

Frontiers of CLTS: Innovations and Insights



Engaging men and boys in sanitation and hygiene programmes

Sue Cavill, Joanna Mott and Paul Tyndale-Biscoe, with
Matthew Bond, Chelsea Huggett and Elizabeth Wamera

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About the CLTS Knowledge Hub

IDS has been working in support of Community-Led Total Sanitation (CLTS) since its beginnings. CLTS has now become an international movement for which IDS is the recognised knowledge hub.

The Knowledge Hub is dedicated to understanding the on-the-ground realities of CLTS practice and to learn about, share and promote good practices, ideas and innovations that lead to sustainability and scale. We seek to keep the CLTS community well connected and informed and to provide space for reflection, continuous learning and knowledge exchange. We work in collaboration with practitioners, policy-makers, researchers and others working in the development, sanitation and related communities.

Ultimately, the Hub's overarching aim is to contribute to the dignity, health and wellbeing of children, women and men in the developing world who currently suffer the consequences of inadequate or no sanitation and poor hygiene.

Front cover

SOUTH SUDANESE REFUGEE TEACHES HIS SIX-YEAR-OLD SON HOW TO PROPERLY WASH HIS HANDS USING A TIPPY-TAP OUTSIDE THEIR SHELTER IN BIDIBIDI REFUGEE SETTLEMENT IN YUMBE DISTRICT, NORTHERN UGANDA, MARCH 2017.

CREDIT: UNICEF/ JIRO OSE

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For further information please contact:

CLTS Knowledge Hub, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, BN1 9RE

Tel: +44 (0)1273 606261

Email: CLTS@ids.ac.uk

Web: www.communityledtotalsanitation.org

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Engaging men and boys in sanitation and hygiene programmes

Terminologies

The following table explains some of the terms used in this document.

Gender	The normative socially and culturally constructed ideas of what it is to be men or women (and boys or girls) of different kinds (of ages, classes, ethnicities etc.) in a specific context and time.
Gender analysis	A critical and systematic examination of differences in the constraints and opportunities available to an individual or group of individuals based on their gender.
Gender discrimination	The systematic, unfavourable treatment of individuals on the basis of their gender.
Gender lens	A perspective that pays particular attention to gender differences and relations.
Gender norms	Collectively held expectations and beliefs about how women, men, girls and boys should behave and interact in specific social settings and during different stages of their lives.
Gender relations	Socially constructed power relations between men and women, boys and girls.
Sex	A person's biological status, which is typically categorised as male, female or intersex.
Intersectionality	This means that intersecting social identities (different women and men simultaneously being identified by social class, ethnicity, age, religion etc.), interrelate – or 'work together' – within interconnecting systems of privilege and oppression; based on gender, class, caste, race, sexuality, ability, religion etc. This helps us understand how different forms of oppression and exclusion, such as misogyny, racism, elitism, homophobia etc. interrelate and act together (Birchall et al. 2016).

Introduction

This issue of *Frontiers of CLTS* shares and builds on the learning from a desk study that explores examples of men's and boys' behaviours and gender roles in sanitation and hygiene (S&H). Of particular interest is the extent to which the engagement of men and boys in S&H processes is leading to sustainable and transformative change in households and communities and reducing gendered inequality.

The review focuses on men and boys: how to engage them (or not), how to mobilise them as allies in the transformation of S&H outcomes and the problems they contribute to and experience.

Gender in sanitation and hygiene programmes

Discussions of gender in S&H often focus on the roles, positions or impacts on women and girls. Such a focus is critical to improving the gendered outcomes in Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH), as women and girls bear the greatest burden of WASH work yet are often excluded from planning, delivery and monitoring community WASH activities as a result of having less power, resources, time and status than their male peers. However, current efforts to improve sanitation and change social norms may not always actively engage men and boys in the most effective way. There is more to learn about how the roles men and boys actually play out in improving use of safe sanitation and improved hygiene practices and – if necessary – how the engagement strategies can be modified to make efforts more successful.

Men's and boys' active and positive engagement means improving S&H outcomes, as well as the potential for redistribution of unequal domestic and care responsibilities from women to men. The end results envisaged is both practical and strategic. Practical in terms of ensuring that men and boys practice safe S&H and contribute to ensuring that communities remain open defecation free (ODF) over the longer term. Strategic, in terms of an enabling environment for women to have a stronger voice in decision-making processes, and for men to better support women's role in decision-making in the household and community. Although it is acknowledged that CLTS or other sanitation programmes cannot solve existing social inequalities and structural problems alone, these programmes can be implemented in a way that supports change in gender relations. For instance, by making decision-making processes more equitable and less discriminating and subordinating of women, which also means elevating female privilege to that currently enjoyed by males.

What needs to change?

Sanitation programmes, in their mission to change (un)hygienic behaviour, only in some cases attempt to shift gender roles and power dynamics between men and women at the household and community levels. As such, sanitation processes may inadvertently reinforce gender stereotypes relating to women's socially prescribed care roles and intrinsic motivation for S&H behaviour.

The rest of this section refers to a number of problematic aspects of male S&H behaviour and practice.

Representation by men at CLTS events

Anecdotally, in some countries, it is difficult to engage men in CLTS triggering sessions or even ensure they are physically present at meetings about S&H. Staff working on the Cambodia Rural Sanitation and Hygiene Improvement Programme (CRSHIP) frequently observed differential gender participation in CLTS triggering activities. Most participants were women. In Afghanistan, men and boys participated in the public CLTS process, while female facilitators reached out to the women through household visits. Triggering meetings in southern Angola and the Caprivi area of Namibia were much better attended by women because many men were out of the village for migrant labour (Kidd, pers. comm.). In the CLTS programme in the Solomon Islands, women also outnumber the men in the triggering meetings (ibid).

Consistent use of toilets by men

There is a concern that men tend not to use a toilet for defecation all the time, either when they are at home or away. A study in Uttar Pradesh suggests that even if their household has a functional toilet, men are less likely to be regular users (WSP 2016). A range of reasons are cited for this, including: to slow the rate of the pit filling, men having more time available for open defecation (OD), greater mobility of men, lack of shame about OD, not having a toilet where they work, reverting to OD when household toilets are in high demand (Coffey et al. 2014; Chambers and Myers 2016). Men also have less concerns about security/safety when doing OD than women. Additionally, many communities have strict cultural norms around men and women sharing toilets. In:

- Bangladesh, men defecate in the bush to avoid sharing a toilet with their daughters-in-law (Hanchett et al. 2011).

- Idoma communities in Nigeria, husbands have refused to use the same toilets as their wives and daughters (WaterAid 2009).
- Eastern Zambia, male household heads don't share toilets with other family members if there is a risk of being seen (Thys et al. 2015).
- Ethiopia, the sight of women's faeces is unacceptable and men will defecate in the open to avoid it (Ashebir et al. 2013).
- Madagascar, men (or boys) cannot defecate in the same place as women (including their sister) (UNICEF 2015a).
- Nepal, older men may refuse to use a toilet (even their own) that their daughter-in-law has used, and hence will defecate in the open (SNV 2017).
- In South Sudan there is a belief that in-laws cannot shit in the same toilet. Some also believe that if a woman uses a toilet she will not bear children (Kidd, pers. comm.).
- In Phalombe District, Southern Malawi, it is culturally unacceptable for a man to use the same toilet as his mother-in-law (or a woman to use the same toilet as her father-in-law). Here, men are less inconvenienced in using the bush and have less interest in using toilets. Men don't perceive toilets as part of basic survival (Kidd, pers. comm.).

Open urination by men

Male open urination is a common practice around the world, although it can offend public decency and is often prohibited through by-laws and punishable with fines and/or community service. In India, open urination is included under the Swachh Bharat Mission (Clean India Mission) to end OD by 2nd October 2019. Thokne (2016) and Upadhyaya (2015) reported that New Delhi launched a public awareness campaign with billboards reading 'How long will you be irresponsible? At least have some shame. Clean up your mind.' Pictures of gods, goddesses, and holy symbols or passages from the Koran have been painted on walls to stop men urinating there.

Handwashing with soap by men at critical times

Globally, men are reportedly less likely to consistently wash their hands with soap at critical times. In the Solomon Islands and other countries men expect that women should be responsible to teach children to practice regular handwashing. This is justified as '*kastom*' (custom/culture) – the mother is responsible for all household activities. In a focus group

discussion on handwashing, one woman said: *'I encourage my husband and kids to wash their hands – when they return from the toilet, I tell them – wash your hands. My husband is lazy to wash his hands – he does not have a habit for handwashing. Me – I am the champion handwasher in my family. But my husband teases me – he says, "Do you want to live like a white woman?"'* (Kidd, pers. comm., March 2018). Handwashing promotion efforts that target men's behaviours and practices can be used to trigger changes in handwashing (Maulit 2015). For example, the 'Shit and Shake' technique developed by Engineers without Borders in Malawi targets male practices and links them to hygiene behaviour change.

Men's partnership in community sanitation and hygiene processes

There is a large amount of literature on men's involvement in WASH processes, but much less on how men can partner with women to support them to participate in community S&H processes. Unless men are engaged in facilitating opportunities for women's decision-making in WASH processes, a S&H programme can inadvertently run the risk of increasing care burdens for women. Facilitating men's partnership to support women in WASH processes is an emerging area in the WASH sector, for instance with studies on female entrepreneurs.

Men taking on care roles in the household

Care and the domestic work burden falls disproportionately on women in all cultures but the degree of this inequality varies. There has been a significant focus on care roles in broader development practice, but less specifically in S&H. Women are very often given responsibility for household hygiene and sanitation – for instance getting water for handwashing, getting children to wash hands, keeping tippy taps filled, storing water safely, washing plates, cleaning toilets and so forth. Latrine cleaning, even of school and public toilets, often remains a woman's role. Unequal distribution of S&H work can reinforce gender roles and time poverty for women and limit their other roles and options within and outside the home. A shift in gender roles, with men taking some responsibility for cleaning the house, toilets, and the environment can help women and girls take on other roles and options within and outside the home including work and schooling.

Stereotyping in the CLTS processes

Gendered power issues are at play not only in how S&H is managed within households but also in community interventions and programmes. In

Zimbabwe, a community facilitator remarked to some men that he knew their wives' bottoms. Men reacted with anger and astonishment. *"How on earth?"* the men asked. The facilitator explained that he saw the women's bottoms when they lifted their dresses to defecate in the bushes. The men got the message and resolved to construct latrines at their homesteads' (Charuka, n.d.). Trading on patriarchal protectionist ideals amongst men makes it possible to build a toilet, but the results include reinforcing patriarchal ideals of control over women – the very opposite of what is necessary for women to meaningfully participate or take leadership. Moreover, the CLTS Handbook notes the differences between male and female leadership: 'Women Natural Leaders tend to be less visible than their male counterparts in latrine construction but more active and responsible in their maintenance, establishing usage norms, and sustaining hygienic behaviour change' (Kar with Chambers 2008: 48). In Bombali District, Sierra Leone it is estimated that women are roughly 30-40 per cent of the members of Sanitation Committees and Natural Leaders (Kidd, pers. comm.). In the CLTS programme in the Solomon Islands male leaders select much larger numbers of men to represent their villages in CLTS facilitator training (Kidd, pers. comm.). Men can take more initiative to encourage women's active participation in WASH decision-making, using some of the practices described later in this issue.

Men and boys

Men differ by class, caste, social group, sexuality, disability, ethnicity, age with different S&H needs at different stages of life, which S&H efforts can and must address. For instance:

- **Boys:** At school, girls and boys learn what tasks are 'appropriate' for their gender. Integrating household S&H issues within 'life skills' curricula could support change. Play-based WASH activities have been developed — for instance, a Snakes and Ladders game, by WaterAid Timor Leste and by the Street Football World Network and WASH United — to help boys learn WASH behaviour as part of their regular sports training. World Vision and Sesame Workshop have a partnership in a programme called [WASHUP!](#), which is a school-based hygiene behaviour change programme, currently in 11 countries around the world, focusing on proper S&H behaviours in all students, and using a strong female character (Raya) as a lead role model in helping her male friend (Elmo) understand and practice appropriate S&H behaviours.
- **Adolescents:** A puberty book has been developed for 10–14-year-old boys in Tanzania. The book contains guidance on boys' bodily changes

and healthy gender dynamics, based on participatory research with adolescent boys. The Water Supply and Sanitation Collaborative Council (WSSCC) also has a puberty flip book that contains guidance on boys' and girls' body changes and how best to introduce the subject (see 'As We Grow Up' image below).



'As We Grow Up'. Credit: WSSCC 2013.

- **Men:** Men's own S&H needs may be dictated by their role in the household and workplace. Men are typically the provider of the toilet and the protector of their household's health and hygiene, as well as the 'dignity' and 'privacy' of women.
- **Older men:** Older men often have S&H needs that can be difficult to meet in some contexts. For example, relating to incontinence or more frequent need to urinate. In November 2014 in Zaatari camp, Jordan, adult nappies were expensive and/or unavailable, and one family supporting an older man with incontinence was forced to improvise with rags and plastic sheeting (Venema 2015).

WASH programmes are increasingly taking an intersectional approach, which can be a way to link gender inequality to social inequality. Understanding differences according to class, caste, age, religion, ethnicity, sexuality and income levels for instance through participatory monitoring tools such as Plan International's Gender and WASH Monitoring Tool (2014), enables targeting of particular groups of men and boys (and women and girls) more effectively in S&H.

The following sections review the differing roles of men and boys as objects to change, agents of change and partners of change in S&H processes.

1. Men as objects to change

In some contexts, it has been observed that men are resistant to change promoted through CLTS, participatory handwashing promotion processes or sanitation marketing. Men and boys are often framed as obstacles to achieving ODF communities and framed as objects to be changed for the purpose of achieving ODF. The term 'object' is purposely here used as a critique of the S&H literature that refers to men and boys instrumentally.

Including men and boys in sanitation and hygiene processes

In some countries, it is reportedly difficult to engage men to participate in CLTS triggering sessions or even ensure they are physically present at events. Programmes that do not time triggering events well tend to miss segments of the community: as Kar with Chambers (2008: 17) noted, 'for different reasons men, middle/upper class and more influential members of community may not be present in the triggering. Absence of people from all categories might weaken the collective power of the 'triggering' decision.' It has been observed that men rarely attend meetings to discuss S&H behaviours. In Timor-Leste, CLTS meetings are often organised in the evenings to get a better turnout of men. Sanitation marketing activities have been targeted to the places where men meet such as tea stalls in Nepal (Krukkert et al. 2010). In Bangladesh, the WASH Plus programme targeted similarly male-dominated places (like tea stalls) in order to circulate a catalogue of sanitation options.¹

Sanitation can be perceived as low priority or low status. CLTS facilitators have used some innovative approaches to convince men (especially young men) to take part in triggering activities. For example, when facilitators in the Global Sanitation Fund's (GSF) Rural Sanitation and Hygiene Promotion in Nigeria (RUSHPIN) project visited conflict-affected communities in Abi, youths stated that security, rather than building toilets, was their priority. 'When we started this work, the initial response was slow. This was primarily because the young men did not buy into it. Many of them were not even at the 'triggering' event as they were on guard in the bush as vigilantes', said Benedict, a Natural Leader (Ekhtator and England 2015).

In Sierra Leone and Timor-Leste, CLTS facilitators make special efforts to involve young men in the digging of toilet pits and building of toilets. The youth are members of local youth groups and go around their villages as a group digging pits for vulnerable households, as their contribution to the ODF drive:

¹ http://www.washplus.org/sites/default/files/resource_files/clts_brief2015.pdf

When Philip and Julia (two Natural Leaders) proposed a day to get the whole aldeia working on toilet building, they emphasised that “this was not a talking or meeting day, but a working day” – a day to do lots of digging and toilet building. So, the Natural Leader’s job of helping to build toilets requires young men who have the strength for it. (Kidd, pers. comm.)

Men in pastoralist communities can also be a difficult group to reach. The Kenya Sanitation and Hygiene Improvement Program (K-SHIP), funded by the GSF through Amref Health Africa, aimed to reach Maasai men. Getting men to attend sensitisation meetings is a challenge because they are often away looking for water and pasture for their animals. This led to an innovation of offering roasted goat (*olpul*) at triggerings as a way to engage men. This example highlights the challenge of engaging men in ways that do not reinforce power inequality, and provide new or additional patriarchal privileges for men that women are excluded from (women don’t get to eat goat).

In Nepal, Krukkert et al. (2010) reported that men were unlikely to attend hygiene promotion activities if they were ‘just members of the audience’. They are more likely to attend hygiene promotion activities if they are given specific roles. The authors recommended an information-sharing role or some sort of leadership role alongside women. As with the previous examples on the tendency to involve men by making them Natural Leaders, this suggestion again highlights the challenge of engaging men in ways that do not reinforce power inequality.



Sanitation campaigns. Men sit above a sign that says ‘for cleansing of your soul you need temple, for cleansing of your body you need toilets’ in Rajpara Bhayati Village, Vallabhipur Block, 2008. Credit: UNICEF/ Adam Ferguson.

Campaigns and approaches aimed at men and boys for sanitation and hygiene behaviour change

Unilever has created character profiles to target men for behaviour change in India. The ‘good man’ and the ‘tough man’ are intended to better target/market sanitation to these men. Below are quotes from the poster campaign (Unilever 2010):

What tough men do...

I go outside to go for a poo like all the other strong men do, because toilets are for women, the sick and the old.

Be a tough man; use a clean, germ-free toilet.

The good man

Every family and every community has those who need looking after. It’s the duty of men, like me, to do this.

How can we appeal to a father’s sense of ‘doing the right thing’ to get him to want all his family (including himself) to use a toilet all the time?

Whilst justified and used for their instrumental ‘appeal’ to some men, trading on ‘tough man’ stereotypes has been critiqued for reinforcing unhelpful (and male supremacist) stereotypes.

Other campaigns advocating that men provide a toilet for the household are intended to make him feel like more of a ‘man’ (e.g. the Indian No Toilet No Bride campaign and similar campaigns in Nepal, Krukkert et al. 2010). Such campaigns suggest that a man’s role is as protector of their household’s health and women’s privacy and dignity. For example, the Swachh Bharat Mission has been critiqued for systematically reinforcing the dominant power of men to provide a toilet.² In the East Sepik region in Papua New Guinea, WaterAid and the International Water Centre, Divine Word University, and local partners developed a four-week campaign (‘5-star mama em tru pla mama’) on infant faeces management behaviour. Mothers and fathers from the community were selected as change agents to deliver information about proper practices for safe infant faeces management. Community feedback suggested that the project had encouraged some men to take up more duties related to childcare. However, others critiqued the campaign for reinforcing the role of women as primary carers (Kamundi and Pigolo 2018).

² <https://iapsdialogue.org/2017/05/03/making-india-open-defecation-free-at-the-cost-of-gender-equality/>

Handwashing

Globally, research suggests that men are less likely to wash their hands than women. Campaigns have been developed aimed at targeting men for handwashing with soap. For instance, the Cambodia Rural Sanitation and Hygiene Improvement Programme developed a poster campaign with the slogan 'Most men don't wash their hands after using the toilet. Do you?' Also in Cambodia, WaterAid Cambodia and Epic Art produced a music video 'Leang Sam Ath' (wash it), produced by a group of artists with disabilities, including men, reminding people to wash their hands with soap at critical times. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hMc75WyaqZs>

The Global Scaling Up Handwashing Project (WSP 2010)

In Senegal, women were the target audience for handwashing promotion discussions because of their central role in caring for the family (see first poster below). Men were subsequently included (see second poster below) after recognition that: (1) men control their household's access and provide funds for soap (2) men can follow-up the outreach session to ensure that household members wash their hands with soap, and (3) men can enable, reinforce, and sustain behaviour change by washing their hands with soap while encouraging others to do the same.



Credit: WSP, 2010

Approaches to encourage men to stop OD

There are other strategies and approaches that have been used to encourage men to stop OD. The following table highlights examples from India. However, a number of these practices raise concerns about actual or potential incompatibility with human rights and so are not condoned, see *Frontiers of CLTS* issue 8 on '[CLTS and the Right to Sanitation](#)' for more information.

Examples used to encourage men to stop open defecation in India

Swachata Adalat – sanitation court	Courts held every Saturday for those caught OD by the <i>nigrani samiti</i> members.
Youth clubs in Fazilpur Badli village, Haryana	Youth clubs comprising young men and women have taken the lead to convince elderly men to use toilets.
<i>Nigrani samite</i> , Kalarpur village of Haryana	A group of elderly women (and a separate team of elderly men) who do the rounds in their village early in the morning and in the evenings to ensure nobody goes out in the open to defecate. If they caught other men defecating during their rounds of monitoring, they would insist that the open defecators cover the faeces with soil and take a pledge in front of the community that they would not defecate in the open.
Enforcement by the Gulabi Gang	The Gulabi Gang make regular visits to households that OD and convince men to use toilets for better health outcomes.
<i>Gandhigiri</i>	<i>Nigrani</i> committee members also visit those households that do not have toilets and offer OD vermilion and flowers to the household members.
Secret Sanitation Voting	When a person is observed resorting to OD, that person's name is written on a piece of paper and put in the ballot box. The <i>Panchayat</i> and <i>nigrani samiti</i> members follow-up.

Source: Satyavada (forthcoming, 2018)

Male decision-making on household sanitation

Despite women doing most of the S&H work in the household, it is often men (as the chief wage earners) that choose whether to invest in sanitation facilities within the home, the type of toilet to be installed, and where to construct it. In the context of out-migration of men, women often have to wait for men's approval (either on return or over the phone) before agreeing to build a household toilet (Sue Cavill pers. comm. 2017, with reference to Nepal and Malawi). Women are rarely consulted: in Odisha, India, male heads were the sole decision-makers on the construction

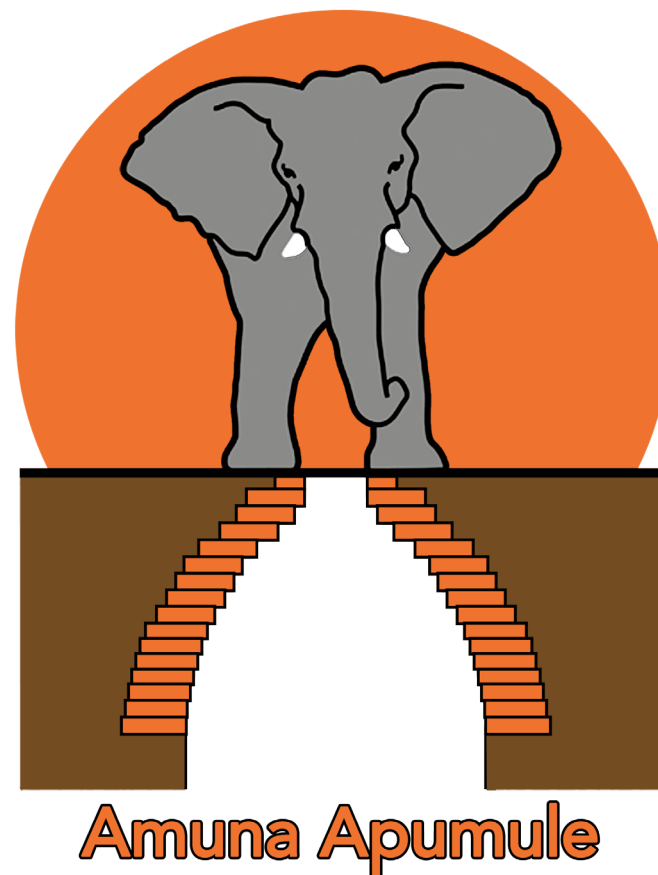
of sanitation facilities in 80 per cent of households; in 11 per cent men consulted or otherwise involved women. Women made the decision in only nine per cent of households (Routary et al. 2017). A study in Vietnam (Leahy et al. 2017) found that men were more willing than women to pay for constructing a bathroom with a flush toilet. There have been similar findings in Timor-Leste. A pour-flush toilet is often the product of choice for men, even in water-scarce locations, because it is linked to status. This can increase women's workload due to the need for more water collection as well as the cleaning of the toilet.

Targeting men in sanitation and hygiene occupations

Men take on more formal income-generating roles in the sanitation sector than women and generally play more active roles in small-scale enterprises, which is good and is a role they can usefully play. However, from a gender perspective, it is important to ensure that they are not 'crowding out' women's participation. A study of WASH businesses in Indonesia, Vietnam, and Timor-Leste found that sanitation marketing companies are predominantly run by men (Willetts et al. 2016; Leahy et al. 2017). In many settings, formal roles in sanitation supply chains reflect traditional roles for women and men. Men are typically put in the role of technical expert in the design, financing, construction and emptying of latrine facilities. In Bangladesh and Cambodia, iDE report that in small enterprises a husband is usually the business owner and responsible for manufacturing, while the wife manages bookkeeping, marketing and customer service. In Malawi, (male) masons were asked to develop messages or slogans that would communicate the key features of a long-lasting, affordable toilet in sanitation design, marketing and business modelling (UNICEF 2015b). The masons' suggestion was 'Latrine for years, let the real men rest' which alluded to the fact that men are constantly reconstructing toilets at present. An image of an elephant was used to create the logo.

In terms of gender transformation, this is another domain in which gender equality can be sought in terms of husbands supporting wives to play roles in S&H businesses. For example, in Bangladesh, Plan International has facilitated men to involve their wives to develop a line on sanitary pads as part of their sanitation businesses.

CHIMBUDZI CHA ZAKAZAKA



Robust corbeled latrine, 2016. Credit: UNICEF Malawi/PSI.

2. Men as agents of change

The literature contains some examples of men and boys as agents of change as advocates in promoting improved S&H practices:

Men as driving institutional change

- Narendra Modi's Clean India Mission or Mwalimu Julius Nyerere's national *Mtu ni Afya* latrine-building campaign in Tanzania in the 1970s. In Kenya, Dr Kepha Ombacho, a male Director of Public Health in the Ministry of Health in Kenya, led policy reviews and guideline development to ensure that all the counties and stakeholders participate in the sanitation campaign (Wamera, pers. comm. 2018).

Men at community level

- Community leaders can influence public opinion in a deep and authoritative way and can be powerful agents of change. Chief Macha led the CLTS campaign *No shit, please! One family, one toilet* in Choma, Zambia, in which traditional leaders supported efforts to transform rural sanitation.
- In Timor-Leste, data from the BESIK programme (*Bee no Sanimentu iha Komunitade* – The Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Program) showed consistently higher rates of men participating in community events and meetings (due to women's heavy domestic workloads inhibiting attendance).
- In Bombali District, Sierra Leone the community divide into groups to organise toilet building in different sections of the community (clusters of households); in each cluster they form three groups – men's group, women's group, and youth group, each with their own tasks. The men gather timber and the women carry it back to the village; the women carry sand, water, bush sticks, palm fronds, and thatching grass back to the village; the youth group organise the digging of pits; the women mould the bricks and the men and youth construct the slabs, toilet walls and roofs, and the women plaster the toilet walls (UNICEF CLTS Evaluation 2011).
- In a focus group in Tororo, Uganda (July 2012) a group of boys said that they would feel stigmatised by their peers if they didn't use toilets – 'If you don't use the toilet, other kids can tease you – you are regarded as a low person' (Kidd, pers. comm.).

Inspirational/popular celebrities

- The use of role models involves 'men you want to be like'. Male celebrities have acted as change agents in the Swachh Bharat Mission. Actor, producer, television host, and former politician Amitabh Bachchan encourages behaviour change in men who have toilets but don't use them and former national cricket captain Sachin Tendulkar captained WASH United and UNICEF's Team Swachh Bharat.

Men using their occupational roles to be change agents

- Some men have the power to promote change because of their institutional or occupational positions. In Nigeria, *okada* riders (motorcycle taxi riders, predominantly men) are an important urban stakeholder group in CLTS. *Okadas* often carry people to and through rural communities; if the riders are not sensitised or triggered they can unwittingly disrupt an ODF community by defecating in the bush (UNICEF 2010).

Faith leaders, community elders or monks

- In India's Nuh district, Imams announced in the mosques that they would not perform *nikah* (marriage ceremonies) in those households that did not have toilets or that indulged in OD (Satyavada, forthcoming 2018). A *fatwa*, or Islamic decree by the Indonesian Council of Islamic Scholars developed a book of sermons for local religious leaders to provide spiritual guidance on WASH at Friday prayers and to urge people to change their unsafe S&H habits (Cronin 2016). A district in Cambodia became ODF in part due to monks putting pressure on households lacking toilets. The monks said they could not come and bless houses that did not have a toilet (Tyndale-Biscoe, pers. comm.). CLTS organisers in the Solomon Islands involve church leaders and religious texts as major allies. For example, the most commonly cited text is drawn from Deuteronomy 23:13 – 'Carry a stick as part of your equipment, so that when you have a bowel movement you can dig a hole and cover it up'.
- World Vision's *Channels of Hope for Gender* is an example of a way to engage faith leaders in a transformative process around gender relations and norms. The first step is to influence their mindsets.

Menstrual hygiene management (MHM)

There is a growing understanding in the WASH sector of the need to focus on MHM in S&H interventions. Male champions worldwide are helping to break barriers and taboos, in partnership with women and women's groups.

- The Water Supply and Sanitation Collaborative Council (WSSCC) funded MHM Trainer of Trainers in Kenya, which included men. One Kenyan regional governor supports his wife's work in promoting MHM while personally financing various initiatives for sanitary products in his country. An assistant county commissioner, who reports directly to the Office of the President of Kenya is known for talking about MHM at schools and community meetings in his official capacity and in full official regalia (Wamera, pers. comm. 2018).
- Part of World Vision's partnership with Sesame Workshop is a programme called Girl Talk, a school-based curriculum focusing on puberty and menstrual education, engaging both male and female students in understanding and empowering MHM. This project is currently being piloted in 200 schools in Zimbabwe.

3. Men as partners for change

Men have also acted as partners who work with women for change in S&H programmes. There are examples where men have helped to deliver gender balance in responsibility for S&H (in the workplace, household or community), supported women to be leaders in S&H or otherwise advanced consideration of gender in S&H movements.

Men's support to women in S&H leadership

There is a large amount of literature on men's involvement and leadership in WASH processes, but much less on men's support to women to engage in S&H leadership or decision-making processes. Experience in Timor-Leste highlights the need for a focus on confidence building for women and encouragement (by men) of women to speak up in meetings, so that decision-making roles are not reinforced as the domain of men. Self-confidence is reported to be a key issue in promoting women's leadership,

even if men give women the space. Similarly, World Vision noted that while WASH committees may have equal gender representation in terms of positions on the committee, women on committees may not have an equal voice to that of men. Approval or 'permission' from husbands and traditional gender roles in the home can be a barrier to women's active involvement. A World Vision employee in Ghana noted that, *'it is not expected for a woman to speak before a stranger if the husband has not given her permission to do so'* (UNC and World Vision n.d.: p.2). Men have a role in facilitating opportunities for women's decision-making in S&H processes.

In 2012, Plan Sierra Leone conducted action research on the role of women in CLTS and discovered that women were not participating as equals with men in triggering meetings. Women explained that 'they preferred to let their husbands or other men do the talking.' Based on the results of the study Plan gave more emphasis to and provided the skills for getting women actively involved in triggering meetings – to have a voice and take part in decision-making on the ODF process and sustaining it. Plan has established new norms for women's participation, getting everyone to recognise that women's views are expected and valued. Plan also reorganised the guidelines for community selection of Natural Leaders so that larger numbers of women were selected (2:3 ratio) (Kidd, pers. comm.).

Sanitation and hygiene related care

There has been considerable focus on care roles in the broader development discourse, but much less in relation to S&H. International campaigns such as MenCare, He for She, Promundo and We Can work with men and their peer groups to transform gender norms including advocacy for men doing 50 per cent of the caregiving work within the household. WASH agencies have yet to incorporate this agenda.

WASH agencies have yet to acknowledge and balance the tension between using campaigns that are effective because they leverage gender norms (and hence tacitly reinforce them) and adopting different approaches that challenge norms. Campaigns should have a disrupting element in challenging gendered norms that promote harmful practices. There are few such examples documented in the WASH sector.

Challenging gender norms through WASH in Timor-Leste

WaterAid used WASH as an entry point to challenge gender norms in Timor-Leste. A community dialogue manual was developed as a guide for integrating gender awareness and dialogue sessions between women and men within WASH planning processes. The manual aims to create a shared understanding of gender roles and relations and how workloads can be changed to be fairer. Some of the outcomes reported are that men are giving women the opportunity to speak in community meetings and management groups. One woman said:

I am amazed with my husband after [gender] sessions that talked about equal work between men and women. It's not dramatic change yet, but on many occasions, he starts to ask me what ([house] work I'm doing and without talking much he starts taking on one or two responsibilities. He is also looking after our children more often, helping them to take a shower or cleaning them after the toilet.

Source: WaterAid 2016

Ways to strengthen sanitation and hygiene programmes and processes

The following principles serve as the basis for strengthening S&H programmes and processes:

Principles for working with women and men in WASH programmes

Principle 1: Facilitate participation and inclusion so everyone is involved in improving WASH.

Principle 2: Use decision-making processes that enable women's and men's active involvement within the project and in activities.

Principle 3: See and value difference in work, skills and concerns of women and men.

Principle 4: Create opportunities for women and men to experience and share new roles and responsibilities.

Source: Halcrow et al. 2010

Although the principles focus on community roles for men and women, further attention is also required to the roles of women as WASH professionals too. If the change happens from within, WASH actors could lead by example in how they support the communities where they work. The following are suggestions for practical ways to strengthen a focus on men and boys in S&H process.

A - Enabling environment

Ensure implementation guidelines and training materials include a focus on men and boys and ensure appropriate practical training on this by WASH sector and gender specialists.

B - Programme and community levels

Pre-implementation

The pre-implementation stage is very important to start to understand gender issues in the community. Tried and tested participatory tools are available to assist programme teams to learn about gender roles and responsibilities in the target communities before implementation commences (e.g. who cleans the toilet, who supports children or others to use the toilet, etc.).

- Tools such as participatory hygiene and sanitation transformation (PHAST) and learning circles, the 24-hour clock and the floating coconut can reveal the different WASH-related workloads of women and men in the family and community and lead to a discussion on how the S&H workload can be shared.
- Work with community and faith leaders to influence the attitudes of boys and men and make space for women to speak (rather than men speaking on their behalf).
- Use pre-triggering meetings to advocate for men's participation in triggering meetings and get village leaders committed to this objective.
- Ensure S&H campaigns don't reinforce gender stereotypes.

Programme implementation

Engaging men and boys in the programme implementation can be done in a way that challenges gender norms, roles and stereotypes.

- Hold triggering and other campaign related event(s) at a time and place that is convenient for men and women. Don't assume men will find out about the triggering - visit them at home or work to encourage them to come to the community-wide triggering session.
- Invite men to triggering meetings and when the turnout is poor don't start the meeting – go out and mobilise more men to attend before starting (this has been done in Timor-Leste).
- Use the skills of the facilitators to enable men to support women to speak out and contribute to community decision-making.
- Use the power of sport (Right to Play football and other sports for development programmes) to promote the active involvement of male and female youth in hygiene and sanitation campaigns.
- Ensure that the 'environment setter' within the CLTS team takes a special interest in and becomes the 'gender champion' for this team. He or she should closely observe the meeting process and intervene to ensure women are not marginalised e.g. stopping meetings if women are poorly represented and intervening in meetings to make sure women get an equal chance to talk and their ideas are listened to, stop any blame of women for poor household and community hygiene and helping men understand the importance of women's participation.
- Encourage communities to include a role for men in taking on an increasing role in domestic hygiene in Community Action Plans.

Follow-up

There are multiple opportunities to engage with men and boys at the follow-up phase in order for strengthening the outcomes.

- Encourage men and boys to identify 'small immediate doable actions'.
- Engage men and boys to share responsibilities in the household and act as positive community role models.
- Create a conversation about traditional gender roles and challenge harmful gender stereotypes, norms and relations. This could be done by male religious leaders for instance.

C - Organisational monitoring, evaluation and learning

Monitoring the gendered outcomes in S&H does not occur systematically across implementation agencies or countries and at scale. The use of monitoring data in programming is another identified gap in current practice.

An exception to this is the Gender and WASH Monitoring Tool (2014) developed by Plan International Australia and Plan Vietnam. This tool enables users to explore gendered relations through facilitated community dialogue.

- Incorporate sex disaggregated data on monitoring forms (including baseline data collection and outcome surveys) and reporting.
- Explore ways to monitor changes in social norms on masculinities.
- Don't forget that programme staff and partners also need space and capacity building to explore and understand their own values, attitudes, beliefs and experiences of gender and sexuality.

Summary of key learning

As the pitfalls and best practices in the previous sections indicated, most examples documented in S&H tend to reinforce gender stereotypes for men and women. More transformational approaches would refer to male power and privilege, institutions and development actors' behaviour (Edström et al. 2015). Based on the findings of this review, and drawing on the conclusions outlined above, the following broad recommendations are made for how to better engage men and boys in S&H interventions.

Recommendation	Possible strategies
Maximise men's engagement in S&H processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use participatory processes to change men's and women's expectations for each other with respect to S&H (i.e. that men act as technical experts and women clean the toilets). This could enhance the impact and sustainability of men's involvement in S&H.
Create campaigns aimed at men for transformational change in WASH	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create a supportive environment for men to publicly assume a more active role in S&H in the household, workplace and community. • Collaborate and learn from gender specialists and campaigns like Promundo, He for She and MenCare which have successfully promoted gender-transformative change by challenging instead of reinforcing gender norms/stereotypes.

<p>Improve men's and boys' sanitation practices and behaviours</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitor changes in social norms on gender relating to S&H, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » behaviour – what women and men do; » attitudes – what women and men believe they should do; » empirical expectations – what women and men believe others do; and » normative expectations – what women and men believe others think they should do. • Support male change agents in S&H to understand and apply gender-transformative approaches – such as supporting women's voice and participation, not speaking on behalf of women, etc.
<p>Develop strategies for men as partners for change</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify and engage men (especially fathers and fathers-to-be) and boys who want to be positive role models to promote S&H in the household and community. • Engage community leaders and thought leaders to influence boys' and men's attitudes. In particular, faith leaders are key since some of the negative gender norms are reinforced in religious structures and teaching. • Engage with men's groups (e.g. sports clubs, professional associations, army, etc.) for S&H purposes. Doing so could reach men who are hard to reach or marginalised.

<p>Address gender power issues affecting S&H</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Name and analyse men's power and avoid falling back on strategies that reinforce male protectionism or men's sense of entitlement over women. • Encourage personal learning and change in relation to gender and sexuality to enhance organisational effectiveness and the potential for gender transformative S&H. • Invest further in encouraging men to support women's leadership, decision-making and technical skill in the WASH sector.
<p>Create strategies focused on roles and responsibilities in WASH</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Avoid reinforcing traditional gender roles and harmful gender stereotypes in S&H behaviour change campaigns. • Engage open-minded men in partnering with women's groups; getting advice from gender specialists would be a good starting point.

Areas for further research

- Invest in action research – to document 'positive deviants'³ and pilot promising approaches, to encourage men to stop OD, to transform gender norms by drawing on combinations of existing tools and evidence across different sectors. We also need to know how to address 'intersectional engagement' alongside gender concerns within S&H programmes.
- A toolbox of approaches that support 'gender-transformative WASH' is needed, which could be trialled and refined through practice and action research. This would include approaches and tools that facilitate men to support women's leadership, voice and participation in S&H issues. These approaches would also support more positive masculine norms and relations between men and division of responsibility between men and women, boys and girls.

³ Examples of outliers in a population or group that trend in the desired direction.

- Partnership models for the strategic engagement of WASH organisations with women's organisations, networks and movements together with men's groups on S&H issues (which is starting to happen in South and East Asia and the Pacific).
- Better documentation is required on how WASH professionals' internal beliefs and attitudes, and even organisational structures, contribute to, at best, ignoring negative gender norms, or, at worst, supporting and encouraging them.

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About the authors

Sue Cavill is a freelancer with experience in the implementation and evaluation of WASH programmes, as well as policy and strategy-relevant WASH research, analysis and dissemination.

Joanna Mott is a gender and social inclusion specialist with over 20 years' experience working in international development (community development, gender and social inclusion, and WASH sectors).

Paul Tyndale-Biscoe is an engineer and development practitioner with more than 20 years' experience in the implementation, design and evaluation of WASH programmes across Africa, Asia and the Pacific.

Matthew Bond is a WASH consultant with experience in design, monitoring and evaluation and a strong interest in gender and social inclusion.

Chelsea Huggett is Technical Lead - Equality and Inclusion at WaterAid Australia, specialising in gender in water sanitation and hygiene in Asia and the Pacific region.

Elizabeth Wamera has extensive experience in WASH and is currently the Technical Expert in charge of Water, Sanitation and Hygiene at the Water Supply and Sanitation Collaborative Council.

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Engaging men and boys in sanitation and hygiene programmes

Men's and boys' active and positive engagement in sanitation and hygiene (S&H) means improving sustainable outcomes, as well as increasing the potential for redistribution of unequal domestic and care responsibilities from women to men. Discussions around gender in S&H (and elsewhere) often focus on the roles, positions or impacts on women and girls, however this issue of *Frontiers of CLTS* explores examples of men's and boys' behaviours and gender roles in S&H. Of particular interest is the extent to which the engagement of men and boys in S&H processes is leading to sustainable and transformative change in households and communities and reducing gendered inequality. The issue focuses on how to engage them (or not), how to mobilise them as allies in the transformation of S&H outcomes and the problems they contribute to and experience.

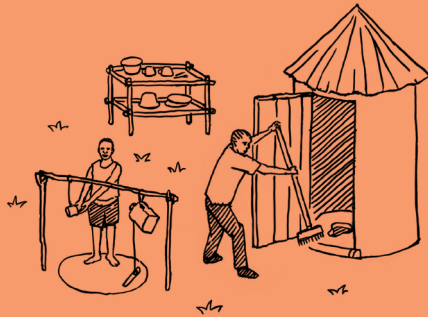


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**CLTS
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Tel +44 (0)1273 606261

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