

# A Taxonomy for Social Norms that Influence Family Planning in East African Countries

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Introduction

Key Terminology

A Taxonomy for Social Norms that Influence Family Planning in East Africa Countries

Ideas for Using the Taxonomy

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# Origins and Development of the East Africa Family Planning Social Norms Taxonomy

## What is a taxonomy?

- A taxonomy is “a classification system for organizing and labeling terms.”<sup>1</sup>
- Taxonomies can help us understand, discuss, research and address broad, complex systems with many discrete parts.

## How was the taxonomy developed?

- In late 2019, Breakthrough ACTION reviewed evidence on interventions which address family planning social norms in the Ouagadougou Partnership (OP) region and developed a taxonomy to group similar norms identified through this process. The OP region taxonomy was developed in parallel to the Social Norms Atlas<sup>2</sup> and complements it.
- Following the development of the OP taxonomy, Breakthrough ACTION conducted desk research to develop a taxonomy for the East Africa region (including Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda).<sup>3</sup>
- While reviewing the literature, Breakthrough ACTION also refined the taxonomy’s original framework.

## Purpose of East Africa taxonomy

- To identify and organize social norms which impact family planning behavior, so that we can understand commonly occurring norms, and variation in norms across regions
- To support program planners and implementers in identifying and addressing social norms which underpin key behaviours

1) Ashton, J. (2001).

2) The Social Norms Atlas (C Davin, 2021) is a resource of behaviors, social norms and attitudes relevant to a variety of sectors (such as reproductive health, nutrition, education, and more). The Social Norms Atlas is primarily for program planners and implementers with the aim of increasing awareness and ability to address social norms, thereby enhancing efficacy of behavior change programs. While the Social Norms Atlas’ scope is very broad, the taxonomy focuses specifically on norms around family planning in the OP region or East Africa. Where there was direct complement, the original OP taxonomy was developed in parallel (for example the Social Norms Atlas Chapter on reproductive health).

3) East Africa Regional as considered by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)



# Framing the Family Planning Social Norms Taxonomy

*As part of the taxonomy development process, it was essential to set some boundaries on what could be organized and classified. Below are the criteria used to search for social norms and consider them for inclusion in the taxonomy. These criteria were similar to those used for the OP taxonomy.*



**Family planning focus.** This taxonomy focuses on social norms which have been identified as having a close influence on family planning behaviors. Broader norms which impact behavior around early marriage, education and sexual health may indirectly influence family planning, but are not comprehensively included in this taxonomy.



**East Africa Focus.** The taxonomy focuses on the East African countries of Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. Like in OP countries, social norms are more deeply researched in some countries as compared to others, with less available on Djibouti, Rwanda and Sudan.



**Contemporary.** Norms are constantly changing and evolving. In the taxonomy, we included norms documented in academic articles and gray literature since 2000.

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# Defining Social Norms

## What are social norms?

Social norms are “the often unspoken ‘rules’ that govern behavior.”<sup>1 2</sup> Norms are generally recognized in two ways – things people do because others do them, or things others expect them to do.

Social norms are context-specific, and manifest differently, across country and community contexts.

I need to get pregnant before marriage, so his family knows that I'm fertile.

I'd prefer for my wife to have another baby right away, but others in my community space their children.

My friends are all finishing school before starting families; I plan to do the same thing.

I'd like to use the injectable, but my boyfriend might think it's weird if I'm bleeding irregularly.

I don't think this doctor understands what I need, but he'll become angry if I ask a question about his recommendation.

1) The Institute for Reproductive Health (2019a). 2) Social norms are different than attitudes, which can be understood as personal or individual beliefs about what is good and bad and how things should be (Institute for Reproductive Health, 2019b).

# Types of Social Norms Included in the Taxonomy

Other women my age are using the pill, I'll do the same thing.



## Descriptive Norms

What people in a group believe is typical...their perceptions of typical behavior or expectations about what people do<sup>1</sup>

Or, simply put: *"What I think or believe others do."*<sup>2</sup>

The health worker knows I'm unmarried and will judge me if I ask for an IUD or implant instead of the pill.



## Injunctive Norms

What people in a group believe is appropriate, that is, their perceptions of what others consider appropriate, or expectations about what people should do<sup>1</sup>

Or, simply put: *What (I believe) others think I should do.*<sup>2</sup>

Researchers and program implementers have different ways of defining, studying, observing and measuring norms.

The updated taxonomy is designed to include both descriptive and injunctive norms.

Individual attitudes or beliefs are not necessarily norms (though attitudes and beliefs may reflect norms) and thus are not included in the taxonomy.

1 Cialdini et al. 2005.

2 Social Norms Lexicon. February 2021. Washington, D.C.: Institute for Reproductive Health, Georgetown University for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).

# Definitions of Related Terms: Attitudes, Beliefs & Norms

Researchers and scholars around the world have debated the definitions and relationships between attitudes, beliefs, religious beliefs and gender. The below table summarizes how we understand and define these within the scope of this taxonomy.

	Definition	Example
Attitudes	Personal or individual beliefs about what is good and bad, how things should be. <sup>1</sup>	"I really like the contraceptive method I use."
Belief	"Acceptance or conviction" that an idea or statement is true. <sup>2</sup>	"I think that the injectable might cause infertility later in life."
Religious beliefs	Religion can be defined as: "A communal, transmittable body of teachings and prescribed practices about an ultimate, sacred reality". <sup>3</sup> Religious beliefs can be understood as the beliefs promoted by a religious text or community.	"I believe that if I get pregnant, it's God's will."
Social norm	Social norms are "the often unspoken 'rules' that govern behavior." <sup>4</sup> Norms are generally recognized in two ways – things people do because others do them, or things others expect them to do.	"I'd prefer for my wife to have another baby right away, but others in my community space their children."

1) Institute for Reproductive Health, 2019b. 2) Schwitzgebel E. (2010). "Belief," in The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, summarized in Connors, "A cognitive account of belief: a tentative road map" 2014. 3) Taliaferro in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2019. 4) Institute for Reproductive Health, 2019a.

# Definitions of Related Terms: Gender

	Definition	Example
Gender	"The socially defined set of roles, rights, responsibilities, entitlements and obligations associated with being women and men in societies. The social definitions of what it means to be feminine or masculine, and sanctions for not adhering to those expectations, vary among cultures, change over time, and often intersect with other factors such as age, class, caste, (dis)ability, ethnicity, race, religion and sexual orientation." <sup>1</sup>	In a community, men are responsible for money and women are responsible for children; rights, personality traits, behaviors and values are ascribed to each role.
Gender norms	"The social norms that define and restrict behaviors and opportunities for individuals based on their biological sex" <sup>2</sup> and/or gender identity	"People who matter to me think that boys should be scientists, while girls should be teachers." <sup>2</sup>

## *How do I know if a social norm is a gender norm?*

In summary, the definitions above suggest that "gender" is a broad system which dictates roles and access to resources. Norms, law, media, policies, systems design can all construct or challenge these norms. If the norm that you identified varies for men and women, or if it upholds unspoken rules on roles and access to resources, it can be considered a gender role. Most, if not all of the examples of social norms in this taxonomy could be considered gender norms.

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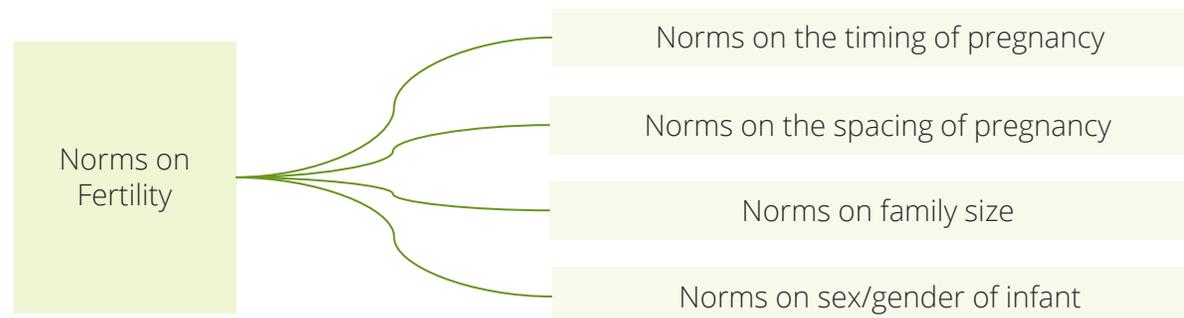
# How to Read the Social Norms Taxonomy

The updated taxonomy has **three levels**:

**1 Categories:** The taxonomy has five categories, which were developed through iterative rounds of reviewing literature, obtaining feedback from stakeholders and sorting identified norms.



**2 Sub-categories:** Each category is broken down into norm specific sub-categories, also developed through multiple rounds of literature review analysis and feedback from stakeholders.



**3 Norms** all fall under a specific sub-category.



# How to Read Norms Tables for East Africa Taxonomy

3

Norms all fall under a specific sub-category, within a category. Each category, and sub-categories, are organized on a table.

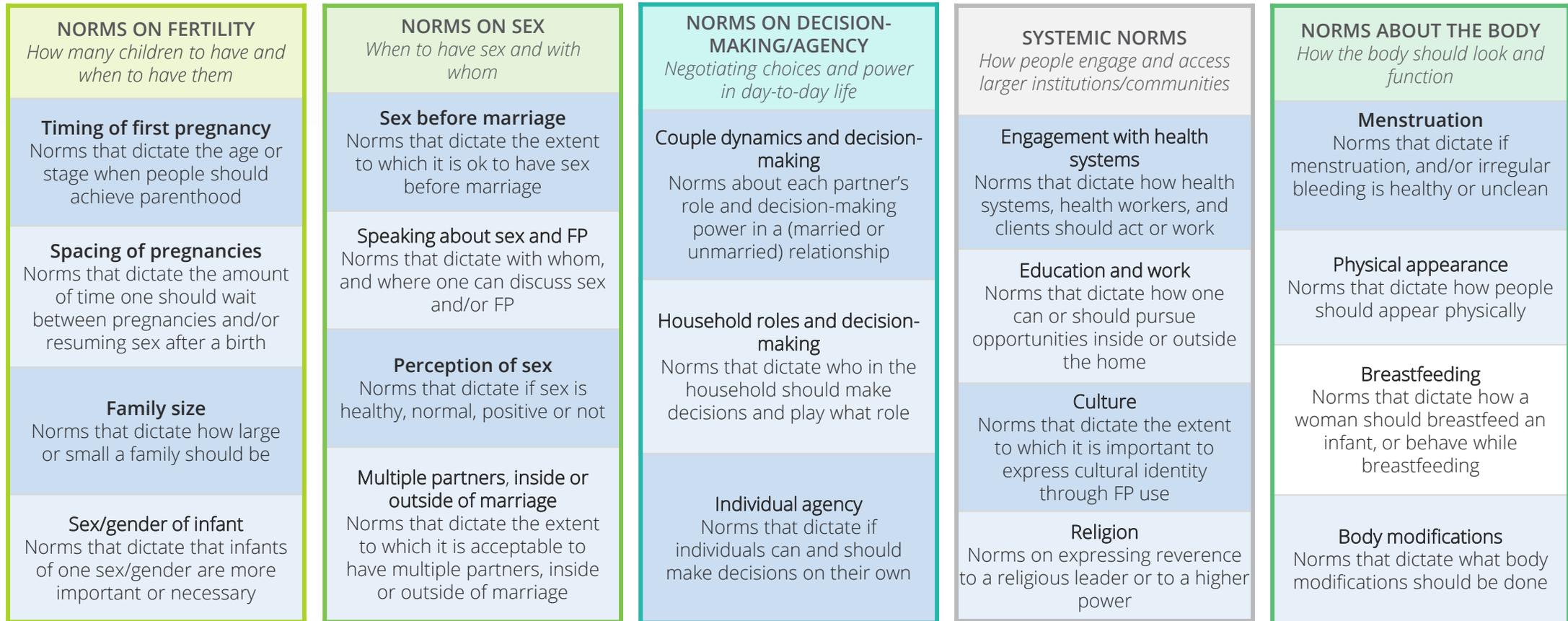
*Examples from academic citations are furthest to the left, examples from grey literature from NGOs or other sources are on the right.<sup>1</sup> All norms are cited.*

NORM CATEGORY			
Norm category description			
Norm subcategory #1- Norms sub-category description			
Example A	Example B	Example C	Example D
Norm subcategory #2- Norms sub-category description			
Example A	Example B	Example C	
Norm subcategory #3- Norms sub-category description			
Example A	Example B		
Norm subcategory #4- Norms sub-category description			
Example A			

Norms provided are examples from the literature and do not necessarily apply to every community across the country. Norms are illustrative—based on what we could identify in the literature—and are not exhaustive of what is in the region.

1) Note that this process was not an exhaustive literature review. The literature identified and included in this taxonomy came from a rapid review of available academic literature. Also note that the order of the sub-categories (up and down) is based on the order in the OP version of the taxonomy. It has been retained to support looking holistically across the continent at norms, if necessary.

# Family Planning Norms Taxonomy: East Africa



# Examples: Norms on Fertility

## NORMS ON FERTILITY

*How many children to have and when to have them<sup>1</sup>*

**Timing of first pregnancy:** Norms that dictate the age or stage when people should achieve parenthood

In Central **Uganda**, having a child before marriage is considered shameful and the girl may not stay with her parents. (Atuyambe et al. 2008)

In Renk, **South Sudan**, marriage is incomplete and dissoluble till the couple bears a child. (Elmusharaf, Byrne and O'Donovan 2017)

In **Tanzania**, a man is expected to have children soon post-marriage, otherwise he is not a complete man. (Schuler, Rottach and Mukiri 2011)

In communities in Kinshasa, **Democratic Republic of Congo**, women may not be valued as important until they give birth. (Passages 2019)

**Spacing of pregnancies:** Norms that dictate the amount of time one should wait between pregnancies and/or resuming sex after a birth

In Western Bahr el Ghazal, **South Sudan**, norms promote spacing; a woman who does not space and has a child with low birth weight may be shamed. (Kane et al. 2016)

In certain communities in the **Democratic Republic of Congo**, ideal spacing is over two years and "closely spaced pregnancies are perceived negatively". Also, per "religious and community leaders, intercourse should be delayed by 3–6 months postpartum" as "a period of natural rest" for the woman. (Tran et al. 2018)

**Norms on family size:** Norms that dictate how large or small a family should be

In Wau, **South Sudan**, having many children is desirable, in part to compensate for family members lost in the war and high child mortality. (Kane et al. 2019)

In the **Democratic Republic of Congo**, having a large family can be important to grow the husband's lineage and elevate social status. (Kwete et al. 2018)

In Central **Uganda**, "women in polygamous relationships compete for children"; suggesting that having more children is a way for women to elevate status. (Nalwadda et al. 2010)

In rural **Ethiopia**, large families are valued and thought to protect the family in conflict. (Geleta et al. 2015)

**Norms on sex/gender of infant:** Norms that dictate that infants of one sex/gender are more important or necessary

In rural regions of **Kenya** and **Ethiopia**, ideal number of sons is greater than that of daughters, suggesting the presence of norms on preference for sons. (Dynes et al. 2012)

# Examples: Norms on Sex

## NORMS ON SEX

*When to have sex and with whom<sup>1</sup>*

**Sex before marriage:** Norms that dictate the extent to which it is ok to have sex before marriage

In Khartoum state, **Sudan**, “local religious values and norms prohibit sexual activities outside marriage.” (Ibnouf, Van and Maarse 2007)

In Central **Uganda**, youth get contradictory messages; “social norms condemn sex before marriage”, but peers and media encourage it. (Nalwadda et al. 2010)

In Central **Uganda**, if a young man impregnates an unmarried woman, he may be forced into marriage, forced to leave school or jailed. (Nalwadda et al. 2010)

In communities in **Djibouti**, a woman's virginity before marriage is very important for social status. (Carillon and Petit 2009)

**Speaking about sex and/or family planning:** Norms that dictate with whom, and where one can discuss sex and/or family planning

In Central **Uganda**, “cultural norms condemn parents talking with their children about sex.” (Nalwadda et al. 2010)

In Western Bahr el Ghazal, **South Sudan**, individuals' attitudes on FP are informed by family, close friends and traditional leaders. (Kane et al. 2016)

In communities in **Tanzania**, it is common for married couples to discuss FP, but the right to decide on FP use remains with the men. (Schuler, Rottach and Mukiri 2011)

In communities in **Burundi**, teachers, as the primary sources of moral education, “tend to communicate fear-based messages” about SRH. (Westeneng, Reis and Berkmoes 2020)

**Perception of sex:** Norms that dictate if sex is healthy, normal, positive or not

In Central **Uganda**, “unprotected sex for men enhanced their reputation among other young men in contrast to the situation for women.” (Nalwadda et al. 2010)

In Central **Uganda**, couples usually have sex “quickly outside in the bushes or at the disco”, possibly indicating shame or a negative perception on sexual activity. (Nalwadda et al. 2010)

**Multiple partners, inside or outside of marriage:** Norms that dictate the extent to which it's acceptable to have multiple partners, inside or outside of marriage

In Renk, **South Sudan**, polygyny is socially accepted, and it is common to increase family size by having children with up to four wives at once. (Elmusharaf, Byrne and O'Donovan 2017)

In communities in **Tanzania**, certain norms permit a man to have relationships outside his marriage. (Schuler, Rottach and Mukiri 2011)

In communities in **Tanzania**, in certain communities, norms permit women to take another lover if she has been neglected by her partner. (Schuler, Rottach and Mukiri 2011)

# Examples: Norms on Decision-Making & Agency

## NORMS ON DECISION-MAKING/AGENCY

*Negotiating choices and power in day-to-day life<sup>1</sup>*

**Couple dynamics and decision-making:** Norms about each partner's role and decision-making power in a (married or unmarried) relationship

In Butajira **Ethiopia**, men take almost all decisions including reproductive health choices. (Mekonnen and Worku 2011)

In Central **Uganda**, men usually disapprove of contraceptive usage by women; this condemnation may be expressed via verbal or physical abuse or even abandonment. (Nalwadda et al. 2010)

In Central **Uganda**, even if a man wants to, consistent condom use with a stable partner is difficult as the woman might "view using a condom as a sign that she is not clean." (Nalwadda et al. 2010)

In certain communities in **Tanzania**, men have the right to demand sex from their wives, and a woman may not initiate contraceptive use without his consent. (Schuler, Rottach and Mukiri 2011)

**Household roles and decision-making:** Norms that dictate who in the household should make decisions and play what role

In Central **Uganda**, parents may force their daughter out of the house, into marriage, and punish the man, if she becomes pregnant before marriage. (Nalwadda et al. 2010)

In Wau, **South Sudan**, having a child gains a woman respect as a mother and an adult capable of responsibility. (Kane et al. 2019)

In Matemwe, **Tanzania**, "men are the head of the household" and providers, "and they dominate decision" making. (Keele, Forste and Flake 2005)

**Individual agency:** Norms that dictate if individuals can and should make decisions on their own

In Central **Uganda**, women face difficulties in asserting contraceptive use when offering sex for money. (Nalwadda et al. 2010)

In communities of **Burundian** refugees in Tanzania, women who experience rape and unwanted pregnancies may experience marginalization, impacting their opportunities to act and participate in the community (Roxberg 2007)

In rural **Ethiopia**, women's role is "limited to merely accepting the decisions of their husbands." (Geleta et al. 2015)

In communities in **Djibouti**, girls have no say/control over their genital mutilation/cutting done to "preserve women's chastity". (Carillon and Petit 2009)

# Examples: Systemic Norms

## SYSTEMIC NORMS

*How people engage and access larger institutions/communities<sup>1</sup>*

**Health systems:** Norms that dictate how health systems, health workers, and clients should act

In Western **Kenya**, traditional birth attendants may shame women who do not go to the health facility for FP services. (Naanyu et al. 2013)

In Central **Uganda**, lack of privacy or confidentiality may be a norm in health services; for example, health workers may report youth's sexual activity to their parents. (Nalwadda et al. 2010)

In Central **Uganda**, women secretly visit health centers for long-term contraceptives (like injections) to prevent their husbands from finding out about contraceptive use. (Nalwadda et al. 2010)

**Education and work:** Norms that dictate how one can or should pursue opportunities inside or outside the home

In Wau, **South Sudan**, social norms frame childbearing as an entry point into adulthood for young women (though certain parents may prefer that they finish education first). (Kane et al. 2019)

In communities in **Tanzania**, social norms around women's participation in the economy have changed; these days "a man will not marry a woman who is jobless." (Schuler, Rottach and Mukiri 2011)

Amongst **Burundian** refugees, norms may dictate that girls should not "attend secondary school nor vocational training" ; as a result they may miss out on reproductive health education. (Roxberg 2007)

In rural **Ethiopia** women tend to do household work for 17-18 hours a day. (Geleta et al. 2015)

**Religion:** Norms on expressing reverence to a religious leader or to a higher power

In Central **Uganda**, churches, and their teachings "are very pro-natal" using FP is akin to "killing " and "is a big sin in front of God" ; youth may fear church response when trying to make a decision on contraception. (Nalwadda et al. 2010)

In rural **Burundi**, women who defy church leaders "risk social isolation and rejection by friends and neighbours" ; church leaders also condemn contraception. (Ndayizigiye et al. 2017)

In Matemwe, **Tanzania**, although "unnatural" contraceptives are criticized by religious authorities, "women on pilgrimage to Mecca are allowed to take the pill to prevent menstruation." (Keele, Forste and Flake 2005)

1) Norms provided are select examples from the literature and do not necessarily apply to every community across the country; all norms are cited so the reader can identify whether they are from peer reviewed or grey literature.

# Examples: Norms about the Body

## NORMS ABOUT THE BODY

*How the body should look and function<sup>1</sup>*

**Menstruation:** Norms that dictate if menstruation, and/or irregular bleeding is healthy or unclean

In Renk, **South Sudan**, it is shameful if a woman is not pregnant after marriage and continues to get her periods. (Elmusharaf, Byrne and O'Donovan 2017)

In communities in **Democratic Republic of Congo**, for some women, the return of menses post childbirth signals the time to adopt postpartum family planning. (Tran et al. 2018)

**Physical appearance:** Norms that dictate how people should appear physically

In Western Bahr el Ghazal, **South Sudan**, if a baby were to be born with a low birthweight because of insufficient spacing, the woman and the family are shamed via social sanctions. (Kane et al. 2016)

In Central **Uganda**, men may not use contraceptives with a beautiful and healthy-looking woman with the understanding that because she looks healthy, she is not HIV positive. (Nalwadda et al. 2010)

**Breastfeeding:** Norms that dictate how a woman should breastfeed an infant, or behave while breastfeeding

In Matemwe, **Tanzania**, community members consider breastfeeding for two years post childbirth an acceptable FP method.<sup>2</sup> (Keele, Forste and Flake 2005)

**Body modifications:** Norms that dictate what body modifications should be done

In **Djibouti**, female genital mutilation/cutting is “a means of preserving women's chastity by inhibiting sexual desire, assure[ing] men of their wives' fidelity and the origin of their offspring”. (Carillon and Petit 2009)

- 1) Norms provided are select examples from the literature and do not necessarily apply to every community across the country; all norms are cited so the reader can identify whether they are from peer reviewed or grey literature.
- 2) Breastfeeding for two years is not considered a modern family planning method. The LAM method is considered a short-term, evidence-based method. (Stone-Jimenez, Kouyaté and Bongiovanni 2008)

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# How to Use the Taxonomy

## How the taxonomy can be used....

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- 1 To access the landscape of norms in **formative research**; to develop questions or probes around social norms which may exist in a community and influence family planning behavior.
  - Formative research can help identify key norms to address in program design and implementation.
- 2 For **gender analysis** and **segmentation**, to analyze how norms are different for men and for women, various ages / life stages, or for particular segments.
- 3 In **reflective discussion** with FP and SBC practitioners, particularly on which norms impact key FP service provision behaviors.

## The taxonomy is not....

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- ✗ A **comprehensive list** of all norms. Many have not been documented in academic literature, and norms are constantly changing or nuanced according to context.
- ✗ A **stand-alone research or program development tool**; the taxonomy is designed to compliment and build on existing tools.
  - Existing tools which might be used alongside the taxonomy include the Social Norms Atlas<sup>1</sup> and Getting Practical: Integrating Social Norms into Behavior Change Programs<sup>2</sup>.
- ✗ A **list of everything that must be addressed** in order to influence FP behavior; different norms will be important in different contexts.

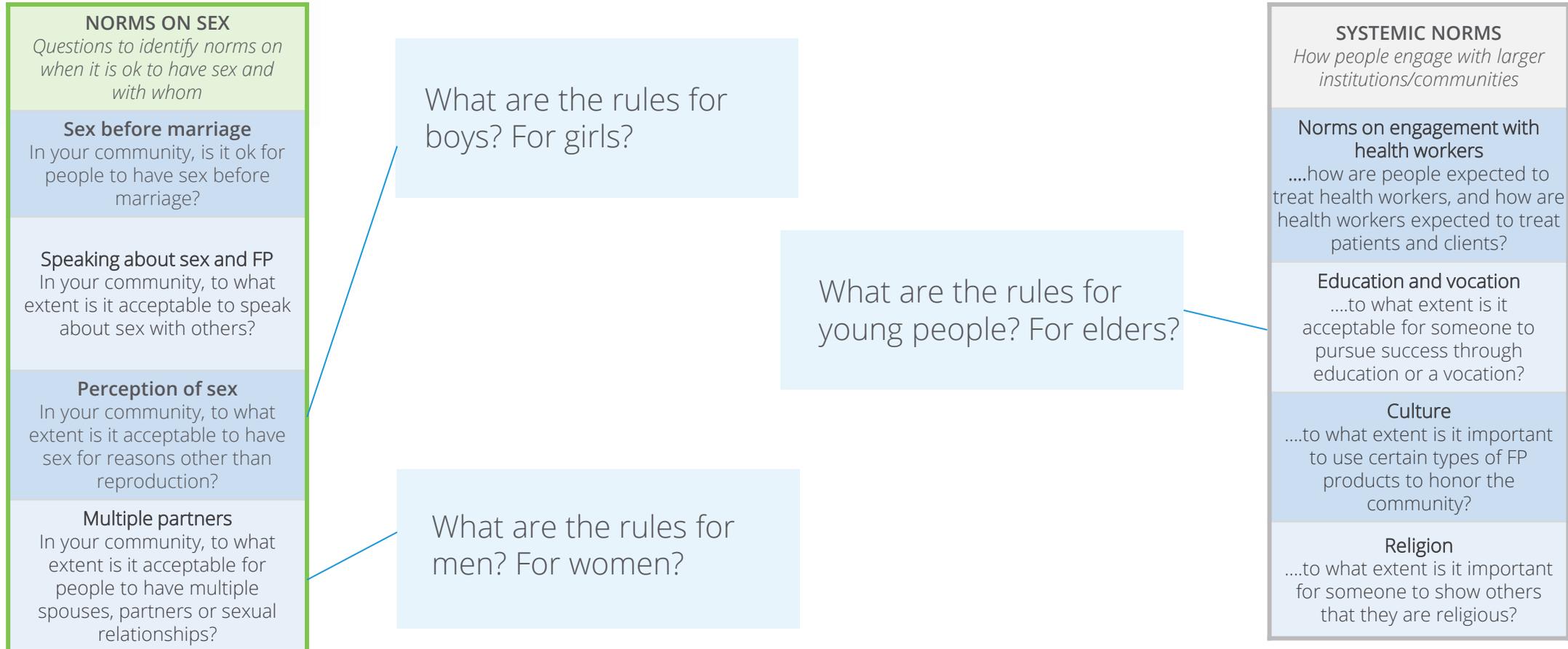
# Using the Taxonomy to Develop Questions about Norms

*In research and reflection, sub-categories can be used to develop probes on specific community norms. Probes may need to be adapted to the specifics of each community. Questions can be started with, "in your community ..."*  
*We have shared some example probes below; there are many potential others.*

<p><b>NORMS ON FERTILITY</b>  <i>How many children to have and when to have them</i></p>	<p><b>NORMS ON SEX</b>  <i>When to have sex and with whom</i></p>	<p><b>NORMS ON DECISION-MAKING &amp; AGENCY</b>  <i>Negotiating choices and power in day-to-day life</i></p>	<p><b>SYSTEMIC NORMS</b> <i>How people engage with larger institutions/communities</i></p>	<p><b>NORMS ABOUT THE BODY &amp; APPEARANCE</b>  <i>How the body should look and function</i></p>
<p><b>Timing of first pregnancy</b>            ...is there an ideal time to have a first child?</p>	<p><b>Sex before marriage</b>            ...is it ok for people to have sex before marriage?</p>	<p><b>Couple dynamics and decision making</b>            ...what are men and women supposed to bring to a relationship? What decisions can they make in a relationship about sex and family planning?</p>	<p><b>Engagement with health systems</b>            ....how are clients expected to treat health workers, and how are health workers expected to treat clients?</p>	<p><b>Menstruation</b>            ...how are women perceived if they are menstruating, or menstruating irregularly?</p>
<p><b>Spacing of pregnancies</b>            ....is there an ideal amount of time a woman must wait between pregnancies?</p>	<p><b>Speaking about sex and FP</b>            .... Where and with whom can one discuss sex?</p>	<p><b>Household roles and decision-making</b>            ....to what extent and how does the extended family play important roles in decision-making?</p>	<p><b>Education and work</b>            ....to what extent is it acceptable for someone to pursue education or work outside the home?</p>	<p><b>Physical appearance</b>            ....are there ideals and expectations around desired appearance for men and women?</p>
<p><b>Norms on family size</b>            ....is there an ideal number of children for a woman or family?</p>	<p><b>Perception of sex</b>            ....is it acceptable to have sex for reasons other than reproduction?</p>	<p><b>Individual agency</b>            ....to what extent are individuals expected/able to drive their own destinies?</p>	<p><b>Culture</b>            ....to what extent is it important to use certain types of FP products to show belonging with a community?</p>	<p><b>Breastfeeding</b>            ...how is a woman expected to act while breastfeeding?</p>
<p><b>Norms on sex/gender of infant</b>            ...to what extent is it more valued to have a girl or boy baby?</p>	<p><b>Multiple partners</b>            ....to what extent is it ok for people to have multiple partners/ sexual relationships inside or outside of marriage?</p>		<p><b>Religion</b>            ....to what extent is it important for someone to show others that they are religious?</p>	<p><b>Body modifications</b>            ....to what extent is it socially desirable to modify bodies?</p>

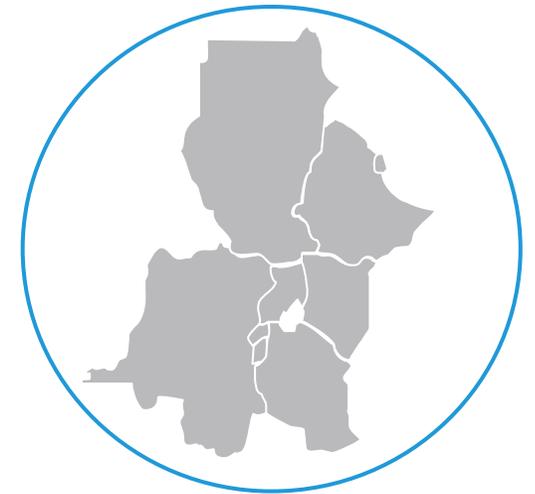
# Using Probes to Understand How Norms Differ for Different Groups

*To identify how norms are gendered, or different across the life course, researchers can develop probes for each sub-category. Examples are called out below.*



# Key Insights: FP Social Norms in East Africa

- Overall, the taxonomy categories previously developed for other parts of Africa also applied to East Africa, and were helpful for organizing the landscape of norms on family planning.
- Gender norms and family planning norms are deeply intertwined. Social norms tie women's value to their roles as wives and mothers, and men often have dominance in relationships.
- In East Africa, we see more literature on FP norms driven by high adult and child mortality rates, which in turn result from conflicts and scarce resources.
- In East Africa, we see less documented social norms at the intersection of family planning and physical appearance (weight and skin). However, some literature does explore the intersections of FP norms and genital cutting/mutilation.



Thank you!



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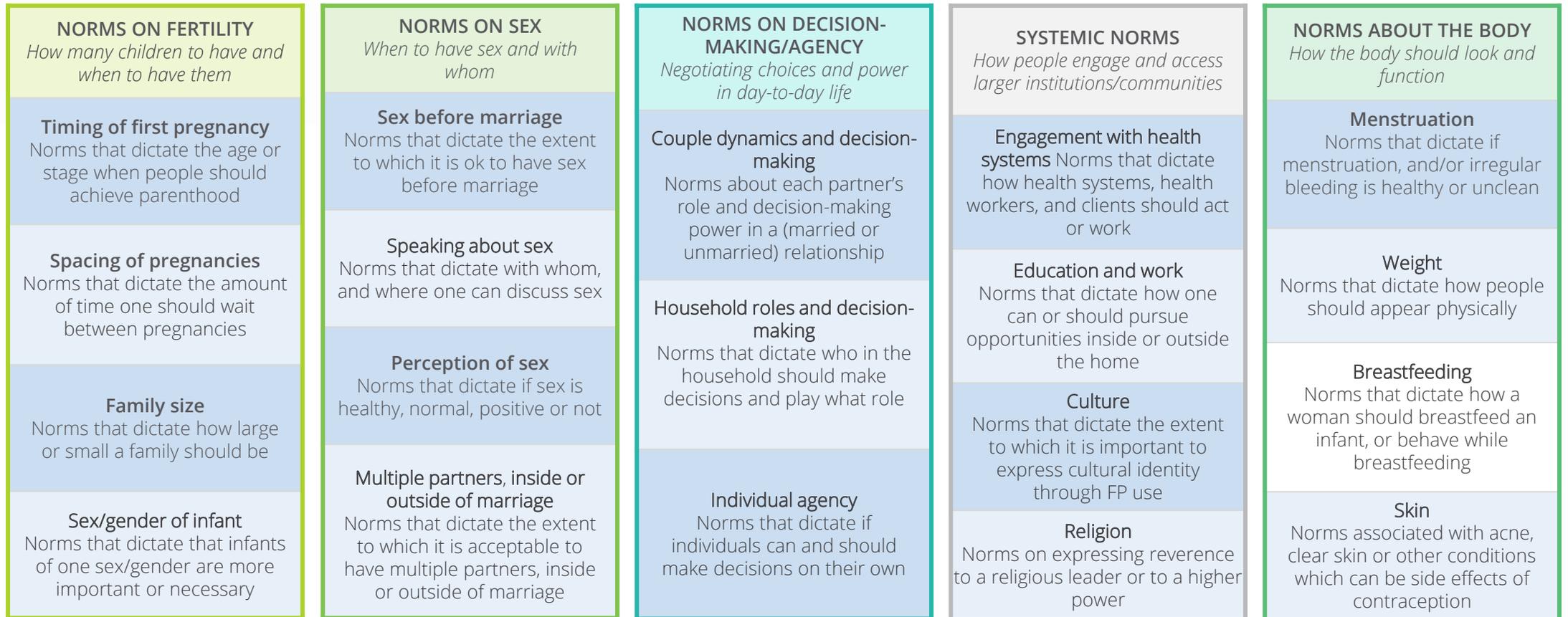
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# Appendix A: Taxonomy for Ouagadougou Partnership Countries (September 2020)

# Original Family Planning Norms Taxonomy: Ouagadougou Partnership



# Appendix B: Key Adaptations

# Key Adaptations: East Africa Taxonomy

- NORMS ABOUT THE BODY category has been modified to be more comprehensive.
  - Sub-categories of 'Weight' and 'Skin' have been combined into 'Physical appearance'
  - 'Body modifications' sub-category has been added to include, amongst others, genital mutilation/cutting, circumcision, etc., which may have impact on, or relate to, FP behavior
- Under NORMS ON FERTILITY, the definition of 'Spacing of pregnancies' has been extended to include resumption of sex after birth. This does not reflect a difference between the OP region and East Africa, but an improvement of the overall definition.
- In the East Africa taxonomy, fewer norms in sub-categories does not mean that a norm is not present in the region, rather it indicates possible research gaps in academic literature.



# Appendix C: Sources

# Sources

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