

# EQUITY IN SCHOOL WATER AND SANITATION

Overcoming Exclusion and Discrimination  
in South Asia



INDIA COUNTRY REPORT



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South Asia**

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# Foreword

A study was commissioned by UNICEF ROSA in order to understand the interplay of inclusion and exclusion related to Water, Sanitation and Education. The purpose of this study was to generate sufficient evidence to raise awareness on the role played by water and sanitation in discrimination within the classroom. A four country qualitative research study was initiated in Bhutan, Nepal, Bangladesh, and India. The data collection and field work were carried out in Lalitpur and Mirzapur districts of Uttar Pradesh, India.

The objectives of the study were:

- To examine, in India, the relationship between water and sanitation related issues and the ways in which they affect the opportunities of those who belong to a group perceived as being unclean.
- To identify and record instances of good practices.
- To explore the possibility of good practice in schools having a transformative role in altering traditional discriminatory practices.

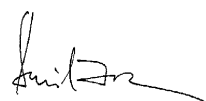
It is believed that at the high school and secondary school level, lack of toilet facilities could lead to poor attendance of students, especially of girls. This study has examined the extent to which the presence of toilets and safe drinking water support learning, and positively influence regular attendance of students, especially of girls. Inclusion and exclusion related issues in the sample schools have been analysed through interaction with parents, children, and teachers.

The study found evidence of subtle and not-so-subtle forms of exclusion within schools based upon the existing caste/class structure. The attitudes and beliefs of teachers reflected their prejudices against some groups of children in schools. It was also found that where teachers have a positive and inclusive attitude and a sense of ownership, it is reflected in the school environment.

On the positive side, children were observed washing their hands before the midday meal, though not always with soap. The study also found that girls are determined to study and that absence of toilets would not deter or discourage them. However, their school life would be better if they had access to a clean and safe toilet.

The study makes some important recommendations based on the evidence gathered. It is of primary importance to alter teacher behaviour and attitudes through training/orientation programmes for teachers, teacher educators and educational administrators on inclusion and exclusion.

Finally, the study finds that if a programme is to make any meaningful impact, it must start with the community and move towards the school. It will need community support and ownership if the programme gains are to be sustained.



Daniel Toole  
Regional Director  
UNICEF ROSA



# Series Introduction

This series of five publications is the outcome of a South Asia regional study into Equity in School Water and Sanitation, commissioned jointly by the WASH and Education Sections of UNICEF Regional Office for South Asia (ROSA). The study was carried out in four countries of the region – Bangladesh, Bhutan, India and Nepal. Each country has produced its own report, and these have been supplemented by a fifth report, which summarizes the country reports and expands the findings into a regional perspective.

This study was developed following a web-based literature search (Ollieuz, 2008) to collect evidence about different kinds of water and sanitation-based exclusion and discrimination in schools in order to obtain an overview of available evidence and also to define areas which required more research. The search showed that although there is considerable anecdotal evidence on exclusion from and discrimination within school related to issues around water and sanitation, there is little in the way of empirical research.

The study therefore set out to examine these issues of exclusion and discrimination in schools in South Asia and to consider the potential for schools being able to act as agents of change in combating this exclusion and discrimination. The aim of the study was to:

*raise awareness both at Government and practitioner levels of the part that issues related to water and sanitation play in children's exclusion from and discrimination within education, and to suggest actions which need to be taken at the level of policy and practice which would help to redress this situation.*

The overall objectives of the study were:

- i. To examine the relationship between water and sanitation related issues and the ways in which they affect, for both practical and psychological reasons, both the inclusion and the opportunities of children who belong to groups that are perceived as being unclean, menstruating girls and children affected by communicable diseases.
- ii. To identify and record instances of good and inclusive practice.
- iii. To explore the possibility of good practice in schools having a transformative role in altering traditional discriminatory practices within the community.

The method chosen for the study was qualitative research. While qualitative research has certain limitations in that it can only ever cover a small sample of sites, the advantages are that it allows children's voices to be heard and their stories to be told in a way which can never occur through quantitative studies. In this way it highlights the often subtle ways in which exclusion and discrimination can affect children and also points to actions which need to be taken so that exclusion and discrimination can be addressed and changed.

In three of the four countries, twelve schools in three districts were carefully chosen for in-depth study (in India, 24 were chosen) and field researchers spent periods of three days covering the schools and their communities (one day in primary, one day in secondary and one day in the community). Although these were very small samples, nevertheless, it was felt that the in-depth discussions could draw out findings which would be more widely applicable.

In all countries, adolescent girls were seen to face considerable disadvantage when they were menstruating. The result was that a large proportion of girls simply did not attend school for several days each month. While the lack of sanitary facilities could not be directly linked with school drop-out, it seems certain that the embarrassment experienced by the girls, and their falling behind with their studies as a result of frequent absence, will increase its likelihood.

Findings on discrimination against children for issues related to water and sanitation were more mixed and varied both between countries and within individual countries. However, there certainly were indications that some children were treated less favourably than others. The ways in which this discrimination played itself out also varied, but it included situations where certain children were made to carry out tasks such as cleaning toilets when others were not; certain children being excluded from privileges such as fetching water for the teacher; and, in many instances, certain children always sitting separately from others at the back of the class. There were also clear indications that children who were discriminated against in this way could be perceived by teachers as being less intellectually able and less committed to their studies.

A clear message which emerged was that one could not make simple assumptions as to precisely which groups of children were discriminated against. In some instances, they were children from traditionally 'untouchable' castes, but not all Dalits were treated in this way. In some instances they were children from minority ethnic groups, but some ethnic groups did not face this kind of discrimination. In several cases they were the children who were perceived as always coming to school less clean than others, often because they lived far away or because they came from families who might not have the facilities to enable them to keep clean. In all countries it appeared that children from very poor families were more likely to be ones who could face this kind of discrimination.

A positive message arising from the study was that both children and adults were aware that traditional discriminatory attitudes were changing. While children in some schools expressed strongly traditional views about whom they would sit next to or eat with, several others were aware that school allowed them a place where they could share food and water with everyone and have mixed group friendships, although they did also say that they might not be able to extend this situation to their home context.

There were, however, indications in all countries that new elites could sometimes arise in this new context and play themselves out in the same domain of cleanliness and uncleanliness. Several instances were given of teachers favouring children who were clean, neat, clever, richer and from more powerful families. It was acknowledged that these children might or might not come from the traditional elites.

All country studies have examples of excellent practice. Ways in which this practice has been created vary from country to country but common elements include:

- ▶ Sufficient and well maintained facilities
- ▶ Clearly worked out systems of cleaning
- ▶ A positive relationship between school and community so that good practice in one is reinforced by good practice in the other. There are many examples of children transferring good hygiene practice they have learnt at school to their families
- ▶ Children who are aware of the importance of good hygiene practices
- ▶ A strong ethos of inclusion in which all tasks and privileges are shared equally and children are automatically assumed to sit together and mix together regardless of social or economic divisions.

Thus, the study has showed the potential of school as an agency of change and indicates that this is an area which could definitely benefit from further attention.

# Acknowledgements

We are extremely grateful to the children, teachers and parents who agreed to participate in the study and interacted with us in the schools and the villages that our teams visited. This study would not have been possible without their support. The children and adolescent boys and girls provided valuable insights into the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion – we have learnt a lot from them.

We would like to thank the officials of the School Education Departments of the Government of India (GoI) and the Government of Uttar Pradesh (UP), as well as the Director of Secondary Education Board, UP, for allowing us to carry out this study in the schools. We would like to extend our thanks to the district and block level officials of the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), Panchayati Raj Department (Mirzapur), the pradhan and Panchayat representatives and the block and village level functionaries, Auxiliary Nurse Midwives (ANMs), Anganwadi workers (AWWs), parents and the village community.

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Vimala Ramachandran  
Bharat Patni  
Nishi Mehrotra

# Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANM	Auxiliary Nurse Midwife
APL	Above Poverty Line
ASER	Annual Status of Education Report
ASHA	Accredited Social Health Activist
AWW	Anganwadi Worker (an ICDS centre is known as an Anganwadi)
BPL	Below Poverty Line
BRC	Block Resource Coordinator
BSA	Block Shiksha Adhikari (Block Education Officer)
CEP	Child Environment Project
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
Dalit	An alternative term used for the Scheduled Caste (SC) community
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
DIOS	District Inspector of Schools
DISE	District Information System for Education
DPRO	District Panchayati Raj Officer
EGS	Education Guarantee Scheme
ERU	ERU Consultants Private Limited
FC	Forward Caste
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
GIC	Government Intermediate College
GoI	Government of India
GPEP	Gram Panchayat Environment Project
HDR	Human Development Report
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HS	High School
ICDS	Integrated Child Development Scheme
ICO	India Country Office
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMR	Infant Mortality Rate
KCCI	Knowledge Community on Children in India – a UNICEF initiative
KGBV	Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (Residential schools for girls who had dropped out of school after primary school. This is for classes 6–8)
LMP	Licentiate Medical Practitioner
LS	Lalitpur site
MDM	Midday Meal
MS	Mirzapur Site
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NGP	Nirmal Gram Puraskar (beautiful village prize or award)

NPEGEL	National Programme of Education for Girls at Elementary Level
NPRC	Nyaya Panchayat Resource Coordinator
NREGS	National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme
NUEPA	National University for Education Planning and Administration
OBC	Other Backward Classes
PS	Primary School
ROSA	Regional Office for South Asia (UNICEF)
SC	Scheduled Caste (also referred to as Dalit)
SEES	Social Economic and Education Status
SMC	School Management Committee
SSA	Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (Education for All)
SSHE	School Sanitation and Hygiene Education
ST	Scheduled Tribe
TSC	Total Sanitation Campaign
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPS	Upper Primary School
VEC	Village Education Committee
WA	WaterAid
WATSAN	Water and Sanitation
WES	Water Environment and Sanitation



# Executive Summary

UNICEF ROSA (Regional Office for South Asia) commissioned a four-country qualitative research study in Bhutan, Nepal, Bangladesh and India to understand the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion and generate sufficient evidence to raise awareness both at the government and the practitioner level on issues related to water and sanitation and the role that they play in children's exclusion from and discrimination within education. At the inception workshop in December 2008, it was agreed that the country teams would: (a) review country-wise secondary data on water and sanitation; (b) map the water and sanitary situation in sample schools and explore how they affect or influence inclusive participation of children in schools; (c) conduct qualitative in-depth research to gain an understanding of the practical and psychological barriers which children can face in relation to water and sanitation; and (d) present case studies of good and inclusive practices in schools in relation to water and sanitation and explore the possibilities of these good practices being extended both to other schools and to the wider community.

Given the size of India, ERU Consultants Private Limited (ERU), New Delhi, that conducted the study in India, focused on the state of Uttar Pradesh (UP). A purposive sample of 24 primary, upper primary, high/secondary schools and intermediate colleges was selected from 12 villages in Lalitpur and Mirzapur districts in the state. The research tools consisted of a combination of school observation schedules, semi-structured in-depth interviews with stakeholders, focus group discussions (FGDs), structured activities/role-plays and group discussions with children of different age groups. They were finalized in consultation with lead researcher Dr Hilary Thornton during the fieldwork in February 2009.

The nodal agency for Water and Sanitation (WATSAN) at the national level is the Department of Drinking Water in the Government of India's Ministry of Rural Development, which oversees the implementation of the Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC) programme. TSC is being implemented by the Department of Panchayati Raj in UP, which covers all rural schools for the provision of separate urinals and toilets for boys and girls, and additionally, the promotion of hygiene education and good sanitary habits among students. TSC in UP was launched in 2002, and secondary data indicates that 28 per cent of the households had been covered by the campaign in 2008. While most schools are understood to have been provided with hand pumps for safe drinking water, the availability of a hand pump in a school does not automatically imply that it will be in a working condition, or that its water is 'safe' (i.e. free of contamination), or that all children have equal access to it. Similarly, while the secondary data on primary schools indicates that most schools have toilets and urinals, the field study found that the proportion of functioning toilets was far less.

Enrolment in government primary schools is now over 90 per cent, but the picture changes as we move from primary to upper primary to high school/secondary school. It is widely acknowledged that children drop out of school for many reasons – poor quality, little relevance of the education being imparted, and dysfunctional schools are the issues which have been documented extensively. The combination of gender, social and location disadvantages makes some groups of children extremely vulnerable to dropping out.

It is believed that at the high school and secondary school level, lack of toilet facilities could lead to poor attendance of students, especially of girls. While this issue has not yet been researched

sufficiently, it is believed that the presence of toilets and easy availability of safe drinking water contribute towards creating a positive environment for learning. In this study we tried to explore the extent to which the presence/absence of water and sanitation facilities influence regular attendance of students, especially of girls.

Equally, food, water and sanitation are the three important domains where inclusion/exclusion plays out. Hierarchies of caste/community are manifested on the ground through social practices related to eating, drinking and the use of common facilities. Traditionally, certain kinds of work, especially that concerning cleaning toilets, and disposal of dead animals, has been done by the most disadvantaged in the social hierarchy, namely the Dalits (SC). Though social reform movements have made a big difference in many parts of the country, rural areas continue to lag behind. Existing research shows that schools are not free from such prejudices. Within the school, exclusion could also be subtle and not discernible in routine classroom observations or during school level interactions. Therefore, this study explores inclusion and exclusion related issues in the sample schools through interaction with parents, children, and teachers.

## Main findings and learnings

- ▶ **Enrolment:** There is a gap between the number of students enrolled in school, the average attendance as reflected in school records and the students present on the day of visit. At best 83 per cent of the enrolled students were present on the day of visit and the worst case was of only 30.3 per cent students being present. In Lalitpur the proportion of girls attending school is less than those enrolled, indicating greater absenteeism among girls.
  - ▶ While District Information System for Education (DISE) data indicates that over 90 per cent of the schools have separate toilets for girls and boys, our study reveals that only three of the 12 schools (25 per cent) surveyed in Lalitpur and seven of the 11 schools (80 per cent) surveyed in Mirzapur had functioning toilets for boys; the corresponding numbers for girls' toilets are four out of 12 (33 per cent) for Lalitpur and
- ▶ eight out of 11 (80 per cent) for Mirzapur. Similarly, while almost 50 per cent of the toilets were noted as being not clean, very dirty or extremely dirty/unusable in Lalitpur, the situation in Mirzapur was significantly better. The difference between the two districts can be attributed to the work done through the TSC programme in Mirzapur and the absence of the TSC programme in Lalitpur.
- ▶ **Maintenance of facilities** received special attention in schools where the facilities were found to be usable and clean. Children are assigned duties to clean, the garbage is cleared every week, and the headteacher and village pradhan take an active interest in ensuring cleanliness. Conversely, there was no system for maintenance in the schools where the headteachers/pradhan did not take an active interest in the overall hygiene and cleanliness of the schools. In villages where TSC resulted in widespread use of toilets at home, this practice was also carried to the school. On the other hand, the facilities were dirty and dysfunctional in schools in a majority of the villages where the sanitation programme was not effective.
- ▶ **Design:** Not much planning goes into the design, location and safety of toilets. In almost all the schools the toilets are small and the doors open inwards, which means that the user has to step on the pot to shut the door. If the toilet is soiled, then it makes using it all the more difficult.
- ▶ **Social inequality and exclusion:** In the absence of a total sanitation campaign and a movement for social and gender equality, schools mirror the inequalities present in the village leading to discernible exclusion practices.
- ▶ **Attitudes and prejudices of teachers:** The attitudes and beliefs of teachers reflected their prejudices against poor children and against specific social groups accentuating discrimination in schools. Equally, where teachers have a positive and inclusive attitude and a sense of ownership, the school environment is positive. Involvement of the pradhan and other important stakeholders makes a big difference in the school and in the community. The situation in the village and the community in which the school is embedded is

very important as is reflected in the contrast between schools in Mirzapur and Lalitpur. Under a dynamic leadership, a school could emerge as a role model; however for this to happen a conscious effort needs to be made to use good practices as sites for training and advocacy.

▶ **Manifestation of exclusion:** Exclusion manifests itself in different forms, namely exclusion/inclusion based on:

- ▶ social group and community (Dalits, Sahariya [ST] and OBC)
- ▶ economic status of students (not well dressed, dirty clothes, do not bathe)
- ▶ performance in the school (good in studies/ not good in studies; regular/irregular)
- ▶ visible disabilities, infectious diseases (e.g. scabies, bad cough)
- ▶ gender (differential duties assigned to boys and girls).

▶ **Children, duties and exclusion:**

- ▶ Significant differences were observed between the two districts regarding the manner in which inclusion and exclusion played out in the nature of duties assigned to children.
- ▶ Some better-off or powerful parents intercede on behalf of their children to ensure that they are not given certain duties. Children from very poor families are thus given the worst duties.
- ▶ All children participate in pouring (actually throwing) water from a distance, sweeping and dusting the classrooms, picking up the litter (like paper and other articles on the ground) and fetching water. This is done without touching a broom. Parents do not like their children cleaning toilets and they would like the village sweeper to do this. So if the pradhan is proactive and concerned about the school, a sweeper becomes available, otherwise cleaning the school campus and toilets remains a problem that is mostly shouldered by the children. The children also clean toilets used by the teachers and when the school toilets are used by the community (when the school complex is rented out for marriages and festivals).
- ▶ Government primary and upper primary schools do not have any funds to hire a person to clean the premises and they

depend on the village Panchayat and the pradhan to arrange payments for this.

▶ **Responsibilities of children:**

- ▶ The children, especially in primary schools, were found shouldering the major responsibility of cleaning and maintaining toilets.
- ▶ Children are assigned duties by the teacher/ headteacher and they do not have a say.
- ▶ Children's forums that exist are not empowered and children do not have a say in what they do.

▶ **Good practices and silver linings:**

- ▶ All children were observed washing their hands before the midday meal. However, not all schools had soap.
- ▶ Dalit leaders are today vocal and resist overt/obvious forms of discrimination or exclusion in school. Given the overall political and administrative climate in Uttar Pradesh, blatant exclusion or discrimination is not discernible, but subtle forms continue in the schools against very poor children.
- ▶ Adolescent and young boys were found to value friendship, mingling with everyone in school and at play. In villages where social inequalities and prejudices continue to be present, the children said that they do not tell their parents/grandparents that they eat, play and sit with children from other castes and communities. However, the girls did not make such an unequivocal statement; they were found mixing with each other, but did not talk about it.
- ▶ Girls are determined to study and they all said that absence of toilets will not deter or discourage them. However, their school life would be better if they had access to a clean and safe toilet.

▶ **Subtle and not-so-subtle forms of exclusion:**

- ▶ **Cooking and serving of the midday meals:** The situation in the sample schools was mixed. There were schools where cooking was done in the open and children were fed in a non-discriminatory manner and there were schools where children from the forward castes and economically well-off families did not eat the school meal. Gender segregated seating was observed in most schools.
- ▶ Where teachers practised caste barriers

and did not accept water from Dalit or Muslim children, where they did not taste/touch the midday meal and where they differentiated between children from better-off families and the very poor, social exclusion was found to be a worrying reality in the school and in the classroom.

- ▶ Sahariya (a tribal community) children were the most disadvantaged. Teachers and fellow-students did not interact with them as equals and the study found deep-rooted social prejudices against this particular community, thereby affecting the performance of Sahariya children in school. Drop-out rates are high among Sahariya children because of frequent migration and their inability to understand what is being taught in school.
- ▶ Children were assigned duties according to their age and gender and in many schools the social standing of the families they came from. The work burden of children was high in several schools and the teachers were not sensitive to this. Children worked for a couple of hours and those who did, missed the morning prayer and school assembly.
- ▶ Ignorance and insensitivity towards Children with Special Needs (CWSN) underpinned most of the interactions with teachers and during school observations. Despite well-articulated guidelines/design specifications, none of the toilets had requisite safety structures for unhindered mobility for children with physical disabilities. In case they felt the need to use the toilet, they were either sent home with someone or their parents were called to carry them home. Access to the hand pump (main source of drinking water in all the schools) was also not CWSN friendly.
- ▶ **Adolescents and sanitation:**
  - ▶ No adolescent boy or girl said that they dropped out because of lack of toilet facilities; they said that the toilets were dirty and unusable for all students. Most of the boys said that if they had an opportunity to study they would continue whether there was a toilet or not in school. While availability of toilets would certainly make a difference to their lives in school, boys and girls have learnt to cope with the discomfort. If the teachers were good and they taught well and regularly, they would come to school. The

girls said that education was very important as it enhanced their status in their families and in the community. They saw education as a precious opportunity, a process that can help them break out of the cycle of poverty and powerlessness.

- ▶ All adolescent girls admitted that they missed school when they had their menstrual periods and took the help of other students to catch up. They also said that they do not sit next to or touch a girl when she has her period. They have grown up with this custom and do not see it as exclusion or discrimination – ‘it happens to all of us!’

## Recommendations

- ▶ **Address attitudes and beliefs:** To alter teacher behaviour and attitudes UNICEF should introduce training/orientation programmes for teachers, teacher educators and educational administrators on inclusion and exclusion. This needs to be done in the overall framework of the Constitution of India, the right to equality and non-discrimination and the CRC.
- ▶ **Link between school and community:** A total school sanitation programme has to start with the community, move towards the school and come back to work with the community to reinforce practices and sustain the momentum for positive change as the school is embedded in society. The school sanitation programme needs to forge linkages with the government's TSC; the school could become a hub for education and awareness raising.
- ▶ **Take the school as a whole:** The school needs to be taken as a seamless and integrated institution where education, child development, child protection, nutrition, safe water and sanitation together contribute to a positive schooling experience for children. To this end the following steps are recommended:
  - ▶ The headteacher, teachers, and village leaders (Panchayat) need to be involved in developing a plan for the school (including location of hand pumps and toilets) and a comprehensive timetable that factors in the teaching and learning processes as well as the school environment.
  - ▶ The administration or the village Panchayat

has to take responsibility for the maintenance and upkeep of the facilities, including a person who would clean the school premises and the toilets. The children could join in and support these activities, but not shoulder the entire burden of cleaning and maintenance.

- ▶ Drinking water and sanitation facilities need to be designed keeping in view easy accessibility for all children. Structural and construction flaws, including ventilation and light, have to be given due importance from the beginning. Children could participate in workshops and be asked to draw and design toilets so that the planning/designing is child-centric.
- ▶ Children should not be made to clean and sweep as soon as they come to school in the morning. They could assist in tidying up before they leave school in the afternoon/evening. This is important to nurture a positive self-image and self-esteem among children and also to impress upon them the importance of personal hygiene in school.
- ▶ UNICEF could consider bringing groups of children together to let them articulate the work that they can do and the work that they cannot do in schools, thereby drawing a clear line (as guidelines for programme managers and teachers) between work/tasks that are or are not harmful to children (physically, emotionally, psychologically). The parameters need to be defined by the children themselves and adhered to.
- ▶ Children's forums need to be empowered to discuss and decide what they can do and when, including developing a roster of responsibilities where all children participate in turns. Such a process would have a lasting impact on attitudes and practices.
- ▶ Special and focused effort is necessary to plan for the needs of children with disabilities, making sure that the midday meal, drinking water and toilet facilities are accessible to them and that they are treated with love and with dignity.
- ▶ All children should be trained/oriented on use of facilities – water, toilets and other facilities. Respect for other children (not messing up toilets, not contaminating the water or the area around the hand pump) also needs to be instilled in them.
- ▶ Teachers need to be sensitized (oriented and trained) to using rights-based language and practising inclusion. This language should permeate all areas of the school – teaching and learning, classroom management, cleanliness and hygiene, sanitation, midday meal, etc.
- ▶ **Identify and address exclusion:** Inclusion and exclusion need to be identified and handled with sensitivity as well as firmness. The Constitution of India guarantees all citizens the right against discrimination. The school sanitation programme could start by educating children/communities about their rights as citizens and the teachers about the constitutional guarantees and the importance of adhering to them.
- ▶ Non-discrimination should be made a non-negotiable principle in school – this needs to be adhered to in midday meal distribution, in equal and uninhibited access to safe drinking water, use of urinals and toilets and all other facilities.
- ▶ Posters on child rights and on constitutional rights and guarantees need to be displayed prominently in every school. These need to be written in a simple language so that children from all the classes can read and understand them. It would also be good to display posters that convey the message of equality and non-discrimination. These posters should have a phone number (UP has a childline number 1098, but rural children were not aware of it) and address where the children can call or write.
- ▶ **Good practices as sites for training:** Use sites of good practices as a hub for training and orientation of administrators, teachers, Panchayat leaders and school management committees. Good practice case studies need to be disseminated; stories of schools and role models among teachers, principals and children have to be written and made available to all schools. Special awards could be given to schools that demonstrate inclusion and equality in all facets of the life of the school (in the classroom, in extra-curricular activities and even in maintaining facilities).
- ▶ **Budget for maintenance and retro-fitting:** In view of the finding that a large number of toilets are in a state of disrepair and that the design itself is a problem in some cases, it is

important to ensure allocations/budgets for retro-fitting. It is therefore recommended that the School Sanitation and Hygiene Education (SSHE) and other WATSAN programmes consider the inclusion of funds for retro-fitting at the school level.

- ▶ **Needs of adolescent girls need urgent attention:** Again, as a first step, UNICEF could organize school-level workshops with girls in Classes 6 to 10 to develop a friendly and usable toilet complex. This could easily be done under the aegis of the government's two special girls' education programmes, the National Programme of Education for Girls at

Elementary Level (NPEGEL) and KGBV, that seek to address the educational needs of girls at the upper primary level (Classes 6 to 8). Equally, the proposed secondary education mission of the government also provides a good opportunity to try out new strategies and come up with workable ideas to improve the overall schooling experience of adolescent girls.

The silver lining is that winds of change are blowing and with concerted efforts from the government and other stakeholders (including UNICEF) a lot can change in a short time.

# 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Background

In 2007, UNICEF Regional Office for South Asia (ROSA) commissioned a desk study to understand the effect of water and sanitation on social exclusion in schools in South Asia (Ollieuz, 2008). This study was based on secondary literature and anecdotal evidence. Concluding from the valuable insights from this study, the researcher recommended that UNICEF ROSA follow it up with another study to gather empirical evidence to explore whether the inclusion and exclusion practices documented in the desk study were widespread. It was agreed that a qualitative research study would fill in the gaps in the earlier research.

Accordingly, in late 2008, UNICEF ROSA identified research teams in four countries in South Asia (Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan and India) 'to produce *sufficient empirical evidence* to raise awareness both at the government and practitioner level of the part that issues related to water and sanitation play in children's exclusion from and discrimination within education, and to suggest actions which need to be taken at the level of policy and practice which would help to redress the situation.'

At the inception workshop for this study held in Kathmandu in December 2008, the participants concluded that due to the constraints of time and limited resources available for this phase of the project, it would be too ambitious to aim to collect 'sufficient empirical evidence', and hence UNICEF ROSA agreed that these studies would be confined to simply collecting 'sufficient evidence'.

ERU Consultants Private Limited (ERU), New Delhi, was appointed as researchers for the study in India.

### 1.2 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to produce sufficient evidence to raise awareness at both government

and practitioner levels of the issues related to water and sanitation that play a part in children's exclusion from, and discrimination within, education, and to suggest actions that need to be taken at the levels of policy and practice which would help to redress this situation.

### 1.3 Study Objectives

The overall objectives of the study are:

- i. To examine the relationship between water and sanitation related issues and the ways in which they affect, for both practical and psychological reasons, both the inclusion and the opportunities of children who belong to groups that are perceived as being unclean, menstruating girls and children affected by communicable diseases.
- ii. To identify and record instances of good and inclusive practice.
- iii. To explore the possibility of good practice in schools having a transformative role in altering traditional discriminatory practices within the community.

### 1.4 Research Process

At the inception workshop held in Kathmandu, the country teams agreed on a common methodology for the qualitative study. It was also agreed that the studies would focus on a purposive sample of schools so as to be able to understand if and how discrimination occurred, and to document some good practices. The research was to be so designed so as to tease out not only the behaviour but also the attitudes of the key stakeholders.

In accordance with the decision taken during the workshop, the scope of the India study was limited to one of India's largest states, Uttar Pradesh (UP). This was because it was felt that though India is a

very large country, UP is a microcosm of the country in many ways. The state is one of the more educationally backward states in the country where inequality among social groups is pronounced, and the status of women has remained an area of concern. The sex ratio – a sensitive indicator of women’s status – is low at 898 (number of women to 1,000 men), and female literacy is also low at 42.2 per cent (as compared with male literacy at 68.8 per cent); 21.1 per cent of the state’s population consists of Scheduled Castes (SC), though the percentage of Scheduled Tribes (ST)<sup>1</sup> is low at 0.1 per cent (Gol, 2006). At all stages of schooling, the proportion of girls to boys is consistently low – especially amongst SC and ST communities.

Another compelling reason for selecting UP was that over the years the state has received Water and Sanitation (WATSAN) hardware and software inputs in many areas of its 70 districts. Efforts have also been underway to strengthen a school health and sanitation programme. It was hence felt both by UNICEF and ERU that it would be possible to tease out sufficient evidence to understand the correlation between WATSAN and the education indicators in this state.

It was agreed that the India team would focus on two districts (out of the 70) in the state, and that the sample selection would be purposive and designed to capture the impact of good and not so good water and sanitation programmes. Additionally the focus of the team would also be on social exclusion in schools.

Lalitpur is a focus district of the UNICEF India Country Office (UNICEF ICO), where efforts are ongoing to ensure convergence of different sectors that impact on the overall health and wellbeing of children. Therefore, UNICEF ICO recommended that Lalitpur be selected as one of the sample districts. This was agreed to in Kathmandu. The second district, Mirzapur (in the eastern part of UP), was chosen after extensive consultations/discussions with UNICEF ICO as well as UNICEF Lucknow<sup>2</sup> WES and the education teams.

Draft research tools were developed by ERU in early January 2009, and finalized after consultations with the lead researcher (refer to Annex 3). The tools were translated into Hindi, as

this is the spoken language in the region selected for the study. Field-testing of the tools in the Rajgarh block of Mirzapur district was completed in early February 2009.

Data collection from 24 schools at 12 sites in the two districts was completed during February 2009. A review workshop with all senior researchers and field investigators was held in Lucknow on 14 March 2009 after data entry/analysis had been completed.

## 1.5 Report Outline

This report conforms to the agreed outline developed by the lead researcher. Chapter 1, Introduction, is followed by the Context in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 delineates the Methodology, while Chapter 4 tables the Findings and their Analysis. Chapter 5 contains the Conclusions and Recommendations. Finally, Chapter 6 provides the Conclusions and Recommendations from the Regional Perspective document, which summarizes the findings for all the country studies and goes beyond to raise issues that need to be addressed by those operating at the level of national policy, by those involved in implementation, and at school level. Thus the conclusions and recommendations for India given in Chapter 5 can be seen here in a wider regional context.

There are five annexes. Annex 1 describes the research methodology for the overall four-country study; Annex 2 provides detailed research data for the India study; and Annex 3 lists the research tools used. Annex 4 provides some case studies to supplement those in the main text. Finally, Annex 5 provides excerpts from SSHE guidelines.

In this study, a conscious effort has been made to identify both subtle and blatant forms of discrimination and exclusion, as this will be critical in understanding why and how water and sanitation programmes in schools should be positioned and what kind of social preparation is essential to ensure that the intervention does not accentuate existing inequalities and instead provides an opportunity to promote the spirit of equality and justice. The gap between availability and usage, and also whether existing social exclusion patterns restrict the use of facilities by all the children, is also explored.

<sup>1</sup> SC and ST communities are considered to be among the most disadvantaged social groups in India.

<sup>2</sup> Lucknow is the capital of UP.

# 2

## Context

India is among the most populous countries in the world and has a heterogeneous population that was estimated to be well over 1.13 billion in 2005. It has a quasi-federal structure where governance is considerably decentralized. The country has 29 states, 6 union territories, 612 districts, some 7,928 development blocks,<sup>3</sup> and almost 240,000 local self-government institutions that are all directly or indirectly involved in decision making. The rich cultural and linguistic diversity of India is both its greatest strength as well as a challenge. The complex relationship between regions, communities, religions and ethnic groups frames the social, political and cultural life of the people.

The UNDP human development index ranked India 128 in 2007/08 and in the education index, India ranked a low 143 out of 177 (UNDP, 2008). While the country has made substantial progress over the last decade in enrolling children at the primary school level, the combined gross enrolment ratios, as well as adult literacy rates, are still low. In recent years, physical access to primary schools has improved considerably with 152,304 new primary schools and 110,830 new upper primary schools having been opened since 1990 (GoI, 2006). The decade of the 1990s saw a sharp increase in the rate of improvement in girls' education and women's literacy. The 2001 Census revealed that 75 per cent of men and 54 per cent of women were literate and a 20

percentage point increase was recorded in women's literacy from 1991 to 2001. Notwithstanding the overall progress recorded, the Census also noted that in rural India, only 46 per cent of the women were literate; while amongst Muslims, this figure was as low as 43 per cent among women.

### 2.1 Country Overview of Water and Sanitation

The nodal agency for Water and Sanitation (WATSAN) is the Department of Drinking Water Supply in the Government of India's Ministry of Rural Development. This department oversees the implementation of the Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC) programme and the Accelerated Rural Water Supply Programme through the Rajiv Gandhi National Drinking Water Mission.<sup>4</sup> The objectives of these programmes include, *inter alia*, bringing about an improvement in the general quality of life in rural areas via accelerated sanitation coverage and provision of access to toilets for all by 2012, as well as ensuring safe drinking water availability in all rural habitations with a population of 100 and above. All rural schools are to be provided with separate urinals and toilets for boys and girls. Additionally, TSC promotes hygiene education and good sanitary habits among students.

<sup>3</sup> A development block is a sub-district level administrative unit for developmental work.

<sup>4</sup> The Panchayati Raj Department is the nodal agency identified to implement TSC in UP. This depends on the convergence of several government schemes to implement its programmes. Funds are accessed not only from TSC, but also from State Finance Commission grants and the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS). Additionally, enlightened villages participate in a 'competition' for the prestigious Nirmal Gram Puraskar (NGP) for attaining 'open-defecation-free status'. The prize money, a one-time cash incentive, can be utilized by the gram sabha for furthering TSC objectives within their community. Of late, on an experimental basis, 13 (out of 8,680) gram panchayats of Varanasi region have also started contributing for cleaning village roads/streets, etc., through a sanitation tax. 'Although there are still many who are not paying the tax in Shivdaspur, most of the villagers see it as a positive change towards better self-governance and are confident that social pressure will help to ensure 100 per cent participation of all the villagers in the near future' (Government of UP and UNICEF, 2008).

While India has made substantial progress since 1990 as far as the provision of improved water is concerned, continuing poor sanitation/hygiene conditions result in its being ranked alongside Sudan and Comoros (UNDP, 2008). It is estimated that inadequate sanitation, poor hygiene practices and unsafe water disposal have led to arsenic and fluoride poisoning and contamination of drinking water sources, making them unfit for drinking. Water-borne diseases like meningitis, skin infections such as scabies, eye infections, gastrointestinal infections (diarrhoea and dysentery) and malaria (also related to the presence of stagnant water) contribute to 40 per cent of deaths in children under five. India's rural Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) was 62 deaths per 1,000 live births (2006) (GoI, 2007). Poor sanitation and hygiene practices are also responsible for the spread of polio and tuberculosis.

Among the practices that contribute to this situation is the prevalence of open defecation. This not only pollutes the environment but also contaminates hand pumps and shallow wells, which are among the most popular sources of drinking water in rural India. Over the years, several programmes have been implemented by the government to promote the use of toilets and also to secure the area around drinking water sources. For example, UP has received WATSAN hardware and software in the villages and in schools. As a result, the hardware situation in UP is seemingly better than the all-India average. In 2007, 97.72 per cent of the schools in the state had secure drinking water sources (this figure was 84.89 per cent for India as a whole). Similarly, 87.94 per cent of the schools in UP had common toilets, and 78.20 per cent had girls' toilets – the respective percentages for India as a whole were only 58.13 and 42.58 respectively (see Table C in Annex 2).

TSC was launched in UP in 2002. It is noteworthy that while in 2001 only 19.3 per cent of the households had been covered, this number had gone up to 28 per cent by October 2005. Yet, according to the Government of India, 5.9 million households below the poverty line (BPL), and 11.2 million families above the poverty line (APL), still do not have access to toilets. The School Sanitation and Hygiene Education (SSHE)

programme has endeavoured to promote good hygiene and sanitation practices in schools, and this is evident from the dramatic improvement in hardware facilities in UP as compared with the rest of India.

It is now widely acknowledged that the existence of toilets and the physical presence of hardware does not necessarily change practices on the ground. The availability of water, maintenance, cleaning and safety issues together determine whether the toilets are actually used. According to a recent UNICEF and Government of UP report, only 50 per cent of those who have toilet facilities actually use them (UNICEF and Government of UP, 2008).

For thousands of years, certain castes/social groups who were engaged in tasks such as handling human excreta, disposal of dead animals, extracting hide/leather from dead animals and related occupations were relegated to the bottom of the social hierarchy. Mahatma Gandhi, the iconic leader of modern India, identified this practice as the most oppressive barrier to social equality. In 1951, all forms of untouchability were abolished, and its practice was made a cognizable offence. The practice of handling human excreta by hand or carrying night soil on the head was made illegal, and during the mid-1980s a nation-wide movement was launched against manual scavenging (Macwan, 2001). Notwithstanding these important initiatives, issues surrounding disposal of human excreta and cleaning and maintenance of toilets remain contentious. The silver lining that is visible in UP today is that communities that have been discriminated against are now fighting back, and the Dalit movement is gaining strength.<sup>5</sup> Across UP, local leaders, especially the young, are urging people to stop defecating in the open, and adopting hygienic sanitation practices, not only for health reasons but also to assert the dignity and self-respect of individuals and communities. This changing context in UP certainly provides a beacon of hope in the state's progress towards an equitable society.

Equally, the mere availability of a hand pump in a village does not automatically imply that it will be in working condition, or that its water is 'safe' (i.e.

<sup>5</sup> The present Chief Minister of UP is a Dalit.

free of contamination), or that all families in its command area have equal access to it. Often, the pumps are located in the heart of the village, which could be out of bounds for some caste groups living on the periphery.<sup>6</sup> Another important practice is that animal excreta (cow dung, etc.) as well as village garbage are also disposed of on the periphery of the village. Therefore, even if habitations that are on the periphery have a dedicated hand pump, the chances are that its water will be more contaminated than the water in the hand pumps in more centrally located habitations. The complex dynamics of location and waste disposal practices add another dimension to access to safe drinking water.

## 2.2 Education Overview

India has made significant progress in the area of primary education. The number of primary schools in the country increased almost four-fold, from 209,671 (1950/51) to 767,520 (2004/05) and enrolment in the primary cycle went up six times, from 19.2 million in 1950 to 130.8 million in 2005. At the upper primary stage, the increase in enrolment is by a factor of 13 for all children; and 32 for girl children! The gross enrolment ratio at the primary stages often exceeds 100 per cent (this phenomenon is fairly common in India because children below and above the 6–14 years age group enrol in primary classes), though the net enrolment ratio is about 20 per cent lower (Gol, 2007).

At one level, the problem of access seems to have been significantly addressed with over 90 per cent of children in the 6–11 years age group reportedly enrolled in primary schools (formal, EGS/alternative schools and private schools). Nevertheless, close to 40 per cent of children entering the primary level drop out, and the number of children enrolled in upper primary drops sharply, coming down very drastically at the secondary level. At any given point of time – depending on the state and the location – as many as 50 per cent of the enrolled children do not attend school, are either regularly absent, or do not attend school

for long periods. For example, the ASER 2005 report says that 51 per cent of enrolled children were not in school on the day of the survey, prompting educationists to question the relevance of enrolment data. This data is particularly troubling because an overwhelming proportion of children from disadvantaged groups, especially those who are at risk of dropping out, attend only government schools. And the ‘disadvantaged’ comprise children from social groups and communities that have historically been discriminated against – SC (erstwhile untouchable) and ST (indigenous) communities, or minority religious groups. The situation of Muslim minorities has been identified as being particularly difficult and in 2005 the Government of India appointed a special task force (Gol, 2006) to explore and report on the situation on the ground. A disproportionately larger number of children from such socially excluded groups drop out earlier, and in many regions do not participate as equals in the education process.

In the last ten years a considerable body of research has documented the situation of children who are excluded or discriminated against:<sup>7</sup>

- a. Children from very poor households, especially if they are SC, ST or Muslim minorities
- b. Children in migrant families
- c. Children engaged in paid and unpaid work (an overwhelming proportion being SC or ST)
- d. Older girls who take on household responsibilities
- e. Children in difficult circumstances, like children of sex workers, migrant labour, and children from families/communities that are engaged in occupations that are considered unclean
- f. Children with special needs – physical disability, mental disability
- g. Children from families suffering from a range of communicable diseases, especially those affected by HIV and AIDS.

This picture is illustrated in the enrolment and drop-out rates among SC and ST communities. In 2002/03, there were 21.67 million SC children (44.9 per cent of whom were girls) and 11.83 million ST children (45.7 per cent girls) in primary schools.

<sup>6</sup> Typically, rural settlements in many parts of India are segregated by caste, community or religion. SC (Dalit), tribal and other social groups that are among the most disadvantaged economically are also the ones who often reside on the periphery of the village.

<sup>7</sup> For a detailed bibliography see Ramachandran (2004) and Sharma and Ramachandran (2008).

In upper primary schools there were only 7.49 million SC children (40.9 per cent girls) and 3.25 million ST children (40.6 per cent girls).

While SC and ST girls' enrolment at the primary and upper primary stages has increased quite sharply over the years, it remains less than that of boys, particularly for the ST community. However, if one were to look at Gross Enrolment Ratios (GER), which reveal a lot more than absolute numbers, the ratios of SC and ST children to their total population remains far lower than the national average. Only 48.6 per cent of SC girls and 40.6 per cent of ST girls are enrolled at the elementary level as compared with the national average of 56.22 per cent for all girls. Another significant point to note is that there is a drastic fall in GER rates from primary to upper primary – even in 2004/05 only 61.5 per cent of SC girls and 59.9 per cent of ST girls reached the upper primary level. Equally significant is the fact that the gender gap within both SC and ST students is high in both primary and upper primary levels.

An analysis of the trends between the 1991 Census and the 2001 Census shows a declining engagement with education within the Muslim community, thereby making the Muslim girl child amongst the most vulnerable group for future education policy planners. Barely 10 per cent Muslim girls pass their 12<sup>th</sup> standard, and a mere 3 per cent become graduates. This analysis reveals that 'while the Muslims in 1999/2000 were only a shade more illiterate than Hindus in rural areas (48% versus 44% of the Hindus), in urban areas the gap is much wider – 30% versus only 19% among the Hindus. What is startling is the increase in illiteracy among the women in younger cohorts. While literacy levels were more even amongst Muslim and Hindu women in the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and even the 1980s, the differences have widened substantially among the younger age women around the year 2001. This evidence is further supported by the fact that the enrolment rates of Muslim girls have steeply fallen relative to the all India average, especially during and after the decades of the 1990s' (Shariff and Razzack, 2006).

Children drop out of school for many reasons. Poor quality, relevance of the education being

imparted, and schools being dysfunctional are issues which have been documented extensively. In the last 10 to 15 years, researchers and practitioners have explored different forms of discrimination and exclusion which effectively pushes children out of school. Severe social barriers to meaningful participation of children from some communities continue to exist. For example, children from communities engaged in manual scavenging, disposal of dead animals and other occupations perceived as being 'unclean' are shunned by their classmates. Teachers are also not very sympathetic to the predicament of such children. Recent qualitative micro-studies conducted in six states (Ramachandran, 2004) and an exhaustive study of education of the most deprived social groups have captured a range of discriminatory practices in schools (Jha and Jhingran, 2005). The combination of gender, social and location disadvantages makes some groups of children extremely vulnerable.

With regard to children with special needs (physically and mentally challenged), data remains scanty. While the government has introduced 'inclusive education' as a mandatory practice under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), a lot more needs to be done in this area.

UP, in many ways, mirrors many of the issues and concerns that dominate the discourse on education in India. A recent independent sample survey (ASER, 2008) reports that close to 94 per cent of the children of 6–14 years said that they were already enrolled in school; but this percentage dropped drastically to 77 per cent for children in the 15–16 years age group. Equally, the gender gap goes up from 5 per cent for 6–14 year olds to 7 per cent for 15–16 year olds. While enrolment rates have steadily increased in UP, the hard reality is that there is a sharp drop in school participation beyond the elementary level. As we move from primary to secondary education, disparities among different social groups also increase. A part of the reason for this could be attributed to the fact that on an average, there is only one upper primary school for every three primary schools (ratio of primary to upper primary in 2005/06 was 2.93), and just one higher secondary school for every 25 primary schools. Effectively, the educational pyramid is so structured that all children who enter Class 1

cannot hope to complete 12 years of schooling – there are just not enough schools at the high and higher secondary levels to accommodate all children (see Table 1).

Therefore, children either drop out or are pushed out at different levels of the education system. Poverty, social practices (early marriages, post-puberty veiling and seclusion) and social norms determine who stays and who drops out. In addition, some practices in government-run schools could also ‘push’ children out: corporal punishment, poor quality instruction, teacher absenteeism, lack of supervision and monitoring, and subtle or blatant discrimination have been identified as some possible reasons.

At the high school and higher secondary levels, lack of toilet facilities is also believed to be among the reasons for poor attendance, especially of girls. While this issue has not yet been researched sufficiently, it is believed that the presence or absence of toilets and safe drinking water do contribute towards creating a positive environment for learning. It is noteworthy that in UP, school sanitation has received a lot of attention over the last seven years. However, this has been mainly at the primary and middle school levels. High schools and higher secondary schools have not yet been brought under the ambit of SSHE, with the exception of those that function in integrated campuses.

## 2.3 Inclusion and Exclusion in Schools

Schools are important institutions for both education and socialization. They mirror the dynamics that play out in society, and they also have the power to bring about attitudinal and behavioural changes in their students. Therefore

the culture in school is important because positive practices can bring about change among the students and in turn in the families of the students. Hence, it is important to address them directly. Discrimination and exclusion in school can be obvious and overt, like not allowing access to drinking water, water being poured onto the hands of certain children only from a distance (i.e. not allowing them to touch the water storage containers), allocation of cleaning duties (sweeping classrooms, cleaning toilets) only to children from specific communities, restrictive use of toilet facilities, etc.

P. Sainath, a well-known Indian journalist, has documented the situation of Dalits across the country. He observes that in a vast majority of Indian villages, one will find the Dalit hamlet on the southern border or the southern outskirts of the village – a bit away from the main village. Typically, this hamlet does not have amenities such as a well, a water tank, proper roads, electricity, etc. that the rest of the village has; in many cases, the hamlet would be adjacent to the area where the village garbage is dumped or where cow dung is collected. He also observes that, at least till 2000 when he wrote a series of articles in leading national newspapers, Dalit students were routinely humiliated and harassed in schools, and this led to many drop-outs. They were seated separately in the classroom and for midday meals (MDM) in countless schools across the country. Media reports continue to highlight cases of caste-based exclusion in schools (see Box 1).

Drinking water is an area of strong taboos and there is adequate qualitative and anecdotal evidence on discrimination in the use of water sources in schools. Dalit children in some areas may not be allowed to use the same water pots as children from the dominant caste. When there is limited water supply in the school, the teachers

**Table 1 A pyramid of education**

2004	India	Uttar Pradesh
Primary schools	767,520	129,976
Upper primary (middle) schools	274,731	36,874
High schools	101,777	5,205
Higher secondary schools & junior colleges	50,272	7,561
Higher education institutions	16,009	1,935

Source: Gol (2007), *Select Education Statistics*

get priority; they may extend this privilege to dominant caste children, but not to Dalit children. It is also seen that in the list of errands done by the children in schools, fetching water for teachers is routinely not entrusted to Dalit children. In many of the villages, when the water sources are common, Dalit children have to wait for their water pots to be filled (UNICEF, 2007:14).

In the last five years, the midday meal has emerged as another area of exclusion. Apart from numerous newspaper reports, recent research points out that, 'In measuring Dalit participatory empowerment in and ownership of the Midday Meal Scheme, the IIDS survey data unearths interesting patterns both in terms of national trends and interstate variations. In hiring practices, Rajasthan is consistently the least likely to employ Dalits, with 8% of respondent villages having a Dalit cook, and not a single respondent village having a Dalit Midday Meal Scheme organizer. Tamil Nadu hires proportionally more Dalits, while still keeping them firmly in the minority, with 31% of respondent villages having Dalit cooks, and 27% having Dalit organizers' ... 'One argument against hiring Dalit cooks is that where the society is not prepared to accept a shared meal cooked by a Dalit, it will "create tension", schools will be paralysed and (dominant caste) children's attendance will drop, thus defeating the purpose of the midday meal. In terms of treatment of Dalits in the MDM scheme, research has found several instances of segregated seating, or segregated meals altogether, and even of being served food inferior to or in lesser amounts than their dominant caste classmates' (Lee and Thorat, 2004).

Teachers and school principals have been commonly found to discriminate against Dalit children. Recently, an incident in a school snowballed into a human rights issue. On 18 December 2008, six Class 8 Dalit girl students in the private Jyoti Shiksha Niketan in Tejapur village in Mau district of UP accused their upper caste school principal of refusing to taste the food that they had cooked for their home science practical examinations. It was learnt that the principal refused to eat the food cooked by the Dalit students

### Box 1 Caste-based exclusion in schools

We have an appalling body of evidence that suggests that the teacher's preconceptions, bias and behaviour, subtle or overt, conscious or unconscious, operate to discriminate against children of SC/ST backgrounds. Low expectations, condescending and downright abusive, unstated assumptions of 'deprived or deficient' cultural backgrounds, languages and inherent intellectual deficiencies of SC/ST children and other discriminatory classifications are common and routine. Discrimination including being made to perform menial jobs like sweeping, and being forced to form their own circles, results in the feeling of isolation, alienation and discrimination experienced by SC/ST children.

Source: UNICEF (2007)

when they offered it to him. Nearly 40 students were asked to bring cooked food from their homes. The teachers were to taste the food for giving them marks in the subject ([theindian.com](http://theindian.com), 18 December 2008).<sup>8</sup>

It is important to acknowledge that exclusion could also be subtle and not discernible in routine classroom observations or during school-level interactions. For example, the teacher may not touch or encourage any physical contact with children from specific communities and other children may move away and sit at a distance from these children. In case a child from an excluded group touches the water pot or tap, the other children may either not touch or use it, or may wash it before using it; the teacher may allocate duties (like cleaning the room, washing the toilet, bringing water, etc.) differentially. For instance, a Dalit child may be asked to clean the room while a forward caste<sup>9</sup> child may be asked to fetch water.

Such practices affect the self-image and self-esteem of excluded children leading to withdrawal from classroom processes, from active engagement with learning, and gradually dropping out.

<sup>8</sup> The principal has been charged with practising discrimination and the police and education authorities are jointly investigating the case.

<sup>9</sup> Forward castes include Brahmins, Thakurs and Vaishns, as well as some minority religious groups such as Jains.

# 3

## Methodology

### 3.1 Details of the Research Sites

This study was conceived as an in-depth qualitative research in UP, India, covering the two districts of Lalitpur and Mirzapur. It was agreed that the total number of villages or sites that the research team would cover would be six per district, with each 'site' being so selected so as to provide an opportunity to study not only a primary school, but also an upper primary or secondary or intermediate 'college' in order to enable the team to interact with adolescent boys and girls who are in school. It was also envisaged that the team would meet community members and elicit their responses from each site so that this would result in a complete summary of each site.

### 3.2 The Selection Process and Selection Criteria

#### 3.2.1 Selection of districts

The two districts Lalitpur and Mirzapur were selected in consultation with UNICEF ICO (Delhi), UNICEF Lucknow and UNICEF ROSA.

In 1999/2000, UNICEF's Child Environment Project (CEP) was initiated in 12 selected UNICEF-DFID assisted districts in six Indian states, one of which was **Lalitpur** in UP (supported by UNICEF). CEP aimed to 'increase the number of households adopting improved home hygiene practices; encourage safe water handling; improve

hygiene practices in schools; and ensure equitable access to safe water supply and sanitation in rural areas'. Under this programme, the Government of India devised the Gram Panchayat Environment Plan (GPEP)<sup>10</sup> 'to converge several Government stakeholders, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and community-based institutions to create a bridge between the community and the Government' (KCCI Case Study, 2005<sup>11</sup>; UNICEF, 2005). Lalitpur was chosen as a CEP/GPEP pilot project site as it was one of the three districts with the worst human development indicators in UP.

The second district was chosen after extensive consultations/discussions with UNICEF WES and education teams. ERU was advised that in **Mirzapur** district (located in the eastern part of UP) it would be possible to gather sufficient evidence within schools on issues related to water and sanitation. It was also felt that since good practices could be found in the district these could have had a positive impact on social practices in the community and in the schools. Apparently the district has a good record in school and village sanitation even though it is among the most backward districts in (eastern) UP.

#### 3.2.2 The sample districts

Lalitpur, a part of Jhansi division, is among the 52 most deprived districts in India and has been identified as a 'chronic poverty district' by the government (Mehta *et al.*, 2004). It is located in the Bundelkhand region of the state where poverty rates are high with the area essentially depending

<sup>10</sup> CEP/GPEP activities were divided into nine plans to focus the project on a target population, especially women/mothers and school children who are directly influenced by hygiene and sanitation practices. Activities emphasized key water and sanitation behaviour and sources, and strived for community mobilization (Fukuda *et al.*, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> KCCI: Knowledge Community on Children in India – a UNICEF initiative that can be accessed at [www.kcci.org.in](http://www.kcci.org.in). It has a compendium of case studies.

on rain for agriculture. It has only 24 per cent of cultivable land being irrigated by ground water or surface water sources (CSE website).<sup>12</sup>

The district is also home to approximately 8,000 persons of a primitive tribe known as Sahariya, who are considered among the most marginalized social groups in the country. The UP Government recently recognized this group as an indigenous tribe. Another important feature of this district is that there is very little presence of civil society groups working on issues related to gender, social equity, poverty and rural livelihood. According to government data, the district has almost universal availability of drinking water and toilet facilities in primary schools. Unfortunately, detailed school level data on infrastructure and facilities is not readily available for high schools and higher secondary schools (also known as junior colleges). The transition rate from primary to upper primary is 78.3 per cent, i.e. 21.7 per cent of the students drop out after primary, with more girls dropping out than boys (Mehta, 2007).

Mirzapur district, a part of Varanasi division, has been the focus of rural sanitation inputs through the Panchayati Raj department, under the state's Total Sanitation Campaign. UNICEF has also supported the TSC programme here since 2006.

This district has received a great deal of attention from the mid-1980s, and a large number of civil society organizations and social activists have campaigned against child labour in the carpet industry. The International Labour Organization (ILO) has been supporting child labour rehabilitation and education programmes in the district for over 23 years.<sup>13</sup> Being close to Varanasi, a centre for culture and education in the state, the relatively better-off forward caste households have either migrated to the city, or have another house in the city. As a result of this out-migration, the villages are now relatively homogeneous – the residents are primarily Dalits, Muslims and other backward classes (OBC). The carpet industry is the main source of non-farm employment and with gradual eradication of child labour the wages of adults have gone up and educational participation has also improved over the years. The educational scenario in Mirzapur is quite similar to Lalitpur. The transition rate from primary to upper primary is only 74.1 per cent, with more girls dropping out than boys.

According to government data, school infrastructure facilities look fairly good in both districts, with a high proportion of schools having toilet facilities for boys and girls, as also access to safe drinking water (see Table 2). Data on these

**Table 2 Enrolment and facilities in schools in Lalitpur and Mirzapur districts**

DISE, 2006/07	Lalitpur		Mirzapur	
	Primary	Upper primary	Primary	Upper primary
	Class 1-5	Class 6-8	Class 1-5	Class 6-8
Number of government schools	881	304	1,362	340
Number of private schools	180	47	331	147
Enrolment (government schools)	195,268	56,936	355,615	115,237
% Girls	47.9	40.3	48.8	46.8
Transition rate from primary to upper primary	78.3%		74.1%	
% Schools with pre-primary	28.9	1.7	43.8	3.6
% Schools with common toilets	93.9	90.6	99.4	98
% Schools with girls' toilets	89	82	93.1	88.9
% Schools with drinking water facilities	97.5	94.5	100	100
% Schools with no female teacher	24	28.7	10.8	56.6

Source: Mehta (2007). *Elementary Education in India - Where do we stand? District Report Cards (DISE data 2006/07) Vols. I and II*. New Delhi

<sup>12</sup> [www.cseindia.org/programme/nrml/districtforest.asp?dist=LALITPUR](http://www.cseindia.org/programme/nrml/districtforest.asp?dist=LALITPUR)

<sup>13</sup> ERU had documented educational programmes for out-of-school children and erstwhile child workers in 1999/2000. The case studies were published in 2003 (see Ramachandran, 2003).

aspects is collected every year at the end of September through the District Information System for Education (DISE). It is important to note that this data is submitted by the headteacher of the school and is finally compiled and published in New Delhi. If we take the DISE data over the last 10 years, a gradual improvement in infrastructure facilities is discernible. However, it must be said that the data does not tell us whether the toilets are functional or if the hand pumps are working.

An important difference that is evident through secondary data is the proportion of women teachers – close to 24 and 29 per cent of the schools (primary and upper primary respectively) do not have women teachers in Lalitpur and the proportion of girls at the upper primary level is 6 percentage points less than in Mirzapur. Similarly, in Mirzapur 56.6 per cent of upper primary schools do not have a woman teacher. It is now fairly well established that the presence of women teachers makes a big difference to girls' enrolment at the upper primary and higher levels where post-pubescent girls may feel more secure if there is a woman teacher in the school (Ramachandran, 1998, 2002).

One of the reasons for selecting district Mirzapur for this study was the presence of a district level full-fledged school sanitation programme in tandem with the village sanitation programme, run by the Panchayati Raj department (under TSC), with some financial support from UNICEF. There is a full-time district consultant and a coordinator for TSC, along with motivators<sup>14</sup> for each block. The village pradhan<sup>15</sup> links up with the schools to facilitate construction of toilets and to arrange

potable water supply. They plan and implement village level sanitation programmes, as well as work towards increasing community awareness and hygiene education. On the other hand, Lalitpur, also a UNICEF focus district, is still to implement the convergent programme involving health, education, sanitation and overall child development.

### 3.2.3 Selection of sites

The following criteria were developed to select the sample villages.

**1. Location:** Distance from block headquarters which could range from 10 to 40 kilometres in order to be able to study the effects of connectivity or isolation. Selected primary and upper primary schools were to be located either on the same campus or be independent, but at least be reasonably close to each other (in the same gram panchayat) so that the variations in types of schools could be captured (see Table 3).

**2. Community composition:** Selected schools would have children from mixed social groups – the forward communities and disadvantaged social groups like OBC, SC, Muslims and ST. This was considered essential to capture prevalence of social exclusion, especially with respect to groups that were traditionally considered untouchable, polluting or unclean. The team would also explore the existence of other forms of exclusion linked to diseases (HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis), disability and parental occupations. Non-segregated schools (i.e. those schools which have both boys and girls from different social groups) would be selected in

**Table 3 Sample sites (villages) and schools in Lalitpur and Mirzapur districts**

Site No.	Jakhora Block, Lalitpur	Rajgarh Block, Mirzapur
1	LS1 (Normal village): PS + UPS	MS1 (Nirmal Gram): PS + UPS
2	LS3 (Ambedkar Village): PS + UPS (Govt aided)	MS2 (Nirmal Gram): PS + UPS
3	LS6 (Normal village): PS + UPS (WA)	MS3 (Nirmal Gram): PS + UPS
4	LS4 (Nirmal Gram): PS + UPS (WA)	MS4 <sup>16</sup> (Ambedkar Village): PS + Janta Inter College - Government aided
5	LS5 (Normal village): PS (WA) + UPS + Vidya Mandir Private School	MS6 (Nirmal Gram): PS + UPS
6	LS2 (Ambedkar Village): PS (WA) + LS2 Government Inter College	MS5 (Nirmal Gram) PS + MS5 Inter College - Private

Note: PS: Primary School; UPS: Upper Primary School; WA: Schools which received WaterAid intervention for sanitation

<sup>14</sup> Block motivators promote construction of toilets in the villages in their block, and work on an incentive plan of the state government.

<sup>15</sup> A pradhan is the elected village headman.

<sup>16</sup> MS4 is on the border of Rajgarh and Narayanpur blocks.

order to be able to assess gender parity or differences between gender related practices vis-à-vis water and sanitation in schools.

**3. Facilities/infrastructure:** Schools which were reported to have good water and sanitation facilities and where some focused work had been done to integrate water and sanitation and related education would be preferred. This was essential to explore inclusion/exclusion related to water and sanitation. Since, according to secondary data sources, a majority of the schools in both the districts had reported the existence of toilets for all and dedicated drinking water sources within the school, information available with UNICEF in UP was relied upon to make a purposive sample of the villages.<sup>17</sup>

**4. Village development classification:** Selected schools would be from a mix of Nirmal Grams<sup>18</sup> and Ambedkar Villages<sup>19</sup> (as these are likely to throw up evidence of good practices) and regular villages (where sites are likely to provide evidence of exclusion).

**5. Villages with different types of schools:** In order to capture the range of schools (primary, upper primary, and high school, girls only and co-educational), a special effort would be made to identify such villages as would enable selection of different kinds of schools. Secondary schools were included in the sample in order to understand exclusion related issues of adolescent girls and boys.

One block each was selected in the two districts – Jakhora block in Lalitpur, and Rajgarh block in Mirzapur. Six sites (villages) were thereafter identified in each of these. Village selection was based on available data, and this selection was further fine-tuned with the help of UNICEF project personnel who had in-depth knowledge of the area. This short list was discussed with local government (WATSAN) officials and project personnel from UP State WaterAid.<sup>20</sup> A reconnaissance visit was made to the two blocks, and the villages and schools which would be included in the sample were subsequently firmed up (see Table 4 for information about villages).

**Table 4 Basic information about the village sites of the study**

Village	Mirzapur					
	MS1	MS2	MS3	MS4	MS5	MS6
Households	134	546	431	721	306	111
Total population	815	3,621	2,836	4,532	2,243	771
Males	424	1,859	1,498	2,361	1,180	394
Females	391	1,762	1,338	2,171	1,063	377
Population 0-6	146	743	519	824	479	180
Male	73	378	259	418	258	97
Female	73	365	260	406	221	83
SC population/%	204/25	454/12.5	575/20.27	307/7	589/26.25	340/44
SC Male	103	245	312	182	319	166
SC Female	101	209	263	175	270	174
Sex ratio	922	947	842	919	900	957
Male literacy	72.93	84.67	78.93	77.35	69.63	63.97
Female literacy	43.8	55.62	52.22	46.68	41.68	30.61
Gender gap	29.85	29.05	26.7	30.6	28.64	33.3

<sup>17</sup> MS4 is on the border of Rajgarh and Narayanpur blocks.

Inputs were taken on the school sanitation programme from government officials/local UNICEF and WaterAid personnel.

<sup>18</sup> A Nirmal Gram is a village which has achieved total sanitation in its command area. It is an 'open-defecation-free' village where all houses, schools, and ICDS centres (Anganwadis) are supposed to have sanitary toilets.

<sup>19</sup> The Ambedkar Village programme is serviced by 13 different development programmes including rural infrastructure development, social securities, better health services and family welfare, hygienic living conditions, employment generation, scholarships and land reforms.

<sup>20</sup> WaterAid has carried out sanitation related interventions in 20 schools of Jakhora block, of which the team finally selected 3 PS and 3 UPS schools.

Lalitpur						
Village	LS1	LS2	LS3	LS4	LS5	LS6
Households	187	1,452	731	250	137	229
Total population	1,072	7,509	4,777	1,602	884	1,555
Males	562	3,979	2,598	849	452	810
Females	510	3,530	2,179	753	392	745
Population 0-6	224	1,521	900	302	183	338
Male	125	771	480	172	100	176
Female	99	750	420	130	83	162
SC population/%	348/32.46	1481/23.8	1782/37.30	201/12.54	405/48	173/11.12
SC Male	180	772	1002	114	213	90
SC Female	168	709	780	87	192	83
Sex ratio	907	820	838	886	867	920
Male literacy	47.59	55.67	72	76	65.62	67.66
Female literacy	17.51	22.81	38.88	35.47	40.77	23.32
Gender gap	30.08	32.86	34.12	40.53	24.85	24.24

Source: Census of India, Government 2001

### 3.3 Research Tools used for the Study

Draft tools (in English) were worked out, modified, and brought in line with the comments and observations of the lead researcher. They were then translated into the local language, Hindi.<sup>21</sup>

The tools were field tested and modified based on inputs received from the field team and the lead researcher while she was on a field visit to Mirzapur. Table 5 gives an overview of the various tools used for the research (see Annex 3 for the full list of research tools).

### 3.4 The Fieldwork

The field teams initially established contact with UNICEF officials in UP to obtain lists of sites that met the criteria for selection. Formal permissions were then sought from local SSA officials in the state headquarters and the district. Special permission had to be sought from the UP

Secondary Education Board in Lucknow to conduct the research in secondary schools.

In order to facilitate permission to do the research in the schools, the team leader liaised with the Basic Shiksha Adhikari (BSA) or the Block Education Officer, the Block Resource Coordinator (BRC), the District Inspector of Schools (DIOS), the District Panchayati Raj Officer (DPRO), and the Nyaya Panchayat Resource Coordinator (NPRC) of the two districts. A workshop was conducted in Lucknow with the research team (field investigators) in order to explain the purpose and objectives of the study, the criteria for site selection and research tools. The tools were tested in one primary school and one upper primary school and focus group discussions (FGDs) were held with the community at one site. Fieldwork commenced at the end of January 2009, and was completed during February 2009. Data was collated by the research team in early March 2009. The research team participated in a day-long workshop in Lucknow on 14 March 2009 in order to understand the texture of the qualitative data and to draw out the findings from the study.

<sup>21</sup> ERU acknowledges the assistance received from Centre for Education Research and Practice, Jaipur, for the translation of schedules from English to Hindi.

Table 5 Overview of research tools

Tool No	Tool description	What it seeks to do	Key informants
1	A. Elementary Level B. High School C. Basic information about the village	Checklist of physical facilities in village and schools, basic information on enrolment/drop-out of students. From school records	School level observation and village observation
2	Semi-structured in-depth interviews	Explore interlinkages between water, sanitation and education, exclusion/inclusion in village/school	Headteacher, one teacher in the school who handles WATSAN programme (if any), and one woman teacher
3	Focus Group Discussions: 3A: Adolescent girls (in school) 3B: Adolescent girls (out of school) 3C: Adolescent boys (in school) 3D: Adolescent boys (out of school) 3E: Village level committee members – School Management Committee (SMC)/Village Education Community (VEC), WATSAN, etc. 3F: Community leader (preferably from the most disadvantaged social group in the village)	Explore interlinkages between water, sanitation and education, exclusion/inclusion in village/school	One group of parents, adolescent girls – in school and out of school, adolescent boys– in school and out of school, SMC/VEC, most disadvantaged community in village
4	Structured activities with children: with children of Classes 3 (boys and girls together) and 5,6,7 (boys and girls separately) Structured activities/group discussions with adolescents studying in Class 9 (boys and girls separately)	Explore the water and sanitation situation in school, how it affects them, inclusion/exclusion related issues	In Classes 3, 5 to 7; and in Class 9
5	Semi-structured interviews: 5A: Auxiliary Nurse Midwife (ANM) or Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA) 5B: Local (private or government) healthcare provider 5C: Leader of women's group 5D: Village head/pradhan <sup>22</sup>	Explore interlinkages between water, sanitation and education, exclusion/inclusion in village/school	ANM/ASHA/Local Medical Practitioner (LMP) or health service provider, village head, one women's group leader, one person from the most disadvantaged social group in the village

<sup>22</sup> Schedules 3F and the (erstwhile 5E) were merged after testing in Mirzapur.

# 4

## Findings and Analysis

This chapter begins with a perusal of enrolment and attendance in sample schools on the day of visit (where available), infrastructure facilities (whether they are functioning), and the arrangements for upkeep, maintenance, and cleaning on a regular basis. The narrative then moves to school observations, summarizing what was observed with respect to the use of facilities, the participation of students in maintenance and cleanliness, and exploring inclusion, exclusion and discrimination, where these were observed. This is followed by what students (at primary and upper primary levels, as well as adolescent girls) said about exclusion and inclusion, enrolment and drop-outs, and the impact of water and sanitation facilities on their schooling experience. Thereafter, the perceptions of teachers and their understanding of the linkages between education, water and sanitation, and the perception of parents and community leaders, are elaborated upon.

After presenting the findings, a rigorous analysis is attempted in order to find out about inclusion and exclusion in schools with respect to children from different social and economic backgrounds, academic performance, illness and disability. The gender dimension in all of these is also explored.

Case studies, voices of stakeholders, and unique practices are showcased briefly in this chapter; detailed case studies and narratives are given in Annex 4.

### 4.1 Enrolment and Attendance on the Day of Visit

The enrolment record was taken from the headteacher or principal of each school. It was

found that the data on attendance was not regularly updated in some schools; and even where the data was available (at different places: teacher's diary, attendance register, scraps of paper), calculations of the two-month average may not present an accurate picture. In the senior secondary schools that were visited by the team, daily attendance data was not being maintained. The records in schools were not reliable, as most of the enrolled children were marked present. Discussions with teachers and students revealed that formal attendance records do not reflect the real situation and that these records are maintained to obtain an extra supply of rations for MDM, and to ensure that there is no reduction in the deployed number of teachers and para-teachers.<sup>23</sup> As DISE does not cover schools beyond the elementary stage, accurate data on enrolment is also not available for these, either at the school or at the block level.

In all the 12 sample schools in Mirzapur taken together, 50.66 per cent of the students in primary schools and 50.51 per cent of the enrolled students at the upper primary and high school levels were girls. While the distribution of girls and boys appears fairly even, given that many more boys are enrolled in private fee-paying schools, this perhaps hides the real situation with respect to girls. However, in Lalitpur (12 sample schools together), the percentage of girls enrolled in primary schools was 42.86, while at upper primary and high school levels, it was 42.79. Lalitpur has fewer fee-paying private schools. However, if we see the percentage of girls present on the day of visit (to total students present on that day), the situation is worrisome.

In Mirzapur, only 40 per cent of the students were girls at the primary level, though the situation at

<sup>23</sup> A different cadre of teachers who are recruited locally either by the Panchayat or by the local administration. They are appointed on yearly contracts and are paid far less than regular government school teachers.

the upper primary stage was far better with 53.97 per cent girls. In Lalitpur, only 30.30 per cent of the students at the primary stage present on the day of visit were girls; and again like Mirzapur the attendance was better at the upper primary and higher levels at 50.95 per cent (see Table L in Annex 2).

There was a large gap between enrolment and the students present on the day of visit. At best around 70 per cent of the students were observed attending school on the day of visit (with one exceptional UPS which had 83 per cent of the enrolled children present). In three schools (see Table 6), it was not possible to do a head count of students present as the school was large, the classes were dispersed, and students from different subject streams were located in different classrooms. However, gender and social group (SC, ST, OBC and Muslim) data is collated at the school, block and district levels for primary and upper primary schools.<sup>24</sup>

## 4.2 Facilities (Water and Sanitation) and Their Use

An overview of infrastructure related to water and sanitation in the sample schools is given in Tables

7 and 8. It may be noted that our definition of a 'functioning toilet' is one that is being used regularly by children, is in a usable condition, and its users have access to water (through a hand pump nearby or running water). For example, where we found toilets that were locked, these were recorded as 'not functioning'; or where the toilets were in a bad shape and did not seem to be used regularly, they were also recorded as 'unusable' or 'dysfunctional'.

DISE (2006) data indicates that the schools in the two districts have similar infrastructure facilities. The percentage of schools with common toilets and girls' toilet are not dramatically different in the two districts – both showing over 90 per cent schools with toilets for boys and girls. However, if we look at the sample schools' data which was gathered during the field visit, a noticeable difference can be seen. Only three of the 12 schools surveyed in Lalitpur and seven of the 11 surveyed in Mirzapur had functioning toilets for boys; the corresponding numbers for girls' toilets were four out of 12 in Lalitpur and eight out of 11 in Mirzapur. Similarly, while almost 50 per cent of the toilets were noted as being not clean, very dirty or extremely dirty/unusable in Lalitpur, the situation in Mirzapur was significantly better (see Tables 7 and 8).

**Table 6 Enrolment and attendance on day of visit**

MIRZAPUR	MS1		MS2		MS3		MS4		MS5		MS6	
	PS	UPS	PS	UPS	PS	UPS	PS	GIC	PS	UPS	PS	HSc
Children enrolled	53	60	194	266	122	156	460	1117	167	1,098	141	45
Percentage girls	49	65	52	50	56	49	50	48	50	53	48	53
Present on day of visit	35	42	85	68	31	110	256	*	41	*	41	22
Percentage present	67	70	44	26	25	71	56		25		25	49
LALITPUR	LS1		LS2		LS3		LS4		LS5		LS6	
	PS		PS	UPS	PS	GIC	PS	GIC	PS	UPS	PS	UPS
Children enrolled	226	90	286	292	126	1,620	226	105	108	164	258	143
Percentage girls	46	47	45	48	29	30	48	36	41	51	48	45
Present on day of visit	35	50	122	65	43	*	90	85	25	63	88	63
Percentage present	14	56	43	34	34		34	83	23	38	34	44

\* Data not available as there was no attendance in the inter colleges visited  
 PS: Primary School; UPS: Upper Primary School; GIC: Government Intermediate College  
 Note: School-wise gender disaggregated enrolment data is given in Table L, Annex 2

<sup>24</sup> Enrolment and attendance data disaggregated by social class (OBC/SC/ST) could not be collected as it is often not possible to identify the social class of a child from his/her name in the register. And the school register does not mention caste/community against the names of the enrolled students. While lists of SC students are made for scholarship purposes, this is not reflected in the register and there is no such list for ST, OBC or Muslim students.

Table 7 Overview of water and sanitation facilities in sample schools, Mirzapur

MIRZAPUR											
School	Site 1, PS	Site 1, UPS	Site 2, PS	Site 2, UPS	Site 3, PS	Site 4, PS	Site 4, GIC	Site 5, PS	Site 5, UPS	Site 6, PS	Site 6, HCS
Drinking water	Hand pump	Hand pump	Hand pump	Hand pump & bore well	Hand pump & bore well	Hand pumps and taps	Hand pump and tank	Hand pump	None	Hand pump	Hand pump
Water for toilets	Running water	Running water	From hand pump	From tank or pump	From hand pump	Running water	No water	From tank	No water	Tank manually filled by children	No water
Functioning toilet, boys	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Urinal only
Functioning toilets, girls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Urinal only
Functioning toilet, teachers	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, dedicated	Yes, dedicated	Yes, dedicated	No	Yes, dedicated	No
Cleanliness of toilets	Clean	Clean	Not clean	Not clean	Clean	Not clean	Very dirty	Clean	Not used	Not used	Not clean
Cleanliness of school environment	Very clean	Very clean	Clean	Clean	Clean	Clean	Not clean	Very clean	Clean	Not clean	Not clean
Who cleans toilets? Daily	Children	Children	Children	Children	Children	Children	Not cleaned	Children	NA	NA	Not cleaned
Who cleans toilets? Weekly/occasionally	Sweeper			Sweeper				Sweeper occasional			

Table 8 Overview of water and sanitation facilities in sample schools, Lalitpur

School	LALITPUR											
	Site 1, PS	Site 1, UPS	Site 2, PS	Site 2, UPS	Site 3, PS	Site 3, GIC	Site 4, PS	Site 4, UPS+KGBV	Site 5, PS	Site 5, UPS	Site 6, PS	Site 6, UPS
Drinking water	No	No	Hand pump, not working	Hand pump	Hand pump, not potable	Hand pump dysfunctional	FL Hand pump	Hand pump	FL Hand pump	Hand pump, dysfunctional	FL hand pump dysfunctional	Hand pump, not potable
Water for toilets	From hand pump outside school	From hand pump outside school	No	No	No	No	From hand pump	From hand pump	No	No	No	Occasionally
Functioning toilet, boys	No	No	Used as Urinal only	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Used as Urinal only	Used as Urinal only	Used as Urinal only	Yes
Functioning toilets, girls	No	No	No	As Urinals	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Functioning toilet, teachers	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes, men only	Yes, women only	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
Cleanliness of toilets*	Very dirty	Very dirty	Very dirty	Dirty	Dirty	Not usable	Clean	Clean	Very dirty, choked	Very dirty, choked	Clean urinal, dirty toilets	Clean
Cleanliness of school environment	Not clean	Not clean, stones	Very dirty	Clean	Very dirty	Very dirty	Clean	Clean	Very dirty	Not clean	Not clean	Clean
Who cleans toilets? Daily	Children	NA	Children	Children	Children	Children	Children	Children	Children	Children (classrooms)	Children occasionally	Children
Weekly cleaning	No	No	No	No	Sweeper	Sweeper	Sweeper	No	No	No	No	No

\* Children pour water in the toilets; they do not handle brooms or brush or use soap/toilet cleaners

Discussions with teachers and local officials revealed that a lot of work was done in Mirzapur under TSC and that the district had received special attention in this area. Equally, the overall environment in the villages has perhaps contributed towards maintaining a clean environment in the schools. Five of the six sites visited had received the 'Nirmal Gram Puraskar' for universal availability of toilets in households. However, it was noted that only in one village did all households appear to be using toilets and open defecation was discouraged by the community. This was a model village. In other villages, though a majority of the households had some form of toilets, open defecation was being practised (as reported by children and as was seen during the village visit). In contrast, in Lalitpur only one village was a 'Nirmal Gram', though not in the same league as the model village in Mirzapur.

- ▶ Clean facilities in schools that were also being used regularly was perhaps because of the emphasis placed on their maintenance: Children were assigned duties to clean their

classrooms and toilets and their work was supervised by the teacher; this was supplemented by weekly/fortnightly cleaning by a paid sweeper. In one school, the former headmaster worked along with the children and took great care to make sure that the school environment was clean. The Bal Sansad (Children's Parliament) managed the duties in one school.

- ▶ Garbage was collected at one point which was cleared every week. Again, the headteacher/teachers (or the village head) supervised this.
- ▶ In the Mirzapur village where all households had toilets and were actually using them, the children knew how to use and clean the toilets.
- ▶ The agency of the headteacher, a teacher or a village leader seems to make a huge difference (see Box 2).

The downside of children taking the responsibility for school cleanliness and sanitation is that while children come to school neat and clean in the morning, they are covered with dust after performing their cleaning duties. Many of them

### Box 2 One in a hundred to lead from the front

Toilet cleaning by children (especially in cases where they have been cleaning the toilets after use by the teachers) is turning out to be a contentious issue amongst the community and parents. There are two teachers (one of whom has now retired), who have been training the children on toilet cleanliness and hygiene in their own way.

A retired headteacher from LS4 PS, who is referred to in nearly all the interviews/FGDs in the village, has an iconic presence in the school. Over the years, he has worked tirelessly for the overall beautification of the school, including gardening and cleanliness and health and hygiene related practices. He was also given an award for his efforts by the President of India. He has developed the school into a model for other schools in the neighbouring area to follow, which has resulted in increased attention from government authorities and community members. More children want to enrol in this school, increasing the pressure on the teaching staff which results in better teaching-learning practices in classrooms. According to his colleagues, ex-students, and community members, this headteacher used to selflessly start working on a project himself, and seeing his engagement, the students as well as community members used to join in. A group of adolescent drop-out boys articulated their strong objection to students cleaning toilets, but when reminded of their own school days (when they used to clean the school campus), they confessed that as their old headteacher used to pick up the broom and start sweeping himself, the children had no option but to extend a helping hand to him.

The headteacher of MS6 PS also sets an example for his students. Every evening, after school hours, he washes the toilets himself to ensure that they have been cleaned properly. Interestingly, colleagues of both these teachers are appreciative of their efforts, but sadly do not have the will or the courage to follow their examples. Said one of the teachers (from a forward caste): '*Na hamne kabhi yeh kaam kiya hai aur na karenge* (neither have I done this job [i.e. cleaning toilets], nor will I do so in the future).'

were wet and cold after this assignment. They were observed to be shivering in wet clothes after washing toilets and watering the plants. Facilities for them to dry themselves and change clothes do not exist. In some of the schools it was noticed that while some children cleaned the toilets, others swept the classrooms, some fetched drinking water, while some others filled water utensils for toilets.

In contrast, in the schools where the facilities were not well maintained and were found to be very dirty or unusable, there was no system for maintenance; availability of water for toilets was also a problem. Among the teachers/headteachers, there was little ownership of the water and sanitation facilities in the school. These were all left to the attention of the village pradhan. Most of the households in such villages did not have toilets and open defecation was common. In one school the community used the school toilets and messed them up. There was no boundary wall and the area was littered with garbage.

The situation in one village in Lalitpur sums up the complex situation on the ground:<sup>25</sup>

- ▶ In the primary school, the children carried water in buckets from a hand pump across the road for washing hands. The toilet was used only occasionally by children in order to save themselves the trouble of carrying water for cleaning it. There was no drainage for water disposal from the kitchen and a pool of stagnant water could be seen. Children carried their midday meal to their homes as there was no water for washing plates in the school. Some children carried water in bottles for drinking in school; others went to the hand pump across the road. While the campus has some plants and flowering bushes, the overall environment was not clean.
- ▶ The upper primary school in the same village was no different. The hand pump was dysfunctional and the children went to a public hand pump for drinking water. The school has two toilets for boys and girls; they looked unkempt and old and were not used by the children. Garbage was thrown everywhere,

there were no dustbins visible anywhere and there was no system for garbage disposal. There were no toilets for teachers. Water level (for hand pumps) goes down in summer and the children have to carry water to the school from their homes. While the children are aware that they must wash their hands before eating, there was no soap or water. Forward caste children did not eat the midday meals provided by the school.

- ▶ Recently, the parents of forward caste children protested as they did not want all the children to draw water from the same earthen pot used for water storage. The headteacher, a Muslim, tried to find a solution and asked the forward caste children to pour water for Dalit children (children drink by cupping their hands into which water is poured by another child). Menstruating girls were absent from school for 3–4 days every month. In case of emergencies, they take leave on the pretext of having stomach aches.

The dynamics of constructing and maintaining drinking water and toilet facilities are complex, especially in villages where several communities live together, though in clearly segregated settlements. In the absence of a total sanitation campaign and a movement for social equality, the schools mirror the village. As evident in Table 9, the situation in the schools in Mirzapur could be attributed to TSC in the district, where the village heads take an active interest in improving the overall environment in the village, and influence this practice in schools. However, in Lalitpur, not even one village head was observed to be involved in the overall cleanliness and health of the school. While there are socio-economic and geographical factors which contribute to the better outcomes in Mirzapur district, one apparent reason is the social construct of the two regions – in Mirzapur, the village caste composition was comparatively homogenous and the dominant community was primarily OBC. On the other hand, in Lalitpur the caste dynamics were more visible and alive, which have a direct influence on the school system, including level of involvement/interest of the village pradhan in the school.

<sup>25</sup> We are not disclosing the name of the village in accordance with the principle of confidentiality.

Equally, in the specific context of a school sanitation programme, lack of ownership of the programme among the teachers and educational administration also creates its own dynamics. Where the teachers have a greater sense of ownership, they provide leadership which overcomes caste and other local dynamics. Ownership alone is not adequate and if the school has a dynamic leader, it becomes a model for others.

## 4.3 Two Case Studies

### 4.3.1 Promising practice

MS1 is now a Nirmal Gram located in Rajgarh block of Mirzapur district. A tour of the village presents an overall positive picture encompassing closed drains, well-used garbage bins, hand pumps with platforms and proper drainage for waste water, enclosed bathing shelters for women, public urinals for men and clean, litter-free village

**Table 9 Work children do in school (N=12 in both districts)**

	Number of sample schools		Remarks Lalitpur	Remarks Mirzapur
	Lalitpur	Mirzapur		
Children sweep classrooms and school campus	11	10	In some schools only classrooms are cleaned by children and not the ground. In 2PS and 2 UPS only classrooms, 1PS only veranda + courtyard	Sweep rooms, playground, dust and clear garbage. In 2 UPS children only pick up litter and in 1PS cleaning is done randomly
All children participate in cleaning campus and classrooms	11	10	While all children participate in cleaning, the nature of duties assigned differs by gender	Those who sweep miss morning assembly. They sweep/dust/fill drinking water etc. Boys sweep playgrounds and girls sweep classroom
Selective participation	4	2	Boys participate in maintenance work – cleaning tanks, flowerbeds, checking/fetching water from a distance	Those not good in studies given cleaning duties. Subtle discrimination in duties assigned observed (including in UPS where a long absentee child was selected for cleaning)
Children clean toilets	8	8	Most schools have toilets being used as urinals, children pour water to clean, they do not physically handle a broom or brush	Classes 1–2 excluded in some schools
All children participate in cleaning toilets	6	6	Those who use toilets pour water, children clean toilets/urinals used by teachers	SC and marginalized groups assigned this duty, children from 'good families' exempted, 'not good in studies' assigned duty
Paid sweeper cleans once a week/occasionally	3	4	No budget in PS/UPS or secondary schools to appoint sweeper. Used occasionally in one higher secondary college	No budget in PS/UPS and secondary schools to appoint sweeper
Headteacher/teachers assign duties/form committees	11	6	Headteacher and teachers play a crucial role, both negative and positive	Headmaster or teachers play a crucial role, even where there is a children's forum
Children decide who participates – forums	5	5	Forums just conceptualized – mostly in UPS (only 1PS)	Bal Sansads work under guidance of teachers.
Village head oversees sanitation issues in schools	0	6	Village heads not engaged in schools	Nirmal Gram pradhan or husband of the pradhan takes keen interest
Exclusion observed	6	4	SC (including Sahariya) and Muslim children excluded from filling/serving drinking water, upper caste teacher and students do not take water from SC and Muslim children	SC children 'not good in studies' assigned work, gender differences in duties assigned, children from vocal/influential families exempt from toilet cleaning

Note: In Mirzapur one of the sample schools was very small and no activity was evident

roads. The primary school has child friendly, functional and clean toilets for both boys and girls (including for pre-school children).

However, a few years ago MS1 was different. There was no system for garbage disposal in the village, including there being no system for disposal of sanitary napkins/rags, which were buried in fields by girls and women. Even the primary and upper primary schools were not the same, both in terms of school infrastructure and practices three years ago. With no proper WATSAN facilities, both the schools were not properly maintained. Earlier, there was a clear discrimination in the seating arrangements between OBC and SC children in the school. Further, monitoring of sanitary practices in the village was not as meticulous as it is today.

The community gives the credit for these changes in the school as well as in the village environment to the current lady pradhan's husband, referred to locally as the Pradhan Patim, who represents her and plays an active role in village governance with a special commitment to sanitation and village development. With joint efforts of the pradhan, the government-appointed sanitation motivator and members of the village community, all the habitations are now clean and devoid of garbage, the usual litter, and cattle excreta. A paid sweeper comes once a week to clear the bins, pile the garbage into a dump and burn it. The community is fully aware of sanitation related issues in the village, and also supports school sanitation. Sanitation practices and toilet usage are being monitored by the village committee, the pradhan, the women's self-help group (SHG), the children and vigilant youth. Sanitation is an important issue in the village; it is regularly included in Panchayat discussions. The villagers are averse to defecation in the open and monitor this closely in the night or early morning, using torches and whistles. The youth are particularly active in this regard.

The toilets in the schools are clean and well used and the children appeared to be habituated to using and cleaning them. Toilet usage and cleaning habits of the children were also evident in the homes during the village visits. In the primary school the water facility was through a force lift hand pump that supplied clean potable water to

washbasins with taps for hand washing. The drain from the hand pump platform is linked to the covered drain of the village. There is a garbage bin at the rear end of the school in which the children put in the daily garbage, which is cleaned by the sweeper every week. A submersible electrical pump is also linked to hand pump pipes.

Children were seen to be washing their hands with soap after using the toilet, before the midday meal and after cleaning the campus. School children teach this to their younger siblings and parents too. They have a committee that organizes the midday meal, including supervision of seating arrangements and cleaning up after the meal. No gender/caste-based segregation is visible in classroom practices or between the haves and have-nots. Children know about scabies and keep their affected classmates segregated. They are also aware of various sources of potable water, the difference between clean and dirty water, harmful effects of using dirty water and the benefits of using toilets, etc.

This village has been able to sustain its practices for sanitation and hygiene in the community and the school due to awareness, education and the involvement of community members in the effort. The school and the children have no doubt been the pivot of learning, but the positives have been transferred to their homes and the community. Apart from this, facilitative infrastructure like drains, garbage bins, roads and water availability, and appointment of a sweeper in the village, have also contributed to making a difference.

Along with the services, the demography of the village too has been a crucial factor impacting upon the effectiveness of the efforts made. With only two major caste groups living in the village, there is evidently not much social conflict. The agency of the pradhan has been critical in making people aware and educated about sanitation and for providing the infrastructure and spending funds allocated for its construction and maintenance. The best advocacy for this village is provided by a young man who does wall paintings not only in this village but also in other villages of the block. He advises people to come to his village to see the positive impact of total sanitation: '*Hamare gaon me aao aur dekho* (come and see our village).'

### 4.3.2 When things go wrong

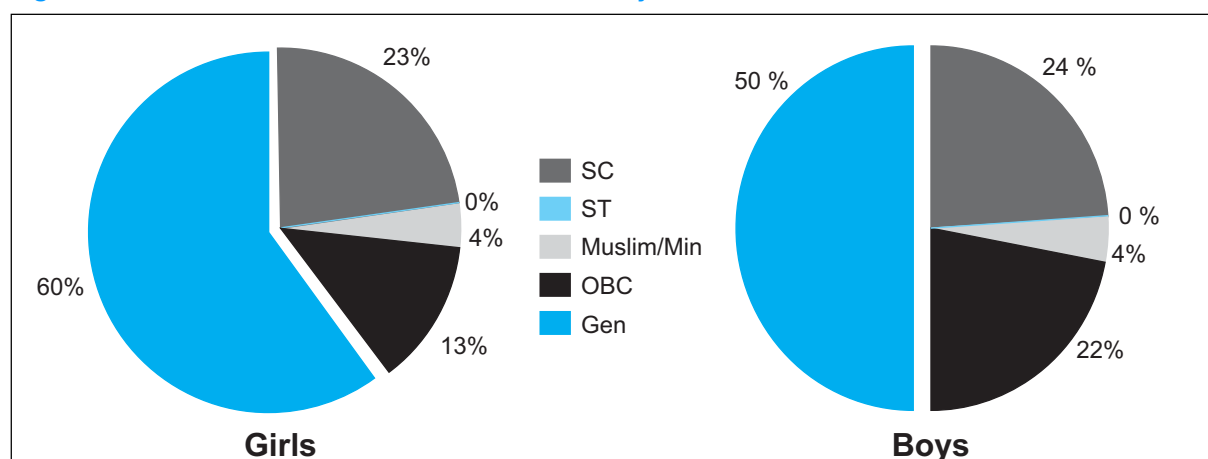
LS5 is a village in Jakhora block of Lalitpur district. The village has a mixed population with the higher caste living in the heart of the village and 150 SC and ST households living on the periphery. The primary and upper primary schools located in the same campus have adequate sanitation facilities; the former has three urinals (built by WaterAid) and three toilets, of which one remains locked for the teachers. All of them are dirty, choked and unusable. Another toilet unit funded by SSA is under construction. There is a force lift hand pump to fill the tanks over the toilets which has not been operational for a long time as its pipe work has been stolen. Consequently, there is no water either in the toilets or in the washbasins. The upper primary school too has one old toilet unit (built by WaterAid) and even this is extremely dirty and unused. There is another girls' toilet built under the government's National Programme of Education for Girls at Elementary Level (NPEGEL). This is locked and reserved mainly for teachers. The girl students can use it after getting the teacher's permission and getting the key. The area near the toilets remains littered with garbage and sanitary towels, and has not been cleaned for some time. There is just one hand pump, but this is not operational. The only source of water for the school campus is one hand pump near the primary section. Children from forward castes refrain from touching this hand pump, and instead go across the road to use another pump.

The attendance on the day of visit was 20 per cent of those enrolled. The teachers (all of them from forward castes) spoke of how the village is polarized on caste lines. In particular, they talked

about the Sahariya community (see Box 3). Two teachers stated that the children from this community were 'not intelligent', adding that in comparison to Brahmins they were 'really backward'. All the children from Classes 1 to 5 sat in the same room. In the upper primary school, though, children sat in any classroom (there was no class-wise grouping of students) and some boys used caste/occupation names for their classmates. While the students (boys and girls) said that it was important to maintain caste identities, they were accepting of teachers of all castes because 'teachers are equal to God (*woh devata samaan hain*)'. The girls said that they make friends with girls of all castes but do not share food or water with everyone. Several forward caste children do not eat the meal cooked in the school, and some of them even throw the food out of the window. However, it is not clear if they throw the meal because it is inedible (full of worms!) or because of the lower caste of the cook. The teachers, too, bring their food from home and ask only forward caste girls to fetch water for them.

The village community is polarized on caste issues, particularly regarding the Sahariya community, and the village leaders and teachers said that children from this community were not regular in attending school and that the girls were married very early (see Figure 1 for caste-wise enrolment in senior secondary schools). The Sahariya community is ostracized and the rest of the village keeps its distance from them. The school, therefore, mirrors the social dynamics of the village and the teachers have not been able to change the situation in schools as they subscribe to the same views.

Figure 1 Caste-wise enrolment in senior secondary schools



### Box 3 Sahariya, a tribal community that experiences exclusion

In Lalitpur district, the difference between Sahariya and non-Sahariya habitations in the sample was palpable. The community is recognized as a primitive tribe group in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh, and has been notified as a Scheduled Tribe by the Government of UP. Being semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers, Sahariya do not belong to the regular agricultural community and their livelihood is dependent on selling forest products or working as daily wage labourers. Land holdings (if they have any) are small and hard to cultivate due to lack of proper irrigation facilities and other inputs. As a result many of them lease out their land to other farmers for very small amounts of money.

Given its nomadic nature, the Sahariya community has remained one of the most difficult groups for the various governmental schemes/provisions to reach out to. For instance, in LS5, despite the Sahariya habitation being just across the primary and upper primary school, the percentage of Sahariya children present in the school was very low on the day of visit. According to the teachers, they stay absent from school for long periods at a stretch. Many of these children can be seen roaming outside the school campus in their school uniforms. Except for such children, their hamlet bears a deserted look as most of the families have migrated out in search of work, leaving behind the aged and children. As is evident from school enrolment data, there is an exodus of Sahariya children from school after Class 5. However it is extremely difficult to track school drop-outs as boys have migrated out and the girls have been married off.

For the handful of Sahariya children attending school, the situation is not very friendly as the exclusion faced by the community at large extends inside the classroom too. Sahariya children are treated as 'unclean' and continue to face discrimination both from other children and teachers. Non-school-going adolescents talk openly about how Sahariya children are made to sit separately, or way behind in the classrooms.

Some teachers consider Sahariya children academically poor and not as bright as forward caste children. Overall, unhygienic conditions and poor facilities in the habitation are testimonies of the discriminatory practices towards the Sahariya community.

## 4.4 Senior Secondary Schools: Untouched by WATSAN or any such Campaigns

Senior Secondary schools (one each from the three categories – government, private aided and private unaided) had big but unkempt campuses with poorly maintained buildings. As these catered to 18–20 villages in an area, there were large numbers of students enrolled. These children were from families who could afford to spend on education, especially for girls. All students enrolled in a class are simply marked present, with perhaps the exception of those who have been absent for a long time. Teachers in these schools confessed that they have to show full attendance as the salaries of temporary teachers are worked out on that basis.

Sanitary facilities were almost negligible in these schools. Toilets, if present, were unclean, dirty and inadequate. Due to lack of running water, these were used more as urinals. The situation of adolescent girls who come to secondary schools is affected by the poor infrastructure and sanitation facilities. They have to exercise self-control while in school, and absent themselves during menstrual periods. They do not come to school for 3–4 days every month, except during examinations. There is no provision for disposal of sanitary napkins or rags.

The situation in the government aided Inter College in MS4 (531 girls; 1,016 students in Classes 6-9) was seen to be really bad: there was no running water in the toilets, hence they were extremely dirty and smelly; they were also choked as they

are not connected to any sewage drain; and there was no light. To relieve themselves, the local girls went home; the girls who came from far away used the toilet only in an emergency. The units for boys were defunct, and all of them used the space outside the boundary wall of the school as an open urinal. Drinking water was supplied through a tank, which was hardly ever cleaned so the children never really used its water for drinking; they used it only for washing their hands. Similarly, in the private Inter College in MS5 (580 girls; 1,096 students in Classes 6–9), the facilities were highly inadequate, dirty and smelly. The three hand pumps providing drinking water were segregated for the use of boys and girls.

The government Inter College building in LS2 was a new, large spacious campus with 25 classrooms with 1,498 children enrolled in Classes 6–12 (498 girls), but had poor sanitation facilities. There was a row of 60 toilets for girls behind the school building, without any roof. Fifteen of these had some kind of a door (though opening on the wrong side) but not one of them was functional. There was no water source near the toilet. Here again, the girls stayed away from school during their menstrual cycles. During group discussions, adolescent boys said that they were more concerned about teaching and learning and that they really did not care if the school had a toilet or not. The girls were more concerned about toilet facilities and said that they had to miss school for a few days every month. The two women teachers said that they felt embarrassed to use the toilet because they had to pass through the principal's room.

## 4.5 The Midday Meal and its Dynamics

Cooking and sharing of food is a sensitive issue in some areas of India and also in UP, partly due to traditional caste-related attitudes and practices governed by rules of pollution and purity, and partly due to the power dynamics between different communities in a given area. The forward castes<sup>26</sup> traditionally did not eat or drink with the erstwhile

untouchable communities. The caste dynamics of the village influence the school environment including the socialization process amongst the children, as well as their relationship with the teachers. This influence gets overtly visible, particularly during meal time practices.

As expected, the situation on the ground with respect to the midday meal is mixed. At the outset it is important to place on record that the midday meal was being cooked and served in all the sample primary and upper primary schools. The location of the kitchen, availability of water and overall hygiene were different across the sample schools (Table 10).

Discussions with teachers and community leaders revealed that, in most of the schools in Mirzapur, the cooks were not from the Dalit community; the enrolled children in the local schools were from the two dominant social groups – OBC and SC. The larger political environment in the district has also changed in the last five to ten years and caste-based exclusion is not looked upon favourably. Another probable reason for lack of overt discrimination is that the forward castes seem to have migrated out of the village or they send their children to private schools. Notwithstanding this overarching observation, the research team noticed that some children in a few schools did not eat in school. When asked why, they said that the food was not cooked well or that the food was not adequate and it was not tasty. They did not talk about caste.

However, this was not the case in Lalitpur. As noted in the introductory chapter of this report, Lalitpur is one of the most underdeveloped districts of UP: poverty levels are high and feudal and casteist attitudes still prevail. Given the lack of development and slow progress on the economic and educational front, local leaders confessed that caste and community identities remained strong. Not surprisingly, it was observed that caste issues were dominant in the school lunch programme in three of the sample primary and upper primary schools. In one school (LS1 UPS) the upper caste (Thakur) children did not eat in school and other

<sup>26</sup> Communities that have traditionally enjoyed a high status in society include Brahmins, who were traditional priests and those who learnt the scriptures; Thakurs, a land owning and ruling class who had the right to bear arms; Vaishis, the trading community; and Jains, also a trading community.

**Table 10 Status of midday meal in sample schools**

	Lalitpur N=10*	Mirzapur N=9*	Remarks Lalitpur	Remarks Mirzapur
Food being cooked in clean and hygienic manner	6	7	1 PS and 1 UPS food being cooked next to the toilet.	Children's Forum in one UPS (MS3) monitoring cooking
Children help in cooking food	1	1	Girls (1 UPS) not a prevalent practice	In UPS girls make tea etc. for the teachers
Children help in serving food	2	–	Girls (UPS)	Not a prevalent practice
Children sit together, in rows**	5	5	Children not eating in school in 1 school; Rows, gender segregated in UPS.	Gender-based groups in UPS, girl with disability eating alone
All children eat	6	7	5 UPS children not eating MDM, complain about quality of food	Complaints about quality of food; in 1PS cook throwing food on children, calling them names while serving the food
Children wash hands before meals	6	6	Water not available in some schools	In 2 large schools, washing facilities/water inadequate
Village head supports/supervises quality	5	7	Some want to increase number of children eating MDM	Proactive in Nirmal Gram

\* No MDM was served in the high school, GIC, secondary schools and in 1 UPS

\*\* When children are not seated in rows, they sit with friends and in some instances friendships may not transcend caste

children took the meal home, as there was no water in the school to wash their plates. Similarly, in another school (LS5 UPS), children took the food in their plates and threw it outside the window, saying it was badly cooked and had worms. The boys were particularly aware of maintaining a caste hierarchy amongst themselves. The girls were also wary of using water from the school hand pump as SC and ST children also used it. Some of them brought water for themselves and their teachers from the hand pump situated just outside the school. Some children from the neighbouring villages were seen carrying their lunch boxes from home. Thakur and Brahmin children from the same village went home for lunch. In LS3 PS, all children carried their own water bottles; when the MDM was served, SC/ST children were seen huddled together during the meal. Children from migrant families supplemented the meal with roti (flat Indian bread) brought from home. In two schools, girls served the food while in the other schools the cooks served the food. Gender segregated seating at meal times was seen in most of the schools.

Children were observed washing their hands before the meal in most of the schools. In two schools, children were observed washing their plates before the meal was served. Handwashing with soap before meals was not a prevalent

practice in any of the schools, except in MS1 PS. The MS3 PS children had a covered dining shed with cement and tile tables and benches for the children to have their meal; the area was cleaned both before and after the meal by the children. In two other schools, children were seen cleaning the dining area and spreading mats for sitting before the meal was served, and cleaning it after the lunch was over. In two other schools (LS2 PS and LS6 UPS) food was being cooked just outside the toilets. Stray dogs were seen hanging around either in the school or just outside the gate in almost all the sample schools serving MDM.

Forward caste teachers did not attempt to break caste barriers among themselves or with the children. This was evident in five schools in Lalitpur. The teachers did not share their meals or even taste the meals cooked in the schools. Some of them did not even accept water from lower caste children (see Box 4). Such attitudes on the part of the teachers perpetuate social practices instead of eliminating them. Children, on the other hand, had evolved their own ways of dealing with this in their relationships with their classmates and friends. Children from forward and backward caste communities reported that they shared their meal with Dalit and Muslim friends, but did not tell their parents and grandparents about it. Many children said that friendship was important and they

**Box 4 Illustrative voices of teachers in sample schools**

The teachers' expressions and sentiments, revealed during discussions with them, clearly speak of their hidden caste/religious biases:

- ▶ Sahariya children are dirty and dull, they do not like coming to school.
- ▶ They send children to school only for scholarships and uniforms; the parents are irresponsible. Even the intelligent children are not encouraged.
- ▶ Girls are more confident and conscious about cleanliness, sanitation, and also about their studies.
- ▶ The Muslim system is different from ours – we cannot accept water from Muslims as they are non-vegetarians. We have no problem in taking water from Hindu Dalits even if they are non-vegetarians, because their hands are pure as they served water to Lord Rama.
- ▶ Children who are good in studies are also sincere about cleaning duties. But those from Dalit families are not sincere about studies and they object to cleaning duties. We do not ask the children from powerful families (i.e. those with political influence in the village) to clean toilets as we do not want to get into trouble.
- ▶ In one school the assistant teacher referred to the headteacher saying that he was a great man; he set the example by cleaning the toilets himself, adding 'But I will never do it because this act will pollute my caste status.'

*Source: Teacher interviews in sample schools*

interacted with their friends wholeheartedly. However, parents from forward castes disapproved of this practice but said that they could not do anything about it.

The young people said that the persistence of caste and community identities is challenged (especially in schools, at work, in movies and during other social events) and at the same time these very identities are reinforced during elections where political parties directly/indirectly influence people to exercise their franchise on the basis of their caste identity and allegiance to political leaders. What was clearly evident was that in Mirzapur, where there is greater rural–urban

mobility and where the better-off send their children to private schools, the government schools cater to the poor and the very poor. Invariably an overwhelming majority of the very poor are from the most disadvantaged social groups. In Lalitpur, where economic progress has not been significant, the villages are more heterogeneous and government schools cater to children from all castes and communities.

## 4.6 Voices and Experiences of Primary School Children

Activities were organized to capture the voices of children, especially in primary schools. While focus group discussions were a good medium to interact with older children (Class 6 upwards), interactions with primary school children were essentially activity based. The activities started with 'icebreakers'. These were followed by role-plays or activities (for example, by using chairs of different colours, issues such as availability of different water sources, sources of safe water, toilet usage by families, etc. were explored). Through role-plays, children demonstrated different perceptions and practices related to water and sanitation in their schools and communities (see Box 5).

## 4.7 Children with Special Needs

Ignorance and insensitivity towards Children with Special Needs (CWSN) underpinned most of the interactions with teachers and during school observations. In MS2, the teacher failed to identify a deaf child as a CWSN, the para-teacher in LS3 labelled a slow learner as '*bewakoof aur bekar*' (stupid and useless) to his face. Students of Class 6 in MS3 had a healthy attitude towards their classmate, a physically challenged girl, and were seen treating her just like other able-bodied classmates during recess. On the other hand, in the same school one of the senior teachers insisted that the team should meet the other girl (studying in Class 7, who was mentally challenged) simply 'for fun' (*bahut maza aayega*)! Such discriminatory attitudes were also reflected in the provision of infrastructural facilities in schools for children with physical disabilities. Despite well-articulated guidelines/design specifications for CWSN, friendly water and sanitation facilities under SSHE, none of the toilets had railings or stools for Indian style

### Box 5 Snapshot of what children said and did during role-plays

- ▶ Enacted how an active member of the community compelled the pradhan to build a toilet in the school because a child who was sick with diarrhoea and vomiting could not come to school.
- ▶ Enacted how the grandmother of a Class 5 student told him that a witch wanders around the toilet and she will catch children; and how some families continue to defecate in the open even when they have a toilet at home.
- ▶ Class 5 students performed a play where a person who had a toilet at home continued to defecate in the open (which was reported as an important issue in the village) and how despite several warnings he did not change his ways and was thrown out of the village.
- ▶ Students from Class 7 demonstrated how they cannot play truant and run away after the boundary wall was constructed and toilet facilities were provided within the school.
- ▶ Children showed how the first thing they do in school is sweep and clean toilets, how dirty they get and how it affects their sense of self. 'Why do government school children have to do this?' they asked.
- ▶ Children in an UPS acted out how children from neighbouring villages have enrolled in their school because of the dedication of the teachers and the overall environment of the school.
- ▶ Children from another UPS enacted how parents ask them not to eat with their Dalit friends or go to Dalit homes; but how they still play, eat and sit with their friends (regardless of caste): '*Dosti mein sab chalta hai bus ghar per nahin batate hain* (Everything is okay between friends, we just do not talk about it at home).'
- ▶ A vocal boy in a PS said that they wash the hand pump before they drink water because 'we have to wash after the children from families of fishermen use the hand pump as otherwise we will incur the wrath of goddess Durga.' Children from the same school enacted a scene where a few Dalits (*dhobi* and *mehtar*) were hounded by the members of the forward caste when they tried to take water from the common hand pump.
- ▶ Students identified the Panchayat as a place where SC face discrimination. Interestingly one student spectator offered a ride to the SC Panchayat member to the police station in order to register a case against some Panchayat members under the Harijan Act.
- ▶ Statements such as 'we come to school to study, why should we clean toilets and sweep the classrooms and even the playground? We do not like doing this work' were a common thread in all the activities/discussions with children.

*Source: Activities with children in primary and upper primary schools*

toilets. While a few toilets had ramps, they were either broken or the surface was too uneven for unhindered mobility. In some cases, if the toilet was at surface level, either the access to the toilet was difficult or the internal design was not CWSN friendly. Clearly, these children were unable to use the facilities. In case they had to use the toilet they were either sent home with someone or their parents were called to carry them home. Access to the hand pump (main source of drinking water in all the schools) was also not CWSN friendly. However, here able-bodied friends of the CWSN helped out.

One Class 9 student studying in MS6 had a polio-affected left leg. He recounted that a few rough experiences during the recess had taught him to

stand away from the crowd at the hand pump and wait patiently on his crutches for his turn (usually last). This made him feel more disabled than he actually is.

## 4.8 Voices and Experiences of Adolescent Boys and Girls

Students from Classes 7 and 9 participated actively in group discussions. However, on issues related to discrimination and exclusion, adolescent boys and girls preferred to express their views on chart papers spread on the floor. They drew a map of the village to plot water sources and toilets in different habitations. The boys talked about problems related to school infrastructure and

practices but they were wary that these might be shared with school authorities. After being assured about confidentiality, they opened up. The boys in several villages said that exclusion based on communicable diseases (e.g. scabies, chicken pox) as well as eating habits (vegetarian and non-vegetarian) was prevalent in all the schools. The students from senior classes, especially those from senior secondary schools, were better able to identify exclusion practices. Many of them (including students with disabilities) shared their personal experiences with regard to discrimination and exclusion in school. They talked about isolation in the school, forward caste friends not wanting to share food, and the practice of washing the hand pump by some forward caste students before taking water. They did not narrate any incidents of caste-based exclusion in the school with regard to toilet facilities. With the exception of children with disabilities who cannot access toilets due to design/structural reasons, the children and adolescent boys and girls said that toilets and sanitary facilities did not exacerbate exclusion (see Box 6).

During the study, the team met with 111 out-of-school adolescents (65 boys and 46 girls). Their views and practices varied across the sample villages, and, often, contradictory voices were heard during the same group discussion. As the fieldwork was conducted during the harvesting season, it was difficult to meet with out-of-school adolescent boys as many of them were out at work. Most out-of-school adolescent girls had been married. When asked about the reasons for dropping out of school (or not getting enrolled at all), these varied from dropping out due to family responsibilities to not being interested in studies. Some of them admitted that they did not learn very much in school. In MS4, students identified two drop-out SC girls, one of whom dropped out in Class 5 as her mother died and she had to take care of her siblings, and the other got married after Class 8, was widowed and came back to the village but was not allowed by her brothers to continue her studies. In MS3, teachers gave names of girls (mostly SC) who had dropped out because of economic reasons. In MS5, the girls reported that two girls had left UPS (in the neighbouring area) due to sexual harassment by a teacher.

In several villages in Lalitpur, the boys from the Sahariya community dropped out after Class 5

because they migrated with their parents while the girls stayed back to take care of their siblings and the elderly (if they were not married off). The 25 adolescent boys (SC and OBC) met in LS1 village said that they had dropped out of school, many of them after Class 9, because they could not clear the examination. Interestingly, in LS6, the boys (OBC) said that some of them dropped out because they were married.

It is noteworthy that adolescent boys and girls laughed out loud when asked about sanitation and water and its impact on attendance or dropping out. Not a single adolescent girl said that they dropped out because of lack of toilet facilities, and when probed on exclusion they said: '*Sabhi ke liya ganda hai ...* (the toilets are dirty for everyone!)'. Most of them said that if they had an opportunity to study they would continue, whether there was a toilet or not in the school. They added that the availability of toilets would certainly make a difference to their lives in school. But given the situation in their area, they had learnt to cope with the discomfort. On the other hand, if the teachers were good and they taught well and regularly, then it was worthwhile coming to school. The girls, in particular, said that education was very important as it enhanced their status in their families and in the community. They saw education as a precious opportunity, a process that can help them break out of the cycle of poverty and powerlessness.

An issue that emerged during discussions with adolescent girls and women teachers is that not much planning goes into the design, location and safety of toilets. In almost all the schools the toilets were small and the doors open inwards, which meant that the user had to step on the pot to shut the door. If the toilet is soiled, then it makes using it all the more difficult.

Adolescent boys were articulate and confident while talking during the discussions. In one voice they said that regular teaching in school was more important than having a toilet. As evident from the discussions with them, they were aware of the dynamics of exclusion and argued that the powerful invariably pick on those who do not have power. For many of them friendship was important and if their friends were from a different community, they would not hesitate to eat and sit with them. However, they were also conscious about the potential of conflict in the village and often

### Box 6 Excerpts from focus group discussions with adolescent boys and girls

#### Contrasting voices emerged during group discussions:

- ▶ People who have power discriminate against those who are powerless. Power comes with money, caste, religion, government/police jobs, and the most important is political power.
- ▶ The teachers in our village discriminate against Dalit children. This practice existed even when we were studying in the primary school. Forward caste children were given preference and they were seated in front. However, things are changing now.
- ▶ The government does not locate hand pumps on a caste basis; people distribute them according to caste/community to avoid conflict, here also power rules.
- ▶ Dalit boys will not sit on the same platform as forward caste boys not because of respect for the upper castes, but because they face reprisal. In the same way Sahariya boys do not sit on the same platform as Dalits.

#### Adolescent girls said:

- ▶ While talking about the problems that girls face, a Class 9 SC girl said: 'Who cares about girls, it's better if they die, at least Rs 200,000 to 300,000 (to be given as dowry) will be saved.'
- ▶ Girls from SC and Muslim families do not come to school because they work at home and in the fields. Their parents enrol them only for scholarships.
- ▶ If even girls come to know that a particular girl is menstruating, they do not sit next to her.
- ▶ We do not sit with girls who have scabies or a bad cough.
- ▶ In our school, the water is stored in a separate bucket for the use of girls from one community. They are very dirty and we do not allow them to use the hand pump.
- ▶ We stay away from school for 3 or 4 days every month, we all do that.

#### Adolescent boys said:

- ▶ Everything is being done for girls; they have a toilet (urinal), so what if it is dirty? No one cares about boys these days.
- ▶ Teaching should happen in the school, it does not make much difference if the toilets are not there. We come to school to learn. Facilities are important, particularly in senior schools, but education is more important. In our time (said adolescents who had dropped out), we did not have these facilities but teachers used to teach, now schools have more facilities, but less studies.
- ▶ Teachers just sit in school (wearing jeans and sunglasses) and ask children to do all sorts of jobs. Children in the primary school carry water to the toilet for teachers and also clean it after them. We never cleaned toilets; we would have made the teachers clean them instead!
- ▶ Water and sanitation facilities have improved all over. This was a water scarce area but with hand pumps life has become much easier for the people, particularly for women. However construction of toilets has not helped much as the community is not using them. 'The health situation has improved manifold. We have heard about HIV/AIDS in cities, but there is no case in our village – we have heard that such patients are cast off from the community. This is wrong. Many young men go to Mumbai from Varanasi and neighbouring areas and get infected and there is no awareness on the issue in the community.'
- ▶ The attitude of teachers is extremely negative and they selectively target certain children who are academically and socially weak. That is why many of us dropped out (said out-of-school boys).

*Source: Focus group discussions with adolescent girls and boys*

preferred not to challenge caste-based behaviour on a public forum. As they have greater exposure to the world outside the village (as compared with their sisters in the same village) and were aware

of the politics of caste as it plays out in rural areas, they had a realistic approach to social inclusion and exclusion.

## 4.9 The Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion

The dynamics of inclusion and exclusion manifest in many ways and often it is not talked about in the open; forward caste teachers are vocal and voice their prejudices in private or in one-to-one conversations but do not speak about it in public. The situation on the ground in UP has changed a lot in the last ten years and the ascendance of a Dalit political party to power has had a positive impact. But prejudice and exclusion continues in subtle and not-so-subtle ways. Teachers, especially in Lalitpur, were dismissive of the academic potential of children from extremely poor communities and from specific social groups like Sahariya. Almost all the teachers differentiated between the relatively better-off (including Dalits and other socially deprived groups) and those who are very poor. They pointed to poverty and lack of parental education as one of the reasons for poor performance and exclusion of some children from school.

In Mirzapur, most of the children studying in government primary schools are from poor families. However, the profile of students changes in the high school. Almost one-fourth of the children who enrol in primary schools drop out after Class 5. A number of studies done over the last ten years show that an overwhelming proportion of the very poor drop out before they reach Class 6 and among them the proportion of Muslim, SC and ST children is far higher than it is in the other social groups (Jha and Jhingran, 2005; Ramachandran, 2004).

The area where inclusion and exclusion plays out is in the nature of duties assigned to children. While there are significant differences between the two districts, it is fairly clear that children from economically better-off families are exempt from cleaning toilets with a broom and brush. All children may participate in pouring (actually throwing) water from a distance, sweeping and dusting the classrooms, picking up litter (like paper and other articles on the ground) and fetching water. Parents do not like their children to clean the premises and toilets and they depend on the village sweeper<sup>27</sup> paid for by the pradhan for such services. So if the pradhan is proactive and concerned about the school, a sweeper becomes available, otherwise cleaning the school campus and toilets remains a

problem. Government primary and upper primary schools do not have any funds to hire a person to clean the premises and they depend on the village Panchayat and the pradhan to arrange payments for this.

## 4.10 Learning from the Study

The learning from this study is quite unambiguous: construction of toilets or the installation of hand pumps and water tanks is not enough. The contrast between Mirzapur and Lalitpur also teaches us one important lesson. The government and civil society organizations need to first focus on building an environment where cleanliness is appreciated as a positive value. The total sanitation movement in Mirzapur has certainly contributed towards changing social attitudes and practices. Children who use toilets properly in school promote toilet cleaning in their homes and make sure that all family members use the toilet properly; they are also more likely to spread the same practices in the village. Yes, good practices learnt in school are also transferred to their homes, but for this to happen the overall environment needs to be positive. Where the general hygiene levels are poor, where the social fabric is fractured by social conflicts and community identities, the school cannot hope to bring about lasting change. The school and the community are linked – one reinforces and strengthens the good practices of the other. Equally, the reverse is also true – a school could emerge as an island of sorts, but for the good practice to sustain over a long period and across different school heads, the community has to be appreciative of the good practice.

**Facilities, their safety, inclusiveness, use and maintenance:** Design, maintenance and recurring funds are important. One of the important lessons of this study is that infrastructure provision needs to be backed up with funds for maintenance and repair, for running costs, and most importantly, systematic education of the users on how to use and how to maintain the infrastructure. Equally significant is that the toilets and water sources are designed with care. Local people, teachers and technicians need to work together to build facilities that are safe to use, and are accessible to all, especially children with special needs, and have sufficient light and ventilation.

<sup>27</sup> The UP government has recently recruited sweepers for villages by passing a Government Order for the Panchayats.

**Needs of adolescent girls not addressed:** The needs of school-going adolescent girls are not addressed in upper primary schools, high schools and secondary schools. As it stands today, the government has not paid much attention to in-school barriers to participation of adolescent girls. This is one area where a lot of work needs to be done.

**Children's forums that exist are not empowered:** This is an important learning from this study. While primary schools have Bal Panchayats, we found that high schools and higher secondary schools do not have democratic forums to enable students to participate in the governance of the school. Even where children's forums do exist they are assigned duties and in some instances their work burden has gone up.

The technical note on inclusive approach for SSHE clearly states that the programme aims at ensuring that children learn and practise good hygiene habits and regular and correct use of facilities (Gol and UNICEF, 2008). They need to be 'involved' in the operation and maintenance of the facilities (including toilets). However, realities from the field show that involving children in the operation and maintenance of the facilities is interpreted to mean that they take the entire responsibility for cleanliness. Undoubtedly they can help to support and maintain the facilities, but they should not shoulder the full burden of cleaning and washing (especially when the toilet is being used by teachers or members of the community). If we are serious about child rights, should we not draw a line? Within the overall framework of child protection and participation, is it fair to overload the children?

**Attitudes and beliefs:** Another important learning is that exclusion manifests itself in different forms, namely exclusion/inclusion based on:

- ▶ social group and community (Dalits, Sahariya [ST] and OBC)
- ▶ economic status of students (not well dressed, dirty clothes, do not bathe)
- ▶ performance in the school (good in studies/not good in studies; regular/irregular)
- ▶ visible disabilities, infectious diseases (scabies, bad cough)
- ▶ gender (differential duties assigned to boys and girls).

The attitudes and beliefs of teachers are important in the school. Their prejudices against poor children and against specific social groups accentuate discrimination in the school. Equally, where teachers have a positive and inclusive attitude, the school environment is positive. As discussed in the preceding sections, the agency of the headteacher and teachers in the school, the village pradhan and other important stakeholders makes a big difference in the school and in the community. Equally, the situation in the village and the community in which the school is embedded is also very important. The contrast between Mirzapur and Lalitpur shows that it is important to work in the community and in the school.

In many ways the school is a microcosm of the society in which it is embedded. But we also saw that dynamic leaders in schools and in the community can make a difference. However, for the change to sustain, the immediate environment (village or Panchayat) needs to be supportive and appreciative, leading to a positive spiral of change.

**Agency of local government and community:** MDM in school is one of the positive policy initiatives in India. Here again, the contrast between Mirzapur and Lalitpur is palpable. While food is being cooked and served in both the districts, the quality varies across schools and hinges on the interest taken by village leaders and teachers. We saw that caste dynamics are far more pronounced in Lalitpur than in Mirzapur. The reason for this is not different from that for the sanitation arena – a more inclusive and positive social environment leads to more inclusive practices in the school and vice-versa.

**Change is possible:** An important learning from this study is that change is possible. A school level initiative that takes off from the fundamental right (see Box 7) to equality can indeed educate children about discrimination and also about the right of children to education, protection and care. What was missing in the entire programme of school sanitation is the language of rights. Perhaps UNICEF, with its global mandate of child rights, could make a difference in this area. The recommendations in the following chapter are made keeping this UNICEF mandate in perspective.

# 5

## Conclusions and Recommendations for the India Study

### Attitudes, beliefs, and practices need to be addressed in a sustained manner

Social transformation starts with a desire to change. Teachers, community leaders and administrators play an important role: they lead, they influence, and they sustain change. During the 1990s and right up to 2003 the Government of India gave importance to changing attitudes towards gender relations. Under the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) gender training became mandatory. Unfortunately the momentum was not sustained after 2003 when SSA was introduced. A number of studies carried out towards the end of the DPEP programme and the beginning of SSA pointed out the need to work towards changing the attitudes of teachers and educational administrators towards both gender and social exclusion issues. The presence of caste/community biases, neglect of children from very poor households and communities, and continuation of discriminatory practices towards children with special needs have been highlighted at periodic intervals (Jha and Jhingran, 2005; Ramachandran, 2004).

### Water, sanitation and education: restoring the balance

**Workload of children:** Workload of boys and girls is a sensitive issue in schools. Children from poor families work before they come to school; girls put in several hours of housework and boys take the cattle to graze. When they reach the school they are expected to sweep and clean as soon as they arrive in the morning. If we analyse this situation from a child rights perspective then we can argue that the workload of children coming to government schools is high. It was indeed heart-

wrenching to see young boys and girls who came neat and tidy to school being covered with dust and dirt, wet and shivering in the cold with no facilities to wash and clean up after their morning duties. This sends out the wrong message to the children and their families. Many children complained of itchy eyes and running noses, clear symptoms of dust allergy. We noticed that in several schools the children who cleaned had to miss the morning prayer.

If we have to educate children on water and sanitation then we cannot expect the children to take the entire responsibility of cleanliness; they can help, support and maintain, but they cannot shoulder the full burden of cleaning and washing. The issue of children taking full responsibility for cleaning needs to be looked at within the overall framework of child protection and participation. It is important not to confuse training children in the use of healthy sanitary practices with overloading them with the work of cleaning school toilets. This is particularly worrisome when the children themselves are not allowed to use the toilets and these facilities are meant only for the teachers. In one school the children were asked to clean up after the school premises were given out for marriages and other social events. They had to work in choked toilets and on filthy school grounds.

**Coordination:** One of the disturbing aspects of the school sanitation programme is that there is obvious lack of coordination among departments; their perspectives and priorities are also different. Those enthusiastic about water and sanitation rarely view the issue from the children's perspective. Several administrators and teachers we spoke to admitted that there is a lot of pressure on them to demonstrate a successful school sanitation programme and they translate 'success' to mean children's involvement in cleaning. A lot of time and energy goes into beautifying and

cleaning the facilities. We noticed that regular teaching and learning took a back seat in such schools – this was the case in four sample schools. In one school, the Bal Sansad had many committees on paper but only the cleanliness committee was active. This committee was not empowered to take decisions, but was directed by the teachers to keep the toilets, classrooms and the grounds clean. Several hours were spent on this work on a regular basis. Can this be showcased as a ‘good practice’? Maybe the water and sanitation department will award the school for its cleanliness, but the village community and the education administration may not appreciate this if the children are not learning. Water and sanitation education is an important dimension of education but it cannot become the mainstay of the school. There is a need to safeguard against one-dimensional pre-occupations.

**Needs of adolescent girls and boys:** The needs and demands of young boys and girls, adolescents and teachers should be appreciated by the educational administration. After all, water and access to toilets is a basic need and this has not received the attention it merits. We cannot run away from the fact that the administration – be it the government or private management (in private schools) – does not give adequate importance to the basic human needs of the students and teachers. Across all the sample schools, toilets were constructed either by the government or through a special programme by an international donor agency. The crux of the matter is that adequate budgetary provisions are not made for upkeep and maintenance, no one monitors whether the facilities provided are actually maintained and are usable, and most importantly, little care goes into understanding how and why these systems collapse.

## Recommendations

- ▶ **Address attitudes and beliefs:** It is recommended that UNICEF introduce training/orientation programmes for teachers, teacher educators and educational administrators on inclusion and exclusion. This needs to be done in the overall framework of the Constitution of India and the guarantee of non-discrimination, and the CRC.
- ▶ **Link between school and community:** A total school sanitation programme has to start with the community, move towards the school, and come back to work with the community to reinforce practices and sustain the momentum for positive change. The school does not stand alone and it is important to recognize that the school is embedded in society. The school sanitation programme needs to forge linkages with the government’s total sanitation campaign; the school could become a hub for education and awareness raising.
- ▶ **Take the school as a whole:** The school needs to be taken as a seamless and integrated institution where education, child development, child protection, nutrition, safe water and sanitation together contribute to a positive schooling experience for children. This approach is essential for planning and priority setting. The education and water/sanitation departments need to work in a coordinated manner. There is a need to do away with parallel and vertical programmes that have competing priorities and targets. This deflects the focus from the child who has to be the centre of attention.
- ▶ **School Plan:** To this end, the headteacher, teachers and village leaders (Panchayat) need to be involved in developing a plan for the school (including location of hand pumps and toilets) and a comprehensive timetable that factors in the teaching and learning processes, as well as the school environment.
- ▶ **Joint responsibility of school and Panchayat:** The administration or the village Panchayat has to take responsibility for maintenance and upkeep, including a person to clean the school premises and the toilets. The children could join in and support these activities, but should not shoulder the entire burden of cleaning and maintenance.
- ▶ **Design of facilities:** Drinking water facilities and toilets need to be designed keeping in view easy accessibility. Doors that open the wrong way in small and windowless toilets, lack of ventilation and light need to be addressed. To this end, older children could be asked to draw and design toilets which could be discussed with the architect.

Planning needs to be child-centric. Serious attention is required to address design issues to ensure that the toilets and water sources are safe, child-friendly, and are accessible to children with special needs. Local design workshops and meetings could be organized with children to understand their problems and toilets and water sources designed to suit the specific situation in each and every school. This would imply that a uniform centralized design might have to give way to local designs.

- ▶ **Work burden of children a serious concern:** Children should not be made to clean and sweep as soon as they come to school in the morning. They could assist in tidying up before they leave the school in the afternoon/evening. This is important to nurture a positive self-image and self-esteem among children and also impress upon them the importance of personal hygiene in school.
- ▶ **Hear voices of children:** UNICEF could consider bringing groups of children together to let them articulate the work that they can do and the work that they cannot do, thereby drawing a clear line (as guidelines for programme managers and teachers) between work/tasks that are and are not harmful to children (physically, emotionally, psychologically). These parameters need to be defined by the children themselves.
- ▶ **Empower children:** Children's forums need to be empowered to discuss and decide what children can do and when, including developing a roster of responsibilities where all children participate in turns. Such a process would have a lasting impact on attitudes and practices. If the school sanitation programme is about education, then Bal Panchayats and other children's forums need to be strengthened.
- ▶ **Address CWSN:** Special and focused effort is necessary to plan for the needs of children with disabilities, making sure that the midday meal, drinking water and toilet facilities are accessible to them and that they are treated with love and with dignity.
- ▶ **Train all children to use facilities:** All children could be trained/oriented on the use of the facilities – water, toilets and other

facilities – and respect for other children (not messing up the toilet, not contaminating water) also needs to be instilled in them.

- ▶ **Sensitize teachers:** Teachers need to be sensitized (oriented and trained) using a rights-based language. This language should permeate all areas of the school – teaching and learning, classroom management, cleanliness and hygiene, sanitation, midday meal, etc.
- ▶ **Mechanisms to identify and address exclusion:** Inclusion and exclusion need to be identified and handled with sensitivity as well as firmness. The Constitution of India guarantees all citizens the right against discrimination. The school sanitation programme could start by educating children about their rights as citizens and the teachers about constitutional guarantees and the importance of adhering to them. The programme should also provide for mechanisms for redressal of complaints made by children, especially when they experience exclusion.
- ▶ **Make non-discrimination a non-negotiable principle:** Non-discrimination should be made a non-negotiable principle in school. This needs to be adhered to in midday meal distribution, in equal and uninhibited access to safe drinking water, use of urinals and toilets, and all other facilities.
- ▶ **Posters in schools:** Posters on child rights and on constitutional rights and guarantees need to be displayed prominently in every school. While we saw some wall painting on the incentives that the children get, they were not about the rights of children. Equally important is that child rights need to be written in a simple language so that the children in all classes can read and understand them. It would also be good to display posters that convey the message of equality and non-discrimination. These posters should have a phone number (UP has a child line number 1098, but rural children were not aware of this) and address where children can call or write.
- ▶ **Good practices as sites for training:** Use sites of good practices as a hub for the training

and orientation of administrators, teachers, Panchayat leaders and school management committees. Good practice case studies need to be disseminated; stories of schools, role models among teachers, principals and children have to be written and made available to all schools; and special awards could be given to schools that demonstrate inclusion and equality in all facets of the life of the school (in the classroom, in extra-curricular activities, and even in maintaining facilities).

- ▶ **Budget for maintenance and retro-fitting:** In view of the findings that a large number of toilets are in a state of disrepair and that the design itself is a problem in some cases, it is important to acknowledge that while government budgets provide for construction of new toilets, washing/painting and minor repairs, there is no budget for retro-fitting. It is, therefore, recommended that SSHE and other WATSAN programmes consider the inclusion of funds for retro-fitting.
- ▶ **Needs of adolescent girls need urgent attention:** The specific needs of adolescent girls in school need to be addressed with sensitivity. Again, as a first step, UNICEF could organize school-level workshops with girls in Classes 6 to 10 to develop a friendly and usable

toilet complex. This could easily be done under the aegis of the government's girls' education programmes NPEGEL and KGBV. These two special programmes seek to address the educational needs of girls at the upper primary level (Classes 6 to 8). Equally, the proposed secondary education mission of the government also provides a good opportunity to try out new strategies and come up with workable ideas to improve the overall schooling experience of adolescent girls.

## Promise of change

The silver lining that came through clearly during this study is that winds of change are indeed blowing in Uttar Pradesh. To begin with, the political climate in the state, and indeed in most parts of India, is favourable and social inclusion/exclusion issues are being addressed in almost all walks of life. The government has taken positive steps and as a result awareness levels in society have increased. The contrast between the good case study and the one where things have gone wrong throws up some valuable lessons. An active campaign in the community and in the village can set in motion a momentum for change. Schools do not stand alone and a school sanitation programme needs to be embedded in the school and the community.

# 6

## Conclusions and Recommendations from a Regional Perspective

This chapter provides the Conclusions and Recommendations from the Regional Perspective document, which summarizes the findings for all the country studies and goes beyond to raise issues that need to be addressed by those operating at the level of national policy, by those involved in implementation, and at school level. Thus the Conclusions and Recommendations for India from the previous chapter can be seen here in a wider regional context.

### 6.1 Conclusions

The UNICEF study points to several conclusions, some of which reflect earlier findings of the initial literature study and others which differ to some extent from these findings. While some conclusions are inevitably specific to individual countries others reveal messages which pertain across the four countries.

An overall conclusion which can be drawn is that lack of access to water and sanitation does not appear on its own to be a reason for permanent exclusion of children from school, although it might well provide a contributory factor. Most children said that if they had the opportunity to study then they would, and that teachers turning up regularly and teaching well were what made it worthwhile coming to school. This emphasis on the importance of seeing water and sanitation issues within the overall context of quality education is important. The India report in particular expresses concern that the lack of coordination between those involved in water and sanitation and those involved in education can create 'one-dimensional preoccupations' with some individual schools becoming a showcase for cleanliness to the detriment of children's learning.

However, parallel to this, the study revealed clear evidence that decent water and sanitation facilities did certainly make a difference to the quality of children's experience. It also showed how, despite examples in all countries which contradicted this, there were still many examples both of some children being temporarily excluded from school because of inadequate facilities (this was particularly an issue for menstruating girls) and also of discrimination playing itself out in the domains of water and sanitation and of perceptions of cleanliness and uncleanliness.

#### Sufficiency and maintenance of facilities

Although the prime purpose of this study was to examine whether certain children were discriminated against in relation to water and sanitation, this could not be ascertained without a prior examination of the sufficiency and adequacy of facilities. The research showed very large variations within all four countries. In all four countries, although the schools were selected on the basis that they had been supplied with water and sanitation facilities, there were many instances of schools which had insufficient access both to safe drinking water and to toilets. The result was that many children went without water and chose either to go home or go outside the school premises to defecate. There also appeared to be uncertainty as to who had responsibility for maintenance of facilities with the result that many had been inoperable for some time.

While some facilities in all countries were reported as being well maintained and clean, many others were described as very dirty with no equipment being provided for cleaning and no soap or towels for children's handwashing. The result was that children were loath to use school toilets. In all

schools where toilets were cleaned children played a major role in this cleaning. In India, especially, concern was expressed that children could be asked to play too great a role in cleaning; however, examples in other countries showed that certain schools had created a situation in which children felt proud of the responsibility they had been given and did not appear resentful of this task. Good practice was observed in schools where it was clear who held responsibility and where teachers worked with children in maintaining facilities rather than simply imposing this task on them.

## Exclusion and discrimination

### ***Menstruating girls***

All four country studies concluded that girls, particularly adolescent girls, were disadvantaged in terms of toilet facilities. While boys expressed less concern about sanitation facilities, interviews with girls showed that there was an almost total absence of sensitivity to the requirements of menstruating girls. Girls who were menstruating tended to have nowhere to wash their sanitary cloths or dispose of their sanitary pads. They were also embarrassed by the way in which the design of facilities did not allow them necessary privacy and dignity. The result, in all countries, was that girls who were menstruating either carried on with their studies in a state of continual anxiety or they appeared simply to take days off. Both the girls and their mothers were aware that this was detrimental to their studies. In all countries menstruation was seen as a very private affair and schools do not appear to see it as their role to provide either knowledge or support – in Bangladesh, where menstruation is actually a part of the curriculum, girls and teachers reported that these sections were missed out.

### ***Children perceived as ‘unclean’***

In all schools in all four countries ‘cleanliness’ was seen as being very important. Considerable attention was paid to children’s appearance with regular inspections to see that both they and their uniforms were clean. The positive aspect of this is the pride that children take in looking clean and smart when they come to school. However, inevitably certain children, particularly those from poorer families, found it hard to adhere to these standards. In some schools there appeared to be an assumption made by teachers that children who

were less clean were also those who were less able and came from families who were less committed to their studies.

Researchers in all four countries closely observed whether or not certain children were discriminated against in terms of toilet cleaning duties, access to drinking water, being given privileges such as fetching water for teachers and seating arrangements at meal times and in the classroom. While all countries had examples of schools in which there was complete equality in all these areas, in many there was considerable discrimination.

The particular groups of children who were discriminated against varied both from country to country and within countries. While traditional caste-based discrimination was very apparent and overtly expressed by both teachers and some children in the Lalitpur district of Uttar Pradesh in India, it was not evident in Mirzapur district. In Nepal, caste-based discrimination was not apparent in the schools visited but there was some discrimination against children from the very poor Chepang community. In Bangladesh, some instances of discrimination were shown against Adivasi children and also children from the tea gardens but not against the richer Manipuri children. In Bhutan children from the Uraon community as well as children of poorer urban labourers and poorer farmers were seen as being children who often arrived dirty at school and also could sit separately from other children. This diversity of findings shows that it is hard to place discrimination into clear-cut categories. While traditional discrimination in terms of caste and ethnicity does still exist at school it is not universal. However, one overriding fact which does emerge is the importance of poverty as a key factor in discrimination.

Children themselves were very aware that traditional patterns of discrimination and exclusion, although still strong in many areas, were also beginning to change. While some of them still expressed clear opinions that certain groups of children were ‘dirty’ and not to be mixed with, others spoke of friendships which went beyond caste or ethnicity while still saying that they might be uneasy at talking about these friendships with their parents. This recognition of change was a

positive finding in the research. However, alongside this there were also indications that new elites were emerging which, like the old elites, often manifested themselves in terms of cleanliness. All countries have some examples of teacher favouritism towards children who are wealthier, whose parents have power or influence, who are seen to be more clever and who appear neat and clean. Although these children might be the sons and daughters of traditional elite families, researchers are clear in pointing out that this is not always the case. In all countries there are examples of these children manifesting their superiority in terms of cleanliness and appearance and also examples of them being the children on whom status is conferred by them being asked to fetch water for the teacher and being the children who are exempt from cleaning duties.

### Examples of good practice

All four reports showed individual schools which exhibited very positive examples of good practice. The precise way in which this good practice manifested itself inevitably varied according to particular country contexts; however, all of the examples included certain key elements.

Good practice schools all had adequate facilities and, if facilities broke down, they knew who to approach in order to get them repaired. These facilities included essential materials for cleaning the toilets and also sufficient available supplies of soap and towels. Facilities were kept clean and everyone was clear about who was responsible for cleaning. The way in which cleaning duties were carried out varied from country to country but a key common element was that those with responsibility, whether this was the village pradhan as in India or Child Clubs as in Nepal, felt and generated a real sense of pride in ensuring that facilities were clean. In all the good practice schools children had a role, sometimes a key role, in cleaning duties. However, there was no example of them feeling exploited and teachers were seen to actively support children in carrying out this role.

Children in these schools were seen not only to practise good hygiene behaviour but also to be aware of the reasons for this behaviour. An understanding of the importance of good practices had obviously been part of their curriculum and they were well aware of the link between good health and hygiene and the reduction of disease.

Finally, and probably most importantly, these schools were ones which had generated an ethos of equality. All duties and tasks were distributed on a completely equal basis without any favouritism or discrimination. Teachers did not assume that certain children would automatically sit separately and all children were accorded equal respect and dignity. Within such an ethos, it is not so much that steps are taken to discourage exclusion but rather that inclusive procedures were created which, in the words of the Nepal report, left 'no room for exclusion'.

### Transfer of good practice from school to community

All countries also gave examples of good hygiene behaviour being shared between school and home. The way in which this happened varied considerably between the different countries. While Bangladesh gives some extremely positive examples of individual children encouraging their parents to carry out what they have learnt in school, Bhutan reveals more formalized approaches which take place through parent-teacher meetings or parent awareness programmes. Interestingly, researchers in India and Nepal, whose good schools showed some exemplary practices, are very clear that transfer of good practice between school and home is far more likely to happen if a holistic approach is taken with school and community both being part of a total sanitation campaign.

In terms of children feeling able to transfer good practice in non-discrimination which they have experienced at school to home, the findings are less conclusive. While several children speak about how they feel very happy eating with and sitting next to children from other groups in school, they do also acknowledge that such behaviour would not necessarily be condoned at home. In this way many of the children showed themselves to be very aware of the distinction which still could exist between behaviour in public and private zones. However, the very positive way in which many of them spoke about friendships with children from different groups within school did reveal the pivotal role which an inclusive school can play in allowing children to explore different ways of relating and giving them a safe place where they are free of the social, hierarchical divisions which can occur outside of school. The issue which still needs to be explored

is how the behaviours which they feel free to exhibit in school might be extended outside of school.

## 6.2 Recommendations

The overall purpose of this study was to:

*raise awareness both at Government and practitioner levels of the part that issues related to water and sanitation play in children's exclusion from and discrimination within education, and to suggest actions which need to be taken at the level of policy and practice which would help to redress this situation.*

The findings fall into three main areas:

- ▶ That there need to be sufficient, well-maintained facilities to ensure equity for all students
- ▶ That there are particular issues of inclusion and non-discrimination which need to be addressed
- ▶ That there need to be procedures in place to facilitate the transfer of good practice learnt in schools to the community.

All three of these issues need to be addressed:

- ▶ At the level of national policy
- ▶ By those involved in implementation
- ▶ At school level.

This study is a regional one and recognizes that individual countries differ, hence the specific ways in which they will seek to find ways of improving their practice in regard to these issues will also differ. What follows below is a series of questions which need to be addressed by policy makers, by those involved in implementation (managers, supervisors and trainers), and by those working at the level of schools. These questions are grouped under the three headings of facilities, non-discrimination and transfer of good practice from school to community. Each set of questions is followed by suggested requirements for addressing the questions.

### 6.2.1 Sufficiency and maintenance of facilities

Country reports showed enormous variation in both sufficiency and maintenance of facilities. In one instance in Nepal there appeared to be a contradiction between the community, which held traditional beliefs that toilets should not be within or near living spaces, and the actual siting of toilets. In many instances there appeared to be confusion as to who was responsible for maintenance of facilities. Many of the good practice schools were in areas which had benefited from specific Water and Sanitation in Schools projects. While several of these were excellent there is always a concern as to how sustainable this practice will be after the project comes to an end and also whether the good practice in the project could be replicated in other schools.

Similar variation occurred in terms of the cleanliness of facilities. While some school toilets were found to be impressively clean, many others were described as 'filthy' and 'unusable'. Much of the cleaning was carried out by children. While there were instances of discrimination and exploitation, all countries also had innovative examples of ensuring that children felt a sense of responsibility and pride in keeping facilities clean, for example Child Clubs in Nepal and competitions being arranged between children in Bhutan. Schools which exhibited good practice showed teachers playing an active role in supporting children in carrying out cleaning duties.

#### Questions which need to be addressed

*For policy makers:*

- ▶ What policies are there on standards and 'sufficiency' in relation to water and sanitation facilities in schools?
- ▶ Which documents contain reference to the fact that sufficient water and sanitation facilities in schools are an essential part of an inclusive school?
- ▶ Which government department has explicit responsibility for this area?
- ▶ How is coordination between those involved with water and sanitation and those involved in education organized?

- ▶ What do policies and regulations state about who is responsible for the maintenance of these facilities?
- ▶ What procedures are in place to show how these policies will be implemented at school level?
- ▶ Where do schools get funds for maintenance from?
- ▶ Is there a maintenance grant given to schools?
- ▶ What are the national standards on school cleanliness and what are the systems for monitoring these?
- ▶ What do policies and regulations say about cleaning toilets and about the involvement of children in cleaning in ways which are not exploitative of them?

*For managers, supervisors and trainers:*

- ▶ How do you consult with community and school members, including children, on where they feel toilets should be sited?
- ▶ How do you ensure that good practice developed in specific projects is shared and used for influencing policy and strategy, and that it feeds into wider coverage?
- ▶ In what ways do you work with people in communities and with children and teachers in schools to work out how they might best ensure that facilities are well looked after?
- ▶ How do you ensure that the involvement of children in cleaning duties is organized in ways which are not exploitative of them and which are not detrimental to their learning?

*At school level (teachers, pupils and parents):*

- ▶ Who should you approach if you feel your water and sanitation facilities are inadequate?
- ▶ Who is responsible for maintenance of these facilities?
- ▶ Who is responsible for ensuring that school facilities are regularly cleaned?
- ▶ Is sufficient equipment provided, for example cleaning equipment for toilets and also soap and towels for children?
- ▶ If children are involved in cleaning duties how can you help to ensure that this is not done in an exploitative way?
- ▶ Are cleaning duties shared out equitably between all children without discrimination or

favouritism, and if not how might this be improved?

- ▶ How do teachers actively support children in cleaning?
- ▶ How can you help to create an ethos of pride and responsibility in which all members of the school feel they have an active role to play in ensuring that facilities are kept clean?
- ▶ Who monitors cleanliness of facilities?

### **Requirements for addressing these questions**

*For policy makers:*

- ▶ Education policies which state internationally or regionally laid down standards for the ratio of water and sanitation facilities per number of children which should be provided and who is responsible for maintenance and overall monitoring of facilities
- ▶ Close collaboration at all levels between Education and Water and Sanitation Departments and officials
- ▶ Clear procedures which spell out how maintenance will be implemented and which will ensure that schools have sufficient resources to undertake ongoing maintenance and cleaning of facilities

*For managers, supervisors and trainers:*

- ▶ Discussing with community members, children and parents to ensure there is a common vision and agreement on what is required when new water and sanitation facilities are proposed
- ▶ Collaborating with local government officials and school/community members to ensure systems are in place which will enable facilities to be regularly maintained and kept clean and usable even after specific projects come to an end
- ▶ Negotiating with government officials to establish procedures for sharing good practice and mainstreaming successful projects

*At school level (teachers, pupils and parents):*

- ▶ Agreed school policies on who is responsible for cleaning facilities
- ▶ Adequate provision of hardware such as cleaning materials, soap, etc.

- ▶ Agreed structures worked out with children which ensure that children feel proud of their facilities and help to maintain them in ways which involve all children but are not exploitative of them
- ▶ Active involvement of teachers
- ▶ Agreements which ensure who is responsible for monitoring the cleanliness of facilities

### 6.2.2 Inclusion and non-discrimination

In all countries a high proportion of menstruating girls were seen to be temporarily excluded each month because of inadequate sanitation facilities. The fact that there were no facilities for them to wash sanitary cloths or dispose of pads, and also the lack of privacy, meant that many girls simply took days off when they were menstruating. There appeared to be little in the way of imparting knowledge about menstruation and examples were given of schools omitting sections of the curriculum which dealt with menstruation.

Country studies showed that in all schools visited the personal cleanliness of children was considered very important. While this is positive in that it can instil a sense of self-respect and pride there were examples of children, especially those from poorer families, who came to school not meeting the required standards. There were also examples of some teachers making an implicit assumption that these children were somehow less able and less motivated than others. While some schools had established very positive ways of ensuring inclusion of all children, for example through equity in allocation of duties or privileges and in seating arrangements, others showed clear disparities. Sometimes children were discriminated against along traditional lines of caste and ethnicity; sometimes on grounds of poverty. There were also indications of the emergence of new elites with children who came from richer or more influential families and children who appeared more clever, neater and cleaner being given additional privileges and exempt from cleaning duties.

#### Questions which need to be addressed

*For policy makers:*

- ▶ What policies exist on non-discrimination in education?

- ▶ What steps are being taken to implement these policies?
- ▶ What initial teacher training and in-service teacher training programmes are there on inclusion and non-discrimination?
- ▶ How is the importance of the 'social curriculum' recognized and are all schools encouraged to spend some teaching time focusing on issues such as social relationships, diversity and equity?
- ▶ Are any figures collected on the proportion of girls who miss school when they are menstruating and the effect this has on their achievement in education?
- ▶ Is menstruation covered as a curriculum topic and if so is the teaching of this topic included in staff training programmes?

*For managers, supervisors and trainers:*

- ▶ When starting new projects do you spend time talking with a full range of community members and children at school in order to understand the profile of the community and possible areas of discrimination?
- ▶ What steps do you take to ensure that any projects address these potential areas of inequality?
- ▶ Do you discuss with adolescent girls the particular needs they have and their suggestions for addressing these needs and incorporate these when you design facilities?

*At school level (teachers, pupils and parents):*

- ▶ How can you support those children who might find it difficult to maintain school standards of cleanliness, for example providing soap or opportunities to wash clothes or clean shoes?
- ▶ How can the School Management Committee and teachers work together to ensure that teachers do not make automatic assumptions that poor children, who might find it difficult to come to school clean, are also less clever or less motivated?
- ▶ How do you ensure that when tasks such as toilet cleaning are allocated this is done on a strict basis of equality?
- ▶ How do you also ensure that privileges, such as fetching water for a teacher, are also allocated equally amongst all children?
- ▶ What do your school policies say in relation to

ensuring that children mix between groups, for example are they encouraged to sit in different places, when groups or pairs are formed do you encourage different mixings, do you encourage friendships across different groups?

- ▶ If certain children always choose to sit on their own are there unthreatening ways in which you can give them the confidence to join in with others?
- ▶ How does your school make space for the 'social curriculum'? How does it celebrate the diversity of children in the class, for example their different languages, cultures, etc., but also emphasize the way in which everyone should have equal rights and take equal responsibilities?
- ▶ How do classroom teachers record the number of girls who might be missing class regularly because of menstruation?
- ▶ How do they ensure that these girls can catch up with work they have missed?
- ▶ What small things can you do to support girls at school when they are menstruating, for example arranging for a place where they can wash and dry cloths or having a stock of sanitary pads?
- ▶ What ideas do you have about how you might best address the topic of menstruation in the classroom, for example having a woman teacher or a woman from the community come in to have a session with a group of girls?

### Requirements for addressing these questions

*For policy makers:*

- ▶ Education policies on inclusion and non-discrimination and clear guidelines, regulations and directives which show how to implement these policies
- ▶ Monitoring on whether these policies are being implemented
- ▶ A review of initial teacher training and in-service training to ensure both of these cover practical ways in which teachers can ensure inclusion and non-discrimination
- ▶ Designated time being given within the curriculum framework to areas of 'social curriculum' which will include topics on issues such as non-discrimination and also menstruation
- ▶ Analysis of attendance figures to see if significant numbers of adolescent girls are

missing school because of being unable to manage their menstruation

*For managers, supervisors and trainers:*

- ▶ Discussing with adolescent girls and any other children who might be excluded, listening closely to what they are saying and ensuring that their requirements and ideas are responded to in practical ways
- ▶ Discussing with the full range of community members prior to implementing a project, being aware of any possible issues of discrimination and seeking to address these

*At school level (teachers, pupils, parents):*

- ▶ Looking for ways of supporting children who might find it difficult to adhere to school standards of cleanliness
- ▶ Monitoring girls who might be missing school because of menstruation, listen to what they say about this and find ways of helping them catch up on work they have missed
- ▶ Looking at ways you can better support menstruating girls, for example by arranging for a supply of pads and cloths in school
- ▶ Ensuring that all tasks (such as cleaning) and privileges (such as fetching water for teachers) are allocated on a strictly equal basis
- ▶ Looking at ways of encouraging different seating patterns – for example sometimes organizing children into groups which include a different social mix
- ▶ Ensuring that 'social curriculum' topics are given equal value to more academic subjects

### 6.2.3 Transfer of good practice from school to families and community

All country reports gave positive examples of the transfer of good practice in terms of health and hygiene behaviour from school to families. Sometimes this happened on an individual basis. Other schools organized parent–teacher meetings or parent awareness programmes. Researchers were very clear that positive interaction between school and home was most likely to occur when both school and community were being targeted in total sanitation programmes.

In terms of sharing non-discriminatory practices, children appeared very aware that they were living in a changing context and that traditional

discriminatory practice was being challenged. However, they also recognized that there often appeared to be different standards between private and public places with traditional practices still being practised at home. Within this context school was seen as an important safe place in which they could expand their group of friends and not be confined by dictates which might exist at home.

### Questions which need to be addressed

*For policy makers:*

- ▶ How does education recognize the important role which school can play as a positive agent of change?
- ▶ How is this role discussed in teacher training programmes and in-service staff development programmes?

*For managers, supervisors and trainers:*

- ▶ Do you recognize the importance of synergy between school and community and how do you seek to build creatively on this?

*At school level (teachers, pupils, parents):*

- ▶ How do teachers approach issues of health education? Do they see it not just as a textbook subject but as an area of learning which affects a child's everyday life?
- ▶ How do they encourage children to share good practices they have learnt at school with their families?
- ▶ In what ways do teachers recognize that one important role of school is that it provides children with a safe place where they can

develop friendships with different groups of children in a way they might not be able to do at home?

- ▶ Do teachers encourage children to look at ways in which non-discriminatory practices can extend beyond school into the community?
- ▶ How do you as a school seek to work with parents? What forums exist where issues dealt with at school can be discussed with parents?
- ▶ How do teachers support children if differences emerge between home and school cultures?

### Requirements for addressing these questions

*For policy makers:*

- ▶ Education policies which acknowledge the important role that education can play in encouraging positive social change
- ▶ Ensuring that these policies are discussed in all teacher training programmes

*For managers, supervisors and trainers:*

- ▶ Recognizing the importance of synergy between school and the wider community

*At school level (teachers, pupils and parents):*

- ▶ Teaching health education in ways which make it relevant for children's lives outside school
- ▶ Supporting children to use school as a place where they can feel safe to explore friendships outside of their traditional social or ethnic groupings
- ▶ Working with parents, either individually or in parent groups in order to build a bridge between school and home

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# Research Methodology for the Overall Study

## Approach

An in-depth qualitative approach was taken in all four countries focused on a specific number of sites and schools. For each site/school a picture of issues related to water and sanitation and inclusion in education was built up through observation of behaviour related to facilities and in-depth discussion with key stakeholders using a variety of research tools. The numbers of districts/sites/schools per country are detailed in the table below. The four country studies followed a common methodology with some adaptations to reflect local conditions.

Country	Number of Districts	Number of sites/villages	Total number of schools
Bangladesh	3	6	12
Bhutan	3	6	12
India	2	12	24
Nepal	3	6	12

## Methodology

The research was carried out in a number of stages:

- ▶ Stage 1: Selection of sites, interviews with key stakeholders and documentation review
- ▶ Stage 2: Collection of data from the research sites and schools
- ▶ Stage 3: Analysis and reporting

### *Stage 1: Site selection*

The districts, sites and schools were selected in consultation with the key stakeholders - primarily the government officials working in primary and secondary education at national and district levels and UNICEF Water and Sanitation and Education teams. A list of criteria for selection was drawn up by each country team to ensure the potential for inclusion of groups identified by the study (children perceived as unclean, menstruating girls and children affected by communicable diseases). Some sites were also selected where there was strong likelihood of evidence of best practice related to inclusion and water and sanitation being present.

### *Stage 2: Collection of data*

This stage formed the most significant part of the research. It focused on investigating practices related to water and sanitation and inclusion in the selected schools and their related communities (together referred to as the research site). Three days were spent at each site: Day 1 at the primary school, Day 2 at the secondary school and Day 3 with the community, with slight variations by country due to school holidays and availability of community members. At each site the researchers collected both quantitative and qualitative data as follows:

1. **Quantitative data** related to facilities and their use and enrolment/drop-out/attendance figures were collected by reviewing written documentation including registers and information on school notice boards and through discussion with headteachers and others responsible for record keeping.

2. **Qualitative data** were collected through focus group discussions, interviews, games and observation with a wide variety of groups from both within the schools and within the wider community. The major groups included in every country included:

- ▶ Children from Classes 3 and 5 in school with a bias towards the Class 5 children since it was found that the older children could give more reliable accounts and more detailed information
- ▶ Adolescent girls/boys in school in separate gender groups
- ▶ Teachers
- ▶ Headteachers
- ▶ Community members/parents of children both in and out of school with separate groups of women
- ▶ Adolescent girls/boys out of school (in the community) in separate gender groups.

In addition to these core groups a number of other respondents specific to each country were included, such as the heads of villages/areas (e.g. the Pradan in India and the Gup in Bhutan).

The main **research tools** used were focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews. Each country developed their own tools which were reviewed and revised by the lead researcher. Hence similar tools were used in all four countries which ensured consistency of data collection. There was a strong emphasis placed on encouraging respondents to talk through the use of open-ended questions. This approach encouraged the telling of stories and resulted in valuable quotations and rich data being collected. Researchers worked in pairs with one leading the questioning and the other writing down all the details to ensure the capture of stories and quotations.

For children, and in some cases adolescents, games and role play were used to put them at ease. Again this resulted in children opening up and revealing the 'real' situation. This approach gave some valuable insights into the way other children and teachers behave towards children from more marginalized groups.

Each evening the research team met together to share findings and review the emergence of themes, particularly issues related to key groups identified in the Terms of Reference. They also identified areas where improvements could be made to the data collection process and gaps where further probing was needed. Stories and quotations for inclusion in the final report were also captured through this process.

### **Stage 3: Analysis and Reporting**

**Analysis** began in the field at the review meetings at the end of each day. However, the main analysis was carried out after all the data had been collected. All four countries followed a similar process to ensure consistency. This included:

1. The reading through of scripts transcribed from the field notes and identification of themes – both those from the ToRs and additional emerging themes.
2. Coding the scripts using highlighters to identify specific references to each theme.
3. Identification of key points, quotations and stories related to each theme.
4. Consideration of recommendations related to themes.

Two **reports** were submitted by each country team:

1. An Interim Report comprising the first three chapters of the main report - Introduction, Context and Methodology – together with the set of research tools. This report and the research tools were reviewed by UNICEF ROSA and the lead researcher and suggestions made for improvements and to ensure consistency across countries.
2. A Final Report, comprising five chapters – Introduction, Context, Methodology, Findings and Analysis and Conclusions and Recommendations – was then presented to UNICEF ROSA.

# Detailed Research Data for the India Study

Table A:	Country ranking by HDI value, 2007/08
Table B:	Selected WATSAN indicators: countries by rank
Table C:	Selected education and WATSAN statistics
Table D:	Uttar Pradesh: Academic Year 2006/07
Table E:	Number of girls per 100 boys at different stages, by social group
Table F:	Gross Enrolment Ratios of Scheduled Caste children from 1986 to 2005
Table G:	Gross Enrolment Ratios of Scheduled Tribe children from 1986 to 2005
Table H:	Drop-out rates at primary and elementary stages
Table I:	Drop-out rates by gender and social group, India and UP
Table J:	Basic information about the Lalitpur and Mirzapur districts
Table K:	District-wise enrolment data (sample schools)
Table L:	District-wise enrolment and attendance on the day of visit

**Table A Country ranking by HDI value, 2007/08**

Country	Rank	HDI value (2007/08)
Iceland	1	0.968
Morocco	126	0.646
Equatorial Guinea	127	0.642
India	128	0.619
Solomon Islands	129	0.602
Lao	130	0.601
Sierra Leone	177	0.336

Source: UNDP (2008). Human Development Report

**Table B Selected WATSAN indicators: countries by rank**

Population NOT using an improved water source (%), 2004	Population using improved sanitation (%), 2004
1. Iceland (0%)	1. Iceland (100%)
83. Kazakhstan (14%)	126. Madagascar (34%)
84. Paraguay (14%)	127. Sudan (34%)
85. India (14%) <sup>28</sup>	128. India (33%) <sup>29</sup>
86. Comoros (14%)	129. Comoros (33%)
87. Philippines (15%)	130. Benin (33%)
159. Ethiopia (78%)	148. Chad (9%)

Source: UNDP (2008). Human Development Report

<sup>28</sup> Population NOT using an improved water source in 1990 was 30 per cent.

<sup>29</sup> Population using improved sanitation in 1990 was 14 per cent.

**Table C Selected education and WATSAN statistics**

	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07
% of all schools having drinking water facility			
UP	93.49	94.9	97.72
INDIA	80.6	83.07	84.89
% of all schools having common toilets			
UP	70.68	80.82	87.94
INDIA	46.82	52.39	58.13
% of all schools having girls' toilets			
UP	55.48	69.41	78.2
INDIA	32.75	37.42	42.58
Average drop-out rate at the primary level			
UP	15.5	11.53	12.33
INDIA	10.64	9.96	8.61
Retention rate at the primary level			
UP			74.48
INDIA			70.26

Source: NUEPA (2008). DISE Flash Statistics 2006-07: Elementary Education in India

**Table D Uttar Pradesh: Academic Year 2006/07**

Total Area in sq km	240,928
Total Districts	70
Total Number of Blocks	966
Total Number of Clusters	8,994
Total Number of Villages	90,804
Total Number of Schools	168,969
Total Population	166,197,920
Percentage Urban Population	20.8
0-6 Population	31,624,628
Decadal Growth Rate	25.85
Sex Ratio	898
Percentage SC Population	21.1
Percentage ST Population	0.1
Overall Literacy Rate	56.3
Male Literacy Rate	68.8
Female Literacy Rate	42.2

Source: Gol (2007). Selected Education Statistics

**Table E Number of girls per 100 boys at different stages, by social group**

			UP	India
No of girls per 100 boys	All	I-V	86	87
	All	VI-VIII	70	81
	All	IX-XII	58	72
	SC	I-V	61	81
	SC	VI-VIII	38	72
	SC	IX-XII	23	64
	ST	I-V	65	88
	ST	VI-VIII	40	78
	ST	IX-XII	36	64
Gender Parity Index	All	I-V	0.93	0.94
	All	VI-VIII	0.79	0.88
	All	IX-XII	0.67	0.80
	SC	I-V	0.67	0.87
	SC	VI-VIII	0.44	0.80
	SC	IX-XII	0.62	0.63
	ST	I-V	0.70	0.91
	ST	VI-VIII	0.48	0.84
	ST	IX-XII	0.22	0.55

Note: Gender Parity Index is the quotient of the number of females by the number of males enrolled in a given stage of education. The index measures relative access of education of males and females

Source: Gol (2007). Selected Education Statistics

**Table F Gross Enrolment Ratios of Scheduled Caste children from 1986 to 2005**

Year	Primary				Upper Primary			
	Boys	Girls	Total	% Girls	Boys	Girls	Total	% Girls
1986/87	103.8	64.8	84.8	37.31	52.7	26.6	40.4	29.9
1990/91	125.5	86.2	106.4	38.35	68.7	35.8	52.7	33.97
1995/96	109.9	83.2	97.1	41.16	71.4	44.5	58.5	36.58
2000/01	107.3	85.8	96.8	43.1	76.2	53.3	65.3	39.26
2004/05	123.3	106.6	115.3	44.81	77.9	61.5	70.2	41.39

Source: Gol (2007). Selected Education Statistics

**Table G Gross Enrolment Ratios of Scheduled Tribe children from 1986 to 2005**

Year	Primary				Upper Primary			
	Boys	Girls	Total	% Girls	Boys	Girls	Total	% Girls
1986/87	111	68.8	90.1	32.77	45.6	21.9	34.1	27.63
1990/91	125.4	81.4	104	36.57	53.9	26.7	40.7	30.4
1995/96	115	80.2	96.9	36.99	57.3	35	46.5	33.74
2000/01	116.9	85.5	101.1	40.64	72.5	47.7	60.2	36.63
2004/05	128.1	115.5	121.9	42.43	73.9	59.5	67	39.07

Source: Gol (2007). Selected Education Statistics

**Table H Drop-out rates at primary and elementary stages**

Year	Primary (1 to 5)						
	All Boys	SC Boys	ST Boys	All Girls	SC Girls	ST Girls	Total
1990/91	40.1	46.3	60.3	46	54	66.1	42.6
1995/96	41.4	43.7	55	43	48.5	58.9	42
2001/02*	38.4	43.7	51	39.9	47.1	54.1	39
2004/05*	31.81	32.7	42.6	25.42	36.1	42	29
Year	Elementary (1 to 8)						
	All Boys	SC Boys	ST Boys	All Girls	SC Girls	ST Girls	Total
1990/91	59.1	59.1	75.7	65.1	73.2	82.2	42.6
1995/96	56.6	56.6	62.3	61.7	70.5	71.2	42.1
2001/02*	50.3	50.3	67.3	57.7	63.6	72.7	39
2004/05*	50.49	50.49	65	51.28	60	67.1	61.92

\* Provisional

Source: Gol (2007). Selected Education Statistics

**Table I Drop-out rates by gender and social group, India and UP**

		UP			INDIA		
		Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All	I-V	9.76	20.15	(7.42)	25.67	28.71	21.77
All	I-VIII	41.25	42.99	38.53	48.8	48.67	48.98
All	I-X	43.02	39.66	48.34	61.62	60.1	63.56
SC	I-V	46.54	44.62	50.07	32.86	32.11	33.81
SC	I-VIII	56.7	50.51	66.93	55.17	53.68	57.12
SC	I-X	72.56	64	86.8	70.57	68.16	73.76
ST	I-V	69.62	68.05	72.03	39.79	40.21	39.29
ST	I-VIII	29.65	28.77	30.83	62.87	62.88	62.86
ST	I-X	54.18	49.77	60.35	78.52	78.02	79.21

Source: Gol (2007). Selected Education Statistics

**Table J Basic information about the Lalitpur and Mirzapur districts**

Indicators ( Census 2001)	Lalitpur	Mirzapur
Population	977,734	2,116,042
Males	519,413	
Females	458,321	
Sex Ratio	882	897
0-6 Population	200,349	425,405
Sex Ratio 0-6	931	929
SC Population	24.90%	26.80%
ST Population	0	0.01%
Rural Population	85.48%	86.46%
Literacy Rate	49.50%	55.30%
Male LR	63.80%	69.60%
Female LR	33.00%	39.30%
<b>Other information (Jan 2009, district NIC)</b>		
Tehsils	3	4
Blocks	6	12
Municipalities	1	3
Gram Panchayats	340	758
Villages	754	1966
Primary Schools	1,129	1,631
Middle Schools	373	456
Higher Secondary colleges	29	120
Colleges	3	9

Source: Census of India, Government of India (2001)

**Table K District-wise enrolment data (sample schools)**

CLASSES	ALL ENROLLED		Scheduled Caste (Dalit)		Scheduled Tribe		Muslim Minority		Handicapped		OBC		General	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Classes 1-5	684	546	178	139	78	55	1	2	3	1	383	319	40	31
Classes 6-8	572	438	155	106	87	74	7	7	5	3	254	172	64	76
Class 9	445	204	116	37	5	0	7	9	0	0	280	140	39	16
Class 10	422	197	96	28	3	1	8	8	0	0	279	130	36	30
Class 11	29	31	2	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	20	20	6	6
<b>DISTRICT MIRZAPUR</b>														
Classes 1-5	561	576	175	202	0	0	46	57	2	1	338	316	0	0
Classes 6-8	908	1014	242	238	1	3	59	53	3	2	596	709	7	9
Class 9	445	368	99	112	0	0	11	12	0	0	318	236	17	8

**Table L District-wise enrolment and attendance on the day of visit**

MIRZAPUR	PS	UPS/GIC/HSc
Children enrolled	1,137	2,742
Girls enrolled	576	1385
% girls	50.66	50.51
Present on day of visit	489	
% present	40	53.97
<b>LALITPUR</b>		
Children enrolled	1,230	2,414
Girls enrolled	546	847
% girls	42.86	42.79
Present on day of visit	403	326
% present	30.39	50.95

# Research Tools

## SCHEDULES 1A TO 1C (OBSERVATION SCHEDULES)

### SCHEDULE 1 A: SCHOOL BASIC INFORMATION & OBSERVATION SHEET (PRIMARY / ELEMENTARY)

NOTE: Exclusion manifests itself in many ways – it could be blatant or subtle – secondary literature available on schools in India reveal that inclusion / exclusion are serious issues and children from some social groups / communities experience discrimination in school. Equally gender discrimination is also present in many schools. In order to capture this the research team has to reach the school at least 1 hour before it opens – before you interview teachers / community etc. Sit there and observe the school – who opens, who cleans / sweeps the school, who fills water, who cleans the toilets, who prepares the tea, who helps the cooks with the mid-day meal (including cutting vegetables, washing). Sit quietly and observe – note down what you observe. This needs to be done in all the sample schools in order to capture blatant as well as subtle manifestations of exclusion and discrimination.

Name of the School, location:		
Teachers	Male	Female
Number of teachers		
Regular teachers		
Para-teachers		
Have had orientation / training on health / sanitation		

Enrolment – Class-wise And Social Group-wise	All enrolled		SC		ST		Muslim Minority		Handicapped		Others	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Class 1												
Class 2												
Class 3												
Class 4												
Class 5												
Total												

Attendance In The Last 2 Months (Specify The Months)	All enrolled		SC		ST		Muslim Minority		Handicapped		Others	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Class 1												
Class 2												
Class 3												
Class 4												
Class 5												
Total												

Attendance In The Last 2 Months (Specify The Months)	All enrolled		SC		ST		Muslim Minority		Handicapped		Others	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Class 1												
Class 2												
Class 3												
Class 4												
Class 5												
Total												

Drop-outs In Academic Year 2007/08 – Take This From The School Register	All enrolled		SC		ST		Muslim Minority		Handicapped		Others	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Class 1												
Class 2												
Class 3												
Class 4												
Class 5												
Total												

Facilities
Building: (pucca, kucha, number of rooms, state of building)
Play ground, adequate? Being used? Cleanliness.

Water Related	Observed information	Facilities for students	Facilities for teachers
Source (Hand pump, piped water supply, shallow pond, open well)			
Force lift pump			
Storage and use in school (pot, tank with taps)			
Waste water disposal (flows anywhere, proper channel)			
Soap available for washing hands			
Contamination related observation			
Who cleans the water pots and glasses / who fills the water			
Who sweeps / cleans the place around the hand-pump / tank etc			

Cleanliness	Yes / No	Clean	Poor cleanliness	Very poor cleanliness
Play ground				
Kitchen for mid-day meal				
Storage of MDM material				
Facilities for washing hands before MDM				
Who cleans / washes – support to cook				

Toilets	Boys	Girls	Teachers (M)	Teachers (F)
Number (student to toilet ratio)				
Type of toilet (flush, sulabh type, dry, only urinal)				
Location (specify where it is located)				
Safety & privacy (access, secure door)				
Is it disabled friendly?				
Whether it has water, distance from water source				
Facilities for washing hands				
In use				
Not in use				
Who cleans the toilets				
Who fills water etc...				
Facilities for disposal of sanitary napkins / rags				
Any other observation...				

Open Defecation / Urination Related	Boys	Girls	Teachers (M)	Teachers (F)
If there are no functioning toilets, where do they go?				
Is it inside the school?				
If no, where do they go for urination?				
Where do they go for defecation?				

Sewage / Solid Waste Disposal / Cleanliness	Very hygienic	Hygienic but not organized	Poor hygiene	Very poor hygiene
Overall cleanliness of classrooms				
Overall cleanliness of surrounding areas (play area etc)				
Overall cleanliness of toilets				
Overall cleanliness of water storage facilities				
Who sweeps the school / surroundings				
Garbage disposal				
Who clears the garbage				

Observation During The Day	Boys	Girls	Teachers (M)	Teachers (F)
Do children wash their hands after using toilet?				
Do children wash their hands before / after mid-day meal?				
Do they use soap?				
Do they use mud, ash or any other cleaning agent?				
Does the teacher supervise hand washing etc?				

## SCHEDULE 1 B: SCHOOL: BASIC INFORMATION & OBSERVATION SHEET (HIGH SCHOOL / SECONDARY SCHOOL)

NOTE: Exclusion manifests itself in many ways – it could be blatant or subtle – secondary literature available on schools in India reveal that inclusion / exclusion are serious issues and children from some social groups / communities experience discrimination in school. Equally gender discrimination is also present in many schools. In order to capture this the research team has to reach the school at least 1 hour before it opens – before you interview teachers / community etc. Sit there and observe the school – who opens, who cleans / sweeps the school, who fills water, who cleans the toilets, who prepares the tea, who helps the cooks with the mid-day meal (including cutting vegetables, washing). Sit quietly and observe – note down what you observe. This needs to be done in all the sample schools in order to capture blatant as well as subtle manifestations of exclusion and discrimination.

Name of the School, location:		
Teachers	Male	Female
Number of teachers		
Regular teachers		
Para-teachers		
Have had orientation / training on health / sanitation		

Enrolment – Class-wise And Social Group-wise	All enrolled		Scheduled Caste (Dalit)		Scheduled Tribe		Muslim Minority		Handicapped		Other excluded group	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Class 6												
Class 7												
Class 8												
Class 9												
Class 10												
Total												

Attendance In The Last 2 Months (Specify The Months)	All enrolled		Scheduled Caste (Dalit)		Scheduled Tribe		Muslim Minority		Handicapped		Other excluded group	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Class 6												
Class 7												
Class 8												
Class 9												
Class 10												
Total												

Drop Outs In Academic Year 2007-08 – Take This From The School Register	All enrolled		Scheduled Caste (Dalit)		Scheduled Tribe		Muslim Minority		Handicapped		Other excluded group	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Class 6												
Class 7												
Class 8												
Class 9												
Class 10												
Total												

## Facilities

Building: (pucca, kucha, number of rooms, state of building)  
 Play ground, adequate? Being used? Cleanliness.

Water Related	Observed information	Facilities for students	Facilities for teachers
Source (Hand pump, piped water supply, shallow pond, open well)			
Storage and use in school (pot, tank with taps)			
Is the water quality good? Is it salty, brackish, dirty, smelly?			
Waste water disposal (flows anywhere, proper channel)			
Soap available for washing hands			
Contamination related observation			
Who cleans the water pots and glasses / who fills the water			
Who sweeps / cleans the place around the hand-pump / tank etc			

	Yes / No	Clean	Poor cleanliness	Very poor cleanliness
Play ground				
Kitchen for mid-day meal				
Who cleans / washes – support to cook				

Toilets	Boys	Girls	Teachers (M)	Teachers (F)
Number (student to toilet ratio)				
Type of toilet (flush, sulabh type, dry, only urine)				
Location (specify where it is located)				
Safety (access, secure door)				
Is it disabled friendly?				
Whether it has water, distance from water source				
In use				
Not in use				
Who cleans the toilets				
Who fills water etc...				
Any other observation...				

Open Defecation / Urination Related	Boys	Girls	Teachers (M)	Teachers (F)
If there are no functioning toilets where do they go?				
Is it inside the school?				
If no, where do they go for urination?				
Where do they go for defecation?				

Water Disposal / Cleanliness	Very hygienic	Hygienic but not organised	Poor hygiene	Very poor hygiene
Garbage disposal				
Overall cleanliness of classrooms				
Overall cleanliness of surrounding areas (play area etc)				
Overall cleanliness of toilets				
Overall cleanliness of water storage facilities				
Facilities for washing hands				
Who sweeps the school / surroundings				
Who clears the garbage				

Observation During The Day	Boys	Girls	Teachers (M)	Teachers (F)
Do children wash their hands after using toilet?				
Do children wash their hands before mid-day meal?				
Do they use soap?				
Do they use mud, ash or any other cleaning agent?				
Does the teacher supervise hand washing etc?				

## SCHEDULE 1 C: BASIC INFORMATION ON THE VILLAGE / PANCHAYAT

Get The Information From The Village Pradhan Or From The Panchayat.

Name of the village / panchayat (specify)										
Get From Panchayat Or Else Take From 2001 Census With A Projection For 2009	Male	Female	SC-M	SC-F	ST-M	ST-F	Min-M	Min-F	Other-M	Other-F
Total population of the village (latest government information)										
Population 0–6 years										
Population 6–11 years										
Population 11–19 years										

Safe drinking water	Village	Panchayat
Is the village / panchayat covered under any drinking water programme?		
If yes, are all habitations covered?		
Are any habitations left out?		
What is the main drinking water source in the village – list all of them		

Sanitation	Village	Panchayat
Is the village / panchayat covered under any sanitation programme?		
If yes, give basic details of the programme		
Are all habitations covered under the programme?		
If no, list the habitations / areas excluded		
Rough estimate of the proportion of houses that have toilets		
Are there any habitations / hamlets with no toilets?		
If yes, list the hamlets along with the social profile of people living in them		

Solid waste management	Village	Panchayat
What is the mechanism for solid waste disposal		
Are all habitations covered under solid waste disposal system?		
If no, are any habitations left out?		
If yes, list the hamlets along with the social profile of people living in them		

Sewage water and drainage	Village	Panchayat
Is there a drainage system?		
For rain water		
For liquid waste disposal		
Are all habitations covered?		
If no, are any habitations left out?		
If yes, list the hamlets along with the social profile of people living in them		

## SCHEDULE 2: SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEW (IN-DEPTH)

Notes For The Researchers:

With Head Teacher, One Teacher In School (Handling Watsan), One Woman Teacher, One More Teacher – In A Group

Take At Least 1 Hour To Conduct The Interview

Instead Of Individual Interview With Head Teacher, You Could Request Few Teachers To Join Head Teacher When This Semi-structured Interview Is Being Administered.

	Questions to ask / explore	Categories	Remarks
	<b>General / Introductory</b>		
1	Name	Male Female	
2	Age		
3	Caste / community		
4	What are your responsibilities	Supervision Classes teaching Mid-day Meal WATSAN related Administrative Others duties	
5	Qualification		
6	Are you a regular teacher, contract teacher or parateacher?		
	<b>Attendance / Drop Out Related</b>	<b>Note down the response in detail.</b>	
7	Are all children regular? If no, who are not regular?		
8	Explore if any specific category of children are not regular, & are often absent		
9	Do you notice any difference between boys and girls?		
10	Are children from any specific social group, community, location (residence) more prone to being absent?		
11	Do you notice any difference between pre-pubescent girls and those who have attained puberty? (Explore if girls absent themselves during menstrual periods, specific illness that may be linked to water & sanitation)		
12	How many boys / girls have dropped out this academic year?		
13	What are the reasons for them dropping out? (In particular explore if girls have dropped out after menarchy. Also explore if some students dropped out due to severe illness – especially communicable diseases that are caused by poor sanitation and unsafe drinking water)		
14	Has your school made any efforts to improve attendance? If yes, what? Explore if there is a Meena Manch for girls and what the activities of the manch are. Explore if there are any forums for post-puberty girls to come together with a lady teacher to share problems and also manage their periods while in school.		
	<b>Water Related</b>	<b>Note down the response in detail.</b>	
15	What is the drinking water source in your school?		
16	Do children drink water from the source or is the water stored?		
17	How is the water stored?		
18	Who fills the water?		
19	When was it last cleaned?		
20	How was it cleaned?		
21	If there is a handpump, do you have any provision to dispose waste water?		
22	Has your school received any funds for drinking water facilities?		
23	Are there facilities for children to wash their hands after they use the toilet?		
24	Are there facilities for children to wash their hands before they have their meal?		
25	Is soap provided by the school?		

26	If no, then what do children use to wash their hands?		
27	Do you have a budget for repair, maintenance and cleanliness of water source / water storage facilities, dispensers etc?		
	<b>Toilet Related</b>	<b>Note down the response in detail.</b>	
28	Are there adequate toilets for students and teachers?		
29	What is the source of water?		
30	Who fills the water (in case it is a tank / pot kept in the toilet)?		
31	Do girls use the toilet?		
32	Do boys use the toilet?		
33	What is the mechanism for disposal of sanitary napkin or sanitary rag in the toilet?		
34	If there are no functioning toilets for girls / women teachers – where do they go?		
35	How far is it from the school?		
36	If there are no functioning toilets for boys / male teachers – where do they go?		
37	How far is it from the school?		
38	Do you think having a functioning toilet makes a difference?		
39	If yes, what difference does it make?		
40	Is there a difference between boys / girls in this regard?		
41	Are there any specific government / sponsored programmes in your school (to improve water / sanitation)?		
42	Are the toilets safe to use – especially for young children, girls (explore each separately)?		
43	Do you have a budget for repair, maintenance, cleanliness of toilets?		
	<b>Prevalent Practices</b>		
44	Who cleans the classrooms?		
45	How frequently are they cleaned?		
46	What is the system for cleaning the toilets?		
47	How frequently are they cleaned?		
48	Who sweeps the play ground?		
49	How frequently is it swept?		
50	Do children wash their hands after going to the toilet?		
51	Do children wash their hands before they have their meal?		
52	Do you notice any differences among children – specific to gender, social group, age etc?		
53	Do you check the nails and hair of children? If yes, how frequently?		
54	Do you talk to children about personal hygiene? If yes, when, where and how frequently? (Explore this specific to girls during their menstrual periods)		
55	Do you talk to children about environmental hygiene? If yes, when, where and how frequently?		
	<b>Watsan Committee / Children's Forum (Maybe The SMC Itself Does This Work)</b>	<b>School committee (adults)</b>	<b>Children's forum / panchayat / Meena Manch</b>
56	Is there any water / sanitation committee in the school?		
57	If yes, when was it constituted?		
58	Who are the members?		
59	Who is the convenor?		
60	What are the responsibilities of the committee?		
61	How frequently does it meet?		
62	What, according to you are the main accomplishments of the committee in the last one year?		
63	Can you tell us about one or two notable activities of the committee?		
64	Is there a Meena Manch for girls in the school / village or are there any other forums for children (Bal Panchayat etc.)		
65	Explore – open ended, if water and sanitation facilities – their presence / absence affects children's attendance / retention. In particular explore if it makes a difference to girls. Also talk about whether specific groups of children are affected more than others. End the interview after a general discussion and ask if the teacher / Head Teacher would like to share any other thoughts / experiences on the issues discussed.		

## SCHEDULES 3A to 3F: FOCUSED GROUP DISCUSSIONS

NOTE FOR RESEARCHERS: Make sure there are between 10 to 15 (maximum) in a FGD group. Sit in a circle and introduce the research team and tell them what you are doing in the village and why you would like to speak to this group. Start with some warming up exercise and make sure everyone is relaxed.

### SCHEDULE 3 A: FGD WITH ADOLESCENT GIRLS IN SCHOOL (to be conducted only by female investigators)

NOT MORE THAN 15 GIRLS IN EACH GROUP

QUESTIONS TO EXPLORE – DO NOT PROMPT – LET THEM RESPOND

Opening remarks on why we are here and why we would like to speak to adolescent girls. Start with a general discussion on schools and those who remain in school till they finish and those who drop out. This warm up discussion may help us capture issues that may not be in the questions below. Please add specific questions if you come across any important issue.

Start with general discussion about the school and what they enjoy in school, what they like best about their school – ensure this is a fun-filled opening session and make sure the students are relaxed. If necessary play some warming up games.

Then go on to what it is like being in the school the whole day – do they get hungry, tired and what is it that they do not like about their school. Again, reassure the students that this is for general information and that confidentiality is assured.

1	Do girls face any specific problem in school – something that is specific to girls?
2	What do you do when you are thirsty and need to drink water?
3	Are you aware of what is 'safe water' and what is not?
4	Is the water safe to drink?
5	Is the water quality good? Is it salty, brackish, dirty, smelly?
6	Do you – as students – have a role in maintaining, cleaning, filling water? If yes, what is your role?
7	Are there facilities to wash hands – water, soap, ash, etc?
8	Are there functioning toilets in your school?
9	Is yes – is it safe to use? Is it clean?
10	Who cleans the toilets? Who clears the garbage from the toilet?
11	What is the source of water for the toilets?
12	What do you do when you have your monthly periods? Can you use the toilets during your periods? Is there sufficient water and soap to wash, place to dispose sanitary pads / rags? Do you face any specific problem using the toilets during periods?
13	Do some girls stay at home?
14	Do you know of any girl who was pulled out or dropped out of school after she attained puberty?
15	If yes, why were the girls pulled out / dropped out?
16	Have you had any lessons / workshops on hygiene (especially menstrual hygiene)?
17	Is there any programme in your village / Panchayat to improve the sanitation situation?
18	Is there a Meena Manch in your village? If so what does this forum do?
19	If yes, can you tell us about the programme?

### SCHEDULE 3 B: FGD WITH ADOLESCENT GIRLS WHO ARE OUT OF SCHOOL (to be conducted only by female investigators)

NOT MORE THAN 15 GIRLS IN EACH GROUP

QUESTIONS TO EXPLORE – DO NOT PROMPT – LET THEM RESPOND

Opening remarks on why we are here and why we would like to speak to adolescent girls. Start with a general discussion on schools and those who remain in school till they finish and those who drop out. This warm-up discussion may help us capture issues that may not be in the questions below. Add specific questions if you come across any important issue.

Start with general discussion about schooling – why some children / adolescents continue and why some drop out. Ensure this is a fun-filled opening session and make sure the students are relaxed. If necessary play some warming up games.

Then go on to what it would be like being in the school the whole day – do students get hungry, tired and what is it that they did not like about their school (when they were enrolled). Again, reassure the students that this is for general information and that confidentiality is assured.

1	Do girls face any specific problem in school – something that is specific to girls? Check why they dropped out.
2	Were toilet facilities an important issue when you were in school?
3	If yes, were they important for girls?
4	Do you know of any girl who was pulled out or dropped out of school after she attained puberty? Can you all – one by one – tell us when and why you dropped out of school. Explore if the reasons include discrimination in school, puberty related.
5	Why do girls drop out or are pulled out of school? Explore various causes of girls dropping out and whether they are related to water / sanitation issues, puberty related issues or any other issue that may be caused by discriminatory practices in school
6	Did it have anything to do with availability of toilets?
7	Did it have anything to do with access to sanitary napkins / sanitary rags?
8	Do you think the school could have done something to retain them in school?
9	Do you have proper sanitation / toilet facilities at your home / locality?
10	If no, how do you deal with the calls of nature?
11	If no, how do you manage during your periods?
12	Is there any programme in your village / Panchayat to improve the sanitation situation?
13	Is there a Meena Manch in your village, if yes, what does this Manch do?
14	If yes, can you tell us about the programme?

### SCHEDULE 3 C: FGD WITH ADOLESCENT BOYS IN SCHOOL

NOT MORE THAN 15 BOYS IN EACH GROUP

QUESTIONS TO EXPLORE – DO NOT PROMPT – LET THEM RESPOND

Opening remarks on why we are here and why we would like to speak to adolescent boys. Start with a general discussion on schools and those who remain in school till they finish and those who drop out. This warm-up discussion may help us capture issues that may not be in the questions below. Please add specific questions if you come across any important issue.

Start with general discussion about the school and what they enjoy in school, what they like best about their school – ensure this is a fun-filled opening session and make sure the students are relaxed. If necessary play some warming up games.

Then go on to what it is like being in the school the whole day – do they get hungry, tired and what is it that they do not like about their school. Again, reassure the students that this is for general information and that confidentiality is assured.

1	Do boys face any specific problem in school – something that is specific to boys (and not girls)?
2	What do you do when you are thirsty and need to drink water?
3	Are you aware of what is 'safe water' and what is not?
4	Is the water safe to drink?
5	Is the water quality good? Is it salty, brackish, dirty, smelly?
6	Do you – as students – have a role in maintaining, cleaning, filling water? If yes, what is your role?
7	Are there functioning toilets in your school?
8	If no, where do you go when you need to use the toilet?
9	Do you wash your hands after using the toilet? Or after you go out in the open?
10	Is there any soap, ash, mud or any cleaning agent in your school?
11	Are the toilets safe to use – for small children, for girls?
12	Who cleans the toilets?
13	What is the source of water for the toilets?
14	Do you know of any girl who was pulled out or dropped out of school after she attained puberty?
15	If yes, why were the girls pulled out / dropped out? Have any of your sisters dropped out from school? Why did they drop out or were they pulled out? Explore any water, sanitation, puberty related issues.
16	Have you had any lessons / workshops on personal hygiene?
17	Is there any programme in your village / Panchayat to improve the sanitation situation?
18	If yes, can you tell us about the programme?

### SCHEDULE 3 D: FGD WITH ADOLESCENT BOYS OUT OF SCHOOL

QUESTIONS TO EXPLORE – DO NOT PROMPT – LET THEM RESPOND  
NOT MORE THAN 15 BOYS IN EACH GROUP

Start with a general discussion on schools and those who remain in school till they finish and those who drop out. This warm-up discussion may help us capture issues that may not be in the questions below. Please add specific questions if you come across any important issue.

Opening remarks on why we are here and why we would like to speak to adolescent boys.

Start with general discussion about schooling – why some children / adolescents continue and why some drop out. Ensure this is a fun-filled opening session and make sure the students are relaxed. If necessary play some warming up games.

Then go on to what it would be like being in the school the whole day – do students get hungry, tired and what is it that they did not like about their school (when they were enrolled). Again, reassure the students that this is for general information and that confidentiality is assured.

1	Do boys face any specific problem in school – something that is specific to boys? Have any boys dropped out because of specific problems / issues?
2	Were safe drinking water and toilet facilities an important issue when you were in school?
3	Where do you get drinking water from? Is it clean?
4	Do you have proper sanitation / toilet facilities at your home / locality?
5	If no, how do you deal with the calls of nature?
6	Do you know of any girl who was pulled out or dropped out of school after she attained puberty?
7	If yes, why were the girls pulled out / dropped out? Have any of your sisters dropped out from school? Why did they drop out or were they pulled out? Explore any water, sanitation, puberty related issues.
8	Did it have anything to do with availability of toilets?
9	Is there any programme in your village / Panchayat to improve the sanitation situation?
10	If yes, can you tell us about the programme?

### SCHEDULE 3 E: FGD WITH VILLAGE EDUCATION + WATSAN COMMITTEE

QUESTIONS TO EXPLORE – DO NOT PROMPT – LET THEM RESPOND  
NOT MORE THAN 15 PERSONS IN EACH GROUP

Opening remarks on why we are here and why we would like to speak to VEC / SMC / Watsan committee. Start with a general discussion on schools and those who remain in school till they finish and those who drop out. This warm up discussion may help us capture issues that may not be in the questions below. Please add specific questions if you come across any important issue.

1	Do children in your school have access to safe drinking water?
2	Are there any issues with respect to the safety of water (arsenic, brackishness, salty etc)
3	Does the school have a dedicated water source? Who installed it?
4	Who cleans the school and the surrounding area?
5	Is there any system for solid waste disposal?
6	Let us now come to toilets – does your school have toilet facilities for boys, girls, male and female teachers?
7	Is it being used? Explore water availability, safety, cleanliness issues (one by one, gently)
8	Is there any programme in your village / Panchayat to improve the school sanitation situation?
9	What is it – can you tell us about it?
10	Do you know of any girl who was pulled out or dropped out of school after she attained puberty?
11	If yes, why were the girls pulled out / dropped out? Did it have anything to do with toilets?
12	What is the role of your committee? SEC? WATSAN? Depending on the committee that you find in the village.
13	What has the committee done in the last one year?
14	Does the Panchayat have a programme for water and sanitation?
15	If yes, what is it and what is the budgetary allocation during this year?

### SCHEDULE 3 F: FGD IN THE MOST DEPRIVED HABITATION OF THE VILLAGE

DO NOT PROMPT – LET THEM RESPOND  
NOT MORE THAN 15 PERSONS IN EACH GROUP

Opening remarks on why we are here and why we would like to speak to them; assure them of complete confidentiality

1	Do children in your school have access to safe drinking water?
2	Are there any issues with respect to the safety of water (arsenic, brackishness, salty etc)
3	Does the school have a dedicated water source? Who installed it?
4	Who cleans the school and the surrounding area?
5	Is there any system for solid waste disposal?
6	Let us now come to toilets – does your school have toilet facilities for boys, girls, male and female teachers?
7	Is it being used? Explore water availability, safety, cleanliness issues (one by one, gently)
8	Is there any programme in your village / Panchayat to improve the school sanitation situation?
9	What is it – can you tell us about it?
10	Do you know of any girl who was pulled out or dropped out of school after she attained puberty? Have any of your daughters dropped out from school? Why did they drop out or were they pulled out?
11	Does this have anything to do with the water and sanitation facilities in school?
12	Do children from some socio-economic group face more problems than others in the school? Have you noticed any obvious discrimination against children from specific social groups / parental occupation / illness / disease?
13	If yes, can you share any specific instances / examples of discrimination or obvious disadvantage?
14	Are children in your hamlet comfortable in school?
15	If no, can you please elaborate – with examples (assure confidentiality)

## SCHEDULE 4

### STRUCTURED ACTIVITIES WITH CHILDREN IN CLASSES 3, 5, 6 AND 7

#### FOR CLASS 3 – BOYS AND GIRLS TOGETHER

MAKE SURE THERE ARE NOT MORE THAN 15 CHILDREN IN ONE GROUP

MAXIMUM TIME 35–40 MINUTES WITH CLASS 3 CHILDREN

Ask the children to form a circle, hold hands (example, may be changed)

Start with some games – like 'fire in the mountain, Run! Run! Run!' – use a Hindi version of this

When you stop the music – ask children to form groups of 3, then 5 and then 4

Let the children relax and enjoy the game

Start with what we do from morning to evening – from getting up in the morning ... This has to be done in a fun manner so that children relax and talk about all kinds of things ...

Introduce water ...

Facilitator pretends to be a child in school – I am thirsty, I am thirsty! – I need water.

Go towards one group of children and ask – where do I get water to drink?

Then pretend to go to the 'source'

Kya, is mein pani hai? Is there any water here?

Ask the children? Ask those who say there is water to come into blue circle (drawn with chalk) and those who say there is no water into the white circle (drawn with chalk). Note down numbers in each circle

Kya har samai is mein pani hota hai? Does this always have water?

Ask the children. Ask those who say there is water all the time into blue circle (drawn with chalk) and those who say there is no water into the white circle (drawn with chalk). Note down numbers in each circle

Chalo – pani ke bare mein bath karte hain (let's talk about water)

Kya ye pani saaf hai? Yes in Blue circle and No in White circle? Note down numbers in each circle

Aareeee – Su Su aiyee hai (want to go to the loo)

Repeat the same game – ask the children where is the toilet? Note down numbers in each circle

Run out and look for it and come back ... children may laugh...

Now explore practices:

Hand washing after using the toilet.

Hand washing before eating mid-day meal.

After this, get the children to sit in a circle ...

Now talk to them (raising hands)

Who cleans the classrooms?

Who cleans the water pump area?

Who cleans the pot where water is stored?

Who cleans the toilet?

Use local language and creative games to get them to tell you who does what ...

### FOR CLASS 5, 6, 7 – BOYS AND GIRLS SEPARATELY

MAKE SURE THERE ARE NOT MORE THAN 10 CHILDREN IN ONE GROUP

MAXIMUM TIME 35–40 MINUTES WITH CLASS 5 CHILDREN

Issues to explore – through games:

Same format as above – the game can be pitched at a slightly higher level for 11–12 year old children.

Practices with respect to drinking water storage / use

Hand washing

Toilet facilities

Safety of toilets – it is safe to go

Talk to boys and girls separately

Changes that we have seen in the school in the last 2 years (since they were in 3rd standard – this is very important in schools covered under SSHE or any other school sanitation programme) – use the history time line method to get children to talk about how the school has changed.

### FOR CLASS 5, 6, 7 – BOYS AND GIRLS SEPARATELY

MAKE SURE THERE ARE NOT MORE THAN 10 CHILDREN IN ONE GROUP

MAXIMUM TIME 35–40 MINUTES WITH CLASS 5 CHILDREN

As they are older children – we can organize a more structured activity to explore the same issues.

Organize the students in groups of 5 and give them one question / topic to discuss among themselves – give 2 topics to each group

Ask them to present through drawing / charts – followed by a group discussion

Organize discussion / drawing around four themes:

Water – source, safety, disposal, hygiene

Toilets – usability, safety, cleanliness (who cleans)

Menstrual Hygiene – for girls and linked issues (if privacy can be ensured)

Inclusion / exclusion related issues – do all children have equal access, equal responsibility? Are some children / students exempted from cleaning duties?

## SCHEDULE 5

Semi-structured Interviews	
5A	ANM/ASHA/LMP or health service provider
5B	Local Health Service Provider
5C	Women's group Leader
5D	Pradhan / village head
USE SAME QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ALL 5	

No.	Questions to explore	Categories	Observation – record the response in detail
1	Name	Male Female	
2	Age and educational level		
3	Social group / community		
4	What post do you hold in the village / panchayat? (if any)		
5	What services do you provide?	Information and communication Health education Health care service Others (specify)	
6	Are there any formal community forums for health, water and sanitation, education?	List	
7	What are the most common illnesses among children / adolescents in the village. List them		
8	According to you / in your opinion are the above illness / ailments linked to:	Nutrition Water Toilets Drainage Garbage disposal Household occupation Housing Any other (Specify)	
9	Are there any severely malnourished children in the village?		
10	Are there any children with disability in the village?		
11	How many and what is the nature of disability?		
12	Do you think availability / non-availability of toilets in school has an impact on enrolment, retention, drop out. Do they make a difference to girls? To boys? Older girls? Older boys? (Do not prompt)		
13	Are there any special programmes / provisions for school level health, sanitation and water?		
14	If yes, what are they?	Do not prompt answers – leave it open-ended.	
15	Is there any appreciable change in the health status of children in the last five years? If yes, can you attribute them to any specific change / development in the village?	Cough Cold Fever Polio Diarrhoea Respiratory illness Worms Malaria Measles Skin problems – boils, etc. Others (specify) Others (specify)	
16	Do you know of any school / village where there is a really good WATSAN programme that has made a huge difference. If yes, can you give us the name of the school and also why you think it is a good practice.		

# 4

## ANNEX

### Case Studies

#### Case 1

#### Best practice: From school to village

#### Khanjadipur

Khanjadipur is a Nirmal Gram located in Rajgarh block of Mirzapur district, which comes under the Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC) launched in 2000/01, under the department of Panchayati Raj in collaboration with UNICEF. The village has a population of 1,750, of which the majority is OBC, followed by SCs. The pradhan, a lady, Nitu Singh, is represented by her husband, who plays an active role in village governance with special commitment to sanitation and village development – thus he is referred to as *Pradhan Pati* (Pradhan's Husband).

A tour of the village presents an overall positive picture: closed drains, well-used garbage bins, hand pumps with platforms and proper drainage for waste water, enclosed bathing shelters for women, public urinals for men, and clean, litter-free village roads.

The small but well contained primary school is located on the main road, across which was located the upper primary school. At the primary school, the toilets for both boys and girls were child friendly in design, including those for the 3–5 year old Anganwadi children. However, accessibility to them for children with disabilities was a problem.

The school toilet was clean and appeared well used. There was sweeper who came in weekly, but children maintained the cleanliness over the week. The toilet usage and cleaning habits of children were also evident in their homes, as witnessed during the village visit.

The water facility was via a force lift hand pump which supplied clean potable water to washbasins which had taps for hand washing. As an alternative, a submersible pump was linked to the hand pump, which children knew how to operate to fill up the tank; children, both boys and girls, were checking the overhead tank to see it was full. The drain from the hand pump platform was linked to the covered drain of the village.

A garbage bin was located at the rear end of the school – the children dumped their daily litter in it, and this was cleaned by the sweeper once a week.

The handwashing practices after toilet use, and before/after meals, and even after cleaning up the campus, were observed. These practices have been transferred by the children to their families, as they have educated their siblings and parents, and often do the cleaning themselves too.

They have a committee to organize the MDM, seating arrangements during the meals, and cleaning up after the meal. No gender/caste-based segregation is visible in classroom practices; nor between haves and have-nots since all homes had toilets and were using them.

Children are aware of scabies, and segregated those children who appeared to be affected by this disease. They are aware about various sources of potable water, difference between clean and dirty water, harmful effects of using dirty water, benefits of using toilets, etc.

The upper primary school has one hand pump; its water is not being used for drinking, but only for toilet usage. Drinking water is accessed from the primary school and stored in a container. The toilets and the urinals for boys are being used. The girls' toilet stays locked for purposes of tracking by the teachers as to who is using it and when. The overhead tank, supplied with water via a submersible pump, often does not fill up due to shortage of electricity. Children often have to fetch water in buckets from the hand pump for the teachers' usage.

There is no disposal facility for sanitary towels in the toilets or school, though the lady teacher was stocking sanitary towels.

There is a 'sanitation corner' being used by children. Dustbins have been fabricated by the children, and they are using these in the classes.

Neither the toilets nor the school have ramps for two children with disability (a boy and a girl in Classes 6 and 7 respectively).

Gender segregation is evident with respect to cleaning responsibilities of girls and boys, and while eating the meals – girls sit separately in the school verandah. The boys were responsible for opening and locking the classrooms, but school cleaning activities were shared equally by boys and girls. Children in both the primary school and upper primary school remain clean and presentable, with nails pared and hair combed: this shows that the children's club is active and conscious about personal hygiene matters relating to children.

The community is aware of sanitation in the village and also supports school sanitation programmes. Each of the areas is clean and devoid of garbage, litter and cattle excreta. The village hand pumps are used for water collection, and not for public bathing; their drainage is connected to the closed drainage system of the village. A sweeper comes once in a week, and collects the garbage from bins and burns it. Sanitation practices and toilet usage are monitored by the village committee, the pradhan, the women's self help group (SHG), the children, and the vigilant youth. Sanitation is a major agenda item in the village, so it is included in their discussions, is practised and monitored. Children share information with parents about toilet cleaning (with a brush and toilet cleaner), so they are well informed how to maintain and clean their toilets.

Open defecation is something all villagers are against. There is close monitoring of this by people who use torches at night and early morning to discourage violators. The village youth are particularly active in this regard. The best advocacy for this village is provided by a young man who does wall paintings, as he also visits other villages in the area for this purpose. He calls on people to come to his village and see the impact of total sanitation – '*Hamare gaon me aao aur dekho* (come and see our village).'

However, a few years ago Khanjadipur was different. There was no system for garbage disposal in the village, including lack of a system for disposal of sanitary towels, which were buried in fields by girls and women then.

There were instances of drop-outs reported by out-of-school adolescents – drop-out of boys was mainly due to economic reasons and a few girls were married off, thus they left schooling.

The boys mention that earlier there was discrimination in the seating arrangements between OBC and SC children in school and also there was not as much monitoring of sanitary practices in the village as there is today.

This village has been able to sustain its practices for sanitation and hygiene in the community and the school due to awareness, education and involvement of community members in the effort. The school and the children have no doubt been the pivots of learning and practices, but the positives have been transferred to the homes and community. Apart from this, the facilitating infrastructure – drains, garbage bins, roads and water availability, along with the presence of a sweeper in the village – have made a difference.

Along with the services, demography of the village has been a crucial factor impacting upon the effectiveness of efforts made. There are mainly two caste groups residing in the village and there is evidently not much caste and social conflict to divide people for developing an identity of a clean and sanitary village. The agency of the pradhan too is critical in making people aware and educated about sanitation and for providing the infrastructure and spending funds allocated for its construction and maintenance.

## **Case 2**

### **A model showcase school contrasted with low level of community practice**

#### **Nuaon**

The Nuaon Primary School in Rajgarh Block of Mirzapur district is a showcase school, under the Total Sanitation Campaign of Uttar Pradesh.

The very active village pradhan is a practising doctor, and he has been able to convert his village into a *Nirmal Gram*. There are three schools – two primary and one upper primary – in this large village of predominantly OBC households (approximately 82% of the total village population). There are some Muslim families in the village who live in a segregated area outside the village, and some SC families living at the periphery.

Upon entering one primary school one is impressed by the well organized and maintained campus as well as the school's sanitation facilities. The sanitation facilities are more than adequate for the small school (122 children). There are separate toilet units for boys, girls and teachers, and three extra ones for guests. They are well maintained by the children as are the other facilities like the playground, the dining shed area, wash basins, a clean driveway, with adequate water supply. The handwashing facility is near the kitchen, with wash basins and soap which children are seen to be using. Drinking water is stored in a tank which is filled daily via a submersible pump and cleaned once a month by the children.

The students have formed teams for cleaning the premises and toilets (with brushes and toilet cleaning chemicals, commonly referred to as Harpic). At times, children even clean the guest toilets (much to their dislike). Children also help to maintain the flower beds, and sweep the classrooms as well. All toilets have a step, so sadly they are not disabled-friendly. There is ample water supply for cleaning and usage during school hours. The playground has been covered with gravel so it does not really require sweeping, though dried leaves from the trees have to be picked up – which the boys do.

There is a covered dining area with cement benches and tiled cement tables used for serving the MDM, where all children eat together. After the meal is over, the boys hose down the tables and seats, and wipe them clean. The children clean their own plates at the hand pump. This dining shed is a product of the pradhan's creative efforts and is seen as a novelty in the entire state. Some of the community members have also made financial contributions to the cause.

Some children do not like cleaning the toilets, and they spoke about it in focus group discussions. A few parents also do not like the idea of their children cleaning the toilets – whether OBC or even SC. One SC girl did not participate in toilet cleaning and was supported by the teacher saying that she is weak in studies hence is kept away from other responsibilities.

The school premises are occasionally let out in the evenings for marriages. After such events, the children are unfortunately made to clean the guest toilets, which is why parents object to their children cleaning toilets and the campus.

The students are familiar with environmental issues through the active *Bal Sansad*<sup>30</sup> which is also responsible for the cleaning of the school and maintenance of the plants and flower beds. The community sweeper only comes once in once a week to the village – he also cleans the toilets and the empties the school garbage dump.

This school is the subject of envy around the area because it is so well maintained. The school is a good practice school in terms of adequacy of infrastructure and maintenance, because of the personal interest of the pradhan. However, there is a total lack of ownership of school teachers in respect of its maintenance and upkeep – which appears to be high on the agenda of the pradhan.

However, the upper primary school and the second primary school do not have the same status as they do not get similar attention from the pradhan. The former does have a sanitation unit with an incinerator and a force lift hand pump, as well as dustbins on the campus. The sanitation facilities are well used and maintained by the children. However, the toilet is not user friendly in its approach and the usage for the two physically challenged students. Even the campus is not well maintained as there is no boundary wall, and it is often misused by the neighbouring households, whose cattle and goats eat up the plants and mess up the grounds. The pradhan has yet to take an initiative to facilitate inputs for the upper primary school. Despite this, the school's academic performance is good, as the teachers are devoted. They posed a challenge to a private school in the village, which finally had to close as the children shifted from there to this upper primary school. The same cannot be said for the primary school, even though it is a model school in terms of infrastructure.

The second primary school too is in an area where mostly SC children attend, located across a nearby river, which is difficult to cross in the monsoon. This primary school has only basic facilities as visiting officials hardly ever cross the river or go across to the school. This hamlet is difficult to access – a few children have even fallen in the river due to lack of a proper bridge. It is dirty, with garbage dumped all around, and insufficient hand pumps for drinking water which even dry up in summer. People have to use dirty river water (it is near a cement factory) for washing and bathing. Toilets do exist but they not being used well as people are still uncomfortable using them.

Women and girls bury their soiled sanitary towels/menstrual rags in fields – a practice to which some villagers object. The community reported to our team that some young children were actually sent home when they wanted to use the toilet as there was no one in the school to help them; or else, mothers were summoned to the school.

The area where the Muslims live is segregated – outside the main village. They do not have proper facilities – there is only one hand pump maintained by the community. Toilets (without doors) are used only either at night, or during the monsoons, to ensure that the pits do not fill up fast. People prefer to defecate in the fields (where they use only a small mug of water) rather than flush the toilet with a bucket of water and then wash it with another bucket of water.

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<sup>30</sup> A *Bal Sansad* is the children's 'parliament' in school.

Nuaon Primary school is a showcase model school, located in a setting where the main village is saturated with toilets, with marginalized communities excluded in terms of basic facilities and quality of services for drinking water, roads and drains, connectivity and access to health services. Apart from the main area of the village (where the pradhan stays), the rest of the village and the peripheral areas remain dirty, have poor drainage and lack hand pumps for drinking water. The link between school sanitation and practices within the community is yet to be established even though people know that the school has sanitation facilities which children use. Community awareness and education about sanitation is the missing link in this Nirmal Gram. Clearly all the efforts are stemming out of the pradhan's efforts and are not percolating down to the larger community. If and when the pradhan changes, the school may not receive the emphasis for maintenance. The teachers are detached and the community ownership is still to be established.

### Case 3

#### Menstrual hygiene: Traditional beliefs and common practices

Traditional beliefs and practices regarding menstruation and disposal of menstrual cloths are prevalent among the community in most of the sites visited in both Mirzapur and Lalitpur Districts. These were shared by the out-of-school and in-school adolescent girls and even the women in the community. In several villages, girls and women bury their used sanitary towels/cloths/rags in pits in the fields. In some other villages, the soiled cloth/rag is washed and re-used; at the end of the cycle, this is burnt by an older woman of the household (say, the grandmother or an old aunt) who has already attained menopause. They believe that the fertility of young girls or women gets adversely affected if they burn their used sanitary towels themselves. Girls are also instructed not to leave their sanitary towels exposed, or dump them in the garbage, as it would be sinful to allow stray cattle to chew on these.

Wherever incinerators have been added to the school toilets (e.g. Jamuhar Upper Primary School, Nuaon Upper Primary School, Ganguara Upper Primary School), field teams report that these are either rarely used, or are even redundant – perhaps such beliefs related to menstrual hygiene significantly contribute to this. Lack of knowledge on what these were meant for has further added to the neglect of incinerators. None of the upper primary school and secondary schools had dustbins in the toilets for disposal of sanitary towels, etc. Disposal of soiled napkins/rags by girls is hence a major issue in schools.

As the sanitation facilities are extremely poor in some secondary schools visited by the teams, the adolescent girls routinely absent themselves for 3–4 days during their menstrual cycle. Lack of privacy/facilities for changing, and non-availability of water nearby or in the toilets adds to their ordeal.

In those schools where there is no availability of water in toilets, Muslim girls do not use them at all. This is because traditionally they are required to use water to clean themselves every time they use the facilities.

The 87 residents of the *Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya*<sup>31</sup> located in Mirchwara Upper Primary School bathe at one hand pump – in the open. They have no toilet facilities currently as the two toilets provided for them are choked: due to ignorance/lack of guidance, soiled menstrual rags have been disposed in them. In groups, the girls jump across the camp's boundary walls in the morning to defecate in the adjoining fields. Since the authorities have not provided sanitary towels/napkins, they use torn sheets or some other pieces of cloth which they have brought from home, instead of napkins. There is a huge problem regarding disposal of soiled rags; there is no designated place for disposal on their campus. Many of the girls reported urinary tract infections, but no medical assistance is provided by their warden

<sup>31</sup> *Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas* are government-run short term residential camps (often located in school compounds) for adolescent girls from deprived social groups.

for regular check-ups or treatment. Many of the adolescent girls, both in and outside schools, reportedly have gynaecological problems. All of these girls have very little information regarding puberty and displayed the urge and need for this.

#### Case 4

##### Midday meals: Discrimination in schools

Cooking and sharing of meals in schools is a major issue of contention across India, as this is governed by traditional customs and practices as a result of age-old rules defining caste hierarchies.

In a few schools, discrimination was not overt – either because the children were eating meals cooked by OBC cooks (and not cooks from the SC strata), or since the majority of the children were either from the same community or from the SC community itself.<sup>32</sup> Even though the children were conscious of caste differences amongst them (Kolan, other SCs and OBC sub-groups), they did not articulate their views – perhaps under pressure from their teachers. But what was visible in the Raipuria Primary School was that some children, both boys and girls (from OBC and SC), did not eat the MDM at all – saying that either there was not enough food, or it was not cooked well.

In Lalitpur, particularly in three schools where children from forward castes were also studying, caste issues were indeed dominant vis-à-vis MDM. In the Andhyari Upper Primary School, the upper class OBC and forward caste Thakur children did not eat the MDM provided by the school; the other children carried their MDM home since there was ‘no water to wash their plates’. Similarly in Manguan Upper Primary School, many children did accept the meal in their plates, but threw it outside the class window, saying it was ‘badly cooked and had worms’.<sup>33</sup> Though the boys were particular in maintaining caste hierarchy amongst themselves, this was not evident with respect to their teachers: they said, ‘*woh to devata samaan hai* (they are divine hence caste distinctions cannot apply to them).’ The girls in the school also subscribed to untouchability with respect to water from the hand pump. Since the hand pump in the school was being used by the SC/ST children, the higher caste girls drew water for themselves, as also for their teachers, from a hand pump outside the school compound.

Children of neighbouring villages carried their tiffin<sup>34</sup> boxes, but some of the local Thakur and Brahmin (FC) children went home for meals.<sup>35</sup>

In Dailwara Primary School, all children carried drinking water from home in their own bottles as the hand pump water was not potable at all.

After the MDM was served, SC/ST children were often found huddled together while eating the meal.

In Dailwara and Gangaura Upper Primary Schools, only girl students were found serving the MDM, though in all other schools the cooks themselves served the meal to the children. Also in Dailwara Upper Primary School girls were required to assist in making *chappatis*.<sup>36</sup> In many schools, particularly Upper Primary Schools, gender segregated seating at mealtime was clearly visible, though in two schools (Raipuria Primary School and Gangaura Primary School) children were seated class-wise for their MDM.

<sup>32</sup> This was particularly evident in Mirzapur district.

<sup>33</sup> The researchers actually observed a pile of cooked rice under the window of one of the classrooms.

<sup>34</sup> Tiffin refers to a snack which children often bring from home for consumption during the lunch break.

<sup>35</sup> Boys were barred from leaving the school premises during lunch break as very often they simply do not return to school after lunch.

<sup>36</sup> *Chappati* is flat Indian bread.

As regards handwashing and cleanliness at meal times, children of all schools were observed to be generally washing their hands before the meal. Washing hands before meals with soap was, however, not found to be the prevalent practice in any of the schools excepting one. The facility for handwashing with running water was available for children in four schools of Mirzapur. The existing facility in one village was lying unused as the availability of water from the overhead tank was erratic. Since a large number of children had to hence use the hand pump for washing their hands/plates, the area around the pump became slushy and messy. In a model case, at Nuaon Primary School, the children had a covered dining shed, with tables and benches constructed out of concrete and ceramic tiles; the entire area was cleaned by water hoses both before and after the MDM by the children as there was running water facility. In two other schools, children were seen cleaning the dining area and spreading their mats for seating on the floor close to the kitchen, before and after MDM. But sadly, in two schools (Jakhaura Primary School and Gangaura Upper Primary School), food was being cooked just outside the toilets. In every school, it was found that there were a couple or more dogs waiting outside the gates, to mop up all the spilled or uneaten MDM!

Jain or upper caste teachers did not attempt to break the caste barriers amongst the children, or even amongst themselves. This was clearly visible in Lalitpur – Jakhora Primary School, Mangan Primary School, Gangaura Primary School, Andhiyari Upper Primary School, Mirchwara Upper Primary School and Dailwara Upper Primary School – where these teachers neither shared their own meals with others, nor even tasted the MDM cooked in the school. Some of them did not accept water brought for them by lower caste children. Such an attitude on the part of teachers in schools perpetuates the rigid social practices relating to caste discrimination instead of eliminating them. On the other hand, in some instances, children have evolved their own ways of dealing with this in their relationships in school with classmates and friends from different caste groups. Children from FC/OBC communities reported that they would eat from the tiffin boxes of their SC/Muslim friends, or go to their homes, or sit and eat alongside them while having the MDM in school. However, since their parents/grandparents object to such practices, they do not talk about these at home. Some parents (particularly from FC) did express their dislike of this practice of children of various castes mixing up during meal time in school.

## Excerpts from SSHE Guidelines

The SSHE programme has two major elements:

### Hardware component

The total package of drinking water, handwashing and sanitary facilities along with arrangements for proper disposal of solid and liquid waste, available in and around the school compound.

- ▶ Separate toilet complexes for girls and boys with minimum of one toilet and two urinals each irrespective of the number of students. The number of toilets and urinals should be increased depending on the strength of the students, as per the defined norms.
- ▶ This also implies that technologies will be child/gender and disabled friendly, environmentally appropriate and sustainable.
- ▶ For upper primary schools, arrangements for menstrual hygiene management, such as incinerators in girls' toilet complex.
- ▶ Separate handwashing facilities for washing hands after using toilets and for washing hands before and after eating midday meals.
- ▶ Provision of safe drinking water and adequate water for hygiene throughout the year using low-cost community owned solutions such as force lift hand pump technology, rooftop rainwater harvesting, etc., wherever appropriate.
- ▶ Platform around drinking water source along with proper waste water disposal arrangements.
- ▶ Proper arrangements for garbage disposal (may be a simple compost pit) and waste water management.

### Software component

This includes health and hygiene activities aimed at promoting conditions in schools and practices by school staff and children that help to prevent water and sanitation related diseases.

- ▶ Hygiene education in the school on key hygiene behaviour.
- ▶ Setting up institutional structures for maintenance of WATSAN infrastructure.
- ▶ Food hygiene, especially where schools provide meals.

### Other desirable elements of SSHE are:

- ▶ Regular health check-ups and de-worming in schools.
- ▶ Counselling and facilities for menstrual management.
- ▶ Adaptations suited to the disabled in at least one toilet.
- ▶ Water quality monitoring.

Source: Government of India and UNICEF India (2008). *An Inclusive Approach for School Sanitation and Hygiene Education, Strategy, Norms, and Designs*. New Delhi: UNICEF & Ministry of Rural Development.



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