Review of Early and Forced Marriage (EFM) Project undertaken by Feminist Approach to Technology (FAT)

The Early and Forced Marriage (EFM) Project, within a short period of 2015-16, has been successful in laying the foundations to develop the agency and leadership of girls on the issue by using effective strategies. The underlying premise of feminist principles of being non-hierarchical and non-judgmental gave the impetus to the young girls to shed their inhibitions and seize the opportunity to explore concepts which were hitherto unrecognized by the participants but were subsequently identified as critical dimensions of their lived reality. One of the reasons for their success is the ownership of the project by the participants and the team members that has enabled them to grow together and reflect on all processes to find effective strategies that lead them towards their objectives.

Aims and methodology of the review

This report seeks to review the outcomes as outlined in the proposal. The main outcomes discussed are in terms of increased conceptual understanding of the participating girls; confidence and leadership building; community awareness on girls’ opinion on early marriage and increased community support for girls’ agency over their lives and decisions; alliances in Bihar and Delhi; mass awareness through social media; and support systems for girls’ facing threats on account of forced marriage. These are viewed here in relation to the strategies used at different stages of the project.

The methodology used is a review of the documentation; interviews with key team members and consultants involved in the process; interviews with select partners; interviews with a few mothers of participants; and discussions with few of the participating girls. Three of the participating girls were inducted as trainees during the course of the project – they were interviewed both as participants and team members. Following persons were interviewed:

- Ms Gayatri Buragohain, Executive Director FAT
- Ms. Mridu Kamal, Programme Manager
- Ms. Risha Samanta, Programme Associate
- Ms. Renu, Trainee
- Ms. Rekha, Trainee
- Ms. Deepika, Trainee
- Ms. Nandini Rao, Gender Trainer, New Delhi
- Ms. Pooja Pant, Co-Director, Voices of Women Media, Lalitpur, Nepal
- Ms. Anupriya Ghosh, Programme Manager, Partnerships and Expansion

1 This exercise has been undertaken taken as a review and not an evaluation as the period of a year is short to evaluate a project.
- 8 participants
- 5 participants’ mothers
- 1 community member (woman)
- Ms. Akhtari Begum, Izad Foundation, Patna
- Ms. Shyamlika Krishna, Diksha Foundation, Patna
- Ms. Savita, Sanjha Trust, New Delhi
- Ms. Mona Yadav, People for Parity, New Delhi

The review does not comment on photography and film making per se as that is beyond my area of expertise but only in terms of using that as a medium to address the key issues. The following discussion comments on the conceptual understanding of the participants, their confidence and leadership, community support received by them, screening partnerships, successes and challenges, and way forward. The effectiveness of strategies used is discussed therein.

**Conceptual understanding**

Most of the conceptual understanding was developed in the project through a participatory workshop mode of pedagogy. The participants recollected the exercises done and the issues learnt through them in the course of my discussions with them. The team members, concerned consultants and participants shared that these issues were brought back into the discussion during the process of film making. The gradual change in participants’ levels of conceptual understanding over the project period was also discussed with the team members and consultants.

In addition to issues related to gender equality, the participants also learnt about the technical aspects of photography and film making, meaning and interpretation of photographs, and the ethics of photography.

Insights into the participants’ conceptual understanding for the purpose of the review were addressed through short exercises during my interaction with them. Participants were required to respond to statements that would reflect their levels of conceptual understanding of issues of gender, patriarchy, power, and forms of violence. On the basis of their responses, it was evident that they have a clear basic understanding of the above issues and their linkages with EFM. In the course of the discussion on their journey, the participants reflected that they did not understand nor identify forms of power in the familial context before the trainings at FAT. They shared that over a period of time, especially during the EFM project, they have developed an understanding of linkages of power in the family and gender discrimination. Forms of
discrimination at home elicited an animated discussion and almost all of them were vocal about discrimination between boys and girls.

It is important to state here that girls noted that from the perspective of the parents, only the aspect of age is important and not those of choice or consent. On further probing, it became clear that girls wanted their parents to take the issue beyond that of age and agree to give them the freedom to choose their partners at a time they themselves wanted and not be dictated by the family. The ability to distinguish between different dimensions of EFM, and articulation of its links with patriarchy and gender discrimination, though to varying degrees, was seen in all the participants that I interacted with during the course of the review.

According to the observations of the team members and Nandini Rao (the trainer), the levels of understanding of the participants were slightly different from each other. Those who had been associated with FAT over a longer period of time had a clearer understanding of these concepts whereas the newer members initially had a more basic understanding. But the workshops and constant processes of linking up issues during the course of the first few months brought them to similar levels of understanding. Nandini Rao and Risha Samanta noted that at the beginning of the project girls would often focus on personal experiences only but towards the end of this period they were clearly linking experiences to issues. In the course of the year, the participants also showed and pursued different skills ranging from writing, acting, handling the camera to organizational and facilitation skills.

**Building confidence and leadership**

This was one of the most critical elements of the project as it lays the foundation of the campaign. The use of different strategies to build confidence and leadership accounts for its success not only in terms of the emergence of new leaders but also as another set of girls appear to be waiting in the wings in the communities for another similar project to commence at FAT.

The transformation undergone by the participants was succinctly expressed by Nandini Rao in my discussion with her. According to her, “They were a group of girls giggling, laughing, and also doing serious work...Over the few months they have moved from being a group of fun loving girls to those who understand issues and have a resolve to do something. They moved from being a group of girls to being a collective”.

On the basis of my discussions with the participants, different team members, and consultants, it can be said that at the beginning of the year the participants had only identified the issue of EFM as a major concern and that they wanted to work on it. But in the course of the year they had figured out how to achieve it, and how to negotiate with the family. All strategies and tools collectively led to building confidence and leadership. To begin with, it was gaining conceptual
clarity. This was later combined with the use of the powerful tool of photography and film making which challenges both the accepted gender and class norms. As Pooja Pant pointed out, “the power of being behind the camera on the street, generally a male dominated space, and also a male dominated creative medium, resulted in the girls brimming with confidence”. The creative sessions and exercises also had the space to reinforce the conceptual issues as the story being captured was of EFM. By the time the participants handled the video cameras, “they were exploding with confidence and creativity” (Pooja Pant).

Along with the new conceptual understanding and confidence, the participants figured out strategies and found allies to help in the negotiations. But it was clear from the discussions with the participants that they were able to look beyond themselves and reach out to their friends and sisters as well.

Some of the campaigners and team members reflected on the impact of planning of the campaign as well as actual public screenings on their confidence and leadership skills. The participants were nervous before facilitating the initial screenings but soon after were confident not only to facilitate but also to engage with community members, including boys, in the field. They also planned the different stages of the campaign, with the help of senior team members filled in the gaps, and followed new strategies for a more effective campaign. All team members and consultants remarked on the leadership skills displayed by different participants at the launch of the film, *Todo Bandishen*, at India Habitat Centre, New Delhi.

They have also developed an understanding and confidence to handle discussions on public platforms, both in their community and outside, including different cities. Group members also spoke with a range of people such as community members, peer groups, heads of organizations which increased their confidence. As they understood community dynamics, they were careful about what to say in the presence of different people from the local areas. The confidence grew also due to Individual attention, mentoring and support from the team members and consultants who were involved in the project at different phases. Regular debriefings after screenings were added to the agenda to discuss strategies and articulation of EFM, feminism, and technology; different ways to engage with the audience were also discussed in the debriefings; and roles were constantly changed to address differences among team members.

The sense of empowerment of travelling to different parts of the country such as Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Gujarat, in some cases by plane, further enhanced their confidence. Though the partnerships were brief and limited to the screenings only, they gave the young girls an opportunity to interact with girls and in some cases, their mothers, few boys, and other community members in other states. The ability to interact with them on such an intense and personal issue was instrumental in strengthening their confidence individually and also enabled the organization to reflect on the ways to build the skills of the campaigners as well as the
young team members. The discussions on child marriage and dowry in Bihar gave them another perspective on marriage. Anupriya Ghosh noted that the participants’ leadership qualities were visible in the peer interactions when they suggested strategies keeping in mind the more traditional background of the communities in Bihar.

It is important to highlight here that there are varying degrees of competence as leaders in the group and most participants have different skills.

**Community support**

It is difficult to analyze the role of the community in terms of the duration of EFM alone. According to Gayatri Buragohain, over the last 5-7 years that they have been working in the communities adjacent to Lajpat Nagar, there has been an increase in the number of girls attending high school and college. This is in sharp contrast to the initial phase when girls rarely completed school. Access to the computer education, combined with the inputs on gender norms and equality, has ensured that the numbers of girls coming to FAT has been steadfast. This would not have been possible without the support of the community members.

This has been largely possible as FAT is perceived to be a safe space for girls where they can learn computers – a space where mothers feel that their girls are safe as its’ an exclusively girls space. All the participants that I spoke with said that they are allowed to attend computer classes or learn about photography at FAT as boys are not allowed here.

Team members note that the engagement of the mothers has increased slowly and steadily. It began with a reflection on their own lives, their experiences of early marriage, becoming mothers at young age, and that they do not want their daughters to go through the same experiences. Most of the participants shared that mother’s convince their father’s to allow them to attend classes as it is a safe space, and, they emphasize that in sharp contrast to school teachers, the FAT team members visit the homes of girls to discuss about their participation.

The support from the mothers has been more visible since the launch event - as Risha Samanta observed that watching the launch event was an emotional journey for the mothers. Most of them were struck by the fact that classes for a few hours a day could lead to a final product as the movie made by their daughters – as well as acted in it!

But it is significant to note that even with the mothers the ‘freedom’ that they are willing to give their daughters has its limits and restrictions. Mothers are clear that the girls should not interact with boys, nor have boyfriends, and not go out with boys. The extent of the support to the daughter is largely dependent on their personal circumstances and their traditional social norms. Women who have suffered personally on account of early marriage, or whose older daughters have suffered, or those who need to earn money are more supportive than others.
Women who are from social groups with strict social norms could be less supportive. By and large, women are more willing to accept marriage after 18 years rather than being supportive to marriage by choice. Most girls are expected to attend school till then.

On the basis of the discussions with the girls and team members, it appears that most fathers are not involved in the lives of their daughters as long as the daughters do household chores, wear ‘proper’ clothes and not bring a ‘bad name’ to the family. The team tried to engage with the fathers by persuading them to come for meetings with their wives but did not get a sustainable breakthrough. Many of them were not available during the day as they were out working. The team could engage with fathers and brothers present at the film screenings. However, the discussions did not go beyond their saying that girls should study and get married after 18 though many of them added that she should stay within the boundaries ascribed by the family and society. As Mridu Kamal noted, the bigger screenings had a relatively superficial discussion that elicited more of initial reactions than smaller screenings that facilitated a detailed discussion.

Many participants and team members were of the view that often older brothers put more restrictions on them than the fathers and expect the girls to adhere to all their instructions. Almost all the girls said that they challenge this by constantly negotiating with the brothers, or through constant arguments and fights. In their interaction with team members and campaigners during community screenings, most men gave very cryptic answers emphasizing that it is important for girls to be safe, that they often invite trouble in terms of their clothes and behavior. The participants and team members attempted to engage with these community members but awareness cannot be expected in such short interactions.

It was not possible to directly interact with the community to gain insights into the community awareness on EFM but on the basis of my brief field visits, and observations of the team and participants, it can be said that the community is aware of the legal age of marriage for girls being 18 years but there is no notion of forced marriage.

**Partnerships**\(^2\) and mass awareness

In the latter half of the EFM project, especially after the film was made, screenings as part of the campaign were an integral part of the project. Brief partnerships were developed with organizations working on issues similar to that of FAT in Bihar\(^3\) and Delhi - Vrindavan Vikas Foundation, Diksha and Izad Foundation in Patna, Restless Development in Munger and

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\(^2\) Screenings organized with other organizations were more in terms of short term partnerships rather than long term alliances - the collaboration with FAT was limited to the screenings and the subsequent discussion with participants.

\(^3\) Bihar was selected as Packard Foundation wanted FAT to explore the possibilities of working there in future.
Bhalapur, Lok Chetna Vikas Manch in Newada, Sahiyar Stree Sangathan in Gujarat, People for Parity in Alwar, Sanjha Trust and Etasha Society in Delhi. Through these partnerships, the campaigners and team members got an exposure to aspects of EFM in different regions and among groups of different religions and socio-economic classes.

The partnerships involved screening of FAT’s film, then engaging with the audience on the prevalence of EFM in their region, and sharing of experiences and strategies by the FAT campaigners. These can be viewed more in terms of exposure visits for FAT’s campaigners and simultaneously, an introduction to FAT’s work and campaign to the members of the host organizations.

Discussions with the screening partners and FAT members, and a reading of the documentation clearly demonstrate that the film was well received. The first feat was for the partners’ audiences to know that such access to technology and ability to make a film is also possible for girls. Second, campaigners’ narratives on negotiations with their family on continuing their education, employment, and out-station travel were very well received across all screenings. Third, the screenings were important for the partners as their members got an exposure not only to the issue of building girls leadership and voices against early marriage, but also provided them with an opportunity to raise issues that are often difficult in their socio-cultural context. For instance, Ms. Akhtari Begum of Izad Foundation pointed out that the screening of the film for the mothers of their members (girls) was an achievement for their team as getting a large group of women together to discuss a social issue among the communities where they work is a near improbable task. Specific aspects of some of the partnerships are discussed below.

Though there were problems in the organizing, the film was well received by the girls at the screenings organized by Restless Development4. The discussions and interaction was not to the satisfaction of the FAT team and campaigners as the teachers present were not differentiating between child and forced marriage, and the participants were hesitant to speak frankly in the presence of their teachers. Mr. Johnson from Restless Development had an important observation that as the FAT members are themselves migrants from U.P, Bihar, and Rajasthan, they had an understanding of traditional conservative communities which was an important factor in establishing a link with the host group. Screenings with Diksha foundation gave them an opportunity to interact simultaneously with girls, women, boys, and men. But this mixed group prevented an uninhibited discussion from the girls’ perspective. Ms. Shamlika of Diksha foundation shared that the boys in the region also face pressures to earn and hence have to stop their schooling or study and earn simultaneously. Some of these male participants felt that their issues were overlooked in the discussions. She was of the view that the FAT team can work on ways to engage with boys in such workshops.

4 Detailed telephonic discussions were held with some of the partners.
These learnings from mixed screening were taken into consideration while planning the screening with Izad Foundation in Patna where separate screenings were organized for girls and their mothers. These screenings were a new experience for the FAT members as Izad works primarily with the Muslim community. The Muslim girls among the campaigners shared their stories with the participating girls leading to an animated discussion on ways to convince their parents to continue their education. In addition to EFM, discussions also focused on choice of clothes and food in the screening organized.

Ms. Mona Yadav of People for Parity who attended the screening at Alwar with Mittal Foundation found the film to be “very powerful and the girls’ ability to engage in all aspects of film making reflects FAT’s vision to empower girls through technology”. However, she described some events at the workshop to suggest that the team needs to enhance campaigners’ facilitation skills in situations where participants break down. Similar feedback on the need to work on the campaigners’ facilitation skill was also shared by Ms. Savita of Sanjha Trust.

Planned activities around mass awareness through social media did not work out as planned due to inability to find and/or retain the appropriate team member. Plans to raise awareness through print media planned in Delhi and Bihar was not successful due to the Bihar elections in November 2015.

Successes and challenges

The strength of FAT’s work lies in empowering girls associated with it to identify EFM as the issue that they wanted to work on – an issue which challenges one of the core social norms of traditional communities. The process of making the film, Todo Bandishein, and its subsequent screenings in varied locations, are in themselves indicative of the success of the project. The young team and the project participants not only grew in terms of knowledge on EFM and film making but also built their organizing and facilitation skills. Along with the successes, few challenges and limitations were observed by the team and the screening partners. Addressing these issues would benefit the organization in the next phase of the campaign.

The following section discusses some successes of the project. This will be followed by a brief discussion on the challenges.

Successes

- **Conceptual understanding** was strengthened of concepts such as gender, power, and patriarchy. In addition to these, participants developed an understanding of both sex and sexuality. They were made familiar with the notion of right to one’s body, penetrative and non-penetrative sex, and different aspects of pregnancy. EFM was placed in the context of these issues to explain its many dimensions.
- **Ability to link the concepts with their lives** gave them the confidence to discuss EFM with family members, especially mothers and sisters. A large number of participants convinced their mothers about the importance of postponing marriage by a few years and negotiated to pursue education, even college education, or to find employment. Some had the courage now to talk about their relationships at home while another reported instances of stalking at home. This was also possible due to the comfort level provided by the organization to discuss their problems both with their peers and the team members, and also discuss strategies for negotiation.

- **Organizational and facilitation skills** were evident at the success of the large launch event at India Habitat Centre (IHC). Clarity of roles among the participants and team members during the campaign in terms of organizing, mobilizing, facilitation, or as an observer was critical to the organizing of all events. The young team constantly worked with the new senior team members to devise ways of working in the field during community screenings. Given the difficulties associated with reaching out to communities through community screening events, the participants devised strategies to have discussions in small groups rather than one moderated discussion. Team members and participants were of the view that they managed to leave behind the thought of negative impact of early marriage on girls and society with a large number of community members and encouraged others to express their views.

- Though they were entering unfamiliar communities, the campaigners attempted to facilitate the screenings with partners - some with an audience of 300! The team members had to step in during some screenings when the community women or teachers were reluctant to engage with the young girls.

- By and large, campaigners successfully engaged with the young audience in the screenings. They shared about the way in which they learn a new technology and how other conceptual issues such as gender are woven in with this learning of technology; shared experiences and strategies to negotiate with their parents; about their experiences of travelling. Ms. Akhtari Begum shared that the interaction had a “deep impact on our girls. It was clear that they wanted to become like FAT girls – learn like them and be able to speak like them. Few of them began to negotiate about food and clothes immediately thereafter with their parents”.

- **The reflection process** after each screening involved discussions on some of the probable answers that could have been given during the interactions. Discussions on articulation of technology, facilitation skills, not allowing few individuals to dominate
discussions, and picking up a cue from the audience were all part of such exercises. This exercise led to a change in the competence level of the girls to handle question answer sessions and they have subsequently been successful resource persons for discussions on sexuality, sexual rights, and EFM for other organizations. Reflection exercises helped the team members to review their own work and that of the others. This enabled the team to be better prepared for the next screening and interaction.

- **The mobilization skills** have to be noted as the team mobilized large number of people for screenings - in some as many as 200 people were present. The IHC event was attended by large number of family members of the participants. Mothers of 25 girls attended the event. The interns were quick to stress the point that mothers needed immense convincing to attend the event and detailed planning was required for the logistics of getting them to IHC. The event was important to show case their achievements and also to publicly acknowledge the support of their parents, especially the mothers.

- **The emerging leaders** who are now trainees in FAT are the best examples of the internalization and clarity of the conceptual issues dealt with in the early phase of EFM, of confidence levels, and ability to take responsibility. During the latter phase of EFM, they had responsibly organized the various screenings in the community. The confidence and leadership skills of the trainees need to be noted. In the course of my interaction with them during the period of the review, I found them to have clear conceptual understanding of the issue, were very articulate, and confident. One of the trainees said that she has the confidence to handle a project now though she would require advice on strategies.

- **The young team members also grew** with the project both in terms of understanding of EFM but also in leadership to take responsibility of organizing events and out-station trips.

- **Strong documentation process.** For a young organization, FAT has documentation systems in place and reports are made for all internal workshops and major events.

- **Scale of success** - In response to my question, seven of the eight interviewed participants graded the change they have undergone during the EFM project at four on a scale of five. All team members and consultants engaged in the project ranked the success of project between 4 and 5 on a scale of 5.
In addition to the scale, the project was able to retain most of the members enrolled initially is significant. Only five out of the thirty one participants dropped out during the course of the year. This was on account of pressure of school studies, to moving to a distant locality, and due to the familial pressure to contribute to the family income.

Challenges

- **Frequent changes in the young team** - The team was not stable and experienced which led to constant challenges. Though tasks and responsibilities were assigned to different individuals, there were no back-up plans for those who left. Team members had to multi-task leading to stress till alternatives were found. In the transitory phases, team members had to stay in touch with Gayatri Buragohain over the phone to discuss problems and also in the decision making processes. The interns also spoke about the pressure on them when one of them was unwell and her workload had to be divided among the others. After the consultants work was over and they stopped interacting with the team, they found it tough to take up their planned respective responsibilities.

- **Facilitation challenges** - The young team members and the campaigners found it difficult to facilitate when some members of the audience dominated the discussion. The campaigners were not initially comfortable facilitating and newer team members had to work with them constantly on this aspect. In the initial phase of the campaign, they required regular discussions on effective ways to hold the audience together through a discussion. In spite of the inputs, according to some team members, the discussions on linkages between technology and EFM at large screenings was rather superficial and needs to be worked on for the next phase of campaign.

- **Short duration of the campaign** - Team members were of the view that four months was too short a period to show the film at many platforms. They recognize the need to reach out to a wider audience to showcase the achievements of the girls beyond stories of personal change but one where social norms are being challenged. This can be done not only through screenings but also through radio shows.

- The period was too short to work out alliances with other organizations to collaborate on the issue. The short duration provided them only with opportunities to hold screenings and discussions.
- **Challenges faced during screenings** with reference to equipment, timings, and communication – especially with partners. This led to delays or even postponing the screenings.

- **Challenges with partners** - Some of the partners were not convinced of the strategy of young girls engaging with mothers and other older women in the communities as according to them, the young campaigners do not have the field experience or maturity of handling the issues. FAT’s ideological reasons for working in a particular manner need to be reiterated in such cases. In some cases, according to the partners, the campaigners were not able to handle negative comments from the audience questioning the premise that early marriage is wrong. Similarly, campaigners found it tough to explain the differences between child marriage and EFM in Bihar.

- **Need to build safe home** - The team identified the need to work more on developing alliances with organizations which can support girls with providing safe home, police, and lawyers as one of the gaps in their work. This is critical to support girls who face opposition or hostile response from their families and community when they oppose their families.

- **Outreach through social media** - The team could not work on the social media aspect of the project to the extent planned as the team member left the organization, there were many challenges in hiring and training new team members for this part of the work, and participation from college students was lower than expected.

**Concluding comments and way forward**

In the course of the project period, the girls have internalized the understanding of different aspects of the structural violence that they face and ascribe it to various patriarchal processes. It has to be recognized that the agency of the girls is central to this transformation and they use this agency to challenge EFM and other forms of violence faced by them. In this process, they not only demonstrate their agency but have also become change agents through the leadership roles they have stepped into. The leadership roles could vary among the participants but the process of challenging EFM through the use of technology has laid the foundation of their self-esteem and self-worth. The particular politics and ideology that shapes their ability to challenge social norms is visible in their articulation.
As a way forward, it is recommended that FAT should continue with the campaign whereby the same set of girls can continue their engagement with the issue and simultaneously, engage with newer participants and build their capacities and understanding on the issue of EFM.

Some of the areas that the team needs to work towards are:

- A few conceptual issues need to be revisited for a more comprehensive understanding – for example, in my discussions with the participants, some of the girls were not able to articulate dimensions of patriarchy in media and government institutions. This, along with other conceptual issues, can be built in as part of a refresher capsule during the campaign. In addition to this, the younger team members and the campaigners will benefit from a deeper understanding of child marriage as against EFM, legal aspects of EFM, and different aspects of dowry.

- Work towards building the capacities of the young team in terms of organizational development as well as retaining them over a period of time.

- Opportunities to work on facilitation skills need to be constantly provided to the campaigners both in terms of actual facilitation as well as workshops to enhance skills. In addition to the issues noted earlier, exposure to principles of feminist counselling - how to deal with participants who break down, or with those who emphasizes on ‘maryada’ or ‘izzat’.

- Continue with the campaign on EFM over a longer time period in the localities close to the FAT office, with other organizations working in Delhi, with partners, and at film events.

- Focus on sustainable partnerships to take the issue of EFM in other regions. The foundation for this has been laid and this can be carried out through campaigns. Restless Development would like to further the partnership whereby they can plan more screenings and include boys as well. They would like to train their members in film making as well. Izad Foundation, Sanjha Trust, Diksha, and People for Parity also expressed keenness to work further with FAT.

- Develop a more sustainable social media outreach through a sustained effort to engage with college students to run a media campaign. Attempts to engage with print media to cover the achievements of the participants can also be continued.

- The film and the photographic documentation of the process of making it can be made available on FAT’s website.

- In my discussions with Gayatri, she noted that it is essential to build in responsibility as an important component of the training (not only focus on rights). It is imperative to develop an understanding of responsibility in different contexts and the repercussions of going against the accepted social norms. It is important for a person
to realize that she has to take responsibility of her actions and not expect support from FAT for her actions.

- It was pointed out that there are some unusual cases that come up during field visits, screenings, and out-station visits. Such cases or stories need to be recorded, shared, and discussed with the EFM group to highlight that very unusual circumstances can lead to difficult decision making.

- Now that the number of girls who have reached a high level of competence has increased, the organization has to figure out whether they can find employment opportunities for them.

- In the documentation of public events or any form of engagement, it is important to observe participation in a gender disaggregated manner. For example, it is noted that boys or men spoke with the team members, but some reports speak in terms of discussion with families. It would be beneficial to know if they engaged with both parents or only with mothers and/or siblings (bother/sister). Similarly, in events with participation of mixed age groups, it would be beneficial to note these.

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