TIPPING POINT
Measuring Social Norms and Girls’ Empowerment

Report of the SenseMaker study of the Tipping Point program in Bangladesh

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1. Introduction

This report provides the main insights from the SenseMaker study conducted as part of the Tipping Point Bangladesh evaluation. The report incorporates descriptive analysis from a previous basic analysis report that provided a systematic analysis of each question in the Signification Framework. The evaluation team finalised the scope of analysis following a workshop in which the basic analysis was shared with CARE and lines of enquiry were narrowed down to focus on key aspects of evaluative analysis.

The report is framed around the five project outcomes that formed the basis for assessment in this evaluation.

The first section focuses on the type of challenges that girls face through an investigation of the story themes.

The next sessions focus on the different long-term outcomes of the Tipping Point program.

- **Outcome 1:** Girls have critical awareness of gender and rights, and strengthen confidence, skills, and social capital for making progressive choices in their lives. The section also explores the extent to which other community members see Fun Centre girls as role models.

- **Outcome 2:** Parents value the voices, opinions and aspirations of adolescent girls focuses on the differences between parents from the Tipping Point parent groups and parents that are not part of the groups. Key topics that are investigated are the influencing factors of the Behaviour of parents in relation to issues related to girls, how they behave in different situations to girls, and what influences their decision-making about girls’ lives.

- **Outcome 3:** Social norms related to marriage (dowry expectations, perceptions of girls’ potential, and perceptions of marital relationships that promote hegemonic masculinity and ignore girls’ rights) are changing to be more supportive of girls and against early marriage examines social norms related to marriage, freedom to move around, girl’s honour and romantic relationships and dowry.

- **Outcome 4:** Networks, solidarity groups and organizations collaborate together (laterally and vertically) to take actions for girls, the report discusses the role of Religious Leaders, Community Leaders, and Government Officials as authority figures in the community who have influence over decisions about child marriage.

- **Outcome 5:** Staff continue to reflect upon and take up value practices and action that model anti-oppression (based on gender, caste and other group identities) and reflect critically on their beliefs about sexuality discusses findings from textual analysis related to Staff Transformation and the role that staff partners and volunteers have in the stories.

A last section looks at the impact of the exposure of TP activities by cross-checking patterns and answers of three comparison groups.

Throughout the report, analysis systematically looks at differences between data on stories from Fun Centre girls and non-Fun Centre girls as well as stories about Fun Centre girls and non-Fun Centre girls. Where relevant, comparisons between Fun Centre boys and non-Fun Centre boys, and between parents of Fun Centre members and parents of non-Fun Centre members are included. Quantitative pattern analysis is complemented by qualitative textual analysis of story packs for key findings.
2. Executive Summary

This report presents the findings from a SenseMaker story collection process conducted as part of a qualitative evaluation of CARE International’s Tipping Point project in Sunamganj, Bangladesh. Tipping Point aims to reduce the incidence of child marriage through shifting social norms at the community level, addressing the root causes of the practice and seeking to holistically effect change at the level of individuals, communities, and the broader enabling environment.

The SenseMaker study was conducted by the Overseas Development Institute and researchers from Jahangirnagar University, in close cooperation with Tipping Point’s two local implementing partners, JASHIS and ASD in Sunamganj district. The evaluation team collected 875 stories in total: 325 from girls; 214 from boys; and 336 from mothers and fathers of adolescents. All respondents shared a narrative of their own choosing in response to the prompt:

The primary analytical approach for assessing the nature of change within Tipping Point communities was comparing the data from Boundary Partners (girls and boys who participate in Tipping Point ‘Fun Centre’ groups, and parents of adolescents who participate in Fun Centre groups) with data from non-Boundary Partners from the same village.

Stories spoke predominantly about the themes of Education, Safety/Security, Family Relations, Marriage, Income, and a Girl’s honour and commonly featured girls’ mothers, fathers, and brothers much more than any other actors.
The findings of this report are structured around five Outcomes:

**Outcome 1 - Girls have critical awareness of gender and rights, and strengthened confidence, skills, and social capital for making progressive choices in their lives**

Approximately one-third of stories shared by girls were about Fun Centre girls and while there were not obvious and substantial differences in the types of stories told about Fun Centre and non-Fun Centre girls respectively, there were some nuances in girls’ different experiences.

Stories featuring Fun Centre girls were more likely to be about Dreams and Aspirations than those featuring non-Fun Centre girls.

Girls indicate that family or social connections (42%) have the most influence on challenging experiences faced by girls, while self-confidence was an important influence in a further 22% of stories. Laws and rules were a strong influence in only 6% of stories, demonstrating the need to focus on girls’ empowerment and social norms in addition to having a legislative framework that addresses child marriage.

In general, girls see the lack of skills and knowledge as an important factor for challenging situations related to marriage, romantic relationships, and menstruation, while Self-confidence is strongly associated with stories about events that were Good for a Girl. Often, these themes strongly link and overlap in the narratives.

Non-Fun Centre girls saw themselves as motivated fairly equally between seeking safety/protection and achieving dreams/aspirations/opportunities, while they saw Fun Centre girls mainly seeking to achieve dreams/aspirations/opportunities.

**Perceptions of Fun Centre Girls as role models**

All respondent groups saw Fun Centre girls as mostly conforming with traditional expectations and behaviours.

Boys’ views of girls that are “bad” examples tend to fall into one of two categories: girls that suffer hardship due to situations that are out of their control (forced into marriage, victims of Eve teasing, etc.); and those that willingly engage in behaviours such as dropping out of school and having romantic relationships outside of marriage.

Conversely, boys saw girls who were “good examples” as those girls who worked hard in the home and refused boys’ romantic propositions. Both BP and non-BP parents viewed Fun Centre girls as being good examples more frequently than they viewed non-Fun Centre girls as setting a good example.

Fun Centre girls saw themselves more positively as good examples than non-Fun Centre girls did. In all of the stories about girls playing football or cycling (n=5), Fun Centre girls were seen as good examples but in 3/5 of the stories their behaviour was also deemed Socially Unacceptable, demonstrating the tension that exists within communities as girls push the boundaries of social expectations.
Outcome 2: Parents value the voices, opinions and aspirations of adolescent girls.

Outcome 2 brings in the perspectives of parents and also focuses on the differences between parents from the Tipping Point parent groups and parents that are not part of the groups. Key topics that are investigated are the influencing factors of the Behaviour of parents in relation to issues related to girls, how they behave in different situations to girls, what influences their decision-making about girls’ life and their perception on the Behaviour of girls.

There were no substantial differences in the behaviours of parents whose children attended a Fun Centre and those whose children did not. Parents’ behaviour in the stories is driven almost equally by financial considerations and family honour and only slightly by knowledge/information. Family honour was a more important driver of parents’ behaviour when the story involved a non-Fun Centre girl (24%) than when the girl in the story was a Fun Centre member (11%), indicating that parents perceive Fun Centre girls as being less likely to bring shame to their families.

The influence of men in the family is perceived by all respondents as being more dominant than women in the family. In stories about Fun Centre girls, mothers had relatively more influence over decision-making than in stories about non-Fun Centre girls. In stories about situations that are perceived as being bad for girls, men in her family have a stronger role in decision-making. Parents that were Boundary Partners indicated more than non-BP parents that Mothers in the stories behaved in non-traditional ways, which may indicate that mothers who participate in project groups or whose child participates in Fun Centre groups are adopting new and more progressive behaviours.

In 40% of stories, parents tell a girl what to do, while in 13% of stories they behave according to others’ expectations, and in 7% of stories they let a girl do what she wants. Adults viewed the behaviour of Fun Centre girls more positively than they viewed the behaviour of non-Fun Centre girls.
Outcome 3: Social norms related to marriage (dowry expectations, perceptions of girls’ potential, and perceptions of marital relationships that promote hegemonic masculinity and ignore girls’ rights) are changing to be more supportive of girls and against early marriage

This section looks at differences in social norms related to marriage, freedom to move around, girl’s honour, romantic relationships and dowry. Outcome 3 findings also relate to perceptions of boys’ behaviour as it relates to girls’ opportunities and wellbeing. Girls predominantly said that boys in their stories were acting in their own interest, and to a lesser extent, acting in a way that was harmful to girls. Only about 10% of girls said that boys acted in a way that was helpful to the girl in their stories. Fun Centre girls had a more positive view of boys’ behaviour than non-Fun Centre girls. The stories about Fun Centre girls have a higher percentage of stories (13% or 8 stories) for which boys act in a way that is helpful for boys than those stories that are not about Fun Centre Girls (5% or 7 stories), indicating that Fun Centre Girls have slightly more positive experiences with boys. Boys are the only actors described consistently by all respondent groups as strongly defying traditions and social expectations, raising questions about boys’ expressions of masculinity and behavioural norms for boys as they relate to girls’ rights. Lastly, textual analysis of stories tagged as being Socially Unacceptable where Someone did or said something about it shows which behaviours were subject to social sanctioning and the nature of social sanctions in specific cases.

Outcome 4: Networks, solidarity groups and organizations collaborate together (laterally and vertically) to take actions for girls

As the stories tended to share experiences of girls and their interactions with parents and boys/men, there were few mentions of other actors who were acting individually or collaboratively to champion girls’ rights. Religious leaders, community leaders, and government officials all have a degree of authority in making decisions regarding child marriage and either upholding or abrogating the law depending on what they feel is the best course of action in individual cases. The stories did not give an indication of the existence of networks of allies (other than the EVAW forums) acting as advocates for girls.

Outcome 5: Staff continue to reflect upon and take up value practices and action that model anti-oppression (based on gender, caste and other group identities) and reflect critically on their beliefs about sexuality

A total of 49 stories were tagged as involving Tipping Point staff/volunteers, relating to experiences that involved EVAW forum members or Fun Centre workers in attempting to prevent a child marriage from taking place. Staff and EVAW forum members used a combination of direct dialogue with adolescents’ families as well as escalating cases to village officials if necessary. These efforts were not always successful in cases where parents were determined to marry their daughter off, but staff and EVAW forum members have demonstrated commitment and consistency as advocates against child marriage.
Impact of exposure of Tipping Point activities

• Respondents that were exposed to the Tipping Point program share more stories about marriage and romantic relationships (appr. 50%) than respondents that were not exposed to the program (39% of the stories). The latter share much more stories about education (57%)

• Respondents that were exposed to the Tipping Point program share more stories that are socially unacceptable

• Respondents that are part of the program (boundary partners) clearly agree more with the statement that daughters should have the same opportunity to work outside the home as sons. Girls and mothers agree much more with this statement than sons and fathers.

• Boundary partner girls clearly disagree with the statement that a girl who receives unwanted male attention causes her family to lose honor. For boys, mothers and fathers from the different groups there is no clear difference in their opinion against the statement. For boys and fathers that have not been exposed to the TP activities there is a higher disagreement with the statements compared to the boundary partner boys and fathers!

• The majority of girls find the age of 18 years old a good age for marrying. More than 25% of the girls find 19 up to 25 years old the ideal age. Mothers show a similar patterns than girls, but more mothers (appr. 30%) find the ideal age between 20-25 years old. Boys and fathers find younger age possible and surprisingly this is found by boys and fathers that are part of the TP program or were exposed to TP activities! Those not exposed to the TP activities find the age of 18 years old or older an ideal age
3. SenseMaker methodology
The SenseMaker® method involves the mass collection of short story narratives in response to a common prompting question. At the core of the method is the prioritisation of the voice of the storyteller who interprets his or her own story through a set of questions (signifier questions). Respondents make a primary assessment of their own stories. Responses to these questions are then aggregated to identify patterns in the data, generating quantitative data. By referring back to the narratives, additional insights can emerge from interesting data patterns, providing rich contextual information.
All respondent were asked to share a story triggered by the same prompting question

For girls
Please share a recent experience (within the past 6 months) about a challenge that you or another girl in your village has faced and how she dealt with this challenge. What happened? Who was involved? How did the situation end?

For boys and parents
Please share a recent experience (within the past 6 months) about a challenge that a girl in your village has faced and how she dealt with this challenge. What happened? Who was involved? How did the situation end?
The signifier questions

All respondents answered the same set of questions related to their story. There are five different types of questions.

**Triad question**

T1. What influences the outcome of your story?

- Family or social connections
- Laws or rules
- Self-confidence
- N/A

Respondents position an ‘x’ within the triangle on the place that best represents their answer. The closer the ‘x’ is positioned to a corner the more weight that answer is given compared to the other answers (corners). In that way, respondents can provide a nuanced answer.

**Dyad question**

D1. In your story, the girl has...

- Complete control over what happened
- No control over what happened

Respondents position an ‘x’ on the scale between the two extreme answers. The closer the ‘x’ is positioned to an extreme the more weight that answer is given compared to the other extreme answer. In that way, respondents can provide a nuanced answer.

**Multi-choice question**

M1. My story is about ...

| Friendship | Family relationships |
| Education  | Household chores (unpaid) |
| Marriage   | A romantic relationship |
| Safety / Security | A girl’s honour |
| Freedom to Move Around | Menstruation |
| Health     | Dowry |
| Violence   | Income |
| Other (please list) | ……………………………………… |

Stone question

In the context of your story, how did people behave and how did others in your community react to the actions or decisions taken by different people?

Respondents answer the question by positioning the respective symbol on X-Y diagram. The closer the symbol is positioned to an extreme the more weight that answer is given compared to the other extreme answer. In that way, respondents can provide a nuanced answer.

Demographic questions: These are questions about the respondents such as age, religion, village, …
Respondent sample

Respondents

- Stories collected from **875 people** total from **12 villages (2 Upazila)** in wetland (**haor**) communities in Sylhet division.
- Stories were collected from respondents that were part of the Tipping point programme (members of the Fun Centres or Parent Groups) referred to as **boundary partners** as well as respondents of the communities that are not directly part of the programme referred to as a **non-boundary partners**.
- Stories were collected from **girls, boys, mothers and fathers** for each of the villages and for boundary partners and non-boundary partners.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X2 Upazila</th>
<th>X2 VillageBD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Derai</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowshi</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandipur</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islampur (Tarol Union)</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamalpur</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nachni</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarmangal</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jamalganj</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gopalpur</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islampur (Behely union)</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaminipur</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mofiznagar</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nayahalot</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polok</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1: Number of respondents per village in upazila Derai and Jamaloganj

Figure 2: Number of respondents that are boundary partners and non-boundary partners.
Respondent sample (per cohort group)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boundary Partner</th>
<th>Girl</th>
<th>Boy</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boundary Partner</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-boundary partner</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3: Total number of respondent per cohort group
4. Challenges faced by girls
Respondents were asked to share a recent experience about a challenge that a girl (the respondent or a girl in the community) in the village faced and how she dealt with this challenge. One of the signifier question asked what the story was about. Respondents could indicate three options and provide an indication on the over-all themes for which girls face challenges:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Story About</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family relations</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety / Security</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romantic relationship</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A girl’s honour</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom to move around</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dowry</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household chores (unpaid)</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menstruation</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost half of the stories are about education (49%) and marriage (47%). Important other topics are family relations (42%) and safety/security (38%).

15-25% of the stories are about income, romantic relationships, a girl’s honor and freedom to move around. 11% of all stories are related to violence. Topics that are not so common (<10%) are about health, friendship, dowry, household chores and menstruation.
Girls and mothers tell more stories about issues related to **education and safety/security** and than boys and fathers.

Boys and especially fathers emphasize much stronger on issues related to **marriage** and **romantic relationships** in their stories.

Girls themselves tell more stories about **girl’s honour** (26%) than the other respondent groups.

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**Figure 5:** Percentage of the total number of stories shared for each of the 8 most dominant story themes (per respondent group)
Comparison situation three years ago and now

With this question, respondents could answer whether the situation described in the story happened a lot or hardly happened. Two axes were used to indicate the situation **three years ago** (Y-axis) and the situation **today** (X-axis). Each dot represents one story. The heatmap landscape (contour maps) in the X-Y plots are based on a statistical technique for density estimation in which the peaks on the contour lines represent probability densities of where experiences are most likely to occur.

**What happened in my story ...**

About half of the stories shared by all respondents are about situations that happened a lot three years ago but are to a lesser extent happening today.

Figure 6: Heatmap comparison situation three years ago and today

Situations that happened a lot three years ago, but not happening a lot today

Situations that occur a lot today and three years ago

Situations that occur a lot today, not happening three years ago

Situations that never happened now and three years ago
What happened in my story ...

For stories that are bad for girls, there is a particular group of situations that didn’t happened three years ago, but are happening today (13% or 33 stories). These are mainly stories about education, income, family relations, marriage and romantic relationships.

Lot of stories about not continuing education because of lack of income. All stories about income are about education.

High number of stories about eloping and child marriages (stories about marriages and romantic relationships are linked).

Disturbances in family relations due to lack of income/education, marriage and eloping.

Figure 7: Heatmap comparison situation three years ago and today for stories that were good to girls and stories that were bad for girls.

Stories that are good for girls
(=76)

Stories that are bad for girls
(n=247)
Comparison situation three years ago and now
For the 8 dominant story themes

What happened in my story …

Figure 8: Heatmap comparison situation three years ago and today for each of the 8 dominant story themes
Stories about marriage are most talked about by boys and fathers

68% of the stories of fathers are about issues related to marriage (no difference between TP Centre members or non-TP Centre members). This is by far the most important topic for fathers. Also for boys, marriage is the most important topic (56% of the stories shared by boys are about marriage).

For girls, there are relatively less stories about marriage (31% of the stories). Marriage is the 4th most dominant topic after education, safety/security and family relations. Girls from Fun Centres tell more stories about marriage (35%) than non-Fun Centre girls (26%).

Mothers also share almost 50% of their stories about marriage. This is most outspoken for mothers that are part of the TP centres (48%).

54% of the stories about marriage are stories which are perceived as bad for girls and therefore one of the most negative story sets. There is also a low percentage of stories that people perceive as good for girls (13%)

Stories about marriage are strongly linked to family relations (37%), education (34%), safety/security (31%).
Stories about education

Education is the topic that is most talked about in the stories from girls and mothers. Girls tell most stories about education (62%), with no difference between Fun Centre girls and non-Fun Centre girls. Also for mothers, 50% of their stories are about issues related to education. Father and boys tell less stories about education (average 36%).

40% of the stories about education are also about income and family relations.

Stories about family relations

All respondent groups tell substantial number of stories related to family relations (average 43% of the stories). Girls from the Fun Centres share the least stories about family relations (34%) while fathers that are part of the TP Centres share most stories (51%).

50% of the stories about family relations people are perceived as bad for girls.

For stories about family relations, 46% of the stories are also about education and 41% is about issues related to marriage.

Figure 10: Percentage of the total number of stories about education that are good for the girl in the story, bad for the girl in the story, a mix of bad/good for the girl in the story or are neutral for the girl in the story.

Figure 11: Percentage of the total number of stories about family relations that are good for the girl in the story, bad for the girl in the story, a mix of bad/good for the girl in the story or are neutral for the girl in the story.
**Stories about safety / security**

Girls and mothers tell most stories related to safety /security. Especially girls and mothers of TP Centres share more stories about safety and security (48%) than non-TP Centres (40-41%). Boys and fathers share average 30% of their stories about safety and security.

50% of the stories about safety / security are stories which are perceived as bad for girls and therefore one of the most negative story sets.

Stories about safety and security are mostly linked to stories about education (36%), marriage (37%), family relations (25%) and girl’s honour (25%).

![Figure 12: Percentage of the total number of stories about safety/security that are good for the girl in the story, bad for the girl in the story, a mix of bad/good for the girl in the story or are neutral for the girl in the story.](image)

**Stories about girl’s honour**

Mainly girls talk about situation related to girl’s honour. 26% of the stories shared by girls are about girl’s honour (similar for Fun Centre girls and non-Fun Centre girls). Mothers, boys and fathers share 13-17% of stories related to girl’s honour.

53% of the stories about girl’s honour are stories which are perceived as bad for girls. It is one of the most negative story set across the story themes.

Stories about girl’s honour are mostly linked to stories about safety/security (51%) and marriage (32%).

![Figure 13: Percentage of the total number of stories about girl’s honour that are good for the girl in the story, bad for the girl in the story, a mix of bad/good for the girl in the story or are neutral for the girl in the story.](image)
Stories about romantic relationships

Boys and fathers share most stories about romantic relationships.
Boys share most stories about romantic relationships, especially non-Fun Centre boys (up to 31%). Girls share less stories about romantic relationships (16%) and mothers only share 11% stories about romantic relationships.

62% of the stories about romantic relationships are stories which are perceived as bad for girls. It is by far the most negative story set of all the story themes.

Stories about romantic relationships are mostly linked to stories about marriage (56%) and family relations (32%)

Figure 14: Percentage of the total number of stories about romantic relationships that are good for the girl in the story, bad for the girl in the story, a mix of bad/good for the girl in the story or are neutral for the girl in the story.

Figure 15: Heatmap comparison situation three years ago and today for stories about romantic relationships

Stories that were not happening a lot three years ago but are happening a lot now.

Most stories are about eloping and 1 story about abuse through social media
Stories about income

Boys and fathers share most stories about romantic relationships.
Boys share most stories about romantic relationships, especially non-Fun Centre boys (up to 31%). Girls share less stories about romantic relationships (16%) and mothers only share 11% stories about romantic relationships.

41% of the stories about income are stories which are perceived as bad for girls. 33% is a mix of good and bad for girls.

79% of the stories about income are also related to education. A very clear correlation! In addition, almost half of the the stories about income are also about family relations (48%).

Figure 16: Percentage of the total number of stories about income that are good for the girl in the story, bad for the girl in the story, a mix of bad/good for the girl in the story or are neutral for the girl in the story.

Almost all stories about income were already happening a lot three years ago and are still happening now.

Figure 17: Heatmap comparison situation three years ago and today for stories about income.
5. Outcome 1:
Girls have critical awareness of gender and rights, and strengthened confidence, skills, and social capital for making progressive choices in their lives.
Summary

1. On self-confidence, social relationships, knowledge & skills, dreams & aspiration and safety & protection

Self-confidence
Situations that were perceived as good for girls are much more influenced by self-confidence of girls (up to 60% of 72 stories are leaning towards self-confidence) as compared to those situations that were perceived as bad for girls (10% of the stories influenced by self-confidence).

Role of social relationships (social capital)
The outcomes of Girls’ stories were most strongly influenced by Family/Social Connections, followed by Self-confidence, and then very few stories (6%) were influenced strongly by Laws/Rules. Compared to all other topics, we see a higher dominance of family and social connections for stories related to income and violence. In 2/3 of stories from boys, boys behave in ways that are strongly or somewhat in their own interest. In 11% of stories, boys are strongly or somewhat helpful to girls. Fun Centre girls shared relatively fewer stories than other girls in which boys behaved in a way that was harmful to girls. In 17% of stories, boys behave somewhat or strongly in a way that is harmful to girls.

Knowledge & skills
Girls see the lack of skills and knowledge as an important factor for challenging situations related to marriage, romantic relationships and menstruation. For some dimensions of girls’ rights and empowerment, a comparison of data from stories about Fun Centre girls and non-Fun Centre girls we are able to see differences in these girls’ respective experiences that indicate Tipping Point’s contribution to change for project participants. In all stories in which Fun Centre girls appear, there is a higher probability of girls seeking dreams & aspirations (as compared to non-Fun Centre girls) and a slightly higher tendency towards more influence of self-confidence and girls seeking dreams, aspirations or opportunities.

Dreams & aspiration
In all stories in which Fun Centre girls appear, there is a higher probability of girls seeking dreams & aspirations (as compared to Non-Fun Centre girls) and a slightly higher tendency towards more influence of self-confidence and girls seeking dreams, aspirations or opportunities.

Safety & protection
For over a quarter of situations, girls are seeking safety and protection (27%) and in one-third of stories from girls, girls felt extremely unsafe or insecure. In general, while the stories about and from Fun Centre and non-Fun Centre girls are very similar, stories about FC girls mostly did not discuss the more extreme forms of violence and abuse (rape; physical and verbal abuse) raised in stories about non-Fun Centre girls. A small set of stories related to cyberbullying using mobile phones and social media platforms point to a recent trend in using technology to publicly shame girls and attack their honour.
2. On girls’ agency

Girls do what they want
We see an increase of stories in which girls do what they want when the stories are about Romantic relationships (24 stories or 49%) and Freedom to move around (15 stories or 24%). No differences are observed between stories from/about Fun Centre Girls and from/about non-Fun Centre Girls.

Girls do what they think is expected from them
We see an increase of stories in which girls do what they think is expected from them when the stories are about Girl’s honour (19 stories or 23%), Security/safety (28 stories or 21%) and Freedom to move around (13 stories or 21%).
For stories about Security/safety, there is a high % about non-Fun Centre girls in this corner (25% compared to 9% for Fun-Centre girls).
For stories about Freedom to move around, the majority of stories in this corner are from non-Fun Centre girls or about non-Fun Centre girls.

Girls do what they are told to do
We see more stories in which girls do what they are told to do when the stories are about Household chores (12 stories or 67%), Income (35 stories or 43%), Violence (11 stories or 41%), Health (9 stories or 38%) and Education (71 stories or 36%).

For stories about Education, the increased percentage in this corner comes from stories from / about non-Fun Centre Girls. For stories about Income, the increase in this corner is the strongest for Fun Centre girls (54%).

Similar to all other respondent groups, boys tended to see girls as not having control over the situations described in boys’ stories. Boys perceived that girls had the highest degree of control over stories that involved a romantic boyfriend more than any other type of actor in the stories.

Boys mainly find girls’ behaviour to be a bad example to other girls. Girls that are “bad” examples tend to fall into one of two categories: those that suffer hardship in life due to situations that are out of their control (forced into marriage, victims of Eve teasing, etc.); and those that willingly engage in behaviours such as dropping out of school and having romantic relationships outside of marriage.
3. Analysis of stories that were good for girls (positive stories)

Stories about Fun Centre girls that were indexed to being Good for a Girl spoke of a variety of situations in girls’ lives. **Stories about FC girls were more likely to include examples of family support for girls’ rights and ambitions when compared to stories about non-Fun Centre girls.** For Non-Fun Centre girls, family members were more likely to provide financial/material support to ensure a girl’s dowry rather than to continue her education or to delay her marriage. Two ‘Good’ stories mentioned cases of people reaching out to TP staff to intervene and prevent early marriage of Non-Fun Centre girls.
4. Recognition of girls from the Fun Centres as role models

A central aspect of the Tipping Point theory of change is that by engaging intensively with the girls’ and boys’ Fun Centre clubs, mothers’ groups, and the EVAW forum, these individuals will become role models for others in the community, adopting and advocating for more progressive social norms related to marriage and to gender equality more broadly.

All respondent groups saw Fun Centre girls as mostly conforming with traditional expectations and behaviours.

Fun Centre girls have a more positive view of themselves as good role models in their communities, compared to how non-Fun Centre girls perceive Fun Centre girls (although only based on 17 stories).

Non-Fun Centre girls said more strongly that Fun Centre girls that defied expectations and traditions were associated with being a bad example to other girls. For Fun Centre girls telling stories about themselves, there is a stronger concentration of stories (35 stories) in which girls defy traditions and social expectations while being a good example for other girls.

Non-Fun Centre girls saw themselves as motivated fairly equally between seeking safety/protection and achieving dreams/aspirations/opportunities, while they saw Fun Centre girls mainly seeking to achieve dreams/aspirations/opportunities.

Boys’ views of girls that were “bad” examples tended to fall into one of two categories: girls that suffered hardship due to situations that are out of their control (forced into marriage, victims of Eve teasing, etc.); and those that willingly engaged in behaviours such as dropping out of school and having romantic relationships outside of marriage. Conversely, boys saw girls who were “good examples” as those girls who worked hard in the home and refused boys’ romantic propositions. Both BP and non-BP parents viewed Fun Centre girls as being good examples more frequently than they viewed non-Fun Centre girls as setting a good example.

In 5 stories where girls participated in TP-organised football or cycling competitions, girls were seen as being a good example to others and they persevered despite resistance from their family and community. At the same time, girls’ participation in sports was seen in a mixed way, as 3/5 of the stories were also tagged as being about Socially Unacceptable behaviour, demonstrating the tensions that exist within communities as girls push the boundaries of social expectations.
5.1 On self-confidence, social relationships, knowledge & skills, dreams & aspiration and safety & protection

Stories from and about girls

- There are 325 stories collected from girls of which 165 stories are from girls 12 to 15 years old and 160 stories are from girls 16 to 19 years old.
- There are 155 stories from girls who are members of Tipping Point Fun Centres and 170 stories from girls that are not part of the Fun Centres, both with a relatively equal number of younger (12-15 years old) and older girls (16-19 years old).
- Out of the 325 stories, 103 stories are about Fun Centre girls (32%) and 209 stories about non-Fun Centre girls (64%). For 13 stories, the respondents did not know whether girls in the story was a Fun Centre Girl or not.
- More than half of the Fun Centre girls (55%) shared stories about Fun Centre girls while only 10% of the non-Fun Centre girls shared stories about Fun Centre girls.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XSAffiliation</th>
<th>Story about Fun Centre Girl</th>
<th>Story about non-Fun Centre Girl</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Girl Story</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSAffiliation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 18: Number of stories from girls per age group

Figure 19: Number of stories from girls that are part of the Fun Centre (Boundary partners) and girls that are not part of the Fun Centre (non-Boundary partners)

Figure 20: % of stories shared by Fun Centre girls and non-Fun Centre girls that are about Fun Centre girls or non-Fun Centre girls
T1. What influences the outcome of the stories of girls?

**Over-all pattern**
As illustrated in figure 21, girls indicate that **family or social connections (42%)** are having the most influence on challenging experiences faced by girls. This is also confirmed by the high number of stories (38% of all stories shared by girls) that are related to Family Relations. For almost 25% of the experiences, girls’ **self-confidence** (or lack thereof) is the most influential factor for this triad. **Laws and Rules** seem to be less of an influencing factor related to challenging experiences for girls. 6% of stories were strongly related to Laws or rules.

**Influence of self-confidence on girls’ lives**
There are no remarkable differences in **self-confidence** as an influencing factor for the situations described by Fun Centre **girls** compared to those of **non-Fun Centre girls**. We also see similar patterns for stories about Fun Centre girls and stories about non-Fun Centre girls.

**Situations that were perceived as good for girls** are much more influenced by **self-confidence** of girls (up to 60% of 72 stories are leaning towards self-confidence) as compared to those situations that were perceived as bad for girls (10% of the stories influenced by self-confidence).
Most common themes tagged in the Self-confidence corner:
Education (32/41 stories, 78%)
Family relations (19/41 stories, 46%)
Mobility; and Safety/Security both got 16/41 stories each, 39%)
Income (15/41 stories, 37%)
Marriage (7/41 stories, 17%)

Story themes weakly associated with Self-confidence:
Girl’s honour (4/41 stories, 10%)
Friendship (6/41 stories, 8%)
Romantic relationships (2/41 stories, 5%)
Zero (0) stories for themes of Dowry or Violence

The frequency of themes aligns somewhat with the overall prevalence of themes in the full data set (all respondents). Education is represented more in this corner (78% of stories compared to 48% in the general data set); Marriage is less related to this corner (17% compared to 40% in general data set); Romantic Relationships is less related to this corner (5% compared to 19% in general data set); and Mobility is more strongly associated with this corner (39% compared to 17% in general data set).

Nature of stories in the Self-confidence corner:
Girls’ professional aspirations: wanting to be a footballer, police officer, teacher
Education and income: convincing family not to pull them out of school; defying community members who didn’t see value of girl’s education; walking far distances to complete schooling; support from family to go to school; getting a scholarship; rejecting boys’ attention/proposals to focus on school
Family relations: hardships from living in poverty; stopping own marriage; (lots of overlap with other themes)
Income: earning income in Chittagong to send to family each month; earning own income to pay for school
Mobility: difficulties moving to school by different modes (ferry, walking, bikes) and getting harassed
Safety/security: reporting boys who were teasing; ignoring a boy that wanted a relationship; girl friends helping to stop a boy’s unwanted attention and convince a girl’s parents to help
Marriage: getting help from others in resisting being married off
T1. What influences the outcome of the stories of girls?

Influence from family or social connections on girls’ lives
Triad T1 also looks into the influence of family and social connections on the experiences shared by girls. Overall, there are no remarkable differences in the influence of family or social connections for the situations described by the Fun Centre girls compared to those of non-Fun Centre girls from the community (both around 42%). We also see similar patterns for stories about Fun Centre girls and stories about non-Fun Centre girls.

There are some indications that younger girls not part of the Fun Centre are more influenced (56%) by family or social connections than younger girls from the Fun Centre (46%) as this exact pattern is confirmed twice comparing stories from Fun Centre girls with stories from girls in the community as well as stories about Fun Centre girls compared to stories that are not about Fun Centre girls.

In terms of topics, compared to all other topics (question 1) we see a higher dominance of family and social connections for stories related to income (57%, n=82) as compared to the other topics (37%-45%). The content of these stories predominantly related to girls' dreams and aspirations being “broken” or interrupted due to family poverty and the need for her to take on additional household responsibilities or income generation activities. Also, for stories related to violence (n=28), almost 80% of the stories are influenced by family and social connections. Only 3 of these stories about violence and family or social connections were about Fun Centre girls but these stories depicted extreme cases of sexual, physical and emotional violence and abuse. Both Fun Centre and non-Fun Centre girls told stories of abuse from in laws and immediate family members as well as husbands and boyfriends.

As illustrated in figure 24, for situations that are perceived as bad for girls (n=164), family and social connections are the most influential factor (64% or 105 stories). Stories that were tagged as Good for Girls are explored on the next slide.
T2. What makes things difficult for girls?

Lack of supportive relationships (social capital)

There are no substantial differences between stories from or about Fun Centre girls as compared to stories from or about non-Fun Centre girls. Within the set of 66 stories for which the lack of supportive relationships is the main factor making things difficult, we see a relatively higher percentage of stories related to education (45 stories or 68%) as well as about safety and security (35 or 53%).

In general, controlling for the visual pattern for each of the different topics (based on question M1) of stories, no substantial variations can be observed in the weight of lack of supportive relationships. However, for stories related to income, we can see a slight increase (26% or 21 stories) in the lack of supportive relationships as a key factor making things difficult (and 60% if the stories in the middle positions are taken into account). The majority are stories from girls that are not part of the Fun Centres (15 stories) and stories that are about girls not part of the non-Fun Centre (13 stories). The nature of these stories is described in the next slide.
The 21 stories from Girls about both Income and Lack of Supportive Relationships almost all relate to girls having to stop their education because of household poverty. This was true for girls at different levels of education, from young adolescents to women attending college.

Two stories told of girls struggling to stay in school because of the cost of transportation, as their respective schools were not located near their homes.

Several of the stories mentioned the recent hardship in the haor villages due to flooding and the resulting loss of income.

A few stories mentioned families relocating to Dhaka in the hopes of earning more income.

Stories in this corner of the triad mention girls being involved in income earning activities that include: fishing; tailoring; working in the garment sector in Dhaka; raising poultry; farming; working at a soil mill; and housekeeping.

There is an expectation that the father and/or brothers in a household have the primary responsibility for earning income to support the family but that girls will contribute in times of family hardship.

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There is an expectation that the father and/or brothers in a household have the primary responsibility for earning income to support the family but that girls will contribute in times of family hardship.
Similar to the stories of girls, we see in stories shared by boys (n=162) that boys act in their own interest (44% +23%) more than in ways that were either helpful or harmful to girls. Approximately 2/3 of stories fall within the area of the triad where boys acted in their own interest/in a way that is harmful to girls. 7% of all boy respondents indicated strongly that boys in the stories acted in a way that was helpful to girls. A further 4% said that boys acted in a way that was equally helpful to girls and in the boy’s own interest. 17% of boys said that boys in the stories acted in a way that was harmful to girls.

Controlling for the stories that involved a boy, a girl’s brother, a girl’s husband or a romantic boyfriend, the percentage of stories where boys acted in their own interest increases to 54% while the proportion of stories where boys acted in a way that was harmful to girls decreased by half from 17% to 8%. The proportion of stories that related fairly equally to boys acting in their own interest and boys acting in a way that was harmful to girls increased slightly to 28%.

11% of stories (7%+4%) here related strongly or somewhat to boys being helpful to girls.
Fun Centre boys shared relatively more stories about boys being helpful to girls, while non-Fun Centre boys shared slightly more stories where boys acted in a way that was equally harmful and in their own interest (33% compared to 26% from BP boys).

The themes most strongly associated with responses in the ‘helpful to girls’ corner include: Family Relations; Marriage; and Safety/Security, suggesting that boys have an influential role in negotiating family matters and relationships. Boys were also somewhat helpful in relation to Education and Freedom to move around. For all other themes there was no association with boys acting in a way that was helpful to a girl.
Behaviour of boys in relation to girls

How are boys helping girls?
Most common themes tagged in the Helpful corner of T4
1) Family relations (30/45 stories, 67%)
2) Marriage (24/45 stories, 53%)
3) Safety/security (22/45 stories, 49%)
4) Education (20/45 stories, 44%)
5) Mobility (9/45 stories, 20%)

Many of the 45 stories did not explicitly mention a boy’s behaviour, so we assume that a boy was involved in the story but not as a central figure. Of the stories that did directly describe a boy’s helpful action, they related to the following situations:
Earning income to help pay for a sister’s school expenses in addition to general household survival
Intervening with others to stop early marriage
General (moral/non-financial) support for sister’s education
Intervening at school/college to stop other boys from harassing a sister

For stories situated in the centre of Triad 4, where all three concepts are equally important, these stories often related to girls eloping with their boyfriends.

There were no stories shared about boys helping with cooking or doing other household chores that would demonstrate boys taking on non-traditional gender roles in the home.

Figure 29: Distribution of all stories for T4, highlighting stories in which boys were helpful to girls (n=626)
Superstitions
My younger sister is very fond of bicycles and she wants to ride one. Though I was panicked to let her ride. Because I was thinking, what will people think about it? But later I drew courage in myself and taught her to ride. Many people said many things. But to me my sister stands first. Later in the Fun Center’s cycle race my sister came in first.
- BP boy aged 16-19, Mofiznagar

My own story
It is an event from around three months ago. There is a neighbourhood girl. I like that girl so much. I have tried in many ways to offer love to her but she has ignored that. I have talked to her when she goes to school. I used to tell her that I love you and I like you when we met in the village but she used to tell me I will not have an affair with you. She used to be irritated. But she never complained to anyone about me. Now I don't talk with her about this. But I still like her.
- non-BP boy aged 16-19, Islampur (Tarol Union)

Marry off with dowry
There was a girl living in our Borohati (village) in Chandipur who used to read with me in class eight. The father of that girl fixed her marriage to a groom from Dhaka. The girl did not agree to this marriage but later she agreed. But the marriage got broken up earlier because the father couldn't arrange one lac money as dowry, which the groom had demanded. But when the father arranged half of the amount the groom agreed to marry. Then the girl got married and she stopped going to school.
- Non-BP boy, aged 12-15, Chandipur

T4. In your story, boys act…

Figure 30: Pattern of triad T4 for all stories shared by boys (n=162) highlighting example stories
Of the 18 stories in which laws or rules influence the challenging situation for girls, some are related to formal institutions (police, legislation) but others also relate to informal rules that drive people’s behaviour. The proportions of stories respectively about Fun Centre and non-Fun Centre girls aligned roughly with their prevalence as protagonists within the story set.

A boy used to offer to have a relationship with my friend on her way to school. One day she was going to school with her father but that boy did not notice her father. Then he came to her to talk and her father noticed that. Then her father brought her home by beating her on the way. The reason was that she had talked with that boy. After that incident she was married at 16 years old.

- Non-BP girl, aged 16-19, Chandipur

A 15 year old girl had an affair with a boy but after some time she felt that he was not a good guy. So she refused to continue the relationship. After this that boy kidnapped her. In the mean time that girl called her family and was saved. But people started to ask questions. They were saying he eloped with this girl, that she was not a good girl. This girl was a member of the Fun Center and used to take part in dramas at the center. As she was an actress people used to talk badly about her. The boy who kidnapped her was the son of an influential person. He bribed that girl’s father to shut their mouths and to never talk about this matter. That family agreed to it and stopped her studies and got her married. Later EVAW Forum people spoke with the girl’s parents and locked that boy up in prison for 2 months.

- BP girl, aged 16-19, Polok

A boy used to offer to have a relationship with my friend on her way to school. One day she was going to school with her father but that boy did not notice her father. Then he came to her to talk and her father noticed that. Then her father brought her home by beating her on the way. The reason was that she had talked with that boy. After that incident she was married at 16 years old.

- Non-BP girl, aged 16-19, Chandipur
Girls see the lack of skills and knowledge as an important factor for challenging situations related to marriage, romantic relationships and menstruation.

The lack of knowledge and skills is seen as the most important factor that makes things difficult for stories about marriage (30% of the stories are situated in the corner ‘lack of skills and knowledge’) and especially romantic relationships (45% of stories are situated in the corner ‘lack of skills and knowledge’).

For all 6 stories about menstruation, girls indicate that the lack of skills and knowledge makes things difficult for girls (see story examples on the next slide).

There is no difference between stories from or about Fun Centre girls or stories from or about non-Fun Centre girls.

In the 72 stories for which the lack of skills and knowledge is the main factor making things difficult, we see a very high proportion of stories related to education (50 stories of the 72 stories (70%) are related to education).

An exploration into these stories learns that the lack of skills or knowledge was sometimes associated with stories about girls leaving school (either voluntarily or due to poverty or marriage), or about others’ lack of knowledge. Stories from girls in this corner of the triad also related to young couples eloping, or problems within young people’s marriages.
T2. What makes things difficult for girls?

- **Female Illness**
  
  I had my period for the first time of my life. I wasn't informed about it before this. I had no idea about it. When in the morning I found out my situation I hid in the house for hours. I was crying and was going to the washroom. I thought that I've been suffering from a deadly disease. I passed the whole day like this. Later my sister found out about it and told me that this happens to every woman so why are you crying. Then she taught me what to do. But that fear I can't forget.
  
  - BP girl aged 12-15, Polok

- **There is no shame in menstruation**
  
  She started menstruation when she was in class five. She was really shocked. Then she told this to her sister-in-law. She told her that it was normal and told her not to be scared. She told her mother as well. Her mother also told her the same thing and suggested her to use rags. She also told her that it shouldn't be shown to a male. And that cloth will have to be cleaned with soap but should be dried up in a way so that no one sees it. Sometimes her studies stop as well. At first she used to think of it as a curse. Tipping Point's sisters discussed many things with her. Now she doesn't feel the shame.
  
  - BP girl aged 16-19, Kaminipur

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Figure 33: Pattern of triad T2 for all stories shared by girls, highlighting stories for which knowledge and skills are making things difficult for girls (n=321) including example stories about menstruation.
T8. What are girls seeking in their stories?

Out of these three options, the majority of girls in the stories were seeking dreams, aspirations, opportunities (44%). There are no substantial differences between stories from Fun Centre Girls and non-Fun Centre girls as well as for stories about Fun Centre girls and about non-Fun Centre girls.

Dreams & aspirations vs self-confidence

Aspiration: Across all experiences shared, there is a relatively high correlation ($r=0.34$) between experiences that are influenced by self-confidence and those that girls are driven by dreams or aspirations. Figure 35 below shows the contour map of the X-Y plot for these two dimensions (self-confidence vs dreams/aspirations) for all stories in which Fun Centre girls appear and stories in which non-Fun Centre girls appear. We can see that in all stories in which Fun Centre girls appear, there is a higher probability of girls seeking dreams & aspirations (as compared to Non-Fun Centre girls) and a slightly higher tendency towards more influence of self-confidence and girls seeking dreams, aspirations or opportunities.

Figure 34: Pattern of triad T2 all stories shared by girls, highlighting stories for which knowledge and skills are making things difficult for girls (n=321)

Figure 35: X-Y plot (contour map) comparing influence by self-confidence (T1) in relation to how dreams/aspirations are driving girls' behaviour (T8).
Analysis of the stories about Fun Centre girls and about non-Fun Centre girls
(upper right quadrant figure 35)

Stories about Fun Centre Girls (37 stories)
Of the 37 stories about Fun Centre girls related to behaviour driven by Dreams/Aspirations and related to Self-confidence, 22 (60%) were categorised as being Socially Acceptable. Of these 22 stories, 21 were about Education, often telling of girls overcoming challenges in order to stay in school or to achieve a longer term goal. 14 stories were about both themes of Education and Income together. 7 stories were indexed as being about Education, Income and Family Relations together.

Challenges girls in the stories faced included: avoiding early marriage; overcoming poverty to pay for school fees; relocating to Dhaka with a relative; refusing boys who want to have romantic relationships; ignoring harassment/Eve teasing from boys.

Girls’ dreams included: becoming a school teacher or school headmistress; caring for family members; becoming a police officer; marrying a boy they loved; working as a government official

Several stories told of girls who faced an additional burden because of family members that were unable to work (e.g. a brother was injured in a workplace accident; an autistic sibling needed care). In these situations girls sometimes had to think less of their own goals and take on new responsibility for overall household wellbeing.

Stories from this quadrant in which girls acted independently or self-sufficient were seen positively and often necessary by storytellers. Two stories were seen as having outcomes that were Bad for the girl and 14 were seen as Good for the girl.

Stories about non-Fun Centre Girls (44 stories)
27 of the 44 stories were indexed to being about both Education and Income. Similar to stories about Fun Centre girls, 14 of the 44 stories were about Education, Income and Family Relations together. 12 of the 44 stories were about Freedom to Move Around, which had not emerged as a notable theme for stories involving Fun Centre girls.

21 of the 44 stories were categorised as Good for the girl and 6 were Bad for the girl (14% compared to 5% of stories about Fun Centre girls)
T8. What are girls seeking in the story?

Non-Fun Centre girls tell stories about Fun Centre girls in which they are mainly seeking dreams, aspirations and opportunities!!

Non-Fun Centre girls tell stories about non-Fun Centre girls with a distribution spread between seeking safety/protection and dreams/aspirations/opportunities.

Figure 36: Pattern of triad T8 for stories from non-Fun Centre girls telling stories about Fun Centre girls (n=17)
T8. What are girls seeking in the story?

Safety / Protection
For over a quarter of situations, girls are seeking **safety and protection** (27%).
Not surprisingly, stories that are perceived as good for girls are less represented in the safety/protection corner (15%) as compared to those stories that are perceived as bad for girls (28%).

We can observe a general tendency that for situations shared by non-Fun Centre girls or that are about non-Fun Centre girls, girls are seeking more safety and protection (30%) as compared to stories shared from Fun Centre Girls or about Fun Centre girls (23%). We see this especially for stories about a **Girl’s honour**, **Freedom to move around** and **Safety/security**.

**Stories about safety/security**
For stories about safety and security we see a higher percentage of stories situated in the corner of seeking safety/protection for stories from / about non-Fun Centre girls (43% of the stories) as compared to stories from/about Fun Centre girls (30-34%).
*This could mean that non-Fun Centre girls feel less safe and secure.*
Analysis of the stories told by or about non-Fun Centre and Fun Centre girls for which girls in the story are seeking safety/protection (see figure 37). Stories from both groups reveal similar issues and relate to:

- fear and misunderstanding about menstruation;
- stopping school due to poverty, and a subset about moving to Dhaka or Sylhet so family members could find work;
- rape and sexual assault, by family members, strangers and boys known to the girls
- harassment on the way to school;
- underage girls married because of poverty;
- physical and/or verbal abuse by cousins, in-laws, father, stepfather
- household desperation due to flooding
- rejecting boys’ romantic propositions
- getting Fun Centre help in stopping an underage marriage

In general, while the stories about and from Fun Centre and non-Fun Centre girls are very similar, stories about FC girls did not discuss the more extreme forms of violence and abuse (rape; physical and verbal abuse) raised in stories about non-Fun Centre girls.

Left village for work
The girl had to stop studying at the age of 13, while she was reading in class three, due to financial crisis of her family. After that she used to stay in the house. This year’s flood has taken their land and now they have nothing to eat. 20-25 days ago their whole family migrated to Sylhet.
- BP girl aged 16-19, Gopalpur

Making trouble
A 17 year old girl didn't continue school after completing class three because of closing that school. She didn't go to any other school, either. She didn't want to study anymore. That's why she started to stay at home. She used to read in the Mosque then. Now, her family is trying to get her to marry. Sometimes she visits her older sisters' residence. A boy wants to talk with her there. During the last three to four months that boy has been proposing love to her. The girl has refused him though he followed her to her house. Being afraid, the girl doesn't share it with anybody.
- BP girl aged 16-19, Nachni

Dowry
Dowry was demanded before the wedding of the girl. She and her family didn't protest it at all. They gave twenty thousand taka and a certain amount of gold (one and half \textit{bhori}) as dowry. Because they and everyone here believe that a wedding is not possible without dowry in the Hindu society. You must give dowry here. Her family gave money by taking a loan with interest. Still that loan is not cleared.
- BP girl aged 16-19, Bowshi

Father and daughter
This is a story of a Hindu girl from our area. She was 13 years old. She was the oldest daughter in the family. She has two brothers and sisters. One day her mother and siblings went to her maternal grandmother's place and she went to bring the cows home in the evening. That time her father followed her and rape her. Later, local people informed the police and he was taken into custody. Later she and her family left this place. We don't know what happened next.
- Non-BP girl aged 12-15, Islampur (Behely Union)
Question D4 asked about the feeling of safety/security of girls in the stories shared. We observe that for the stories shared by girls, the majority of the girls feel extremely unsafe or insecure (as the green median line suggests). For 106 of the stories (33%) shared by girls, girls feel extremely unsafe and insecure. This is the highest percentage compared to stories from parents and boys.

**D4. How safe/secure do girls feel?**

![Figure 38: Pattern of dyad D4 for all stories shared by girls (n=325)](image-url)
Safety and security

D4. How safe/secure do girls feel?

The general trend for all stories from girls is leaning towards ‘feeling unsafe / insecure’. We can see however (based on the position of the green median line) that for both stories from Fun Centre Girls and stories about Fun Centre girls, girls feel slightly less unsafe and insecure than girls in stories from non-Fun Centre Girls or about non-Fun Centre girls.
Based on the figures above, we can clearly see a difference between Fun Centre Girls and non-Fun Centre girls. The median of the stories from non-Fun Centre Girls about non-Fun Centre girls leans towards ‘extremely unsafe and insecure’ (median=24.5) while we see an almost perfectly balanced trend line (median=49) for the stories from Fun Centre Girls telling stories about Fun Centre Girls.

The stories from non-Fun Centre girls about non-Fun Centre girls in which girls feel most extreme unsafe and insecure (median towards the far left) are related to **Girl’s honour** (22 stories), **Safety/security** (31 stories), **Violence** (13 stories) and **Marriage** (36 stories). In all situations, girls in these stories feel much more unsafe than similar topics in stories from Fun Centre girls about Fun Centre Girls.
Safety and security

Girls’ feeling of safety & security versus being in control over what happened in their story

The stories from Fun Centres girls about Fun Centre girls demonstrate a much stronger sense of ‘control over what happened’ in relation to feeling safe and secure (see figure 20). The contour lines represent probability densities of where experiences are most likely to occur. We can see a clear correlation between stories in which girls feel extremely unsafe and insecure and stories for which girl have no control over what happened. For girls of the Fun Centre that tell stories about Fun Centre girls, we can also see that there is higher probability of experiences in which girls feel safe and secure and in control over what happened. In other words, non-Fun Centre girls do not display nearly as much ‘control over what happened’ even when stories are about feeling safe and secure.

Analysis of the 25 stories from and about Fun Centre girls shows that 80% (n=20) were considered Socially Acceptable and only 20% (n=5) were deemed Socially Unacceptable. Of these 5 Unacceptable stories, 2 related to girls playing football and the other 3 were about girls making decisions about relationships, stopping school or migrating. Socially Acceptable stories spoke about girls’ perseverance in resisting marriage or eve teasing and pursuing their education, as well as managing menstruation and financially supporting their families.
A small subset of about 25 stories demonstrated how **social media platforms** are emerging as new tools for harming girls through online shaming and bullying, effectively extending the public domain to potentially damage a girl’s reputation in order to manipulate her. **Mobile phones** are also facilitating secret romantic relationships between girls and boys, generating concern from parents about the possible impact on a girl’s reputation and honour within the community. Stories about the dangers of mobile phones and social media came from a cross-section of villages and only stories from Nachni and Gopalpur villages contained no references to video, internet, Facebook, video or phones.

**Love Marriage**

There are some early marriages happening in my village. The opportunity for getting close is increased now by the spreading use of mobile phones. In my own village an adolescent boy and girl got engaged in an affair. The parents have nothing to do if their child has affairs. They arrange a marriage out of fear about their reputation. One thing, it is early marriage and moreover, it is love marriage, so they don't make a big arrangement. Someone could inform the police. Later we heard that they arranged that marriage on their own. And the boy and the girl are living happily now.
- non-BP father, Kaminipur

**Life story of a girl**

A girl in class six was having an affair for two years with a class nine student. One day the boy rented a boat to spend some time with that girl. Two of his friends were with them. There the boy forcefully made love with the girl and assured her of marriage. The other two boys made a video of that moment. Later they blackmailed the girl to have a physical relationship and threatened to spread the video on the internet. The girl refused to do so and they uploaded the video. Then that girl told her family about it. Her father filed a case against those boys. The court gave a verdict to get them married at the legal age and the girl was compensated one **lak** taka and **3 shotoks** of land. After that the boy left for Dhaka and the girl stopped studying. Though everyone tried to convince her to start studying again, she doesn't want to.
- BP girl aged 12-15, Mofiznagar
5.2 Agency of girls

T5. In your story, the girl does...

There is a clear indication that in a majority of situations girls do what they are told to do (22% + 32%) or do what they think people expect them to do (22% + 14%). Especially younger girls share relatively more situations about girls who do what they are told to do (34%).

There is also a distinct group of situations in which girls do what they want to do (17% or 54 stories).

Compared to stories from Fun Centre girls, we see a slight tendency for stories from non-Fun Centre girls that they share stories in which girls do less what they want (15% compared to 20%) while there is a slight increase in stories in which girls do what they are told to do (35% compared to 32%) or do what they think people expect them to do (15% compared to 12%).

There is no remarkable difference for stories about Fun Centre Girls and non-Fun Centre Girls.

When parents are involved in the stories, the majority of girls feel that they need to do what they are told to do.
For situations that are perceived as good for girls, girls do less what they think is expected from them and what they are told to do (43%) as compared to situations that are perceived as bad for them (73%). The difference is less prominent for the stories in which girls do what they want to do. For 26% of the situations perceived as good for girls indicate that girls do what they want as compared to 16% for situations perceived as bad for girls.
Girls have limited ways in which they can express agency and take decisions for themselves, often constrained by heavy parental controls that seek to protect a girl’s honour but that can have the unintended effect of prompting girls to take extreme actions. For T7, stories strongly indexed to the corner of “let a girl do what she wants” also mostly related to girls’ romantic relationships and to parents’ eventual acceptance of these relationships and love marriages. A smaller number of stories in this corner of the two triads also told about parents respecting girls’ wishes about whether to stop or continue going to school.

Most common themes tagged with girls doing what they want:
1) Marriage
2) Education
3) Family relations
4) Romantic relationships (much higher for T5 than for T7; associated with 43% of stories in this corner in T5 compared to 29% for T7)

➢ See next slide for more details on these stories

Although Income was not selected as one of the most common themes tagged with girls doing what they want, stories about money, earning income, and household poverty were common to the stories in this corner and so an overview of these stories has been included in the analysis on the following slides.
Agency of girls
Most common themes tagged for ‘girls doing what they want’

MARRIAGE
Eloping and love marriages: By far, the most common type of story associated with girls doing what they wanted was to elope with a boyfriend and/or pursue a love marriage without the consent or approval of family.

- Rejecting boys’ propositions and marriage: Girls that rejected boys’ attention or harassment were seen as noble and strong and as having higher interests such as going to school rather than having an affair. Very few stories in this corner of the two triads were shared about a girl resisting her parents’ wish for her to get married early.

EDUCATION

- Dropping out of school: For some girls, they were not interested in continuing their education out of lack of interest, often combined with poor academic performance.
- Continuing education: Other girls persevered to overcome resistance from within their own families (especially from fathers) and continue their education.

FAMILY RELATIONS

- Taking care of family responsibilities after death or incapacitation of parent(s); eloping; domestic abuse by a girl’s husband; parents’ support for education; not being able to afford dowry

ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS

- Eloping, having affairs; domestic abuse by a girl’s husband; parents forcing a girl to wait to get married; interfaith (Hindu-Muslim) relationships; parents accepting or rejecting love marriage (a lot of overlap with stories indexed to Family Relations)

INCOME

- One path to independence and to household survival was for girls to take on income generating activities or to relocate to an urban centre such as Dhaka, Sylhet, or Chittagong where they could work in the garment sector. For girls who had to drop out of school due to poverty, working was seen to be the only alternative to getting married and as a way to support family members. Stories of girls doing what they want related to income included those where girls had to earn money to provide for the whole household and so the decision to work was more of a necessity than a choice.

UNIQUE STORIES ABOUT GIRLS DOING WHAT THEY WANT

- Playing sports: In one story, a girl went ahead and played football at a TP sports event even though her family had denied her permission to participate. Despite this defiance, her family saw afterwards that it was not such a bad thing for girls to play football
- Reporting VAW: Taking action to report physically violent husbands and in laws
- Extreme coping mechanisms: A very small number of stories told of girls taking extreme actions during times of distress, such as taking an overdose of pills in a suicide attempt, or even successfully committing suicide when they felt they had no alternatives
There is a high correlation ($r=0.49$) between stories for which self-confidence is an influencing factor and stories for which girls do what they want (T5). Figure 46 clearly shows that in situations where self-confidence is not an influencing factor of the situation, girls are also not doing what they want to do.

There is no remarkable difference between stories from/about Fun Centre Girl and stories about/from non-Fun Centre Girls.

Figure 46: X-Y plot (contour map) comparing influence by self-confidence (T1) in relation to ‘girl does what she wants (T5) (n=235)
Similar to all other respondent groups, boys tended to see girls as not having control over the situations described in boys' stories. Non-BP boys indicated that girls had slightly more control overall than BP boys.

Figure 48 shows that boys perceived that girls had the highest degree of control over stories that involved a romantic boyfriend (n=54) more than any other type of actor in the stories.
5.3 Stories that were good for girls (positive stories)

Stories about Fun Centre girls
Stories about Fun Centre girls that were indexed to being ‘Good for a Girl’ spoke of a variety of situations in girls’ lives. Stories about FC girls were more likely to include examples of family support for girls’ rights and ambitions when compared to stories about non-Fun Centre girls. Family support for FC girls took various forms such as: investing in her education through taking loans or paying for school expenses through parents’ or a sibling’s labour; confronting boys and men that were harassing girls; and encouraging girls to have professional aspirations.

ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS AND MARRIAGE
Community stopped older man from marrying young girl
Refusing boy’s proposition
Girl couldn’t continue school so was married off with good dowry
Early marriages stopped
Family accepted a love marriage
Boy and girl collaborated to resist families’ pressure to get married

INCOME
Girl learned sewing skills from parents and provides for family
Sister works as a tailor to pay educational costs
Poor girl supported with reduced school costs and she does tutoring to pay for her own expenses
Girls earning money through tutoring other students
Girl decided to go to Dhaka to earn enough money for school and to have a better life, avoiding marriage
Father took loan from village co-op to pay her school costs

LESS FREQUENT STORY THEMES
• MOBILITY/SAFETY: Brother of girl intervened to stop harassment at college
• MENSTRUATION/FAMILY RELATIONS: Learning about menstrual management; family using dowry money to pay for a girl’s medical treatment instead of her wedding
• FRIENDSHIP/GIRL’S HONOUR/MOBILITY: Girls joining up to defend another girl who was being harassed but who was afraid to tell her parents
• GIRL’S HONOUR/MOBILITY/FAMILY RELATIONS: Playing football despite others’ resistance
• FRIENDSHIP/FAMILY RELATIONS: Girl with minor disability now has friends and isn’t teased as much

My courage
Some guys used to disturb her on the way to college. They used to whistle and point at her and offer to make affairs. The first time she refused them. But one day they came by motorbike and blocked her way again to convince her to have an affair. She refused that time too, and then they threatened her, "It will not be good for you." After threatening they were gone. That girl then shared this with her family and all of the Fun Centre. They encouraged her. The brother of that girl went to her college one day. He talked with them and after that they never disturbed her again.

An adolescent girl who is victim of hardships
She is 15 years old. She reads in class 9. She is in second position among 3 sisters and 1 brother. She needs almost one hour to reach her school from home by walking. The financial condition of her family is not good. Her father is a fisherman. It is impossible for her father to run her family and pay educational expenses on his income. He took a loan from the village cooperative association at 10% interest to manage the necessary tools for her education. After all of this difficulty he is supporting his daughter so that she can study and build her life properly.
Stories that were good for girls (positive stories)

**Stories about non-Fun Centre girls**

For Non-Fun Centre girls, family members were more likely to provide financial/material support to ensure a girl’s dowry rather than to continue her education or to delay her marriage. Two ‘Good’ stories mentioned cases of people reaching out to TP staff to intervene and prevent early marriage of Non-Fun Centre girls.

**ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS AND MARRIAGE**

Girls being married off at an early age after they stopped going to school, sometimes involving birth certificate tampering

Community interventions to stop early marriages

Parents sold land and took loan to pay high dowry for daughter to marry public servant; family gave expensive furniture even though no dowry was demanded

Family accepted love marriage after couple eloped

Girl dropped out of school due to poverty, got married, and her parents paid a good dowry

Went to TP staff for help to prevent a marriage; involvement of EVAW, UNO

BRAC supported when a girl was rejected by her husband

**EDUCATION**

Pursuing school even though it’s far away

Studying at degree level

Got a scholarship to be able to continue going to school

Overcoming exam failure

Girl started wearing veil (burqa) after starting her period and was forced to obey her father and stop going to school

**INCOME**

Faked girl’s age so she could go work in Dhaka - older girl in large, poor family; others moved to Dhaka to earn money

Work in Chittagong in garments to support family

Supporting her family by teaching

**LESS FREQUENT STORY THEMES**

- **FRIENDSHIP/MENSTRUATION/HEALTH:** Learned about menstrual management
- **SAFETY/GIRL’S HONOUR/MOBILITY:** Family stopped eve teasing by boys but community still suspicious so she doesn’t travel alone; teacher stopped teasing; community arbitration processed stopped a boy from teasing a girl
- **VIOLENCE/FAMILY RELATIONS/EDUCATION:** Family member stopped a boy from assaulting a young girl
5.4 Recognition of girls from the Fun Centres as role models

Perception of good/bad Behaviour of Fun Centre girls

D2. In your story, do you believe that the girl behaves in a way that is …

Figure 49 shows that non-Fun Centre girls telling stories about Fun Centre Girls (17 stories) find the Behaviour of Fun Centre girls a very bad example for the other girls (note that this pattern is based on a very small number of stories!). This is entirely in line with the over-all pattern of stories shared by all girls. However, we can see a big difference with the stories that are shared by Fun Centre Girls about themselves. In these cases, the behaviour of girls is perceived as good examples (see figure 50).

D2. In your story, do you believe that the girl behaves in a way that is …

Figure 50: Pattern of question D2 for stories from Fun Centre girls about Fun Centre girls (n=86)
S1. The extent to which girls’ behaviour defies or conforms with traditions/social expectations

Girls that were not part of a Fun Centre that told stories about Fun Centre Girls (17 stories) indicated that the behaviour of girls is according to traditions and social expectations (note that this pattern is based on a very small number of stories – figure 51). This is entirely in line with the overall pattern of stories shared by all girls as well as the pattern of Fun Centre Girls telling stories about themselves (figure 52).

Figure 51: Pattern of question S1 for stories from non-Fun Centre girls about Fun Centre girls (n=17)

Figure 52: Pattern of question S1 for stories from Fun Centre girls about Fun Centre girls (n=86)
Stories from non-Fun Centre Girls about non-Fun Centre Girls (n=145) are much more strongly indicating that there is a correlation between defying traditions and social expectations and being a bad example (46 stories) compared to Fun Centre Girls telling stories about Fun Centre girls. The majority of stories from non-Fun Centre girls that are telling stories about Fun Centre Girls (17 stories) indicate that the behaviour of girls defying traditions and social expectations is also seen as a bad example. A few stories show that defying traditions and social expectations can also be seen as a good example for other girls. For Fun Centre girls telling stories about themselves, there is a stronger concentration of stories (35 stories) in which girls defy traditions and social expectations while being a good example for other girls.
Parents’ view of girls’ behaviour as good/bad examples

D2. In your story, do you believe that the girl behaves in a way that is …

Parents viewed the behaviour of Fun Centre girls more positively than they viewed the behaviour of non-Fun Centre girls.

There was no difference in the views of Boundary Partner and non-Boundary Partner adults in how they viewed girls’ behaviour as either a good or bad example for other girls.

Figure 54: Pattern of question D2 for stories from parents about non-Fun Centre girls (n=217)

Figure 55: Pattern of question D2 for stories from parents about Fun Centre girls (n=57)
D2. In your story, do you believe that the girl behaves in a way that is...

Overall, figure 56 shows that boys mainly find girls’ behaviour to be a bad example for other girls.

Boys’ views of girls that are “bad” examples tend to fall into one of two categories: girls that suffer hardship in life due to situations that are out of their control (forced into marriage, victims of Eve teasing, etc.); and those that willingly engage in behaviours such as dropping out of school and having romantic relationships outside of marriage.

Boys’ views of girls that exhibit “good” behaviours tend to conform to traditional gendered familial roles, such as working hard within the household and resisting the distraction of romantic relationships with boys.

One Fun Centre boy (story “Superstitions”) felt that a girl’s very non-traditional behaviour in learning to ride a bicycle was a good example.

Superstitions

My younger sister is very fond of bicycles and she wants to ride one. Though I was panicked to let her ride. Because I was thinking, what will people think about it? But later I drew courage in myself and taught her to ride. Many people said many things. But to me my sister stands first. Later in the Fun Center’s cycle race my sister came in first.

- BP boy aged 16-19, Mofiznagar
A handful of stories spoke directly about girls participating in cycling races (n=1) and football (n=4) activities organised by TP. Each of the stories described how a girl faced opposition from either family members and/or others in her community but she persevered anyway, sometimes with the strong support of a parent or sibling. Some of the stories also tell how after the activities took place, the community was more accepting of girls’ participation and the Fun Centre had an important role in helping people to realise that it was not bad for girls to do sports.

Although the activities were only mentioned in a small number of stories, this confirms findings from the qualitative work that they did have an effect of changing minds of community members and in empowering girls to play and compete in public.

For all 5 of these stories, the storytellers indicated strongly that the girl in the story was a Good Example for others and that these topics were part of Everyday Conversations in the communities. However, 3 of the 5 stories were also tagged as being about Socially Unacceptable behaviour, demonstrating that participating in sports is still a transgression of social norms for girls.

Storytellers also indicated that Self-confidence played a role in each of these 5 stories, to varying degrees ranging from having a moderate to very strong influence on the story outcomes.
6. Outcome 2:

*Parents value the voices, opinions and aspirations of adolescent girls.*

Main changes between parents of girls and boys who are Fun Centre members and parents whose children are not Fun Centre members.
OUTCOME 2 SUMMARY

• Parents’ behaviour in the stories is driven almost equally by financial considerations and family honour and only slightly by knowledge/information. Adult respondents told more stories about financial considerations when the girl in the story was a Fun Centre girl (51%) compared to when the girl in the story was not a Fun Centre participant (39%). Family honour was a more important driver of parents’ behaviour when the story involved a non-Fun Centre girl (24%) than when the girl in the story was a Fun Centre member (11%), indicating that parents perceive Fun Centre girls’ behaviour as less of a potential threat to family honour.

• The influence of men in the family is perceived by all respondents as being more dominant than women in the family. In stories about Fun Centre girls, mothers had relatively more influence over decision-making than in stories about non-Fun Centre girls. In stories about situations that are perceived as being bad for girls, men in her family have a stronger role in decision-making.

• In 40% of stories, parents tell a girl what to do, while in 13% of stories they behave according to others’ expectations, and in 7% of stories they let a girl do what she wants. Fathers share the highest percentage of situations in which they perceive that girls do what they want (15% of stories from fathers).

• Girls feel strongly that parents tell them what to do, especially for girls aged 12-15. In 10% of stories girls did what they thought others expected from them, rather than what their parents told them or what they wanted to do themselves. In 5% of stories girls did what they wanted to do without any influence from parents or others.

• Girls doing what they want is negatively correlated with parents telling the girl what to do, although for Fun Centre girls there is some convergence in girls doing what they want to do while also doing what parents tell them.

• Parents that were boundary partners indicated more than non-boundary partner parents that mothers in the stories behaved in non-traditional ways, which may suggest that mothers who participate in project groups or whose children participate in Fun Centre groups are adopting new and more progressive behaviours.

• In about half of girls’ stories, girls in the stories had little to no control over the outcome. This was especially true for stories about marriage, dowry, safety/security, household chores and violence. Girls felt they had much more in control in stories about romantic relationships.

• In 30% of stories about Fun Centre girls and told by Fun Centre girls (n=26) where parents appear, girls have direct control over the situation. This compares to 18% of stories about and from non-Fun Centre Girls in which girls have complete control over what happened, indicating that Fun Centre girls have a stronger sense of agency and control over their own lives even when parents are involved. This pattern is even stronger for stories related to the theme of Marriage, in which Fun Centre girls have a higher sense of control than do non-Fun Centre girls.
T3. In your story, what influences the behaviour of parents?

Financial considerations and Family honour are fairly equal in importance as influencing factors in determining parents’ behaviour in the stories.

Knowledge/Information was less important as a standalone factor (7%) in influencing parents’ behaviour.

Figure 57: Pattern of triad T3 for all stories (n=820)
What influence the behaviour of parents?
Stories from girls vs boys

T3. In your story, what influences the behaviour of parents?

Girls highlight both **financial considerations** as well as **family honour** as the two main factors influencing the behaviour of parents in the stories. Knowledge/Information is not seen as a crucial factor influencing the behaviour of patterns (9%).

**Younger girls** put much more emphasis on financial considerations (41%) than older girls (28%), while older girls indicate knowledge/information as a slightly more important factor (up to 20%).

Boys seem to highlight family honour as being slightly more important than girls did (highest of all respondents).
Adult respondents told more stories about **financial considerations** when the girl in the story was a **Fun Centre girl** (51%) compared to when the girl in the story was **not a Fun Centre participant** (39%).

**Family honour** was a more important driver of parents’ behaviour when the story involved a **non-Fun Centre girl** (24%) than when the girl in the story was a **Fun Centre member** (11%).
T6. In your story, who influences decision-making about the girl’s life?

Clearly people in the family are influencing the decision-making in girl’s life most.

The influence of men in the family (32%+25%) is perceived by all respondents as more dominant than women in the family (18%+25%).

There are particular situations (18%) were women in the family are deciding about what happens to girls.

Figure 62: Pattern of triad T6 for all stories (n=853)
Both mothers and fathers are clearly indicating that **men in the family** are more dominant in deciding about girl’s life than women in the family.
T6. In your story, who influences decision-making about the girl’s life?

For stories about **non-Fun Centre girls**, **men in the family** are more dominant in deciding about girl’s life than in stories about Fun Centre girls. In the latter, women in the family are more influencing the decision-making (26% instead of 18%).
Who influences decision-making about the girl’s life?
Stories about boundary partner and non-boundary partner mother & fathers

T6. In your story, who influences decision-making about the girl’s life?

Mothers from the group seem to indicate that women in the family have more influence on the girl’s life than non-group members.

Fathers from the groups seem to indicate that men in the family have more influence on girls’ life than non-group fathers!
Who influences decision-making about the girl’s life? For stories that good or bad for girls

Figure 69: Pattern of triad T6 for stories in which the situation is good for girls (all respondents) (n=146)

Figure 70: Pattern of triad T6 for stories in which the situation is bad for girls (all respondents) (n=438)

For stories in which the situation is good for girls, women are more influencing the decision-making about the girl’s life (26% instead of 17%) as compared to stories in which the situations were bad for girls. In the latter, is the dominance of men in the decision-making about the girl’s life in family very clear (54% instead of 39%).
Who influences decision-making about the girl’s life? 
Example stories for situation that were good for girls

T6. In your story, who influences decision-making about the girl’s life?

**Tale of a confident girl**
She is 16 and studies in class 9. She is very good at school. But because of financial problems her father doesn't want her to continue her studies. But her mother wants to continue her studies. When her father wanted to get her married her mother refused and told that she needs to continue her studies. She is ready to face every trouble for her daughter's education.
- BP Mother, Mofiznagar, about a Fun Centre girl

**Face the trouble**
Some boys used to tease and whistle and point at me. They continued for many days. Then I shared this with friends in my class. They got united and talked with those boys. They tried to make them understand through their cousins who were their sisters. Since then they stopped disturbing me. I didn't say anything to my parents because they would be worried.
- BP Girl aged 16-19, Kamalpur, about a Fun Centre girl

**Sending daughter to work due to poverty**
There are four daughters and one boy in my family. My daughter will be 16 but I have sent her to a job. She went to that job three months ago. I made her go to school up to class three and later I couldn't anymore. My brother lives in Chittagong and his daughters work there. Then, I thought my daughter can also work. That's why I have sent her there. She has been working for two months. She gives us 3000 taka every month.
- BP Father, Sarmangal, about a non-FC girl

Figure 71: Pattern of triad T6 for stories in which the situation is good for girls (all respondents) with example stories (n=146)
Who influences decision-making about the girl’s life?
Example stories for situation that were bad for girls

T6. In your story, who influences decision-making about the girl’s life?

**Secret marriage**
Parents pushed a 15 year old girl to get married but she refused. She tried to make her parents understand but they were not ready to accept her reasoning. Then that girl sought help from members of the EVAW forum. The parents temporarily stopped the marriage as the EVAW forum called police and journalists. But one year later they got her married secretly at the age of 16. And now that girl is ill.
- BP mother, Polok

**A girl’s fate is always deceiving**
My daughter is in a bad situation. She 17 years old and the sorrow of her life is never ending. My son-in-law is a kind of Mullah. He doesn't allow my daughter to step outside her house very often and he had married twice. My daughter has completed class seven four months ago. after that his father doesn't let her go to school. His father doesn't like females to go outside. I feel really bad for her and it’s not always possible for me to visit her. Now my little daughter is trapped.
- Non-BP mother, Nayalhat

**Stopping an early marriage**
The girl was 12 years old. The mother of that girl doesn't live with her father because her father used to abuse her. Her mother left her two brothers with the father when she left his house. Her father took the sons and and let her live with her mother. Her mother work as a day labourer to feed her. One day her mother asked her to wear a nice sari and told her that one of her uncles would come to visit. But at night her mother married her to that uncle who was far older than her. At 'Bashor' night local people beat the bridegroom because they couldn't stand the misdeed done. That man left that night but later her mother sent her to that man because he was very rich. After two months the girl went back to her mother because her husband physically abused her.
- Non-BP girl aged 16-19, Polok

Figure 72: Pattern of triad T6 for stories in which the situation is bad for girls (all respondents) with example stories (n=438)
Mothers seem to emphasise more than fathers that in many situations parents tell girls what to do (41% compared to 30%). For other situations, parents do what people expect them to do.

Fathers indicate that both expectations of people and telling girls what to do is at play (38% in the middle position).

Fathers also share the highest percentage of situations in which they perceive that girls do what they want (15% or 24 stories).
The dominant pattern for girls is that they find that parents **tell them what they should do** (44%+26%+11%). This is most outspoken for younger girls (55%). To a lesser extent, but still significant (10%+26%), girls indicate that parents do what people expect them to do. Only 5% of girls (19%) shared experiences for which parents let the girl do what she wanted.

There are no remarkable differences between stories from Fun Centre Girls and non-Fun Centre Girls as well as stories about Fun Centre Girls and non-Fun Centre Girls.

For stories about **education**, there is an increase in stories for which parents tell girls what to do (55% or 109 stories). If stories are about **non-Fun Centre girls**, this is 59% (68 stories) while for stories about **Fun Centre Girls it is lower** (45% or 33 stories) but there is however an increase in ‘parents do what they think people expect from them’. A less prominent but similar pattern is seen for stories from Fun Centre Girls and non-Fun Centre Girls. **Parents from non-Fun Centre girls seem to be more directive related to issues on education, as compared to Fun Centre girls.**

For stories related to **Marriage**, there are no notable differences between stories from Fun Centre Girls and non-Fun Centre Girls. There are too few stories about Fun Centre Girls related to Marriage to make comparisons.

For stories about **girls’ honour** by non-Fun Centre girls, parents tell the girls more what to do (56% or 22 stories) as compared to stories from Fun Centre Girls (48%).
Figure 76 compares situations in which parents tell girls what to do and in which girls do what they want. We see a similar dominant pattern in both situations: when parents tell the girl what to do, the majority of girls do not do what they want (slightly stronger pattern for non-Fun Centre Girls). However, for the Fun Centre girls that tell stories about Fun Centre Girls we also see a slight tendency (higher probability that those situations will occur) towards situations whereby girls do what they want even though parents tell the girls what to do (12 stories).
Girls’ control over what happens in situations where parents appear

D1. How much control did girls have over what happened in their stories?

For almost half of the stories, girls do not have control over the situation (the median clearly leans towards the right position). If we select only the stories in which fathers (240 stories) or mothers (232 stories) appear, there is no difference in the pattern.

In these stories were mothers and fathers appear in the story, we see that for stories about marriage, dowry, safety/security, household chores and violence girls have least control over what happens (median situated at the far right). Stories about education and freedom to move around correspond with the general pattern. For stories about a romantic relationship the median is positioned in the middle indicating that girls feel much more in control in these kind of situations.
D1. How much control did girls have over what happened in their stories?

![Graph showing control over what happened](image)

Comparing stories from Fun Centre Girls and non-Fun Centre girls, we can observe that Fun Centre girls that tell stories about Fun Centre girls shift towards having more control over the situation (the median line shifts towards the left). 30% or 26 stories from Fun Centre Girls (compared to 18% of the non-Fun Centre Girls) share stories in which girls have complete control over what happened.

There is a big difference in the pattern between stories about marriage from Fun Centre Girls (about Fun Centre Girls) – although only 17 stories in total - and stories about marriage from Non-Fun Centre Girls (about non-Fun Centre Girls) – 31 stories. Girls in the stories from Fun Centre Girls are much more in control of what happens (tendency towards the left position) compared to non-Fun Centre girls (far right position).

There is no difference for stories about education.
7. Outcome 3:

Social norms related to marriage (dowry expectations, perceptions of girls’ potential, and perceptions of marital relationships that promote hegemonic masculinity and ignore girls’ rights) are changing to be more supportive of girls and against early marriage.
OUTCOME 3 SUMMARY

1. Insights on norms related to Marriage, Dowry giving/receiving, Girls’ freedom to move around, Girls’ honour, and Romantic relationships.

The SenseMaker study explored social norms related to marriage using CARE’s SNAP tool in assessing the level of social acceptability of certain behaviours and the nature of social sanctions that may have resulted from those behaviours. This section presents findings for norms specifically related to Marriage, Dowry giving/receiving, Girls’ freedom to move around, Girls’ honour, and Romantic relationships.

2. Stories from and about boys

Outcome 3 findings also relate to perceptions of boys’ behaviour as it relates to girls’ opportunities and wellbeing. Girls predominantly said that boys in their stories were acting in their own interest, and to a lesser extent, acting in a way that was harmful to girls. Only about 10% of girls said that boys acted in a way that was helpful to the girl in their stories. Fun Centre girls had a more positive view of boys’ behaviour than non-Fun Centre girls. The stories about Fun Centre girls have a higher percentage of stories (13% or 8 stories) for which boys act in a way that is helpful for boys than those stories that are not about Fun Centre Girls (5% or 7 stories), indicating that Fun Centre Girls have slightly more positive experiences with boys. Boys are the only actors described consistently by all respondent groups as strongly defying traditions and social expectations. Considering that girls also described boys as mostly acting in their own interest or in ways that were harmful to girls, this suggests that boys’ patterns of non-traditional and deviant behaviour as expressions of masculinity within TP communities are important for understanding programmatic approaches for engaging boys as allies in supporting girls’ rights and advocating for equality.

3. Narrative analysis of stories about situations that were socially unacceptable

The final section of findings includes textual analysis of narratives that were tagged as being about situations that were Socially Unacceptable but Someone did or said something about it, i.e. there was some form of social sanctioning for unacceptable behaviour. Analysis is organised by the themes of Marriage/Family Relations, Education, and Safety/security, which were the most common themes tagged to this category of stories.
7.1 Insights on norms related to Marriage, Dowry giving/receiving, Girls’ freedom to move around, Girls’ honour, and Romantic relationships.

Selected topics in the stories: marriage, freedom to move around, girl’s honour, dowry and romantic relationships

Parents and boys tell much more stories related to marriage than girls. Over 50% of all stories from parents and boys are about issues related to marriage!

Girls tell more stories about girls’ honour than parents and boys

Fun Centre girls tell slightly more stories about marriage and romantic relationships compared to non-Fun Centre girls.
SUMMARY: MARRIAGE

Overall, for stories about issues related to marriage, the behaviour of girls is seen as a bad example for other girls. These stories show a behaviour of girls that is both defying traditions or expected behaviour or in line with traditions or expected behaviour. Whenever girls show behaviour (in relation to marriage) that is perceived as a good example for other girls, it is always in line with traditions or expected behaviour. There are only a few examples (10 stories) from parents and boys in which girls show behaviour that is perceived as a good example for other girls where traditions or social expectations are challenged.

Girls
For issues related to marriage, girls mainly indicate that they do what they are told (57% of the stories shared by girls). This is confirmed by the perceived behaviour of parents in relation to marriage. Girls say that they do what they are told by their parents for issues related to marriage (72% of the stories). This pattern is even more prominent for situations shared by Fun Centre Girls. There is a distinct group of girls that share stories in which girls do what they want (T5) (20% or 20 stories).

Parents and boys
Parents and boys that are Boundary Partners indicate more (compared to girls and non-Boundary Partners) that girls act upon what is expected from them (story pack of 25 stories). We observe an increase to 14% (compared to 8%) that only occurs for this group of respondents. To a lesser extent we see a similar pattern for the behaviour of parents in relation to stories about marriage. Tipping Point group members slightly (19% compared to 13%) indicate the option parents act upon as what they think is expected from them.

On the other hand, parents and boys that are not Boundary Partners find more that girls do what they want to do when it comes to issues related to marriage (32% compared to 23% from Tipping Point group members).

Parents and boys that are Tipping Point Boundary Partners seem to be more aware of the influence of expected behaviour for girls and parents than are non-Boundary Partners.
Fun Centre girls tell relatively more stories about Marriage in which the situation is seen as socially unacceptable and negatively sanctioned (54%) than stories about marriage from non-Fun Centre Girls (44%). This pattern is also confirmed comparing stories about Fun Centre Girls and about non-Fun Centre Girls.

Parents and boys tell slightly fewer stories related to Marriage that are about socially unacceptable events.
The majority of the girls indicate that in relation to marriage, girls do what they are told to do (26%+31%) as well as what is expected from them (8%+31%). There is no difference between Fun Centre Girls and non-Fun Centre Girls.

There is a distinct group of girls that share stories in which girls do what they want (20% or 20 stories)

Parents and boys seem to indicate that girls do more what they want when it comes to issues related to marriage (especially non-FC girls (30%) - while the influence from others that tell them what to do is less (compared to girls). This pattern is strongest for boys.

Parents and especially boys that are Boundary Partners indicate relatively more frequently that girls in the stories acted according to others’ expectations.
The majority of all girls, boys, and parents find that girls do what they are told by their parents when it comes to issues related to marriage. Girls indicated this most strongly.

Parents and boys indicate more than girls that for issues related to marriage, parents do what they think people expected form them (16% compared to 7%). These are mainly stories from parents and boys that are members of the Tipping Point Groups!!
When it comes to issues related to marriage, girls, parents and boys see the behaviour of girls mainly as a bad example for other girls (figure 85 and figure 86). The majority of the stories are situated in the lower side of the Y-axis. While the stories in which girls defy traditions or social expectations are almost 100% seen as as bad example for other girls, there are a few stories in which the behaviour of girls are seen as a good example if the behaviour is in line with traditions and social expectations.
SUMMARY: FREEDOM TO MOVE AROUND (GIRLS’ MOBILITY)

The majority of all girls, boys, and parents find that girls do what they are told by their parents when it comes to issues related to the freedom to move around. There is no difference between Tipping point group members and community members, and no difference between Fun Centre Girls and non-Fun Centre Girls.

When it comes to issues related to the freedom to move around, girls seem to hardly (10 stories) show behaviour that challenges traditions and social expectations. If they do, it is seen as a bad example.
## Behavior related to girls’ mobility: socially acceptable?

**M2. The situation described in my story is seen by my community as …**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M2SociallyAcceptable</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Non-Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Non-boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socially acceptable</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socially unacceptable but no one said or did anything about it</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socially unacceptable and someone did say or do something about it</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 87: Stories about freedom to move by girls (62 stories) and boys / parents (90 stories)*

20% of the stories from girls, parents ad boys are about the freedom to move around.

**Girls** share situations which are more socially acceptable than situations shared by parents.

**Boys and parents** share +40% situations about mobility of girls that are socially unacceptable and people say or do something about it.
The majority of all girls, boys and parents find that girls do what they are told by their parents when it comes to issues related to the freedom to move around. There is no difference between Tipping point group members and community members, and no difference between Fun Centre Girls and non-Fun Centre Girls.

Parents and boys indicate more than girls that for issues related to freedom to move around, parents do what they think people expected from them (22% or 17 stories compared to 6%). There is no difference between Tipping point group members and community members.
On freedom to move

Contour map of the X-Y plot: Behaviour of girls is defying/according to traditions or social expectations (S1) compared to Girls’ behaviour is seen as a bad / good example (D2)

![Figure 90: Stories from Girls (n=62)](image)

![Figure 91: Stories from boundary partner parents and boys (n=44)](image)

![Figure 92: Stories from non-boundary partner parents and boys not part of TP groups (n=22)](image)

**Girls** see the behaviour of girls mainly as **according to traditions or social expectations and this is seen as both good and bad example for other girls**. There is no difference between Fun Centre girls and non-Fun Centre girls. When it comes to issues related to the freedom to move around, girls seem to hardly (10 stories) show behaviour that challenges traditions and social expectations. If they do, it is seen as a bad example.

Although the total numbers are small, we can observe a difference between parents and boys that are part of Tipping Point groups and community members. The majority of the **parents and boys (50%)** from the Tipping Point groups are seeing girls following traditions and social expectations as a bad example for other girls (22 stories) while **community members** (not member of the Tipping Point groups) see girls behaving according to traditions and social expectations as a good example for girls while behaving against traditions and social expectations is seen as a bad example for other girls.
SUMMARY: GIRL’s HONOUR

Overall, girls tell many more stories about a girl’s honour (25%) than parents and boys do (15%). When parents and boys tell stories about girl’s honour, they are clearly socially unacceptable. Girls describe more situations related to girl’s honour which they find socially acceptable (about 20%).

Stories from parents and boys show some dramatically different patterns in how they perceive girls’ agency as it relates to a girl’s honour. Boys and parents assign girls a much higher level of agency in doing what she wants to do rather than what she is told to do for stories relating to honour.

While girls saw parents as being more directive in telling a girl what to do, parents and boys saw parents as being more influenced by other people’s expectations and letting a girl do what she wants.
Overall, girls tell many more stories about a girl’s honour (25%) than parents and boys (15%).

When parents and boys tell stories about girl’s honour, they are clearly socially unacceptable and people did say or do something about it.

Girls describe situations on girl’s honour which they find socially acceptable (20-21%). There is no notable difference between Fun Centre Girls and non-Fun Centre Girls, except that Fun Centre girls tell more stories in which the situation is slightly more socially unacceptable and people said or did something about it, than the stories told by non-Fun Centre girls.
Girls’ stories about a girl’s honour mostly relate to a girl doing what is expected or what she is told to do, or a combination of the two (27% + 24% + 24% = 75%).

Stories from parents and boys show some dramatically different patterns in how they perceive girls’ agency as it relates to a girl’s honour.

17% of the stories from girls about a girl’s honour related strongly to a girl doing what she wanted to do. Compared to stories from parents and boys, in which the proportion was double (35%) that said a girl did what she wanted to do in a story about girl’s honour.

While girls indicated that 24% of stories related to a girl doing what she was told to do, only 8% of parents and boys (one-third of the number of girls) said the same!

Boys and parents assign girls a much higher level of agency in doing what she wants to do rather than what she is told to do for stories relating to honour.
Similar to the patterns shown in the previous slide, girls have a very different perspective on the nature of girls’ agency in their stories, compared to parents and boys.

For this triad, **47% of girls indicated that in their stories parents told a girl what to do.** Only half of this proportion of boys and parents said that parents told a girl what to do. In 16% of stories from parents and boys, they said that **parents let a girl do what she wants,** compared to only 8% of girls who said the same.

Parents and boys placed greater importance on parents doing what they thought other people expected (31%) than girls did (19%).

**While girls saw parents as being more directive in telling a girl what to do, parents and boys saw parents as being more influenced by other people’s expectations and letting a girl do what she wants.**
Girls and parents/boys responded in very similar ways in terms of how they viewed girls’ behaviour as good/bad and defying/conforming with traditions. 28% of girls and 30% of parents/boys shared stories where girl’s behaviour was seen as a good example (in the top half of the quadrant). Overall, 6% of stories were about girls who were a good example to others and who exhibited behaviour that defied traditions and expectations, whereas 23% of stories were about girls who were a good example and who behaved according to traditions and expectations.

*Note that of the 82 stories from girls about Girls’ honour, for 29 of the stories (35%) girls did not give permission to share their story anonymously, compared to an overall rate of 12% for girl respondents, indicating heightened sensitivity about the issue of girls’ honour.
**Play football**

I am the only person who plays football from the Islampur village Fun Centre. At first when they were writing down names of who wanted to play football my parents, brother and sister, everybody was stopping me. They asked me not to give my name. They told me boys play football. Why will you play this game? Then I tried a lot to convince them and at last they let me play football. I played football three times in Sylhet Bhangadoho College field. Since then our village people started to gossip about me. They said that this girl has been so bad, she plays football in front of so many men. At the beginning there was a big problem. But now it has been reduced after learning about this Fun Centre.

- BP girl aged 12-15, Islampur (Tarol union)

**Unwanted incident**

When the girl was reading in class 8 she started an affair with a boy from the next village. She was 15 to 16 years old that time. It lasted for a long time. They used to see each other but with time they started to make love. In this process she became pregnant. When local people found out about this he fled the village and went to Dhaka. The villagers arranged an arbitrator and things were settled for 10,000 taka which was taken for her marriage. Later she was married to another man.

- non-BP girl aged 16-19, Nayalhat

Figure 100: Stories from girls about a girl’s honour (n=82)
SUMMARY: DOWRY

Boundary Partners (girls, boys and parents) are more critical about dowry compared to non-boundary partner members.

From the limited number of stories about dowry (43 stories in total), the main issues that respondents find socially unacceptable are:

- The bad situation in which married girls end up even though all dowry arrangements were made
- The physical and mental torture by the family in law in those cases where dowry is not (sufficiently) paid (especially in the stories from parents)
There is only a limited number of stories about dowry (5% of the stories or 43 stories in total).

Girls only told 13 stories about dowry! Fun Centre girls tell relatively more stories (7 stories) about dowry that are socially unacceptable compared to non-Fun Centre girls (6 stories). This pattern is based on a very small number of stories, 13 stories in total, of which 7 are from Fun Centre Girls and 6 from non-Fun Centre girls.

Parents and boys told 30 stories about dowry. Parents and boys that are part of the Tipping Point groups tell more stories about dowry that are socially unacceptable as compared to parents and boys not part of the Tipping Point groups.

Related to dowry it seems that boundary partners (girls, boys and parents) are more critical about dowry compared to non-boundary partners.
Stories that were tagged as socially unacceptable by the respondents

**Narrative analysis Stories by Fun Centre girls – socially unacceptable (6 stories)**
- Three other stories talk about unfaithful husbands or husbands that left the house after being married.
- Two stories talk about a wedding that is closed or a girl that is taken away by the parents because the husband is not able to care for the girl financially or does not treat the girl well (physically abuse).
- One story talks about a husband asking for more dowry after spending the first amount, and left the wife after no more dowry was given by the family in law.

**Parents and boys – socially unacceptable (15 stories)**
- Most stories (7 stories) are about situations where girls are beaten and mental tortured by parents in law or send back to their family because they did not pay the dowry or are demanding much more dowry after marriage.
- In three other stories, the dowry was paid as agreed, but girls are now having a hard life after marriage. Mental and physical torture in the marriage by the family in law and nothing can be done.
- Two stories whereby no dowry had to be paid and father of the girl arranged for a good bridgegroom by the boys’ family.
- Other stories talk about not willing to be dowry in early marriage because the girl had a previous affair with the boy or because parents arranged a marriage with mentally disabled person.
SUMMARY: ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS

There is a general feeling by all groups that situations that involve romantic relationships are seen as socially unacceptable. However, non-Fun Centre girls tell relatively more stories about romantic relationships that are socially acceptable.

Responses from girls, parents and boys confirm that romantic relationships are outside the acceptable norms of behaviour for girls, and are situations where girls are less open to influence from other people’s expectations.

In stories from girls about romantic relationships, girls’ behaviour was seen almost exclusively as defying traditions and social expectations.
There is a general feeling by all groups that situations that involve romantic relationships are seen as socially unacceptable. For the majority of the situations people also said or did something about it.

However, non-Fun Centre girls tell relatively more stories about romantic relationships that are socially acceptable (21% or 24 stories). See slides in the section ‘Socially unacceptable stories’ below for more details on textual analysis of socially unacceptable stories.
Girls and parents/boys saw other people’s expectations as having little influence on girls’ behaviour related to Romantic relationships (8% and 6%).

About half of girls indicated that in stories about romantic relationships, a girl did what she wanted to do, compared to 58% of parents and boys. For all story themes, girls had indicated that in 19% of stories a girl did what she wanted; when filtered for romantic relationships, girls’ responses increased dramatically to 49% of stories where a girl did what she wanted to do.

Girls still indicated that a girl did what she was told to do (35%) more than parents and boys did (17%+4%).

Responses from girls, parents and boys confirm that romantic relationships are outside the acceptable norms of behaviour for girls. In these situations, girls are less open to influence from other people’s expectations and are more likely to act of their own volition in defiance of social expectations.
The strongest pattern in stories about Romantic relationships from girl respondents was parents telling the girl what to do (44%). However, parents and boys only indicated that parents told girls what to do in 13% of stories about this theme.

For parents and boys, the largest cluster of stories about romantic relationships related to parents equally doing what others expected and telling a girl what to do (36%). The influence of social expectations seems stronger here for parents and boys than it is for girls.

The corner of triad T5 (Girls’ behaviour, see previous slide) related to “a girl doing what she wants to do” is not mirrored in this triad T7 about parents’ behaviour, where we might have expected similar responses in the corner of parents “let a girl do what she wants”. This seems to be an important distinction, that in T5 perhaps girls were not seeking permission for their actions, while for this triad that corner implies a permissiveness on the part of parents.
On romantic relationships

Contour map of the X-Y plot: ‘Behaviour of girls is defying/according to traditions or social expectations’ (S1) compared to Girls’ Behaviour is seen as a bad / good example (D2)

In stories from girls about romantic relationships, girls’ behaviour was almost exclusively seen as defying traditions and social expectations (80%, left half of Figure 107).

Responses from parents and boys are somewhat more dispersed, with 9% of stories showing good behaviour from girls (top half of Figure 108). 78% of stories from parents are boys for this theme are concentrated in the quadrant where girls’ behaviour was a bad example and where girls defied traditions and expectations.
Muslim girl and Hindu boy
I will talk about one of my friends. She was very close to me. She had an affair with a Hindu boy. That boy lives in Sylhet. She used to share everything with me. Four months earlier she told me that her menstruation had stopped. Then I said to her, let’s go to a doctor. But she didn't go that day. After a few days she ran away with that boy. After a few days that boy posted a picture with my friend on Facebook and everybody came to know about them. Her mother made a case against that boy. After this my friend never came back. Now she lives in Sylhet.
- BP girl aged 16-19, Nayalhat

Figure 109: Stories about romantic relationships from girls, parents and boys (n=165)
SUMMARY: STORIES FROM AND ABOUT BOYS

Girl respondents predominantly said that boys in their stories were acting in their own interest, and to a lesser extent, acting in a way that was harmful to girls. Only about 10% of girls said that boys acted in a way that was helpful to the girl in their stories. Fun Centre girls had a more positive view of boys’ behaviour than non-Fun Centre girls. For 50% of the stories shared by Fun Centre Girls, boys were acting in their own interest, compared to 40% of non-Fun Centre Girls (40%). Non-Fun Centre girls find boys slightly more acting harmful to girls than Fun Centre girls (30%, compared to 24%). The stories about Fun Centre girls have a higher percentage of stories (13% or 8 stories) for which boys act in a way that is helpful for boys than those stories that are not about Fun Centre Girls (5% or 7 stories), indicating that Fun Centre Girls have slightly more positive experiences in terms of the behaviour of boys.

Similar to overall patterns in the data set, boys felt that girls, mothers, fathers and other adults in the stories behaved in ways that conformed with traditional behaviours and social expectations. Also mirroring the larger data set, boys indicated strongly that boys were the only subgroup that behaved in ways that defied traditions and expectations. Also, in 40% of the stories from girls, they indicated that boys in their stories were behaving in a way that very strongly defied social expectations and traditions. This pattern is stronger for stories from non-Fun Centre Girls (47%) as well as stories about non-Fun Centre Girls (45%).

Boys are consistently the only actors that are described as strongly defying traditions and social expectations, by all subgroups of respondents. This suggests that boys’ patterns of non-traditional and deviant behaviour should be reconsidered within TP communities, E.g. For boys, is the norm actually for them to behave in defiance of societal expectations, so that transgression becomes a tolerated expression of masculinity? What does it mean for Tipping Point if boys’ sense of masculinity is tied to defying norms that have negative consequences for girls, and if the level of permissiveness in communities encourages boys to defy social expectations?
There are **214 stories collected from boys** of whom 121 were between the ages of 12-15 and 93 were between 16-19.

Among boys aged 12-15, 77 stories were collected from Boundary Partners and 44 stories were collected from non-Boundary Partners.

For boys aged 16-19, 34 stories were collected from Boundary Partners and 59 were collected from non-Boundary Partners. This reflects that younger teenage boys participate in Fun Centres more than older teenage boys do.

In total, 111 stories were collected from Boundary Partner boys and 103 stories were collected from non-Boundary Partner boys.
T4. How do boys act in relation to girls…

The majority of the girls find boys acting in their own interest (43% + 17%) or being harmful to girls (24%) for the situations described in the story. Only a small percentage of girls indicates that boys are helpful to girls (10% or 22 stories).

Note: if we take only those stories from girls in which boys appear (93 stories), we see an even stronger pattern towards ‘boys act in their own interest’ or ‘in a way that is harmful for girls’. Only 3 stories lean towards ‘boys act in way that is helpful for girls’.

Younger girls share stories in which boys act more harmful to girls (35%) than older girls (21%). Almost half of the older girls share stories in which boys act in their own interest (48%).

Story pack ‘Boys act in a way that is helpful to girls’ (22 stories or 10%). The majority of the stories is about family relations, education, income and safety/security.

The stories about non-Fun Centre girls have a higher percentage of stories (13% or 8 stories) for which boys act in a way that is helpful for boys than those stories that are not about Fun Centre Girls (5% or 7 stories).

This gives be an indication that Fun Centre Girls have a slightly more positive experience in terms of the behaviour of boys.
For 50% of the stories shared by Fun Centre Girls, boys are acting in their own interest. This is more than non-Fun Centre Girls (40%). Non-Fun Centre girls find boys slightly more acting harmful to girls than Fun Centre girls (35 stories or 30%). There is no difference for the stories that indicate that boys act in a way that is helpful for girls.
S1. How do boys behave in the story?

Through question S1, respondents could indicate how people in the story behaved in relation to traditions or social expectations. Figure 114 represents the pattern of how boys in the story (shared by all girls) behaved in relation to traditions or social expectations. Overall, we can conclude that in stories shared by girls, the behaviour of boys defies traditions / social expectations. 40% of the stories are situated in the extreme left corner.

This pattern is stronger for stories from non-Fun Centre Girls (47%) as well as stories about non-Fun Centre Girls (45%). For those stories in which respondents indicated that boys appear, the pattern is even stronger towards ‘defying traditions/social expectations’ with no stories in which boys behave according to traditions/social expectations.
Respondents indexed 42% (n=361) of the stories shared as being about situations where something happened that was socially unacceptable and someone said or did something about it. This compared to 27% (n=237) of stories in which a situation was socially unacceptable, but no one said or did anything about it.

The most common themes in these stories that were perceived a socially unacceptable and whereby someone did or said something about it are: **marriage, safety/security, family relations and education**. As there was substantial overlap between stories about Marriage and Family Relations, Marriage was prioritised for analysis.

**Marriage**
Stories told of both successful and unsuccessful attempts to prevent child marriages from taking place, as well as describing community arbitration cases and a smaller number of incidents of gender-based violence.

**Safety/security**
Stories told of incidents of sexual harassment or sexual violence, followed by a smaller number of stories about other forms of violence, and some interventions to stop child marriages.

**Education**
Education stories often related to stopping school due to marriage or romantic relationships, poverty, or honour issues, in which dropping out was a secondary effect of a larger issue.
Socially unacceptable stories in which someone said or did something about it (n=361)

Most common themes tagged as socially unacceptable and someone did or said something about it:
1) Marriage (223 stories or 61%)
2) Safety/Security (150 stories or 42%)
3) Family Relations (133 stories or 37%)
4) Education (119 stories or 33%)
5) Romantic relationship (119 stories or 33%)

The following three slides explore the nature of these stories in more depth.

Compared to stories tagged as socially unacceptable but no one did or said something about it (n=237):
1) Marriage (109 or 46%)
2) Education (105 or 44%)
3) Family Relations (99 or 42%)
4) Safety/Security (92 or 39%)
5) Romantic relationship (38 or 16%)

People were more likely to intervene than not in stories about: Marriage, Romantic relationships (double the proportion that would not intervene). About the same proportion of intervening/not doing anything: Safety/Security, Education, Family Relations
Intervening to prevent child marriage

- EVAW forum or apa (sister) from TP stopping early marriages; also Brac was mentioned as intervening to stop one child marriage
- Parents getting their underage daughters married in another location to avoid protests from other members of their community
- Qazi refused to marry underage girl
- Parents went to police, who put a boy in jail when he tried to elope with (kidnap?) a girl from school
- Bride’s family intervened against parents who agreed to marry daughter to intellectually disabled boy because they wouldn’t have to pay dowry
- Intervening in attempts of older men to elope with or marry much younger girls

Gender-based violence

- Married girls leaving in-laws’ homes voluntarily because they are being abused, then returning home to parents’ house
- Boys jailed for cyberbullying and making video of a girl being raped
- Informed local authorities and filed legal case against a man who was physically violent towards his wife

Stories that mentioned Arbitration

- Arbitration when a girl was beaten badly by in-laws immediately after marriage
- A girl had an affair with a man and it went to community arbitration, where everyone agreed to marry them off
- Parents had to accept the arbitration decision to marry a couple having an affair, even though they didn’t want to marry their daughter yet
- Boy’s family demanded dowry after eloping and arbitration gave her a divorce settlement, leading to her being treated badly by the community

Child marriages despite or because of intervention

- Community members told a girl’s parents about her eloping and they got her married
- Eloped but brought back and beaten by her brother, then parents married her off to the same boy
- After a girl elopes with one boy, if parents don’t like him they marry her to someone else more appropriate
- Disagreement over dowry and a girl affected by black magic, so the village Member married the couple to resolve the situation
- 14-year-old girl demanded her lover marry her, despite local Member and others advising her against it. The Chairman married them.
- Boy pressured to marry pregnant girlfriend of a different religion, so he did and she converted
Sexual harassment or assault
Girl’s family members talked to boys doing Eve teasing and then she had to take a rickshaw to ensure her safety on the way to school
Teacher beat a boy who said dirty words to a girl; intervened to stop eve teasing
Girl became seriously ill after being raped. No justice because he was a local leader, but he paid all hospital expenses
Aunt’s husband raped and assaulted her and was put in jail
Community arbitration for a huzoor who raped a girl, and he was driven out of the village
Group rape, for which the girl was awarded money as compensation
Boy predator taken to arbitration for sexual acts with multiple girls/women and beaten as punishment
Boy was caught secretly filming a girl, prompting the community to form a committee against Eve teasing
Boys arrested for taking photos of teenagers having sex
Victim blaming for attracting boys’ unwanted attention

Other forms of violence
Arbitration processes for husbands behaving violently towards wives
Acid attack on a girl
Married girl’s family wants to file lawsuit against violent husband
Girl sent to Dhaka to work but brought home after 1 year of being abused at work

Intervening to stop a child marriage
Girl under spell and kidnapped by boy but her mother intervened to abort pregnancy and prevent marriage
Villagers sent away an older man who wanted to marry a young teen
Told Tipping Point apa about stopping a marriage
Parents defied neighbours who advised them not to marry their daughter; temporary delay of marriage

Other
Girl dropped out of school because her father gambled, even though people tried to get him to stop
Education stories often related to stopping school due to marriage or romantic relationships, poverty, or honour issues, in which dropping out was a secondary effect of a larger issue

Unique stories about Education and Socially Unacceptable situations where someone did or said something included:

- Getting medical attention to manage menstrual pain
- Abusive *huzoor* raped a young girl
- Eve teasing at school or on the way to school
- Disagreement between parents about continuing girl’s education
- Suspected abuse of teacher who beat students, although nothing was done as punishment
- Uncle sent a girl back home after she eloped and then she was readmitted to school
- Girl struggled badly at school and couldn’t learn anything easily but her tutor helped somewhat
- A girl was bad at school and didn’t want to learn but her family tried to motivate her, getting multiple Quran tutors
- Girl’s studies stopped after her brother died and the family lost a source of income
8. Outcome 4: Networks, solidarity groups and organizations collaborate together (laterally and vertically) to take actions for girls
OUTCOME 4 SUMMARY

As the stories tended to share experiences of girls and their interactions with parents and boys/men, there were few mentions of other actors who were acting individually or collaboratively to champion girls’ rights. Religious leaders, community leaders, and government officials all have a degree of authority in making decisions regarding child marriage and either upholding or abrogating the law depending on what they feel is the best course of action in individual cases. The stories did not give an indication of the existence of networks of allies (other than the EVAW forums) acting as advocates for girls.

Religious leaders had a presence in 12 of the stories, behaving in ways that were sometimes beneficial to a girl (e.g. intervening to prevent a child marriage). At other times, religious leaders acted in ways that were harmful to girls, such as sexually exploiting students.

Community leaders were present in 16 stories, which were also often related to community arbitration processes. While the stories did not provide many details about who was involved in arbitration or how decisions were made, they highlight the importance of these processes as community justice mechanisms, which have the authority to determine if a child marriage should go ahead or not, depending on the best interest of the families involved and the broader community.

Of the 41 stories that involved government officials, almost half told of attempts to obtain fake birth certificates in order to legalize a child marriage, which were sometimes successful, sometimes not. Similar to the actions of religious and community leaders, officials’ willingness to uphold girls’ rights seems somewhat arbitrary depending on the individual; while some leaders are resisting child marriage efforts, there are others who are willing to ignore the law, particularly if they feel that it better serves the interest of the parties involved and the community to uphold family honour by allowing or directing a child marriage to take place.

A subset of 29 stories spoke about religious leaders’, community leaders’ and government officials participation in community arbitration processes, local community justice mechanisms for resolving issues such as domestic violence and dissolving/approving marriages in situations that cause shame and ongoing conflict for community members. It is unclear from the stories who makes final decisions or how arbitration works, but it is an important institution for Tipping Point to engage with as potential champions for girls’ rights and advocates against child marriage.
Religious Leaders (n=12)
In this set of stories, religious leaders exhibited both positive behaviours (intervening to prevent an early marriage) and negative behaviours (sexual abuse/manipulation), and in some stories it was unclear what their involvement was. Several stories were related to community arbitration hearings and to early marriage, but religious leaders were not directly mentioned so it is uncertain what role they played in those proceedings.

Community Leaders (n=16)
Stories involving community leaders often referenced arbitration hearings related to domestic disputes and issues, showing that arbitrators had the authority either stop an early marriage or to decide that one should go ahead.

Sex and marriage
A friend from our village had a relationship with a girl. They used to have sex regularly. One day they got caught having sex. It has created gossip in the village. Then people of the community arranged for an arbitration. And It was decided to get them married. Their parents accepted this due to reputational concerns. Now they are living together.
- non-BP boy, Bowshi

Stop early marriage
In Derai a poor parent decided to get his 14 year old daughter married. To get a fake birth certificate he went to the local Union Parishad Member’s office but he refused to do so. Then he decided to get her married secretly. Then the local mosque’s imam called the TNO and police stopped the marriage.
- non-BP father, Polok
Stories involving Government Officials (n=41)

Government officials (n=41)
The government officials named in stories include: Police; village Member; Chairman; TNO; qadi (Islamic judge); Upazilla Nirbahi Officer (UNO); Union Parishad Member. All of these officials play a role in sanctioning or allowing early marriages to take place and experiences were mixed in whether or not they upheld the law.

About half of the stories mentioned efforts to obtain falsified birth certificates in order to make a girl look old enough to be legally married. While Chairmen do not always fulfil this request, it came across in the stories as not being unusual for families to try and for tampered birth certificates to be granted in return for a bribe.

Fake certificate and early marriage
A girl from quite a well off family in our village was married by her brother. In the village people get their daughters married at an early age. Because after the availability of mobile phones made having an affair a convenient thing. After this the local people informed the NGO. They went to talk with her brother, but he said to him family honour comes first. And he was adamant about marriage. On top of this he obtained a false certificate from the Chairman and got her married.
- non-Fun Centre boy, Kaminipur
Of the 875 stories in the data set, 29 referred to “arbitration” processes. In the context of this data set, individuals sought arbitration for dealing with interpersonal and familial conflicts. Arbitration seems to be a customary dispute resolution mechanism that is generally respected and that provides socially acceptable resolutions to situations that would otherwise cause shame and ongoing conflict for community members. Arbitrators have the power to uphold and shape social norms through their judgements.

Actors involved in arbitration can include: village Member; Chairman; individuals and their family members; police

Types of events that led to arbitration:
Rape; domestic violence; girls and boys having extramarital relationships; approving or dissolving marriages

Types of judgements:
Arbitrators can make decisions about major life issues such as whether or not a couple should be married; the amount of a fine when a party is deemed to have committed a transgression; physical punishment (beating) men and boys for violations.

It is unclear who makes the final decision in arbitration processes; when an issue will go to arbitration and when people will not seek arbitration; what the process is for hearing a case/claim and making a judgement; what happens if the people involved do not accept an arbitrator’s decision.
9. Outcome 5:
Staff continue to reflect upon and take up value practices and action that model anti-oppression (based on gender, caste and other group identities) and reflect critically on their beliefs about sexuality

Including stories involving Tipping Point staff or volunteers
A total of 49 stories were tagged as involving Tipping Point staff/volunteers, relating to experiences that involved EVAW forum members or Fun Centre workers in attempting to prevent a child marriage from taking place. Staff and EVAW forum members used a combination of direct dialogue with adolescents’ families as well as escalating cases to village officials if necessary. These efforts were not always successful in cases where parents were determined to marry their daughter off, but staff and EVAW forum members have demonstrated commitment and consistency as advocates against child marriage.

A small number of other stories involving project staff and volunteers related to supportive and educational activities including teaching girls about menstrual management, intervening against eve teasing and harassment of girls, and organizing football activities for Fun Centre girls.
Most of the 49 stories tagged as involving Tipping Point staff/volunteers told about successful efforts of EVAW forum members and Fun Centre workers to intervene and prevent cases of early marriage in their communities. TP staff engaged in dialogue with families to achieve this and sometimes escalated the issue to the village Chairman or police if necessary to prevent a girl from being married.

In a small number of stories, TP staff were not successful in preventing an early marriage and families would take their daughters to another location to get them married, away from the protestations of community members.

A few stories also depicted how TP staff had successfully helped provide education and guidance to girls related to menstrual management; were involved in football activities; and intervened to prevent boys from continuing harassment and eve teasing of girls.

\[\ldots\]'s Story

One of my neighbour’s girls used to stammer. She was reading in class five. Her parents arranged her marriage. Then we, the members of the EVAW forum called police and prevented this marriage. But her parents went to another area and got her married to another boy. That boy was also physically challenged. Afterwards, having lived some days with him, she went back to her parents’ home. Now, the girl and her family live in [...] She works at a stone mill with her father. She is not so mature, maybe 14 years old.
- non-BP mother, Islampur (Tarol Union)

Dream comes true

As the high school was very far, the girl couldn’t continue her studies. Her family also didn’t tell her to stop studying. Then people from the Fun Centre tried to make her parents understand the consequences of early marriage. Later her family understood. She knows the tailoring job and is now supporting her family.
- BP girl aged 16-19, Gopalpur
10. Impact of the exposure
Tipping Point activities
Summary

SUMMARY: IMPACT EXPOSURE TIPPING POINT ACTIVITIES

• Respondents that were exposed to the Tipping Point program share more stories about marriage and romantic relationships (appr. 50%) than respondents that were not exposed to the program (39% of the stories). The latter share much more stories about education (57%).

• Respondents that were exposed to the Tipping Point program share more stories that are socially unacceptable.

• Respondents that are part of the program (boundary partners) clearly agree more with the statement that daughters should have the same opportunity to work outside the home as sons. Girls and mothers agree much more with this statement than sons and fathers.

• Boundary partner girls clearly disagree with the statement that a girl who receives unwanted male attention causes her family to lose honor. For boys, mothers and fathers from the different groups there is no clear difference in their opinion against the statement. For boys and fathers that have not been exposed to the TP activities there is a higher disagreement with the statements compared to the boundary partner boys and fathers!

• The majority of girls find the age of 18 years old a good age for marrying. More than 25% of the girls find 19 up to 25 years old the ideal age. Mothers show a similar patterns than girls, but more mothers (appr. 30%) find the ideal age between 20-25 years old. Boys and fathers find younger age possible and surprisingly this is found by boys and fathers that are part of the TP program or were exposed to TP activities! Those not exposed to the TP activities find the age of 18 years old or older an ideal age...
There are **three groups** for which comparisons can be made with regards to the impact of exposure of the TP activities

1. **Boundary partners**: those are people (girls, boys, mothers and fathers) that were part of the programme. Girls and boys are part of the Fun Centres, mothers of the mother groups organised by Tipping Point and fathers that are either part of the father groups and/or have a daughter or son in the Fun Centres.
2. **Girls, boys, mothers and fathers from the respective Tipping Point communities that are not boundary partners but that have participated in 2 or more public activities of Tipping Point**
3. **Girls, boys, mothers and fathers from the respective Tipping Point communities that are not boundary partners and that did not participate in Tipping Point activities (or max. 1 time).**

Figure 115: Number of stories for each of the three comparison groups

Figure 116: Number of stories per main cohort for each of the three comparison groups
Respondents that are not exposed to the TP program tell more stories about education (57% of the stories). Half of those stories are told by girls.

People that are exposed to the program tell more stories about marriage and romantic relationships.

Boundary partners tell slightly less stories about income.

For all other themes there are no remarkable difference.
• Respondents that are part of the program (boundary partners) or are exposed to the program activities tend to tell more stories in which girls show behavior that is socially unacceptable as compared to those that have not been exposed to the TP program.

• 37% of the boundary partners tell stories about Fun Centre Girls, while non boundary partners that are exposed to the program share 11% stories about Fun Centre girls. Respondents not exposed to TP activities only share 6% of their stories about Fun Centre girls.

• There are no remarkable differences between the different groups in stories that are good or bad for girls.

Figure 118: Percentage of stories for question M2 on social acceptability for each of the three comparison groups.
Girls and mothers that are part of the program (boundary partners) clearly agree more with the statement that daughters should have the same opportunity to work outside the home as sons than fathers and boys.

Girls and mothers that were not exposed to the TP activities disagree most (17%) with the statement.

Fathers and boys have a similar pattern. Those that are part of the program (boundary partners) agree more with the statement that daughters should have the same opportunity to work outside the home as sons than fathers and boys that are non-boundary partners.

Figure 119: Answers to statement Q1 for each cohort (girls, boys, mother and fathers for each of the three comparison groups)
A girl who receives unwanted male attention causes her family to lose honor (Q3)

- Boundary partner girls clearly disagree with the statement than non-boundary partner girls.
- For boys, mothers and fathers from the different groups there is no clear difference in their opinion against the statement.
- For boys and fathers that have not been exposed to the TP activities there is high disagreement with the statements compared to the boundary partner boys and fathers.

Figure 120: Answers to statement Q3 for each cohort (girls, boys, mother and fathers for each of the three comparison groups)
What do you think is the ideal age for a girl in your community to marry? (Q5)

The majority of girls find the age of 18 years old a good age for marrying. More than 25% of the girls even find 19 up to 25 years old the ideal age. There are no remarkable difference between the different groups.

Mothers show a similar patterns than girls, but more mothers (appr. 30%) find the ideal age between 20-25 years old.

Boys and fathers find younger age possible and surprisingly this is found by boys and fathers that are part of the TP program or were exposed to TP activities! Those not exposed to the TP activities find the age of 18 years old or older an ideal age.

Figure 121: Answers to statement Q5 for each cohort (girls, boys, mother and fathers for each of the three comparison groups)
The parents wanted to get a 15 year old girl married to a 26-27 years old man, who was studying in class 8. That guy never went to school. The girl was also not agreeing to get married. Her father wants to get her married against her will. He stopped her from going school. They told her, this much study is enough. People closer to her also gives a silent nod to on her marriage. Then that girl calls Fun Centre for help. Her mother and brother was with her and they wanted to continue her studies. they also try to make her father understand. After a long time her father agreed and stopped the marriage. She started school again after a long 4 months.

“A the high school was very far, the girl couldn’t continue her studies. Her family also didn’t told her to stop studying. When she was 16 her family sets her marriage. That time the people from Fun Centre tried to make her parents understand the consequences of early marriage. Later her family understood. She knows the tailoring job now and supports her family.”

“The parents wanted to get a 15 year old girl married to a 26-27 years old man, who was studying in class 8. That guy never went to school. The girl was also not agreeing to get married. Her father wants to get her married against her will. He stopped her from going school. They told her, this much study is enough. People closer to her also gives a silent nod to on her marriage. Then that girl calls Fun Centre for help. Her mother and brother was with her and they wanted to continue her studies. they also try to make her father understand. After a long time her father agreed and stopped the marriage. She started school again after a long 4 months.”