

EQUITY IN SCHOOL WATER AND SANITATION

Overcoming Exclusion and Discrimination
in South Asia



NEPAL COUNTRY REPORT



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South Asia**

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Foreword

The Ministry of Education is happy that Nepal has been chosen to take part in this important regional study on Equity in School Water and Sanitation. As research for this study shows the provision of appropriate, child-friendly water and sanitation facilities in schools can go a long way to overcoming exclusion from and discrimination within education, particularly for girls and children from disadvantaged communities, as well as improving educational outcomes for all children.

The links between school and home also offer excellent opportunities for children to act as agents of change by extending good practices into the community, and also for programmes that can cover the whole community and help to eradicate traditional discriminatory practices commonly associated with water supply and sanitation.

On a wider perspective, improved coverage of safe water supply and sanitation across the country will contribute to Nepal's efforts to achieve its Millennium Development Goals on nutrition, education, child mortality, gender equality, and water supply and sanitation.

By documenting the situation of water and sanitation in schools with regard to equity, it is expected that increased awareness of the issues will feed into policy discussions and provide the basis for advocacy on policy and programme interventions that will improve the existing situation.

It is acknowledged that gender discrimination is widespread in Nepal. The problems faced at school by menstruating girls often result in them not attending school for several days a month, with a consequent hindrance in their learning. This lack of gender sensitivity is yet to be internalized in most schools in Nepal and requires particular attention not only within school but also on a broader level.

Caste and class discrimination are also pervasive throughout the country. The study reveals several good and inclusive practices directed at reducing discrimination, such as clearly worked out cleaning systems that included all students regardless of their socio-economic status. It is interesting to note that in schools that placed a high priority on the provision of good water and sanitation facilities, all students were able to utilize them equally without discrimination and that good practices flowed from the school into the community.

Finally, it is clear that the adoption of a holistic, community-wide approach to water supply and sanitation has inspired and motivated schools, families and individuals in many places to come together to break down barriers of social exclusion and improve conditions for everyone in the community.

The Ministry of Education appreciates the role that UNICEF Nepal and UNICEF Regional Office for South Asia (ROSA) have played in undertaking this study, and thanks the study team from the Research Centre for Educational Innovation and Development (CERID) for its excellent work. This report will serve not only as a valuable reference but also as a strong foundation for effective action.



Dr. Ram Swarup Sinha
Secretary
Ministry of Education

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.

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Acronyms

CBO	Community-based Organization
CERID	Research Centre for Educational Innovation and Development
CLTS	Community Led Total Sanitation
DACAW	Decentralized Action for Children and Women
DDC	District Development Committee
DDWSD	District Drinking Water and Sanitation Division
DEO	District Education Office
DoE	Department of Education
DWSS	Department of Water Supply and Sewerage
EFA	Education For All
FFEP	Food For Education Project
GoN	Government of Nepal
GPA	Gender and Poverty Approach
HVWSHE	Human Value-based Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Education
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoF	Ministry of Finance
NPC	National Planning Commission
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
RWSSFDB	Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Fund Development Board
SLTS	School Led Total Sanitation
SSHE	School Sanitation and Hygiene Education
VDC	Village Development Committee
WATSAN	Water and Sanitation

Executive Summary

This report presents a study on water, sanitation and education in Nepal conducted by CERID for UNICEF Regional Office for South Asia.

In 2008 UNICEF ROSA commissioned a desk study into water and sanitation related exclusion at school in South Asia (Ollieuz, 2008). The desk study revealed that, though some instances of anecdotal reports about children being discriminated against were found in schools on the issues of water and sanitation, little evidence was available to have sufficient claims on the matter so far – hence the need for the present study.

The current study had the goal of exploring the real situation of water and sanitation in the schools of the country so that awareness could be raised at the policy level as well as at the level of implementation in schools. The study has also attempted to explore the ways in which problems of water and sanitation have played a role in children's exclusion from and discrimination in education. Some actions have been suggested for the policy and practice levels in order to change the existing situation.

In consultation with UNICEF and Department of Education (DoE), 3 sample districts (Chitwan, Tanuhu and Kapilvastu) were selected for the study. Within a sample district, 4 schools and 4 community sites were sampled based on the suggestions of the District Education Officer, Section Officer, School Supervisor and engineers of the respective sample District Education Offices (DEOs). The study is based on the information gathered from altogether 279 respondents from various schools and communities sampled.

From the study, it is evident that there is a scarcity of drinking water in many schools, so that the children have to sit in line for hours to drink water; and they even have to go away from the school

premises for defecation or urination. In these instances, the chance of missing classes is very high – which will be a great educational loss. In the same way, the water and sanitation situation at home has also been found not satisfactory in many of the communities visited during the fieldwork.

The study indicates that, regarding the availability, use, maintenance and care of the toilet facilities, cultural, physical and technical aspects have also played a vital role. In some cases, the prevailing culture of treating students as subordinates, or the lack of seriousness in school authorities to consider the children's needs, was noticed. Schools were seen to be generally apathetic towards the toilet facilities for students.

However, schools from Tanahu district were observed to be the exceptions. There, it was noticed that, wherever there was a comparatively good situation regarding WATSAN facilities, all students utilized them equally without discrimination. Similarly, in the cases where there were few facilities in the schools, all the students suffered equally.

In the schools of Kapilvastu and Chitwan, lack of gender sensitivity among school authorities and teachers was noticed. This was reflected particularly in the inattention towards the problems for girls, so the lack of WATSAN facilities meant that girls were in a more disadvantaged position than boys. Inappropriate toilets for girls in general and lack of attention towards the needs of menstruating girls in particular were noticed to be acute. This problem has resulted in their unwillingness to go to school (hence absence in the class), and consequent hindrance in learning. The issue of being sensitive towards students' sanitation in general and that of girls in particular is yet to be internalized in most of the schools visited in the course of this study.

There were several schools where infrastructure (i.e. hardware) was available but the situation of water and sanitation was not so good. In such cases, the indifferent attitude of school authorities towards the use and maintenance of facilities seems to be the major problem. It was found that the interventions made in the schools could not properly address the aspects of use and maintenance of the facilities provided to the stakeholders; and awareness of the stakeholders on these issues was not the priority of the agencies that supported the infrastructure. Particularly in the cases where isolated and one-dimensional approaches guided the practice, there were problems in the proper use of WATSAN facilities.

The tendency of school authorities to associate their inability to clean the toilets with lack of

financial or human resources was found in the study. Instead of willingness to clean the toilet, the tendency to wait for a peon or helper for cleaning purposes has prevailed everywhere – a sign of the elite culture among school authorities.

The present study suggests that simultaneous intervention at the school, community and household level is likely to be more effective than any attempt at isolated or ‘in-school only’ intervention aimed at the improvement of the WATSAN situation. Where a holistic approach was employed, the conditions were better since the school was not isolated from households or the community, and the dimensions of hardware as well as software have received equal attention in such cases. Thus such a holistic approach has inspired and motivated the school, family and community members equally.

1

Introduction

1.1 Background

This is the report of a study on water and sanitation and education in Nepal prepared for UNICEF ROSA by country researchers.

The UNICEF ROSA study began with a desk-based literature review (Ollieuz, 2008) which revealed that while there was much anecdotal evidence about children being discriminated against at school for issues related to water and sanitation, there was little in the way of evidence.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The overall purpose of this study is to produce sufficient evidence to raise awareness both at the government and practitioner levels; to explore the part that issues related to water and sanitation play in children's exclusion from and discrimination in education; and to suggest actions which need to be taken at the levels of policy and practice which would help to redress the 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

This study has taken place in four countries – India, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Nepal – co-coordinated by a lead researcher. The study in Nepal has been carried out by Research Centre for Educational Innovation and Development (CERID), Tribhuvan University. The research team comprised two country researchers and three field researchers, who conducted the study in consultation with an advisory committee comprising three senior professors of Tribhuvan University.

The research began with an Inception Workshop in Kathmandu attended by all four country teams and representatives from UNICEF Country Offices and governments. The workshop was organized by the lead researcher. It was decided that the methodology would be largely qualitative and that countries would focus on three districts and four schools in each district. Districts selected in Nepal were Chitwan, Tanahu and Kapilvastu.

1.5 Report Outline

There are altogether five chapters in the report. Chapter 1 provides a brief introduction. Chapter 2 presents a contextual overview for the study, incorporating suggestions brought forth in the meetings with government officials of the Department of Education. Chapter 3 describes the methodology used for this study. Chapter 4 presents the field findings and best practices

regarding water and sanitation in the schools that were observed during the study, while Chapter 5 draws the major conclusions of the study and provides 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 Nepal given in Chapter 5 can be seen here in a wider regional context.

2

Context

2.1 Country Overview of Water and Sanitation

The Government of Nepal (GoN) has prioritized improved hygiene and sanitation as one of the key components of national development taking into consideration the frequent incidences of diseases like diarrhoea, which have resulted in high mortality and morbidity among children. Still, however, a large proportion of the population does not have access to basic drinking water and sanitation facilities. According to Nepal's Tenth Five Year Plan (2002–2007), approximately 30 per cent of the total population does not have access to basic drinking water, and 75 per cent of the population is deprived of sanitation facilities. The situation of water and sanitation did not improve as expected over the plan period (NPC, 2002).

In response to the request of Government of Nepal, the Government of Japan (GoJ), through JICA, prepared a Basic Design Study Report in July 2003 with a commitment that it will support GoN's EFA programme by providing physical facilities to the schools. The objective of the grant aid programme is to expand access and to improve retention under GoN's education framework by supplying materials and equipment for the construction of classrooms and other physical facilities.

Altogether under this programme, 733 toilets and 312 tube wells have been constructed in schools of various places in the country.

The Department of Water Supply and Sewerage of GoN is responsible for provision of drinking water facility and sanitation services to the people of Nepal. The department operates through its district-level Drinking Water and Sanitation Offices. Small urban drinking water and sanitation projects

and community-based community drinking water and sanitation projects are running through GoN with support from ADB. Other international donors include UNICEF, WHO, UN-Habitat and the Swiss Government (MoF, 2008).

The water and sanitation programme activities of GoN and NGOs/INGOs in Nepal are:

- ▶ The Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Fund Development Board (RWSSFDB) is the main agency for the water and sanitation sector. RWSSFDB is committed to contribute to the MDGs related to water and sanitation. In 71 districts of Nepal, 165 NGOs are facilitating partner communities to implement water and sanitation schemes. The sustainability study carried out after three years of scheme completion of RWSSFDB-I shows that 82% of Batch I and 89% of Batch II water schemes are fully sustained as these were community managed. The schemes were developed by communities in private partnership with the NGOs (Sharma, 2007).
- ▶ UNICEF has played a leading role in the revision of the National Sanitation Policy. It has supported water and sanitation in 44 districts, and the programmes have reached 1.5 million people. It has also supported a School Sanitation and Hygiene Education initiative implemented at national level and district level in eight districts (www.unicef.org).
- ▶ UN-Habitat initiated the WAC-Nepal programme for the Ministry of Physical Planning and Works in 2004. The main objective of this programme was to demonstrate innovative initiatives in the water and sanitation sector which can be scaled up to meet MDG targets at the local level (www.un-habitat.org).

- The Human Value-based Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Education (HVWSHE) Programme was officially launched in Nepal in August 2008 with the aim to change behaviour and personal attitudes, and increase understanding of the value of water and sanitation. Ten schools in Kathmandu valley have been selected for piloting the programme. The programme is to integrate HVWSHE into the existing school curriculum in the selected schools without burdening the objectives and contents of the curriculum. It aims to inspire and motivate children by imparting knowledge on water, sanitation and hygiene, and support the development of new water use ethics in the society. Students and teachers will be educated on water conservation and its proper utilization, sanitation and public health. Two of the selected schools will be developed as models with additional infrastructure development under the programme (*guthi/UN-HABITAT*, Monday, 29 December 2008).

Addressing the present situation of sanitation in the country where many people are suffering due to lack of proper water and sanitation facilities, former Secretary of the Ministry of Education and Sports Bala Nanda Poudel said, 'We are already late in introducing an education curriculum sensitizing people on these basic facilities. Therefore, the ministry has taken initiatives to run this programme.' Dr Roshan Raj Shrestha, Chief Technical Advisor of UN-Habitat, also stated, 'Since lack of adequate drinking water and proper sanitation is uprising as a major global problem, students are going to be provided with value based WATSAN education.' (*The Kathmandu Post; Gorkhapatra; Rajdhani*, August 15; *Annapurna Post*, August 16, 2008).

- Nepal Water for Health (NEWAH), a national-level NGO, has provided safe water, improved sanitation and better hygiene to the rural areas of Nepal. NEWAH boosts up a Gender and Poverty Approach (GPA) aimed at reducing the disparities between women and men, and between the rich and the poor, in Nepal's rural communities.

Five project sites were used in Nepal to pilot-test the GPA approach. As of July 2005,

NEWAH has provided these project sites with a total of 12,508 community tap stands, 41,484 domestic latrines, 181 school latrines, and 7 public latrines. NEWAH has also trained 14,879 members of NGOs, women's saving and credit groups, and other community organizations.

NEWAH's experience showed that the richest and upper caste men dominated all aspects of access to water and sanitation delivery projects. This situation often excluded women, poor Dalits (low caste), and indigenous people from any form of decision-making, training and other benefits related to improved water and sanitation systems.

Water systems predominantly controlled by the male elites in Nepal have often caused unequal access to safe drinking water between the better-off and the poorest socio-economic groups. More often than not, these male-led water projects prove to be unsustainable. NEWAH recognized that unless efforts are made to correct this particular situation at the organizational and programme levels, poor women and men will continue to be deprived of the benefits from water and sanitation projects.

While NEWAH's GPA approach was successful in narrowing the gender and poverty gap, much still needs to be done to achieve gender and social equality in rural Nepal. NEWAH's projects have provided a few lessons and suggestions in undertaking similar water supply, sanitation and hygiene promotion projects.

The NEWAH approach, first, provides the necessary knowledge to build functioning latrines and then provides a range of sanitation options at a subsidized rate which the rural people can afford and maintain themselves. In most cases, the beneficiaries themselves are responsible for all labour, such as digging pits, fitting any lining and installing latrine components. They are also responsible for building the superstructure. NEWAH has been successful in persuading approximately 75% of its beneficiaries in the Hill projects to install domestic latrines. However, due to soil conditions in the Terai, latrine components are more expensive. The costs are considerably higher as the latrine cannot be constructed

without a lining. In addition, the poverty level, landlessness and lack of social awareness among people has resulted in very low demand of the latrine – just about 25%.

- ▶ Water Aid Australia works with local partners, and helps the communities to set up and manage practical and sustainable projects that meet their real needs. It has been working actively since 1992 in partnership with local NGOs to serve poor communities for securing basic services of water and sanitation and also to strengthen the capacity of these partners to undertake further development activities.
- ▶ With the financial and technical support of UNICEF Nepal, government and other organizations have accelerated interventions on hygiene and sanitation related activities in selected districts and schools. With the basic principle that well-motivated and educated children can bring effective changes in the community, with emphasis on the rural and semi-urban areas, the hygiene and sanitation programmes are being implemented in selected schools. Based on the guidelines developed by UNICEF, the school children are exposed to various learning processes and possibilities. School children are viewed as real frontline actors in the drive to improve personal hygiene among students and create better environmental sanitation within the school premises.

2.2 Water and Sanitation and Education

School sanitation in Nepal has been implemented on a small-scale ad-hoc basis since the 1980s. In 1999, UNICEF carried out a country level assessment on school sanitation. The Department of Water Supply and Sewerage (DWSS) and UNICEF developed guidelines on School Sanitation and Hygiene Education (SSHE), and these were piloted in Sunsari, Chitwan, Kapilvastu and Dadeldhura districts in 2000.

In 2001/02 SSHE was scaled up in Nawalparasi, Tanahu, Kapilvastu and Kavre and later in other DACAW (Decentralized Action for Children and Women) districts. In 2005, DWSS and UNICEF carried out SSHE participatory assessment in 71

schools of 7 districts. The SSHE programme is now being implemented in over 1,000 schools of Nepal. The aim is to focus attention on child friendly, gender sensitive and disability friendly water, hygiene and sanitation facilities. In 2006, UNICEF carried out a study in Tanahu and Nawalparasi districts to collect best practices on hygiene and sanitation activities for scaling up of the SSHE programme. In 2007, DWSS introduced Sanitation Promotion Norms to implement the School Led Total Sanitation (SLTS) programme through Water Supply and Sanitation Division/Sub-Division Offices (Adhikari, 2008).

The SLTS programme, which started in 2005, is being implemented in the 15 UNICEF supported DACAW districts of Nepal. The programme's areas encompass around 60,000 households and 300,000 people, centring upon actions in 200 schools. There are 162 child clubs in 162 schools and sanitation subcommittees carrying out preparatory work, ignition/implementation and self-monitoring/follow-up of the SLTS programme in the school and community. There are also a number of local level networks and bodies involved. These include School Management Committees, Parent-Teacher Associations, Village Development Committees (VDCs), women's cooperative groups, community-based organizations/clubs and volunteers. SLTS programme interventions have been implemented in three phases: preparatory phase; ignition/implementation phase; and follow-up phase. Out of 200 schools, 75 schools have been declared Open Defecation Free. Districts under the declaration include Chitwan (30 schools), Tanahu (24 schools), Kaski (6 schools), Kavre (5 schools), Nawalparasi (4 schools), Kapilvastu (4 schools), Dang (1 school) and Panchthar (1 school). In the 15 DACAW districts, four VDCs have been already declared No Open Defecation Areas (www.irc.nl and www.wateraid.org, 2008).

Despite these positive initiatives, only 26 per cent of schools have proper toilets. Though approximately 80 per cent of students reported that the existing toilets were sufficient for their use, not all of them were equipped with complete facilities such as urinals, soap and other sanitation materials. Under such conditions children are likely to get sick with communicable diseases. Inadequate access to safe sanitary facilities often

contributes to low school enrolments and attendance, especially among girls.

As reported in a meeting held with the officials of the Department of Education, the water and sanitation services were regularly promoted under the physical facility promotion component to the schools. However, these officials reported that the government has not formulated any clear policy on use of water and sanitation services nor has it shown concern about the quality of these services.

2.3 Education and Exclusion

The educational system of Nepal has encouraged the participation of girls in general and children from disadvantaged groups in particular. However, there continues to be a marked disparity in the access to education that causes social tensions, widening income gaps, and a heightened sense of exclusion. Excluded are defined as those people who are identified as historically and socio-economically discriminated against and/or who have been denied opportunities and access to resources thereby leading them to further poverty and exploitation (CERID, 2003).

Different studies have claimed different reasons for low participation and drop-out of children in school. A study undertaken by CERID has stated

that the reasons for being out of school can be due to social discrimination, poverty and lack of opportunity. How to bring these children into the schooling system has been one of the major challenges to the Government of Nepal (CERID, 2003).

Lack of toilets in the schools of Nepal has heightened girls' drop-out rate because the adolescent girls feel inconvenience during menstruation (Adhikari, 2008). However, the health and hygiene situation has not yet received sufficient attention from policy makers, development programme implementers and communities (www.irc.nl and www.wateraid.org, 2008).

The Government of Nepal is providing scholarships and incentives to increase access and reduce the drop-out of children. It distributes scholarships to all Dalit children and to 50 per cent of girls. The Food for Education Project (FFEP) is run by the MoE to increase access to basic primary education for families residing in food-deficit districts and to improve the health and nutritional status of school children. It has assisted the public schools in 21 food-deficit districts, with particular emphasis on girls. From the fiscal year 2005/06 the government has provided midday meals and de-worming tablets to children in five districts of Karnali Zone.

3

Methodology

This is primarily a qualitative study carried out in 12 schools and 12 communities of 3 districts in Nepal. This chapter deals with the selection of the sample districts and sites, the data collection procedure and the research tools.

3.1 Structure of the Field Teams (Team Composition)

In order to collect the qualitative data, a fieldwork team consisting of five researchers was formed. Among them, two were country researchers and the other three were field researchers – one male and two females. In the first phase, the country researchers along with the field researchers worked in a group to collect information from Chitwan district. In the second phase, the country researchers and field researchers (including two females) gathered information from Tanahu district. In the third phase, the country researcher and two field researchers visited Kapilvastu district.

3.2 Details of the Research Sites

Chitwan, Tanahu and Kapilvastu were selected as sample districts for this study in consultation with concerned officials of UNICEF and Department of Education (DoE). These districts were selected for this study as they had effectively implemented the WATSAN programme in schools. The researchers believed that the study of these districts would help to build up examples of good practice. Kapilvastu was specially selected for this study as suggested by UNICEF officials because practices of exclusion were found in this district during the use of WATSAN services in schools. The desk review indicated that DACAW had launched a WATSAN programme in these districts.

The research team selected 4 sample schools and 4 community sites in each district in consultation with the District Education Officer, Section Officer, School Supervisor and engineers of the respective District Education Offices. Altogether 279 respondents were selected. The classification of respondents by school/community and by district is given in Table 1.

3.3 Data Collection Procedure

3.3.1 Group discussion at District Education Offices

As an initial step of data collection, the research team visited the District Education Offices, where the team leader explained the purpose and objectives of the study. At the request of the study team, the District Education Officer organized a discussion meeting in which the Section Officers, School Supervisors, Resource Persons and the unit chief of the physical facility services participated. The major agenda items of the meeting were the situation of physical facilities of schools, involvement of CBO/NGO in WATSAN programmes, and the effect of WATSAN on students' attendance and drop-out.

In the meeting, the team raised the issues about inclusive/discriminatory behaviour of students in school, identification of schools where unclean children having unhygienic manners and practices were studying, where the problem of girls' sanitation was acute, where a large number of students with communicable diseases were studying, etc. The discussion was also directed to find out good and inclusive practices in the schools and community, and the schools' role as an agent of change in the community.

Table 1 Types and number of respondents

Types of respondent	Number of respondents in school/community	Number of respondents in each district (4 schools and 4 sites)	Total number of respondents (No. of respondent/s x no. of districts)
Headteachers	1	4	12
Female teachers	2	8	24
Class teachers (G 3,5,7)	3	12	36
School observations	1	4	12
Community observations	1	4	12
Adolescent boys (irregular and drop-out)	6	24	72
Adolescent girls (irregular and drop-out)	6	24	72
School Management Committee Members	2	8	24
District Education Officer		1	3
School Supervisor		1	3
Resource Persons		2	6
Engineer/Overseer		1	3
Total		93	279

See Annex 2 for a detailed profile of the sample districts.

At the end, the meeting agreed on the selection of the schools and community sites for the study.

3.3.2 Data collection from schools and communities

A programme schedule was decided in the workshop before going to the field, and it was agreed to follow this schedule in all the field visits as far as possible. However, due to the local circumstances in the field during the researchers' visits – e.g. school closure, school's own timetable or the unavailability of the headteacher or other stakeholders – there were slight changes in the order of activities. Nevertheless, in most cases, the field activities were conducted as described here.

On the first day, the research team established rapport with the headteacher of the sample secondary school of site A, explained the purpose and objectives of the visit, walked around the school and took note of the situation of the school's physical facilities. In the afternoon, the headteacher and class teachers were interviewed.

On the second day, two researchers checked the students' attendance record, daily 'fleeing' record, etc. Students' average attendance in Grade 3, 5, 7 and 9 was calculated from the attendance register of August/September (Bhadra) and February/March (Phalgun) of the academic year 2007/08.

These researchers also conducted focus group discussions with adolescent girls and boys and female

teachers separately. Students of Grades 3, 5, 7 and 9 participated in the adolescent girls' focus group discussions. The top three girls of these classes were summoned to make a group of 10 students (two each from Grades 3 and 5, and three each from Grades 7 and 9). The larger number of students from higher grades reflected their expected richer experience regarding WATSAN issues. The same procedure was adopted while conducting focus group discussions for adolescent boys.

The other researchers administered focus group discussions with female teachers. Eight female teachers participated in each focus group discussion. These were class teachers from Grades 3, 5, 7 and 9. These researchers also observed how students behaved with each other while using WATSAN services in the tiffin break. In the course of observation, attention was paid to looking for inclusive and discriminating practices among the students.

The field research team also filled up the school survey form. However, the tools developed for unclean children were used only where these types of students were found.

On the third day, the research team visited the primary school of the same locality (site A). The procedure explained above was adopted to collect the information from this school too.

On the fourth day, the research team visited the

communities surrounding the secondary and primary schools for observation and focus group discussions. Two focus group discussions were administered in the community. First, a focus group discussion was scheduled comprising a group of 10 members: 4 members from School Management Committees and 2 each from parents, Parent–Teacher Associations and social activists. Finally, a focus group discussion for a Mothers’ Group comprising eight women was organized. The research team also went to the homes of irregular and drop-out children in the community and discussed their irregularities and drop-out with the parents and children.

On the fifth day, the field research team went to site B of the same district. One primary and one secondary school were selected for field research, and the catchments of each of these schools were also selected for fieldwork. In this site, the researchers spent one day in the secondary school, the next day in the community belonging to that school, the third day in the primary school, and the last day in the catchment area of that school, doing similar activities as done in site A described above.

The researchers worked in the same way in all three sample districts. However, in one sample school of Tanahu, the day of the researchers’ visit was a holiday, and discussion was held with the children of Grade 4 and 5 (who were available on the day) instead of those from Grade 3 because very few children from Grade 3 were present. In another school of Tanahu, although discussion was scheduled with girls studying in Grade 9, discussion was eventually held with Grade 8 girls on the matter of menstruation, because the students of Grade 9 had left the school before the researchers’ arrival.

3.4 Research Tools

Altogether nine types of research tools were prepared in order to collect the required information for this study (see Annex 3). These tools were finalized after pre-testing in Chitwan. Table 2 summarizes the types of tools used with the various respondents.

3.5 Analysis and Reporting

Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected. The quantitative data were computerized after coming back to the office from the field. In all cases, during the qualitative data collection, the information was collected through interviews and FGDs, in which two field researchers were involved. Generally, one field researcher asked questions and discussed the matters with the informants, while the other one noted down all the important points said by the informants. Every evening, the field visitors sat together and prepared a common field note with some elaboration after revisiting and discussing the notes that were taken on the spot. Separate notes were prepared for the qualitative data collected from the schools, communities and districts. Thus, qualitative data were gathered from the school level, community level and district level.

After coming back from the field, researchers discussed the situation shown by the data, and reports of the three districts were prepared separately in Nepali. Then, the field researchers and country researchers together decided upon a format of the final report, in which the information collected from the separate district reports (for the three districts) would be incorporated in consolidated form.

Table 2 Types of tools and respondents by organization

Organization/institution	Respondents	Types of tools
School	Headteachers	Interview schedule
	Female teachers	Interview schedule
	Class teachers (G 3,5,7)	FGD guidelines
	Observations	Checklist
	Adolescent boys	FGD guidelines
	Adolescent girls	FGD guidelines
SMC	Members	FGD guidelines
PTA	Members	FGD guidelines
Parents		FGD guidelines
Mothers' group		FGD
Social activists		Interview schedule
DEO office	DEO, SS, RP, SO and engineer/overseer	POD group and FGD (first- POD, and last-FGD)

Findings and Analysis

This chapter deals with the field findings and good practices in relation to the water and sanitation situation of the sites selected for this study. These findings are followed by analysis wherever appropriate.

4.1 Nature of Sites

Four schools and four communities near to the sample schools in each district were selected to collect the required information for this study. In these communities, FGDs were organized in order to elicit the information on socio-economic conditions and existing WATSAN facilities in the schools and communities.

Two communities of Chitwan are almost entirely settlement areas of Chepang and Tamang ethnic groups; the other two are inhabited by Chhetris, Kamis, Newars and Brahmans. However, a completely heterogeneous group was found in the communities of Tanahu and Kapilvastu. Ethnic groups Gurung, Magar, Kumal, Damai, Kami and Sarki were more or less equal in Tanahu; and Muslim, Tharu, Magar and Yadav in Kapilvastu.

The majority of the households earned their livelihood from agriculture and livestock, though some of them also worked as government employees, labourers and businessmen. Two communities of Chitwan and all communities of Kapilvastu reported that they earn less than they actually need; this was also borne out by observation. The communities of Tanahu appeared relatively better in terms of economic status.

All households of the communities in Tanahu reported that they had piped water facility. Here, drinking water was supplied through a drinking water project. However, the main source of

drinking water in Chitwan and Kapilvastu was by hand pump. In one community of Chitwan the hand pump was not feasible as it was at a higher altitude, so water was fetched from a nearby community located at a lower level.

The problem of sanitation was not so rampant in Tanahu district as in the other two. Bandipur in Tanahu had much better facilities than the other sites. In Chitwan, 50 per cent of respondents reported that they had their own toilets, but others reported that they used nearby forests and fields for defecation. Forest leaf was used instead of water/paper after defecation for cleaning. In Kapilvastu, only 20 per cent used a toilet facility; the rest went to a river or open field.

4.2 Nature of Facilities

4.2.1 Availability, adequacy and use of drinking water facilities

It was found that the sample districts were all at different levels in terms of WATSAN facilities. For example, Kapilvastu and Chitwan were very different from Tanahu in relation to availability, adequacy and use of drinking water facilities. All four schools visited in Kapilvastu had two hand pumps, though only one was functioning in each school at the time of the visit. For example, in Buddha Padma Secondary School, one hand pump was used by 1,147 students. There was also a water storage tank in one of the schools but the water could not be stored due to faulty design. The available government water tap in one school could not be utilized because the water came during non-school hours. The threat of having the hand pump parts stolen also existed due to the absence of a secure compound wall. As a result, in all schools students had to either stand in a long queue or go to neighbouring houses, schools or offices, or to the market, for water. Some boys

from a school said that if they waited for their turn in the school it would take one to one-and-a-half hours to get water. It was also reported that small children sometimes went home just to drink water. Interestingly, in one of the schools in Kapilvastu the hand pump installed by the municipality was too high for smaller children so they could not reach and properly press the handle. Nevertheless, in all of the schools visited in Kapilvastu, every year the water was tested for arsenic by the District Drinking Water and Sanitation Division (DDWSD). None of the schools' water was found contaminated.

In terms of infrastructure, Chitwan was in a better situation. For example, there was provision of a water storage tank in every school visited. The storage tanks were filled with water drawn from a well or tube-well using an electric pump. Schools with tanks having up to 14 taps for drinking water purpose were also found. However, due to electricity load shedding, all the storage tanks remained empty. Since there were no alternative provisions such as hand pumps, students were forced to go outside the school compound to drink water. In Bhole Baba primary school of Chitwan, the available water was usable only for the toilet because it was contaminated with arsenic, according to the teachers. Therefore children had to use a community tap about 20 metres away from the school. A peon fetched water for teachers from this tap, which small children could also use sometimes for drinking. Students reported that they had to go to nearby houses, but the owners did not like this so they locked the handle of the pump. 'Some students go to their friends who live near the school for drinking water,' said some teachers. None of the students brought water from home. Nonetheless, in one school a bucket and water jug was kept in the classrooms for drinking water, paid for with students' monetary contribution. A peon, and sometimes students themselves, filled the buckets with water.

In Tanahu, the scenario was completely different. All the schools visited for the purpose of this study had a functioning drinking water facility; and more importantly, there was enough supply of drinking water. There was one case where hooligans and drug users stepped on the tap and broke it so that supply was not available. In this school the peon brought water from a tap nearby for each class.

Each class had a water jar. When the peon was absent, students of the respective classes fetched water from the water tap nearby. Students therefore did not have to undergo any hardship in Tanahu to get drinking water – unlike in Chitwan and Kapilvastu.

The above discussion indicates that the issue is not so much about availability of the facility or system, but is about maintenance and care. Wherever the available facilities/systems were not properly functioning, all students were equally suffering irrespective of their gender, social/ethnic or religious backgrounds. Likewise, wherever the systems/facilities were functioning well, all benefited irrespective of their backgrounds. The situation, however, raised serious questions about the priority of the concerned agencies – including schools – in relation to the safeguarding and maintenance of the school drinking water facilities. Moreover, children are not clear regarding whose responsibility it is to provide drinking water to school.

4.2.2 Availability and use of toilet facilities

Analysis of toilet facilities in the schools visited revealed that except for one primary school in Chitwan, where a toilet was under construction, and which had a temporary toilet for teachers only, all the schools had separate toilets for boys, girls and teachers. In some schools, in addition to toilets, urinals were also constructed both for girls and boys. But the conditions of the facilities were very variable. For example, in Kapilvastu, because of lack of a proper water supply system, toilets were filthy and not in use. In one of the schools in the same district, the student toilets were locked for fear of their being inappropriately used by students. Due to shortage of water, none of the toilets were used for defecation by students in both Chitwan and Kapilvastu. They had to go to the periphery of nearby ponds and streams or fields to defecate. In Chitwan the problem was mostly associated with electricity. Since electricity was not regular, schools could not pump the water. In one of the schools in Chitwan, the toilets did not have an inside latch, so girls – particularly from Grades 9 and 10 – did not use them. Lack of roof also made it more uncomfortable for girls to use the toilets as boys threw stones inside to tease them. In the same school, there was a system of keeping the gate closed to prevent students from fleeing

during school hours. This rule was applied for 7–10 graders. Students were provided with a gate pass whenever they needed to leave. Therefore, except for during the tiffin break, students had to obtain a pass to go out for toilet purposes.

Discussion with Mothers' Groups and PTAs of Kapilvastu and Chitwan revealed that very few households had toilet facilities. The household survey also supported this statement. Given this, although it could be presumed that the students did not find it inconvenient to urinate or defecate in open space, adolescent girls articulated that lack of toilets had affected them very much. However, they only mentioned that going to the fields to defecate took a longer time, so that they missed more of their classes. Students, particularly girls, also sometimes went to a friend's house to use the toilet. Some mothers and teachers from Chitwan confirmed this. One mother explained that her daughter's friends came to her house to use the facility because school toilets were crowded and filthy. Some girls from Kapilvastu also said that the urge to go to the toilet was greater during their monthly menstruation period but due to filthiness they could not go to the school toilet and rather went to the field. They even said that they used the fields to change their sanitary napkins. In some schools, the entire school premises smelled bad, partly because the toilets were not cleaned and partly because students urinated around the school compound.

Teachers of Kapilvastu informed that since most students did not have a toilet facility or the culture of using a toilet at home, they simply used open fields rather than using the facility available at school. Most students, including girls, supported this observation. Since they did not use such facility at home, they simply could not find it convenient to use it at school. Regarding cleaning themselves after defecating, some students from Kapilvastu said that at home they used water but in schools they used paper. Most schools did not have soap for handwashing. Schools in this district also did not have proper drainage so the used water was all over the ground.

Tanahu was different from the other two districts. All the schools visited had an adequate number of toilets with water. Interestingly, in this district it was also informed by the district level authority

that they did not construct separate toilets for teachers in case they might not take care of the students' toilets if they had a separate one. In the case of adolescent girls, as in the case of Chitwan and Kapilvastu, they had to return home if they menstruated during school time. Although the facilities in schools were more convenient in Tanahu than in the other two districts, they were still not adequate for menstruating girls or sick students. Parents, female teachers and the adolescent girls themselves observed this. Except for Buddha Shanti high school in Chitwan, the schools visited did not have a changing room or a sick room. In Buddha Shanti, a room had been constructed by Nepal Red Cross Society and was used by girls. The schools visited had neither proper nor separate arrangements for students with disability. Sukla Primary School in Khaireni 9, Tanahu, had classes for students with multiple disabilities but there were no appropriate toilets or other physical facilities for them.

4.2.3 Maintenance and cleaning: whose job is it?

Three types of practice were found in relation to cleaning of school facilities. In some schools a peon did the cleaning of toilets. This was the practice found mostly in Kapilvastu and Chitwan. In some schools, students did the cleaning. But in some cases no one did it, and toilets were either in very poor condition or were closed. In a school in Chitwan teachers said that the school could not afford to buy the articles required for cleaning the toilets and no agency provided support for them. Moreover, in this school students were not made to clean the toilets. In a school in the same district, toilets smelled badly and there were no bucket and jug in the students' toilet, though there were in the teachers' toilet. In Kapilvastu, in one school teachers reported that, due to lack of human and financial resources for cleaning, students' toilets were locked. They also added that the electric water pump was also broken, as a result of which water was in short supply for cleaning. But SMC members were not convinced by this remark – they thought it was simply the teachers' irresponsible behaviour. In the same school, teachers reported that neither teachers nor students were ever involved in hygiene and sanitation activities. The SMC members, accusing teachers, said that this kind of culture was introduced by the teachers themselves. In another

school in the same district, a cleaning event was organized a few times a year. In such events, mostly children were mobilized to clean the school premises. In the same school, although the students did not mention it, the school calendar indicated exposure visits for the purpose of orienting students about cleanliness.

The situation in Tanahu was very different from the other two districts, as reflected in the above discussion. In Tanahu, with the introduction of the School Led Total Sanitation (SLTS) programme, students had formed child clubs, which were responsible for cleaning the toilets and the school compound on a routine basis. One teacher and some students from each of the visited schools were provided with training on the SLTS programme and the Community Led Total Sanitation (CLTS) programme. The trained teacher was designated to look after the hygiene and sanitation matters through student mobilization. As a result, teachers as well as students were involved in school and community hygiene and sanitation improvement activities. Schools have also led a successful 'one house one toilet' campaign.

All the schools visited in Tanahu for the purpose of this study had proper toilet facilities. All the toilets had separate overhead tanks which supplied running water to the toilets at all times. The toilets had cleaning equipment including cleaner, brush, phenyl and water bucket in all the schools. Except for Bhanu High School, children through child clubs did the cleaning of toilets in all the selected schools. Children of Tribhuvan Primary School and mothers of Bhanu Secondary School reported that toilet cleaning was everybody's job at home. In other words, both male and female members of the family cleaned the toilets. In the observation of an SMC member of Bhanu Secondary School, hygiene and sanitation related behaviour of tourists also contributed to changing the community's behaviour. Bhanu Secondary School was the only school that had a separate arrangement for disposal of sanitary napkins/pads, which the girls said they found was very convenient.

In the schools where the toilets were not cleaned or where the peon cleaned them, students were made to clean their classrooms. For example, in Chitwan, though toilets were not regularly or

properly cleaned, students managed to clean their classrooms through child clubs and also organized cleanliness campaigns in the community through rallies. In Kapilvastu as well, students were made to clean their respective classrooms but not in an organized way as in Chitwan. In this district there was no child club, so teachers told the students to take turns to sweep their respective classrooms every day. In most schools, the outer space (compound/field) was cleaned by peons periodically. However, in one of the schools in Kapilvastu, private households had stacked hay in the school compound and most of the public and private functions took place in the school premises. It was reported that the school could not stop people from using the school premises because this would then create disharmony.

4.3 Emerging Themes

4.3.1 Menstruation/gender and cultural issues

As mentioned earlier, schools visited had water and toilet facilities but the conditions varied. The least considered area seemed to be the needs of menstruating adolescent girls. There was no provision in schools of changing or rest rooms for girls during menstruation. Not even the secondary school teachers were found sensitive to this issue. In Chitwan, teachers of one school informed that they had not thought about matters like a proper place to dispose of sanitary napkins. In the same district, female teachers from a secondary school said that girls were irregular in attending school during menstruation due to lack of proper toilet and water facilities. In most schools it was reported that girls took leave from school if they menstruated. In one school in Kapilvastu, female teachers also said that some girls sometimes fainted during menstruation. When this happened, parents were called and the issue was discussed. Sometimes girls were sent to the hospital. Indicating both the biological and psychological changes that girls exhibit, teachers said that they advised parents of girls who fainted to watch their daughters' behaviour and also look at their books and notebooks to find clues about their illness. In all three districts, both the girls and female teachers reported that girls consulted female teachers for advice and asked for leave from school if needed during the menstruation period.

Female teachers from one school in Kapilvastu said that although girls might face problems during menstruation, since open space was available and girls did not have toilet facilities at their homes, lack of a toilet in school would not make much difference. The issue of using open spaces was discussed with a local member of the elite from Kapilvastu who is also a teacher in a private school in Kathmandu. He said that most Hindus from Kapilvastu believed that it was not religiously right to defecate inside. He added that he had not been able to convince even his parents to use the toilets at home. A teacher who belonged to the Awadhi community also informed that people believed that defecating near the houses would pollute the environment of the surroundings. It was evident that outside intervention regarding sanitation had only focused on the technical and/or mechanical aspects of the facilities and had ignored the cultural aspects which shaped people's behaviour.

Most of the students in Kapilvastu said that they did not use toilets because the facilities were filthy. An equal number of students, particularly girls, said that they felt uncomfortable to fetch water in front of everyone and enter the toilet, therefore they would rather go to the open fields where no one could see what they were doing. Some even added that going in the open fields was rather easier than using the toilets. Lack of a roof and latch in some girls' toilets also showed sheer insensitivity towards gender issues. In a boy's account, if a bucket was filled to take to the toilet, friends made fun of the person saying that he/she had diarrhoea. 'Therefore it is easier to do outside rather than carrying a bucket to the toilet,' he said.

Views and experiences of the children, particularly girls, showed that the issue of privacy was a major aspect which determined the use of the facilities. Toilets are used for a very personal purpose and it is linked with cleanliness of the private parts of one's body. In Nepal, to talk or display anything openly about the private parts of the body is a taboo. This culture applies in a closed society like that of rural Kapilvastu to a larger extent than in other parts of the country. This situation indicated that the construction, availability and use of toilets are closely linked with one's culture, family background and societal norms.

Discussion with the boys about toilet conditions revealed less concern as they were not facing any

practical or psychological difficulty in using open spaces. In Kapilvastu, some boys said that since they had been doing this since their childhood, they did not feel uncomfortable going to open fields. In the same district, some teachers and SMC members of a school informed that after Grade 5 girls felt uncomfortable coming to school due to the lack of proper toilet facilities; therefore they were more likely to drop out.

Although no one explicitly identified the condition of toilets as responsible for student drop-out, adolescent girls missed classes during menstruation; students also did not come to school if they had slight stomach disorders, due to the fear that they might have to go to the toilet frequently. As in many other villages of Nepal, students were also reported to be missing during harvest and village events like celebrations, weddings, etc.

The above deliberations showed that decisions to use toilets were associated with gender, physical condition of the toilets, cultural beliefs/practices and socialization. The availability of proper sanitary napkin disposal arrangements in only one school out of 12 and the practice of leaving the girls' toilet without roof and latch revealed that the gender issue is an under-considered aspect. Problems faced by boys and girls were not associated with their social/ethnic status, religion or caste but with gender. The cultural practice of using an open space instead of closed premises attached to a house or building, and socialization of children accordingly, also did not match with the toilet construction in schools in Kapilvastu. School practice and household practice are interrelated, and thus determine students' comfort level with toilet usage.

4.3.2 Perception of cleanliness/tidiness

All the schools visited gave priority to the external appearance of the students. In Bandipur, peers, and in some cases teachers, checked whether students had clipped their nails, combed their hair properly and were in clean outfits. The school authorities were also more concerned about students' appearance than the availability and maintenance of water and sanitation facilities. For example, using an open space or pond near the school was not considered unhygienic or unclean, but the appearance of the child was. If students

were found unclean, they were advised to take a bath. Therefore, students were found to have similar levels of cleanliness.

In Chitwan, certain boys either stayed away or sat at the back of the class. The cause as reported was absence of family members to give proper care, as many families had one parent away as migrant labour. In the case of Chepangs the teachers opined that Chepangs were comparatively unclean and they did not follow advice. A teacher expressed the need for cleanliness awareness campaigns in the Chepang settlements in order to make both the parents and students realize the importance of cleanliness and sanitation. However, further discussion with headteachers, teachers and PTA and SMC members (including one Chepang SMC member) showed that the issue was more complex than this and that the Chepang community held deep-rooted beliefs about cleanliness, such as believing it was unclean to use your hand to clean your anus after defecation, which could make them feel negative about new hygiene practices.

Chepang community children were often seen choosing to sit at the back of the classroom. Other children said that they did not want to discriminate against them but that the back benchers do not want to keep clean, so they are dirty and their body smells badly to others who keep themselves cleaner. The blame for sitting separately was thus put on the Chepangs: 'They always sit away from us ... they avoid mixing with us.' The Chepang children did not respond when asked about why they sat separately or why they did not wash their clothes or take a bath, hence it was unclear whether the reason was based on cultural differences or whether it was because of poverty and that they simply did not have sufficient water, soap or changes of clothes.

4.3.3 Exclusion and the issue of favouritism

In all the schools visited, it was reported that discrimination on the basis of caste did not exist. All students, irrespective of their caste, were able to use the drinking water and toilet facilities. As found in other studies (Acharya and Paudel, 2008), a social worker from Bandipur (Tanahu) said, 'Untouchability existed during our parents' time. These days, we don't eat in our kitchen together but in other places untouchability doesn't exist.'

Since the majority of the students enrolled in the schools belonged to poor households, there was no discrimination between students on the basis of their class. This was the observation of most of the teachers.

Moreover, in schools where students were involved in cleaning the school premises, including classrooms or toilets, in all the districts no particular group/s or gender were made to do so. Where child clubs took the responsibility, the clubs made a schedule and formed subgroups to undertake the tasks. In Tanahu, if a student resisted or did not show up without reasonable explanation on the day she/he was supposed to do the cleaning, that student was fined. The necessary amenities like soap, towel, bucket, jug, toilet cleaner, etc. were then bought with the money collected from the fines. In schools where students took turns to clean the classroom only and/or child clubs were not formed, this kind of arrangement was not found.

Thus where entitlements were inadequate or not functioning, all students equally suffered. Moreover, when students come from almost equal social or economic backgrounds, social exclusion was not apparent. However, the generalized notion that certain communities were more unclean did reflect a sense of superiority among certain groups – leading to the condition of social exclusion. For example, children who were very poor and unable to maintain required standards of cleanliness were seen to be less favourably treated. Further, lack of special and appropriate facilities and infrastructure for students with disability was an example of exclusion. Regarding the responsibility to clean the facilities, where the task was managed through organized effort, no particular group was favoured over others. All shared the job equally and were punished equally if they did not follow the rules. Where it was not organized, school management was expected to make the arrangement, which might or might not always work.

4.3.4 Children with communicable diseases

Visits and interactions in the three districts showed that students succumbed to diarrhoea, eye problems and skin problems – usually in the rainy season or summer. The respondents did not point

out any case showing the children identified as suffering from of such illness not being allowed to attend the school. However, 'they are advised to visit the health post and stay home until they recover,' said the teachers.

Some of the schools had no compound wall, and garbage or trash was left unmanaged in the school premises. This could also cause illness but no one pointed out the relationship between an unclean environment and student illness. In one school in Kapilvastu, teachers informed that students of that school often suffered from skin disease and the cause they guessed was water of the pond where students take a bath. However, teachers of Tribhuvan Primary School of Tanahu, where most of the students come from the Gurung community, informed that previously many students were irregular in summer due to diarrhoea, but since the water and sanitation conditions had improved this situation had changed for the better. None of the participants identified particular groups as being more prone than others to such illnesses.

The health related problems that students suffered from usually emerge during the summer heat and rainy seasons. But whether such illnesses were associated with water and sanitation was not given much consideration by those teachers in schools with poor hygienic conditions. In schools with better drinking water and sanitation facilities, teachers were more likely to make the link. There was no evidence of discrimination by their peers against children with disabilities who suffered from communicable diseases. However, such students had particular problems in dealing with inappropriate water and sanitation facilities, so that if they came to school with communicable diseases, they were sent home and not allowed to return until they were completely recovered.

4.3.5 Collaboration vs single agency intervention

Coordination and collaboration appeared as an important aspect while investigating the water and sanitation situation in the three districts. All three districts were, however, at different levels in this respect. In Kapilvastu, hardly any collaboration with external partners was found in relation to school water and sanitation provisions. Agencies like the

municipality, DDC and DEO supported the construction of facilities. The District Drinking Water and Sanitation Division (DDWSD) periodically checked arsenic in school water sources. Awareness raising and school/community cleanliness/awareness campaigns which were found in the other two districts were not found in Kapilvastu. In one school, teachers and the headteacher informed that due to political differences in the district resulting in tension between the DEO and the DDWSD, the water supply system could not be properly utilized in the schools. They added that both agencies always sought patronage of strong political parties, which also negatively affected the water supply system of schools.

In Chitwan, involvement of the DDWSD in the school water and sanitation programme was found. For example, the division had formed child clubs in schools and provided training to teachers for the purpose of hygiene and sanitation awareness raising campaigns. In Chaturmukhi Secondary School, it was reported that Sustainable Tourism Business and Nepal Red Cross Society gave awards to students who worked in the area of sanitation.

Unlike Kapilvastu and Chitwan, Tanahu was well ahead in implementing coordinated and collaborative programmes in the sector of water and sanitation. It was informed that where the DDWSD and DEO were involved, non-government sectors also contributed. For example, some reported that in schools where the DEO provided hardware, the Red Cross worked on software. DDWSD technical staff of Tanahu also informed about the existence of a district level District Sanitation Committee. The committee has both governmental and non-governmental representatives,¹ and these work collaboratively so the problem of programme duplication does not exist.

Additionally, many types of agencies intervene in Tanahu. The Municipality Development Committee, UN-Habitat, Nepal Red Cross Society and UNICEF have provided training and exposure visits to students, teachers and community leaders. They have also supported campaigns. In Bandipur, local

¹ The committee comprises representatives of the DEO, DDC, Nepal Red Cross, DDWSD and Samaj Sewa Nepal (an NGO).

businesses and an alliance of Bandipur people working in the areas of education, water and sanitation and health mobilized human, technical and financial resources for the improvement of the education, hygiene and sanitation situation. Therefore, a combined effect could be observed in school and community water and sanitation in Bandipur. Moreover, people are involved individually as well as in groups in sanitation improvement and waste management activities.

The DDWSD staff members of Tanahu also informed that they were working on the basis of the Total Sanitation Centred Programme Implementation Guideline issued by the Centre. The guideline has suggested the implementation of a school and community led total sanitation programme in VDCs and municipalities. It has also given a directive to coordinate and mobilize the local stakeholders' skills and resources. In accordance with the guideline, the healthcare staff and volunteers working in the local health centres were also mobilized. The directive has also clearly advised the targeting of schools where the DOE or other agencies have constructed toilets and urinals for the implementation of total sanitation awareness raising activities.

The cases presented above indicate that collaborative effort results in better outcomes than efforts made by single agencies. Just as it is important to look at different aspects of students' lives, so it is equally necessary to pool resources from diverse sectors. Massive intervention of DDWSD, UNICEF and local businesses as opposed to 'school only' intervention have exhibited better results. The maintenance and cleaning situation for the schools visited also confirmed the notion that children's schooling is interconnected with many out-of-school factors. Therefore, in-school intervention alone cannot bring about desired change. Several studies (Acharya and Paudel, 2008; Acharya and Giri, 2009; Awasthi *et al.*, 2009) focused on children's schooling have confirmed this notion.

4.4 Examples of Best Practice

The investigation into the water and sanitation situation showed some practices which deserved due recognition from inclusion and entitlement

perspectives. Two cases from Tanahu are presented below. Further case studies – demonstrating both good and bad practice – are given in Annex 4.

CASE 1

Khairenitar Secondary School, Khairenitar 8, Tanahu district, has six drinking water taps. In addition, the school has two urinals and two toilets for girls, and two urinals and two toilets for boys. Urinals could be used by six people at a time. Toilets were equipped with running water, bucket, jug, soap, etc. A tap was installed outside each urinal. A tank which could hold one thousand litres of water was installed in the school.

Different agencies have supported SLTS in this school. Children and teachers were taken for an exposure visit to India by UNICEF. A child club with 40 members from grades six to ten was formed. One teacher trained in SLTS was assigned to supervise and support the child club. Child club members were also provided with training on SLTS. The 40 members provided orientation about SLTS to other students. Donations were collected from students to buy a broom, dustbin and other items necessary for cleaning. The major function of the club was to maintain cleanliness in the school by cleaning the school compound, classrooms, and water and sanitation facilities in the school. Subgroups were formed and responsibility was allocated to them. A monthly schedule was prepared showing the tasks allocated to each subgroup. Since all the students were scheduled to take the responsibility and if they showed resentment they were penalized, there was no room for exclusion on the basis of social group or gender.

The club also organized cleaning campaigns in their respective communities or settlements once a month. The teachers participated fully in the campaigns organized by the students, which boosted the students' confidence and enthusiasm. Students persuaded families to construct toilets in their respective households. Each household now has a toilet and every member of the household cleans the toilet. The school catchment area, which was Khairenitar VDC, has a cleaning committee as part of CLTS which required one member of each household to participate in the

cleaning campaigns organized periodically. Absent households are fined. Money collected from the fines is used for buying brushes, brooms and other cleaning items.

CASE 2

Tribhuvan Primary School, located in Bandipur VDC Ward No. 7, has two urinals and two toilets for girls and the same number of urinals and toilets for boys. Teachers also use the same toilets. Toilets were equipped with running water, bucket, jug, brush, etc. Five drinking water taps were installed. Soap and towel were also available for students' use. A water tank with a capacity of 500 litres was installed. Water was supplied by Bandipur Drinking Water Committee. If the system broke down, the committee provided a repair service soon after being informed. Several governmental and non-governmental agencies have provided the facilities.

The school has formed a 13-member Junior Red Cross. The school has different groups named after famous peaks of Nepal. The leader of each group is responsible for ensuring that students from his/her respective group are neat and tidy. Cleaning of the school premises, including toilets, was led by the Junior Red Cross committee supported by the teachers. Students from Grades 1 and 2 were excused from cleaning.

Under the school's leadership as part of CLTS, two sanitation committees, consisting of 15 members each, were formed in the catchment area. These committees organized a community cleaning programme twice a month. All households within the school catchment area had toilets. Different agencies have supported the CLTS drive. Both the students and the community sanitation committees ensured that no one would defecate in open spaces.

Only two families from the Dalit community resided in the school's catchment area. According to a Dalit father whose child was in Tribhuvan Primary School, there was no discrimination at household and school. He informed that untouchability was not practised in the school's catchment area.

Analysis of both the cases revealed that students were provided with enough drinking water and sanitation facilities. Therefore, there was no need for students to individually manage the provisions which would take away their learning time and add to their mental stress. Functional collaboration and organized distribution of responsibility within the school and among school, community and other concerned agencies created synergy, thereby achieving good results both in the school and community. Every household and every child was involved in cleaning, and those who refused to cooperate were penalized irrespective of their social/ethnic backgrounds. In this situation, no sense of elitism or practice of exclusion existed. Moreover, this practice helped generate financial resources for regular maintenance of the water and sanitation facilities.

Tanahu district, from where both of these good practices were derived, has received considerable external support. Moreover, the elite and/or rich local people are also devoted and determined to develop their respective home towns. This was particularly the case in Bandipur. It appeared that where the collaboration between the DEO and DDWSD worked well, there was a possibility of continued improvement. But where there is only dependence on external sources (i.e. international donors or NGOs), the positive changes might begin to erode.

4.5 Transfer of Learning from the School to the Community

Among the three districts, Tanahu was the only one where students' learning was transferred to the community. In Kapilvastu, the schools and community were on an equal footing in terms of the water and sanitation provisions, arrangements and awareness. In Chitwan, schools were slightly better than community and students were sometimes mobilized for awareness campaigns. As in other districts, some students from Chitwan also informed that they shared knowledge such as the importance of washing hands before eating and after the use of toilet, washing hands and hair, clipping nails, etc. But it appeared that in Chitwan

and Kapilvastu such knowledge learned in their textbooks and from teachers was generally applied only to themselves and not transferred to household and community levels.

Unlike in the other two districts, some teachers in Tanahu said that the habit of keeping facilities clean and using the clean facilities prompted students to make their families construct toilets in their respective houses. The students from this district were proud that they were the change agents not only in school but also in the community since they were leading the cleaning campaigns in the schools and the community under the SLTS programme. It is, however, important to remember that CLTS in Tanahu was organized together with SLTS, which was not the case in the other two districts. In Chitwan, where students cleaned the classrooms but hardly ever cleaned the toilets, the students were also involved in community cleanliness campaigns. Teachers said that this helped create awareness in the community.

The above discussion reveals that students learn about hygiene and sanitation from two sources. One is the school curriculum and the other is the external interventions made by agencies outside the education sector. Moreover, intervention at student or school level when tied up with community and vice versa creates a synergetic effect. The cases showed that for students' learning to get fully transferred to the community, the households should also be prepared. Where both sources (education and non-education sector) simultaneously work at both levels (school and community/household), the impact is better. Therefore, holistic intervention is required which recognizes the interconnectedness of schooling and other aspects of students' lives. The study showed also that interventions geared towards eliminating gender and social exclusion also require an integrated modality.

Conclusions and Recommendations for the Nepal Study

Conclusions

The water and sanitation situation at school and in the community/household can influence the quality of teaching–learning. When students have to sit in line for hours to drink water or go out of school premises for toilet purposes, they will miss classes. This eventually affects their learning, and may increase the possibility of drop-out.

To obtain basic facilities like water and toilet is children’s right. From a hygiene and sanitation point of view, availability and use of proper drinking water and toilet facilities is crucial. Therefore, denying proper and adequate drinking water and sanitation facilities to children means they are denied their basic entitlement. This situation was found in many schools visited for the purpose of this study, with the exception of schools in Tanahu.

Where there were better facilities, all utilized them equally without discrimination; but where there were no facilities, or facilities were inadequate, all the students equally suffered. Viewed from other dimensions, poverty was found to be a decisive factor in discrimination. For example, children who came from poor families and could not afford to keep their appearance clean were not accepted irrespective of their social standing.

The district-wise situations showed that cultural, physical and technical aspects have determined the availability, use, maintenance and care of the toilet facilities. A culture of treating students as subordinates and lack of respect or consideration for their needs also made the schools apathetic to school toilet facilities. In this situation, exclusion or discrimination on the basis of one’s caste or social/ethnic or religious background did not exist. However, where the facilities were functioning, use of the same toilets by both students and staff helped to develop a collaborative culture and sensitivity among teachers and students.

Even when water and toilet facilities were functioning, they did not usually cater for the needs of students with disabilities.

Lack of gender sensitivity among school authorities and teachers certainly put girls in a more disadvantaged position than boys. Inappropriate toilets for girls in general and lack of attention towards the needs of menstruating girls in particular strongly highlighted the existing gender insensitivity and discrimination in schools. This indicated that gender equity in schooling was limited only to providing access to education for girls. The extent of gender equity within school helps or hinders girls’ schooling, but this notion is yet to be internalized in most of the schools visited for the purpose of this study.

Even in the schools where the condition of water and sanitation was not so good, infrastructure (i.e. hardware) was still available. The concern, therefore, was more related to the indifferent attitude of school authorities towards the use and maintenance of the available infrastructure. Importantly, local culture also played a role in the utilization and maintenance of the school facilities. External interventions were also more school focused and one-shot. Use, maintenance and awareness were not the priorities of the agencies that supported the infrastructure. No collaboration existed among different sectors, nor was there any activity that would link schools with community and households. In other words, where isolated and one-dimensional approaches were the practice, both the hardware and software dimensions of water and sanitation were matters of concern.

While maintenance and cleaning of toilets and school compound were often not a priority, cleanliness of classrooms was more usually a matter of concern. This can be correlated with the general tendency in Nepal to clean the interior part of houses or shops and dump the garbage outside.

Schools associated their inability to keep the toilets and premises clean with lack of financial and human resources. The tendency to wait for a peon or helper to clean the toilets may also be associated with the culture of elitism among some school authorities. Moreover, it is quite unmanageable for one person to do all the cleaning, including the mess created by outsiders where school land is provided for the use of outsiders. Therefore, as the present study suggests, simultaneous intervention at school, community and household level seems more effective than isolated and/or school-only intervention.

The study revealed that several factors contributed to the school water and sanitation situation. The nature of interventions, the school's priority, the financial situation, the attitude of the school authority, and culture were the major factors that determined the school water and sanitation condition and use. For example, in Kapilvastu, the long-standing belief that toilets should be far from home conflicted with the modern notion of cleanliness.

Where a holistic approach was employed – whereby the school was not isolated from the household or community – the situation was better. Neither the education sector nor the water and sanitation sector worked in isolation. Importantly, both dimensions – hardware and software – received equal attention. As a result, a combined effect was observed. The focus on both dimensions helped inspire and motivate schools as well as community members, thereby changing their attitudes. The holistic approach provided room to analyse, reflect upon and change where needed the conventional culture and practices.

Finally, this study showed that infrastructure or hardware, and intervention made by one agency alone, are not enough to improve the school water and sanitation situation; nor can a school-only intervention give a sustained result. Shared responsibility and an all-embracing approach seemed to work better.

Regarding social exclusion, as shown by other studies the present study also suggests that it has been transforming rapidly, particularly in schools. However, at community level, there might still be incidences of exclusion which require more in-depth study.

Recommendations

This study showed that any initiative regarding school water and sanitation should be both horizontal and vertical. A horizontal approach suggests that the school and community, and the education and non-education sectors including the non-government sector, should be tied up together. A vertical approach means that school, community and town or district level organizations should have continued functional linkage like the one that exists between Bandipur Drinking Water Committee and Tribhuvan Primary School in Tanahu district.

School level

Water and Sanitation related total requirements of the school should be reflected in the School Improvement Plan (SIP). The school authority needs to identify the resources accordingly. However, any intervention targeted to school or students should not be isolated from the community or households. The participation of community level users' groups should be mandatory. Basic training on hardware to selected students of Grades 7 and 8 is also desirable. But these girls and boys should be collaborating with the community level users' groups in repair and maintenance work.

Community level

Both awareness and infrastructure are required for good outcomes. Therefore, any hardware support should be attached to two other activities – awareness raising and basic training on hardware maintenance. Activities should be implemented through a users' committee formed with equal participation of fathers and mothers. CLTS and SLTS could be the modality but gender issues also need attention. Mothers and children alone should not be made responsible for meeting community water and sanitation requirements. Approaches employed in schools which automatically require boys, girls and all social groups to be engaged should be employed at community level as well. Furthermore, any intervention offered by any agency should involve the schools. Users' committees should make sure that this will happen.

District level

Coordination and collaboration in resource sharing among different sectors and agencies are required at the district level. Implementation of existing provisions and guidelines such as the Total Sanitation Centred Programme Implementation Guideline issued by the Drinking Water and Sanitation Department is also equally important. This can be done through the involvement of agencies like DDWSD and Red Cross in the District Education Plan development. However, one approach may not work in all districts as they are different in terms of culture, political will and political alliance. Likewise, one approach does not work for all types of schools. For example, the needs of lower secondary (Grades 6 to 8) and secondary (Grades 9 to 10) levels are not the same. Further, water and sanitation facilities required by the girl students of these levels are different from the requirements of their primary level (Grades 1 to 5) counterparts.

In order to endorse the recommendations suggested here, the essence of WATSAN needs to be well-considered; and the educational planners need to be well aware of its components from the top to the bottom level – i.e. from the centre to the school level. It seems that many stakeholders are not well aware of the consequences of the lack of water and sanitation facilities in schools.

Proper orientation should be given to all concerned, prior to the beginning of planning. Before the preparation of the SIP, such orientation needs to be given for the purpose of making the SMC/PTA, headteacher, teaching staff and others realize the need for initiating new activities related to water and sanitation in the school.

After having such new initiatives at the school level, DEP then needs to endorse these activities, after which they should be endorsed at the central level through the ASIP. For the centre, special programmes for implementing and monitoring the new WATSAN needs and activities in the schools should be developed.

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 Nepal 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 Nepal Study

School level enrolment

According to UNESCO, the population of school age children for primary, lower secondary and secondary level is 3,571,285, 2,067,617 and 4,596,202 respectively. Table A.1 shows the gross enrolment of children at the various school levels from 2002 to 2007 (DoE, 2008).

Table A.1 Gross and net enrolment rates of primary, lower secondary and secondary levels 2002–07

Indicators	2002			2004			2005			2006			2007		
	Total	Boys	Girls												
Gross Enrolment Rate (Primary)	118.4	127.1	109.4	130.7	137.0	124.2	145.4	148.8	141.8	138.8	139.2	138.4	138.5	137.6	139.6
Gross Enrolment Rate (Lower Secondary)	57.5	63.4	51.2	80.3	86.4	73.9	76.0	84.0	68.2	71.5	77.9	65.4	78.8	81.6	75.9
Gross Enrolment Rate (Secondary)	44.8	50.7	38.7	50.4	55.4	45.2	49.8	53.5	46	56.7	60.2	53.1	55.9	59.3	52.4
Net Enrolment Rate (Primary)	82.4	88.7	76.8	84.2	90.1	78.0	86.8	90.1	83.4	87.4	89.3	85.5	89.1	90.7	87.4
Net Enrolment Rate (Lower Secondary)	40.4	44.7	35.8	43.9	47.6	40.2	–	–	–	52.3	57.1	47.8	52.9	56.1	49.6
Net Enrolment Rate (Secondary)	27.5	31.0	23.9	32.0	35.2	28.8	–	–	–	34.7	37.0	32.4	35.3	37.7	32.8

Source: See DoE (2008)

Table A.2 shows the gender-wise enrolment of children at primary level (DoE, 2008). Data on enrolment by gender at lower secondary and secondary level was not available. Tables A.3 and A.4 show the enrolment of children by the major social/ethnic groups at lower secondary level and secondary level respectively.

Table A.2 Total enrolment at primary level by grade and sex (FII 2006/07)

Grade	Enrolment (Flash II, 2006/07)			% of girls	Share of student (by grade in percentage)
	Girls	Boys	Total		
1	651,872	682,323	1,334,195	48.9	30.2
2	468,533	476,971	945,504	49.6	21.4
3	418,343	429,850	848,193	49.3	19.2
4	332,476	358,653	691,129	48.1	15.6
5	288,540	311,152	599,693	48.1	13.6
Total	2,159,763	2,258,950	4,418,713	48.9	100.0

Source: DoE (2008)

Table A.3 Enrolment at lower secondary level by social/ethnic groups

Group	Girls	Boys	Total	% of enrolment in total	% of girls
Dalit	63,782	78,056	141,838	9.8	45.0
Janajati	283,209	298,026	581,235	40.3	48.7
Others	333,081	387,361	720,442	49.9	46.2
Total	680,072	763,443	1,443,515	100.0	47.1

Source: DoE (2008)

Table A.4 Enrolment at secondary level by social/ethnic groups

Group	Girls	Boys	Total	% of enrolment in total	% of girls
Dalit	18,129	24,900	43,029	6.4	42.1
Janajati	118,611	129,865	248,476	37.0	47.7
Others	172,099	207,579	379,678	56.6	45.3
Total	308,839	362,344	671,183	100.0	46.0

Source: DoE (2008)

Repetition and dropout

Table A.5 shows repetition and drop-out rates at primary level (Grades 1 to 5) for 2005/06.

Table A.5 Repetition and drop-out rates at primary level

Total	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5
Repetition rate	29.8	16.1	13.1	13.1	10.4
Dropout rate	20.9	10.3	10.3	11.7	14.9
Boys	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5
Repetition rate	27.7	16.8	13.3	13.3	10.7
Dropout rate	25.5	9.2	9.5	10.6	14.6
Girls	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5
Repetition rate	32.0	15.4	12.8	12.9	10.2
Dropout rate	15.9	11.4	11.1	12.6	15.0

Source: DoE (2008)

Profile of sample districts

Chitwan

There are 453 schools (with Grades 1–5 and 1–10) in Chitwan district. Among them, 446 schools are running a primary section (Grades 1–5). These schools have 2,422 teachers. Of them, 1,910 teachers teach at primary level. A total of 138,373 students are enrolled in the district. Out of them 80,943 are at primary level. The number of Dalit students enrolled at primary level is higher than at secondary level. The number of Dalit students is 10,511 at primary and 3,839 at secondary level. Likewise, the number of Janajati students is estimated to be 43,343 at primary level and 25,138 at secondary level.

In Chitwan, the whole catchment areas of 47 schools and partial catchment areas of 27 schools have been declared as open defecation free. As inspired by this initiative, the Department of Water Supply and Sewerage has made commitments to declare the district free from open defecation by 2009 through a School Led Total Sanitation approach.

Tanahu

There are 588 schools in Tanahu district. Among them, 581 schools are running a primary section. Altogether 2,788 teachers are teaching in these schools and of these teachers, 2,278 teach at primary level. The total number of students enrolled in the schools of this district is 100,114. Out of them 64,938 are at primary level. This district also has higher number of Dalit students' enrolled at primary level than at secondary level. The number of Dalit students is 13,390 at primary and 4,135 at secondary level. Likewise, the number of Janajati students is estimated to be 36,455 at primary level and 19,079 at secondary level.

The hygiene education component of the School Led Total Sanitation programme has focused largely on school children. Most schools have set up a multiple handwashing table. This is one of the innovative activities initiated under SLTS and SSHE. Handwashing techniques have been introduced in schools. School children are practising proper handwashing as they were taught. Handwashing with soap has been promoted extensively in schools as well as in communities. The District Development Committee of Tanahu has made a decision to develop a district level master plan on sanitation to achieve universal toilet coverage in the district by 2012.

Kapilvastu

Kapilvastu district lies in the Terai part of the Western Development Region of Nepal. There are 409 schools in the district. Among them 408 schools run primary grades. There are altogether 1,652 teachers in these schools. Out of them 1,431 teachers teach at primary level. A total of 111,374 students are enrolled in the district, and out of them 86,460 are at primary level. The number of Dalit students enrolled at primary level is 15,540 and this figure is 2,057 at secondary level. Likewise, the number of Janajati students is estimated to be 34,017 at primary level and 8,675 at secondary level.

Kapilvastu is one of the backward districts in the region. In 1999, UNICEF, in cooperation with Line Agencies and NGOs, reactivated the SSHE and it was introduced in the schools of this district.

3

ANNEX

Research Tools

INTERVIEW GUIDELINE – 1 Headteacher/class teacher

Name of the school:

Level:

Location:

VDC/Ward no:

1. Situation of water supply (Adequacy/safe)

- 1) What kind of drinking water facility does your school have? (e.g. Tap, tank, well, pond, others ...).
- 2) Is the facility enough for teachers and students? If not, how do you manage?
- 3) Do the students bring drinking water from their homes as well? Who brings (girls, boys, caste specific, etc.)?
- 4) Is the available water safe to drink? How can you be sure? If not how has this affected children from your school?
- 5) What kind of water-borne diseases do your students and parents usually complain about?

2. Sanitation situation (adequacy/appropriateness)

- 1) Does your school have toilet facility? How is the condition?
- 2) Is the available facility enough for children and staff members?
- 3) Do you have separate toilets for male and female teachers and students?
- 4) How has water been supplied to the toilets?
- 5) Are there bucket, jug, and soap and other necessary items in the toilets for use? In students' toilets? How do they manage to clean themselves after a long toilet?
- 6) How has been the sewerage system?
- 7) Does the school have a separate room to take care of children during illness?
- 8) Do you have a changing room or some closed space where bigger girls can change during their monthly periods?
- 9) How does the school make sure that toilets are clean and useable for students? Who cleans? (e.g. teachers, students, sweeper, others ...)? How often?
- 10) Does school provide any kind of cleaner? What? If students are in charge are they properly oriented about the use of such products?

3. Existing practices and perception regarding the use and effect of water, hygiene and sanitation situation

- 1) Do girls and boys prefer to use toilets? Younger boys, younger girls, older boys, older girls? Why? (If anything related to the facility that made them use or not use ...) How about Dalit girls and boys?

- 2) Have you observed students fighting over the use of drinking water or toilets? Who and why? How do you or the school authority respond to it?
- 3) What are the usual complaints about girls and boys in relation to the use of drinking water supply and toilets, etc.? (Younger boys, younger girls, older boys, older boys, Dalit girls, Dalit boys?) How do you or the school authority respond to it?
- 4) Have you noticed any discriminatory behaviour/misbehaviour among students during the use of drinking water and toilet facilities? Who are the instigators? Why? How do you or the school authority respond to it?
- 5) If children with physical disability were admitted and no ramp – How do children with disability use the toilet and toilet facilities?
- 6) Do you think your students are aware of personal hygiene and cleanliness? Why not? If yes how can you be sure? Or what practice of them made you think so?

4. Effect of water and sanitation situation on students' attendance and regularity

- 1) How regular are girls and boys in your level/school? In either case why?
- 2) Do they flee in the middle of the day? Why? How do you or the school authority respond to such behaviour? (Check if they just punish or try to find out the reason and resolve it.)
- 3) Who are usually irregular and how has it affected their learning? How do you or the school authority respond to it?
- 4) How do older girls manage during their monthly period? Do they manage to come?
- 5) In your experience and observation what kind of issues or problems do older girls face during monthly period in attending school? How do you or other girls cope?
- 6) Do the girls share their problems/issues with you? How do you respond to it?
- 7) Do students ever complain about water and sanitation issues as the reason for being irregular to school or not finishing homework? (Boys? Girls?) (This question takes us to their home and community level.) How do you or the school authority respond to it?
- 8) Are there any courses or special classes where students are oriented about the importance of hygiene, sanitation, clean water, etc. in their lives? If yes, what effect has this made in their practices?
- 9) Do any students come to school untidy and with some kind of communicable diseases (skin problem, stomach problem, etc. – mainly water-borne)? How do other children react to such situation? How do you respond to it?

5. Good practices in relation to the supply and use of water and sanitation facilities

- 1) Can you think of any practices (related to the supply and use of drinking water facility, toilets, sewerage system, etc.) in your school and among your students that you really admire/d? What effect did that or does that make in student's health? In learning? In their attendance? ...
- 2) How far in your experience and observation has the school hygiene, sanitation and drinking water, etc. system changed the students' and/or teachers' household and community practices? (Including the practice of untouchability.) How do you know it? Is there evidence of students being a change agent in the community for the promotion of water and sanitation use and initiation of facilities?
- 3) Is there any example where students and teachers brought good experience and practices of households and community to school?
- 4) What other factors can possibly bring positive change in school and students' hygiene and sanitation related practices and/or situation? Can you think of any such good example?

INTERVIEW GUIDELINE – 2

Female teacher

Name of the school:

Level:

Location:

VDC/Ward no:

1. Situation of water supply (adequacy/safe)

- 1) Is the facility enough for teachers and students? If not how do you manage?
- 2) Is the available water safe to drink? How can you be sure? If not how has this affected children from your school?
- 3) Are there any types of water-borne diseases in the students of your school?

2. Sanitation situation (Adequacy/appropriateness)

- 1) How is the condition of toilets in the school? Is the available facility enough for children and staff members?
- 2) Are other items needed in the toilets for use?
- 3) Do you have a changing room or some closed space where you or bigger girls can change during monthly periods?

3. Existing practices and perception regarding the use and effect of water, hygiene and sanitation situation

- 1) Have you noticed any discriminatory behaviour among students during the use of drinking water?
- 2) Do girls and boys prefer to use toilets or outside?
- 3) Do you think your students are aware of personal hygiene and cleanliness? Why not? If yes how can you be sure? Or what practice of them made you think so?

4. Effect of water and sanitation situation on students' attendance and regularity

- 1) How regular are girls and boys in your in your class? In either case why?
- 2) Who are usually irregular and how has it affected their learning? How do you respond to it?
- 3) How do older girls manage during their monthly period? Do they manage to come?
- 4) Do the girls share their problems/issues with you? How do you respond to it?
- 5) Is there a problem of communicable diseases (skin problem, stomach problem, etc. mainly water-borne) in your class? How do other children react to such a situation? How do you respond to it?

5. Good practices in relation to the supply and use of water and sanitation facilities

- 1) Can you think of any practices (related to the supply and use of drinking water facility, toilets, sewerage system, etc. in your school and among your students that you really admire/d? What effect did that or does that make in student's health? In learning? In their attendance? ...
- 2) How far in your experience and observation has the school hygiene, sanitation and drinking water, etc. system changed the students' and/or teachers' household and community practices? (Including the practice of untouchability.) How do you know it?
- 3) Is there any example where students and teachers brought good experience and practices of households and community to school?
- 4) What other factors can possibly bring positive change in school and students' hygiene and sanitation related practices and/or situation? Can you think of any such good example?

INTERVIEW GUIDELINE – 5

Children with communicable disease/unclean boys (Grade 5,7,9)

Name of the school:

Grade:

Age:

Location:

VDC/Ward no:

1. Positive aspects of coming to school

- 1) Do you enjoy school?
- 2) Do you come every day?
- 3) What do you like about school? e.g. Lessons, Socialization, Others? Why?
- 4) Do you have friends in school?
- 5) What do you do with your friends? (Chat, play, help with study inside school, with study outside school.)
- 6) What are lessons like? (Interesting, Boring) Why?
- 7) Do you learn about health and hygiene and water and sanitation? If yes, what have you learned? At what level – primary, secondary?

2. Situation of water supply (adequacy/inadequacy)

- 1) Do you enjoy drinking water facility in your school?
- 2) Is available water appropriate to drink?
- 3) Do the students also bring drinking water from their own home? Why?

3. Situation of sanitation

- 1) How is the condition of the toilets in the school?
- 2) Do the toilets have necessary drainage to keep them hygienic?

4. Existing practices on the use of water and sanitation

- 1) Do the toilets have regular water facilities? If yes, what are they (bucket, jug, soap, others)?
- 2) Are the toilets cleaned regularly?
- 3) Who keeps them clean? (Teachers, students, sweeper, others)
- 4) What materials are used to clean the toilets? (brush, washing rag, Harpic, Odonil, others)
- 5) Has the school managed a room to take care of illness?

5. Effect of WATSAN on school attendance and dropout

- 1) Are toilets ok for your use? If yes, why? If no, what problem have you faced during the use of toilet?
- 2) Do the teachers give classes on the importance of WATSAN to health? If yes, how did students learn about it? In school, or outside?

6. Perception of the students on WATSAN services (any stigma/discriminatory or inclusive behaviour, particularly to unclean children, menstruating girls and children with communicable diseases)

- 1) Have you seen any discriminatory behaviour among students during the use of WATSAN service? If yes, how?
- 2) Does the school have unclean children and children with communicable diseases? If yes, how are they treated during the use of WATSAN service?

7. Record instances of good and inclusive practices

- 1) How do you feel during the use of WATSAN service? (easy, embarrassed, others)
- 2) Do you have cases of good and inclusive practices among the students during the use of WATSAN service? If yes, give some examples.
- 3) Does your friend discriminate against you while using WATSAN service? If yes, how?
- 4) Have you ever talked to teachers about such practices? Have things changed after reporting? If yes, what?

8. Situation of WATSAN at home

- 1) Do you have toilets and drinking water at home? If Yes, how far away? If no, why?
- 2) Do you share at home what you learn in school? If yes, what do you talk about at home (e.g. health issues, need for toilet, handwashing with soap)? With whom do you talk (e.g. mother, father, sister, brother, other)?
- 3) Have you noticed that things have changed at home through your effort? If yes, how?

9. Good practices of school that would alter traditional practices of the community

- 1) Do you think that students can work as agents of change in the community for the initiation/promotion of WATSAN service? How?

FGD GUIDELINE – 6

Adolescent girls (Grade 5,7,9)

Name of the school:

Grade:

Age:

Location:

VDC/Ward no:

1. Positive aspects of coming to school

- 1) Do you enjoy school?
- 2) Do you come every day?
- 3) What do you like about school? (e.g. Lessons, Socialization, Others) Why?
- 4) Do you have friends in school?
- 5) What do you do with your friends? (Chat, play, help, with study inside school, with study outside school.)
- 6) What are lessons like? (Interesting, Boring) Why?
- 7) Do you learn about health and hygiene and water and sanitation? If yes, what have you learned? At what level – primary, secondary?

2. Situation of water supply (adequacy/inadequacy)

- 1) Do you have sufficient drinking water facility in your school?
- 2) Is available water appropriate to drink?
- 3) Do you bring drinking water from your own home? Why?
- 4) Do you or your friend have a water-borne disease? If yes, what kind of disease?

3. Situation of sanitation (adequacy/inadequacy)

- 1) Are there usable toilets for boys and girls?
- 2) Do the toilets have necessary drainage to keep toilets hygienic?

4. Existing practices on the use of water and sanitation

- 1) Do the toilets have regular water facilities? If yes, what are they (bucket, jug, soap, others)?
- 2) Are the toilets cleaned regularly?
- 3) Who keeps them clean? (Teachers, students, sweeper, others)
- 4) What materials are used to clean the toilets? (brush, washing rag, Harpic, Odonil, others)
- 5) Has the school managed a room to take care of illness?
- 6) Have you ever talked to teachers when you have problems related to menstruation and toilets? What?
- 7) Does menstruation cause any problem in school/coming to school? (e. g. toilet, water, soap, others)

5. Effect of WATSAN on school attendance and dropout

- 1) Are toilets ok for you when you have menstruation? Why?
- 2) What problem have you perceived during your period? e.g. Embarrassment, any other problems? Why?
- 3) Have you been away from school because of time of menstruation and toilets are not clean.

- 4) If yes, how do you feel?
- 5) Do the teachers give classes on importance of WATSAN to health? If yes, how did students learn about it? In school, or outside? Do students show unwillingness to talk openly about the use of WATSAN? Why?

6. Perception of the students on WATSAN services (any stigma/discriminatory or inclusive behaviour, particularly to unclean children, menstruating girls and children with communicable diseases)

- 1) Have you seen any discriminatory behaviour among students during the use of WATSAN service? If yes, how?
- 2) Does the school have unclean children and children with communicable diseases? If yes, how are they treated during the use of WATSAN service?

7. Record instances of good and inclusive practices

- 1) Does your friend discriminate against you while using WATSAN service? If yes, how?
- 2) Have you ever talked to teachers about such practices?
- 3) Have things changed after reporting? How?
- 4) Do you have good cases of good and inclusive practices among the students during the use of WATSAN service? Give some examples

8. Situation of WATSAN at home

- 1) Do you have toilets and drinking water at home? If Yes, how far away?
- 2) What does your family feel about your going to school? e.g. encourage, discourage. How?
- 3) Do you have any problem dealing with menstruation at home? What types?
- 4) Do your family tell you to stay off even if you are only a little ill during the time of menstruation?
- 5) Do you share at home what you learn in school? If yes, what do you talk about at home (e.g. health issues, need for toilet, handwashing with soap)? With whom do you talk (e.g. mother, father, sister, brother, other)?
- 6) Have you noticed that things have changed at home through your effort? How?

9. Good practices of school that would alter traditional practices of the community

- 1) Do you think that students can work as agents of change in the community for the initiation/promotion of WATSAN service? How?

FGD GUIDELINE – 7

SMC members/PTA/parents/mothers' groups/social activists

Name of the school:

Level:

Location:

VDC/Ward no:

1. Situation of water supply (adequacy/inadequacy)

- 1) Sources of water (school and community)
- 2) Available water appropriate/inappropriate to drink (school and community),
- 3) Students have any water-borne disease (school and community),
- 4) Available water adequate/inadequate to the need of the school family

2. Situation of sanitation (adequacy/inadequacy)

- 1) Situation of toilets (school and community)
- 2) Toilets have urinal and ramp in the school
- 3) Toilets have necessary drainage to keep them hygienic

3. Existing practices on the use of water and sanitation

- 1) Water facility in toilet
- 2) Toilets clean/unclean
- 3) Who cleans toilet?
- 4) Methods used to clean toilet

4. Effect of WATSAN on school attendance and dropout

- 1) Have adolescent girl students ever stayed away from school because of toilets during menstruation – if yes, for how long?
- 2) Any cases of dropout because of water and toilet?
- 3) From where do students learn about WATSAN and discuss about it openly?

5. Perception on WATSAN services (any stigma/discriminatory or inclusive behaviour, particularly to unclean children, menstruating girls and children with communicable diseases)

- 1) Does the community have any unclean children and children with communicable diseases? Type of interaction – stigma/discrimination, inclusive behaviour?
- 2) Are such types of problem specific to any caste groups?
- 3) What is the behaviour of the teacher towards such children in the school?
- 4) What is the behaviour of other children to such children?

6. Record instances of good and inclusive practices

- 1) Any good cases of good and inclusive practices among the students about the use of WATSAN service

7. Good practices of school that would alter traditional practices of the community

- 1) Is student's learning at school helpful or not to change the attitude of community for the initiation/promotion of WATSAN service?

DISCUSSION GUIDELINE – 8

DEO officials

Name of the district:

Location:

- 1. Situation of physical facility in schools of the districts (government and NGO)**
- 2. Involvement of CBO/NGO in WATSAN programme in the districts**
- 3. Situation of water supply in the schools of the district (adequacy/inadequacy)**
- 4. Situation of sanitation in the district (adequacy/inadequacy)**
- 5. Effect of WATSAN on school attendance and drop-out where NGOs are working**
- 6. Perception on WATSAN services (any stigma/discriminatory or inclusive behaviour, particularly to unclean children, menstruating girls and children with communicable diseases)**
- 7. Record instances of good and inclusive practices**
- 8. Good practices of school that would alter traditional practices of the community**
- 9. Suggest the best site and schools for the fieldwork to achieve the goal of the study**

DISTRICT LEVEL FGD GUIDELINE – 9 DEO officials

The research team will share the experiences of field findings after the completion of fieldwork in both the site and the four schools. The participants will also be asked to present their opinions about recent programmes on WATSAN and future plans.

- 1. Water and sanitation situation in the district (GOs and NGOs programmes)**
- 2. Water and sanitation related issues in the districts:**
 - a) poor and inadequate facilities
 - b) discrimination on the basis of caste, gender in the use of the facilities
 - c) social taboos esp. for adolescent girls during monthly period
 - d) reaction towards children with communicable diseases, etc.
 - e) WATSAN impact on students (practical, educational and psychological levels)
- 3. Good practices (this can be inserted in boxes as well)**
- 4. Transformative roles of students**
- 5. Evidence and possibility of good practice in schools having transformed or altered the traditional discriminatory or unhygienic practices within the community and at home.**

School Survey Form

District:
Form I

SN	Name and address of the school	Number of students		Number of teachers		Non-teaching staff		Remarks
		Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	

District:
Form II

SN	Name and address of the school	No. of Drinking water facilities		No. of Toilets		No of toilets with running water		No of toilets with bucket, jug and soap		Sanitation situation		Sewerage system		Changing room/ space for girls
		G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	Clean	Not clean	Hygienically channelled	Open, not hygienically managed	

District:
Form III
School:

Grades	Bhadra				Falgun			
	School open day	Student's present day	Reason for being absent	Reason for drop- out	School open day	Student's present day	Reason for being absent	Reason for drop- out
Grade 3								
Grade 5								
Grade 7								

Further Case Studies

Bhanu Secondary School, Bandipur-3, Tanahu

Child clubs are active in this school. In the child clubs, girls collect money for buying sanitary pads, which they keep in the school. Therefore, in cases of need they do not need to rush elsewhere for safety measures.

When the researchers asked, 'What do you do in case of menstruation in the school?', the girls replied, 'We are already prepared for this.' When we asked, 'What facilities do you have for the safety measures?', they said, 'Our child club has collected money, and using the money the club has purchased sanitary pads. We have a separate toilet for girls with water facility; and in the case of menstruation, we can wash and dry our panties in the toilet.'

When the girls who have not yet faced the problem of menstruation were asked, 'What will you do if you meet with the event of menstruation in the school for the first time?', the girls said, 'Our teacher gives us the necessary guidance in case of such incidents. We also have learned how to manage the situation from our seniors.'

The school also has a good toilet and sufficient water facility for sanitation. This has helped to maintain a neat and clean environment in and around the school. Some children have had basic training on health and sanitation, and others have learned the hygienic practices from them.

Buddha Shanti Secondary School, Piple-7, Chitwan

Although the school has a toilet, it is not clean. There is water which is bored from the ground, and the water supply is lacking due to the frequent load shedding of electricity. The toilet does not have a roof, so the inside is seen easily from the upper floor of the houses nearby. When the girls were asked, 'Is it comfortable to you?', they replied, 'It's a great torture! If we go inside the toilet, boys who may be peeping at us from the upper floor of houses nearby can tease us; so it will be better not to use the toilet. For this purpose, we even prefer not to drink water at home and eat little food before going to school – so that we do not need to go for defecation or urination in the school.'

When girls were asked, 'How do you manage to keep yourself clean during the period of menstruation?', they responded, 'That period is still horrible! It will be better not to go to school during that period rather than face the torture of getting humiliated or harassed. So, we avoid the schools in that period. This is mainly the result of having no safe toilet and insufficient water in the school.'

Kalika Rastriya Primary School, Siddhi VDC-2, Chitwan

In the school's catchment area, the major inhabitants are: Chepang, Gurung, Tamang and Kamis (Dalit, blacksmith). Out of them 60 per cent are Chepangs – one of the most backward and marginalized communities in the country. The literacy rate of Chepangs is very low. Compared with the children of other communities, those of the Chepangs were found to be less clean in the field study.

Having observed this situation in the school and community, the researchers were interested in knowing further details, and so discussion was held with the headteacher, teachers, SMC and PTA members. A Chepang SMC member was also present in the discussion. They said, 'This ethnic group does not feel the need for keeping neat and clean at home. They have a strange tradition of not cleaning the anus after defecation. They think touching the remains of the stool (in the anus) makes the entire body unclean. In their thinking, people from other castes who clean the anus after defecation are dirty (because they touch the remains of the stool with their hand).'

Teachers said, 'We have tried a lot to convince them to start the hygienic practices like washing clothes, cleaning the body and maintaining neat and tidy surroundings. But they are totally opposed to our suggestions. Instead, they criticize us for imposing our ideas upon them (which, they think, are unnecessary).'

When the Chepang SMC member (present in the discussion) was asked, 'What do you say about the situation?', he replied, 'This is the tradition, and it is difficult to abolish. I have also tried to convince the people in my community, but people do not care for new hygienic practices.'

In the classroom, children from the Chepang community were sitting isolated (on the last row), and those from other communities did not mix with them. The researchers asked the dirty children, 'Why do you sit only on the last bench? Why don't you wash your clothes, and why don't you take bath?' But the children did not respond a single word. Then, other children were asked, 'Why do they sit on the last row and why are they so dirty?' They replied, 'They don't want to keep clean, so they are dirty and their body smells badly if they sit with us. Therefore, thinking that their sitting with us will make us unhappy, they always want to sit away from us. We don't want to discriminate against them; but they avoid mixing up with us.'

Bhagawandas Primary School (Thulo Bargadawa Gaun, Kapilvastu)

In the catchment area of this school, there is a mixed community consisting of 60 per cent Tarai Dalit population, and the remaining 40 per cent involving other castes of Hindus and Muslims. Altogether 436 students are studying in the school, out of which 257 are girls. There are four toilets in the school, but only one was seen in operation – the other three were locked.

Having noticed this situation, the researchers wanted to inquire further. Discussion was held involving the headteacher, teachers, SMC and PTA members. The SMC and PTA members said, 'This is the weakness of the headteacher; he has stopped our children from using the toilet, and this is harmful.'

The headteacher said, 'I wanted to open these toilets; but there is little water in the school. Children make the toilets dirty, and they do not clean. There is no helper to clean the toilets. I cannot flush the stools myself. If all these toilets are used, the toilets will be so dirty that the entire school premises will be polluted. So, I have instructed the children to go away for defecation rather than making the school premises dirty.'

Dharmabhakta Primary School (Gotihawa-7, Kapilvastu)

In this community of 150 households, only one household was found having a toilet. People do not feel the need for making a toilet, so they use open space for defecation and urination. In the school, two toilets have been built, which are well cemented and well constructed, with a water tank on the top. The old toilets were destroyed, but the newly constructed ones have not been operated. Everybody goes outside in the open space for toileting.

When the researchers asked the headteacher, 'Why don't you make use of these newly constructed toilets?', he said, 'There is not sufficient water facility here. These new toilets will be used only after managing the water.'

Women (especially mothers), other community people and school children were asked about this matter. The researchers asked them how comfortable it was for them and their children to use the open space for toileting.

School children said, 'We are well used to go outside for defecation, since there are several places where we can hide ourselves to sit for toileting.'

Adolescent boys said, 'It has been easier for us to go for defecation near the pond, since there are several ponds nearby; and we do not need to take water with us. If a toilet is built, it will be like going inside a narrow room, and there will be the extra burden of carrying water.'

The adolescent girls said, 'Even in the time of menstruation we can go away, wash the dirt with water comfortably and return back. Nobody notices us while we do so. There is no need for building a separate bathroom.'

In this way, people in the community were found not feeling the need for building toilets.

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