digital technologies yet it does not affect the ICT gender gap. Although the level of use of digital technologies is almost identical between young women and young men, it is worth noting that gender gaps, to the detriment of women, are still a reality in Europe (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2019).

The design strategies of digital technologies must recognize the diversity of “real” people, using the concept of gender as a continuum, rather than a set of binary oppositions, thus avoiding the risk of accentuating gender inequality by stereotyping girls and boys. Instead of categorizing girls as a population that needs “special help” in their relationship with digital technologies, we should encourage boys and girls to express aspects of their identities that transcend stereotyped gender categories, expanding the range of options available to them, opening new spaces for a diverse range of experiences and identities for girls and boys (Cassell and Jenkins, 1998).

Digital literacy is key to support a more critical interaction with online context, including a more critical view on gender stereotypes. Schools have an important role to support digital literacy among the young, enabling them to critically deconstruct gender stereotypes, ultimately contributing to a more inclusive and equal society.



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