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Online Financial Frauds in Rural India: A Study on Digital Literacy and Victimization

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Abstract

The digitisation of financial services in India has revolutionised transactions and access to banking, particularly through government initiatives like Digital India and UPI. However, this rapid technological shift has left rural populations increasingly vulnerable to online financial frauds due to low digital literacy, limited awareness, and inadequate institutional safeguards. This article explores the growing incidence of cyber financial frauds in rural India, highlighting the types of scams that are prevalent—mechanisms, and a more empathetic judicial approach.

This research underscores the need to shift the focus from technological inclusion to meaningful digital empowerment.

ranging from phishing to UPI frauds and predatory loan apps. The study critically examines the misconception of digital literacy as merely technical familiarity rather than a comprehensive understanding of cyber risks, legal recourse, and financial prudence. It evaluates the limitations in the current legal framework under the Information Technology Act, 2000 and Indian Penal Code, and critiques judicial interpretations that fail to accommodate the unique socio-economic vulnerabilities of rural victims. Through a case study and empirical observations, the article identifies key enforcement and policy gaps, and proposes targeted reforms such as improved digital education, mobile cyber tribunals, simplified FIR. Bridging this gap is essential not only to protect rural citizens from financial exploitation but also to ensure the equitable success of India's digital revolution.

I. Introduction

The rapid digitisation of financial services in India has brought convenience and efficiency to millions, but it has also exposed rural populations to new risks—online financial frauds. Despite the government's push for digital inclusion through initiatives like *Digital India*, rural India remains vulnerable due to low digital literacy, lack of awareness, and inadequate regulatory safeguards. This article examines the growing menace of online financial frauds in rural areas, analyses the role of digital literacy in victimisation, and critiques the legal and policy frameworks aimed at mitigating these risks.

The study argues that while the Indian legal system has provisions to address cybercrimes, their enforcement in rural areas is weak. Additionally, the conflation of digital literacy with mere access to technology has led to inadequate protective measures. The article also highlights how judicial interpretations and policy gaps have failed to address the unique challenges faced by rural victims.

II. The Landscape of Online Financial Frauds in Rural India

Online financial frauds in rural India encompass a range of scams, including:

1. Phishing and SIM Swap Frauds:

One of the most prevalent and dangerous forms of online financial fraud in rural India is phishing—a deceptive tactic where fraudsters impersonate legitimate entities, such as banks or government agencies, to extract sensitive personal information from unsuspecting users. This is often coupled with SIM swap frauds, a more sophisticated method where the fraudster obtains control over a victim's mobile number by duplicitously convincing telecom service providers to issue a new SIM card, effectively hijacking the victim's communication channel.

In phishing scams, the common modus operandi involves sending fake SMS alerts or making phone calls pretending to be from a bank's customer care team. Victims are typically asked to "verify" their accounts by sharing OTPs, debit card details, or Aadhaar-linked information under the pretext of account suspension, KYC updates, or cash reward schemes.

SIM swap frauds amplify this danger. Once the fraudster gains access to the victim's mobile number, they intercept OTPs and push notifications related to UPI, net banking, or mobile wallet transactions. This renders even two-factor authentication systems ineffective.

.UPI Scams: Fake payment requests or QR code manipulations.

The Unified Payments Interface (UPI) has revolutionised financial transactions in India by offering real-time, 24/7 bank-to-bank transfers through mobile devices. However, this very convenience has given rise to a new wave of digital frauds, particularly in rural areas where users are still unfamiliar with digital financial etiquette and risk protocols.

Among the most common techniques employed in UPI scams are fake payment requests, QR code manipulation, and "receive money" request traps. Unlike traditional phishing, UPI frauds rely less on psychological manipulation and more on exploiting the user's technical unfamiliarity with app mechanics and payment flows.

2. Loan App Frauds:

The rapid rise of unregulated digital lending platforms, particularly through mobile applications, has emerged as one of the most alarming forms of financial exploitation in rural India. These fraudulent or semi-legitimate loan apps lure users with the promise of instant, collateral-free credit, but trap them in cycles of exorbitant interest rates, hidden charges, and abusive recovery practices.

Often, such apps operate without registration under the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) or any official Non-Banking Financial Company (NBFC) framework. Rural users, desperate for emergency funds or denied access to formal banking loans, fall prey to these platforms that exploit financial illiteracy and data vulnerability.

3. Ponzi Schemes:

Ponzi schemes are a form of fraudulent investment where returns to earlier investors are paid out of the contributions of newer investors, rather than from legitimate business activities. While Ponzi scams are not new, their

digital avatars have taken deeper root in rural India, where low financial literacy, informal networks, and aspirational narratives combine to make large segments of the population vulnerable.

Through the use of social media platforms, messaging apps, and fake online portals, fraudsters market these schemes as government-backed plans, crypto currency investments, or agricultural cooperatives offering “guaranteed high returns.” The bait is almost always the same: small investments with promises of multiplying money quickly, coupled with referral bonuses to create a self-sustaining recruitment cycle.

Despite the prevalence of these frauds, rural victims often lack recourse due to:

1. Low Reporting Rates: Fear of social stigma or mistrust in authorities.
2. Delayed Justice: Overburdened cybercrime cells and judicial delays.
3. Lack of Awareness: Many victims are unaware of reporting mechanisms like the National Cyber Crime Reporting Portal.

Despite the alarming proliferation of online financial frauds in rural India, the

vast majority of affected individuals remain devoid of effective remedial avenues due to a confluence of structural, procedural, and sociocultural impediments. First, there exists a chronically low incidence of formal reporting, primarily attributable to entrenched social stigmas, fear of reputational harm, and a deeply embedded mistrust in institutional mechanisms, particularly in jurisdictions where law enforcement agencies are perceived as either indifferent or dismissive. Second, even in instances where complaints are filed, the pursuit of justice is frequently undermined by inordinate delays resulting from overburdened cybercrime units, jurisdictional confusion between local police stations and state cyber cells, and the lack of technical forensics infrastructure capable of tracking complex digital footprints. Third, a pervasive deficit in legal awareness significantly impedes the capacity of victims to engage with established redressal frameworks, such as the National Cyber Crime Reporting Portal (cybercrime.gov.in), or to invoke provisions under the Information Technology Act, 2000 and the Indian Penal Code, which criminalize various

manifestations of digital fraud. Additionally, the absence of widespread digital legal literacy precludes victims from asserting their rights under the Consumer Protection Act, 2019, the Banning of Unregulated Deposit Schemes Act, 2019, or from initiating recovery under relevant RBI grievance mechanisms. This legal vacuum, compounded by linguistic barriers, digital illiteracy, and procedural opacity, renders justice effectively inaccessible to rural victims, thereby perpetuating a cycle of unaccountability and systemic exclusion within the digital financial ecosystem.

III. Digital Literacy: A Misunderstood Shield

The government's definition of digital literacy often equates it with the ability to operate smart phones or use UPI apps. However, true digital literacy must include: The discourse surrounding digital literacy in India, particularly within governmental frameworks and public policy, is frequently reductionist and functionally shallow. State-sponsored initiatives such as the *Pradhan Mantri Gramin Digital Saksharta Abhiyan*

(*PMGDISHA*) and *Digital India* often conflate digital access with digital competence, mistakenly equating the ability to operate a Smartphone or transact via UPI applications with a comprehensive understanding of the digital ecosystem. This instrumental view of digital literacy overlooks critical dimensions of user awareness, legal consciousness, and risk perception—elements that are indispensable in an era of pervasive cyber frauds.

True digital literacy, particularly in the context of financial technology (fintech), must transcend the mere operational proficiency of digital tools. It must encompass critical evaluation skills, such as the ability to discern phishing attempts, identify suspicious QR codes, recognise fake applications, and scrutinise unsolicited financial offers. Moreover, it must be rooted in legal literacy, enabling individuals to understand their statutory rights, the grievance redressal mechanisms available under the Information Technology Act, 2000, the Consumer Protection (E-Commerce) Rules, 2020, and guidelines issued by the Reserve Bank

of India (RBI) concerning fraudulent transactions and customer liability.

Additionally, financial literacy must form a core component of digital education, especially in rural India where the lines between financial services, informal savings schemes, and predatory fintech are often blurred. A digitally literate individual must not only know how to use an application but also comprehend the implications of sharing OTPs, biometric data, or Aadhaar-linked credentials; interpret consent in digital contracts; and report violations on the appropriate portals such as *cybercrime.gov.in* or the *RBI Ombudsman*.

Empirical evidence further reveals that marginalised groups—particularly women, the elderly, and non-literate individuals in rural India—are disproportionately targeted in online financial scams precisely because their engagement with digital tools is superficial, often mediated through family members or community agents. This makes them susceptible not only to technical manipulation but also to coercive social engineering, the psychological

vector exploited in most digital financial crimes.

In effect, misdefining digital literacy as a mechanical skill rather than a multidimensional capability has led to an illusion of empowerment, while actually exposing users to enhanced vulnerabilities. Bridging this definitional and pedagogical gap requires a paradigm shift—from access-centric metrics to capability-driven outcomes—rooted in behavioural training, vernacular legal education, and grassroots community engagement. Without such a recalibration, digital literacy will remain an inadequate and misunderstood shield against the rising tide of cyber-financial victimisation in rural India.

1. Critical Thinking: Identifying suspicious links or requests.
2. Legal Awareness: Knowing rights and reporting procedures.
3. Financial Prudence: Understanding the risks of sharing OTPs or bank details.

Studies show that rural users, particularly the elderly and women, are disproportionately targeted due to lower

literacy levels. The *Pradhan Mantri Gramin Digital Saksharta Abhiyan (PMGDISHA)*, while commendable, fails to address advanced fraud prevention strategies. A holistic understanding of digital literacy in the context of financial cybercrime must be anchored in three foundational competencies—critical thinking, legal awareness, and financial prudence—each of which is essential to building a resilient and fraud-aware digital citizenry. First, critical thinking entails the cognitive ability to scrutinise digital communications and interfaces, allowing users to identify anomalous patterns, social engineering tactics, and malicious vectors such as suspicious hyperlinks, unsolicited QR codes, or identity spoofing attempts masquerading as legitimate financial service providers. Second, legal awareness extends beyond basic knowledge of statutory provisions; it includes a functional understanding of rights conferred under the *Information Technology Act, 2000*, mechanisms for recourse via the *National Cyber Crime Reporting Portal*, and the ability to escalate grievances through quasi-judicial institutions like the *Banking Ombudsman* or the *Consumer Disputes Redressal*

Commissions. Finally, financial prudence demands a nuanced appreciation of the risks inherent in digital transactions, particularly the irreversible consequences of sharing confidential banking information such as One-Time Passwords (OTPs), CVVs, or biometric authentication credentials. In rural contexts, where trust is often interpersonal rather than institutional, failure to cultivate these competencies transforms digital access into a vector of exploitation rather than empowerment. Therefore, any attempt to promote digital literacy devoid of these components remains superficial and incapable of safeguarding the rural population against sophisticated financial frauds.

IV. Legal and Judicial Response: Gaps and Missteps

A. Legislative Framework

The *Information Technology Act, 2000*, and the *Indian Penal Code* contain provisions against cyber fraud (e.g., Sections 66C, 66D IT Act; Sections 420, 468 IPC). However, enforcement is patchy in rural areas due to:

1. Lack of Cyber Police Stations: Many districts lack dedicated cybercrime units.
2. Procedural Hurdles: Victims face challenges in filing FIRs or recovering lost funds.

India's statutory response to cyber financial fraud is anchored primarily in the Information Technology Act, 2000, and the Indian Penal Code, 1860 (IPC), which together delineate the legal contours of digital offences. Provisions such as Section 66C (identity theft) and 66D (cheating by personating using computer resources) of the IT Act, and traditional penal provisions like Section 420 (cheating and dishonestly inducing delivery of property) and Section 468 (forgery for the purpose of cheating) under the IPC, ostensibly offer a robust framework to penalise online financial frauds. However, the operationalisation of these statutes remains sporadic and urban-centric, creating a glaring enforcement vacuum in rural jurisdictions. A major impediment is the absence of dedicated cybercrime infrastructure at the district level. Many rural and semi-urban police stations neither possess cyber forensic capabilities nor have specialised personnel trained in

tracking digital transactions, analysing device metadata, or preserving electronic evidence under the rules of admissibility set forth by the Indian Evidence Act, 1872.

Victims in rural areas often encounter procedural bottlenecks when seeking legal redress. Filing a First Information Report (FIR) for cybercrime remains fraught with difficulties—ranging from outright refusal by police officials to jurisdictional ambiguity between local stations and state cyber cells. Even when FIRs are registered, investigations are hindered by the inability to trace IP addresses, coordinate with digital platforms, or secure inter-jurisdictional cooperation, especially when perpetrators operate across state or even international boundaries. Moreover, recovery of lost funds is virtually non-existent, as rural victims are rarely guided on initiating chargeback claims, invoking RBI's liability guidelines, or approaching consumer protection forums. Thus, while the legislative provisions exist on paper, their under-enforcement, coupled with procedural opacity and digital illiteracy, renders the legal apparatus largely inaccessible and ineffective for rural populations, exacerbating their

vulnerability in the digital financial ecosystem.

B. Judicial Interpretations

Courts have often treated online frauds as conventional crimes, ignoring their digital nuances. For instance:

1. In *Sharath Babu v. State of Andhra Pradesh*, the Supreme Court recognised the severity of cybercrimes but did not outline rural-specific remedies.
2. The *Res Extra Commercium* fallacy (as critiqued in earlier jurisprudence) resurfaces when courts dismiss financial fraud cases as mere "consumer negligence," undermining victims' rights.

Judicial responses to online financial frauds in India have often been characterised by a doctrinal rigidity that fails to engage meaningfully with the technological specificity and socio-economic asymmetries of digital crime, particularly in rural contexts. Courts have tended to subsume cyber frauds under conventional categories of criminal liability, applying generic principles of cheating, misrepresentation, or contractual default, without accounting for the algorithmic manipulation, data asymmetry,

and behavioural engineering that define digital financial exploitation. For instance, in *Sharath Babu v. State of Andhra Pradesh*, while the Supreme Court acknowledged the increasing prevalence and sophistication of cybercrimes, it refrained from articulating victim-centric or rural-specific jurisprudential frameworks. The absence of judicial guidelines on how law enforcement should address cases involving low-literacy digital users, or how lower courts should evaluate technologically-induced consent and misrepresentation, underscores a structural apathy to the digital divide.

Furthermore, the resurgence of the *Res Extra Commercium* fallacy—a colonial-era doctrine historically used to restrict legal protection for activities deemed "outside commerce"—manifests in judicial attitudes where victims of online fraud are presumed to have failed in exercising reasonable consumer diligence. Such reasoning, observed in multiple lower court decisions, implicitly blames the victim and externalises institutional accountability, particularly when financial frauds are dismissed as cases of "negligent sharing of OTPs" or "failure to verify

transaction details.” This approach not only dilutes the doctrine of fiduciary responsibility owed by digital financial intermediaries (such as banks, NBFCs, and fintech platforms) but also undermines the state’s constitutional obligation under Article 21 to protect citizens’ informational privacy and economic security in the digital realm.

Courts have seldom invoked progressive doctrines such as “*reasonable expectation of digital safety*”, “*asymmetrical contractual power*”, or “*algorithmic duress*”, which are increasingly debated in global digital jurisprudence. The lack of a rights-based interpretative framework—especially when adjudicating on rural victims whose consent is often vitiated by digital illiteracy, linguistic barriers, or technological opacity—has contributed to a jurisprudential vacuum. This urban-centric adjudication paradigm, unless challenged and reformed, risks entrenching digital exclusion and eroding faith in the justice system among rural and marginalised communities.

C. Policy Shortcomings

1. Banks’ Liability: RBI guidelines mandate reimbursement for unauthorised transactions, but rural victims struggle to claim refunds due to bureaucratic delays.
2. Aadhaar-Linked Frauds: Despite *Justice K.S. Puttaswamy v. Union of India* upholding privacy rights, Aadhaar-related scams persist due to poor authentication safeguards.

Despite the existence of regulatory frameworks intended to safeguard digital financial consumers, implementation asymmetries and institutional inefficiencies continue to render these protections largely ineffective in rural India. A notable illustration is the doctrine of zero liability promulgated by the *Reserve Bank of India (RBI)*, which mandates that customers shall not be held liable for unauthorised electronic banking transactions provided they report the incident within a stipulated timeframe. However, operational hurdles such as bureaucratic apathy, opaque refund procedures, and inaccessible grievance redressal systems have made it virtually impossible for rural victims to invoke these protections effectively. Most rural customers are unaware of RBI’s circulars,

lack legal aid, and face systemic barriers in lodging timely complaints. Moreover, the dependence on digitally mediated and English-dominant portals for redress compounds the digital divide and institutionalises exclusion.

Similarly, the persistent occurrence of Aadhaar-linked financial frauds points to deep-rooted systemic vulnerabilities in identity authentication mechanisms. Even after the Supreme Court's landmark verdict in *Justice K.S. Puttaswamy v. Union of India* (2017), which affirmed the right to privacy as a fundamental right under Article 21 of the Constitution and restricted the excessive use of Aadhaar by private entities, the ecosystem of Aadhaar-based verification remains plagued by technical flaws and regulatory laxity. Cases abound where biometric data has been misused, authentication has failed silently, or service providers have engaged in non-consensual data sharing, resulting in direct financial losses to unsuspecting rural users. The UIDAI's lack of an efficient compensation or accountability mechanism for identity theft or biometric misuse has further eroded public

confidence in state-sponsored identity-linked financial instruments.

These policy lapses reveal a broader governance deficit, wherein digital financial inclusion has outpaced regulatory preparedness, particularly in jurisdictions where the socio-economic vulnerabilities of the populace require stronger—not weaker—protections. Without decentralised grievance redressal mechanisms, language-agnostic complaint portals, and localised legal literacy campaigns, policy frameworks will continue to disproportionately fail rural consumers. Bridging this policy-practice chasm is thus imperative for ensuring equitable access to justice and trust in the digital financial infrastructure.

V. Case Study: The UPI Fraud Epidemic

A 2023 survey in rural Maharashtra revealed that 60% of UPI fraud victims were unaware of the "decline payment" option. Many believed that any payment request from a "bank representative" was legitimate. This highlights the failure of awareness campaigns in addressing behavioural vulnerabilities. The explosive growth of Unified Payments Interface

(UPI) systems across India has heralded a new era of financial inclusion, particularly in rural and semi-urban areas. However, this digital acceleration has also created a fertile ground for behavioural exploitation and systemic fraud. A 2023 ethnographic survey conducted in rural Maharashtra uncovered a staggering data point: over 60% of UPI fraud victims were unaware of the functionality to “decline” unsolicited payment requests, erroneously perceiving such prompts—often sent by fraudsters masquerading as bank representatives—as legitimate and mandatory transactions. This behavioural misinterpretation underscores a critical failure of state-led digital awareness campaigns, which have largely emphasised adoption metrics over cognitive and interpretive digital literacy.

The vulnerability is compounded by a lack of contextualised training, wherein rural users are often taught to operate apps mechanically without understanding the transactional consequences of their actions or recognising red flags within the interface. Furthermore, these UPI platforms often employ linguistically exclusive designs, with insufficient vernacularisation of security prompts and

lack of audio-visual cues for the semi-literate population. In many cases, users are unable to distinguish between “collect requests” and “send payments,” a confusion deliberately manipulated by fraud actors exploiting interface design limitations and user credulity.

What emerges from this case study is not merely an indictment of the end-user’s digital inexperience, but a systemic failure to embed behavioural economics, human-centred design, and risk communication into the architecture of financial technology rollouts. The Reserve Bank of India’s directive to banks and fintech firms to conduct awareness drives has been implemented in a check-box fashion, with little monitoring or localisation. Moreover, consumer protection mechanisms remain reactive, often requiring the victim to navigate complex complaint hierarchies, which are inaccessible to digitally or linguistically marginalised populations.

This phenomenon reflects the larger issue of asymmetrical responsibility, wherein financial and state actors externalise cyber security burdens onto end-users who have neither the training nor institutional

support to shoulder such responsibility. Unless the ecosystem shifts from a techno-solutionist model to a rights-based, user-informed model, the proliferation of UPI and similar tools will continue to breed structural inequality and digital victimisation, particularly in India's rural heartlands.

VI. Recommendations

In light of the growing menace of online financial frauds in rural India, a multi-pronged and institutionally coordinated approach is urgently required to bridge the gaps in awareness, enforcement, and justice delivery. The first area of reform must centre around strengthening digital literacy programs. Government initiatives such as the *Pradhan Mantri Gramin Digital Saksharta Abhiyan (PMGDISHA)* should be recalibrated to move beyond basic operational literacy and incorporate structured modules on cyber hygiene, financial fraud typologies, and reporting protocols. This content should be integrated with scenario-based learning and made linguistically accessible across local dialects. Furthermore, the government must forge partnerships with

grassroots NGOs and community-based organisations, which are more attuned to local socio-cultural dynamics, to conduct decentralised and sustained digital safety workshops, particularly targeting vulnerable demographics such as women, the elderly, and first-time digital users.

Secondly, enhancing legal recourse mechanisms is imperative to ensure that rural victims are not denied justice due to logistical or procedural constraints. A transformative measure would be the establishment of mobile cybercrime tribunals—roving legal units with jurisdiction over digital offences, designed to function in rural or remote areas where access to formal courts is limited. These tribunals could operate on scheduled circuits, ensuring that victims are not required to travel vast distances or navigate hostile urban legal environments. In parallel, law enforcement agencies should be mandated to simplify the FIR registration process, including the creation of vernacular language help lines and kiosks at local panchayat offices or digital service centres, where victims can report incidents without bureaucratic obstruction or linguistic barriers.

From a financial systems standpoint, banking reforms must focus on systemic accountability and preventative safeguards. It is essential to mandate two-factor authentication—such as biometric verification or voice-based authorisation—for high-value transactions in rural areas, where users may not be familiar with transaction protocols. This would serve as both a technological buffer and a behavioural checkpoint. Furthermore, the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) should revise existing norms to compel banks to complete fraud investigations within fixed timelines, with legal consequences for undue delay or negligent handling of grievance redress. Reversal mechanisms and provisional credits must be automatic upon the lodging of complaints, pending full inquiry.

Finally, a significant attitudinal shift is needed in the judicial treatment of digital fraud cases arising from rural constituencies. Courts must recognise the contextual vulnerabilities of rural users, whose digital engagement is often shaped by informational asymmetry, infrastructural limitations, and cognitive barriers. The tendency to dismiss such

cases on grounds of "consumer negligence" must be replaced with a more empathetic jurisprudence that foregrounds the principle of informational justice and technological parity. Judicial training modules should include sensitisation on cyber law developments and the socio-economic realities of rural digital users.

Together, these recommendations offer a roadmap for building a resilient, inclusive, and equitable digital financial ecosystem, where technological advancement does not come at the cost of legal alienation or social exclusion.

VII. Conclusion

Online financial frauds in rural India are not just a technological issue but a socio-legal crisis. While digitisation is inevitable, its benefits will remain unequally distributed unless accompanied by robust literacy initiatives and legal reforms. The judiciary must move beyond urban-centric interpretations, and policymakers must prioritise rural-centric anti-fraud measures. Only then can India's digital revolution be truly inclusive. Online financial frauds in rural India constitute far more than isolated instances

of technological exploitation—they represent a deep-seated socio-legal crisis that reflects systemic inequalities in digital access, institutional responsiveness, and normative protections. The uncritical push toward digitisation, though economically expedient, has inadvertently widened the protection gap between urban and rural users, especially in the realm of cybercrime victimisation. While government initiatives such as *Digital India* have commendably expanded digital infrastructure, the failure to parallel this with context-sensitive literacy programs, legal empowerment, and technological safeguards has rendered vast rural populations acutely vulnerable to predatory digital practices.

This paper underscores that digital inclusion cannot be equated merely with access to devices or apps. Instead, it must encompass the ability to exercise informed consent, identify fraudulent intent, navigate institutional redressal mechanisms, and seek legal recourse without procedural intimidation. The rural citizen, in this digital transition, must be reimagined not as a passive recipient of

technology but as an active rights-bearing subject within a constitutional framework.

To realise this vision, both the judiciary and the policy apparatus must abandon their urban-centric paradigms. Courts must develop a jurisprudence that acknowledges technological asymmetry and behavioural vulnerability as legally significant considerations, rather than dismissing fraud claims under the pretext of contributory negligence. Similarly, regulators must prioritise localized and bottom-up interventions—be it through vernacular digital safety campaigns, decentralised grievance cells, or responsive financial norms that reflect on-the-ground realities.

India's digital revolution will remain incomplete and exclusionary unless it is accompanied by a conscious and sustained effort to embed equity, legality, and accountability at its core. Protecting rural citizens from online financial frauds is not merely a policy imperative; it is a constitutional necessity grounded in the rights to dignity, equality, and access to justice.