

Barriers to Women Adopting
Decision-making Roles in
Sanitation-related Public Bodies
and Attitudinal Differences between
Male and Female Decision-Makers

FINAL REPORT

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Acknowledgement

This report would not be possible without the brave participation of the women and men who participated in our interviews and focus group discussions or responded to our surveys. Many of them told us information that would put their careers at risk if it were tied back to them, and we thank them for their confidence in our promise to keep their answers confidential. Furthermore, some of the women participating in our study opened-up to us, revealing painful stories of frustration, anger and pain. It pained us that we could not fight for their individual cause, but we are hopeful that with this report we might help them to bring about a future working environment where no women have to suffer in the way that they did. We hope that we succeeded in faithfully communicating the challenges, needs and potential solutions shared by our participants.

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Athena Contacts:

Dr. Zachary Burt, Project Lead
Zachary.b@athenainfonomics.com

Anupama Ramaswamy, Project Manager
anupama@athenainfonomics.com

Athena Infonomics
Innovation Center, 155 Gibbs St #403, Rockville, MD 20850
www.athenainfonomics.com | +1 202 848 8020

Executive Summary

Gender inequity at the level of policy, regulation and management limits the presence, voice, participation and power of women decision-makers. These gender-based inequities can then be perpetuated throughout the sanitation sector, as the needs of women and girls are inadequately addressed by programs and policies that are designed largely by men. A seemingly simple way to address women's access to sanitation and related issues is to increase the representation of women in firms and public bodies that design products, services and interventions in the WaSH sector. We hypothesize that increasing diversity in the design and development of products and services will help to ensure that all users are well represented, and the unique needs and problems of each user type will be more likely to be addressed.

Under this hypothesis, addressing the unique and pressing needs of women and girls in the sanitation sector requires a look behind the curtain, interrogating the internal workings of the organisations that make and implement sanitation policy, regulation and services. Our project aims to do this in the Kenyan sanitation sector, through two objectives: (i) identify the barriers that women face in attaining decision-making posts in sanitation-related public institutions in Kenya and (ii) interrogate whether women prioritize different things when it comes to access to sanitation, as compared to male leaders in this field. This research aims to do so by addressing four research questions:

- 1) *What is the distribution of genders across all staff, as well as decision-making roles, in sanitation-related public-sector institutions in Kenya?*
- 2) *What barriers do women face in attaining and holding leadership roles in the sanitation sector?*
- 3) *How are women leaders challenged to use their voice and implement their ideas?*
- 4) *What are the differences between genders with respect to the prioritization, design and deployment of policies and programs impacting women's sanitation access?*

Although we view gender inequities in sanitation as a global phenomenon, particular manifestations of gender inequity may vary from country to country. The results presented here can only represent Kenya, but they are one step towards a better understanding of the common patterns which happen across nations, and the practices which might correct gender inequities in sanitation everywhere.

Institutional Mapping and Gender Counting

We selected six public-sector, sanitation-related organisations, each working on different, vital aspects of sanitation, including (i) policy, (ii) regulation, (iii) financing, (iv) technical training & research and (v) service provision. We found that the sanitation sector in Kenya is male-dominated and that gender inequity in the sector is reflected in organisations across the spectrum of government functionalities. Out of the 4,114 full-time workers employed at these six organisations, only 1,468 (36%) are women. The representation varies across these six organisations, ranging from 5% to 40%.

Gender inequity is reflected at decision-making posts across the organisations as well. The six organisations jointly have 37 director-level positions, out of which 14 (37.8%) are women. Only one organisation has a female corporate leader (CEO, COO or equivalent positions). Most of the women in leadership hold positions as heads departments or directorates. There is some female representation at the managerial level at all six organisations, although the inter-organisational differences are quite wide.

Barriers to Female Leadership in the Sanitation Sector

We conducted a total of 40 (19 men and 21 women) in-depth interviews (IDIs), four gender-segregated focus group discussions (FGDs), and 83 standardized surveys (39 women and 44 men) across seven public-sector, sanitation-related organisations, a multi-lateral organization, two sanitation-related Kenyan NGOs, and a Kenyan NGO focused on gender issues. In both our quantitative and qualitative observations, we found barriers along specific themes, including barriers in STEM education; barriers for women's bodies in the workplace; barriers for women's voices in the workplace; and barriers specifically related to sexual harassment.

Barriers in STEM Education

Some part of the absence of female leaders in sanitation public bodies and related technical fields can be traced back to the low participation rate of girls and women in STEM education. Only 6 of 40 interviewees reported an equitable distribution of genders during their higher education. And we found that the number of male employees with technical training is twice that of female employees with the same training at the organizations included in our study. Socio-cultural norms and stereotypes create the perception that STEM is not 'appropriate' for women, leading to girls not choosing such subjects. One study participant observed that "women have been socialized that technical courses are for men."

The Female Body in the Workplace

Women reported issues concerning sanitation access, pregnancy, nursing, child-care, menstruation, menopause and Personal Protective Equipment (PPE). Most female study participants acknowledged that proper sanitation facilities were available at their offices, but reported that the same was not true at field sites, limiting their work assignment options. Menstruation and menopause were used to dismiss the opinions of women, and to limit their complaints: one female participant stated that "a male boss was correcting every little thing with a female employee under him. In front of others, he said 'I think you are going through menopause' as a way to intentionally belittle and dismiss her." Several women noted that young women, at the start of their careers, must often make time for pregnancy, nursing or caring for infants and young children, and that this restricts their ability to travel or take up field assignments, limiting their ability to network and get experience. In some cases it was reported that there was a reluctance to promote young women because there was a fear they would become pregnant. The physiological differences between men and women are important in the design of PPE, and most of the PPE available to them were made for men.

The Female Voice in the Workplace: Gender-based Discrimination

Gender stereotypes found in STEM education extends to the workplace as well. This manifested as a projection of gender roles in some cases, and as explicit gender-based discrimination in others. One male participant stated that “women know their place: in the kitchen and taking care of their children.” Other male participants stated that male leaders are better and women should not hold managerial posts because they are “emotional,” “indecisive,” and “want to run away from responsibility.” One woman complained that the men “...intimidate you, they don’t respect your personal space,” but then “if you complain you will be fired,” and ultimately “your voice cannot be heard,” because “male executives won’t follow up on complaints.” Such opinions were not limited to a particular level of employees; female participants also reported incidences of male peers and subordinates being reluctant to work under them, and even quitting and saying to her that “a woman can’t be my boss.”

The Female Voice in the Workplace: Glass Walls, Glass Cliffs and Token Appointments

A majority of the survey respondents stated that there was no explicit glass ceiling at their organisations, however, we find in our IDIs and FGDs that women at decision-making positions face many challenges. Some report women being made a ‘token’ gender-based appointee, without any real voice or power, or even suffering intimidation by men. Many reported requests that the women serve the other (male) board members, during meetings. One participant stated “if you are the only women they will look at you to take the minutes. Or to serve the tea. They think women should not speak before men, if a woman is the only woman in those meetings, they will really face it rough.” Thus, even if women break through the glass ceiling, it is sometimes replaced with an extension of ‘glass walls’: gendered silos for specific types of jobs or functions, in human resources for example. There were also reports of a ‘glass cliff’ whereby women are more likely to be appointed to positions with a high risk of failure.

The Female Voice in the Workplace: Networking, Collegial Support and Corruption

Men often meet for drinks after work, and this activity becomes an important venue for professional networking, whereas women are generally not able to network at all after the work day, in part due to familial obligations, but also because social expectations dictate that they avoid bars and drinking. A female respondent, who had had a highly successful career (but had not become a CEO as of yet), stated that “if you want to remove a (female) CEO it is very easy because she doesn’t have time to build the network.” Networking was not the only function of after-work meetings: this is also the venue for deals and unofficial agreements to be made. Without access to these evening venues, women also had less opportunity to engage in corruption, but this too becomes an obstacle for career-minded women, one respondent explained that “...governance effects women. Because how are these (corrupt) people appointed? There’s no competition, so women can’t compete.” For any appointment which is made based on a shady deal, or on a reputation for being amenable to such deals, is an appointment that is more likely to be given to a man.

Sexual Harassment in the Workplace

Some of the interviewees at the participating organisations reported incidences of sexual harassment at the workplace, including demands for sexual favours from superiors: “yes, in terms of sexual harassment, maybe your boss is male, if you want something in your job

description, they may make a demand. And you don't want to anger your boss. So sometimes you just have to quit because of that." Other women shared this view and agreed that the threat of sexual harassment is prevalent and "is a key barrier to women's career growth in the sector". Although all the six focus organisations have clear sexual harassment policies, we find that these policies might not be necessarily enforced, nor are they widely known among staff. According to many of our female participants, sexual harassment "has not been clearly addressed" and there is an "absence of a clear framework" for addressing it, making it "...difficult to deal with these issues".

Attitudinal Differences to Sanitation

A majority, but not all, of the survey respondents believed that women have different and specific needs with regards to sanitation. Our IDI and FGD participants noted that the sanitation needs of women are "...more complex and their needs are more", and that "the needs of men and women are different." A majority of the survey respondents agreed that a lack of access to sanitation facilities impacts women differently than men, although women were stronger in their agreement than men. We identified six major factors that were deemed essential for adequate sanitation access: (1) physically secure, (2) safely accessible, (3) easily accessible, (4) private, (5) affordable and (6) facilities for proper MHM. The proportions of men and women who identified physical security and privacy were roughly the same, whereas more women than men identified safety of access and ease of access, and more men than women identified affordability and the need for proper MHM facilities.

Only a minority of the IDI and FGD participants (all women) were of the view that women should be especially consulted when designing interventions because they have a deeper understanding of sanitation issues. Among the survey respondents, 22.2% of women and 15.6% of men believed that female workers had a better understanding of the needs of the people. We also observed differences between public and non-public organisation in their approach towards sanitation issues. Sanitation-related public bodies tended to focus more on infrastructure construction and technical issues of sanitation, such as laying sewerage networks, while NGOs adopted 'softer' or more 'participatory' orientations. As one interviewee noted, the public sector views "deficiency in access [as] due to a lack of pipes [and] not an issue of inclusion". This dichotomy extended to project monitoring and evaluation as well: NGO staff noted that gender is incorporated into all surveys and program design, "We break down responses by sex to understand women's and men's different preferences, views and ideas." In public-sector institutions gender disaggregated data was not a standardized practice.

List of Abbreviation

CBO	Community Based Organisation
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HR	Human Resource
IDI	In-depth Interview
KEWASNET	Kenya Water and Sanitation Civil Societies Network
KEWI	Kenya Water Institute
MHM	Menstrual Hygiene Management
MoWS	Ministry of Water and Sanitation
NCWSC	Nairobi City Water and Sewerage Company
PMS	Pre-Menstrual Syndrome
PPE	Personal Protective Equipment
SH	Sexual Harassment
SHG	Self-Help Group
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics
WaSH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
WASREB	Water Services Regulatory Board
WSTF	Water Sector Trust Fund

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1 Introduction

Gender inequality in the senior leadership responsible for sanitation policy, regulation and program management, can manifest as a limitation on the presence, voice, participation and power of women decision-makers. This further has the potential to perpetuate gender inequality throughout the sector, impacting women trying to access basic sanitation services. Product design and delivery of sanitation facilities are usually exclusively undertaken by men, neglecting the cultural and social norms that have a bearing on the gendered access to and use of sanitation facilities, thus affecting the take-up of such facilities. The location and design of facilities, need for privacy and suitability of the infrastructure for women's unique needs are often overlooked by program implementers and women and girls are rarely considered for gathering inputs on such interventions (WSP 2010).

All around the world, in high income countries as well as low income countries, providers of gendered public latrines often mistake equality and equity, resulting in equal space and number of seats, but longer lines and wait times for women. Women have both biological needs and social restrictions that are different than men; for example, although never encouraged, in many countries' men face fewer sanctions than women for public urination, for example. Social norms prevent women from public urination and even when they do, women select areas that are often physically unsafe for them in order to meet their biological needs.

Gender equity in sanitation services will require that the biological needs of both genders are met, in clean, affordable and accessible facilities; if biology and social restrictions are different, should facilities be the same? Are current sanitation systems fully adapted to pregnant mothers with children in tow, or women of all ages, or menstruating girls who might need to wash and receive a new pad before returning to class? Meeting the sanitation needs of all genders is a complex issue, and designing equitable facilities, programs, policies and management systems may need leaders and technicians who are ready to explicitly incorporate the different needs of women, men, boys and girls.

Meeting the sanitation needs of all genders is a complex issue, and designing equitable facilities, programs, policies and management systems may need leaders and technicians who are ready to explicitly incorporate the different needs of women, men, boys and girls.

A seemingly simple way to address women's access to sanitation and related issues is to increase the representation of women in firms and public bodies that design products, services and interventions in the WaSH sector. For example, in Kibera, Kenya, toilets designed without considering the needs of women and children resulted in pit latrines with wide drop holes, through which children could easily slip and fall. Women and children did not use these facilities, instead using 'flying toilets' - polythene bags which are used for defecation and then tossed out at night (WSP 2010). In contrast, a major water utility in a Kitui county, (KITWASCO), scrapped the requirement of having to present a title deed for a new water connection, leading

to an increased demand for water connections from women, as a greater number of women head of households were without title deeds, a direct result of gender-sensitivity training provided as part of the KIWASH project (USAID 2018).

We hypothesize that increasing diversity in the design and development of products and services will help to ensure that all users are well represented, and the unique needs and problems of each user type will be more likely to be addressed. Under this hypothesis, addressing the unique and pressing needs of women and girls in the sanitation sector requires a look behind the curtain, interrogating the internal workings of the organisations that make and implement sanitation policy, regulation and services. Our project aims to do this in the Kenyan sanitation sector, through two objectives: (i) identify the barriers that women face in attaining decision-making posts in sanitation-related public institutions in Kenya and (ii) interrogate whether women prioritize different things when it comes to access to sanitation, as compared to male leaders in this field. This research aims to do so by addressing four research questions:

- 1) *What is the distribution of genders across all staff, as well as decision-making roles, in sanitation-related public-sector institutions in Kenya?*
- 2) *What barriers do women face in attaining and holding leadership roles in the sanitation sector?*
- 3) *How are women leaders challenged to use their voice and implement their ideas?*
- 4) *What are the differences between genders with respect to the prioritization, design and deployment of policies and programs impacting women's sanitation access?*

Our ultimate goal is to understand how gender inequity manifests in the sanitation sector, globally. As a first step, we have posed these research questions within the context of the sanitation sector in Kenya. Although we view gender inequities in sanitation as a global phenomenon, particular manifestations of gender inequity may vary from country to country. The results presented here can only represent Kenya, but they are one step towards a better understanding of the common patterns which happen across nations, and the practices which might correct gender inequities in sanitation everywhere.

2 Methods

Exhibit 1: Components of Study



A mix of primary and secondary research analysis was undertaken to successfully achieve the objectives of the study. Our study design consisted of four components: : (i) a thorough review of the research literature and policy documents; (ii) an institutional map of the sanitation sector in Kenya, and organisational charts of key sanitation-related public bodies; (iii) a survey of technical and managerial staff; and (iv) in-depth interviews (IDIs) with employees at these sanitation bodies; and (v) focus group discussions (FGDs) with male and female staff.

Component 1: Desk Review Methodology

Our literature review was built around four key areas, chosen to provide context for our research, and an indication on areas in the research literature where our study might fit in and fill gaps, building on previous research: (i) the business case for women in decision-making roles in the corporate sector and challenges for women leaders; (ii) gender inequity in sanitation governance; (iii) barriers to women in technical fields; and (iv) gender roles and cultural norms in Kenya.

For theme 1, women in corporate governance, we have tried to map out the current proportion of

women in executive roles across the world, the business case that motivates female representation in these roles, the argument in favour of looking beyond mandated gender quotas to underlying issues and the barriers that women face in entry and advancement in the corporate world. The section on inequity in sanitation governance iterates the need to have women in decision-making roles in the sector, provides available statistics on female staff and leaders in WaSH and also mentions various national policies and international and regional efforts aimed at addressing gendered issues in sanitation, including increasing the participatory role of women. In barriers to women in technical roles, we have aimed to identify all existing technical, socio-cultural and educational challenges that women face. The literature is skewed towards barriers that women face in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM). The last section on gender roles and relations in Kenya addresses gender inequality in education and labour force participation, political representation and gender-based violence. It also highlights existing policies and efforts in gender equality and gender mainstreaming in Kenya.

We employed five methods to ensure an exhaustive search for existing relevant literature:

1. Using research search engines such as Google Scholar, JSTOR and Web of Science, we gathered materials using the keywords listed below, restricting our search to articles published after 2000.
2. We identified five relevant journals for each thematic area from lists of the top-ranked disciplinary journals, then searched for the same keywords within each of these journals.
3. We identified six influential international NGOs, multi-lateral organisations and international finance institutions that are working on sanitation, especially those working in Kenya, and those working on gender issues as well. This includes the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the Water and Sanitation Program, the Water Supply and Sanitation Collaborative Council, USAID, Gender and Water Alliance and UN Women. We then searched through their reports, presentations, factsheets and policy briefs for relevant materials. We identified at least three such organisations for each area, and more for some of them.
4. We identified at least one expert in two of our thematic areas and did an author search for all of their research publications. We then selected all of their publications that fit into our theme and included them in our review.
5. Finally, ancestry and descendant searches were also conducted on the documents to identify other potential literature.

Our primary search for existing literature in these resources were based on the following keywords:

Exhibit 2: Search Words for Literature Review

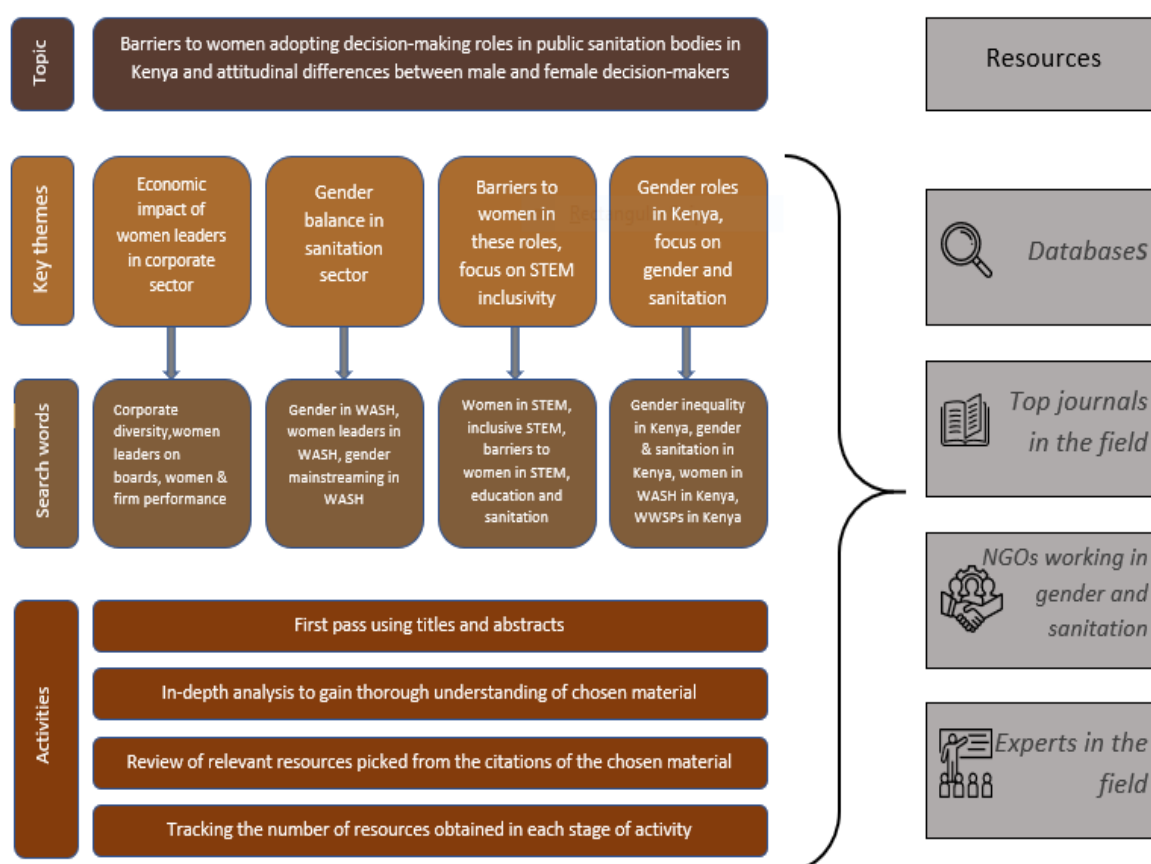
Sl. No	Thematic Area	Search Words
1	Women in Decision-Making Roles and Executive Management	Economic impact of female corporate leaders, women leaders and firm performance, gender quotas and firm performance, female leadership style, women directors, effects of gender diverse boards, women decision-makers, women on corporate boards, female leaders and corporate governance, board diversity and firm performance
2	Inequity in Sanitation Governance	Women leaders in WaSH, gender in WaSH, gender mainstreaming in WaSH, gender balance in sanitation, female WaSH leaders, gender and sanitation governance, sanitation in Kenya, women water service providers. Sanitation and GBV, sanitation and women policy makers, gender inequity in WaSH designing, female staff in WaSH
3	Barriers to Female Leadership in Technical Fields	Socio-cultural barriers for women in STEM, challenges for women in technical fields, female leaders in technical fields, women professionals in STEM, barriers to STEM for girls, inclusive STEM, institutional barriers to women in technical fields, discrimination in STEM, STEM education and gender
4	Gender Roles and Relations in Kenya	Gender roles in Kenya, gender relationships in Kenya, women in politics in Kenya, female labour force participation in Kenya, gender wage gap in Kenya, GBV in Kenya, gender disparity in education in Kenya,

We filtered the papers for relevancy by reviewing the titles and abstracts. A condensed list was built using two exclusion criteria. First, since the research call is exclusively to look at

barriers that women face in adopting decision-making roles in the sanitation sector, resources that focus exclusively on women as users or beneficiaries of sanitation facilities or which focus only on water as part of WaSH facilities have been excluded. Second, we have also excluded all resources published before 2000 since the studies and reports are unlikely to be relevant. All remaining articles, policy briefs, reports, factsheets and briefs were included in our review. We created brief summaries for every resource included in each thematic area, noting down the authors, journal name or publishing institution, the questions addressed, relevant statistics and main takeaways. These summaries were then synthesized for the main content of this report.

Our literature review potentially misses out on contextual information from Kenya and Sub-Saharan Africa since we have excluded graduate-level literature, due to lack of appropriate measures for reliability and validation. The search for resources was also restricted to those published in English and limited to the organisations and experts we identified in the thematic areas. All resources from our condensed list were added onto our project folder on Zotero, a citation software, for easy referencing.

Exhibit 3: Desk Review Methodology



Component 2: Institutional Map

As part of the research agenda, we targeted six public-sector, sanitation-related organisations across the key roles in the sanitation sector for more in-depth study. The list of public-sector

organisations shortlisted for the study are shown in Exhibit 4. For the purpose of the study, only sanitation related public bodies which are defined as government ministries, boards, commissions or any other official bodies, that have any impact or input on sanitation planning, policy, regulation or service provision are included. Donors, community based organizations (CBOs), private water utilities or technology providers are currently outside the purview of the study.

Exhibit 4: Preliminary List of Organisations

Primary Role	Institutions
Planning & Policy	Ministry of Water and Sanitation (MoWS)
Finance	Water Sector Trust Fund (WSTF)
Monitoring & Regulation	Water Services Regulatory Board (WASREB)
Capacity Building & Training	Kenya Water Institute (KEWI)
Service Provision	Nairobi City Water and Sewerage Company (NCWSC)
Service Provision	Kiambu County Water Department (KCWD)

Exhibit 5: The Four Levels of Leadership Used in this Study

Designation	Description
Directors	Includes only members of board of directors or chairpersons
Corporate leadership	Includes positions such as CEO, COO and other top management positions that head an organisation or enjoys an equivalent position
Functional heads	Includes heads of different departments and directorates. Deputy directors and assistant directors are also considered under this head of there are separate managerial positions under each department
Managerial heads	Includes positions that fall directly below the functional heads; and are responsible for specific activities under each department/ directorate such as assistant or deputy directors and/or senior department officials

The internal organisational structure of the selected institutions was mapped, through secondary research and/or primary interactions. The objective of the mapping exercise was to:

- 1) Collect the gender ratios across the organisational structure, specifically within each department or sub-unit and broken down across four layers of leadership hierarchy (these four layers are explained further in Exhibit 5);
- 2) Collect written policies (if any) from the identified institutions which are designed to support women and create a gender-sensitive workplace. These documents included policies regarding hiring, time off, travel policies for work-related trips, work-place facilities, maternity leave, promotions, any gender sensitivity trainings and the handling of harassment complaints.

Component 3: Surveys

A structured survey regarding work-place policies, gender sensitivity and support for women were administered to employees (male and female) at each of the six public-sector, sanitation-related institutions. We took a proportional sample at each institution, aiming for gender parity

and stratification across the organisational hierarchy, including lower-level employees up through top management. Our survey collected basic data on educational background, number of years of experience, number of years in their current position and within the organisation overall, as well as their age, job title and gender. In addition, we tested staff's knowledge on gender-sensitivity policies that exist at their organisation, their general opinions on women in the workplace, and whether they feel that the needs of women have been addressed, with regards to hiring, training, scheduling, maternity leave, promotions and harassment complaints. Their assessment of policies and their general opinions of women in the workplace was collected using a five-point Likert scale measuring the level of their approval or agreement with statements made. We will refer to results taken from the surveys as 'quantitative' in contrast to the 'qualitative' data taken from the IDIs and the FGDs. In order to make this differentiation clear, in this report we will refer to people who took part in our surveys as 'respondents.' Please see Annexure 2 for the IDI questionnaire.

Component 4: In-Depth Interviews (IDIs)

We conducted six IDIs (three with women and three with men) at five of our six focus organisations. The objective of the in-depth interviews was to gather insights on policy priorities; favored types of interventions; gaps in policy and practice; gaps in decision making processes, gender division of labour (at institutional level, i.e., are there roles that are specific to female or male staff), attitudes and perceptions towards women leadership, recruitment and promotions (captured), and key roadblocks. We asked how they define sanitation; what they perceive to be the impacts of inadequate sanitation access; and what they think should be the sources of funding and allocation of responsibility in the sanitation sector. We also asked whether the views of women impact, shape or shift the design of sanitation policies and whether women in decision making roles might have different definitions, policy priorities, or favor different interventions. We asked about their professional journeys, including their efforts to get hired and promoted, and their experiences in the workplace, especially regarding workplace culture, awareness of gender inequity among the staff, and efforts to correct it. Like in the survey, we also asked if they have heard of any official policies focusing on gender in their organisation and in the sector, and if so, their opinions regarding impact, implementation and design.

To complement and compare the IDIs at our focus institutions we also conducted a total of nine IDIs in three additional organisations that fall into one of two categories: (i) those working in sanitation, but not in the public sector, and (ii) those working on gender issues and not focused on sanitation. These included interviews with senior employees at the Nairobi office of WSUP; Kenya Water and Sanitation Civil Societies Network (KEWASNET) and GROOTS, a grassroots women-led organisation of CBOs and Self-Help Groups (SHGs) in Kenya. In addition, while in the field, we learned that UNICEF had a local office working directly with the MoWS, and that before the Ministry of Water become the MoWS, the Ministry of Public Health was in charge of sanitation policy. Because we felt that both of these organisations might

contribute valuable perspectives on our research questions, we added one IDI at each of these organisations as well.

We will refer to results taken from either the IDIs or the FGDs as 'qualitative' in contrast to the 'quantitative' data taken from the surveys. In order to make this differentiation clear, in this report we will refer to people who took part in our IDIs as 'participants.' Please see Annexure 2 for the IDI questionnaire.

Component 5: Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

We conducted a total of four FGDs. Two FGDs were not in our original study plan: the WSTF allowed us to conduct only FGDs, in the place of IDIs. These two FGDs were gender segregated, one with only men and one with only women. The other two FGDs were with women working in leadership or in technical positions from across the sanitation sector; some of these attendees were from our focus institutions, some were not. All four FGDs included participants from management and staff working in public-sector sanitation-related institutions. In order to keep participation confidential, we will not segregate the results and analysis of these FGDs from the results and analysis taken from the interviews. In general, the observations collected during the FGDs bolstered the general themes taken from the IDIs and thus increased our confidence in the validity of our results. We will refer to results taken from either the IDIs or the FGDs as 'qualitative' in contrast to the 'quantitative' data taken from the surveys. In order to make this differentiation clear, in this report we will refer to people who took part in our FGDs as 'participants.'

Data Collection and Analysis

We used the Open Data Kit (ODK) App on an Android phone to conduct the surveys, and ODK Aggregate to aggregate the data (Hartung et al. 2010). The complete dataset was then downloaded into a CVS file for analysis. We then analysed our survey results using simple summary statistics, conducted in R Studio (RStudio Team 2019; R Core Team 2012). The survey instrument can be found in Annexure 1.

We were not given permission to do audio recording of any of the IDIs or the FGDs. Instead, we recorded what was said by hand, in a designated project notebook, and then transcribed everything into the designated project laptop. We conducted content analysis on our IDIs and FGDs (the qualitative data). Coding all of the qualitative data was done using the R Studio plug-in, called RQDA (HUANG 2018). After all qualitative data were coded for relevant ideas, and the codes were categorized according to themes, we synthesized important results and searched for patterns that were relevant to our research questions. In order to provide support for our results, we selected representative quotations from the interviews and FGDs.

3 Results and Discussion

3.1 Summary of Literature Review

The Benefits of Gender Diversity in Leadership Positions

Several studies have found that increased gender diversity among senior and executive leadership leads to better performance for private corporations; this was true in both high income and middle income countries (Kılıç and Kuzey 2016; Lee et al. 2015; Li and Chen 2018; Noland, Moran, and Kotschwar 2016; Sabatier 2015). In particular, for companies with three or more women generated higher returns on equity than those with fewer women (Lee et al. 2015). Research also indicates that the presence of female board members increases the independence of the boards and enhanced consideration of risk leading to increased monitoring of firm and CEO performance (Adams and Ferreira 2009; Mori and Richard 2019; Sabatier 2015). When the CEO was a woman, firms were 12.6% more likely to fill senior management posts with other women (ILO 2019). A few papers also found either no effect or a negative effect on firm performance from increased gender diversity – but in all of these cases, it was instituted through a quota system, which might have been the source of the negative finding (Bertrand, Goldin, and Katz 2010; Ferrari et al. 2018; Matsa and Miller 2013; Sabatier 2015).

In addition to economic benefits, female representation in board rooms also change the leadership and governance style in firms, which resulted in fewer layoffs at the cost of short-run profits of the firm (Adams and Ferreira 2009). In another study, companies that lack gender diversity on their board of directors had more issues with bribery, corruption, fraud and shareholder battles (Lee et al. 2015). On average, women self-reported a higher preference for participative leadership as compared to men; the greater the number of women in the organisation, the more likely that a participative leadership style would be adopted in the organisation (Herrera et al. 2012). Bart and McQueen argue that women make better directors because their decision-making frameworks suggests that they are more likely to make consistently fair decisions when competing interests are at play (Bart and McQueen 2013).

The Gender Gap and Barriers to Gender-Inclusive Leadership

There exists a gender gap at the top rungs of the corporate ladder, despite various countries enforcing mandated gender quotas. The continental average of Africa for women on corporate boards is 12.7%, but with 32.9% of firms surveyed having no women on their boards at all (AfDB 2015). By one estimate, continuation of current trends forecasts that it will take 217 years to achieve gender parity in the workforce. Globally, women represent fewer than 50% of leaders in every industry and hold only 34% of the managerial positions across the world (World Economic Forum 2017). In developing countries, 10% of companies have no women managers at the junior level and only 16% had gender-balanced workforces at this level. The disparity continues at the senior management and top executive levels: 21% of these companies had no women senior managers, and 34% of them had no women at top executive levels (ILO 2019).

Women face discriminatory behaviour both in getting to and performing leadership roles. They lack access to social capital or 'old boys' networks' constraining their advancement within their organisation. At the top level, many women face a glass cliff or a second wave of discriminatory behaviour (Ryan and Haslam 2005). They are evaluated less favourably than male managers for the same job, receive greater criticism and are given less credit for their success (AAUW 2016). Amongst women public office holders in Africa, more than 50% are in charge of social welfare portfolios and only 30% lead the ministries with more political influence ("Women Matter Africa" 2016). Social portfolios do not prepare office holders for political advancement and skews the real distribution of power. This has led to the theory that the barriers that women face today are more lateral than vertical, or that they face "glass walls" instead of a glass ceiling, preventing them from advancing in traditionally male-dominated sectors (Bureau for Employers' Activities, & International Labour Office, 2019). The name of "glass walls" is given to the tendency for women to be more present in support functions, such as administration and human resources as well as in sectors with some identification with traditional feminine roles, such as education, health and social welfare (Nasser 2018). Only one in three CEOs stated gender diversity as being part of their agenda ("Women Matter Africa" 2016).

Gender Mainstreaming Efforts in the Water and Sanitation Sector

Others have also hypothesized that water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) outcomes relevant to women and girls can be significantly improved by involving gender experts, increasing the participation of women in decision-making and planning and through a high-level leadership that is generally committed to gender inclusion (Grant et al. 2017). The UN Inter-agency Task Force on Gender and Water was set up with a view to promote gender mainstreaming in water and sanitation (Grant et al. 2017). And the Ministry of Water and Irrigation in Kenya has also introduced incentives for gender mainstreaming through staff performance contracts (WSP 2010). But in an assessment of nine water utilities across 13 counties in Kenya, it was found that none of them had clear sexual harassment policies in place and female employees reported gender discrimination in placement and advancement within the organisation (Torkelsson, Wasike, and Rop 2011).

Women are still under-represented in both senior leadership as well as lower levels of the sanitation sector in low and middle income countries (International Water Association 2014; UN-Water and World Health Organisation 2012). Professional women were better represented in non-governmental organisations working in the sector whereas the gender gap was wide and almost the same in both the public and private sector (WSP 2010). An institutional assessment of gender in WaSH utilities in Ghana, Uganda, Senegal and Zambia found that men occupy most of the jobs in the sector. In Senegal, five utilities surveyed only had 18 women technicians out of a total of 246. In the Lusaka Water and Sewerage Company, only 74 out of 524 employees were female. The study also reports that female employees in such utilities are usually found in lower or non-technical positional such as secretaries and accountants (Greenberg 2006).

Barriers to Women in Science, Technology, Engineering and Math (STEM) Fields

Female employees in the WaSH sector face additional institutional and structural barriers since it is a largely technical and male-dominated field. Women make up less than a quarter of STEM professionals and only about 20% of these women are in leadership roles (CAWSTEM 2019). The number of women applicants and recruits are already skewed at the entry level, which subsequently gets reflected at higher levels in the organisation (ILO 2018). Male co-workers, meanwhile, were critical of women, who they perceived to be less enthusiastic about transfer postings or serving at field site locations. (Jalal 2014; Soppe, Janson, and Piantini 2018). Women that hold technical or STEM jobs also report a high incidence of sexual harassment: 55% of women in senior leadership and 45% of women in technical fields report sexual harassment (Parker 2018). Women working in STEM jobs also experience 'role incongruity': STEM positions are viewed as "masculine", and so when a woman is competent in them, she is considered to be less likeable. This leads to women in STEM being less likely to be hired; less likely to be promoted; less likely to receive support from co-workers and senior leaders; more likely to earn less; and more likely to be isolated at the workplace (AAUW 2016; Funk and Parker 2018; Hill, Corbett, and St. Rose 2010a; Regmi and Fawcett 2001; Settles 2014; "Solving the Equation" 2015).

There is a low participation rate of girls and women in STEM education (UNESCO 2017). Gender stereotypes that communicate the idea that STEM studies and careers are male domains adversely affect their interest, engagement and achievement in STEM (Hill, Corbett, and St. Rose 2010b; Hoffmann-Barthes, Nair, and Malpede 1999; McWhinnie and Peters 2014; UNESCO 2017). Female STEM teachers and female role models in STEM fields have been found to positively influence girls' interest in studying and pursuing STEM by providing an example of women's success, as well as addressing negative gender stereotypes regarding innate skills in math and science (GPE 2019; Rosenberg-Kima et al. 2008; UNESCO 2017; 2018). The gender gap in STEM widens as students transition to post-graduate levels of education and on to their careers; moreover, this gap has not reduced over the years, with no difference in the number of female graduate students between 2008 and 2014. Even after graduation, a much larger portion of women (as compared to men) do not take up careers in their field of study (McWhinnie and Peters 2014; UNESCO 2017). The female share of researchers in science in the world is only 28.8%; Sub-Saharan Africa and Kenya have similarly low rates of participation, of 31.3% and 25.7% respectively ("UIS Statistics" 2019).

Gender Roles and Cultural Norms in Kenya

The Global Gender Gap report ranks Kenya 76 out of 144 countries surveyed, with significant gaps in gender outcomes in education, health, political representation and economic freedom (World Economic Forum 2017). Women constitute about 80% of the labour force involved in food production and 50% of it in cash crop production, but only hold 1% of the registered land titles ("Country Gender Note For Kenya" 2017). Despite owning 48% of micro and small enterprises, women access only 7% of the credit. Of those with a college education who were unemployed in 2015-16, 67.8% of them were women (KNBS 2018). Male employees in Kenya

make 55% more income than women, on average (BMGF 2018). The introduction of free primary education in 2003 has helped bridge the gender gap in primary education but the gap is still wide for secondary and tertiary education (KNBS 2018; OECD 2019). Financial difficulties, cultural norms and stereotypes and early marriages often prevent girls from pursuing higher education (Kulkarni et al. 2009). In Kenya 45% of women have experienced physical violence and 14% have experienced sexual violence, at least once in their life ("DHS Survey Report: Kenya" 2014). Women are not adequately represented in politics, serving as a major barrier to formulation of inclusive policies and legislation. Out of the 14,501 candidates in 2017 general elections, only 1,259 (8.7%) were female and of the 1,862 persons elected, only 172 (9%) were women. (National Democratic Institute and Federation of Women Lawyers, Kenya 2018). There is a high persistence of threats of violence and verbal abuse against female political candidates (Opoku, Anyango, and Alupo 2018).

The Constitutional amendments made in 2010 does not allow discrimination based on gender and provided for specific interventions aimed at girls, including a mentorship programs for girls in STEM. Article 27(8), known as the Gender Principle states that any gender should not be more than two-thirds at both the national and local legislative assemblies (UN Women n.d.). It also passed a Public Procurement act in 2015, which reserves 30% of public procurement opportunities for women, youth and people with disabilities ("Country Gender Note For Kenya" 2017). The State Department for Gender Affairs was established in November 2015 with several directorates, one of which is responsible for gender mainstreaming in the public sector. Based on their work, Kenya won the Gender Score Card Award for Education and Skills Development in Africa in 2017. (State Department for Gender Affairs 2018b). Gender based violence (GBV) Working Groups have been set up in nine counties to provide support and enhance access to justice for those subject to GBV (State Department for Gender Affairs 2018a). GROOTS Kenya, a grassroots organisation, undertakes activities involving the creation of positive images of women leadership, prevention of electoral violence against women through community watchdogs and popularization of women candidates nominated by political parties (GROOTS Kenya 2017).

3.2 Organisations – Mandates and Functions

The six public-sector, sanitation-related organisations, two sanitation-related Kenyan NGOs, and one Kenyan NGO focused on gender issues, are listed below, along with a brief description of their mandate and general function in the sector.

The public-sector organisations include the following:

- 1) The Ministry of Water and Sanitation (MoWS) – part of the national government, formally in charge of Kenyan national policies regarding sanitation
- 2) Water Services Regulatory Board (WASREB) – sets standards and enforces regulations for Water Service Providers (WSPs), including both water and sanitation services
- 3) Kenya Water Institute (KEWI) – provides training, research, consultancy and outreach for the water sector and related sectors, including sanitation

- 4) Water Sector Trust Fund (WSTF) - provides grants to county governments and assists in financing water services in marginalised and underserved areas
- 5) Nairobi City Water and Sewerage Company (NCWSC) – the WSP serving the city of Nairobi, they provide piped water and sewerage services
- 6) The Kiambu County Water Department (KCWD) – a county government providing water and sanitation services to suburban and rural communities in its jurisdiction

The three NGOs included the following:

- 1) The Kenya Water and Sanitation Civil Society Network (KEWASNET) – a national membership organisation consisting of civil society organisations working in the Water, Sanitation and Hygiene sector
- 2) Water and Sanitation for the Urban Poor (WSUP) – An international NGO, and the funder of this study, WSUP aims to work with local urban service providers of water and sanitation services. We interviewed staff members stationed at the Nairobi office
- 3) GROOTS - a national movement of grassroots, women-led CBOs and Self-Help Groups (SHGs) in Kenya.

In addition, one IDI was conducted at each of the following organisations:

- 1) The Ministry of Public Health – part of the national government, formally in charge of Kenyan national policies regarding Public Health. Formally in charge of sanitation policy.
- 2) UNICEF – works to promote and protect the rights of children and women in Kenya. UNICEF is one of the longest-serving international organisations in the country. We interviewed a staff member stationed at their Nairobi office.

Decision makers and technical staff from WASH-related NGOs were included in order to understand stakeholder perception regarding gendered barriers in the sanitation sector more broadly, beyond the perspectives and internal culture of the public-sector. The gender-related NGO was added in order to gather insights on gender related initiatives beyond those found in the sanitation sector, in order to provide a comparison with what the WASH sector is doing on the subject.

3.3 Institutional Mapping and Gender Counting Exercise

Gender Counting

We mapped the organisational hierarchy of the six sanitation-related bodies in order to understand the gender distribution of all full-time employees. Our findings from this exercise supports the hypothesis that the sanitation sector in Kenya is male-dominated and that gender inequity in the sector is reflected in organisations across the value chain. Out of the 4,114 full-time workers employed at these six organisations, only 1,468 (35.6%) are women. The representation varies across organisations, from 5% in the KCWD to 39.7% in the WSTF.

Breaking down the distribution of genders across the organizational hierarchy requires a quick review of leadership titles that are used by our focus institutions. We categorized all leadership titles under four headings: directors, corporate leadership, functional heads and managerial

Exhibit 6: Major Findings



heads. Directors are defined as members of a board of directors or chairpersons; corporate leadership is CEO, COO or other top management positions; and functional heads are those who lead departments or directorates within the institution in question. Deputy directors and assistant directors have also been considered under this head if there are separate managerial positions under each department. Managerial heads include positions that report directly to functional heads and are responsible for specific activities under each department or directorate (see Exhibit 5)

The average representation of women among directors is 38%. The average representation of women across the other three levels of organizational hierarchy is only 26%. Of these positions, the highest proportion of women is in the lowest rung: 31% of managers across the six institutions are women. The six organizations exhibit different levels of gender equity in technical and managerial posts. The MoWS has one male and one female director, but among the six organization, it has the second lowest rate of female representation at 28%. In general, gender parity is not observed across the organization: out of 209 individuals heading different departments or directorates within the ministry, only 46

(22%) are female. WSTF has the highest number of full-time female employees (31 of 47) but only 18.6% female representation among top-level employees. WASREB has an average representation of women of 35.2%, and 6 out of 13 department heads are women as are 4 out of 7 managers. NCWSC has the second highest female representation at 36.8%, however, there are three times as many men in top-level positions as women. At KEWI, 33% of the full-time employees (including lecturers and researchers) are women, and four out of nine directors and three out of 7 managers are women, a higher proportion of women in leadership than four of the other organizations. At KCWD only two female employees can be found in any leadership position (see Exhibit 7).

Exhibit 7: Gender-Disaggregated Data of Employees at the Top Four Levels of Leadership. Percentages so the allocation of personnel at a specific organization, across all four levels of leadership hierarchy (the rows sum to 100%).

Name	Directors		Corporate Leadership		Functional Heads		Managerial Heads	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Water Service Regulatory Board	17%	10%	3%	0%	24%	21%	10%	14%
Water Department, Kiambu County	0%	0%	8%	0%	23%	4%	62%	4%
Nairobi City Water and Sewerage Company	30%	11%	4%	0%	19%	11%	15%	11%

Water Sector Trust Fund	9%	7%	2%	0%	56%	9%	14%	2%
Kenya Water Institute	2%	19%	0%*	0%*	24%	0%	19%	14%
Ministry of Water and Sanitation	0.2%	0.2%	4%	18%	41%	12%	28%	13%

* Currently vacant

Gender Policies

There are three Government of Kenya (GoK) policies that came up multiple times in our observations. The first was a GoK sexual harassment policy, which is mandated to be followed and applied by all government ministries and institutions. The second requires a minimum representation of one-third for either gender for any government organizations. And the third is a reservation that at least 30% of procurements must be done through businesses owned by women, youth or people with disabilities (see Exhibit 8).

Exhibit 8: Three GoK policies which were designed with the intention of providing gender-based protections

Legislation	Provisions
The Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act (2016)	The Act provides that an individual might be found guilty of sexual harassment if any person, who being in a position of authority, or holding a public office makes persistent sexual advances and requests. The Act, however, imposes an obligation on the alleged victim of sexual harassment to prove (Employment Law in Kenya Sexual Harassment in the Workplace, n.d.): (a) that their submission or rejection of the sexual advances or requests would be used as a basis of employment or as a decision relevant to the career of the alleged victim; and (b) that the sexual advances or requests by the perpetrator have the effect of interfering with the alleged victim's work; educational performance or have created an offensive working or learning environment for the alleged victim.
The Constitution of Kenya (2010) Article 81 (b) Article 27(8)	81(b) Not more than two thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender 27(8) Requires that the State shall take legislative and other measures to ensure that the two-thirds rule is implemented
Diversity Policy for the Public Service (2016)	Every public service institution shall implement the principle that not more than two-thirds (2/3) of its employees shall be of the same gender at all levels; ensure that gender issues are mainstreamed at the workplace and take appropriate measures including affirmative action to ensure gender equality; and uphold, observe and protect the right of women to health and safety in working conditions, including the safeguarding of the function of reproduction
Public Procurement and Disposal Act (2005)	A procuring entity should allocate at least 30% of its expenditure to procure goods, works and services from micro and small enterprises owned by women, youth and persons with disability

The Government of Kenya (GoK) has a sexual harassment policy, which is mandated to be followed and applied by all government ministries and institutions. As such, all six of the public-sector organizations included in this study reported that they used the GoK sexual harassment policies. In addition, WASREB, NCWSC, KEWI and WSTF all had their own sexual harassment policy, following the guidelines of the GoK policy. KCWD has formulated its own HR policy but borrows the government policy on sexual harassment. WSTF was the only organization that reported it did not have a formal, written HR policy.

For new mothers, KEWI offers all basic services, excluding childcare or lactating facilities. WASREB and WSTF were the only two organizations that offered lactation rooms for women.

The MoWS provides paid maternity leave and employees we interviewed at the organization reported that although there were no formal mechanisms for availing flexible working hours, they could be arranged by an informal agreement with their respective supervisors. WSTF and NCWSC were the only two organizations that allowed for flexible working hours that could be arranged formally (see Exhibit 9).

Exhibit 9: Gender Representation and Gender-sensitive Policies

Name	Full-time Employees		HR Policy	Sexual Harassment Policy	Paid Maternity Leave	Flexible Working Hours ²	Childcare Facilities	Lactation Room
	Men	Women						
WASREB	22	12	Yes	Yes	Yes	Informal	No	Yes
KCWD	19	1	Yes	Yes ¹	Yes	Informal	No	No
NCWSC	2173	1266	Yes	Yes	Yes	Formal	No	No
MoWS	326	129	Yes	Yes ¹	Yes	Informal	No	No
KEWI	59	29	Yes	Yes	Yes	Informal	No	No
WSTF	47	31	No	Yes	Yes	Formal	No	Yes

¹ The required GoK version was adopted – no internally created policies were adopted

² 'Informal' refers to informal agreements made by individuals with their supervisors – but no official policy exists.

3.4 Women in Decision-making Roles and Executive Management

The literature finds modestly positive evidence regarding the impact of female board members on economic performance of firms. However, we make the case that gender diversity is required in management for reasons that are over and above possible accrual of economic benefits. As suggested by the resource dependency theory, gender diversity helps firms improve its outcomes

We do not suggest that women have essential characteristics that make them better leaders in the sanitation sector. Instead, we believe that inclusion is inherently good since the needs of the varied communities are more likely to be taken into consideration.

and programs by enabling it to access skills and resources that are critical for its success and enhances its overall problem-solving capacity by looking at it from diverse perspectives (Zhang 2012). We do not suggest that women have essential characteristics that make them better leaders in the sanitation sector. Instead, we believe that inclusion is inherently good since the needs of the varied communities are more likely to be taken into consideration.

Our findings from the survey, FGDs and IDIs support the resource dependency theory. A large number of the survey respondents and qualitative data collection participants agreed that women have different and some specific characteristics, which improves project planning, design and implementation. In our qualitative observations, participants reported that women are able to better discern and understand the needs of different groups of people and have a deeper understanding of sanitation issues. For example:

- Women have different sanitation needs that are due to simply to the biological make-up of the sexes.
 - ⇒ *Menstruating women need a private place to wash themselves and dispose of sanitary pads.*
 - ⇒ *Pregnancy makes women less mobile and less agile. Toilets must accommodate the physical limitations of pregnant women.*
- Women require more time and at more frequency than men to perform basic sanitation activities. As caretakers, they require facilities for babies and children as well.
 - ⇒ *A larger facility, with more seats and services, as compared to the men's toilets, may be necessary to meet the needs of women.*
 - ⇒ *Facilities must be physically safe for children, as well as adults*
- Cultural taboos are different, and more restrictive to women, with respect to both the use of toilets and to menstrual hygiene management (MHM).
 - ⇒ *Sanitation facilities need to be private and discrete.*
- There is sometimes a threat of sexual harassment in accessing toilets outside the home, especially when they are far away.
 - ⇒ *Toilets need to be well-lit, nearby, and with an attendant if possible*

Toilets that are unsafe for pregnant women or women with young children eventually leads to the non-use of such facilities, perpetuating open defecation or affecting the health of women and the community. Women, as users of sanitation, have intrinsic knowledge of such problems that may be not always recognized by men. As technicians, program managers and engineers, women are in a better position to decide on how best to address these issues and ensure effective use of sanitation facilities. In fact, one of the participants stated that she hoped having at least one woman in a decision-making role might influence decisions on "access to services, [particularly] for women who face unique challenges in water access." Further, during the employee survey, respondents who supported need for increased female representation in the sector were asked why they think so. A significant proportion of women and men (22.2% and 15.6% respectively) believed that female workers possessed better skills to understand the needs of the people.

"Having at least one woman in a decision-making role might influence decisions on "access to services, [particularly] for women who face unique challenges in water access. "

In our qualitative data, participants noted that women bring different perspectives to the table on various issues and tend to look for "underlying factors" and "think in 360-degree solutions." Some men also seem to agree with this view- 17% of men believed the same and agreed that having more women would enhance decision-making. The difference in approaches and perspectives were not unique to sanitation issues, participants also reported that women bring an inclusive approach to the workplace, including when dealing with other employees or designing human resource policies. One participant reported that women are better understanding of familial responsibilities and the needs of pregnant, lactating women and mothers and hence provide a "secure" working environment and were "easy to approach."

Women managers were also seen as more encouraging and patient with all employees, especially other female employees.

In addition to women being perceived as having better 'people skills', women's style of working was observed to be different from most men. Some of the qualitative participants perceived that women are more detail-oriented and persistent. Both male and female participants thought that women exhibit greater commitment, focus and drive to succeed, with at least two male participants stating that "when women put their minds to something they won't stop" and "they are also more responsible and when women put their minds to something they do not relent." Many participants also felt that female employees deliver on their commitments and are more likely to meet performance targets and other deliverables, as compared to male employees.

A majority of participants associated such positive attributes with women workers and managers and believed increased female representation in the sector would increase the performance of individual organisations. However, a small proportion of the participants assigned stereotypical labels to women workers, with one participant even citing that "women know their place in the kitchen and taking care of children." Another male participant was of the view that male leaders are better and women should not hold managerial posts because they are "emotional." A group of male participants also thought women were too "indecisive" and should not hold high-level positions. The same group were of the view that women hold extensive consultations and invite different opinions because "they want to run away from responsibility." Men also seemed to think that although women have good views, increasing the number of women in the sector would "bring conflict", which we assume is an expression of the stereotype that women tend to fight amongst themselves.

Majority of the respondents associated such positive attributes with women workers and managers and believed increased female representation in the sector would increase the performance of individual organisations.

One key barrier that we tried to explore, both during our quantitative and qualitative interactions, was the perceived existence of a glass ceiling. A majority of survey respondents and a majority of qualitative data collection participants did not observe any obvious limit to the advancement of women at their organisations. Interestingly, 2 of the 4 participants who mentioned the phrase glass ceiling were men and explicitly referred to them whereas the two female participants were more subtle in their references. Both men believed that the current system of operations in their organisations were discriminatory and prevented women from moving up the ladder. One of the participants noted that sometimes the biases were apparent, with a man being given a leadership position even when a woman scored higher in the qualification rounds for the post.

Quantitative Survey Data

Our findings from the survey provide us with some more nuances in the responses: 88% of the respondents did not feel that there was a glass ceiling at the organisation, but of the respondents who did feel so, a larger proportion was women. Twice the number of female respondents believed that their organisations had a glass ceiling as compare to male respondents. Further, one-third of these female respondents were from executive or managerial levels, implying that the women who reach high-level positions had faced some obstacles in doing so. This may signify that although explicit glass ceilings for women might not exist in the sanitation sector, there might be a partial glass ceiling that still makes it difficult for women to advance in the workplace. This is true of the sanitation sector as well, where participants noted that women leaders who hold the highest positions are infrequent and even in circumstances where this occurs, they might not be able to hold these positions for very long.

3.5 Barriers to Women in STEM Education

Research by the World Economic Forum (WEF) has found that women represent fewer than 50% of leaders in every industry and women hold only 34% of the managerial positions across the world. In some industries such as mining and engineering, female leadership is as low as 20%. Conversely, in sectors that are considered 'soft' or non-technical, the representation of women is high. This has led to the theory that the barriers that women face today are more lateral than vertical, or that they face glass walls instead of a glass ceiling, preventing them from advancing in traditionally male-dominated sectors.

We concluded from our extensive literature review that some part of the absence of female leaders in technical fields can be traced back to the low participation rate of girls and women in STEM education. We trace our participants' formal and vocational training backgrounds to identify factors such as stereotype threat and biases, lack of role models etc. that manifest as educational barriers in this sub-section and present solutions to these problems, as presented to us by our study participants, in the next sub-section.

3.5.1 Stereotype Threat and Biases

The responses from our IDIs support the fact that there is a skewed male-female ratio in most STEM fields. Only 6 of 57 participants reported equitable distribution of genders during their education, in areas of study such as management and business administration, international development and public health. All the remaining participants observed there was a difference in the gender distribution of students throughout their education. A majority of these participants held degrees in engineering, and some held degrees in law, finance, computer science and management. In our quantitative survey, 64% respondents did not have any technical training or educational background. The number of male employees with some formal or vocational technical training was twice that of female employees with the same background. Conversely, the number of female employees who held degrees or training in areas that are considered 'non-technical' was more than that of male employees.

We asked our participants whether they believed their area of study was typical for their gender and whether they faced any challenges during their schooling due to their gender. A majority of the women responded in the affirmative, noting that that gender disparity in STEM education arises from stereotypes regarding the kind of jobs women should do.

We theorise that there are two channels through which such stereotypes lead to gender gaps: firstly, entrenched socio-cultural norms creates the perception that certain jobs or fields of study are 'appropriate' for women while some others are not. This is reflected in girls' choice of subjects, leading to skewed student and employee ratios in certain fields. For example, participants observed that "women are just not attracted to do STEM", "ladies are not interested because there is a lot of math", "women are shy from science", "females fear mathematics", and "women have been socialized that technical courses are for men."

Participants observed that "women are just not attracted to do STEM" (18), "ladies are not interested b/c [because] there is a lot of math", "women are shy from science", "females fear mathematics", "women have been socialized that technical courses are for men".

Secondly, even when women are interested in pursuing these fields, these perceptions and cultural history is used as a narrative by other people to dissuade women from these jobs. We found responses from participants that suggests this: "Young girls wanting to be an engineer, they are told it's not good work for them", "In the lab, ladies are at risk. People believe there is more risk for women than men. [That there are negative] impacts on the reproductive system", and "Mathematics is a difficult subject and not appealing to girls. It may [be] an attitude they have developed towards the subject or because of socialization on subjects that are suitable for girls different from boys."

These factors jointly affect the representation of girls in STEM education, leading to unequal representation in these jobs and in the sector. Further, women are considered by their peers and teachers as not being eligible or equally qualified to obtain the training, with one participant recounting that during her undergraduate degree, she heard another student asking, "Why are these women in this class? They should be in home economics."

3.5.2 Lack of Role Models

The lack of female teachers teaching STEM subjects and female role models in these fields strengthen these perceptions and could be a possible deterrent to girls engaging in technical areas of study. Female teachers might help address the myth that math and other technical skills are innate and may actively encourage girls' participation in such classes, as compared to their male counterparts. One male participant had the same view, stating that "Role modelling [is] key before they leave school, so as to address stereotypes." Another participant noted that "When you join uni [versity], they expose you to the firms, and those firms from the water sector do not have many women so they [women/girls] think they won't get chances [to get a job at these firms]." Another participant explained although some efforts to mentor

schoolgirls, such as “going to schools as gender team” existed before, these were not sustainable due to absence of institutional backing.

3.5.3 Sexual Harassment in Higher Education

Even when women overcome these barriers to enroll in technical courses, they face further discrimination and harassment, from their peers as well as their professors. The discriminatory behaviour was reported to range from communicating in a way that was “protecting men and undermining women” to using “stereotyping” or “derogatory” language” to “making negative comments against women.” Female participants reported that such discriminatory

Female participants reported that such discriminatory behaviour often extends to inappropriate behaviour from male lecturers, with sexual jokes, unwanted attention and even sexual intimidation and threat of sexual harassment.

behaviour often extends to inappropriate behaviour from male lecturers, with sexual jokes, unwanted attention and even sexual intimidation and threat of sexual harassment. At least three female participants reported that sexual harassment is rampant in colleges, with one female participant reporting that “a number of them started avoiding classes [because] the professor was constantly making sexual jokes” and another reporting that “one particular lecturer spotted gals in class and followed them after class .”

3.5.4 Access to Sanitation in Schools

Although our IDI and FGD participants did not speak from their own experience when it came to a lack of access to gender-sensitive sanitation facilities at schools, they recognized that there were many others in Kenya that faced such challenges. Furthermore, they identified it as a potential barrier to women in STEM, more broadly. Lack of proper sanitation and hygiene facilities and lack of sensitivity towards MHM again force women to drop out of educational institutions. At least four female participants, explicitly addressed the need for proper MHM facilities in schools. Some of the observations in this regard are: “Issues to do with menstrual hygiene need to be addressed especially among schoolgirls. Also ensuring availability of water supply to help manage menstrual hygiene”, “More women drop out of colleges...some are struggling with affording sanitary pads, so they drop out because they won’t go to school during their period”, “In schools, they don’t meet the ratios [of seats per pupil] and they don’t have water [for flushing and washing]. So what do we do for the girls who need MHM?”, “[in] schools, there needs to be provision for MHM in toilets. At work you get it but not at schools. Example- a recent girl student committed suicide because a teacher ridiculed her when her dress was soiled.” Two male participants also addressed the issues, stating “there is [a need for] increased focus on MHM and emphasis on the need for privacy and therefore separate facilities for boys and girls in school” and “Girls [have] biological needs [such as] during menstruation, they have nowhere to dispose sanitary pads. The toilets always [have] blockages and they sometimes do not have access to sanitary pads.”

3.5.5 Policy Solutions in STEM Education

Our participants also provided us with recommendations and interventions that they thought would best enable girls to overcome some of these barriers. These suggestions ranged from better designed courses to improving facilities as well as sensitization and training programs that will help address overt discrimination. With respect to technical programs, the participants felt there was a need to restructure courses such that they adapt to the different roles that women play as caregivers and students. Recommendations included expanding the number of institutions that provide water and sanitation courses to all technical schools across the country so that they are accessible to more women. Some of the participants were of the view that the current duration of courses was too long and placed extensive demands on women; a potential solution for this would be to provide a shortened duration of focused study. This could then be offered with an internship program, helping women gain experience and providing a launchpad to full-time jobs. One of the participants also suggested that bridging programs be brought back to technical schools. Bridging programs were short courses provided to students who were interested in STEM but didn't have the necessary score to qualify for such courses. Students could take such courses in order to obtain skills necessary to pursue a full-time, rigorous STEM course.

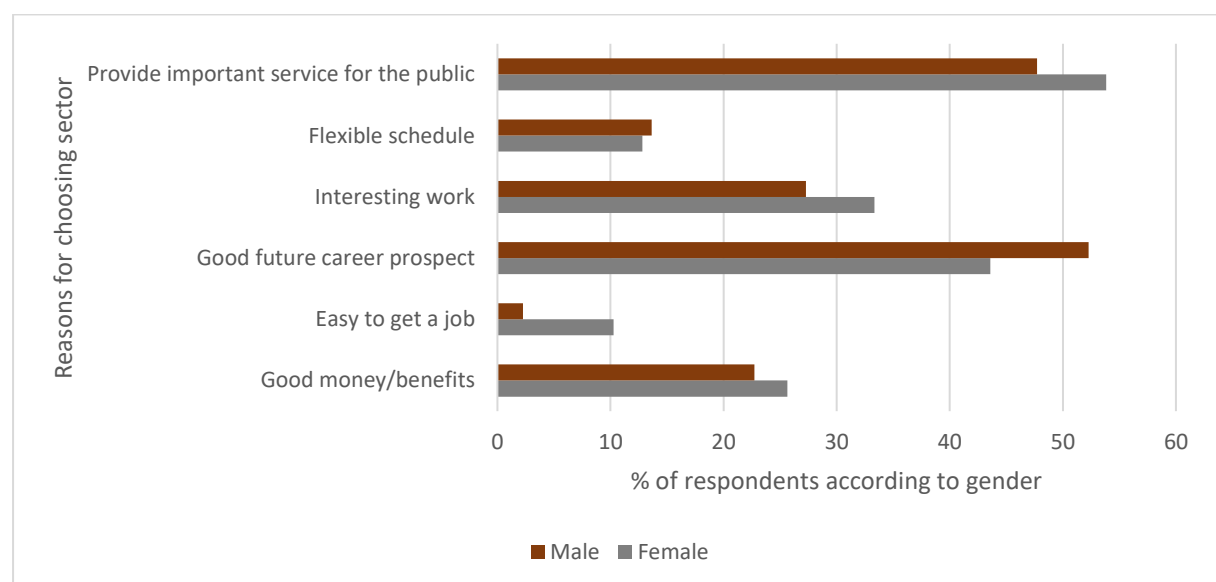
Another often repeated suggestion amongst the participants was the need to improve the visibility of female professionals in the sector to young schoolgirls. There was an emphasized need to target children and enhance their interest in technical areas, right from primary school. Some methods to achieve this objective include changing the curriculum and the schoolbooks to ensure that it does not create or perpetuate gender stereotypes and sensitization training to ensure that such stereotypes are not in any manner, conveyed or enforced in classroom teaching. Mentoring programs that enable schoolgirls to continuously interact with established professionals in the sector and developing networks of female professionals to help girls navigate their career path would be positive reinforcements.

However, a prerequisite to such measures is to ensure that once these girls are in a position to attain technical education, the institutions offering such courses are equipped, both in terms of material resources and support services. Ensuring physical resources include ensuring proper and adequate sanitation facilities that offer privacy and safety for women. These facilities should be easily accessible, should have continuous supply of water, proper facilities for effective MHM and should be located in areas where they do not face the threat of sexual harassment or social stigma. Setting up STEM scholarships for schoolgirls or extending financial support to enable women at lower levels to gain further technical training might ease some of the financial constraints that women face. Support services such as developing a safe environment, where women feel unthreatened by men and ensuring proper channels for raising complaints and addressing problems of intimidation, discrimination or sexual harassment is also necessary to improve the proportion of girls in STEM.

3.6 Gender Inequity in Kenyan Institutions working in the Sanitation Sector

The draw of a career in the sanitation sector can take many forms, ranging from altruism to self-interest. When choosing to search for a job, when deciding to submit an application, and when signing an offer letter to a new job, newly graduated young men and women may be heeding a call to address a public need, fight for social justice; they may be pursuing a respectable, or even lucrative professional career; or they may be addressing some combination of any of these. According to our survey, most women are driven to join the sector because it is an important, necessary public service whereas most men are driven by the good career prospects, although there were fairly similar response patterns for both genders, in general (see Exhibit 10). The decision may have been made before they began their studies, or after graduation. This decision-making process is complex, varying greatly from person to person. But this complicated process is surely impacted by gender: a young woman knows that she has different needs; she know that there will be different familial demands made on her; and she knows that her career prospects will not be the same as a man's regardless of whether she has a STEM degree or not.

Exhibit 10: Reasons for Choosing Sanitation Sector



A career in the sanitation sector begins with recruitment, job applications, an interview and then the acceptance of a job offer. Anyone reaching this stage has already surmounted hurdles to get there, regardless of gender. This beginning stage can be thought of as another hurdle as well. There are some women, and men, who will not pass this stage, for various reasons. When recruitment efforts focus on a degree with fewer women, such as any STEM field, recruitment at college campuses has already favored men. When interview preparation occurs through private courses, these will be more accessible to men. When women have a small baby to take care of, or know that one is on the way, they may be more reluctant to apply for a job which they perceive will not allow them sufficient flexibility to care for their child. According to our participants, this is something which is considered regularly by mothers, but not by fathers. And whether she knows it or not, the gender of the people making the decisions in

the candidate selection process might have an impact on whether or not they are looking to hire a woman or not: at least this seems to be the case in our survey responses.

3.6.1 Representation and Recruitment

In our survey of employees, we find that gender played a role in whether or not respondents thought that the current gender ratio was skewed or not, whether they thought it was improving and whether or not they thought special effort was warranted to hire more women. Among respondents, 78% either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that women were well represented among the staff at their respective organisations. Interestingly, more than twice the proportion of male respondents agreed strongly with the statement as compared to female respondents (see Exhibit 11.1). Regardless of whether men and women agreed about the current state of gender equity in hiring at their organisation, it seems that a large majority of both men and women felt that the share of female employees was increasing (see Exhibit 11.3). Although most respondents agreed with the statement that women were well-represented at the organisation, only slightly more than half (53.8%) of those surveyed also supported special efforts to recruit more women. Of all respondents, 32% either disagreed or disagreed strongly with such efforts. But when broken down by gender, we see that there is a wide gap between women and men: the ratio of men who agreed with such efforts to men who disagreed was 1:1, while for women it was 3:1 (see Exhibit 11.4). Unfortunately, it seems that feelings about special efforts to correct skewed gender ratios are not supported uniformly across genders.

Exhibit 11: Gender differences in responses on organisational and sectoral representation

11.1 Respondent agreement with statement: "Women are well-represented among the staff at your organisation"				
	Female (N=39)	Male (N=44)		
Strongly agree	15%	32%		
Agree	54%	55%		
Neither agree nor disagree	3%	0%		
Disagree	26%	14%		
Strongly disagree	3%	0%		
11.2 Respondent agreement with statement: "Women are well-represented among workers in the sanitation sector"				
	Female (N=37)	Male (N=41)		
Strongly agree/ agree	49%	68%		
Strongly disagree/ disagree	27%	22%		
Neither agree nor disagree	5%	0%		
I don't know/ I'd rather not say	19%	10%		
11.3 Respondent agreement with statement: "The number of women is increasing ...				
	...at your organisation."		...in the sanitation sector."	
	Female (N=37)	Male (N=41)	Female (N=39)	Male (N=44)
Strongly agree / agree	73%	73%	69%	70%
Neither agree / disagree	11%	7%	10%	7%

Strongly disagree / disagree	8%	15%	10%	9%
I don't know / I'd rather not say	8%	5%	10%	14%
11.4 Respondent agreement with statement: "There should be a special effort to hire more women in general..."				
	...at your organisation."		...in the sanitation sector."	
	Female (N=37)	Male (N=41)	Female (N=39)	Male (N=44)
Strongly agree / agree	65%	44%	85%	50%
Strongly disagree / disagree	22%	41%	13%	25%
Neither agree / disagree	11%	15%	3%	20%
I don't know / I'd rather not say	3%	0%	0%	5%

When breaking the data down further, the difference in men and women supporting special efforts to hire more women was located entirely at the level of managers and executives. Out of the 9 women surveyed at executive and managerial roles, 7 (78%) strongly agreed or agreed that their respective organisations should increase efforts to improve female representation, compared to only 45% of the men. The relevant proportions of women at the supervisor level was 73%, compared to only 31% of the men. Whereas for employees at the staff level, 53% supported special efforts to hire more women, regardless of the gender of the respondent. This phenomenon merits further research, but we would hypothesize it being due to a combination of a few things: (i) there were fewer women at higher levels, so the need to support women becomes more obvious when at those levels; (ii) younger women, who are early in their career, and perhaps with fewer familial obligations may be more prevalent at the lower levels and therefore may not have faced some of the same challenges yet; (iii) women in leadership are more often coming from a previous generation, which may have faced a harsher version of similar hardships as compared to the current generation.

Respondents were more critical of the sanitation sector in general, as compared to their own organisation. Of the 37 female respondents, 49% believed that women were well-represented among workers in the sanitation sector compared to 68% of male respondents, while 27% of women disagreed or strongly disagreed with the given statement compared to 22% of men (see Exhibit 11.2). A major proportion (70%) of the survey respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that the number of women in the sanitation sector was increasing, in agreement with their feelings about the growth of women in their respective organisations, and in the same proportions for both men and women (see Exhibit 11.2). Perhaps it makes sense that only 50% of men supported the idea of the sector putting in special efforts to hire more women, since the majority had stated that women were already 'well-represented' in the sector. Likewise, with only 49% of women agreeing that women were well-represented, it is perhaps not a surprise that 85% of female respondents agreed that special efforts should be made to hire more women. This conclusion is corroborated by the proportion of men who disagreed with special efforts (25%) as compared to women (13%).

Among those who participated in our qualitative data collection (IDIs and FGDs), there was no report of explicit favoring of prospective male candidates in recruitment and selection: in fact many participants stated that their organisations either had explicit HR policies that required equal consideration of women, or else had programs of affirmative action for women in their hiring and recruitment. The nature of the affirmative action was not made explicit, though. For

Many participants stated that their organisations either had explicit HR policies that required equal consideration of women, or else had programs of affirmative action for women in their hiring and recruitment.

those with policies of affirmative action, we were not able to discover whether gender quotas were met through adding weight to a job candidate's application, extra effort made during the recruitment, or a combination of both. Many participants stated that their recruitment advertisements made explicit statements encouraging women to apply, a policy that a few participants lamented was not successful in its apparent goal. For all our participants that discussed recruitment, they unanimously stated that regardless of any extra effort made to recruit women or extra weight given to women during selection, the biggest challenge in hiring women was a lack of applications from female candidates.

One participant noted that there were general courses which prepared job applicants for the application and interview process for any professional job. These courses were offered by private companies, not the organizations that were part of this study. None of these courses were tailored to women, although there was one that offered subsidized tuition for a limited number of women. Some participants noted that fewer women seemed to know about job postings, and fewer had access to the networks for learning about job openings compared to men. According to several of our participants, this has resulted in a skewed gender ratio among applicants. They reasoned that this was probably due to the skewed gender ratio in STEM subjects, and the tendency for the public sector to focus recruitment and hiring from those fields; while this theory seems reasonable, our results indicate that there are many more complicated barriers to women in the workplace in the sanitation sector.

3.6.2 The Female Body in the Workplace

As supported by our qualitative data, after a woman enters employment at an institution which works in the sanitation sector, she continues to face challenges there which are unique to her gender. There are needs that were expressed by women participating in our IDIs and FGDs that were not expressed by men; during these discussions current policies were critiqued and future policies proposed. Not all women who participated in our IDIs and FGDs expressed frustration or described problems, but most did. And the frustrations expressed were rarely attributable to the individual, implying a set of challenges, difficulties and hurdles that were directly tied to their gender and therefore could be experienced by any woman. In this sub-section we will detail the challenges faced due to women's bodies, in the next sub-section we will describe barriers women's voices, and in the last sub-section of this chapter we will discuss current policy solutions and recommended future policy changes.

Women's Sanitation Access

At the most basic level, the biology of men and women are fundamentally different, in a few key ways. This is important in the workplace when it comes to sanitation access. Defecation and urination, while not unique to women, are importantly gendered in that social restrictions

...it was voiced by several women that they had more limited work assignment options due to a lack of sanitation access in these specific contexts, and that jobs which required assignment permanently in a construction site or at wastewater treatment plants were always filled by men for this reason.

require more privacy for women during all types of evacuation, making a lack of sanitation access more dire for women in most situations. Menstrual hygiene management (MHM) is a uniquely female sanitary need, and thus when MHM facilities are not present, women are uniquely affected. In our IDIs and FGDs, women acknowledged that their sanitary needs were generally met in the offices in which they worked; but a few observed that they were not met at some of the construction sites and at the

wastewater treatment plants. While this limitation seemed to be relatively marginal, it was voiced by several women that they had more limited work assignment options due to a lack of sanitation access in these specific contexts, and that jobs which required assignment permanently in a construction site or at wastewater treatment plants were always filled by men for this reason.

Pregnancy, Newborn Care and Nursing

The woman's role, when it comes to newborn development, birth and newborn nutrition, is a biological distinction between genders. And the expectations for women surrounding the general care of babies and small children, such as meal preparation, and caring for them when they are sick, is a social distinction between genders, often predicated on the biological role of the mother. One female participant stated that "Women are socialized to be a wife, mother and daughter. Even when coming home from work tired, (they) still must provide dinner." Both men and women that participated in our qualitative data collection expressed their own social expectations for women, including a heavier burden of the childcare, especially of small children. Many of the women that participated in our IDIs and FGDs reported experiencing these social expectations first-hand. Both male and female IDI and FGD participants acknowledged the extra burden placed on women during pregnancy and for childcare, and that it sometimes conflicted with work requirements. But there was a slight distinction in how it was described: women tended to describe it as a 'choice' or a 'decision' – often a difficult choice between work and family. One stated that "the higher you go, the more challenging it gets. One would need to prepare, especially after childbearing. Accepting a promotion is a big decision" and another stated that "there is a forced choice between work and childcare." Men, on the other hand, described more advanced jobs as "requiring all hours" and described women who recently had children as having "performance issues."

Several women noted that mothers with newborns were also likely to be at the start of their careers, as the timing of childbirth often coincided with the first few years in a career. With

newborns at home, women felt they were largely restricted from any travelling, especially for the first year after birth. This restriction limited women's ability to take up field assignments, or participate in off-site trainings or conferences, during a time in their career when skills acquisition and networking are crucial. One female participant stated that the "...water sector is more suitable for men," she said "it's a male sector because it involves a lot of travel, yet as a women one ought to take care of the family, else family issues and conflicts may emerge." Another female participant, speaking about a professional conference stated, "I couldn't attend because I had a baby. So networking opportunities were reduced (during that time). Any baby below 9 months – it would be the same." And a male participant acknowledged that "...culturally it is ok for men to travel the whole month and just send money home, it is not so for women."

In addition to extra tasks and expectations at home, and restricted ability to travel, mothers who are nursing must make time to feed their babies, and must regularly express milk, utilizing lactation pumps when away from their babies. Making time for breastfeeding was identified as a challenge by some female participants. One said her superior (also a woman) set a regular management meeting at 6:30 am, which was difficult for her to attend since she was breastfeeding at the time. That director's 'solution' was to avoid promotion of women younger than 35 to management positions. For expressing milk at work, social expectations dictate that lactation should be done in privacy, and preservation of milk until after working hours requires sanitary and reliable refrigeration facilities. Women at several of our focus institutions reported that such facilities were not made available to them. This was of particular frustration for several women that participated in IDIs and FGDs, although a few of the male participants did express the idea that having a lactation room was an example of a good gender policy and was something that they supported.

Women's Physiology and Personal Protective Equipment (PPE)

The size and physiological structure of women is different than men. This difference is important when it comes to the Personal Protective Equipment (PPE). Some equipment may lose some of its protectiveness when it is not sized properly, such as protective head gear and face masks. One of our female participants complained that "protective clothing (PPE) and equipment are designed for men. For example, equipment to unblock sewers and manholes are more manly or masculine. The overalls are also made for men and these cause limitations for women." Some equipment may be uncomfortable or cumbersome to wear if it is too large, such as overalls and gloves. This leads to a disincentive for women to pursue such positions, but it also implies that women who do pursue them might have a greater disincentive to use the PPEs given to them.

"Protective clothing (PPE) and equipment are designed for men. For example, equipment to unblock sewers and manholes are more manly or masculine. The overalls are also made for men and these cause limitations for women."

Quantitative Survey Data

In the survey, we asked our respondents directly if they felt that women pursuing a career similar to their own would have different challenges than a man. There were no significant differences between male and female respondents – just over half of each said ‘no.’ In addition, 10% more men than women thought that women had the same level of difficulty as men (see Exhibit 12). Roughly half of women did feel that their challenges deviated significantly from men and one third of survey respondents thought women had more difficulty pursuing a similar career to their own. This shows that the at least some of the observations coming from our IDIs and FGDs are impacting nearly half of all women, but that only one third of all workers find these difficulties to be a burden on women. If women’s inequality is to be addressed through any kind of bottom up pressure, it would seem that such pressure has not yet sufficiently built in order to demand change.

What is clear, beyond the responses of our study participants, is that women are underrepresented in the sector. In this chapter and the one preceding, we have offered some explanation for this skewed gender ratio, by presenting barriers directly associated with the female body. In the next section we will explore social and cultural barriers, how these impact women’s voices, and limit their ability to promote their own ideas and advance their careers, in order to better understand how social forces, completely removed from biological needs, also manifest as barriers to women in the workplace.

Exhibit 12: Survey respondents’ opinions about whether women in the workplace face different or greater challenges than men

<i>“Women have different challenges than men”</i>		
	Female (N=39)	Male (N=44)
Yes	46%	43%
No	54%	57%
<i>“Compared to men, women pursuing a career similar to mine, in general find it...”</i>		
More difficult / Much more difficult	38%	32%
About the same level of difficulty	51%	61%
Less difficult / Much less difficult	10%	7%
I don't know / I'd rather not say	0%	0%

3.6.3 The Female Voice in the Workplace

Even if the biological needs of a woman are met, this does not mean that her voice will be heard. Self-doubt, gender-based discrimination and intimidation can block, delay and demoralize women as they build their career. Even when they succeed, their achievements may be short-lived, either because they do not have a strong enough network of support, or because they do not toe the line. Promotion can also, at times, lead to tokenism, a kind of high-level, glass cage, where women (often just one or two) are allowed in the room or on the board, but they are not valued or engaged by those men who retain power and responsibility for themselves.

Traditional Gender Roles and Individual Mindsets

There was a subset of participants, both male and female, that expressed the idea that women's inequities in the workplace could be corrected by a change in mindset, similar to that highlighted in the section on barriers to technical education. Their logic was that women were taught to limit themselves, or men were taught to limit women, in one way or another, and that it was hard to break out of that mindset as an adult. This mindset included the idea that some kinds of jobs were better suited to one gender, or that one gender had more intelligence or was more emotional. It sometimes included traditional roles, such as women working in the kitchen, doing housework. Other times it manifested as a 'glass wall,' where the better-paying, STEM jobs were reserved for men, and the women were kept in admin and human resources.

A male participant stated that "I was told from home that technical courses are for men (science, mathematics). Traditional men were empowered and favored, while women were always told they are good in humanities. This translated into reality." Another male participant stated "gender issues should be picked up early in life. Even in kindergarten we should show them we are born equal. We can't change them

"I was told from home that technical courses are for men (science, mathematics). Traditional men were empowered and favored, while women were always told they are good in humanities. This translated into reality."

once they are adults. If we don't address it from the beginning, addressing it when they are at the top may not work." A female participant described "there are some jobs considered for women. Example: a health officer looks like a nurse...and a nurse looks like a woman. This is the challenge."

These participants advocated for equality between genders and for women to have equal opportunity to men and they felt the best way to achieve this goal was to change this mindset, to expand the idea of what women can or should do. Other male participants stated that "more women can join if the myth around it is removed", and "women should believe in themselves, recognizing that this is a patriarchal society, but again implementing the tenets of the constitution", and "the opportunity is there to increase the numbers of women but the response is low." Even women expressed these ideas as well, saying "the attitude is a key challenge that prevents women from becoming leaders." Among this subset of participants, there was a sense that gender inequities were an anachronism, and any vestige which remained just needed to be shaken off: a female participant stated that "traditional culture and attitude towards women still presents itself once in a while, but there is no open discrimination. Unless it is at personal levels." Even structural discrimination was recognized, with a male participant stating that "sector leadership prioritizes on engineering qualifications. But the majority of female engineers have less years of experience."

Gender-Based Discrimination

Addressing internalized prejudices is a necessary part of addressing gender inequities. But it may be insufficient: even if you have changed your own mind others may resist ideas about gender equality and respond accordingly. Some of the men that we interviewed seemed to view their wives sacrificing their careers when they were raising children to be a perfectly normal and acceptable practice. One man stated that “women know their place: in the kitchen and taking care of children.” A woman expressed frustration with this double-standard when it came to housework and child-rearing, “women’s roles are more defined and they can easily be assessed quantitatively – dinner – check! Children in school – check! But men are evaluated on more qualitative standards - are the children doing well – check!”

“Women’s roles are more defined and they can easily be assessed quantitatively – dinner – check! Children in school – check! But men are evaluated on more qualitative standards - are the children doing well – check!”

Traditional ideas regarding women were not limited to their familial obligations. Several men expressed an explicit negative prejudice towards women, including the ideas that “female managers are indecisive, they consult a lot and cause lots of delays...the reason why they consult is also because they want to run away from responsibility...this is why they do not get promotions because, to promote anyone, ability to make decisions is a key factor.” Another male participant stated that “Women should not be CEO’s as they are emotional.” These ideas, and their impact, were succinctly summarized by a male participant “women are unlikely to move up because of the open discrimination against them and the kind of jobs they can or cannot get”, showing the need to go beyond a change in individual mindsets.

“Female managers are indecisive, they consult a lot and cause lots of delays...the reason why they consult is also because they want to run away from responsibility...this is why they do not get promotions because, to promote anyone, ability to make decisions is a key factor”

Such negative gender-based prejudices were not exclusively held by peers and superiors: subordinates working directly under women also expressed such views. One female participant recalled that a “junior male staff said to her that ‘a woman can’t be my boss’.” Another female participant reported that “a traditional man quit his job because his boss was a woman and he couldn’t follow her instructions.” One female participant recalled the time that she was faced with that prejudicial attitude was coming from a community-based water management committee, who “...refused to speak with her. Her supervisor had to tell them they would get no money if they don’t work with her. In these communities the cows drink water before the women collect domestic water b/c the cows are for the men.” Another recalled that “once, during a meeting she attended, tea was brought, and one of the attending men asked her to serve everyone tea (because she was the only woman). She refused. This was in a meeting ... that she herself had convened.”

Menstruation, Menopause and Women's Voice

The fact that women menstruate was also sometimes used to dismiss their voice, confine their complaints and limit their power to enact change or implement their own ideas. Several of our participants complained that men would use the idea of premenstrual syndrome (PMS) to silence them or dismiss their ideas. While there may have been a minority of women who experienced PMS a few days a month, the use of the idea of PMS to silence and dismiss could be leveled against any woman at any time. In this way, it can be a powerful idea, used only by men, to control women. No alternative equivalent idea was available to women which they might use to silence, dismiss or control the opinions of men, as far as we know. And there was no socially accepted notion that the use of the idea of PMS to control women was somehow unfair; at the most it was considered, in some cases, to be slightly rude. It should be noted that this use of the idea of PMS is not unique to Kenya. A similar dynamic was observed with menopause. One female participant reported that "a male boss was correcting every little thing with a female employee under him. In front of others, he said 'I think you are going through menopause' as a way to intentionally belittle and dismiss her."

The fact that women menstruate was also sometimes used to dismiss their voice, confine their complaints and limit their power to enact change or implement their own ideas. Several of our participants complained that men would use the idea of 'PMS' to silence them or dismiss their ideas.

Promotion, Glass Walls and Tokenism

Despite overcoming internalized gender-based self-doubt, despite potentially resisting open discrimination, some women have succeeded in achieving higher levels of authority, including the top leadership and appointment to governing boards. But even there, they continued to face open discrimination, while facing the fresh challenge of sometimes being the only woman in the room, or sometimes one of only a small minority of women. In this way, the idea of a 'glass wall' can be found to extend up to the top of the leadership hierarchy: often women were chosen from human resources and were made a 'token' gender-based appointee. Some of our female participants felt that they had either experienced or observed cases these kinds of tokenism. Even though they sat on a governing board, they were treated as hired help, or ridiculed when they tried to voice their opinion. Being the only woman has an impact on a woman's ability to voice her viewpoint; "look at a meeting of 10 men and 1 woman, she is junior, she is intimidated. Do you think her ideas will see the light of day?" A female participant reported that "when men make recommendations on work matters, it is given a lot of weight, especially if they are older. It's not the same for women, sometimes, as a woman you say things and no one pays attention or takes it seriously, you are gently dismissed." The experience of one women was not so gentle, as members of the board "have referred to me as a Mr. many times", while another reported that "the chair requested water from a (female) board member, because she was the only woman. You have to be careful because you can't let it pass, but this is the chair. She told him 'I am not here to serve water'" Another woman noted that "if you are the only women they will look at you to take the minutes. Or to serve the tea. They think

women should not speak before men, if a woman is the only woman in those meetings, they will really face it rough."

Many participants noted that women had broken the 'glass ceiling' in the sanitation sector – while still others described the few promotions to senior leadership and board appointments as 'token', noting that "sometimes if you are one woman, even if you are the boss, among a group of men, you may feel uncomfortable", and that "there is also a perception that if a woman grows in the career to the stop that she has slept with a man or men to get the position. It is believed that favours have changed hands." One female participant observed that "it is always the case that you will see a man as the chair, and a woman as the vice-chair (if any at all)" implying that the woman is always given a symbolic position of little actual power or responsibility; again showing how the glass walls can extend into the board room itself. One female participant summed up her frustration regarding tokenism and a lack of genuine power sharing among genders: "they are just ticking boxes, they are not really mainstreaming gender. They just hold workshops."

Fighting against such instances of discrimination and intimidation is a difficult task, and not all women prevail. In many instances they do not receive the support that they are supposed to have. One woman complained that the men "...intimidate you, they don't respect your personal space", but then "if you complain you will be fired", and ultimately "your voice cannot be heard", because "male executives won't follow up on complaints." Additional intimidation can occur in the form of sexual harassment, which we will explore in more detail in the next section.

Networking, Collegial Support and Corruption

For women, success at work can also cause tensions at home. One female participant said, "the more a woman raises in her career, the men develop an inferiority complex, so this puts your relationship at risk. Also, society says it is a shame when the women call the shots (this is how they are perceived)." Expectations at home can also greatly hinder the attainment of professional goals held by women. This is because men often meet for drinks after work, and this activity becomes an important venue for professional networking, whereas women are generally not able to network at all after the work day, in part due to familial obligations, but also because social expectations dictate that they avoid bars and drinking. One of our female participants, who had had a highly successful career (but had not become a CEO as of yet), stated that "if you want to remove a (female) CEO it is very easy because she doesn't have time to build the network." Another female participant reported that "often, I choose to stay at home because if I go out after work, then my family is calling me. If I'm out after work for networking purposes, they will call me and ask where I am, and why I'm not at home – both my husband and my son will do this." Even for women that do find ways to network despite these restrictions, such as working in the field, "when we went to the field, men would get allowances and women would not. My Boss used to ask me to send someone else to the field. When I applied for a car loan, I never got the loan, all men got and I never got a response. So it is that women were and are always begging for their rights."

Networking was not the only function of after-work meetings: this is also the venue for deals and unofficial agreements to be made. Corruption often requires an agreement between parties to help each other out, and those agreements are not made at the office during the day. Therefore, without access to these evening venues, women also had less opportunity to engage in corruption. But this too becomes an obstacle for career-minded women, one participant explained that "...governance effects women. Because how are these (corrupt) people appointed? There's no competition, so women can't compete." For any appointment which is made based on a shady deal, or on a reputation for being amenable to such deals, is an appointment that is more likely to be given to a man. There is a complicated relationship between male networking spaces, corruption and gender inequality, and we strongly feel that this connection is worthy of further study.

Quantitative Survey Data

The majority of respondents for our quantitative survey, whether male or female, report that they are respected by their male and female co-workers, whether they are subordinates, peer or supervisors. And despite all of the challenges described above, 61.5% of female survey respondents did not feel that they faced limited promotional options, and only 25% of them felt they had experienced discrimination in the workplace because of their gender. We can offer only two explanations for this result: either the challenges outlined above only affected a minority of women, or the particular ways in which women's voices were silenced has introduced bias into women's self-reporting of their own experiences. The truth is most likely somewhere in between. Regardless, even if only a quarter of women were the victims of gender-based discrimination, and only 38.5% faced limited promotional options, this is still a large number of women who require policy solutions and social support.

There are no significant disparities between the organisations in the number of incidents of workplace discrimination reported. However, there is a weak negative correlation (-0.201) between female representation at executive or managerial levels and workplace discrimination. That is, as the number of female leaders increase at an organisation, the probability of gender discrimination at the workplace falls.

3.6.4 Sexual Harassment in the Workplace

We are required to maintain the confidentiality of our survey respondents and IDI participants. Therefore, we are unable to reveal which organisations have unresolved issues of sexual harassment in the workplace. What we can report is that it does exist among some of the organisations included in this study: of the organisations that were included, only a subset had female employees that reported instances of sexual harassment. If the reader is currently employed in the sanitation sector it may be that their employer is one of the organisations that does not seem to have a problem with sexual harassment. But if this is the case, then the reader should not make the false assumption that their experience with their employer is representative for the sector, nor true across all organisations.

Out of the 22 men that participated either in an IDI or FGD, only three of them reported that sexual harassment continued to be a problem in the workplace. Even among those who were aware, their awareness was fairly limited. One man reported that “sexual harassment at (their organisation) is so rampant, especially affecting female interns.” Another made sure to note that “men are also being harassed but not as rampant as women.” None of the men knew of any programs (such as sexual harassment trainings) or policies (such as human resources rules or procedures) meant to prevent or respond to instances of sexual harassment.

Sexual harassment can take many forms. It can manifest in the form of inappropriate humor, which ends up ridiculing women, sometimes in public, at the expense of any women present. For example, one female participant recalled how at a training, “the trainer was talking about goods in terms of women’s body parts” which made her feel uncomfortable, frustrated and embarrassed. It may also be in the form of inappropriate propositions, requesting sexual favors in return for something: “a lot of the men ... ask for sexual favors when women make any requests ... she had grave concerns about the sexual harassment at (her organisation).” Another woman reported that such behavior can be a major setback in her career, saying that “yes, in terms of sexual harassment, maybe your boss is male, if you want something in your job description, they may make a demand. And you don’t want to anger your boss. So sometimes you just have to quit because of that.” Other women agreed with this assessment, saying that “...sexual harassment is a key barrier to women’s career growth in the sector” and “sexual harassment (is) so rampant in the sector ... these are likely to be the barriers for women’s growth in the sector.” Even when the harassment is more subtle, it can have consequences for women’s careers, when trying to avoid uncomfortable and compromised situations: “they’ll go with you outside (off-site) for a training, and they will go out to dinner and it will (suddenly) seem strange. So, you avoid training in the future, so as to avoid such situations.” When women avoid training, or end up quitting their job, it can have major consequences for their career.

Even though sexual harassment is a major issue according to many of our female participants, many of them also report that “sexual harassment, it has not been seriously addressed.” They stated that there is an “...absence of a clear framework” for addressing it, making it “....difficult to deal with these issues.” Even though the human resources department at every organisation reported that they had a sexual harassment policy, none of the women that we talked

Even though the human resources department at every organisation reported that they had a sexual harassment policy, none of the women that we talked to felt that they had access to a redressal system that would both be effective and protect them.

to felt that they had access to a redressal system that would both be effective and protect them. Regardless, many of them explicitly stated that for the HR policies which did exist, the “...majority of staff are unaware of how to redress sexual harassment; it should be treated as a gross misconduct. Mechanisms in the office are unclear”, or that women are “...not able to speak freely. Many cases of not being able to relate. Sexual harassment is there, they (the

women) don't feel confident to speak (their minds)" and that "there is an issue of trust. They (the women) fear speaking out the truth." One woman even reported that there was an instance she had heard of where a woman complained to HR about an instance of sexual harassment and the HR manager responded by making an inappropriate sexual demand of her in order for him to follow up on her complaint.

3.6.5 Current Policies, Their Effectiveness and F Solutions in the Workplace,

The One-Third Rule

Although national policies and legislations exist that seek to ensure gender equity across decision-making bodies in Kenya, we find that enforcement and monitoring are lax. Across our interviews, our participants voiced concerns regarding the enactment of the one-thirds rule, stating that "The implementation of the 1/3 rule is not real. The male gender is domineering in forums." As addressed in the above section, this could be due to the fact that women who are technically trained, eligible and interested in applying for and holding such jobs are scarce due to the various barriers that they face.

Above and beyond this, it could be a problem related to the enforcement of the legislation itself. From our interactions, we were unable to identify the existence of a monitoring mechanism put in place by the government to ensure compliance. This places the onus of implementation on individual organisations, and unless there is institutional buy-in for such policies from higher-level management at these organisations, such policies are unlikely to be followed. An participant noted this to be true, observing that implementation has been a challenge "due to the management." Awareness of affirmative action policies was generally low - less than half (46%) of female survey respondents were aware of such policies (see Exhibit 13). Gender equity policies as mandated by the government extend beyond recruitment to procurement as well - "in procurement, there is a constitutional requirement to ensure that the 30% of opportunities are given to women and special groups." Monitoring of procurement requirements were part of performance contracts and each public body in Kenya was required to submit a year-end report regarding the same. However, we were not able to identify whether this process was strictly carried out by the organisations or if there were ramifications for not meeting the quotas.

Sexual Harassment Policies

The responses on an established system for addressing sexual harassment complaints differed between employees at the same organisation and across the six organisations. This could either be due to lack of awareness on company policies and mechanisms or it could be a subtle expression of fear of speaking on such issues at the workplace, possibly because they anticipate some backlash. If the former is true, there is a need to introduce regular sexual harassment training and meetings for employees, where the company policy and channels to address these issues should be properly explained. This information should be made available to employees at all levels of the organisation. From our employee survey, only 56% and 64% of women and men were aware of SH policy at their respective organisation (see Exhibit 13). Generating awareness and gaining support, especially from higher management is necessary

to see an actual decrease in incidence of sexual harassment at the workplace. This is true not just with respect to SH but with all organisational policies. From Exhibit 13, we find that survey respondents are generally aware of at least a few of the gender policies that exist at their organisation, but fewer women have marked knowledge of all policies, except maternity leave. There should be an active effort to ensure that all employees are aware of workplace and provisions, regardless of gender. This could be achieved by extensive induction sessions when new employees join the organisation.

Exhibit 13: Survey results on organisational gender programs or policies

<i>"Are there any gender programs or policies at your organisation?"</i>	Female (N=39)	Male (N=44)
Sexual harassment policies	56%	64%
Paid/Unpaid maternity leave	92%	93%
Paid/Unpaid leave for caregiving of a family member	33%	55%
Assistance with childcare	0	16%
Affirmative action policy in recruitment and promotion	46%	57%
Flexible work scheduling for pregnant women and mothers	56%	68%
Lactation room	10%	14%
Access to technical training	59%	77%
Access to leadership training	64%	80%
Mentorship program	41%	34%
Flexible work scheduling for fathers	46%	48%
Equal wage policies	77%	80%

Currently, our participants observe that personal commitments to reduce SH are rare; having a SH policy is considered important merely as an administrative or HR requirement: "(regarding sexual harassment (SH) policies in HR manuals for their employers) I can assure you that no (male) CEO has read that document. They don't care and there might be victims of SH working for them. They (the CEOs) know that the SH policies exist, they check that box, but that's it." Even if such clear channels and training exists, these were not always ensured to be private and confidential, which means that women might not feel safe in bringing incidences to the concerned authorities for fear of losing their jobs, ostracization at the workplace or other forms of back lash. We found an echo of this in one of our IDIs, where a female participant reported "And we are encouraged, if you feel SH has occurred, you can report it – but I don't know if it is private."

A smaller subset of our participants was aware of the redressal mechanisms available and expressed confidence in these mechanisms. It is interesting to note that two participants were not aware of sexual harassment policy at the organisation but had a clear perception that it was not tolerated: "Sexual harassment – no policy. But it is not tolerated. There is a channel at HR, and there is a committee that will face that issue. In induction there is training," and "however, there are reporting mechanism where one is required to report to the supervisor or head of department who then works with the HR to redress the matter. Disciplinary action can

be taken internally.” Clearly, reporting to a supervisor will not be an effective policy in instances where the supervisor is perpetrating the harassment; and this was not the official policy at her organization. Beyond being aware of the existence of policy documents on SH, training to inform employees of the channels available to report such issues might be an effective tool in bringing sexual harassment to light in workplaces.

Supporting Women in the Workplace

Gender equity in recruitment and promotion and ensuring safe workplaces are essential if women are to have any degree of representation in the sector. However, our participants were of the view that representation alone would be inadequate; to ensure that women thrive in the sector, there should be support networks and services. This includes developmental and leadership training; such training sessions should cater to women at different levels at the hierarchy. A few participants reiterated this point, identifying that certain high-level courses that were currently offered, such as those by the Ford Foundation, were extremely helpful but there was a need to expand this to lower-level courses as well. Another suggestion repeated by some of our female participants was the creation of a professional network of women so they can guide, help and mentor other women professionals in the sector; “Maybe a whatsapp group, or something on LinkedIn.” A female participant suggested that although there have been recent efforts to establish such a network, a lack of resource and maybe, managerial support, prevented its fruition: “We have been trying to establish a network for women in water to try and support expansion of gender equality work in the sector. But devolution played a part, it has killed all the efforts and gains that were made then.” This signals the need for a coordinated effort in the sector to form this support group, perhaps led and organized by the Ministry of Water and Sanitation.

Advanced technical degrees are often required for promotion and women face an additional barrier in attaining such training due to familial responsibilities and financial constraints. Gendered roles in society often imply that the care-giving responsibilities often rest solely with girls or women. Fulfilling such duties along with attending and performing competitively in school is difficult and places additional pressure on women. Women are hence, often forced to choose between family responsibilities and education. A combination of social norms and lack of economic resources to arrange for alternate childcare facilities results in them dropping out of school and not obtaining any technical training. As noted by three of our female participants, “duration [of the courses] and [it’s] hard to concentrate on studies, with children and family obligations. There are also financial constraints”, “I want to get an M.A [and] attain more skills but balancing work and family puts you in a tight situation. Salary is not sufficient to cover family needs and also educational aspirations”, “Mother/wife still have responsibility for husbands and kids. There are things you must do, competing roles at home and school.”

Participants also suggested that to ensure an enabling environment workplace provisions that recognize their multiple roles as care-givers, parents and employees are needed. Recognition of the fact that burden of familial responsibilities can directly affect the performance of employees is the first step towards developing solutions for it: “Young children impact how

they perform, therefore consider them, give them flexi-hours and days off, for both men and women, for family obligations (see as sick children)." Most of our female participants who expressed this were of the view that the freedom to decide working hours or flexi-hours would be particularly beneficial: "There are some initiatives we are hoping that they implement: for example flexi-time would really help women/mothers." Providing safe and comfortable facilities for lactating mothers to express milk, and hygienic conditions to store milk was another suggestion made by participants for improving workplaces for women. Participants also recognized that the sector brings unique requirements such as field work and suggested mechanisms to address this, such as organisations arranging for individual transport facilities when undertaking such work to ensure safety as well to enable women to attend to family emergencies: "...out in the field – maybe you (as a woman) are sharing the vehicle with co-workers. But if you have your own vehicle, you can rush home if there is an emergency."

Quantitative Survey Data

The same suggestions regarding the needs of pregnant women and new mothers were popular from our survey results: 46% of women believed that offering flexi-time would enhance gender representation in the sector. Currently, only 10% of women were aware of any lactation facilities available and no respondent was aware of any organisational support with childcare, if such provisions existed (see Exhibit 14).

The survey respondents identified other institutional policies that could be restructured or modified to improve gender representation (see Exhibit 14). Most men and women believed that gender equity was restricted due to the attitudes and belief systems of individuals working in the sector, especially at the managerial levels and hence the most effective tool would be to educate them on the importance of gender diversity and the practicalities of implementing appropriate measures. Of female respondents, 49% said they favored clear organisational policies on recruitment, such as transparent channels on promotion and salary structures; and 36% said they supported strictly enforced government mandates on gender representation as additional tools (see Exhibit 14).

Exhibit 14: Surveys Results on addressing gender equality

"How can we address gender equality and an equal distribution of genders among workers in the water and sanitation sector?"	Female (N=39)	Male (N=44)
Better work life balance	31%	23%
Government mandate	36%	18%
Development and leadership training of women	48%	23%
Role models	36%	16%
Educate managers and staff of the benefits of gender equality among managers	59%	25%
Offer and support flexible work	46%	16%
Transparent salary structures	49%	16%

3.7 Attitudinal Differences to Sanitation

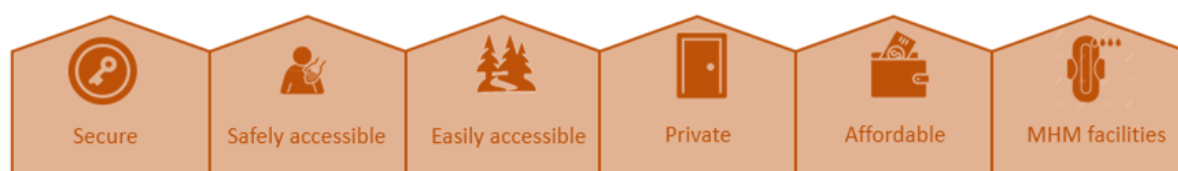
Perceptions of the Sanitation Needs of Women

We asked the participants of our IDIs and FGDs and our survey respondents about their perceptions of the different elements or facilities that should be included to ensure 'full sanitation access'¹ and to understand gender differences in the way individuals approach this issue. From our survey results, we find that a majority of the respondents (78%), regardless of their gender, agree that women have different and specific needs with regard to sanitation access. These differences were perceived to be mainly because of the biological make-up of the sexes, with women's sanitation needs covering MHM. The need for privacy and more frequent access to toilets than men were other important aspects of differentiated sanitation needs, as identified by the respondents. The same factors were echoed in the qualitative data, with men and women noting: "Each person has needs and for women it is more complex and their needs are more", "The needs of men and women are different. Probably men have alternative access outside of their homes, but not for women and kids."

The majority of the survey respondents were also in agreement that because women have specific sanitation needs, a lack of access to sanitation facilities impacts them differently from men. Although this was the general sentiment, there were slight gender variations in the degree of their concurrence with the statement: 53.8% of female respondents 'strongly agreed' with the statement compared to 29.5% of male respondents, while 43.5% of women 'agreed' with the statement compared to nearly 70% of men.

We analyzed the survey and interview responses, and identified six major features that were most frequently deemed essential for adequate sanitation access: (1) physically secure, (2) safely accessible, (3) easily accessible, (4) private, (5) affordable and (6) facilities for proper MHM. The proportions of men and women who identified physical security and privacy were roughly the same, whereas more women than men identified safety of access and ease of access, and more men than women identified affordability and the need for proper MHM facilities. We describe these features below, providing a summary of details that were given by our study participants.

Exhibit 15: Six major features that were most frequently deemed essential for adequate sanitation access



¹ We define full sanitation access as including services which allow users to defecate, urinate and perform MHM, within reasonable distance and cost, and with dignity and health.

1. **Secure sanitation facilities:** Women in many countries do not use public rest rooms or other sanitation facilities because of the lack of adequate safety features (Hennegan et al. 2019). This not only includes having rest rooms with proper doors that close and can be locked but includes other infrastructural features as well. For example, we found from our literature that specific toilets in Kibera, Kenya had pit latrines with wide drop holes through which children could easily slip and fall, and hence, were not used by women or children (WSP 2010). This was echoed by one of our interviewees who reported, "Some people don't have pit latrines but sometimes [not] even privacy or safety (there is a risk of falling in the pit)". We assess if safety features of the facilities were a consideration for male and female interviewees in the perceptions of adequate sanitation. We find that safety considerations are not gendered and in fact, 28% of our male respondents considered safety to be an essential constituent compared to 20% of female respondents.
2. **Safely accessible sanitation facilities:** In countries where open defecation or lack of individual household latrines (IHHLs) is common, women cite threat of physical and sexual violence in accessing these facilities as a reason for their non-use. For example, an interviewee stated, "There is a lot of exposure to sex exploitation when accessing water and sanitation". Women often have allocated times during the day during which they perform their sanitation facilities, travelling to open fields or public toilets in groups in order to avoid being harassed or attacked by men (Khanna and Das 2016). This implies that their access to toilets is limited and they often have to watch their food and water consumption at night to avoid the need for urination or defecation (Castelein, n.d.). Such restrictive practices affect the health of women, especially pregnant, lactating and young mothers as well as menstruating girls. Evidence to the effect that having a safe well-lit path, with a female caretaker at public toilets are likely to be more used by women (WaterAid, WSUP, and UNICEF 2018).
3. **Easily accessible:** Sanitation facilities that are not situated too far from homes and school buildings and do not involve traversing through difficult terrain are essential to ensure use by women and children. Navigating difficult roads or hills to reach public toilets are especially difficult for pregnant women and young mothers with children. As the distance to these facilities increase, so does the probability of physical or sexual violence and practice of open defecation (Castelein, n.d.). We find that women in our interviewees were more concerned about sanitation facilities being easily accessible than men, with 12 female interviewees and 8 male interviewees considering it an essential component of adequate sanitation access. They observed that, "[Adequate sanitation] access to a facility [implies] it is within reach, accessible any time of the day or night, it is safe, it is also dignifying [clean]", "[It should be] within reach of every household and [should be a] clean, permanent structure", "500 meters is not accessible, should be very near and readily accessible". One interviewee noted that it is important to increase coverage of sanitation facilities to travelers stating, "We have not thought about roads needing sanitation. For example:

Kisumu [to] Nairobi [is] 450 km. [This puts the] pastoralists in a tricky situation". The majority of respondents who considered easy access an important factor were women, with 60% of female respondents deeming it important compared to 44% of male respondents. The survey results support this gender differentiated response: 61% of female respondents included frequent accessibility as a key aspect of gendered sanitation needs compared to only 39% of male respondents.

4. ***Sanitation facilities that offer privacy:*** Cultural norms and social taboos regarding sanitation facilities in many low- and middle-income countries imply that women are less likely to use these facilities if they are in full view of the public. Many countries also have gender norms associated with public spaces, meaning women might not feel comfortable using a toilet in a busy market with men (Hennegan et al. 2019; Schmitt et al. 2018). In this regard, it is also necessary to have separate toilets for men and women with reasonable space between them. Our interviewees mentioned the need for ensuring privacy of toilets, both in schools and at workplaces, stating: "...emphasis on the need for privacy and therefore separate facilities for boys and girls in schools", "Travel to the site (field visit) took a toll [because] there no gender friendly toilet facility. There was a mobile toilet but it is shared, there is a challenge of water [and] privacy". Again, we do not find any significant gender responses in considerations of privacy.
5. ***Affordable sanitation facilities:*** The cost of construction of IHHLs and the pay-for-use public toilets can deter women and children from using sanitation facilities. Women-headed households tend to be poorer than male-headed households (Horrell and Krishnan 2007; Klasen, Lechtenfeld, and Povel, n.d.) and might not have the necessary economic resources for constructing a private toilet. Even if they live in male-headed households, they might not have the autonomy to either allocate money for constructing toilets or might not have sufficient control over household income such that it can be exclusively allocated for using paid sanitation facilities. Women also accompany children to these facilities and may require more money, especially when the children suffer from diseases such as diarrhea. Both male and female interviewees emphasized the need for affordable private and public sanitation options, noting, "Cost of installing and using sanitation facilities is also a big challenge", "There is a local saying-you can't build a home without a latrine. Case of access includes affordability". A higher proportion of men considered aspects of affordability as compared to women.
6. ***Menstrual hygiene management (MHM) facilities:*** Sanitation facilities that offer continuous supply of water for washing and cleaning, a proper means of disposal of sanitary napkins and offers adequate privacy to combat cultural taboos on menstruation are necessary at all places of engagement. Lack of adequate facilities has two impacts: (i) it can lead to women dropping out of schools and the labour force or (ii) for those who stay, it can lead to a practice of unhygienic habits such as using unwashed cloth pads or

not changing sanitary napkins frequently (Castelein, n.d.). More than half of our respondents considered MHM facilities necessary in all sanitation facilities, with a higher proportion of men reporting it in our interviews. One interviewee was of the view that MHM is not accorded due importance because of the social stigma surrounding menstruation. They acknowledged that men often make decisions about major investments in the home (such as bathroom construction), yet they do not always know about “the complexities of menstrual hygiene.” Because of the associated taboos, women are often not empowered to voice their needs, resulting in a lot of women “...still struggling to get this fulfilled”. Other interviewees observed that, “Good sanitation must take into consideration the MHM needs, currently MHM is lacking in strategies for sanitation management”, “MHM facilities should include a changing room with water access and gender specific needs should be considered”, “Issues to do with menstrual hygiene need to be addressed especially among school girls. Also ensuring availability of water supply to help manage menstrual hygiene”. Interviewees also emphasized the need to improve access to sanitary napkins: “Sanitation should focus on making sanitary pads more accessible” and “More women drop out of college, some due to early pregnancies, some are struggling with affording sanitary pads so they drop out because they won’t go to school during their periods, if it becomes too many days they just drop out”.

Perceptions of Progress in the Sanitation Sector

We asked our participants questions regarding the general progress in the sanitation sector as well as the progress in the sector specifically with respect to sanitation access for women and girls. More than half of the survey respondents agreed that the sanitation sector was making good progress with respect to addressing the needs and concerns of women when it came to sanitation access, with no differences in concurrence between men and women.

More than half of the survey respondents agreed that the sanitation sector was making good progress with respect to addressing gender needs and concerns, with no differences in concurrence between men and women.

We also asked what value, if any, gender inclusivity in management might bring to the sector. Less than half of the participants reported that they either observed or were hopeful about improved representation of women in the sector. The participants especially noted the increase in the number of female engineers: “Now I get more women engineer applications than men” and “We have more young engineers that are women. You’ll find young women doing trenching and difficult work.” However, not all participants were of the view that women should be especially consulted when designing interventions or that they bring any particular value to the sector. Of the few participants who believed that gender inclusivity is essential for the sector, there were two alternate channels of thought. One group believed that women bring added value in terms of different skill sets (refer to section 3) whereas another group perceived that women have a deeper understanding of sanitation issues and could therefore add to sanitation policies and programs. Interestingly, all the participants who shared the latter

perspective were women. This could signal that women recognize that they have different needs and understand the specific facilities that they require to address these needs, and in the right environment and with the right resources, could successfully implement them. These women believed that, "If designing a sanitation facility, there are positions a woman would have that a man might not have", "Women understand more about sanitation and the problems associated with lack of sanitation", "The interest of minorities are more likely to be considered if there are more women in the WaSH sector and specifically in WaSH management."

Most of the participants agreed that the sanitation sector has been gaining attention recently with the Government of Kenya working towards improving visibility on sanitation issues, diverging from the previous approach of including sanitation under issues related to water. As observed by a participant, "The Kenyan sanitation sector is moving towards the right direction currently. Before 2018, sanitation sector had no clear focus on sanitation and it was lagging behind. The country has now acknowledged the critical and urgent need to focus on sanitation." We did not observe any gender differences in the responses; both men and women agreed in roughly the same proportions that the sector is headed in the 'right' direction with respect to increasing sanitation coverage. A small proportion of the participants disagreed and said that the sanitation sector is not making the right progress, giving three major reasons: a lack of coordination at all levels and engagement from all stakeholders; a lack of funding or a lack of sustained funding; and a lack of clear policies to guide the sector's focus activities in the coming years in order to increase coverage for all sections of the population.

Different Approaches to Sanitation Policy

In addition to a gendered analysis of attitudes towards sanitation, we also compare responses obtained from public sector organisations and our participants from NGOs. We find that there are some significant deviations in the way these domains think about, design and implement policies and programs in the sector. One key strand of divergence is the approach each domain adopts regarding solutions to sanitation issues. Both public sector and non-public sector employees shared the view that in the public sector organisations, development of infrastructure is given priority over gender budgeting or addressing gender concerns. Sanitation-related public bodies tend to focus on technical sanitation issues, such as laying sewerage networks and running wastewater treatment plants and are not as considerate of gender as NGOs and not-for-profit organisations. Hence, gender diversity in management in such organisations might lead to adoption of 'participatory' solutions, which extend beyond the technical. As one participant noted, the public sector views "deficiency in access [as] due to a lack of pipes [and] not an issue of inclusion." Several other participants were also of the view that issues of sanitation access and adequacy are not technical problems alone, and should include social solutions or better planning.

However, the public domain has an explicit bias towards engineers - most individuals in managerial positions have technical degrees, which are deemed essential for advancement in the sector. Interestingly, a sizeable number of employees across both domains thought that a

technical education should not be a prerequisite for promotions, and that technicians should not have the final say on matters pertaining to planning, designing or implementation of sanitation interventions. Having increased participation and involvement of employees trained in social issues not only brings diversity in perspectives but might also grant increased buy-in from all levels of stakeholders, including, NGOs, CBOs and at the community level. We recognize that the differences might also be due to feasibility of the different approaches. Public organisations are guided by the mandate to provide services and have economic and human resources at their disposal to invest and expand in sanitation infrastructure. Comparatively, NGOs work on a smaller scale, with limited access to resources and therefore, adopt complementary solutions.

There was some limited evidence that these 'softer' or more 'participatory' approaches that NGOs took did have some gendered impacts on sanitation access as well. Female NGO workers gave a few concrete examples of how they allowed female beneficiaries to be incorporated in their programming. For example, one of our female respondents retold how in a Kenyan city in which she was helping to implement a WASH project which expanded access to poor households, one local woman asked her to be part of the construction and maintenance crew: "I asked why (local) women were not involved? The (local) men said they would be slow. The (local) women said it's a man's job. But one brave (local) woman said she wanted to do it. And the other's followed, and they were more productive than the men. And this turned into a very successful program." We asked her if this was only possible because she, the respondent, was a woman, and she said, "Yes. A man would not have seen the potential of these women and would not have known how to encourage them." Another female respondent who also worked at an NGO stated that "you cannot do urban sanitation without gender. ... Women are also in charge of water so they are concerned with wastewater as well. How you design a latrine must incorporate a woman's perspective - how to clean, diaper disposal, safe and accessible at night." This is in contrast with the perspective found at public sector institutions, where many respondents thought of women's access in terms of the attributes of toilet facilities (as mentioned above), and not in terms of women's participation, in the design, implementation or evaluation of projects.

Another divergence is the collection and use of gender-disaggregated data. Two of three non-public sector organisations (66%) noted that gender is incorporated into all surveys and program design, "We break down responses by sex to understand women's and men's different preferences, views and ideas" and "The baseline [evaluation for an intervention] always includes gender. Plus, [for] a lot of qualitative data- FGDs etc., half of those [are conducted] with women, youth and disabled people." Gendered data was collected in only 3 of the 7 (43%) of public sector organisations. Even in those three organisations, however, this was reserved for certain projects or modules and was not an organisational practice. Some gender and social considerations are included in other requirements, such as Environmental and Social Impact Assessments; however, the primary aim is not gender-specific analysis.

4 Conclusion and Recommendations

Girls who pursue an education in STEM subjects, women who consider a career in the sanitation sector, those who join and then push to advance their career: they all face a myriad of challenges based on their gender. Barriers can manifest through a lack of basic access to facilities necessary for biological functions; they can manifest as an internal mindset shaped by traditional gender roles; they can manifest as gender-based discrimination or sexual violence. Addressing gender inequity inside the institutions working in the sanitation sector will require a range of policies and different types of interventions, some short-term and some long-term. For example, improving sexual harassment policies and providing regular sharing of information and annual training for all employees are relatively quick to implement, whereas increasing the enrolment of girls in STEM subjects may require a longer time horizon. But prioritization of specific policies or gender sensitivity programming would best be determined through an internal, participatory process conducted by each institution itself. Without trying to convey our own sense of prioritization in the order presented, we share here a list of current gaps and potential pitfalls to keep in mind.

1. Professional networking, female role models in STEM education and collegial support at work are all lacking for women, with significant negative impacts on their careers

Women have few opportunities for networking, leadership training and mentorship with other women. The same is not true for men. What's more, women have limited access to the spaces where men do most of their networking and mentorship: bars in the evening and off-site conferences (which require travel). It is important for young women studying STEM subjects to be mentored, but also inspired and reassured that they are following in the footsteps of other women. It is also important that a newly appointed female CEO have a supportive network of employees if she is to remain in her position and implement her ideas. Both situations would benefit from women helping other women through a professional network or association of some kind. Women need an opportunity to know each other, and to networking professionally more generally. Through knowing each other they will also get the chance to learn what barriers are shared, and how they might join together to overcome them.

2. Sexual harassment is an unresolved burden on women

Sexual harassment remains an unresolved burden, interfering with women's ability to comfortably do their job or advance their career. If organisations value the hiring and advancement of women, they must do more to address sexual harassment. If public institutions want to see women taking leadership roles and contributing their vision to the design and implementation of sanitation policies and programming, then they must create systems which effectively protect their female employees from inappropriate advances and requests for sexual favours. It is the right thing to do, but it is also a necessary step for any organisation that sees value in capturing a diverse set of opinions in senior leadership.

3. The glass ceiling is being replaced by glass cliffs, and an extension of glass walls

The glass ceiling in public institutions working in the sanitation sector in Kenya seems to be broken. While we have detailed the many challenges for women trying to break through to top leadership positions, and the continued difficulties that often await them when they get there, it is true that a handful of women in Kenya have been able to reach top executive appointments. But according to our participants, they remain rare, and they tend to have short tenures. And when women are appointed to boards, they are often token appointments, which continue to maintain the glass walls present in the larger organisation. More research is needed, but there is a distinct possibility that Kenya has broken the glass ceiling and replaced it with glass cliffs – wherein women are more likely to be appointed to positions with a high risk of failure, and glass walls – wherein women are kept in gender-silos according to specific functions (such as human resources). It is crucial that women be supported in their efforts to reach for top posts. But it is also important to i) actively engage them and support their efforts to influence policy while they are there, and ii) make sure that they are not pushed out quickly once they get there.

4. There is a complicated relationship between professional networking, corruption and gender inequality in the sanitation sector

We found corruption to be a barrier to gender equity as well. Since corruption occurs in the evening, away from the office, much like normal and legal professional networking, it is yet another process to which women have much more limited access. We are not making the hypothesis that women are immune to corruption: promoting more women to leadership positions may not reduce corruption overall. But the fact that corruption and gender may be linked does pose the possibility that perhaps both can be addressed at the same time. More research and experimentation is necessary, but it could be that if networking opportunities are created for women, such as office lunches, ice cream socials or even virtual workshops – anything that is done during the day and in a professional and highly visible space – then they might also discourage corruption, among both men and women. The social restrictions and familial obligations placed on women require that networking designed for them be socially visible and during the day – requirements that also might serve to discourage meetings involving corruption. Regardless, the connection between corruption and gender is a novel finding and one wholly absent from the current research literature on women in the workplace, since this literature mostly focuses on high income countries, where such types of corruption are more rare.

5. Equal does not always make for equitable. Women need systems of support, and protection, which are distinctly meant for them.

A minority of participants in our IDIs seemed to have the impression that gender inequities were largely due to upbringing, and that the way to create gender equity was to change mindsets for both men and women. While this seems necessary, we find it to be insufficient when compared with the full and detailed list of challenges that women face. While men, and women, do need to be open to women doing jobs that were traditionally done by men, they also need access to bathrooms with MHM facilities, and lactation rooms and flexible schedules

when they have newborn babies at home. There are basic needs which are unique to women that go beyond simply overcoming traditional gender roles. Assisting women to meet their basic needs and overcome the challenges that society and their co-workers bring them will require programs and policies which are explicitly meant to assist women: simply removing gender-based discrimination will not be sufficient. Gender advocates inside these public institutions should be careful not to simply aim for interviews and promotions that are equal opportunity: women need more than unbiased evaluation, they need help and support, and sometimes protection.

6. There is a tendency for NGOs to take a more participatory and social science-based approach to sanitation. There is also a tendency for NGOs to promote women to leadership positions.

Public sector institutions tended to take a more technology, engineering and infrastructure-based approach to expanding and improving sanitation access. NGOs tended to incorporate more participatory approaches, focusing on the social and economic barriers for marginalized communities in the last mile of connection. We also observed a connection between the ratio of male to female employees in leadership roles: NGOs reported that women made up a higher proportion of both their staff as well as their leadership, as compared to public sector institutions. This was likely because women make up a small proportion of STEM degrees, while making up the majority of students in the social sciences. To the extent that social science skills are promoted in public-sector institutions, this may also, at the same time, lead to greater opportunities for women, during recruitment and selection, as well as later in their career.

While the appropriateness of a 'harder' more technical approach to sanitation planning, as compared to a 'softer' more participatory and social science-based approach, is a debate that goes beyond the scope of this report, for those organisations that are choosing to take a 'softer' approach, they should also consider incorporating efforts to support and promote their female staff, since there may be significant synergies there. At the same time, organisations that take a 'harder' technical approach, may consider the importance of strong affirmative action programs for women, and investing in mentoring and scholarship programs for young women in STEM, since they will have a harder time addressing gender inequities among their staff and senior leadership.

7. It is valuable to have a diversity of opinions among decision-makers, but it is not the case that senior sanitation professionals will necessarily have a strong difference in approach to policy and programming due to their gender.

One of the goals of increasing gender diversity in the public institutions which work in the sanitation sector is to bring the perspective of women into the design and implementation of policies and programs. It is thought that having their perspective might allow these institutions to better meet the sanitary needs of all women in Kenya. Our results indicate that while women do have unique sanitation needs, and that women in leadership do have a different perspective than men, we do not find evidence that women who are working in public-sector organizations doing sanitation-related work are more or less likely than men to articulate the unique

sanitation needs of women in their policy and programming. This does not mean that having increased diversity in institutional leadership does not have intrinsic value; ample published research has shown that a diversity of perspectives (whether due to gender or to other identity-groups) does increase the success of corporate firms. Furthermore, we did find a difference in approach between NGOs and the public-sector organizations, as described above, indicating that higher education training might be a more significant marker of approach than gender. Regardless, among the participants and respondents in our study, the vast majority felt that gender equity and diverse perspectives in their leadership was a valuable thing, which should be encouraged, at all of the organizations included in this study.

4.1 Recommendations

1. Create leadership training and mentorship opportunities for girls in school, young women at the university as well as young women who just started their career. Make sure they are accessible for women, meaning that young women should not be required to travel far from work or home, and that childcare should be provided if possible. This also means that they must be made free, or at least affordable, for women.
2. Create networking opportunities for women at the start of their careers, both within institutions and across the sanitation sector. These networking opportunities need to work with their schedule and do not violate the social and familial restrictions that they face. If possible, create opportunities that are highly visible and that occur during the workday, so that both gender inequity and corruption might be addressed simultaneously.
3. Encourage the creation of support networks and leadership training for women as they advance in their careers, especially those who have the potential to rise to senior leadership positions.
4. Create protected, confidential mechanisms for women to report sexual harassment, and effective mechanisms which provide meaningful disincentives for any man thinking about making an inappropriate request.
5. Create programs which educate those who continue to retain ideas about traditional gender roles, or have negative, gender-based biases. Encourage fair, equal and transparent processes for recruitment, hiring and promotion.
6. Create specific programs and policies which are meant to ensure that the unique needs of women are also met: (i) convenient, safe, clean and private sanitation access, which include MHM facilities (ii) maternity leave (iii) lactation rooms (iv) flexible work schedules during the first 9 months after childbirth (v) alternative options for conferences, field assignments and trainings which do not require long distance travel (vi) obtain PPE that is designed and properly sized for women, and have that available for any job that requires PPE.
7. Provide training for senior leadership so that they are made fully aware of the challenges facing women and the harmful negative impacts of not supporting and defending their female employees. At a minimum, these challenges should include trainings on: (i) combatting gender-based discrimination, (ii) familial burdens,

especially for young mothers, and how to best accommodate and support them, and (iii) sexual harassment.

8. Support gender diversity among decision makers and senior leadership, motivated by the value-addition to the organisation when diverse perspectives are included in decision making.
9. Consider mechanisms which maximize the diversity of perspectives among those making policy and programming decisions in the sanitation sector. This should include gender diversity, and possibly also diversity of skills and experience. The inclusion of more individuals with social science-based skills and experience, in addition to engineering, for example, may help diversify thinking and spur new approaches.

5 Annexure 1- Survey Instruments

#	list_name	label::English	relevant
1	start_time	Start Time	
2	end_time	End Time	
3	auto_date	Date of Survey	
4	deviceid	Device ID	
	consent1	Athena Infonomics is conducting a research study, which we invite you to take part in. The project title is "Gender, decision-making and attitudinal differences in the sanitation sector." The purpose of this research study is to 1) understand the lived experiences of men and women in leadership positions in the sanitation sector, and 2) understand the perspectives that men and women when it comes to sanitation design and sanitation policy. We would like ask you about your perspective on sanitation services in Kenya. This should take about 30 minutes and will be conducted in a private location at your place of work.	
	consent2	Confidentiality: There is a chance that confidentiality could be compromised; however, we are taking precautions to minimize this risk. All data that is collected will be kept confidential; all data will be kept on a password protected laptop. The study data will be handled as confidentially as possible. If results of this study are published or presented, individual names and other personally identifiable information will not be used.	
	consent3	Voluntary: You will not be compensated for your participation in this study, nor will you be charged for any of the study activities. You are free to decline to answer any questions you don't wish to answer or to stop the interview at any time. If you have any questions or concerns about this study, you may contact Annabell Waititu, our project manager, at +254 722 821056.	
5	start	Do you consent to participate in our study? Yes No	
6	org_name	Enter the name of your organisation	selected(\${start}, '1')
7	job_name	What is your job title?	selected(\${start}, '1')

8	job_group	What is your job group? (if they don't know, write '99')	selected(\${start}, '1')
9	job_level	What is your rank in your organisation? Executive / Director Managerial Supervisor Staff Other	selected(\${start}, '1')
10	job_tech	Is your position of a technical nature (scientist, engineer, mechanic etc)? Yes No I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1')
11	gender	Gender Female Male I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1')
12	age	what is your age?	selected(\${start}, '1')
13	married	What is your marital status Single - never been married Single - divorced Widowed Married I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1')
14	education	What is the highest level of education that you have completed? Primary School Secondary School Tertiary School Technical degree Undergraduate Degree Master's Degree PhD Other post-undergraduate degree I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1')
15	edu_tech	Is your degree/training of a technical nature (science, engineering, mechanical repair etc)? Yes No I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1')
16	edu_field	What was your field of study / specialization in school?	selected(\${start}, '1')
17	experience	How many years of professional experience do you have?	selected(\${start}, '1')

18	exp_san	How many years of professional experience have been in the water and sanitation sector?	selected(\${start}, '1')
19	why_san	Why did you choose to work in your current job? (select all that apply) Good money / benefits Easy to get a job Good future career prospect Interesting work Flexible schedule Provide important service for the public other (please specify) I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1')
20	why_san_other	Please specify the other reason:	selected(\${start}, '1') and selected(\${why_san}, '77')
21	gen_diff	Do you feel that women pursuing a career similar to yours would have different challenges than a man? (in terms of education, placement, promotion, performing job duties) Yes No I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1')
22	gen_difficult	Do you feel that women pursuing a career similar to yours, in general find it more difficult, less difficult or about the same level of difficulty compared to men? (in terms of education, placement, promotion, performing job duties) Much more difficult More difficult About the same difficulty Less difficult Much less difficult I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1')
23	gen_discrimination	Have you experienced discrimination in the workplace because of your gender? Yes No I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1')
24	gen_barriers	What kinds of gender-related constraints have you experienced in your career? <i>Please read the list and have them choose any that apply</i> Family obligations Cultural or social expectations	selected(\${start}, '1') and selected(\${gen_discrimination}, '1')

		Sexual harassment, or a request of in appropriate favors from your superiors Unprofessional demands made because of your gender An advanced degree being necessary - but family obligations do not allow a return to school None of the above Other professional barrier due to gender I don't know/I'd rather not say	
25	gen_barriers_other	Please specify the other reason:	selected(\${start}, '1') and selected(\${gen_rep2_agree}, '77')
26	gen_aspire	Do you feel your promotional options are more limited as a woman? Yes No I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1') and selected(\${gender}, '1')
27	gen_ceiling	Do you feel that there is a 'glass ceiling' for women at your organisation? <i>please explain 'glass ceiling' to the participant - that there is a limit as to how far up a woman can go in their organisation</i> Yes No I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1')
28	agree_note1	For the next few questions I will read you a statement. I'd like you to indicate if you feel that you 'agree strongly', 'agree', 'neither agree nor disagree', 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree'	selected(\${start}, '1')
29	gen_rep1_org	Women are well represented among the staff at the \${org_name} strongly agree agree neither agree nor disagree disagree strongly disagree I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1')
30	gen_improve_org	The number of women among the women at the \${org_name} is increasing strongly agree agree neither agree nor disagree disagree strongly disagree	selected(\${start}, '1')

		I don't know/I'd rather not say	
31	gen_rep2_org	The \${org_name} should put in a special effort to hire more women in general strongly agree agree neither agree nor disagree disagree strongly disagree I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1')
32	gen_rep1	'Women are well represented among the workers in the water and sanitation sector' strongly agree agree neither agree nor disagree disagree strongly disagree I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1')
33	gen_improve	'The number of women in the water and sanitation sector is increasing' strongly agree agree neither agree nor disagree disagree strongly disagree I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1')
34	gen_rep2	'The water and sanitation sector should put in a special effort to hire more women in general' strongly agree agree neither agree nor disagree disagree strongly disagree I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1')
35	gen_rep2_agree	Why did you agree? Women bring in a different perspective It is only fair Women would perform better than men It is required Enhance innovation Improve decision making	selected(\${start}, '1') and (selected(\${gen_rep2}, '1') or selected(\${gen_rep2}, '2'))

		Better ability to understand the needs of the people Better communicators Other I don't know/I'd rather not say	
36	gen_rep2_agree_other	Please specify the other reason:	selected({start}, '1') and selected({gen_rep2_agree}, '77')
37	gen_rep2_disagree	Why did you disagree? Women don't deserve special treatment It is only fair Men would perform better than women It is not required Men are better at innovation Men are better at decision making Men are better at understanding the needs of the people Men are better communicators Other I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected({start}, '1') and (selected({gen_rep2}, '4') or selected({gen_rep2}, '5'))
38	gen_rep2_disagree_other	Please specify the other reason:	selected({start}, '1') and selected({gen_rep2_disagree}, '77')
39	gen_whyless	'How can we address gender equality and an equal distribution of genders among workers in the water and sanitation sector?' Better work life balance Government mandate Development and leadership training of women Role models Educate managers and staff of the benefits gender equality among managers Offer, support flexible work Transparent salary structures Other I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected({start}, '1') and (selected({gen_rep2}, '1') or selected({gen_rep2}, '2'))
40	gen_whyless_other	Please specify the other reason:	selected({start}, '1') and selected({gen_rep2_disagree}, '77')
41	policy	Are there any gender programs or policies at your organisation?	selected({start}, '1')

		Yes No I don't know/I'd rather not say	
42	policy_what	What gender programs or policies exist at your organisation? sexual harassment policies paid or unpaid maternity leave paid or unpaid leave for caregiving of a family member assistance with childcare affirmative action policy in recruitment and promotion flexible work scheduling for pregnant women and mothers a lactation room Access to technical training Access to leadership training Mentorship program Flexible working scheduling for fathers Equal wages policies Other I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1') and selected(\${policy}, '1')
43	policy_what_other	Please specify the other reason:	selected(\${start}, '1') and selected(\${policy_what}, '77')
44	policy_SH	At my organisation, sexual harassment policies... Effectively help and support women Help and support women sometimes Rarely help women neither help nor hurt Are actually bad for women I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1') and selected(\${policy_what}, '1')
45	policy_MLeave	At my organisation, paid or unpaid maternity leave... Effectively helps and supports women Helps and supports women sometimes Rarely helps women neither helps nor hurts Is actually bad for women I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1') and selected(\${policy_what}, '2')
46	policy_FLeave	At my organisation, paid or unpaid leave for caregiving of a family member... Effectively helps and supports women	selected(\${start}, '1') and selected(\${policy_what}, '3')

		Helps and supports women sometimes Rarely helps women neither helps nor hurts Is actually bad for women I don't know/I'd rather not say		
47	policy_childcare	At my organisation, assistance with childcare... Effectively helps and supports women Helps and supports women sometimes Rarely helps women neither helps nor hurts Is actually bad for women I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected({start}, '1') and selected({policy_what}, '4')	
48	policy_AA	At my organisation, affirmative action policy in recruitment and promotion... Effectively helps and supports women Helps and supports women sometimes Rarely helps women neither helps nor hurts Is actually bad for women I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected({start}, '1') and selected({policy_what}, '5')	
49	policy_flex	At my organisation, flexible work scheduling for pregnant women and mothers... Effectively helps and supports women Helps and supports women sometimes Rarely helps women neither helps nor hurts Is actually bad for women I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected({start}, '1') and selected({policy_what}, '6')	
50	policy_lactation	At my organisation, a lactation room... Effectively helps and supports women Helps and supports women sometimes Rarely helps women neither helps nor hurts Is actually bad for women I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected({start}, '1') and selected({policy_what}, '7')	
51	policy_techtrain	At my organisation, Access to technical training... Effectively help and support women Help and support women sometimes Rarely help women	selected({start}, '1') and selected({policy_what}, '8')	

		neither help nor hurt Are actually bad for women I don't know/I'd rather not say	
52	policy_leadership	At my organisation, Access to leadership training... Effectively helps and supports women Helps and supports women sometimes Rarely helps women neither helps nor hurts Is actually bad for women I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected({start}, '1') and selected({policy_what}, '9')
53	policy_mentor	At my organisation, Mentorship program... Effectively helps and supports women Helps and supports women sometimes Rarely helps women neither helps nor hurts Is actually bad for women I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected({start}, '1') and selected({policy_what}, '10')
54	policy_flexmen	At my organisation, Flexible working scheduling for fathers... Effectively helps and supports women Helps and supports women sometimes Rarely helps women neither helps nor hurts Is actually bad for women I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected({start}, '1') and selected({policy_what}, '11')
55	policy_equal	At my organisation, Equal wages policies... Effectively helps and supports women Helps and supports women sometimes Rarely helps women neither helps nor hurts Is actually bad for women I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected({start}, '1') and selected({policy_what}, '12')
56	agree_note2	For the next few questions I will read you a statement. I'd like you to indicate if you feel that you 'agree strongly', 'agree', 'neither agree nor disagree', 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree'	selected({start}, '1')
57	peer1	'My female peers at work respect and support me' strongly agree	selected({start}, '1')

		agree neither agree nor disagree disagree strongly disagree I don't know/I'd rather not say
58	peer2	'My male peers at work respect and support me' strongly agree agree neither agree nor disagree disagree strongly disagree I don't know/I'd rather not say
59	superiors1	'My female superiors at work respect and support me' strongly agree agree neither agree nor disagree disagree strongly disagree I don't know/I'd rather not say
60	superiors2	'My male superiors at work respect and support me' strongly agree agree neither agree nor disagree disagree strongly disagree I don't know/I'd rather not say
61	subs1	'My female subordinates at work respect and support me' strongly agree agree neither agree nor disagree disagree strongly disagree I have none I don't know/I'd rather not say
62	subs2	'My male subordinates at work respect and support me' strongly agree agree neither agree nor disagree disagree strongly disagree I have none

		I don't know/I'd rather not say	
63	gen_access1	'Women have different needs than men when it comes to accessing sanitation' strongly agree agree neither agree nor disagree disagree strongly disagree I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1')
64	gen_access1_agree	Why did you agree? Women need more privacy Sanitation should include menstrual hygiene management facilities Women need more frequent access Women often take care of children, and need services for them as well Other I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1') and (selected(\${gen_access1}, '1') or selected(\${gen_access1}, '2'))
65	gen_access_agree_other	Please specify the other reason:	selected(\${start}, '1') and selected(\${gen_access1_agree}, '77')
66	gen_access1_disagree	Why did you disagree? Women are the same as men Sanitation is needed by all Sanitation is a right, for both genders Other I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1') and (selected(\${gen_access1}, '4') or selected(\${gen_access1}, '5'))
67	gen_access_disagree_other	Please specify the other reason:	selected(\${start}, '1') and selected(\${gen_access1_disagree}, '77')
68	gen_access2	'The impacts on women are different than men when they do not have access to sanitation' strongly agree agree neither agree nor disagree disagree strongly disagree I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1')

69	san_future	The sanitation sector is going in the right direction regarding the gender needs and concerns in sanitation strongly agree agree neither agree nor disagree disagree strongly disagree I don't know/I'd rather not say	selected(\${start}, '1')
70	gen_priority	What specific priorities in sanitation services need to be addressed for women in particular? (women sanitation users, not women working in the sanitation sector)	selected(\${start}, '1')
71	comment	If you have any general comments, you can write them here.	selected(\${start}, '1')
72	end	This is the end of the survey. If you have completed the survey, press "save and finalize."	

6 Annexure 2 - In-depth Interview Instrument

This Interview has 8 sections, it should take between 30 and 45 minutes, but you have the right to end the interview at any time. We will be asking your opinion about you, your employer and your career. We encourage you to be as candid as possible. As we have explained during the consent process, we will take every possible precaution to maintain your privacy.

Section 1: General Information

1. Organisation:
2. Gender:
3. Age:
4. Marital Status:
5. Job title:
6. Job scale:

Section 2: Individual Motivation and Aspiration

7. Highest education level achieved:
8. What is your degree concentration?
9. Was there an equal distribution of men and women in your concentration? Did you feel that your concentration was more typical for your gender, or less typical? Why?
10. Did you experience any challenges during your schooling due to your gender?
11. Years of professional experience:
12. Years of working in the water and sanitation sector:

13. Do you feel working in water and sanitation is more typical or less typical, for your gender?
14. Have you experienced any challenges while working in the sanitation sector due to your gender? If yes, were there any resources (people, programs) that helped you? If yes, what were those programs?

Do you know women who have left the job due to challenges? What about men?
probing more about what may impact retention of women in these roles earlier would be good e.g. inflexible working hours, lack of amenities for women etc.

15. Do you see any barriers, or disincentives for potential future promotions? Have you, or do you plan to purposefully avoid promotion to higher levels of management? If yes, why?

Section 3: Understanding of Access to Sanitation

16. From your personal perspective, when we say that someone has good or adequate 'sanitation access' what are all of the things that this statement includes?

What populations should the sector focus on, that are not getting good sanitation access?

17. Do you think that the sanitation sector is going in the 'right' direction in terms of the services provided? There may be gaps, places of improvement, but is the sanitation sector slowly building the type of system that you want to see?

Do you have any recommendations on how to enhance gender equity in sanitation access, overall? If yes, what are they?

Section 4: About the Organisation

18. What are the one or two most important sanitation challenges that are being addressed by your organisation?

What is your organisation doing to address this/these issue(s)?

In terms of executing your organisation's sanitation mandate, are there any issues pertaining to gender? If yes, how do you address these issues?

19. Do you conduct a gender analysis before you design a program? Do you disaggregate the data by sex?

Could you tell me how you use gender analysis data in each stage of the project cycle? [design/implementation/M&E/O&M/decision making/future learning]

Are there any specific initiatives that support inclusiveness and gender equality in the sector? What are they?

Section 5: Interactions with Co-workers

In this section we will ask you about your interactions with peers, superiors and inferiors at your current organisation, or at other organisations in the sanitation sector.

20. Please tell me about your interactions with female peers at work. Do you feel that they respect you and support you? Do they seek your input on challenges? Do they incorporate your ideas into their work?
21. Please tell me about your interactions with male peers at work. Do you feel that they respect you and support you? Do they seek your input on challenges? Do they incorporate your ideas into their work?
22. Please tell me about your interactions with female superiors at work. Do you feel that they respect you and support you? Do they seek your input on challenges? Do they incorporate your ideas into their work?
23. Please tell me about your interactions with male superiors at work. Do you feel that they respect you and support you? Do they seek your input on challenges? Do they incorporate your ideas into their work?
24. Please tell me about your interactions with female subordinates at work. Do you feel that they respect you and support you? Do they seek your input on challenges? Do they incorporate your ideas into their work?

Do you mentor any of them? (**if yes**) Do they face any particular problems that the men do not face?

25. Please tell me about your interactions with male subordinates at work. Do you feel that they respect you and support you? Do they seek your input on challenges? Do they incorporate your ideas into their work?

Section 6: Women at your Organisation

26. Do you feel that there is a good representation of women and men at your organisation?
Do you feel that there is a good representation of women and men in technical positions? In management and senior leadership?
Is there a concentration of men or women in specific departments? If yes, which departments?
27. What programs does your organisation have to support gender equality in recruitment?
28. What programs does your organisation have to support gender equality in training and promotion?

29. Does your organisation have any other initiatives to support gender equality for its employees? If yes, what are they? Do you think they are effective? Do you think that they are good for your organisation?
30. Do you feel that having more gender diversity in management makes your organisation stronger? Why or why not? How does it impact the organisational performance? Can you provide some illustrative example?
31. Do you feel there is a glass ceiling for women, either in your organisation, or others in the sanitation sector?
32. What programs are there for all employees on sexual harassment training? Are these programs effective?

Section 7: Women in Leadership: the larger WaSH Sector

In this section we would like you to talk about the larger WaSH sector, including public organisations, local NGOs, international NGOs, multi-lateral organisations and the relevant parts of the private sector. We would like you to think about the internal workings of these organisations, as well as the relationships between all of the organisations which provide sanitation services.

33. Women are less likely than men to pursue a technical or managerial career in the sanitation sector. Why do you think that is true? Please explain, how it is more challenging for women, and also how it is relatively easier for men? [probe for examples]
34. In the coming years, do you see more women moving into management positions? Why or why not? Do women working in any role in the sanitation sector, or does gender inclusivity in the sanitation sector, bring an added value to the sector? If yes, what is that added value?
35. Do women working in a management position in the sanitation sector, or does gender inclusivity in management positions in the sanitation sector, bring an added value to the sector? If yes, what is that added value?
36. Are there challenges that are specific to the WaSH sector that prevent women from becoming leaders?