TIPPING POINT

Measuring Social Norms and Girls' Empowerment

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

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care

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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.

Executive Summary

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.

Executive Summary

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.

Executive Summary

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.

Executive Summary

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 unaccceptable
- 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 methodologie

3. SenseMaker methodologie

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.

The prompting question

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

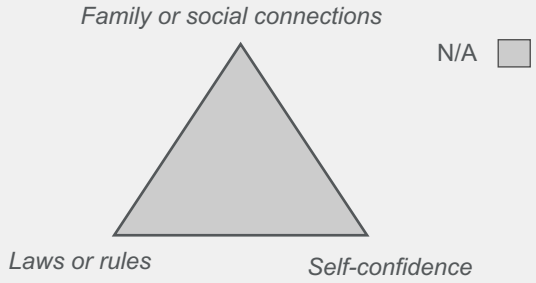
Please share a recent experience (within the past 6 months) about a challenge that a girl in your village has faced and how she dealt with this challenge. What happened? Who was involved? How did the situation end?

The signifier questions

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

Triad question

T1. What influences the outcome of your story?



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…

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?

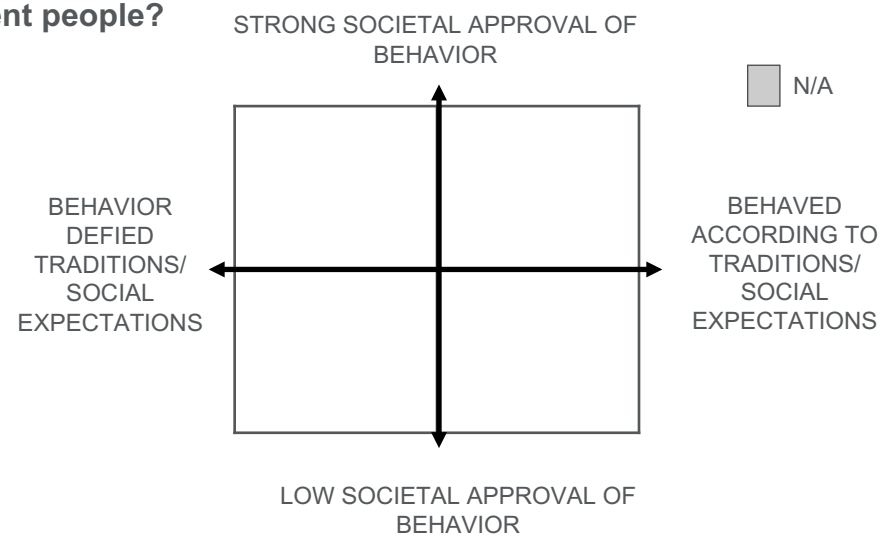
■ *Girl(s) in the story*

✖ *Boy(s) in the story*

L *Mother in the story*

O *Father in the story*

\# *Other adults in the story*



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

X2 Upazila	X2VillageBD	
Derai	Bowshi	78
	Chandipur	65
	Islampur (Tarol Union)	69
	Kamalpur	76
	Nachni	70
	Sarmangal	71
Jamalganj	Gopalpur	70
	Islampur (Behely union)	71
	Kaminipur	81
	Mofiznagar	73
	Nayahalot	77
	Polok	74

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

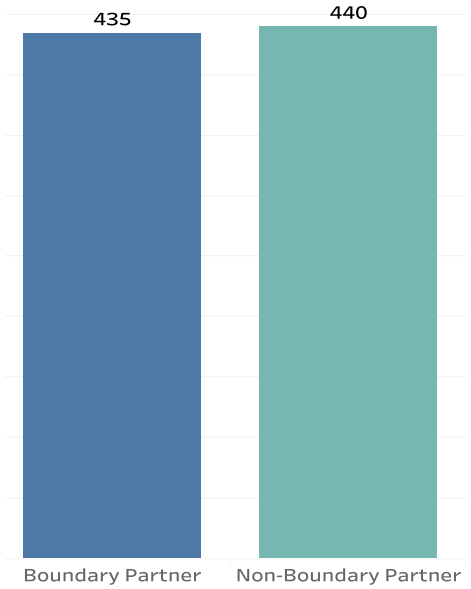


Figure 2: Number of respondents that are boundary partners and non-boundary partners

Respondent sample (per cohort group)

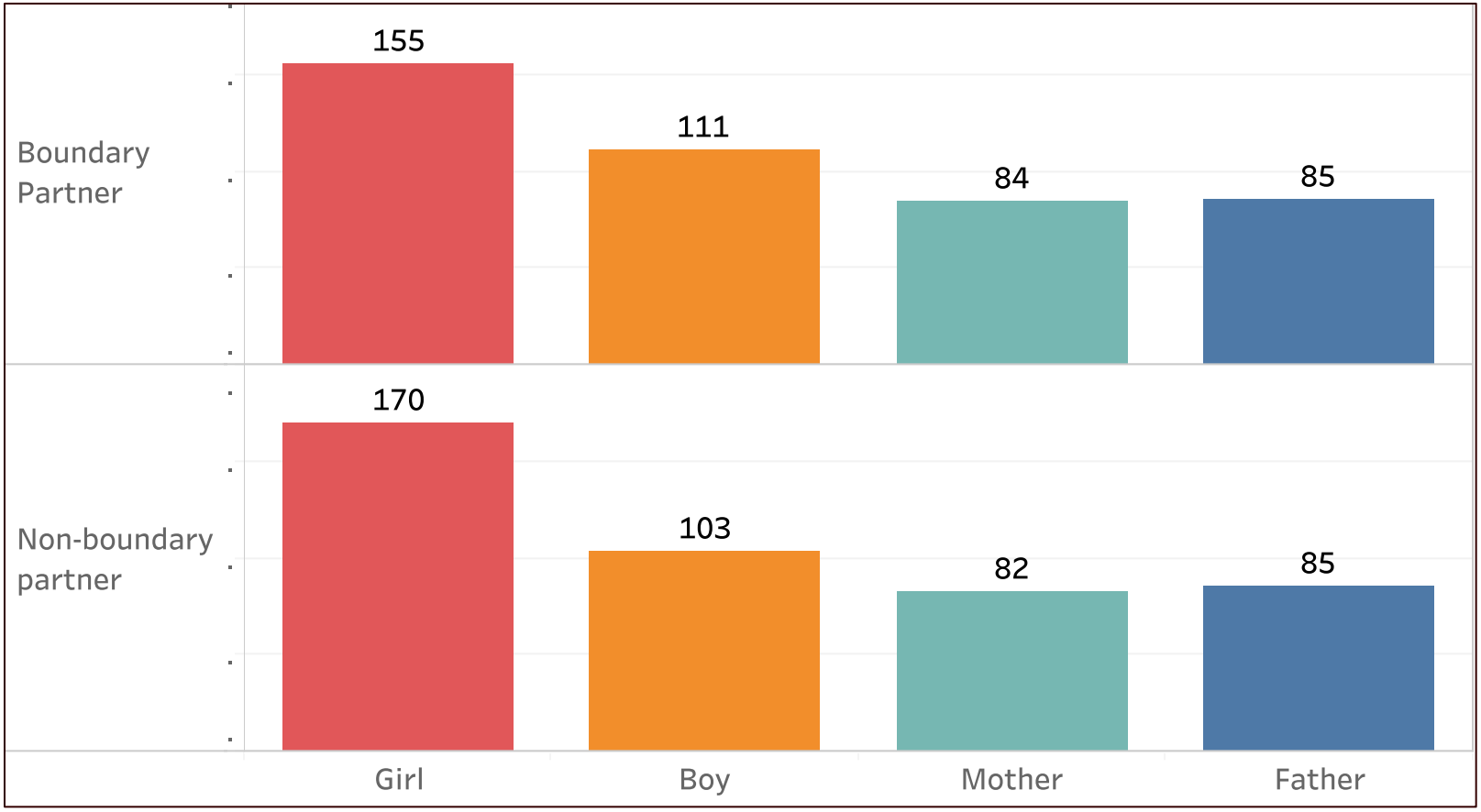


Figure 3: Total number of respondent per cohort group

4. Challenges faced by girls

Challenged 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**

	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) ……		

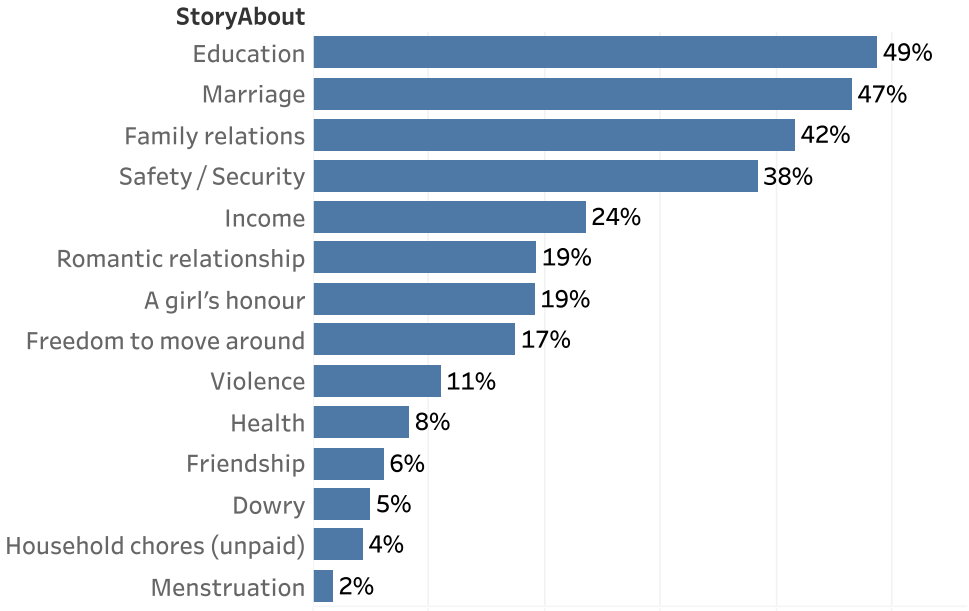
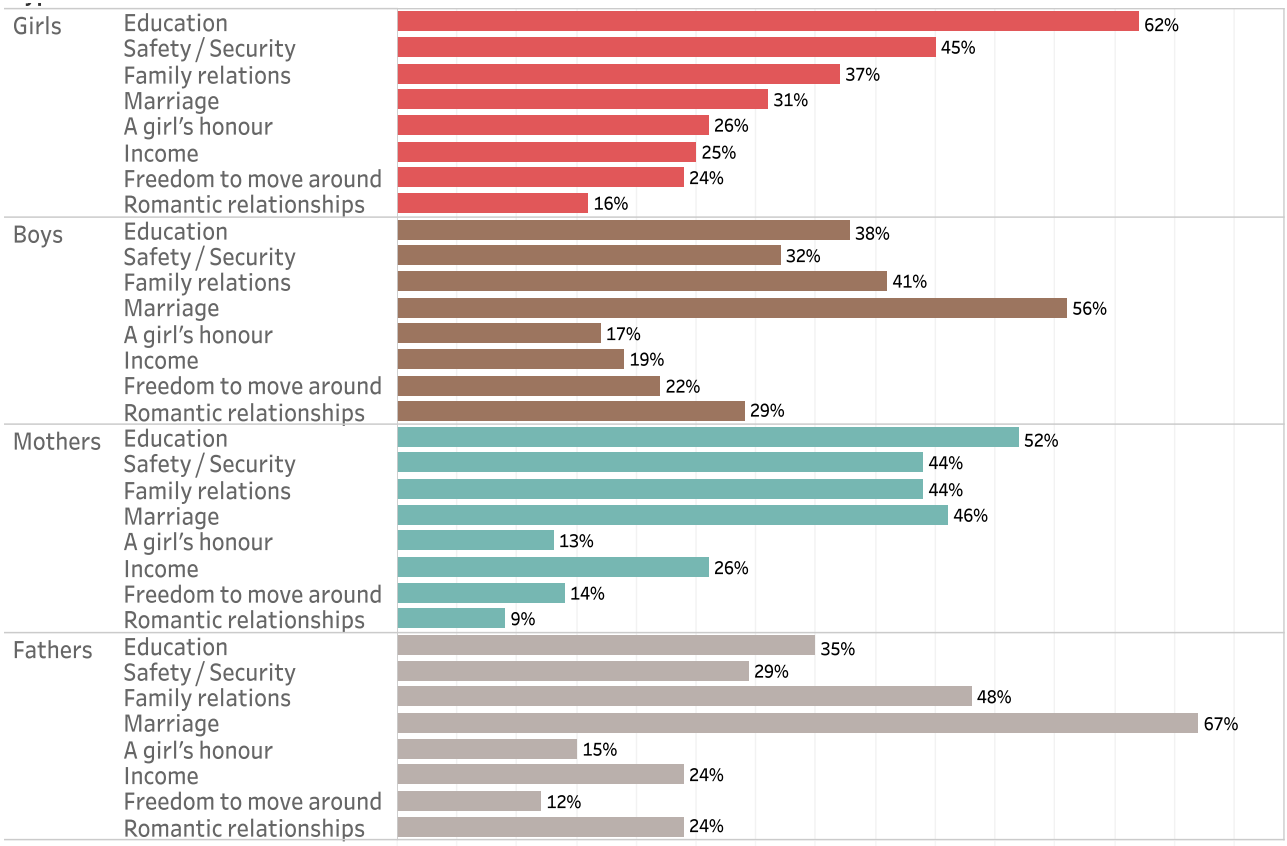


Figure 4: Percentage of the total number of stories for each story theme

- 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**

Themes of stories per respondent group

The story is about … (per respondent group)



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

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 …

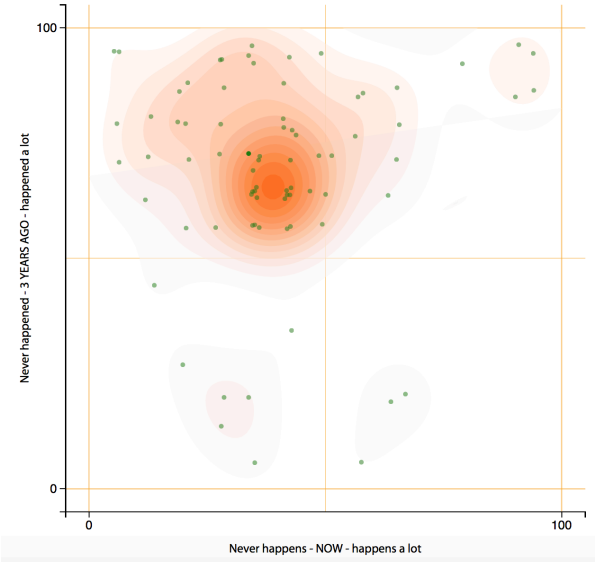
Figure 6: Heatmap comparison situation three years ago and today

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.

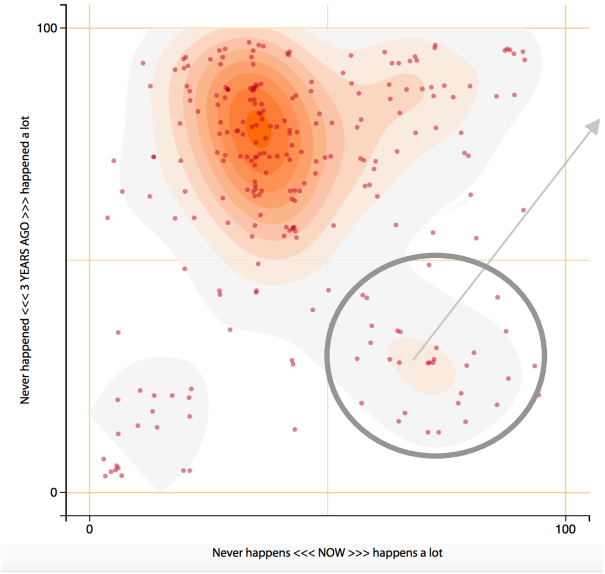
Comparison situation three years ago and now

Stories that are good/bad for girls

What happened in my story …



Stories that are good for girls (=76)



Stories that are bad for girls (n=247)

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

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)

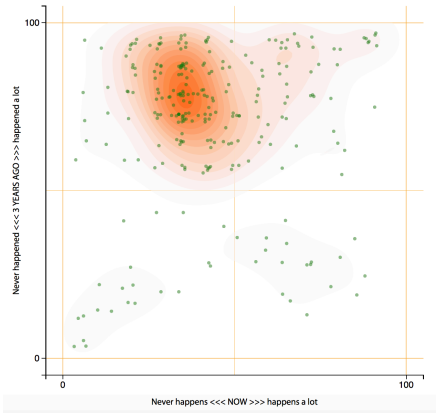
Disturbances in **family relations** due to lack of income/education, marriage and eloping

Comparison situation three years ago and now

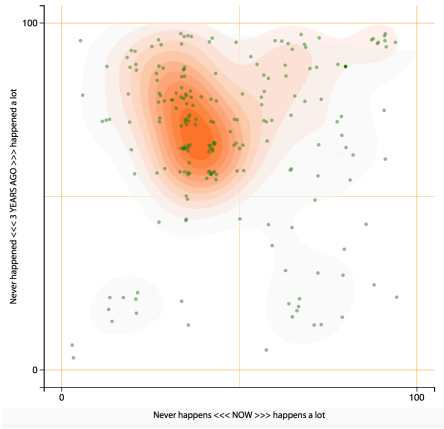
For the 8 dominant story themes

What happened in my story …

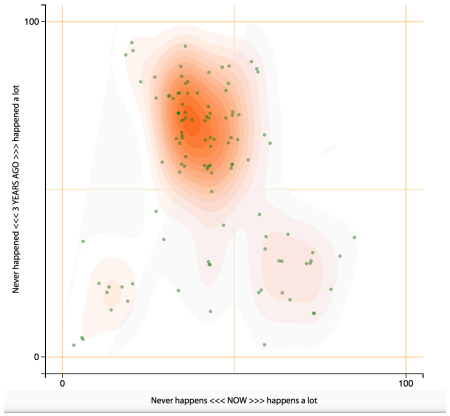
Stories about education



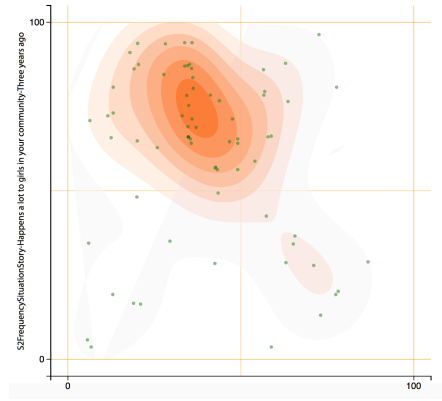
Stories about marriage



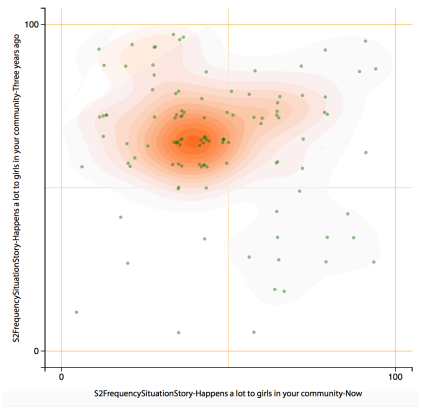
Stories about family relations



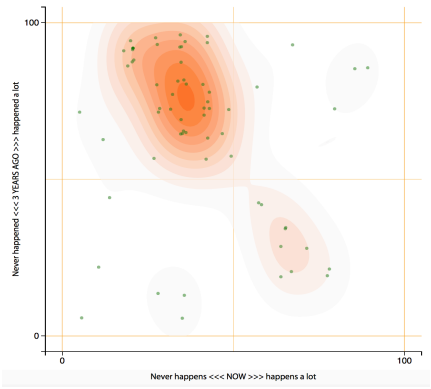
Stories about romantic relationships



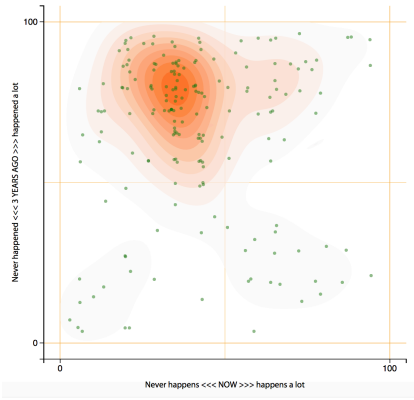
Stories about girl's honour



Stories about income



Stories about freedom to move around



Stories about safety / security

Figure 8: Heatmap comparison situation three years ago and today for each of the 8 dominant story themes

Stories about marriage

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%).

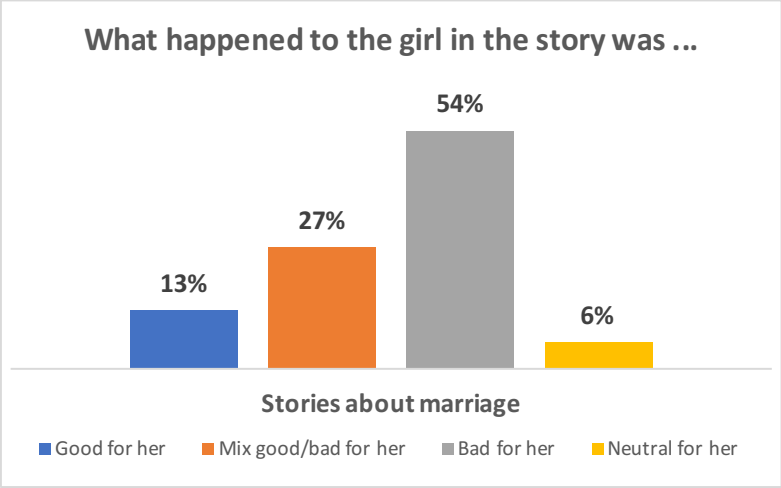


Figure 9: Percentage of the total number of stories about marriage that are good for the girl in the story, bad for the girl in the story, a mix of bad/good for the girl in the story or are neutral for the girl in the story.

Stories about 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

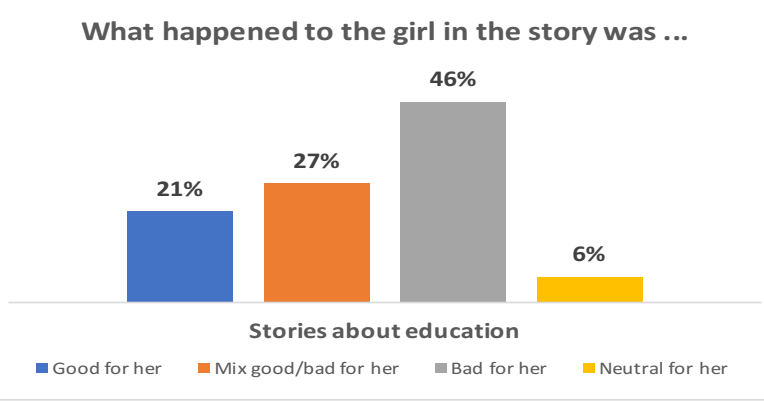


Figure 10: Percentage of the total number of stories about education that are good for the girl in the story, bad for the girl in the story, a mix of bad/good for the girl in the story or are neutral for the girl in the story.

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

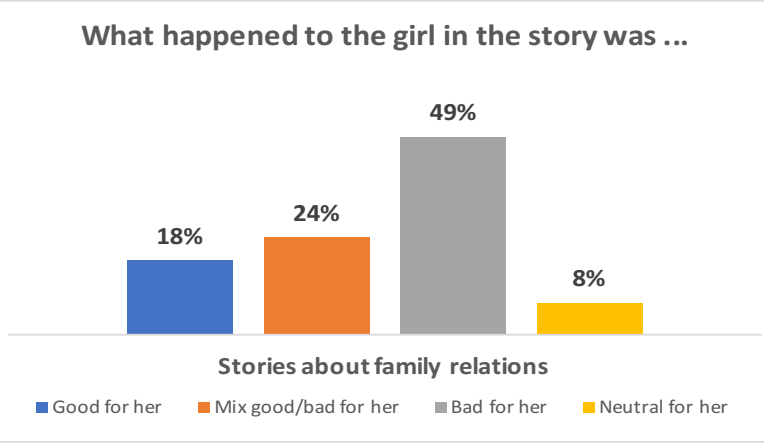


Figure 11: Percentage of the total number of stories about family relations that are good for the girl in the story, bad for the girl in the story, a mix of bad/good for the girl in the story or are neutral for the girl in the story.

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%)

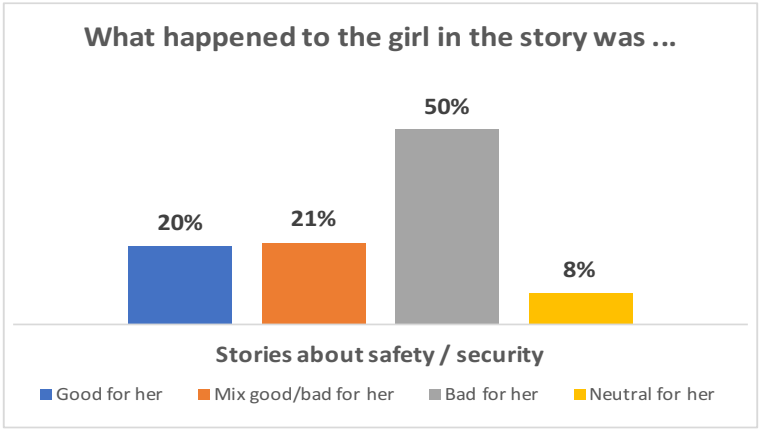


Figure 12: Percentage of the total number of stories about safety/security that are good for the girl in the story, bad for the girl in the story, a mix of bad/good for the girl in the story or are neutral for the girl in the story.

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 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 saftey/security (51%) and marriage (32%)

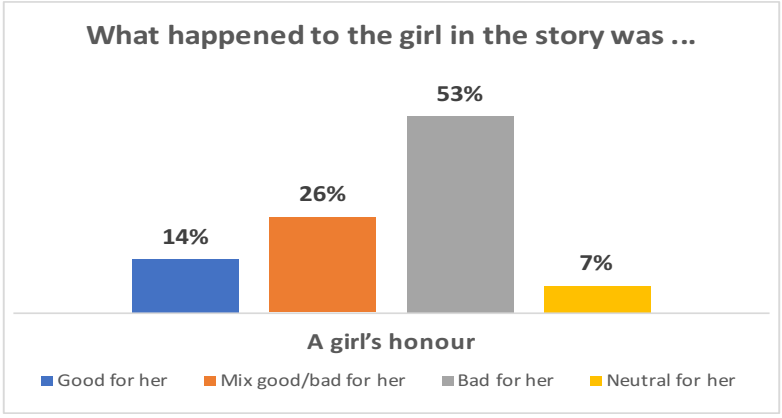


Figure 13: Percentage of the total number of stories about girl's honour that are good for the girl in the story, bad for the girl in the story, a mix of bad/good for the girl in the story or are neutral for the girl in the story.

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%)

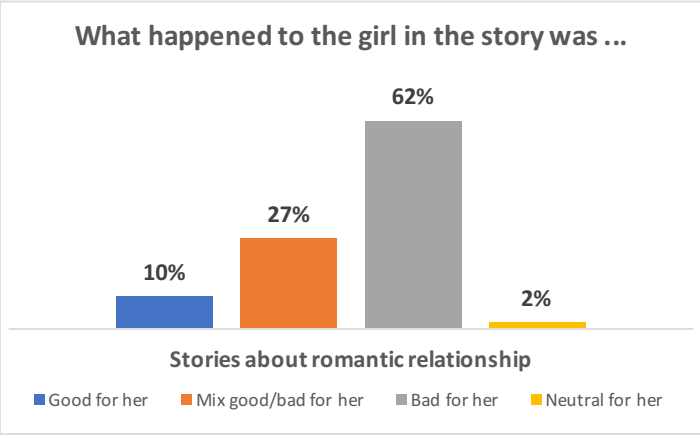
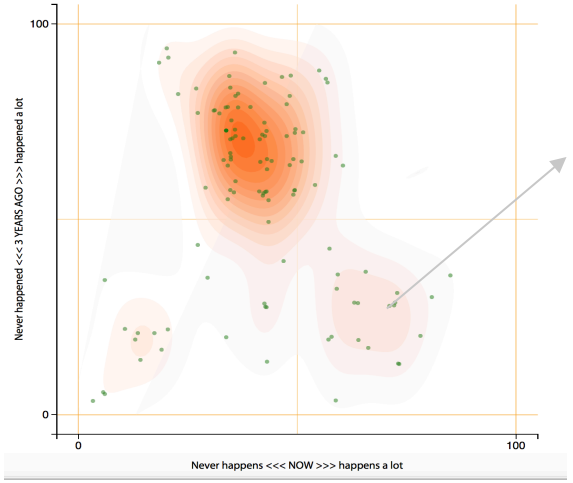


Figure 14: Percentage of the total number of stories about romantic relationships that are good for the girl in the story, bad for the girl in the story, a mix of bad/good for the girl in the story or are neutral for the girl in the story.



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

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

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%).

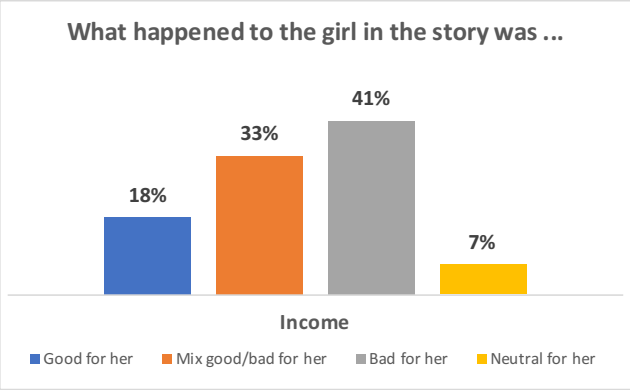
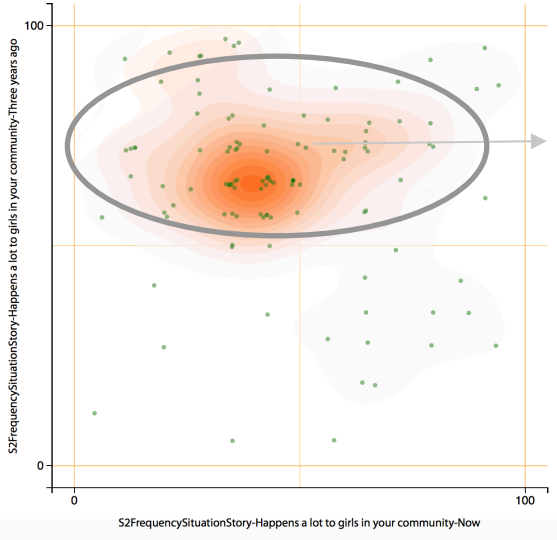


Figure 16: Percentage of the total number of stories about income that are good for the girl in the story, bad for the girl in the story, a mix of bad/good for the girl in the story or are neutral for the girl in the story.



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.

Overview of the main changes between story patterns from Fun Centre girls (Boundary partners) and non-Fun Centre girls (non-Boundary partners)

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 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.

Summary

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.

Summary

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.

Summary

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 examples 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.

Figure 18: Number of stories from girls per age group

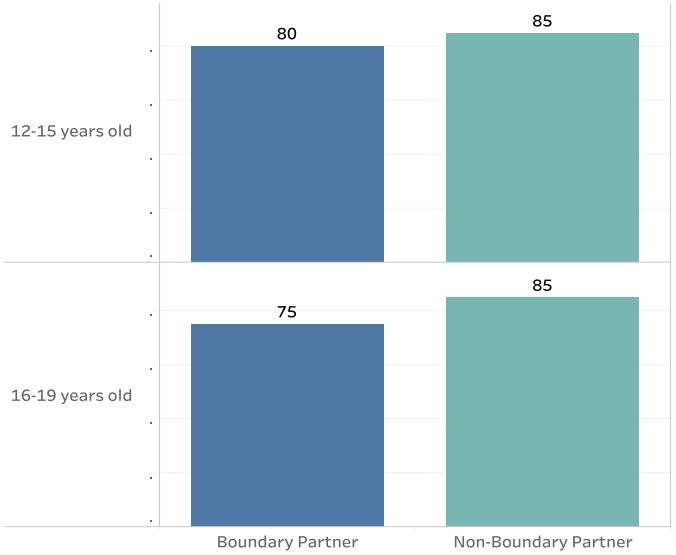


Figure 19: Number of stories from girls that are part of the Fun Centre (Boundary partners) and girls that are not part of the Fun Centre (non-Boundary partners)

	X5AffiliationTP	
M5AffiliationGirlStory	Stories from Fun Centre Girls	Stories from Non-Fun Centre ..
Story about Fun Centre Girl	55%	10%
Story about non-Fun Centre Girl	41%	86%
Don't know	4%	4%

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

Self-confidence

T1. What influences the outcome of the stories of girls?

Figure 21: Pattern of triad T1 for all stories shared by girls, highlighting stories that are influenced by self-confidence of the girls (n=325)

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 bad for girls (10% of the stories influenced by self-confidence).

Self-confidence

T1. What influences the outcome of the stories of girls?

Figure 22: Pattern of triad T1 for all stories shared by girls, indexed as being about situations that are good for Girls (n=72)

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

Social capital: role of relationships

T1. What influences the outcome of the stories of girls?

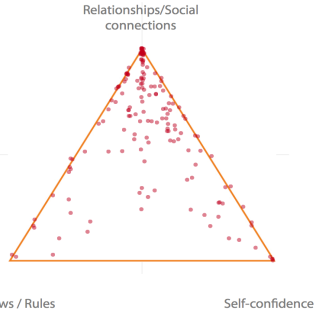
Figure 23: Pattern of triad T1 for all stories shared by girls, highlighting stories that influenced by family and social connections (n=325)

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.

I**n 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.

Figure 24: Stories from girls that are perceived as *bad* for girls (n=164)



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.

Social capital: role of relationships

T2. What makes things difficult for girls?

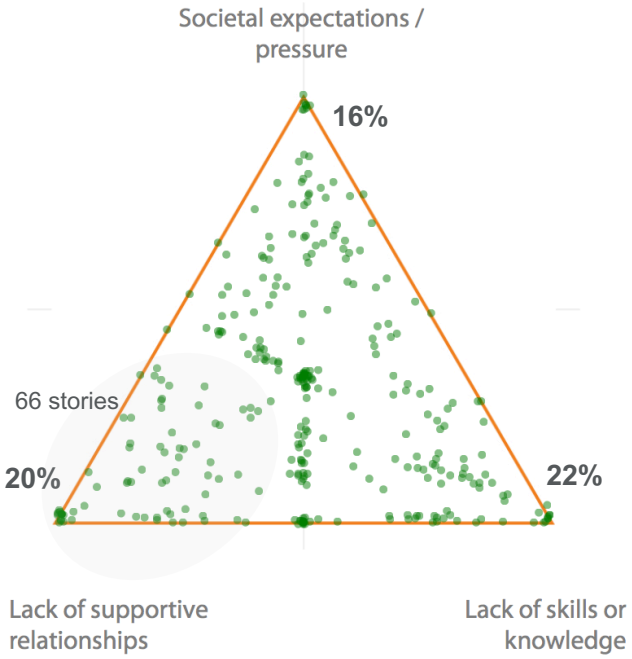


Figure 25: Pattern of triad T2 all stories shared by girls, highlighting stories for which lack of supportive relationships is making things difficult for girls (n=321)

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.

Social capital: role of relationships

T2. What makes things difficult for girls?

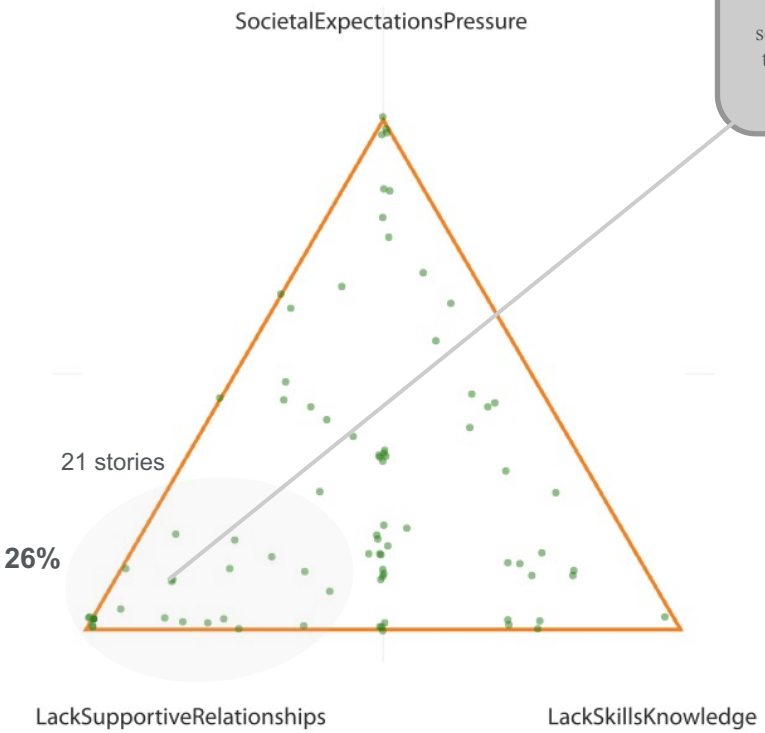


Figure 26: Pattern of triad T2 for all stories shared by girls that are about 'income', highlighting stories for which lack of supportive relationships is making things difficult for girls (n=81)

Trouble

My mother doesn't let me study now because my family is so poor. My father had passed away six months after my birth. Now I am staying at home and doing household work. All of my older sisters and brothers have already gotten married. Me and my younger brother are trying to run this family. I have a big brother who sends money sometimes but not always. Through this our family is not going well. Sometimes I do fishing so that I can help in increasing the income for my family. Maybe I would not be able to go to school any more. No father no money; who will pay expenses?

- BP girl aged 12-15, Sarmangal

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.

Social capital: Behaviour of boys in relation to girls

T4. In your story, boys act…

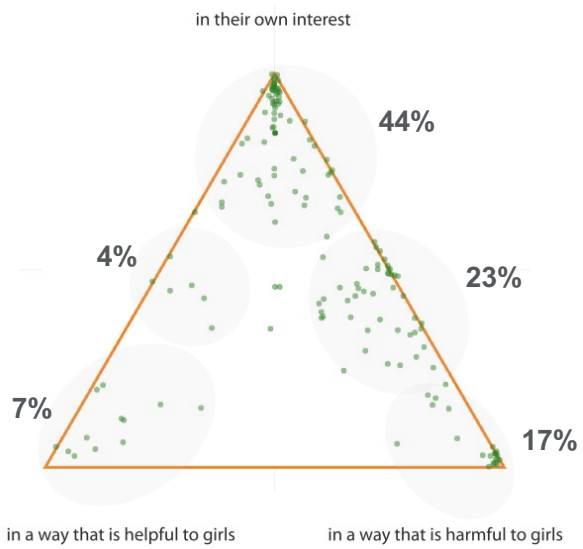


Figure 27: Pattern of triad T4 for all stories shared by boys (n=162)

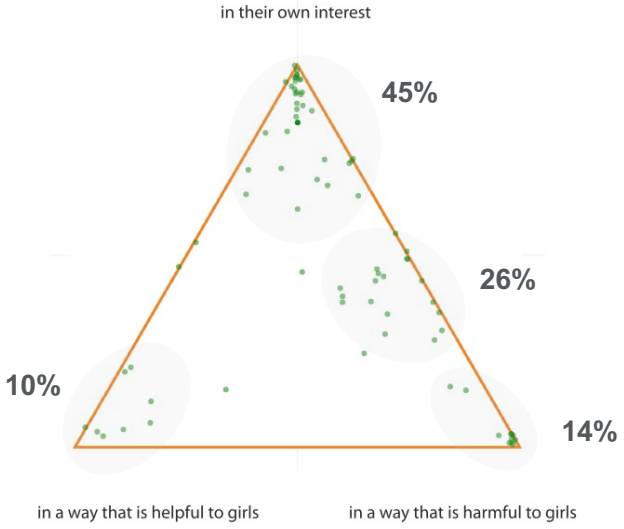
Similar to the stories of girls, we see in stories shared by boys (n=162) that boys act in their own interest (44% +23%) more than in ways that were either helpful or harmful to girls. Approximately 2/3 of stories fall within the area of the triad where boys acted in their own interest/in a way that 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%.

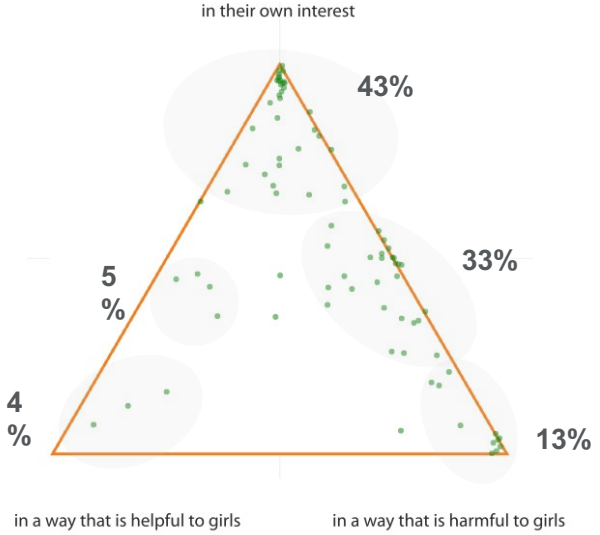
11% of stories (7%+4%) here related strongly or somewhat to boys being **helpful to girls**

Social capital: Behaviour of boys in relation to girls

T4. In your story, boys act…



Stories from Fun Centre Boys (n=78)



Stories from non-Fun Centre Boys (n=84)

Figure 28: Pattern of triad T4 for stories from Fun Centre boys and non-Fun Centre boys

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.

How are boys helping girls?

Most common themes tagged in the Helpful corner of T4

Figure 29: Distribution of all stories for T4, highlighting stories in which boys were helpful to girls (n=626)

Social capital: Examples of Boys' behaviour in relation to Girls

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)

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

T4. In your story, boys act…

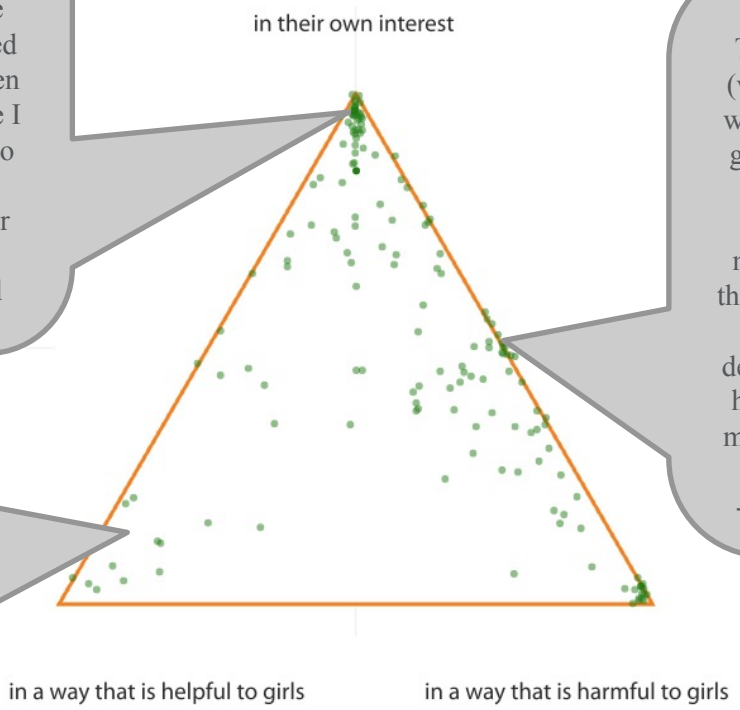


Figure 30: Pattern of triad T4 for all stories shared by boys (n=162) highlighting example stories

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

Laws and rules

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 poor man's tears have no value

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

Friend

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

T2. What makes things difficult for girls?

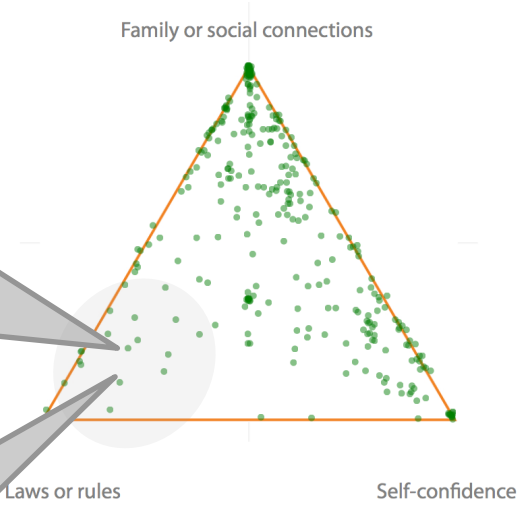


Figure 31: Visual pattern of triad T2 for all stories shared by girls, highlighting stories for which law and rules are making things difficult for girls (n=321)

Lack of knowledge and skills

T2. What makes things difficult for girls?

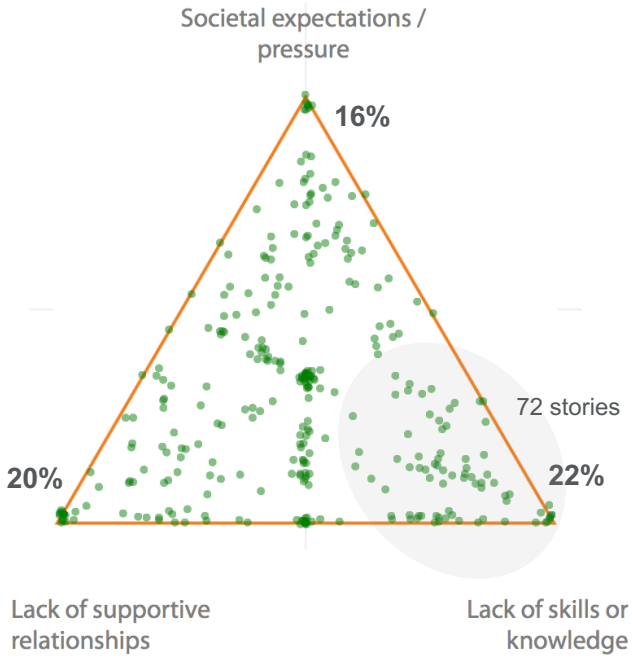


Figure 32: Pattern of triad T2 for all stories shared by girls, highlighting stories for which knowledge and skills are making things difficult for girls (n=321)

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.

Lack of knowledge and skills
Example stories about menstruation

T2. What makes things difficult for girls?

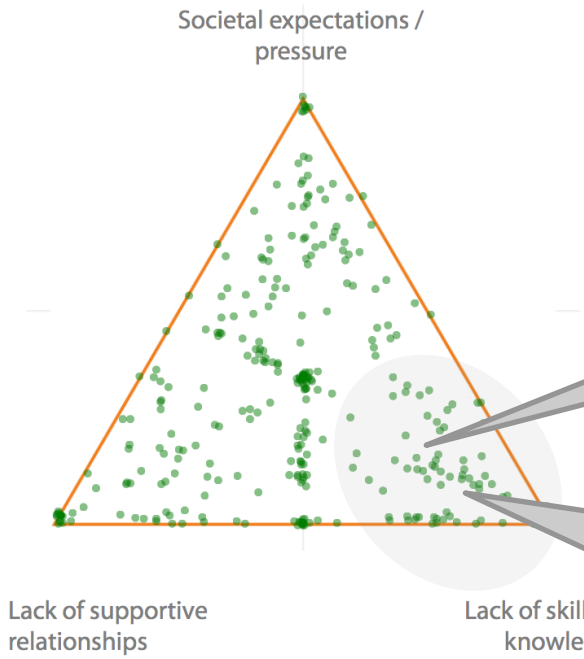


Figure 33: Pattern of triad T2 for all stories shared by girls, highlighting stories for which knowledge and skills are making things difficult for girls (n=321) including example stories about menstruation

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

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

Dreams and aspirations

T8. What are girls seeking in their stories?

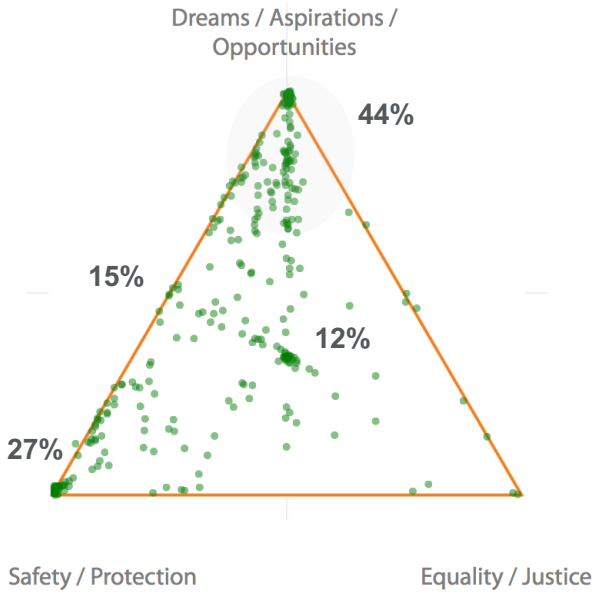


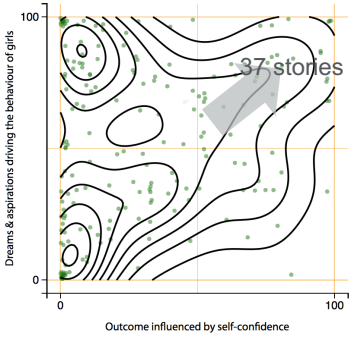
Figure 34: Pattern of triad T2 all stories shared by girls, highlighting stories for which knowledge and skills are making things difficult for girls (n=321)

Dreams & aspirations

Out of these three options, the majority of girls in the stories were **seeking dreams, aspirations, opportunities** (44%). There are no substantial difference 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** .



All stories about Fun-Centre girls (n=195)

All stories about non-Fun-Centre girls (n=545)

Figure 35: X-Y plot (contour map) comparing influence by self-confidence (T1) in relation to how dreams/aspirations are driving girls' behaviour (T8).

Dreams & aspirations VS self-confidence

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)

What are Fun Centre girls seeking as perceived by non-Fun Centre girls

T8. What are girls seeking in the story?

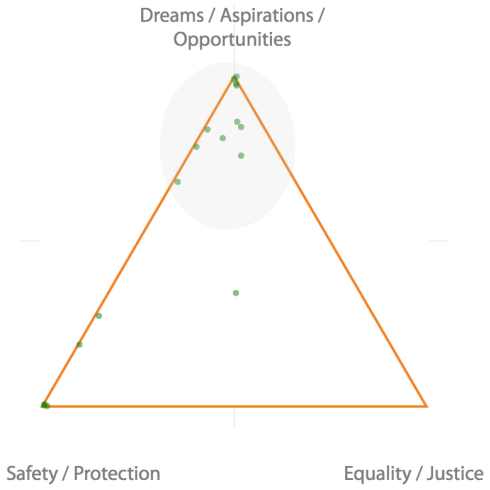


Figure 36: Pattern of triad T8 for stories from non-Fun Centre girls telling stories about Fun Centre girls (n=17)

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.

Safety and security

T8. What are girls seeking in the story?

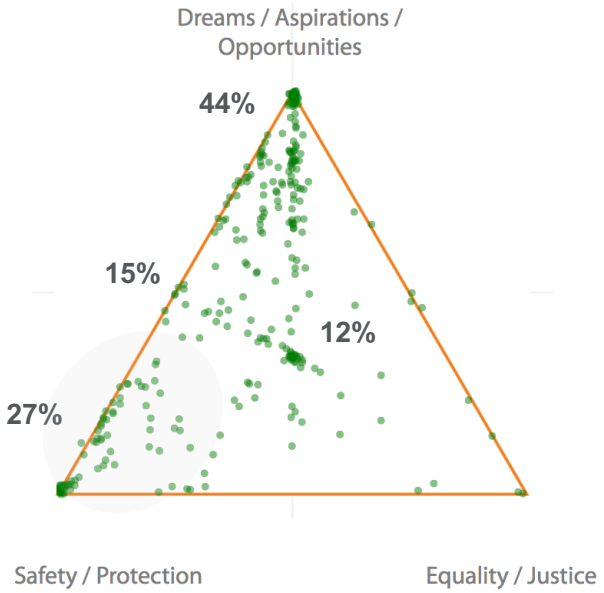


Figure 37: Pattern of triad T8 for all stories shared by girls, highlighting stories for which girls are seeking safety and protection (n=324)

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 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

Safety and security

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

Early marriage and ruining a girl's life

A marriage offer for a 14 year old girl came from her sister-in-law's house, while she was studying in class seven. Then her father wanted to stop her studies. That girl was pretty and did well at school. Her teachers tried to counsel her father, but he didn't listen. To him, for his daughter the proposal was lucrative. That girl had a knack for studies but her father did not agree. Later her birth certificate was tampered with to say she was 18 and she was married. After this her studies stopped.

- Non-BP girl aged 12-15, Mofiznagar

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 *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 12-15, Bowshi

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

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)

Safety and security

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?

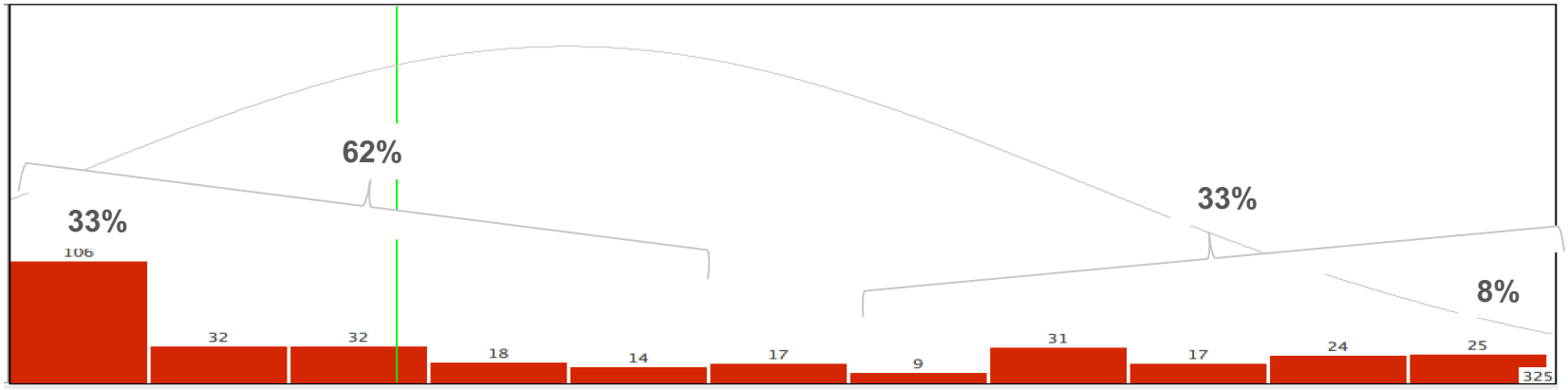
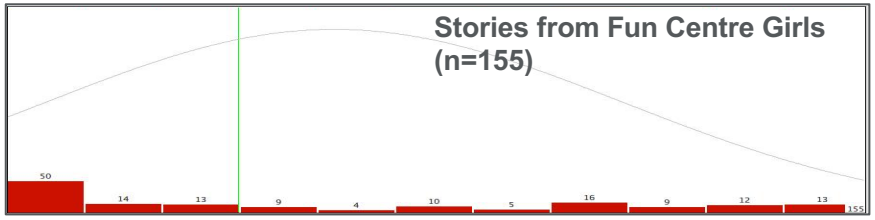


Figure 38: Pattern of dyad D4 for all stories shared by girls (n=325)

Safety and security

D4. How safe/secure do girls feel?



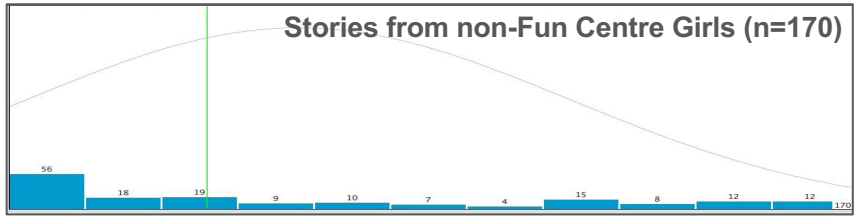
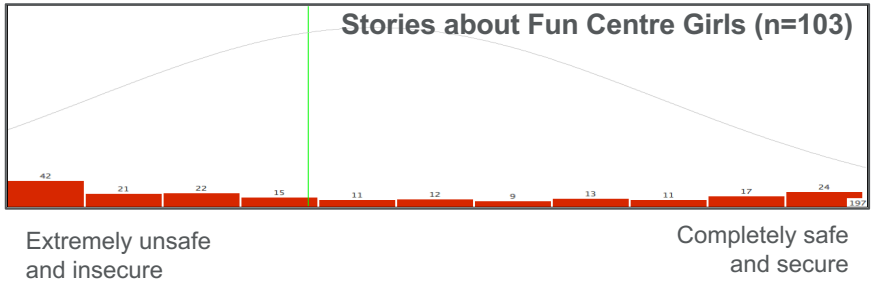


Figure 39: Visual pattern of dyad D4 for the stories shared by Fun Centre girls and non-Fun Centre girls (n=325)

D4. How safe/secure do girls feel?



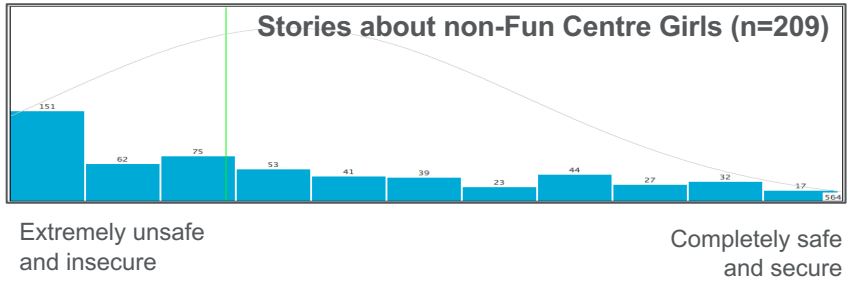
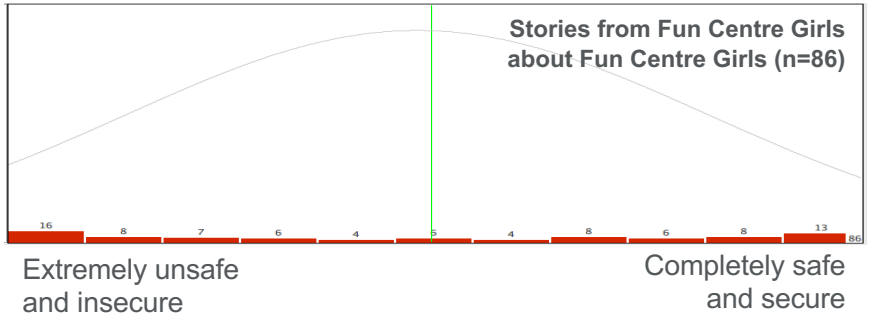


Figure 40: Pattern of dyad D4 for the stories about Fun Centre girls and about non-Fun Centre girls (n=325)

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**.

Safety and security

D4. How safe/secure do girls feel?



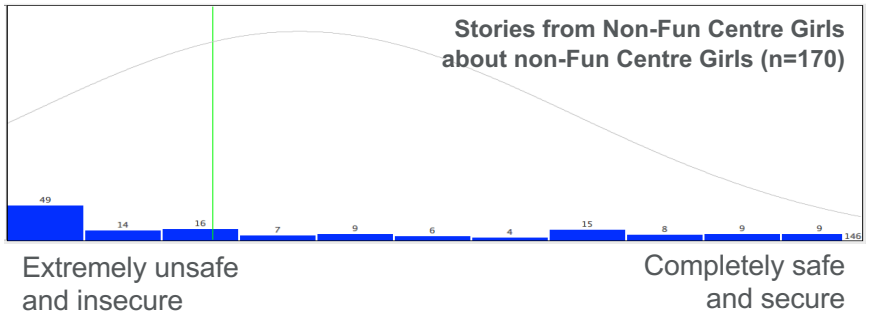


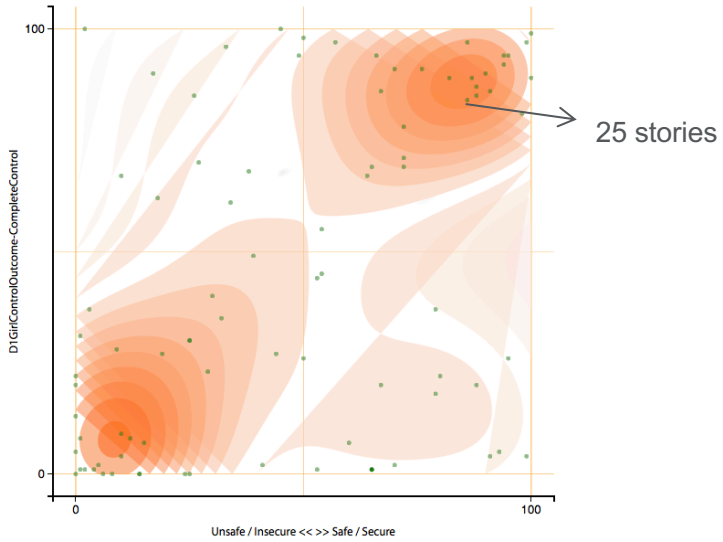
Figure 41: Pattern of dyad D4 for the stories from Fun Centre that are about Fun Centre girls (n=86) as well as stories from non-Fun Centre girls that are about non-Fun Centre girls (n=170)

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.

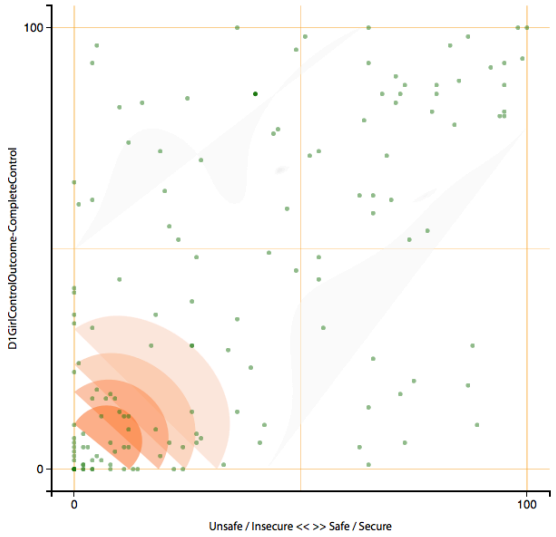
The stories from non-Fun Centre girls about non-Fun Centre girls in which girls feel most extreme unsafe and insecure (median towards the far left) are related to **Girl's honour** (22 stories), **Safety/security** (31 stories), **Violence** (13 stories) and **Marriage** (36 stories). In all situations,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



Stories from Fun Centre Girls about Fun Centre Girls (n=86)



Stories from Non-Fun Centre Girls about non-Fun Centre Girls (n=146)

Figure 42: X-Y plot (contour map) comparing the feeling of safety & security (D4) in relation to sense of having control over what happened in the story (D1).

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.

Safety and security

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…

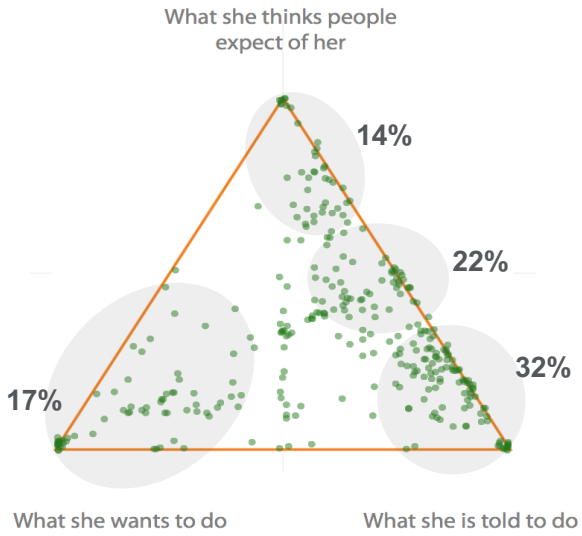


Figure 43: Pattern of triad T5 for all stories shared by girls (n=324)

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.

Agency of girls

T5. In your story, the girl does…

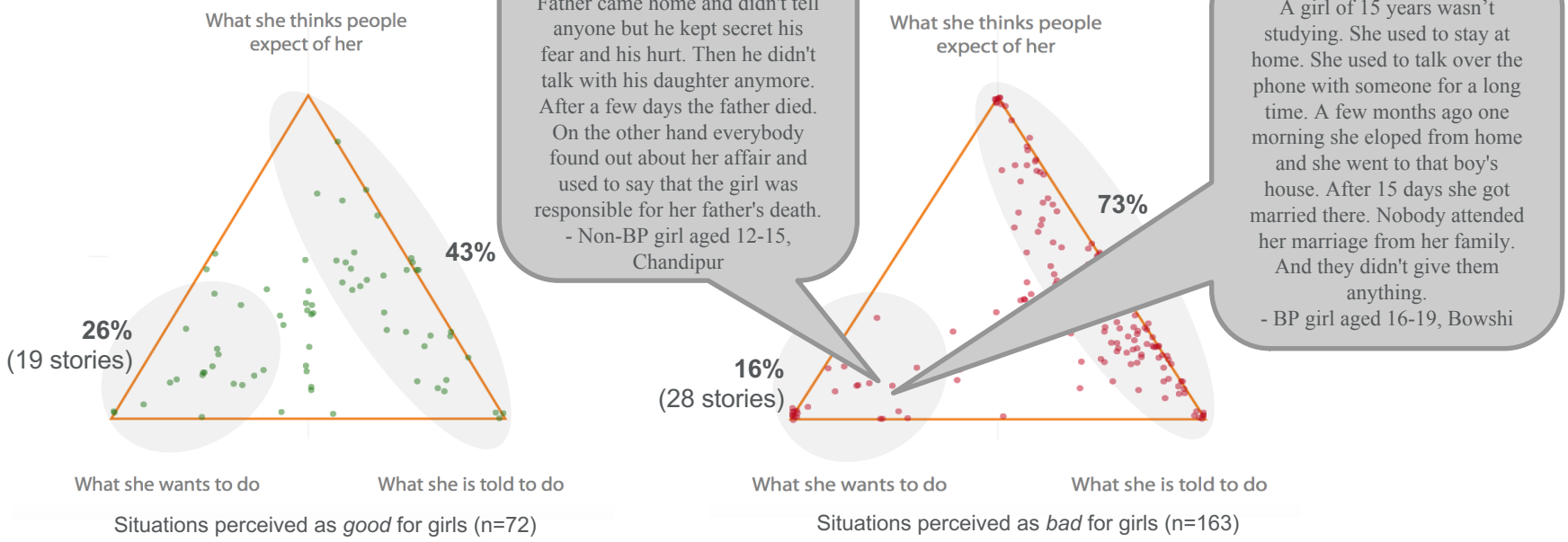


Figure 44: Pattern of triad T5 for the stories from girls that are perceived as good or bad for girls (n=324)

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.

Agency of 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.

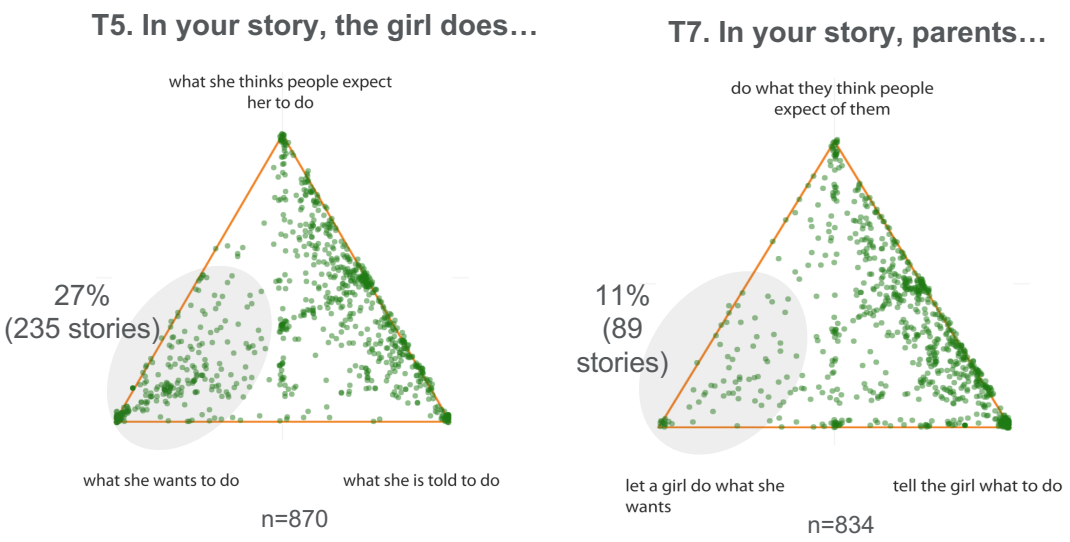


Figure 45: Proportion of stories in which girls do what they want, for T5 and T7

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

Agency of girls vs self-confidence

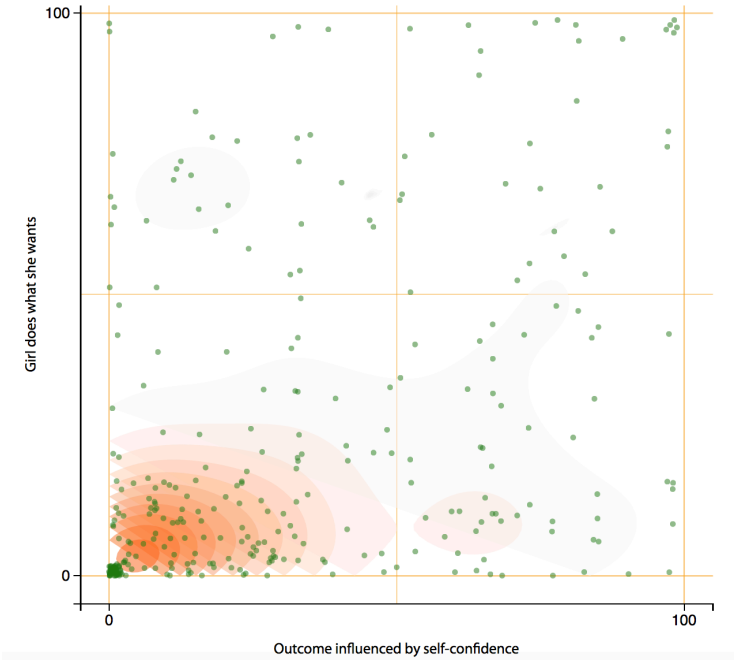


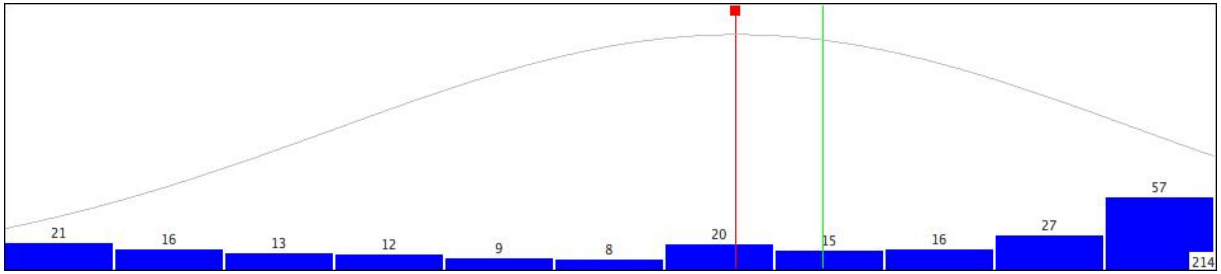
Figure 46: X-Y plot (contour map) comparing influence by self-confidence (T1) in relation to 'girl does what she wants (T5) (n=235)

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.

Girls' control over their life, as perceived by boys

D1. In the story, the girl has …



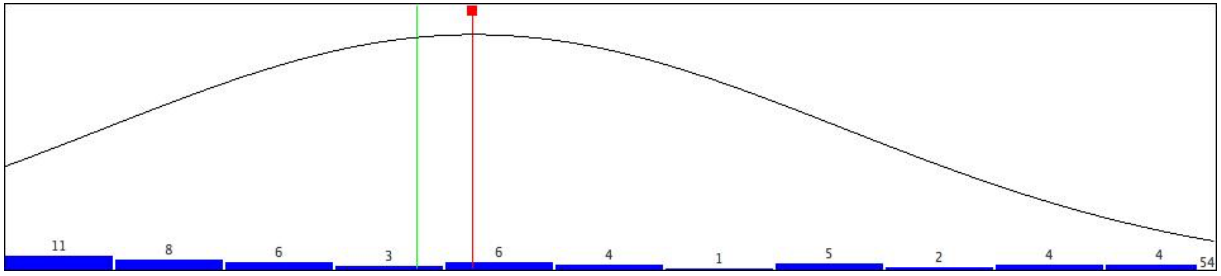
Complete control over what happened

Figure 47: Pattern of dyad D1 for all **stories from boys** (n=214)

No control over what happened

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.

D1. In the story, the girl has …



Complete control over what happened

No control over what happened

Figure 48: Pattern of dyad D1 for **stories from boys about girls in which a romantic boyfriends** was involved (n=54)

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

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.

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

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.

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

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

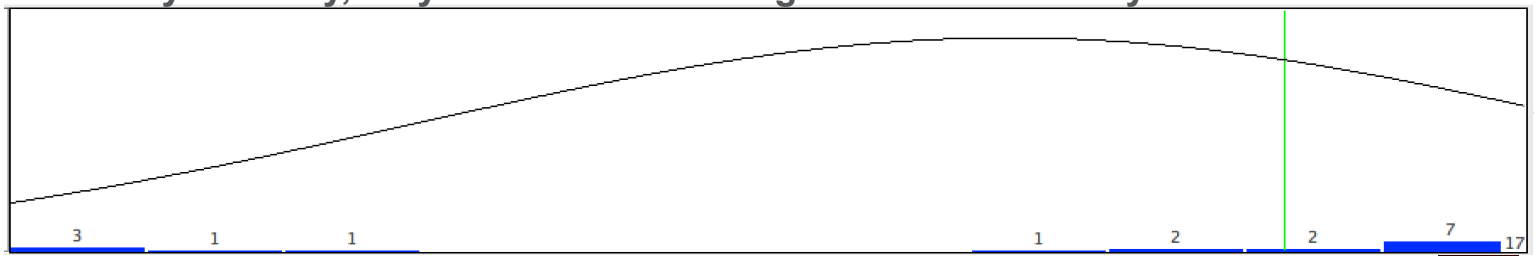
LESS FREQUENT STORY THEMES

- **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 …



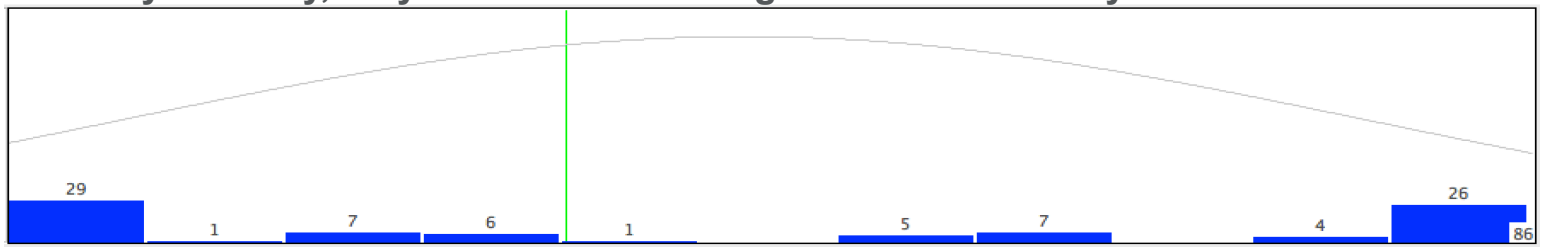
A very good example for other girls

A very bad example for other girls

Figure 49: Pattern of question D2 for stories from **non-Fun Centre girls about Fun Centre girls** (n=17)

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 …



A very good example for other girls

A very bad example for other girls

Figure 50: Pattern of question D2 for stories **from Fun Centre girls about Fun Centre girls** (n=86)

Behaviour of girls in relation to traditions and social expectations

S1. The extent to which girls' behaviour defies or conforms with traditions/social expectations

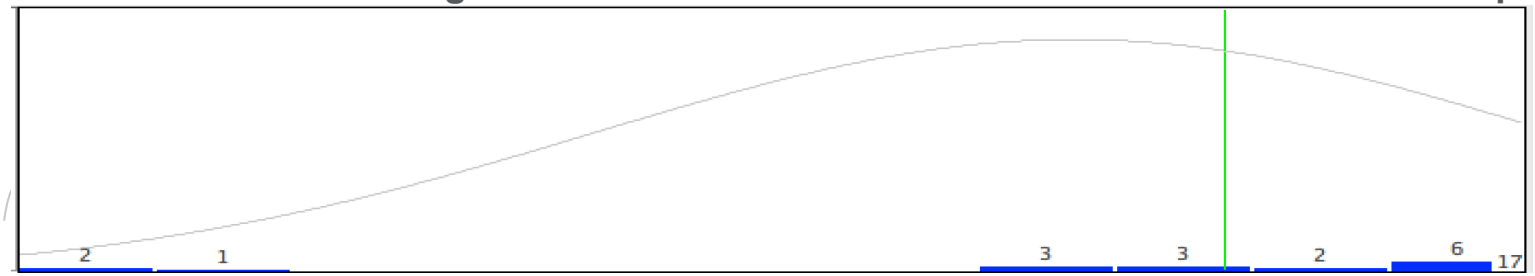


Figure 51: Pattern of question S1 for stories from non-Fun Centre girls about Fun Centre girls (n=17)

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).

S1. The extent to which girls' behaviour defies or conforms with traditions/social expectations

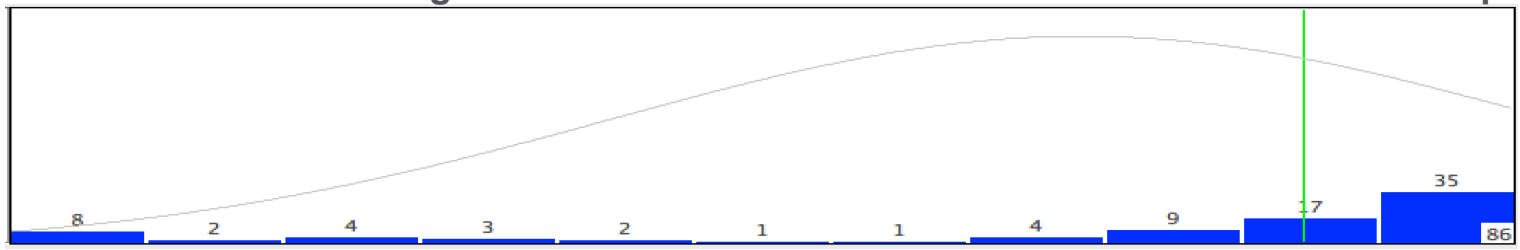
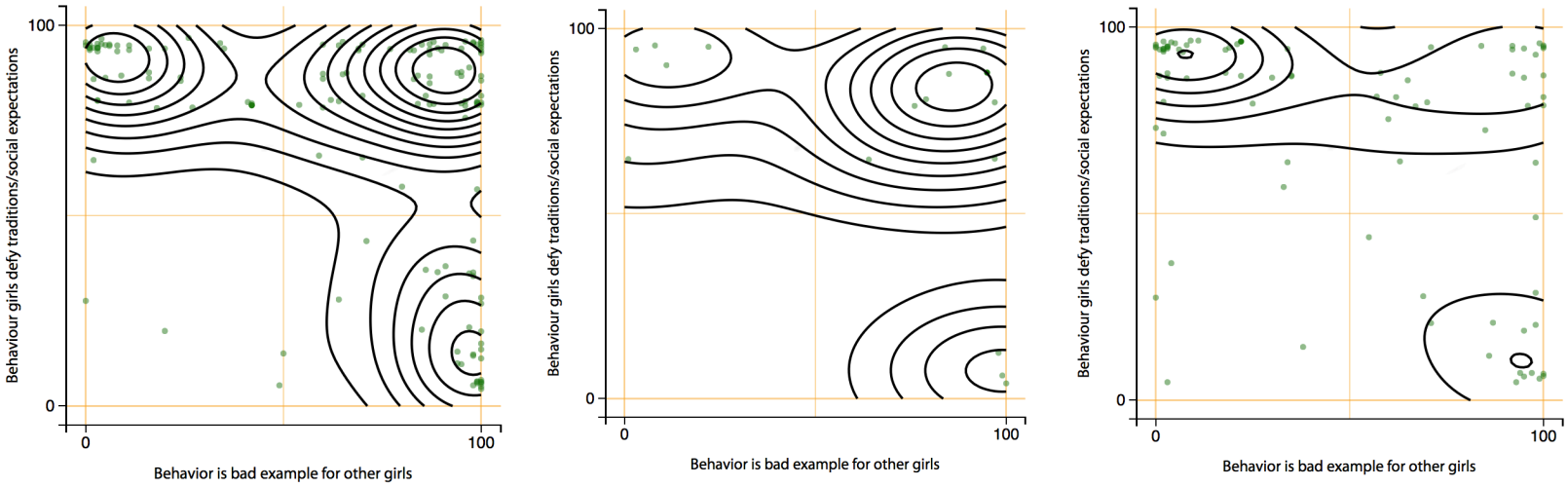


Figure 52: Pattern of question S1 for stories from Fun Centre girls about Fun Centre girls (n=86)

Behaviour of girls in relation to traditions and social expectations versus the perception of the girls' behaviour as good / bad example for other girls



Stories from non-Fun Centre Girls about non-Fun Centre Girls (n=145)

Stories from non-Fun Centre Girls about *Fun Centre Girls* (n=17)

Stories from Fun Centre Girls about Fun Centre Girls (n=86)

Figure 53: X-Y plot (contour map) comparing Behaviour girls in relation to tradition or social expectations and the perception of girls' Behaviour being a good or bad example for other girls

Stories from **non-Fun-Centre girls telling stories about non-Fun Centre Girls** 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 …

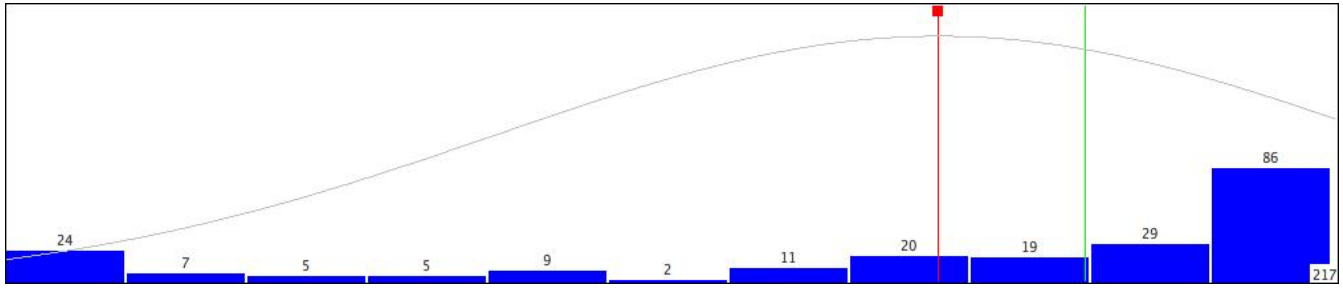


Figure 54: Pattern of question D2 for stories from parents about **non-Fun Centre girls** (n=217)

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

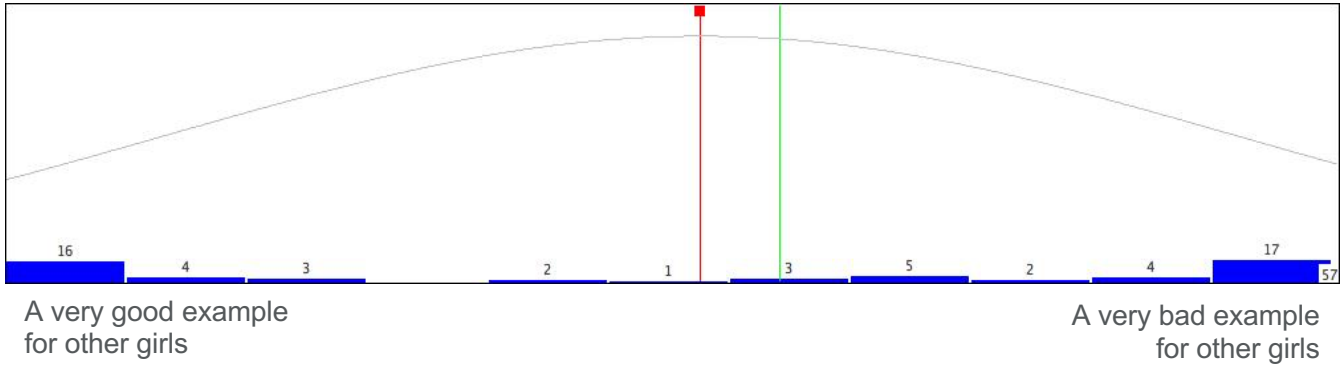


Figure 55: Pattern of question D2 for stories from parents about **Fun Centre girls** (n=57)

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.

Girls' behaviour being a good or bad example for other girls, as perceived by boys

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

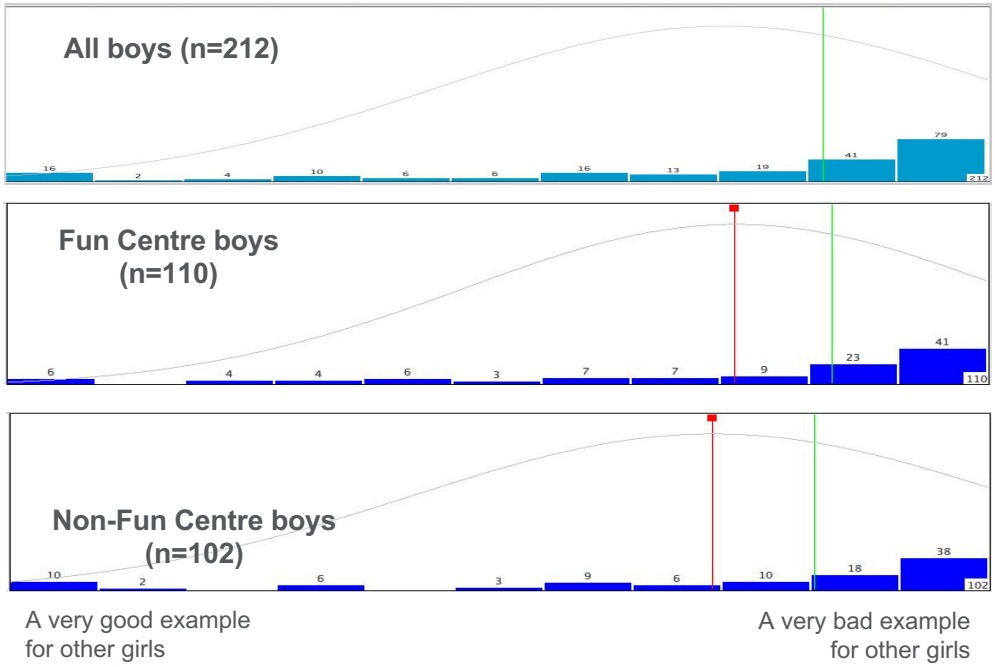


Figure 56: Pattern of dyad D2 for stories from boys (all, Fun Centre boys and non- Fun Centre boys)

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

Girls and Tipping Point activities: Football and cycling

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

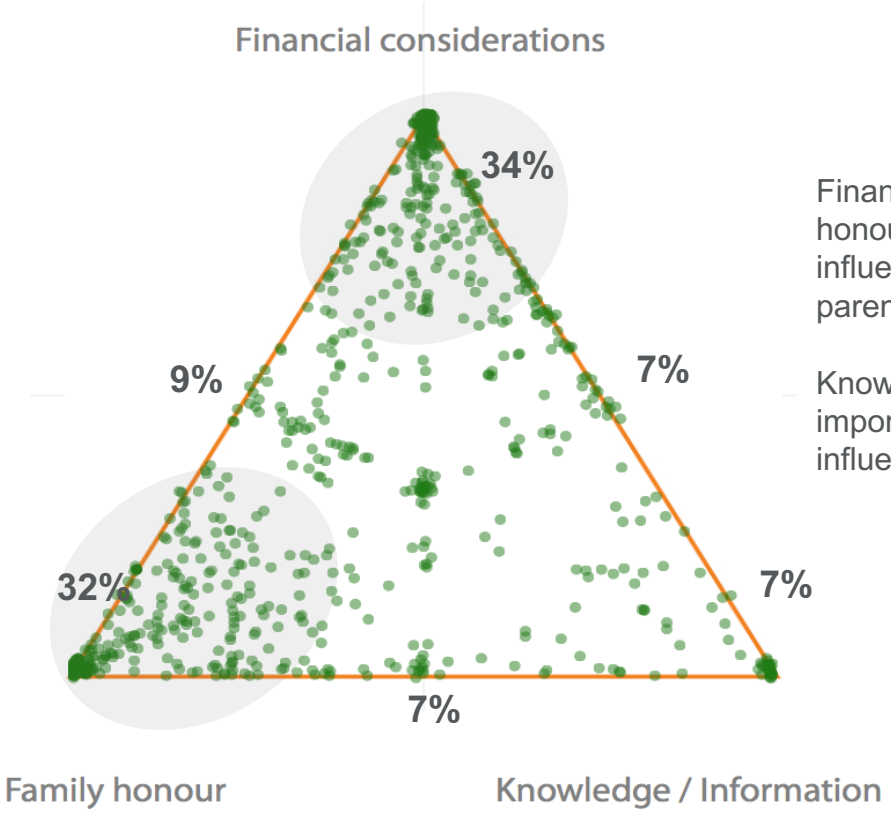
Summary

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.

What influence the behaviour of parents?

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?

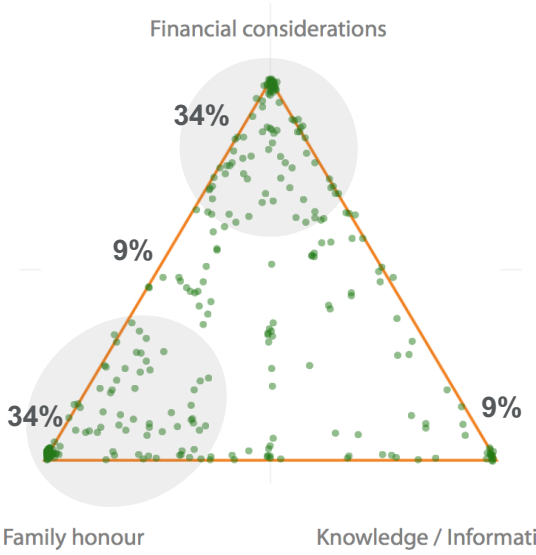


Figure 58: Pattern of triad T3 for stories from girls (n=318)

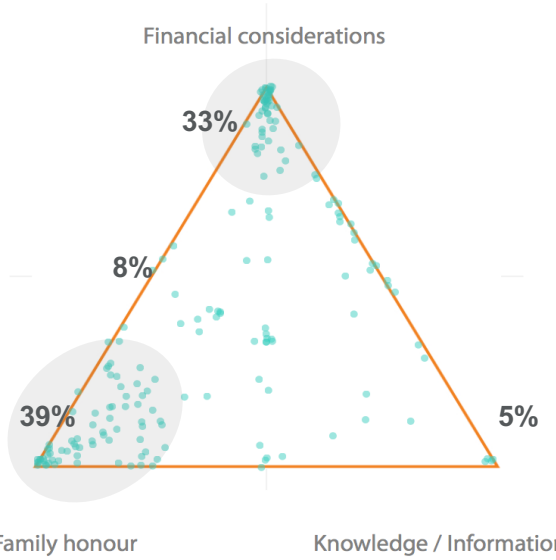


Figure 59: Pattern of triad T3 for stories from boys (n=188)

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)

What influence the behaviour of parents?

Stories from parents about Fun Centre girls vs non-Fun Centre girls

T3. Stories from Adults about Fun Centre and non-Fun Centre Girls

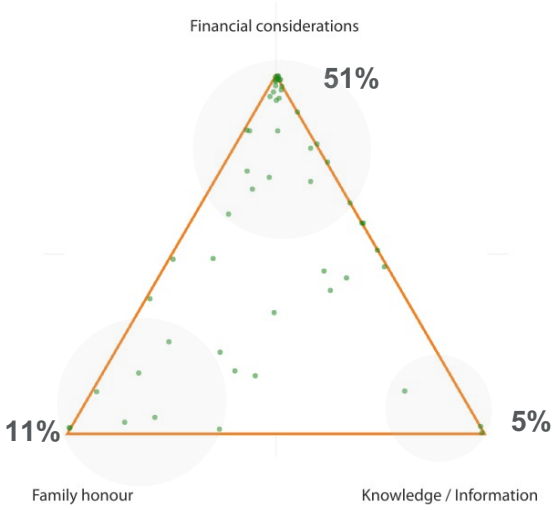


Figure 60: Pattern of triad T3 for stories from parents about Fun Centre girls (n=55)

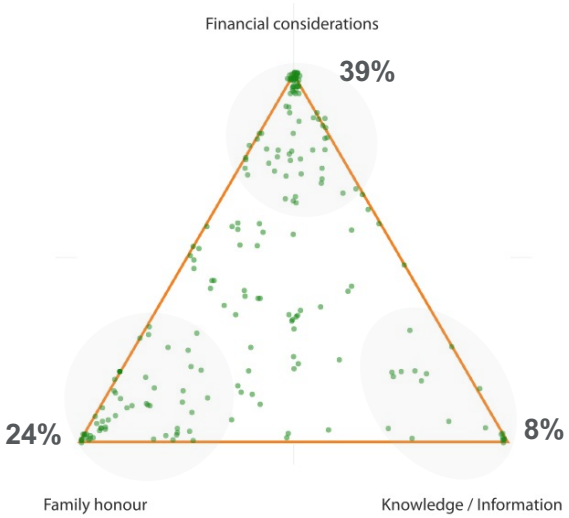


Figure 61: Pattern of triad T3 for stories from parents about non-Fun Centre girls (n=210)

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%)**.

Who influences decision-making about the girl's life?

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

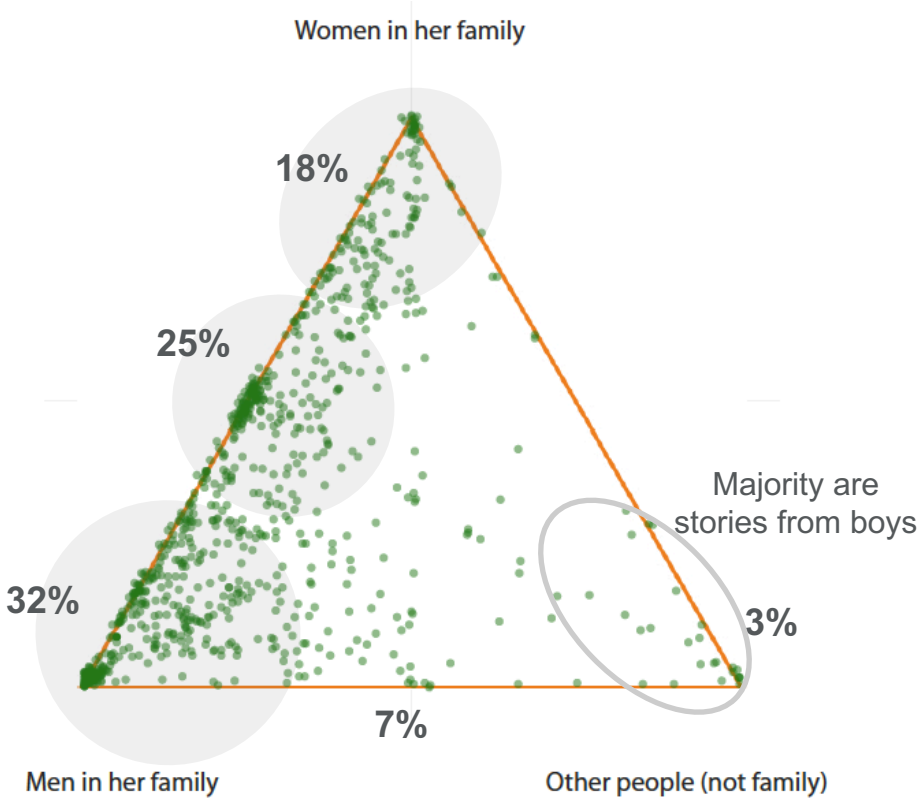


Figure 62 : Pattern of triad T6 for all stories (n=853)

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

Who influences decision-making about the girl's life?

Stories from mothers vs fathers

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

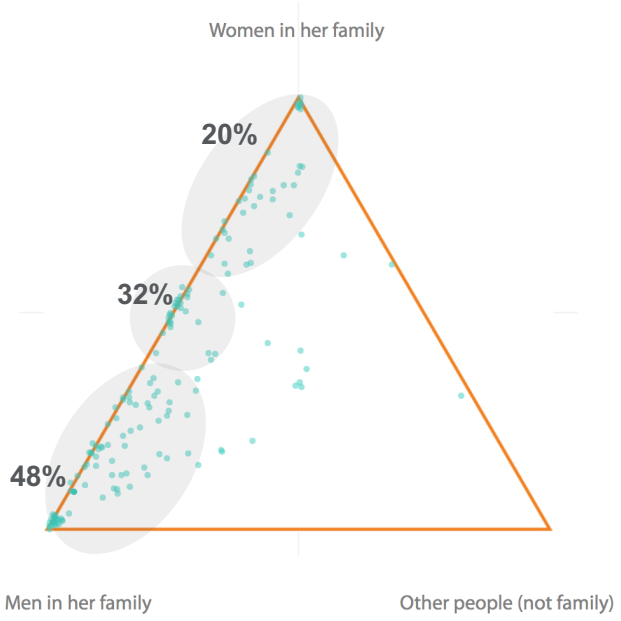


Figure 63 : Pattern of triad T6 for stories from mothers (n=164)

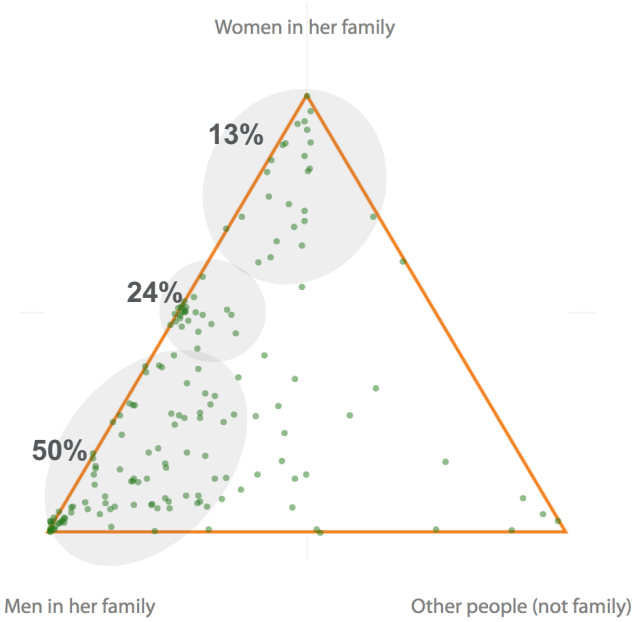


Figure 64 : Pattern of triad T6 for stories from fathers (n=166)

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

Who influences decision-making about the girl's life?

Stories about Fun Centre girls vs non-Fun Centre girls

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

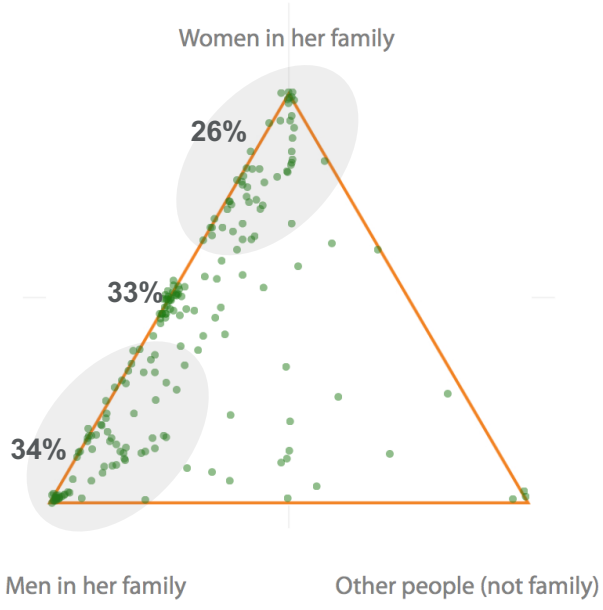


Figure 65 : Pattern of triad T6 for all stories about Fun Centre girls (n=196)

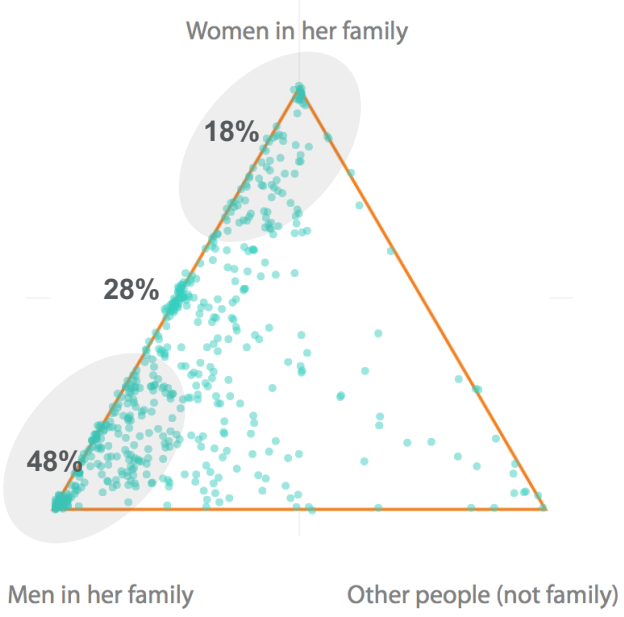


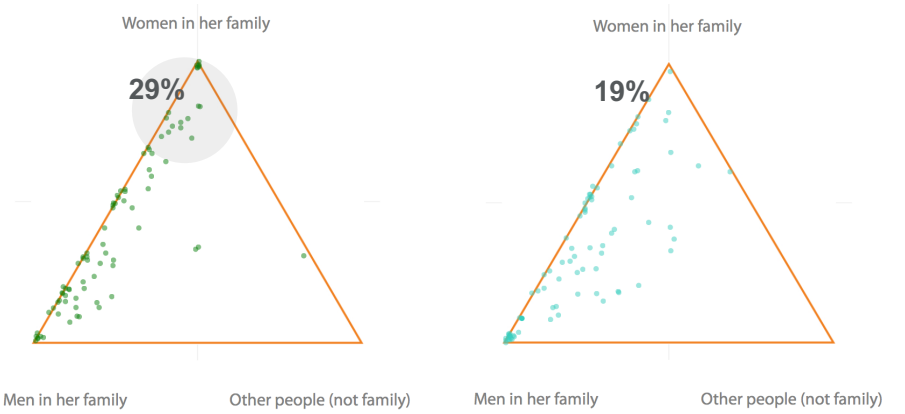
Figure 66 : Pattern of triad T6 for all stories from non_Fun Centre girls (n=548)

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?

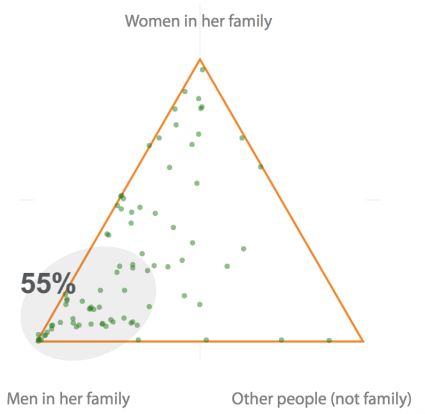


Stories from Boundary Partner Mothers (n=84)

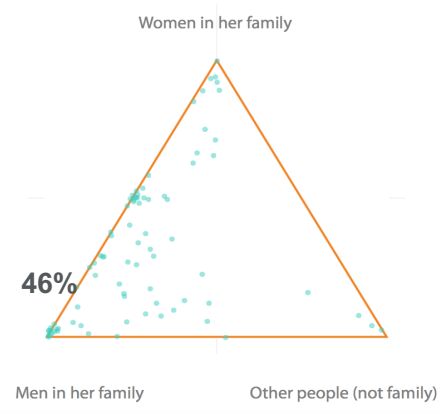
Stories from non-Boundary Partner Mothers (n=80)

Figure 67 : Pattern of triad T6 for stories from boundary partner and non-boundary partner mothers

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



Stories from Boundary Partner Fathers (n=84)



Stories from non-Boundary Partner Fathers (n=82)

Figure 68: Pattern of triad T6 for stories from boundary partner and non-boundary partner fathers

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

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

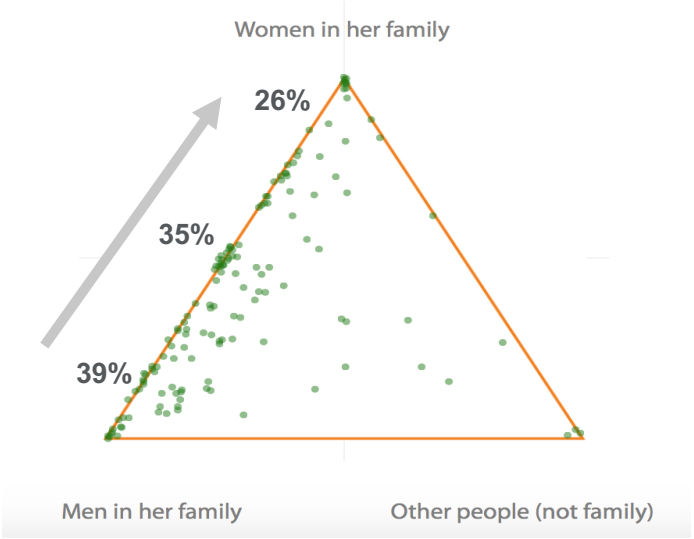


Figure 69 : Pattern of triad T6 for stories in which the situation is good for girls (all respondents) (n=146)

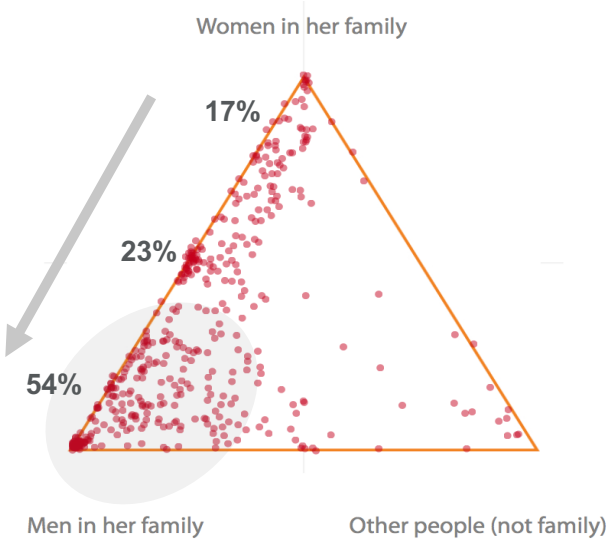


Figure 70 : Pattern of triad T6 for stories in which the situation is bad for for girls (all respondents) (n=438)

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

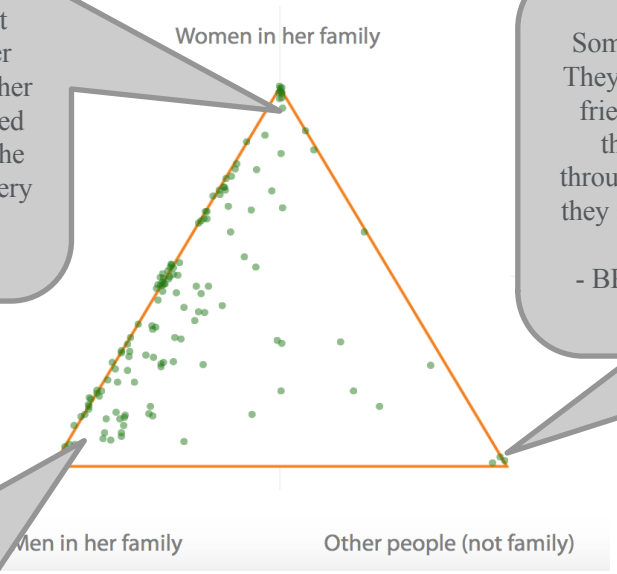


Figure 71 : Pattern of triad T6 for stories in which the situation is good for girls (all respondents) with example stories (n=146)

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

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

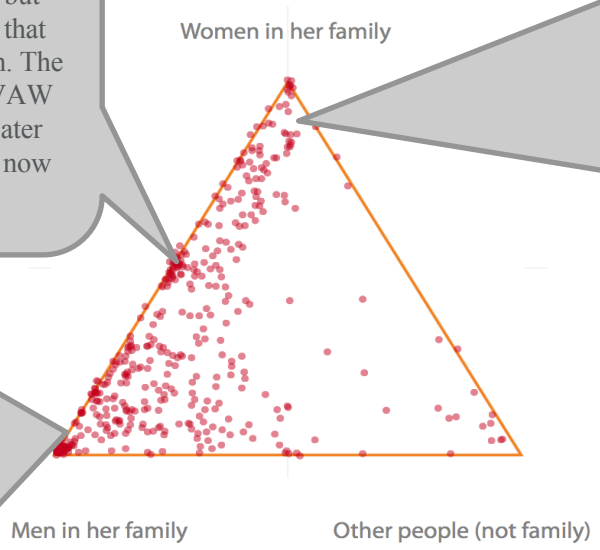


Figure 72 : Pattern of triad T6 for stories in which the situation is bad for girls (all respondents) with example stories (n=438)

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

Behavior parents in relation to girls
For stories from parents

T7. In your story, parents …

Figure 73 : Pattern of triad T7 for stories from mothers (n=164)

Figure 74 : Pattern of triad T7 for stories from fathers (n=166)

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)

Behavior parents in relation to girls

For stories from girls

T7. Behaviour of parents …

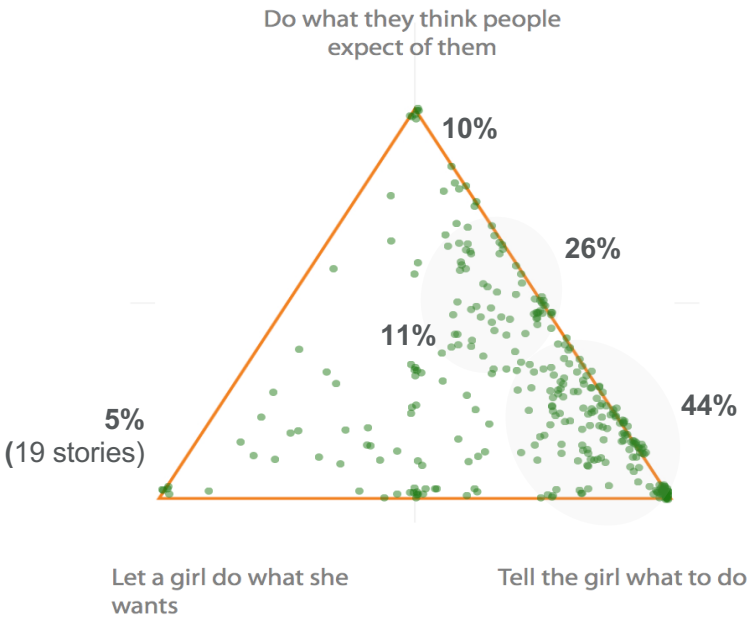


Figure 75: Pattern of triad T7 for all stories shared by girls (n=318)

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.

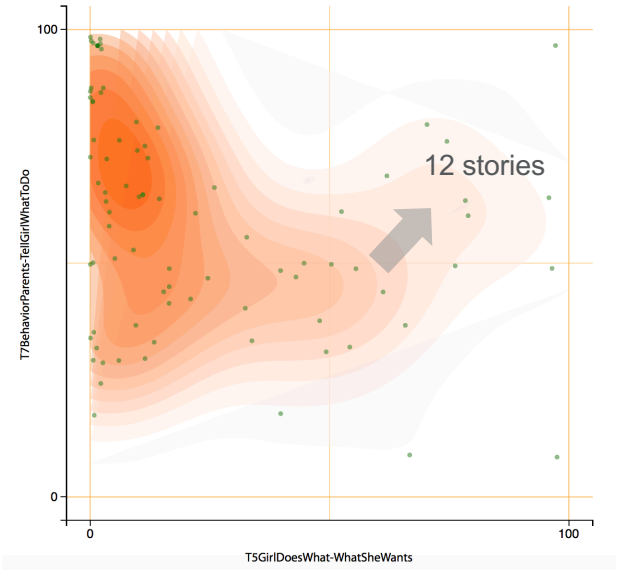
For stories about **education**, there is an increase in stories for which parents tell girls what to do (55% or 109 stories). If stories are about **non-Fun Centre girls**, this is 59% (68 stories) while for stories about **Fun Centre Girls it is lower** (45% or 33 stories) but there is however an increase 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.

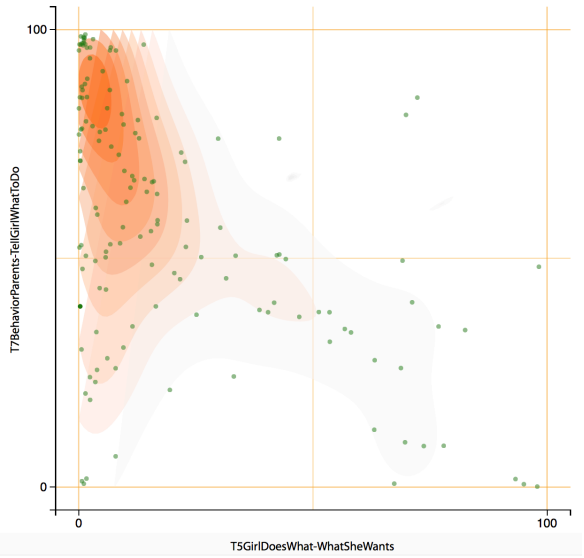
For stories about **girls' honour** by non-Fun Centre girls, parents tell the girls more what to do (56% or 22 stories) as compared to stories from Fun Centre Girls (48%).

Parents tells the girl what to do versus the girl does what she wants

Comparing stories in an X-Y plot in which the Y-axis represents 'parents tell girls what to do' (from T7) and the X-axis represents 'the girl does what she wants to do' (from T5)



Stories from Fun Centre Girls about Fun Centre Girls (n=86)



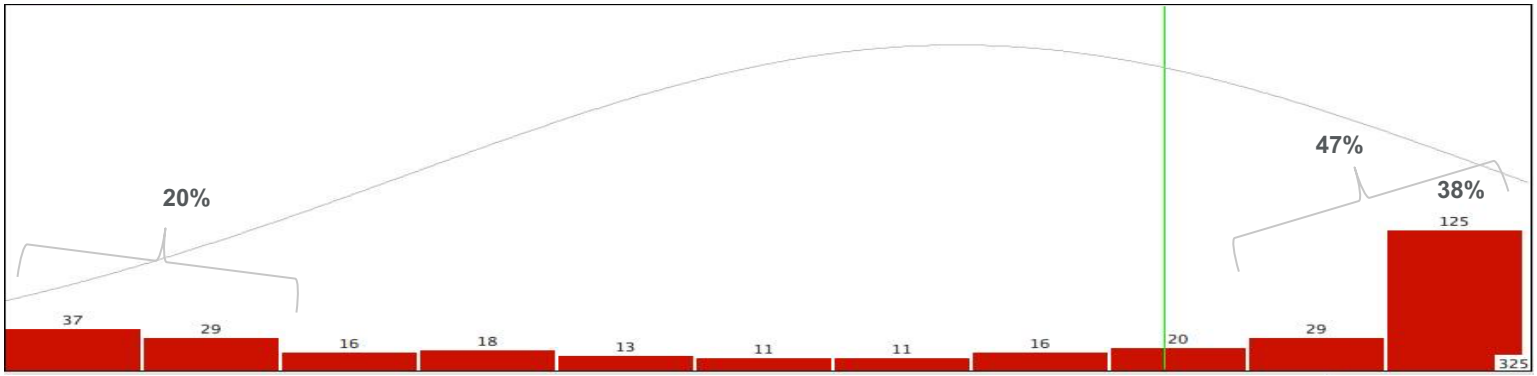
Stories from Non-Fun Centre Girls about non-Fun Centre Girls (n=143)

Figure 76: X-Y plot (heatmap) comparing behaviour of parents telling the girl what to do (T7) in relation the girl does what she wants (T5)

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?



Complete control over what happened

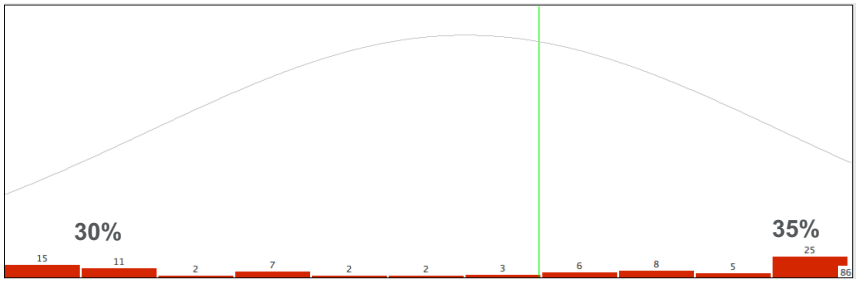
Figure 77: Pattern of dyad D1 for all stories from girls (n=325)

No control over what happened

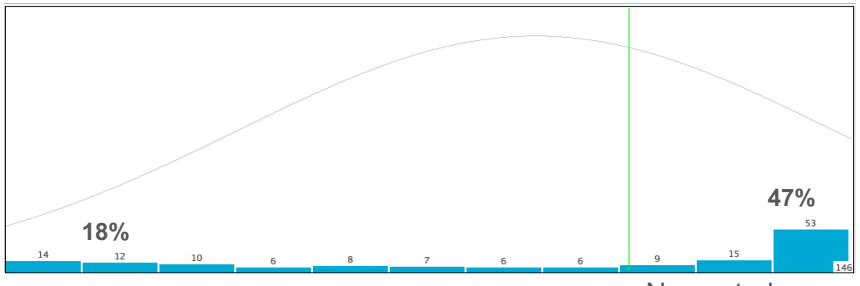
For almost half of the stories, girls do not have control over the situation (the median clearly leans towards the right position). If we select only the stories in which fathers (240 stories) or mothers (232 stories) appear, there is no difference in the pattern.
In these stories were **mothers and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

Girls' control over what happens in situations where parents appear

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



Stories from Fun Centre Girls about Fun Centre Girls (n=86)



Stories from Non-Fun Centre Girls about non-Fun Centre Girls (n=146)

Figure 78: Pattern of dyad D1 for all stories from Fun Centre girls about Fun Centre girls and stories from non-Fun Centre girls about non-Fun Centre girls

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

On Marriage, Freedom to move around (Mobility), Girl's honour, Dowry and Romantic relationships

Summary

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 result 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

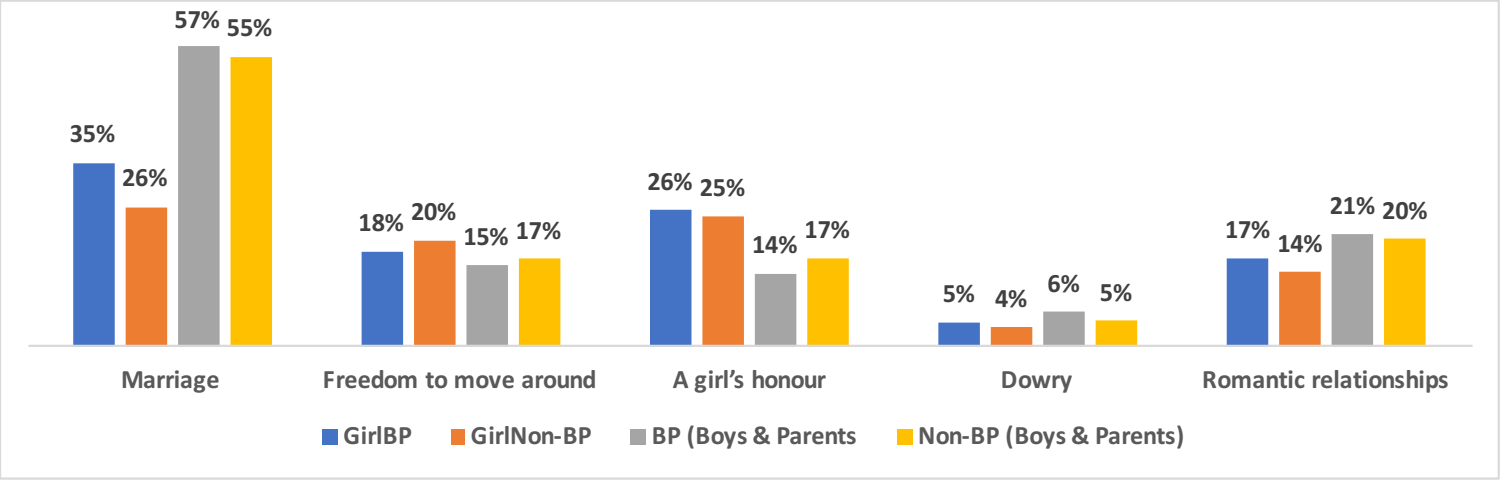


Figure 79: Percentage of stories for each of the selected topics for Fun Centre Girls, non-Fun Centre Girls, Parents and boys (part of Tipping point) and parents and boys (not part of Tipping Point Groups)

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.

Marriage

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.

Behavior related to marriage: socially acceptable?

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

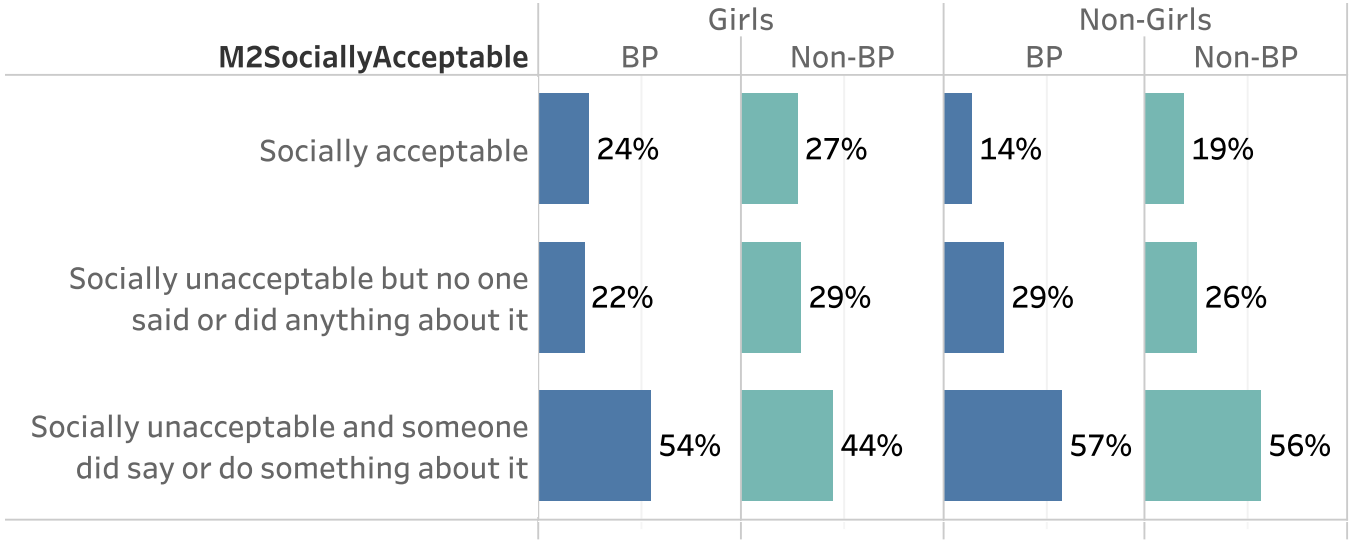


Figure 80: Stories about marriage by girls (99 stories) and boys / parents (308 stories)

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.

Behavior of girls in relation to marriage

T5. In your story, the girl does…

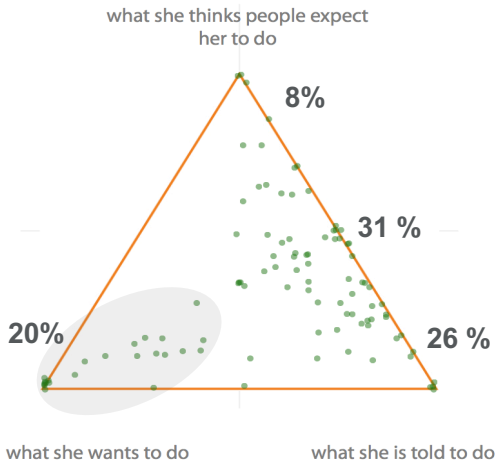


Figure 81: Stories about marriage by all girls (n=99)

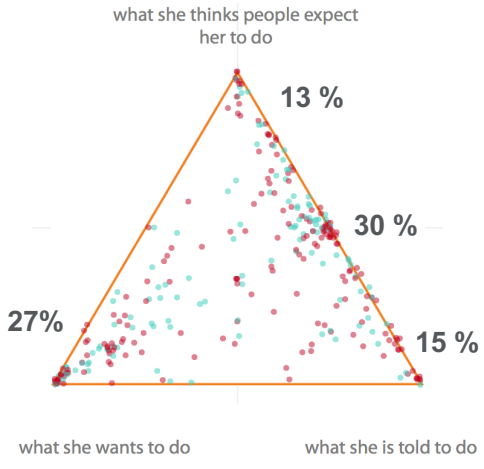


Figure 82: Stories about marriage by all parents and boys (n=307)

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.

Behaviour of parents in relation to marriage

T7. In your story, parents …

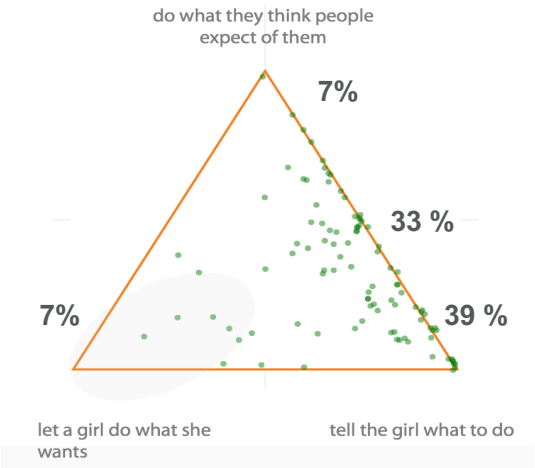


Figure 83: Stories about marriage by all girls (n=99)

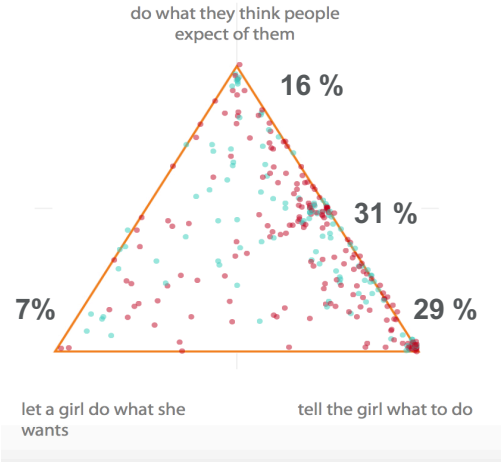


Figure 84: Stories about marriage by all parents and boys (n=307)

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!!

On marriage

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)

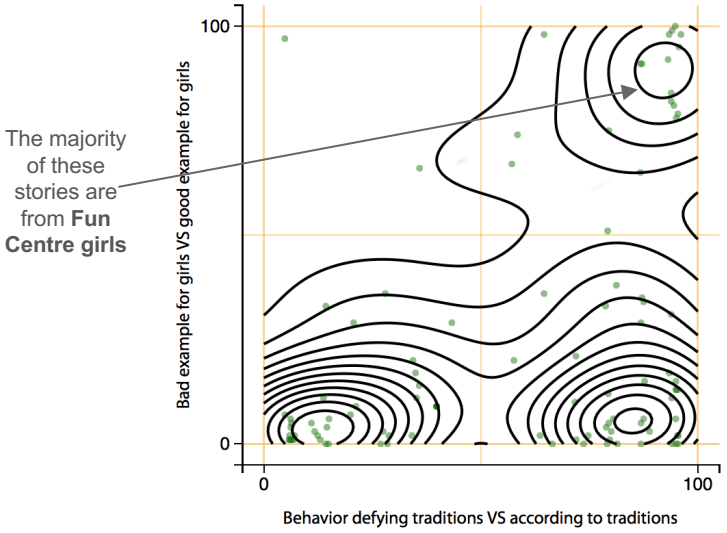


Figure 85: Stories from Girls (n=98)

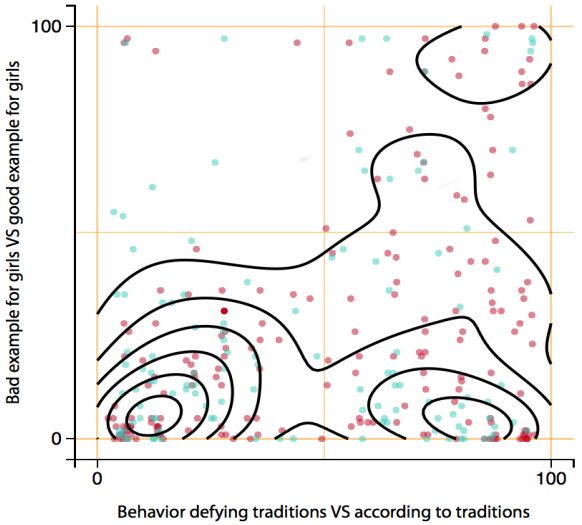


Figure 86: Stories from parents and boys (n=303)

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.

Freedom to move around

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 …

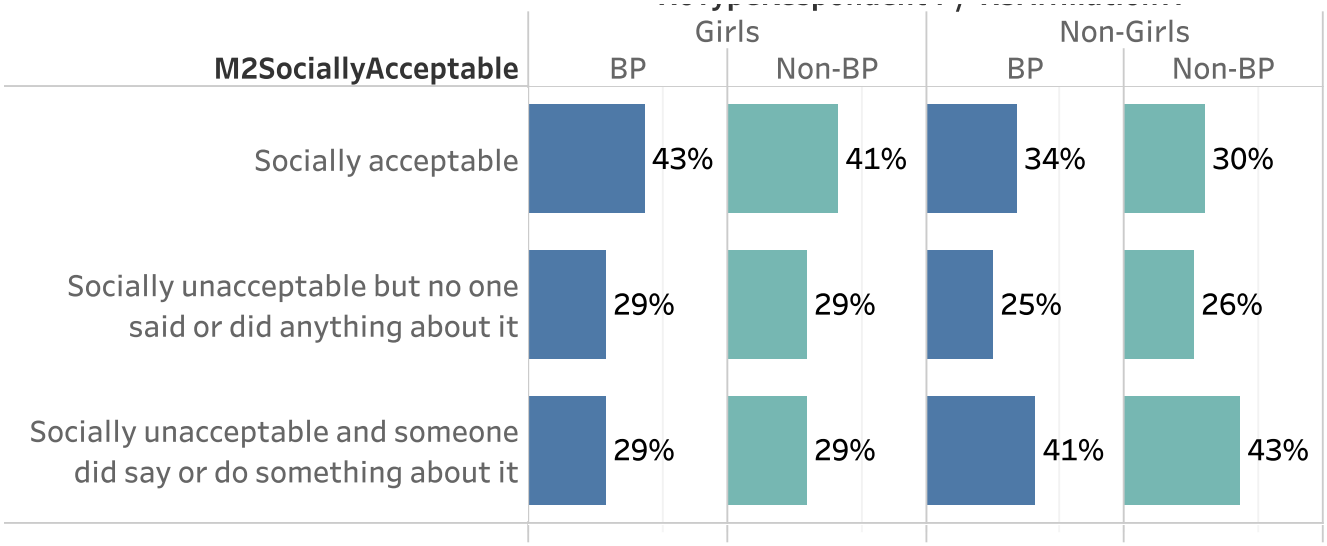


Figure 87: Stories about freedom to move by girls (62 stories) and boys / parents (90 stories)

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.

Behavior of parents in relation to freedom to move

T7. In your story, parents …

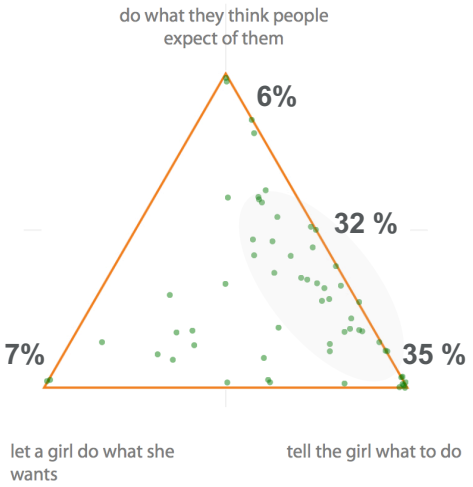


Figure 88: Stories about freedom to move by all girls (n=99)

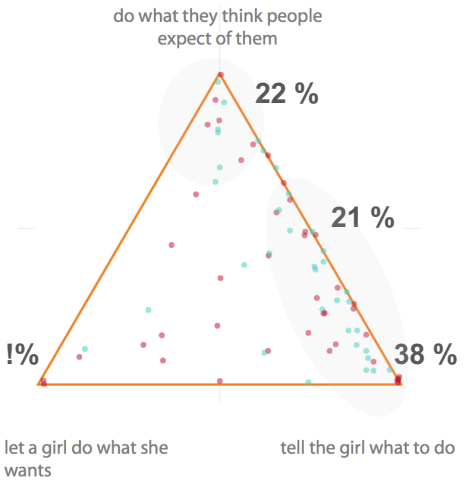


Figure 89: Stories about freedom to move by all parents and boys (n=307)

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)

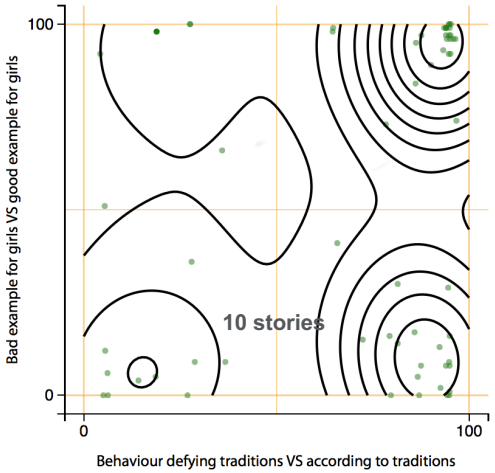


Figure 90: Stories from Girls (n=62)

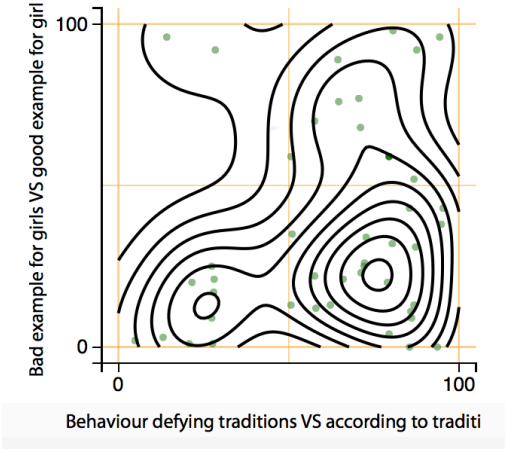


Figure 91: Stories from boundary partner parents and boys (n=44))

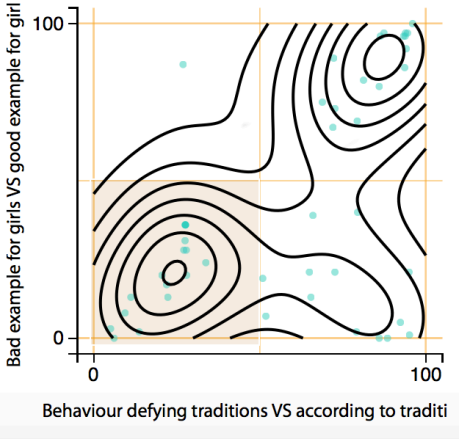


Figure 92: Stories from non-boundary partner parents and boys not part of TP groups (n=22)

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.

Girl's honour

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.

Behavior related to girl's honour: socially acceptable?

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

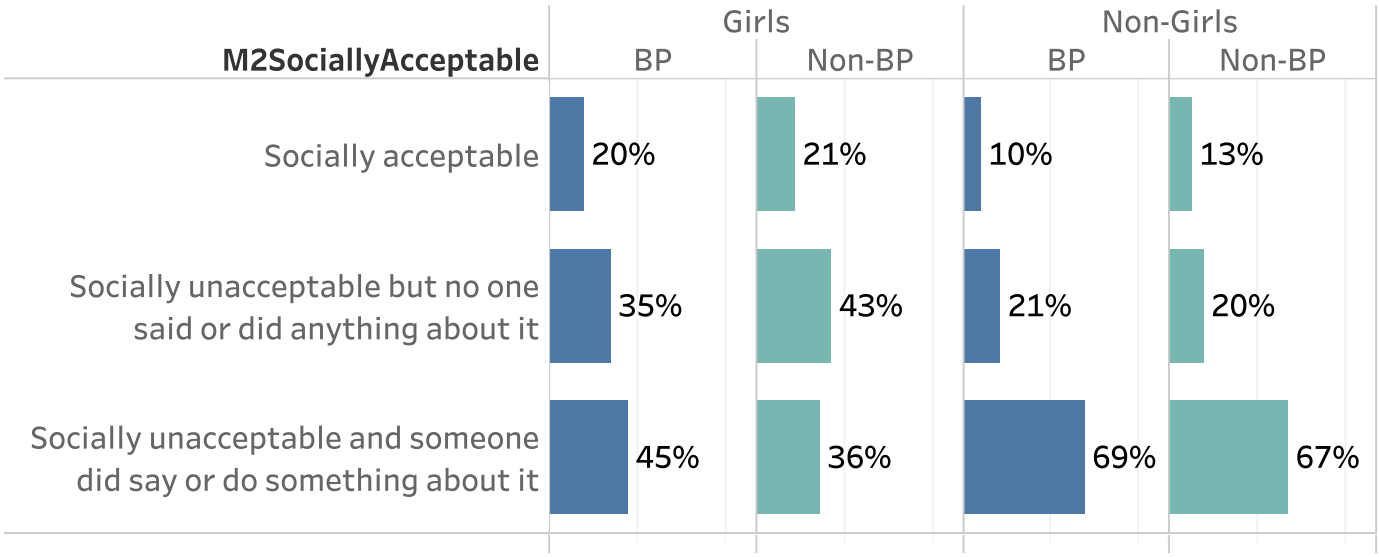


Figure 93: Stories about girl's honour by girls (82 stories) and boys / parents (85 stories)

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.

Behavior of girls in relation to girl's honour

T5. In your story, the girl does…

Figure 94: Stories about girls' honour from all girls (n=82)

Figure 95: Stories about girls' honour from all parents and boys (n=83)

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.

Behavior of parents in relation to girl's honour

T7. In your story, parents …

Figure 96: Stories about Girls' honour from all girls (n=79)

Figure 97: Stories about girls' honour from all parents and boys (n=75)

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.

On girl's honour

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)

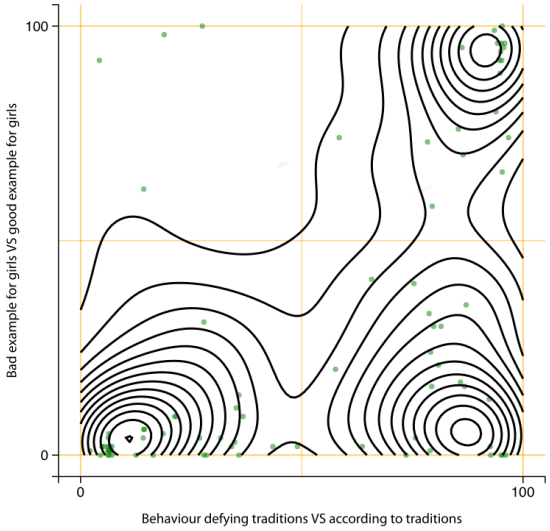


Figure 98: Stories from Girls (n=82)

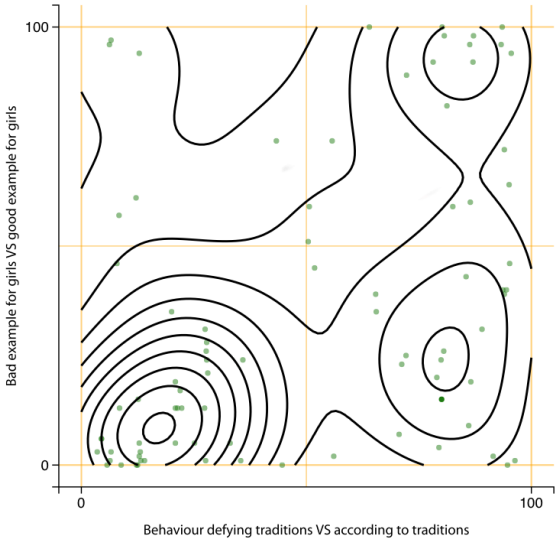


Figure 99: Stories from parents and boys (n=84)

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.*

Example stories about girl's 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

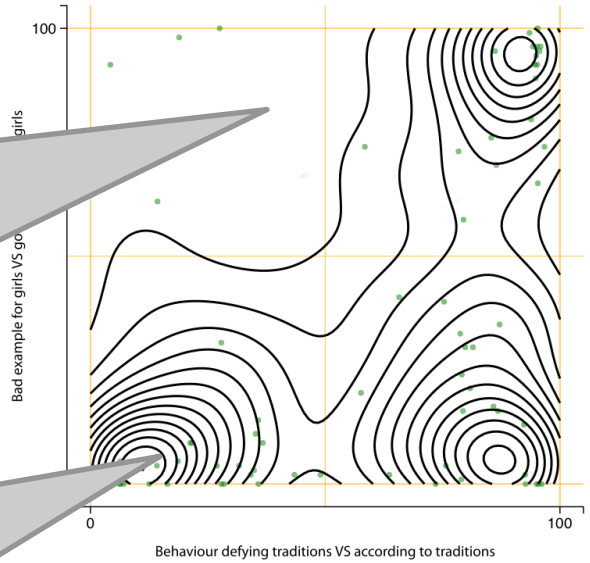


Figure 100: Stories from girls about a girl's honour (n=82)

Dowry

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 eventhough 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)

Behavior related to marriage: socially acceptable?

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

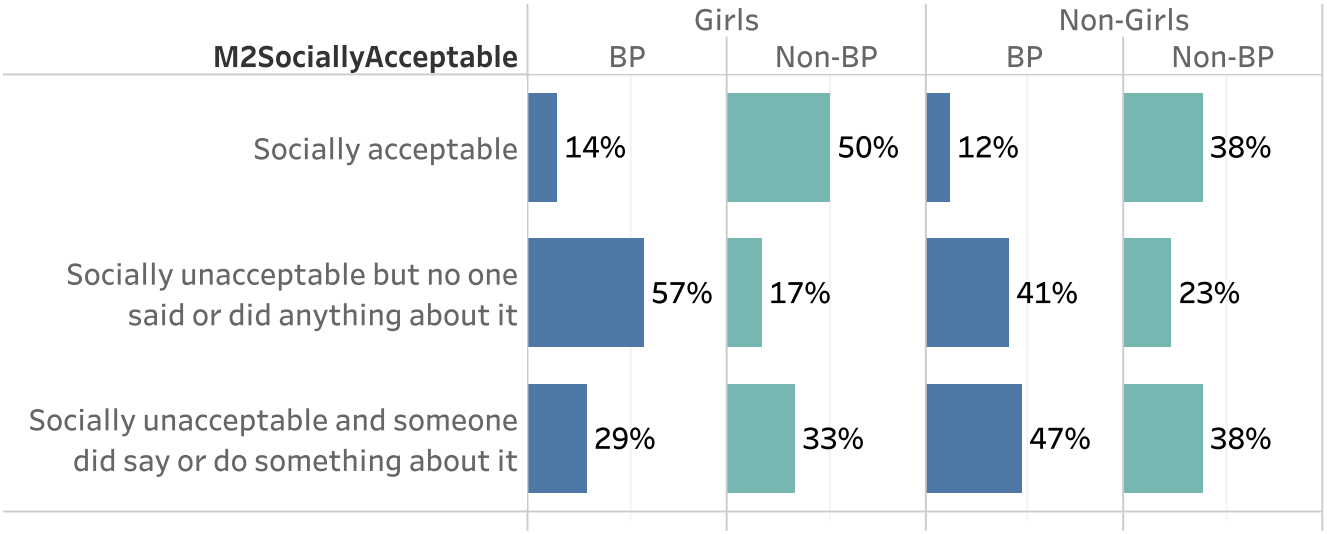


Figure 101: Stories about dowry by girls (13 stories) and boys / parents (30 stories)

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 about dowry that are perceived as socially unacceptable?

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

Romantic relationships

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.**

Behavior related to romantic relationships : socially acceptable?

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

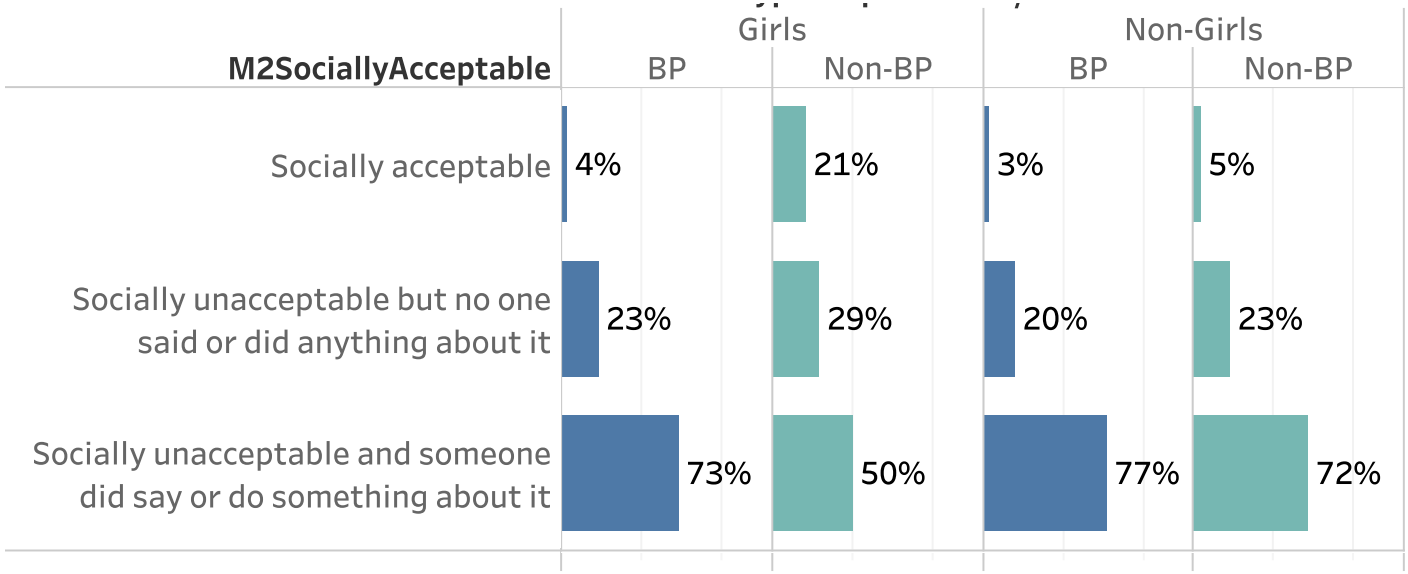


Figure 102: Stories about romantic relationships by girls (50 stories) and boys / parents (118 stories)

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.

Behavior of girls in relation to romantic relationships

T5. In your story, the girl does…

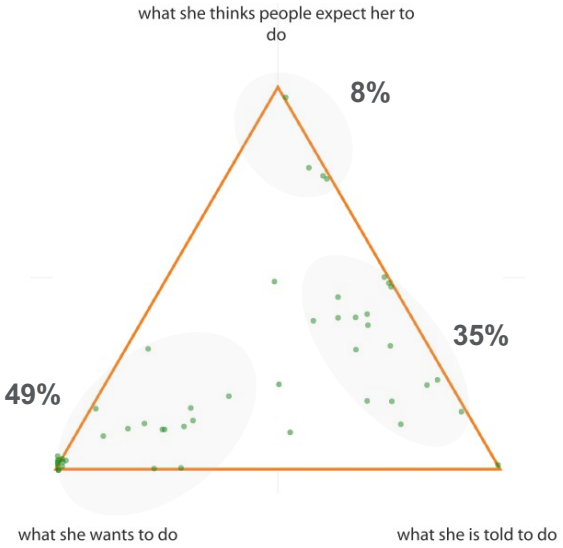


Figure 103: Stories about Romantic relationships from all girls (n=49)

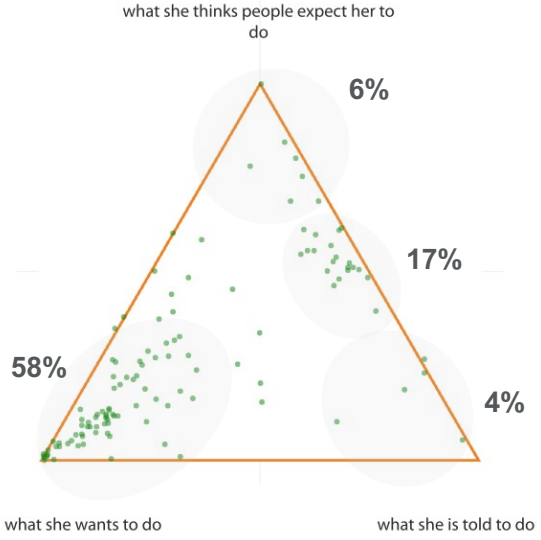


Figure 104: Stories about Romantic relationships from all parents and boys (n=118)

Girls and parents/boys saw other **people's expectations as having little influence** on girls' behaviour related to Romantic relationships (8% and 6%).

A**bout 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.

Behavior of parents in relation to romantic relationships

T7. In your story, parents …

Figure 105: Stories about Romantic relationships from all girls (n=50)

Figure 106: Stories about Romantic relationships from all parents and boys (n=102)

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)

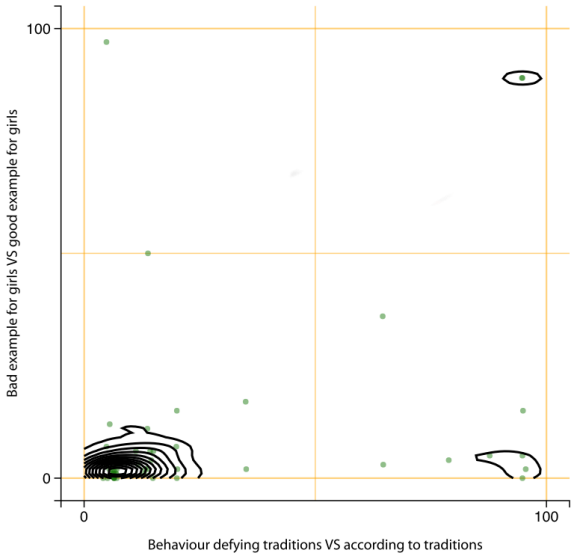


Figure 107: Stories from Girls (n=50)

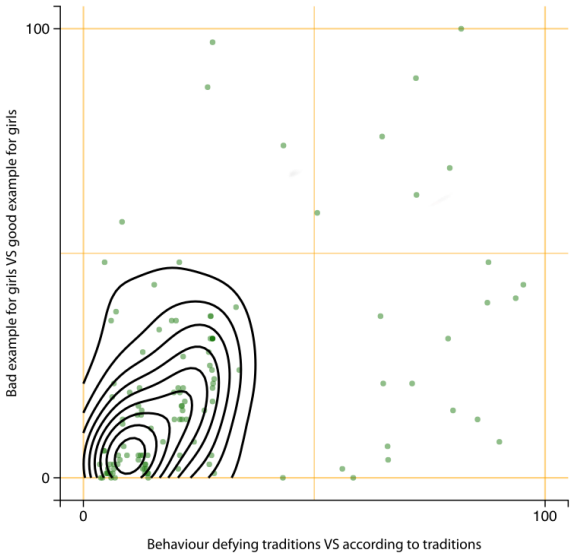


Figure 108: Stories from parents and boys (n=115)

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.

Example stories about romantic relationships

Story of a danger

Now I study in class ten. We used to live in this area before. There was a girl in this area who was one year younger then me. We used to go to school together. That girl had a relationship with one of my friends. But when he broke up with her she cried a lot. She doesn't have a father or brother. She has a mother and a sister. After watching this people started a rumour that we were having an affair. Then she came to me and told me that people are saying many things about you and me. She asked what she can do now. I told her not to answer anyone. Then a family meeting was arranged and people were trying to get us married. Then we said that we will study and will marry later. Now we don't go to school together. After this a month later I informed her family that we would not marry. She told me that she can walk alone.

- BP boy aged 12-15, Islampur (Behely Union)

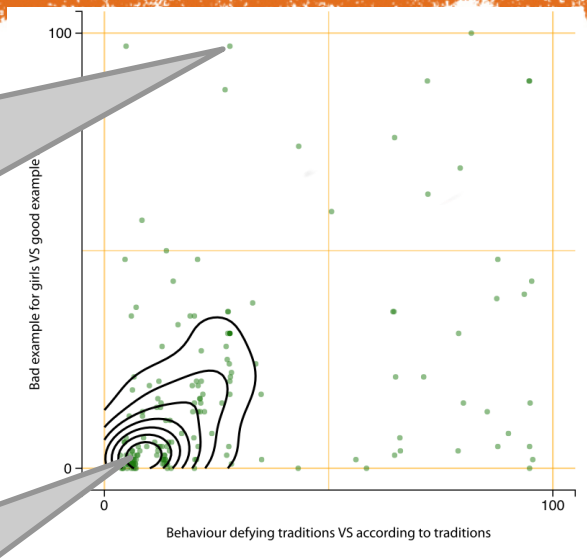


Figure 109: Stories about romantic relationships from girls, parents and boys (n=165)

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

7.2 Stories from and about boys

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?*

Stories from and about boys

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.

Figure 110: Number of stories from boys per age group

Figure 111: Number of stories from boys that are part of the Fun Centre (Boundary partners) and boys that are not part of the Fun Centre (non-Boundary partners)

Behaviour of boys in relation to girls

As perceived by girls

T4. How do boys act in relation to girls…

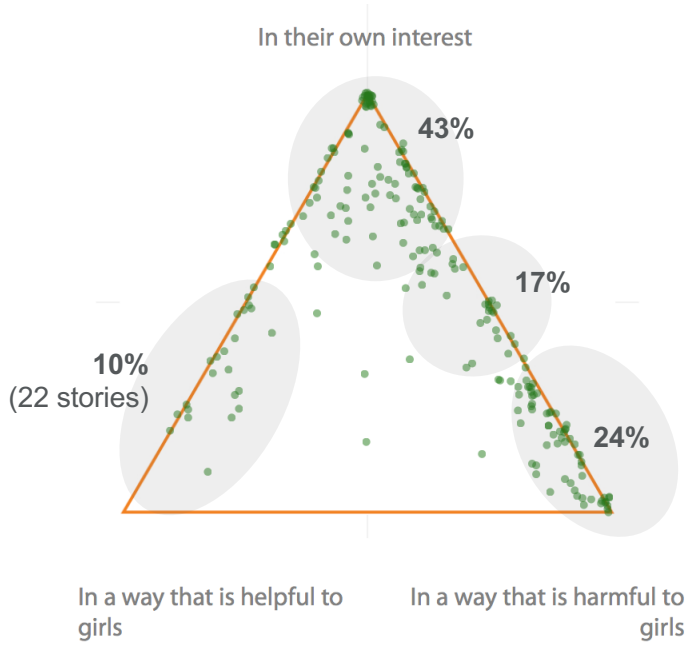


Figure 112: Pattern of triad T4 for all stories shared by girls (n=230)

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.

Behaviour of boys in relation to girls

As perceived by Fun Centre girls and non-Fun Centre girls

T4. How do boys act in relation to girls…

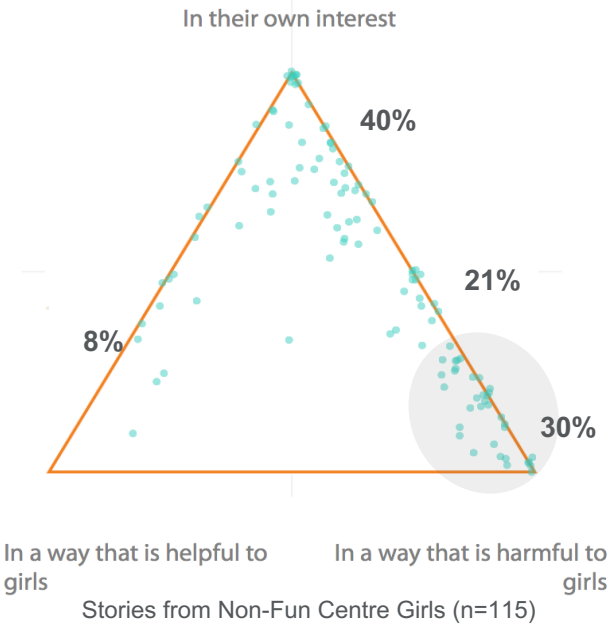


Figure 113: Pattern of triad T4 for the stories from Fun Centre girls and stories from non-Fun Centre girls (n=230)

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.

Behaviour of boys in relation to traditions and social expectations

S1. How do boys behave in the story?

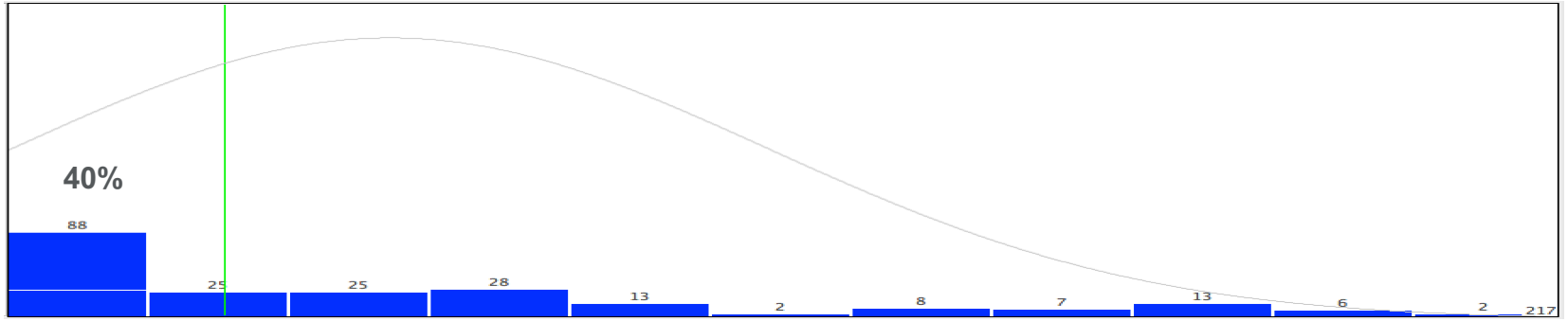


Figure 114: Visual pattern of question S4 showing how respondents perceive the the behaviour of boys in relation to traditions and social expectations (n=217)

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.

7.3 Stories decribing situations that were perceived as socially unacceptable and where someone said of did something about it

SUMMARY: STORIES DESCRIBING SITUATIONS THAT WERE PERCEIVED AS SOCIALLY UNACCEPTABLE AND WHERE SOMEONE SAID OF DID SOMETHING ABOUT IT

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

Socially unacceptable stories in which someone said or did something about it
Stories about marriage (n=223)

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

Socially unacceptable stories in which someone said or did something about it
Stories about safety / security (n=150)

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 a*pa* 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

Socially unacceptable stories in which someone said or did something about it
Stories about education (n=119)

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.

Stories involving Religious and Community Leaders

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

Stories about arbitration

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

Summary

OUTCOME 5 SUMMARY

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.

Stories involving Tipping Point staff / volunteers

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.

[…]'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 ACTVITIES

- **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 unaccceptable**

- **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

Different groups of exposure of the Tipping Point programme

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).

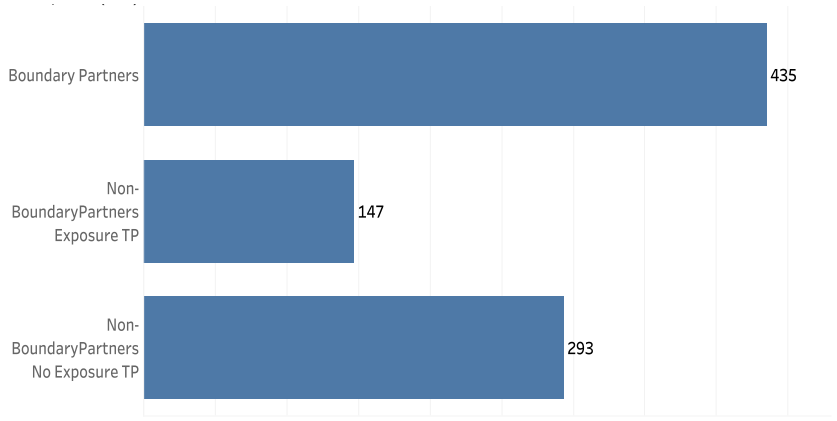


Figure 115: Number of stories for each of the three comparison groups

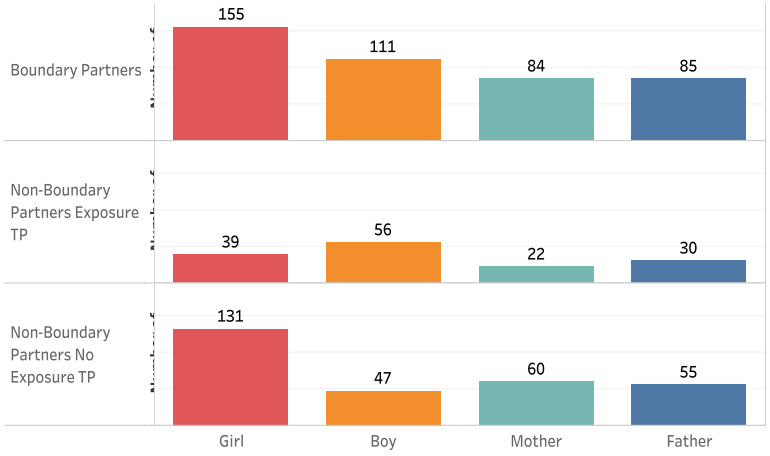


Figure 116: Number of stories per main cohort for each of the three comparison groups

The story is about …

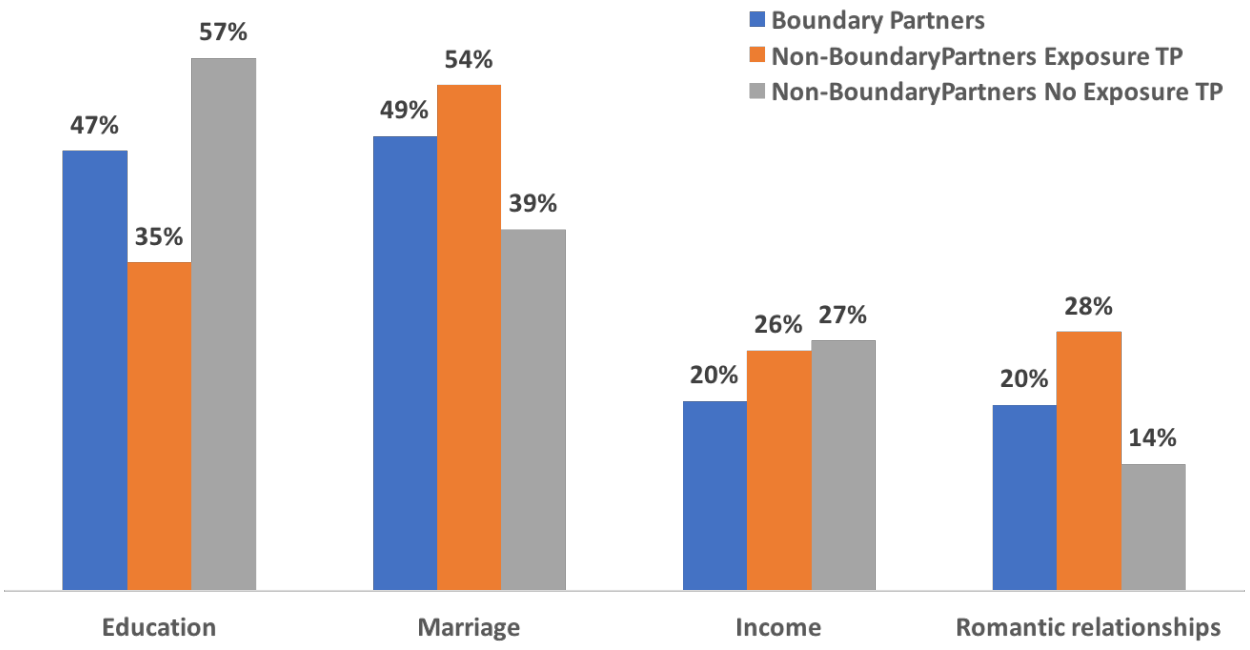


Figure 117: Percentage of stories per story theme for each of the three comparison groups

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

Some general patterns …

- 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.

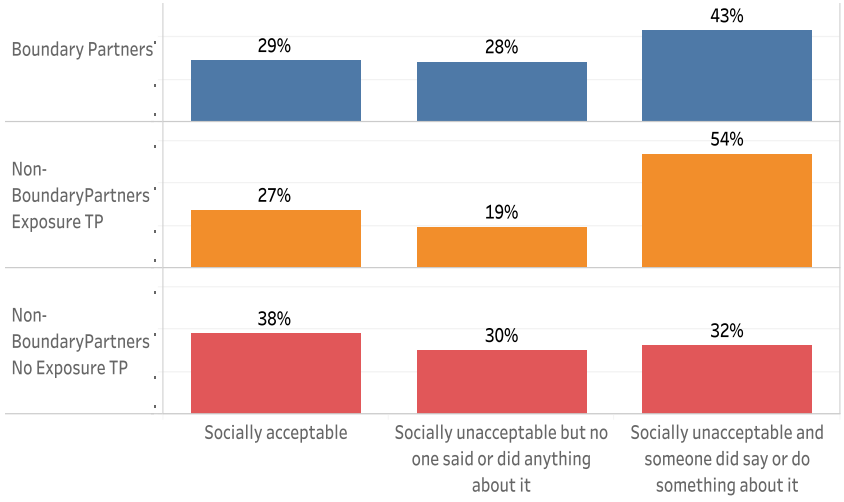
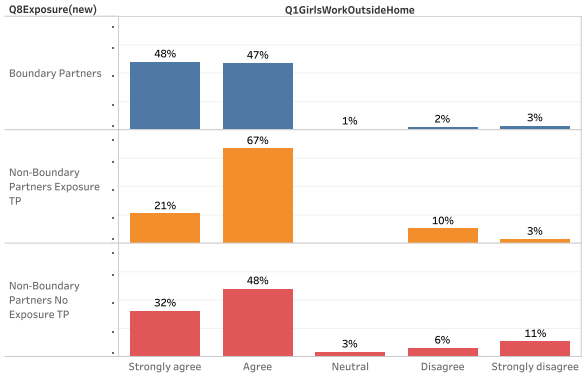
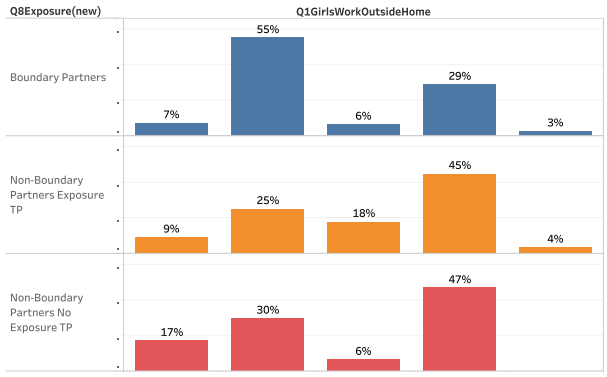


Figure 118: Percentage of stories for question M2 on social acceptability for each of the three comparison groups

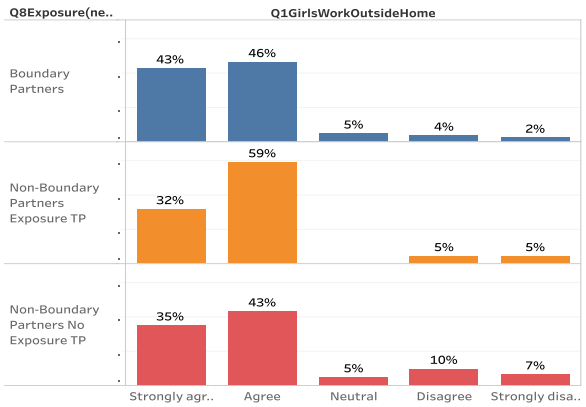
Daughters should have the same opportunity to work outside the home as sons (Q1)



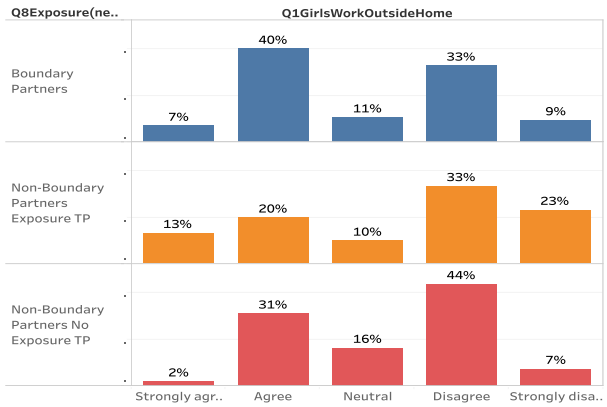
Stories from girls



Stories from boys



Stories from mothers

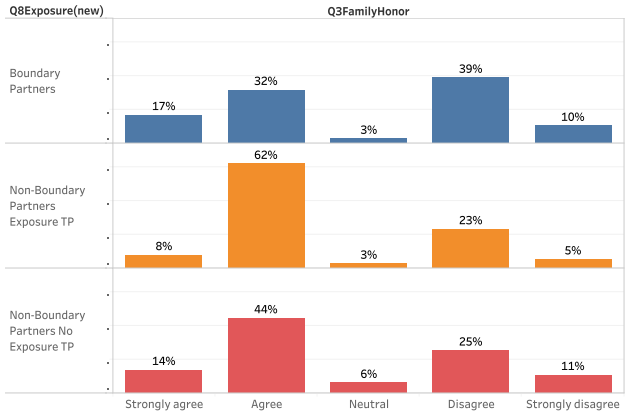


Stories from fathers

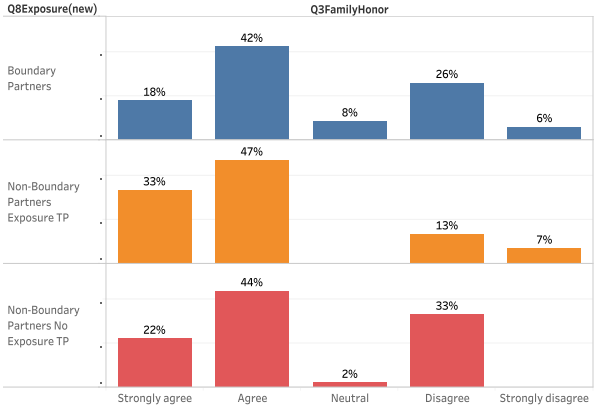
- Girls and mothers that are part of the program (boundary partners) clearly agree more with the statement that daughters should have the same opportunity to work outside the home as sons than fathers and boys
- Girls an mothers that were not exposed to the TP activities disagree most (17%) with the 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 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

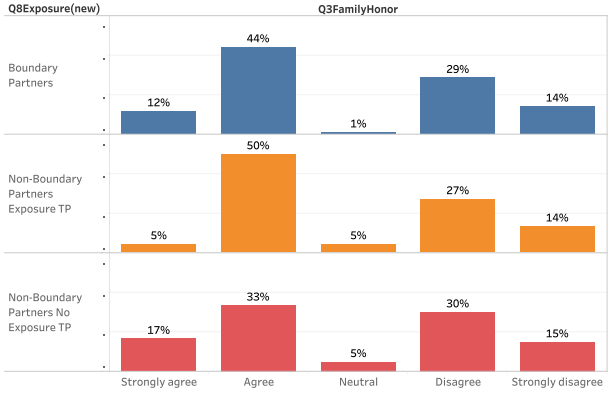
A girl who receives unwanted male attention causes her family to lose honor (Q3)



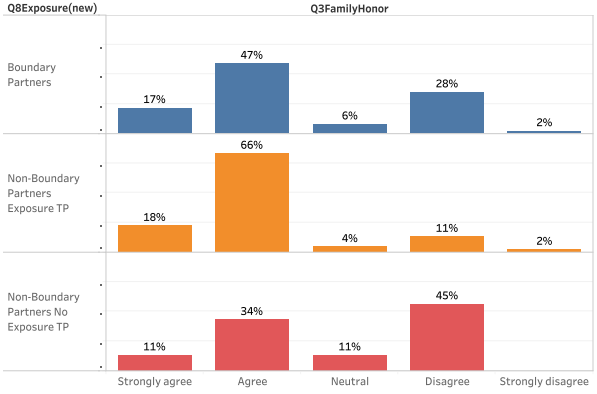
Stories from girls



Stories from boys



Stories from mothers

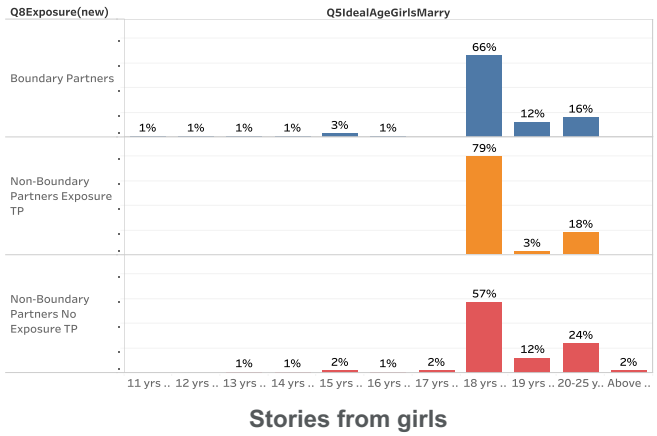


Stories from fathers

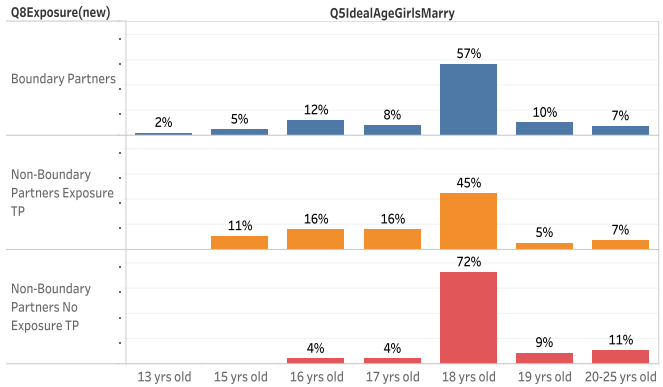
- Boundary partner girls clearly disagree with the statement than non boundary partner girls.
- For boys, mothers and fathers from the different groups there is no clear difference in their opinion against the statement
- For boys and fathers that have not been exposed to the TP activities there is high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

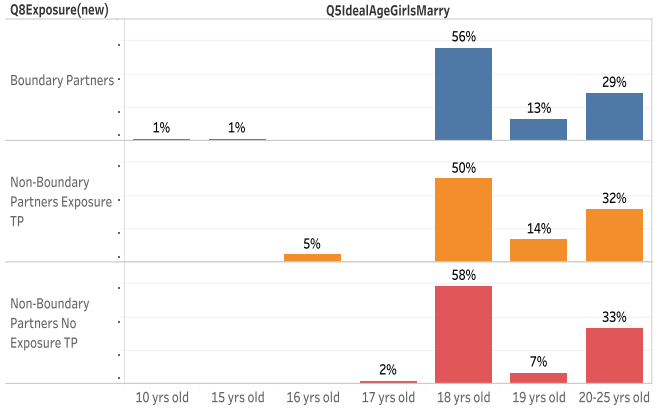
What do you think is the ideal age for a girl in your community to marry? (Q5)



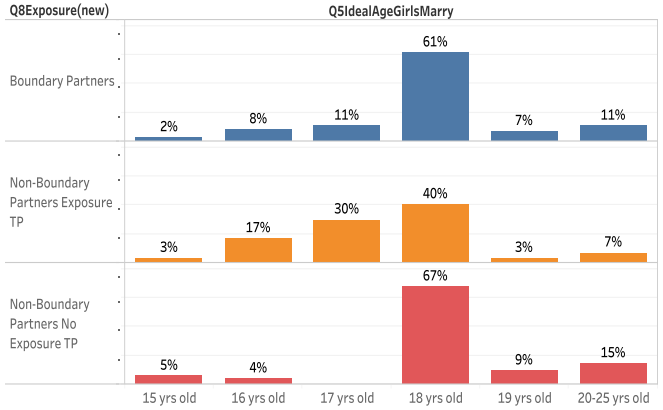
Stories from girls



Stories from boys



Stories from mothers



Stories from fathers

Figure 121: Answers to statement Q5 for each cohort (girls, boys, mother and fathers for each of the three comparison groups

- 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.

“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 timethe 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.”