

Partnerships

WaterAid school WASH Research: India Country Report





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Cover image: Students washing their hands at a handwashing station-cum-waterpoint installed with WaterAid's support at the Government Higher Primary Girls School, Kavithal village, Raichur district, Karnataka. WaterAid/ Anil Cherukupalli.



List of abbreviations

ASER Annual Status of Education Report CSR Corporate Social Responsibility

DISE District Information System for Education

GDP Gross Domestic Product

ICT Information and Communication Technology
IEC Information Education and Communication

MDG Millennium Development Goals
MHM Menstrual Hygiene Management

MHRD Ministry of Human Resources Development NBA Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan (Clean India Campaign)

RWH Rain Water Harvesting

SACOSAN South Asian Conference on Sanitation

SDP School Development Plan

SHG Self-Help Group

SMC School Management Committees

SSA Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (Education for All)
SVYM Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement

WASH Water Sanitation and Hygiene

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Executive summary

Foreword

This study on school WASH in India is part of a research project conducted by WaterAid to improve its school WASH programming globally. The multiple objectives of this project revolve around: i) analysing the underlying causes of strengths and weaknesses observed in the school WASH sub-sector, ii) assessing the extent to which WaterAid and other organisations are addressing key bottlenecks; iii) highlighting good practices, promising innovations and approaches to avoid; iv) recommending changes to existing WaterAid school WASH strategies and approaches; and v) suggesting means to improve the school WASH programming process.

India has a long historic record on school WASH, and correspondingly a very rich amount of information on the subject is available. However, a lack of publically documented school WASH bottleneck analysis at the time of the assignment faced this research with the twin challenge of undertaking a descriptive bottleneck analysis of school WASH for the whole country, whilst simultaneously engaging in the in-depth exploration of accountability and political economy factors underlying the key bottlenecks.

Much of the information collected through the literature review and stakeholder consultations is on a national scope. However, in view of the significant autonomy enjoyed by state governments with regard to education, effort was made to situate this study in a chosen state. Accordingly, much of the work took place in Karnataka, notably in Mysore district. This region has served as a sort of laboratory for India with respect to WASH and school WASH work. It provides a particularly conducive environment for school WASH, which is hardly representative of the conditions prevailing in many states in India. The fertile collaboration between WaterAid India and its longstanding and nationally acclaimed local partner the Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement, insufficiently documented so far, provides key lessons for the sub-sector.

The enabling environment

The Indian policy framework relevant to school WASH is comprehensive, appropriate and very conducive to progress in the sector. It provides the legal foundation for school WASH and strategic guidance, and outlines the mechanisms for institutional coordination, financing and implementation. Scope for progress exists in various areas such as norms and standards, currently being revised to become more child-friendly and inclusive.

Recent institutional shifts have seen the Ministry of Human Resources Development take the lead on the whole school WASH agenda nationally. This is paving the way for more consistent strategies and approaches. A clearer official delineation of the roles and responsibilities of the myriad of school WASH stakeholders is needed.

^a The Karnataka Urban Water Improvement Project (FY2004-2011) demonstrated that 24/7 water delivery could be a reality in urban India. The project supplied 230,000 people directly, quickly gaining strong support from end-users. The revenue from billing exceeded the costs for O&M and bulk water delivery – a rarity for India (World Bank 2014).



Top-level political support has recently propelled school WASH as a national priority, as the open defecation taboo is gradually weakening and public concern for related challenges faced by women and girls is rising. State and district level leaders have been championing school WASH, and their impetus is often pivotal. School WASH leadership hardly permeates the system, however, and thus remains fragile.

National targets mostly focus on hardware, and especially on the building of toilets. The recent approach adopted by the Government to achieve overly ambitious objectives reflects risky trade-offs with key principles enshrined in official guidelines. Legitimate doubts have been raised over the extent to which the massive public investments made can lead to the sustainable behaviour change outcomes sought. The outcome of the negotiations underway at central level, which could result in great financial support to address school WASH operation and maintenance challenges nationwide, may partly dispel these doubts. But the will and capacity of state governments to rapidly implement activities complementing the provision of basic infrastructure in each school is also needed.

Achieving sustainable school WASH services implies needs-based planning, an area where considerable progress will be required throughout the country in years to come. School development plans prepared by School Management Committees generally fail to reflect the most pressing needs, and are in any case rarely taken into account in the district-level annual working plan and budget, which forms the basis of the state's planning and budgeting process.

Adequate planning starts with a reliable baseline and an effective monitoring system. Whilst progress is noted in the range of indicators used for the District Information System for Education (DISE) by the Ministry of Human Resources Development, the robustness of the outputs of this system is widely contested. Major deficiencies in the data aggregation and validation system result from the above-mentioned lack of school WASH leadership and commitment throughout the education system. The success of promising certification schemes associated with incentive mechanisms, such as the Clean School Award or the Three Stars approach, also depend on more effective and transparent monitoring systems.

The Government of India has increased its contribution to the development of elementary education through the launch of centrally sponsored schemes such as Education for All (Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan), Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya, and the midday meal scheme. The Right to Education Act 2009 has increased the reliance of states on governmental funds. Budget cuts particularly affect categories relevant to school WASH. The stronghold of teacher unions on politics is manifest in their influence on budget allocation, but also on the weakening of school governance, which largely explains the escalating enrolment of children in private schools.

Developing school WASH services

In 2013, 75% of all schools had access to improved, functional water supply in schools. This increasing coverage reflects the nationwide efforts of the Government's National Rural Drinking Water Programme. Ensuring good water quality remains a problem, however. According to the DISE, 51% of schools have a designated space for handwashing. 37% of schools have handwashing facilities close to the toilets. The coverage of toilets in schools



has steadily increased during the past few years. The Government, which engaged in an unprecedented effort between 2014 and 2015, claims that all schools are now equipped with separate toilets for boys and girls. This statement is refuted by multiple independent assessments and analyses.

Gender discrepancies in access to toilets are gradually fading. Menstrual hygiene management remains largely under-addressed at the upper primary school level, due to capacity gaps with teachers and lack of information, education and communication materials. The attention paid by the Government to the WASH needs of people living with disabilities is relatively recent, and consequently much effort is required to address these needs. Geographic disparities with regard to access to water are manifest amongst states, as well as between rural and urban areas.

Success in school WASH work generally requires substantial changes in social norms, which can prove very difficult given the reluctance of adults to challenge their own beliefs and attitudes. Mistrust of community members towards implementers of school-based interventions represents another substantial obstacle. Engaging in a dialogue with communities requires outreach workers convinced of the added value of participatory processes and trusting in community abilities. This mind-set is not yet widespread amongst government workers.

The priority put by the Government on hygiene education varies amongst states. A structural challenge consists in shifting from the mere transfer of theoretical knowledge to children, to approaches fostering the formation of improved hygiene habits. Handwashing with soap is making a remarkable breakthrough, now being mainstreamed as a requirement of the nationwide midday meal scheme, which benefits nearly 110 million children in 1.3 million primary and upper primary schools.

Promoting school-community links by building on the potential of students as agents of change is recommended by the Ministry of Human Resources Development. Fostering child-to-child activities and the use of child clubs (e.g. child parliaments/cabinets, health clubs, WASH clubs, eco-clubs) is also suggested. Such structures, often found in schools targeted by NGO-led programmes, are difficult to institutionalise, notably because of the need to revive these clubs each year. Once in place in a supportive environment, child parliaments prove very valuable for the school in many areas, and empower students.

Sustaining school WASH services

School Management Committees are in charge of the operation and maintenance of school WASH facilities. School-based interventions putting special emphasis on creating school-community links and building cohesive, capable and motivated School Management Committees frequently achieve remarkable results in terms of transformational changes and sustainability. But whilst most schools have formed their School Management Committee, many are generally dysfunctional. Often little aware of their roles as Committee members, parents rarely identify meaningful opportunities to engage. In the absence of a supportive environment, the success of School Management Committees often hinges on the human and social capital of their members. To handle their school WASH operation and maintenance expenditures, Committees can use the school maintenance grant and tap into additional resources. Moreover, many states have recently taken steps to allocate specific

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budgets to schools to hire janitors and cover school WASH operation and maintenance expenses.

Marked discrepancies exist in the functionality of school water supply systems across India. Whilst functional drinking water facilities can be found in only 50% of schools in five states, this percentage exceeds 90% in 13 other states of the country. Keeping water purification systems operational also proves very challenging for most schools.

The gap between the number of toilets 'available' and the number of those 'functional and in use' is progressively closing, but remains very significant. Thus, between 2010 and 2014, the availability of usable toilets increased from 47.2% to 65.2%, whilst the availability of usable girls' toilets progressed from 32.9% to 55.7%. Schools frequently rely on midday meal assistants or hire sanitation workers to clean school WASH facilities. In the absence of such workers locally, schools sometimes opt for arrangements requiring children to clean the toilets on a rota basis. Sustaining the proper use of toilets is notoriously difficult, particularly in areas where open defecation still prevails. Forming new hygiene habits in children, such as appropriate toilet behaviour, takes persistent efforts.

Washing hands with soap before eating is now institutionalised as part of the midday meal scheme. Whether the higher availability of soap in schools results in it being accessible to all children for washing hands at critical times needs to be investigated. Schools, which can rely on well performing child parliaments or other clubs, generally have protocols ensuring the proper use of toilets, their adequate cleaning and maintenance, and a supervised routine of handwashing with soap. The challenge addressed by the UNICEF Three Stars approach and other 'small doable action' approaches, already adopted by a few states, is to engage schools in a stepped process leading to the institutionalisation and monitoring of improved hygiene practices.

Recommendations

The recommendations emerging from this study embrace key trends shaping the overall strategy of WaterAid India: a move towards systematic district-wide approaches characterised by greater integration of WASH, health and nutrition, greater emphasis on a human rights frameworks, and a gradual shifting from service delivery to supporting government-led programmes.

WaterAid India should pursue the excellent advocacy work conducted on school WASH operation and maintenance, inclusive design of school WASH facilities, and menstrual hygiene management. In addition, WaterAid India could seek to influence the Government on school WASH planning by demonstrating the benefits of planning based on robust monitoring and genuine school development plans. Supporting the Government to undertake a sub-sector performance review, and analysing gaps at policy, programme design and implementation level, would be another significant endeavour of considerable value to the sector. Establishing networks and forums rallying organisations working on WASH, health, nutrition and other areas relevant to the quality of the learning environment and the Right to Education Act makes much sense too.

Ongoing efforts by WaterAid India and partners to make the enabling environment for school WASH very conducive is however a long-term effort. In the meantime, WaterAid

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India needs to improve the impact of the school-based interventions it conducts throughout India with NGO partners of varying levels of expertise. And increasingly, WaterAid India's focus will shift towards supporting state and district governments in the design and implementation of their own programmes. It is critical to build on the fundamentals of the outstanding Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement/WaterAid India model to develop a model adapted to these two different scenarios.

Transposing the Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement/WaterAid India model into contexts less favourable than that encountered in Mysore implies a trade-off in the quality of the stakeholder engagement process. A mechanism is therefore proposed that can compensate for this loss of quality, frequency and continuity of engagement. Enhancing WaterAid India's school WASH service delivery typically requires developing models incorporating the following characteristics:

- Multiple objectives (e.g. WASH-health-nutrition) centred around the strengthening of school governance.
- In-built incentivising schemes (non-perverse, i.e. do not have unexpected/undesirable effects) and monitoring (accountability) systems.
- A merit-based approach respectful of natural growth processes (incubation, growth/propagation).
- Extended timeframe to anchor new habits and allow on-the-job capacity building through a small doable action approach.



1. Background

The state of water, sanitation and hygiene facilities in schools leaves much to be desired. Many schools across the developing world have inadequate facilities (for example too few latrines for the student population, or no handwashing facilities). Some have had a form of service in the past, but this has fallen into disrepair – often for want of very minor expenditure and repairs, such as the replacement of a tap, or adjustment of a rainwater gutter. Many schools have three or four generations of poorly constructed toilets or latrines which have not been cared for, that have filled, collapsed and been abandoned. Random visits to schools in many countries reveal this state of affairs, but to make matters worse, local and national governments often fail to adequately monitor the situation, or to take action on their findings. A situation which, in principle, is easily addressed appears to be dominated by civil society and public sector apathy.

Ensuring that facilities and services are put in place requires an enabling environment consisting of strong and clear policies, effective public planning procedures and adequate budgets. The development of services and facilities requires capacity, expertise and commitment on the part of those undertaking implementation in order to provide high quality and equitable access for all pupils, including those with physical or other disabilities. Sustaining the functioning and performance of services – arguably the most challenging of all aspects – requires management commitment and capacity, dedicated funds, upkeep and maintenance skills and effective supply chains for goods and services.

In view of its long-running concern about the state of school WASH, and against the background of its extensive programmatic and policy work on the topic in many countries, WaterAid took the initiative in 2015 to undertake a programme of research. This commenced with a review of academic and grey literature, together with a set of key informant interviews, which resulted in the report *School WASH* research and advocacy programme – work package 1 desk review, dated 31 July 2015.

The second stage of the research, undertaken in July 2015, involved hiring two independent consultants, who designed a field research programme together with WaterAid research and regional staff. Jacques-Edouard Tiberghien was recruited to undertake four country case studies in south Asia (Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan) and Rose Alabaster to carry out five country case studies in east Africa (Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda).

The third stage of the research led to the completion of nine country case studies in the two regions of WaterAid's country programmes. This document is one of those case studies. Work continues within WaterAid's regional teams and country programmes to summarise, synthesise, learn from and design better programmatic and policy actions based on these reports.



2. WaterAid context

WaterAid's Global Strategy 2015-2020, *Everyone, everywhere 2030,* draws attention to the needless death of 500,000 children annually from diseases caused by a lack of safe water, sanitation and hygiene. It points out the impact on school completion rates of girls whose schools lack adequate toilets. The Strategy draws attention to WaterAid's programmatic work delivering improved WASH services to many millions of people; and it refers to the influence of its evidence-based policy and campaigns work in reaching many millions more.

WaterAid's global aims – addressing inequality of access, strengthening sustainable services, integrating WASH with other essential areas of sustainable development and improving hygiene behaviour – are highly relevant to a focus on enabling, developing and sustaining WASH services in schools.

The Global Strategy clearly highlights the responsibility of national governments to create environments within which public and private sector entities and civil society can bring about change.

WaterAid looks for effective leadership, active communities, a commitment to equality, the systems necessary for sustainability, and the integration of key development sectors.

This report, together with the eight others that accompany it, sets out analysis and evidence highly pertinent to WaterAid's country programmes, regional efforts and Global Strategy. It is hoped too that the material presented here may be of value to other organisations struggling to support national and local governments, communities and schools in their efforts to improve WASH services.

3. Country context

3.1. Country overview²

With 1.2 billion people and the world's fourth-largest economy, India's recent growth and development is outstanding. A landmark agricultural revolution transformed the nation from chronic dependence on grain imports into a global agricultural powerhouse and net exporter of food. Life expectancy has more than doubled, literacy rates have quadrupled, health conditions have improved, and a sizeable middle class has emerged. India is now home to globally recognised heavy industries and hi-tech companies, and a growing voice on the international stage.

India will soon have the largest and youngest workforce the world has ever seen. Whilst 67% of the population still lives in rural areas, the country is experiencing the largest rural-urban migration of this century. How India develops its significant human potential and lays down new models for the growth of its burgeoning towns and cities will determine its future. Generating inclusive growth will be key, as over 400 million of India's people (one-third of the world's poor) still live in poverty. Due to population growth, the absolute number of poor people in some of India's poorest states actually increased during the last decade.

Inequity in all dimensions, including region, caste and gender, need to be addressed. Fostering greater levels of education and skills will be critical to promoting prosperity in a rapidly globalising world. However, while primary education has largely been universalised, learning outcomes remain low. Although India's health indicators have improved, in some



states maternal and child mortality rates remain comparable to those of the world's poorest countries. Child malnutrition is of particular concern, as the country hosts 40% (217 million) of the world's malnourished children.

The country's infrastructure needs are massive: huge investment is needed to develop transport routes (roads, railways, air) and energy supply networks. The manufacturing sector – vital for job creation – remains small and underdeveloped.

3.2. WASH sector

3.2.1. Water resources³

India's estimated total usable water is put at 1.12 billion km³. Most scientific assessments concur that total water requirement will outstrip supply in future, moving the country into an era of severe water scarcity characterised by huge geographical and social disparities in water availability.

The mandate for the management of water resources is shared amongst the Ministry of Water Resources, which looks after irrigation and river waters, the Ministry of Environment and Forests, responsible for forest development and management and water pollution, the Ministry of Rural Development, which oversees watershed development as well as rural drinking water supply and sanitation, and the Ministry of Urban Development, which looks at urban water supply and sanitation. Coordination amongst these four ministries is lacking at the level of policy formulation and programme implementation.

3.2.2. WASH4

Rural water and sanitation are the responsibility of the Department of Drinking Water Supply, under the Ministry of Rural Development, while urban water and sanitation are the responsibility of the Ministry of Urban Development. Although state governments decide allocations and investments for water supply and sanitation, the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments decentralised the mandate for the provision of drinking water and sanitation services to local governments (panchayats) in rural areas, and urban local bodies in urban areas, both answerable to state governments.

With 94% of the population with access to improved water supply, India has achieved its Millennium Development Goal (MDG) water target (see Figure 1). Serious concerns remain however, in relation to the insufficient availability of water, inequity in its access, and the sustainability of water sources. In contrast to the remarkable improvement achieved with regard to drinking water services, India still falls far short on sanitation, where progress is held back by the massive open defecation problem. Whilst the rate of the population practising open defecation has dropped from a significant 31% between 1990 and 2015, this practice still prevails in 61% of the rural population and 10% of the urban population (see Figure 1), and progress among the poorest people has been much slower.



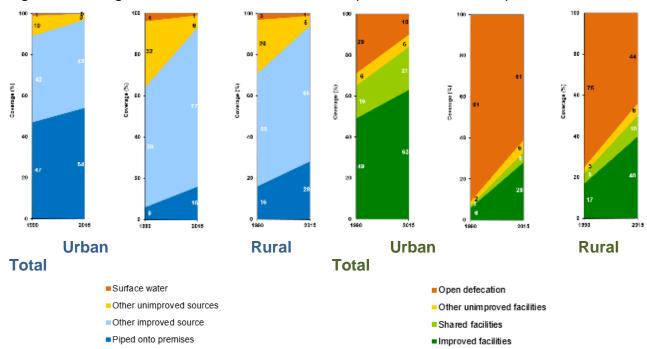


Figure 1: Drinking water and sanitation trends in India (UNICEF and WHO 2015)⁶

WaterAid India (2015) noted that the election of the new Government in May 2014 with an absolute majority gave it the opportunity to push ahead with its agenda without much hindrance. The Prime Minister launched the 'Swachh Bharat Mission' (Clean India Campaign) to provide sanitation for all by 2019, which triggered the interest of new players in sanitation, including the media and the corporate sector, who were willing to contribute to the national effort through CSR funding. Whilst much welcomed, this wave of interest in sanitation carries the risks of further aggravating an already profound bias towards 'construction' in the sector.⁷

In the short term, the sanitation challenge is addressed through scaling up awareness-raising programmes, mass communicating messages, and focusing efforts on those states, districts and social groups falling most behind. In the medium term, the Government needs to tackle structural human resources shortages in critical areas such as inter-personal communication and community approaches to total sanitation, toilet construction, and monitoring and evaluation.⁵

3.3. Education sector

3.3.1. The education system⁸

The Right to Education Act, which came into force in April 2010, imposes free and compulsory education for children between six and 14 in India under article 21A of the Indian constitution.

There are broadly four stages of school education in India: primary, upper primary, secondary and higher secondary. The primary and upper primary stages constitute the elementary stage of education. In 2013, the total number of schools imparting elementary education in the country had reached 1,448,712 and had increased by over 70% since



2000. The standard 10+2 pattern of school education consists of eight years of elementary education, two years of secondary and two years of higher secondary education. The preprimary stage, which is considered a critical stage for laying the foundations for primary education, is currently not a part of the formal education structure.

Table 1: School stages and number of education institutions in India.

School stage	Number of schools (2013)
Early childhood care and education – <i>including</i> Integrated Child Development Services <i>in anganwadis</i>	1,338,732
Primary (grades I-V)	860,000
Upper primary (grades VI-VIII)	590,000
Secondary (grades IX-X)	
Higher secondary (grades XI-XII)	237,000



The pre-primary stage is not yet part of the formal education structure. Early childhood care and education encompasses the inseparable elements of care, health, nutrition, play and early learning within a protective and enabling environment. Early childhood care and education services are provided by public, private and non-governmental organisations. The Integrated Child Development Services Scheme, coordinated by the Ministry of Women and Child Development, is one of the world's largest programmes for early childhood development. Integrated Child Development Services converge at the anganwadi – a village courtyard serving as platform for the delivery of these services.

3.3.2. Areas of progress⁸

The number of children attending pre-school education is increasing, as is the net enrolment rate in primary education. India is close to universal enrolment for the age group 6-14, with the percentage of children enrolled in school exceeding 96% for six years in a row. The annual dropout rate in primary education is declining, and progress has been made in bridging the gender and social category gaps in elementary education. A substantial increase in enrolment in secondary education and a huge increase in the demand for higher education are also noted. There has also been a substantial increase in literacy rates since 2001.

^b There have been variations among States/UTs in the organizational pattern for the first ten years of schooling and efforts have been made to realign to the standard pattern.



3.3.3. Persisting challenges

The education system in India still faces several challenges as it seeks to further enhance access to and quality of education at all levels. Despite some progress, dropout rates remain high, and unsatisfactory student learning levels continue to cause concern. Slow progress in reducing the rate of illiteracy, as well as gender and regional disparities in literacy rates, remains concerning.⁸

The latest version of the Annual Status of Education report praises the Government of India for its achievements in infrastructure and facilities over the last decade, which has allowed larger numbers of children to transition to the upper primary stage and beyond. But the report stresses the persistent lack of attention paid to learning outcomes, which contributes to a growing divide throughout the country between those who access private schools or tutors, and those who do not. Private school enrolment stood at around 18.7% in 2006, and had steadily crept up to 30.8% by 2014. In addition, about a fourth of all children in rural India pay for private tutors. The Annual Status of Education report warns that failing to react swiftly will have disastrous consequences – educationally, socially and politically.

4. Research aims and objectives

The aim of the research is to set out a systematic process by which WaterAid can design and improve its strategies and approaches for school WASH. The objectives of the research are as follows:

- 1. Review and deepen existing school WASH bottleneck analyses, or in the case of countries with no such analysis, undertake them. Focus on a detailed description of school WASH bottleneck analysis components and explanation of underlying causes of strengths and weaknesses. Explicitly include review of country monitoring system and indicators.
- 2. Analyse WaterAid country programme activities, and as far as possible the work of other organisations, and the extent to which they address school WASH needs and weaknesses.
- 3. In the course of the work, highlight examples of good practice and promising innovations. Also identify unsuccessful approaches that should be avoided in the interventions of WaterAid and/or other organisations.
- 4. Recommend modifications to existing WaterAid school WASH strategies and approaches, based on the analyses undertaken and clearly articulated reasoning, which is harmonised across the two study regions.
- 5. Recommend ways of strengthening the existing bottleneck analysis tool and make other recommendations relevant to the work.



5. Methodology

5.1. Analytical framework

A generic analytical framework has been prepared by Rose Alabaster, Richard Carter and Jacques-Edouard Tiberghien to guide the process of data collection (documentation review, interviews, workshops, observations) and analysis. It largely builds upon UNICEF's school WASH-PA (Planning and Analysis), which aims to support systems-level discussions and planning to improve the effectiveness of school WASH interventions in schools in low-income countries. This tool consists of three components (enabling, developing and sustaining), nine subcomponents^c and 27 factors, and is typically used to help identify and prioritise barriers to scalable, equitable and sustainable school WASH services.¹⁰

The analytical framework developed is conveniently split into two components:

- Component A: a table comprising sets of themes and questions to gain an in-depth understanding of the bottlenecks of the school WASH sector at national level. Factors underlying school WASH bottleneck analysis.
- 2. Component B: allows an assessment of the relevance and effectiveness of the strategy and approaches of WaterAid (and other iNGOs and donors), both from the perspective of the bottlenecks identified through Component A, and from the perspective of key generic criteria.

During the document review, the information was coded against the different themes of each component. Meetings and workshops were preceded by a careful examination of the most relevant themes to address and specific issues to discuss. The nature of the informant determined the relevance of the various issues listed under Component A and/or B. The analytical framework was circulated to WaterAid India a week prior to the visit. The latter was found to be appropriate in its generic form and did not require modifications.

5.2. Data collection and analysis

The research was undertaken through a combination of document review, key informant and group interviews, stakeholder workshops and field visits. The list of documents consulted is presented in Annex A. In order to embrace research-into-use principles, special emphasis was put on designing the research protocol and conducting the data collection and analysis jointly with WaterAid India. The research process was shared early on with the country programme team to ensure the framework could be adapted to the country context as needed. A feedback meeting organised on the last day of the visit with WaterAid India staff only allowed discussing the findings and their implications in terms of avenues to improve school WASH programming.

Likewise, attention was paid to engaging national and district level school WASH stakeholders throughout the research process. The one-to-one meetings, national roundtable held in Delhi and district level workshop organised in Mysore were seized as opportunities to clearly explain to stakeholders the rationale for the research, and stress its relevance for the whole school WASH sub-sector, beyond WaterAid India. By stressing the need to build on the existing tools (school WASH-PA) and experience, and to tap into

^c Enabling (Policy, Planning, Budget); Developing (Access, Equity, Capacity); Sustaining (O&M inputs, Maintenance, Use).



collective wisdom available locally, these stakeholders were encouraged to share their insights and suggestions.

The data collected through the literature review and interviews were coded against the components and sub-components of the expanded school WASH-PA tool. The analytical framework comprises a large number of questions and associated lines of enquiry, supporting the exploration of potential accountability and political economy issues affecting each factor/theme. Only a few themes were addressed with each informant. The preparation of each meeting and site visit thus involved the selection of a set of key relevant questions. Given the variety of informants to meet and the need to keep the evaluation responsive to important issues as they arise (calling for exploration at greater depth), such 'questionnaires' – sets of questions guiding the semi-structured conversations held with stakeholders – were prepared in-country the day before or a few hours prior to the meetings.

5.3. Process

The preparation phase saw the author review the documentation, collate the relevant information in a bespoke table mirroring the analytical framework, and design a tentative schedule for the country visit with the two focal persons in WaterAid India. An inception report combining a draft desk report and the research protocol was prepared and shared with the team leader, WaterAid India and WaterAid UK. The two-week country visit (16/11/2015-28/11/2015) started with an introduction of the research project to the WaterAid India team, followed by exchanges on the methodology, planning and logistics. On days one and two the author gathered relevant data through seven one-to-one meetings and a working meeting involving seven representatives of national level NGOs.

The following day saw the author, accompanied by WaterAid India South Region staff, meet state level stakeholders in Bangalore, including several representatives of the Education for All programme in the Department of Education. The end of the first week was dedicated to meeting district level stakeholders (including District Education Office and zilla panchayat representatives) in Mysore and carrying out five school visits, accompanied by representatives from WaterAid India's local partner, Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement. The time spent with the members of Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement team also allowed learning about their more recent school WASH partnership with WaterAid India in Raichur, another district in Karnataka state, where the environment is less favourable than in Mysore.

A one-day district workshop was organised by Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement in Mysore at the beginning of the second week (see Picture 1). Attended by circa 40 participants, it allowed different stakeholder groups (e.g. School Management Committees, headteachers, district officials, NGOs) to share their views on the following questions: what are school WASH objectives? Who are school WASH stakeholders? What are their respective roles and responsibilities? Where are accountability issues critical? Participants also examined the reasons behind such accountability issues and suggested possible solutions to address them.

Back in Bangalore and then Delhi, extra meetings were held with state and national level stakeholders (e.g. state Education for All project director; UNICEF India school WASH advisor; Ministry of Human Resources Development's additional secretary). The preliminary



findings and overarching recommendations were presented and discussed on the last day of the visit, during a stakeholder feedback meeting attended by six members of the WaterAid India team. The conversations had during this meeting confirmed the overarching conclusions emerging from the visit and led to new insights.

Picture 1: Workshop in Mysore, Karnataka.







5.4. Limitations and adjustments to the methodology

India is a vast country, with a great diversity of contexts across all states and an important amount of school WASH-related information – both descriptive and analytical – compared to other countries. The experience of the country in school WASH is indeed very significant. At the time of the country visit, however, there was no school WASH bottleneck analysis publically documented. As a result, this research faced the twin challenge of undertaking a first tentative descriptive bottleneck analysis of school WASH in a wide and diverse country, whilst simultaneously exploring the accountability and political economy factors underlying key bottlenecks.

In view of this sizeable challenge and time constraints, it was decided to put special emphasis on one state of India. State governments indeed have got much autonomy with regard to education and school WASH. As a result, it was deemed important to situate the research in the context of a chosen state. Applying the analytical framework and conducting the enhanced bottleneck analysis certainly requires taking into consideration national level influences, and also necessitates situating the work in a precise context with its own policy and institutional framework, its own norms, planning and budgeting mechanisms for school WASH, its mandated players, etc. Thus, as envisioned during the project launch meeting in



London, efforts focused on one preselected state, Karnataka, where WaterAid India and its local partner Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement undertook school WASH interventions in Mysore several years ago, and launched a new one in Raichur 18 months ago.

As a consequence of this focus on Karnataka state, it was agreed with WaterAid India that meetings with key stakeholders, such as key development partners and public institutions well represented at state level, would preferably take place at this level. It was assumed that conversations with such informants would likely be more specific, contextualised and richer, and that the risk of spending time discussing national level generalities – meant to be addressed through the literature review and working meeting on day two of the country visit – would be more limited.

Karnataka and Mysore district region has served as a sort of laboratory for India with respect to WASH and school WASH work. It provides a particularly conducive environment for school WASH, hardly representative of the conditions prevailing in many states in India. The fertile collaboration between WaterAid India and its longstanding and nationally acclaimed local partner Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement, insufficiently documented so far, provides key lessons for the sub-sector.

5.5. Recommendations for the use of the school WASH bottleneck analysis tool

This research demonstrated the relevance of the school WASH analysis framed around the enhanced school WASH bottleneck analysis tool: exploring underlying political economy and accountability drivers to school WASH bottlenecks has generated great interest from most informants, whether in the context of one-to-one meetings, focus groups discussions or workshops. Stakeholders recognise that further exploiting the potential of the school WASH bottleneck analysis tool in this way responds to current needs. Such use of the school WASH bottleneck analysis tool can be time consuming, as descriptive content for the various subcomponents often needs to precede the analysis of the underlying drivers. Therefore, in the context of meetings or workshops, it is highly recommended to focus on a limited number of subcomponents and address them in depth. Such an enhanced school WASH bottleneck analysis tool can advantageously build on a preliminary stakeholder mapping and power analysis.

5.5.1. Bringing the human factor into the picture

From the onset of the project, the team regarded the school WASH-PA tool as a comprehensive and consistent framework, covering a lot of ground and of pragmatic value for analysing a complex reality. The risk of it being used in a way fostering a somewhat mechanistic approach to school WASH programming was also identified, as was the need to **bring the human factor into the picture.** Expanding the school WASH-PA tool with lines of enquiry addressing often inexplicit yet critical accountability and political economy drivers reflected the team's willingness to highlight the human factor in what could otherwise become a very sophisticated construct missing the actual root causes of school WASH bottlenecks.

Conversations with key informants, such as senior managers of the Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement, have led the author to regard the initial school WASH-PA tool as a framework chiefly assessing **tangible effects** (policies, plans, budgets, systems, facilities,



curriculum, practices, behaviours, habits...). By exploring the underlying interests, incentives and disincentives (formal and informal, explicit or not) at both individual and organisational level, the enhanced school WASH bottleneck analysis tool framework developed for this research allows a deeper level of analysis. It allows insights into some of the factors that determine the extent to which institutional systems at macro or micro level (e.g. institutional framework, organisational mandates, strategies, guidelines, plans, budgets, monitoring and evaluation systems, reward schemes....) result in the sought after practices and behaviours.

5.5.2. Putting greater emphasis on leadership

Stakeholder accountability can be improved through measures working at the level of incentives and interests (e.g. including school WASH-related KPIs, or school WASH-related conditions for the release of school grants). This sort of institutional engineering is generally insufficient however to foster very high levels of compliance reflecting genuine stakeholder buy-in. Unless they are very significant and effectively enforced, such pressures hardly generate the shared commitment at school and community level necessary to develop creative, tailored solutions to local conditions and adapted to changing circumstances. At local level, strong leadership at headteacher, teacher, School Management Committee and Parent Teacher Association level remains the most critical determinant of school WASH success, and can often suffice to address most school WASH-related challenges.

Leadership is not explicitly addressed in the school WASH-PA tool. The policy subcomponent of the enabling environment component questions the existence of a lead agency (or working group) on school WASH. The analytical framework used in this project explores the notion of leadership a bit further by questioning the effectiveness of this leadership. But overall, this case study suggests that the attention paid to school WASH leadership, from the grassroots to the top, is highly insufficient given its importance in the outcomes and sustainability of school WASH interventions.

5.5.3. Articulating different levels of realities

A good understanding of leadership issues (at school level and more generally) is of much value for improving school WASH programming. WASH and school WASH programming have long recognised the importance of working on the one hand at the level of values, meanings and leadership (e.g. empowerment through awareness-raising and capacity building, building trust and propagating leadership through exposure visits), and on the other hand at the level of institutional systems and practices to ensure the replication and scaling up of minimum standards. What has been missing so far, arguably, is a clear recognition of the **hierarchical relationships** (what informs what) between these components, and the relative leverage for lasting change available at each level. Values, meanings and intentions are all intangible realities, as opposed to institutional systems and behaviours.

The Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement outstandingly demonstrated in their work (with WaterAid India on school WASH and otherwise) that acknowledging this hierarchy and strengthening leadership pays off. Making significant high quality inputs in building awareness, trust and commitment naturally unfolds in improvements in school governance, school-community links, school-District Education Office links, and results in tangible school



WASH, health, nutrition and academic improvements. There is thus arguably a need to resituate the school WASH-bottleneck analysis tool in a broader framework, distinguishing various layers of reality (meaning/intention/behaviour) where action can be taken.

6. Findings

6.1. Enabling

6.1.1. Policies

The Indian policy framework relevant to school WASH is comprehensive, appropriate and very conducive to progress in the sector. It provides the legal foundation for school WASH and strategic guidance, and outlines mechanisms for institutional coordination, financing and implementation.

a) Policy documents

Article 21-A of the constitution, which defines as a fundamental right the free and compulsory education of all children in the age group 6-14 years, is complemented by the Right to Education Act of 2009. The Right to Education Act is a legally enforceable rights framework that lays down norms and standards for school buildings (such as separate toilets for boys and girls, safe and adequate drinking water facilities for all children), and stipulates certain time targets to be adhered to by the Government.

In June 2011, the Supreme Court took a firm position in support of school WASH efforts, ruling that, "It is imperative that all schools must provide toilet facilities; empirical researches have indicated that wherever toilet facilities are not provided in the schools, parents do not send their children (particularly girls) to schools." The bench stressed that the denial of the basic right to water and toilet facilities, "clearly violates the right to free and compulsory education of children guaranteed under article 21-A."

The school WASH agenda is also supported by sector policies: the National Water Policy (2012) mandates the provision of access to clean drinking water across the country, notably in schools and anganwadi centres. As for the National Urban Sanitation Policy, it regards schools as key stakeholders in the open defecation free movement, mentioning that, schools and colleges can play a special role in propagating the [total sanitation campaign hygiene] messages in their institutions as well as in their families, and that cities can institute their own reward schemes (which can benefit schools, colleges and other education institutions) to incentivise local stakeholders to participate in the process of improvements for reaching 100% sanitation.

The Right to Information Act, passed in 2005, is worth mentioning too in the context of the gigantic task that the provision of school WASH services across the country represents for the Government, and given the need for effective, transparent and responsive monitoring systems. The Right to Information Act requires every public authority to computerise their

^d Anganwadi were launched in 1975 as part of the Integrated Child Development Services program to combat child hunger and malnutrition. A typical Anganwadi centre also provides basic health care in Indian villages. It is a part of the Indian public health-care system. Basic health-care activities include contraceptive counseling and supply, nutrition education and supplementation, as well as pre-school activities (Wikipedia).



records for wide dissemination and easy access for citizens. It aims to empower citizens and promote transparency and accountability in the work of the Government.

Finally, the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation has developed National Guidelines on Menstrual Hygiene Management, with a focus on building capacities at the state, district and school/community level to develop appropriate plans, allocate budgets and implement the right programmes, aimed at addressing menstrual hygiene management.¹¹

b) Policy implementation

A number of national programmes have been implemented in the past few decades to foster the application of the above listed policies. Table 1 provides a brief description of the most relevant initiatives in relation to school WASH work.

Since 2014, school WASH work has essentially been carried out by the Ministry of Human Resource Development and the State Departments of Education through the Education for All programme. In the past, the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation used to play a much more prominent role in school WASH, notably through the provision of facilities, and coordinated its action with the Ministry of Human Resource Development for the delivery of the software component of interventions. The Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation remains involved in school WASH, though relatively marginally, through the Jalmani initiative, which focuses on water quality issues.

Swachh Bharat Mission (the clean India mission).

Table 2: Key ongoing programmes

Education for All. Launched in 2000-2001, Education for All is the Government's flagship programme and India's primary vehicle for implementing the Right to Education Act, and to achieve universalisation of elementary education in a time-bound manner: universal access and retention, bridging of gender and social category gaps in education, and enhancement of learning levels. All provisions need to be aligned with official norms and standards and free entitlements mandated by the Right to Education Act. The Education for All programme comprises the clean school campaign, which itself is part and parcel of the huge national cross-sector flagship programme called

Midday meal programme. The midday meal programme reaches almost 100 million children daily in 1.2 million schools. Group handwashing with soap before the midday meal is promoted across the country to enhance the nutritional outcomes. The Ministry of Human Resource Development has requested all state governments to: i) institutionalise handwashing with soap before midday meals in all schools and allocate adequate time before meals to ensure that every child can wash hands; ii) connect group handwashing platforms with midday meal kitchen sheds.

Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan. This enhances access to quality secondary education and emphasises compliance with prescribed norms on access to quality physical infrastructure (e.g. classrooms, school WASH facilities) and norms addressing gender, socio-economic and disability barriers.

Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya. This – aims at ensuring access and quality education for girls from disadvantaged groups belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribal populations, by setting up residential schools at upper primary level. Infrastructure support to these centres includes safe drinking water and toilet facilities.



School Sanitation and Hygiene Education. This was introduced in 1999 and integrated in the total sanitation campaign (see below). Its objectives are:

- To provide school WASH facilities so that children can develop consistent habits of using such facilities.
- 2) To promote the use of toilets/urinals, handwashing with soap and other hygiene behaviours.
- 3) To promote behavioural change by hygiene education and linking the same to home and community.
- 4) To develop institutional systems to ensure good operation and maintenance of school WASH facilities without external support.
- 5) To build the capacities of all stakeholders, especially teachers, Parent Teacher Associations, etc. to ensure sustainability.

Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan – previously known as the total sanitation campaign, has been implemented in the period 1999-2012 and was recently integrated into the clean India mission.

Jalmani is a component of the National Rural Drinking Water Programme launched in 2008, exclusively geared towards meeting water quality challenges in rural schools through the installation of water purification systems, school owned, community managed – under the responsibility of village leaders.

Current government programmes are the last instalments of an outstanding track record in the design and implementation of innovative, endogenous school WASH programmes. The District Primary Education Programme launched in 1994 (which became the Education for All programme in 2000), incorporated a school WASH component at launch. The Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation launched the first school Sanitation and Hygiene Education programme in 1999, integrated in the total sanitation campaign. Interestingly, Mysore district in the state of Karnataka (where much of the country visit took place) has played a core role in the pioneering of school WASH approaches later adopted and scaled-up.

Past and current school WASH programmes have been supported by technical guidelines promoting appropriate, integrated approaches conducive to sustainable behaviour change and services. The Total Sanitation Campaign and Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan programmes always emphasised the need to invest in information, education and

"Mysore implemented the School Sanitation Hygiene Education programme from 1995 to 2003 following a holistic approach. The district was a launching platform for such initiatives, a way to test them prior to their scaling up in other states. The model we developed in Mysore became a benchmark for the government and largely inspired their guidelines for the total sanitation campaign. Mysore really became a laboratory for innovating new things: rainwater harvesting, children as change agents, tippy taps, the force lift hand pump, the play-pump, teacher-tochild, child-to-child, child-to-parents, parents-to-child approaches...And we could live up to the expectation of the people, as opposed to a government that is now making huge promises that cannot be fulfilled."

Manoj Kumar, assistant secretary Zilla Panchayat Mysore.

communication, recognising that changing mind-sets is the critical success factor. The recent Clean India Clean Schools handbook from the Ministry of Human Resource Development (2014) indicates the following requirement for school WASH interventions:



- Sanitation (separate toilets for boys and girls; menstrual hygiene management facilities)
- 2) Daily handwashing with soap before midday meal
- 3) Drinking water
- 4) Operation and maintenance
- 5) Behaviour change activities
- 6) Enhanced capacities. 12

Yet, in practice, the implementation of school WASH programmes has always been characterised by a severe leaning towards infrastructure construction and neglect of software components. This heavy focus on building toilets, in stark contrast with the principles put forward in the policy documents, is not a new trend nor is it fading: it has actually shown itself to an unprecedented degree during the period 2014-2015, as a result of pressure stemming from ambitious political commitments (see section 6.1.2.).

UNICEF has actively been supporting the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation and the Ministry of Human Resource Development over the past few decades. Very recently, UNICEF and the Ministry of Human Resource Development have been developing a theory of change for school WASH, based on a comprehensive bottleneck analysis. Priority areas to address have been identified, corresponding support organisations mapped, and a roadmap developed. UNICEF India's school WASH advisor thinks that a major shift is underway, with "The Government decidedly changing gears, and moving from small projects to large scale interventions, such as the national midday meal programme". Decisions made in Delhi may translate differently through the decentralised system, given the significant autonomy Indian states and district governments enjoy. Constitutional rights such as the Right to Education and the Right to Information must be applied all over the country, but flexibility is granted to contextualise certain policies and the approaches most adapted to achieve common objectives (see Section 6.1.2 on planning). The responsiveness of state governments to policy changes at central level is also variable. The promulgation promulgated of the Act was almost immediate put in application applied in Karnataka State.

c) Leadership, coordination, roles and responsibilities

School WASH champions

School WASH is rising high on the political agenda, alongside a rising public concern for the challenges faced by women and girls who lack access to improved sanitation. Technical documentation and communications to the wider public published by the Government on the official Clean India Programme and Clean School Campaign often refer to Mahatma Gandhi's advocacy for a sanitary revolution in India, a cause of greater importance than independence itself, in his own words. In line with this historical political support to the sanitation cause, Prime Minister Modi's recent speeches reflect a great political support to school WASH (See Box 1.)

School WASH champions can be found amongst district and state level leaders across India and their impetus is often decisive, but as an informant from UNICEF told us, school WASH leadership remains individual-centric: it hardly permeates the system, it is not institutionalised and the continuity of success in a programme such as school WASH or the Total Sanitation Campaign often hinges on the leadership of one champion, at state or even



more starkly at district level. According to several informants, district level leaders hold a lot of power and can have significant influence on the outcome of school WASH programmes. Their grip on society is much stronger than state leaders, despite the higher status of the latter.

Mainstreaming quality school WASH work across India implies developing genuine leadership from the grassroots to the top throughout the country. This overarching, long-term objective implies continuous awareness-raising amongst key stakeholders, and targeted actions fostering the emergence of champions who will propagate their commitment.

Beyond the officially mandated school WASH players, and amongst potentially influential stakeholders, religious authority figures stand out. Their influencing power is immense, as they partake in the formation and constant validation of the values and world views of their believers. An informant thus recalls the amazing impact that followed the decision of the Dalai Lama to rally the cause of a large iNGO, calling a ban on using tiger and leopard skins or products. In the case of school WASH, explains a representative of the WaterAid India policy team, there are pros and cons for using the religions to champion it: whilst the influence of religious leaders can be intense and widespread, there is the risk of seeing some traditional social patterns reinforced, which may be oppressive towards certain groups (e.g. insisting that it is the duty of girls or Dalits to clean school toilets), and go against fundamental principles.

Box 1: High-level political will

"I want to make a beginning today itself and that is – all schools in the country should have toilets with separate toilets for girls. Only then our daughters will not be compelled to leave schools midway. Our parliamentarians utilising Members of Parliament Local Area Development Scheme (MPLADS) funds are there. I appeal to them to spend it for constructing toilets in schools for a year. The government should utilise its budget on providing toilets. I call upon the corporate sector also to give priority to the provision of toilets in schools with your expenditure under Corporate Social Responsibility. This target should be finished within one year with the help of state governments and on the next 15 August, we should be in a position to announce that there is no school in India without separate toilets for boys and girls." Shri Narendra Modi, Prime Minister Independence Day, Aug 15, 2014

"Educating girls is my priority. I have noticed that girls drop out of schools by the time they reach class 3rd or 4th just because schools don't have separate toilets for them. They don't feel comfortable. There should be toilets for boys and girls in all schools. We should concentrate on girl students not quitting schools." Shri Narendra Modi, Prime Minister, Teachers' Day, Sep 5, 2014.

Coordination

As noted in the previous section, the responsibility for school WASH used to be shared mainly amongst the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation (in charge of providing water supply and sanitation facilities), and the Ministry of Human Resource Development (in charge of software components including hygiene education and behaviour change). State and district water and sanitation committees were set up by the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation as key coordination platforms meant to ensure the convergence of activities undertaken by the Department of Education, the Department of Public Health and



Engineering, the Department of Health (in charge of the school health programme), and many other departments with a stake in rural sanitation or school WASH.

Over the past few years, the implementation of Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan (NBA) and Education for All programmes has been marked by inconsistencies stressing the need for greater programmatic convergence (between Education for All, NBA, and health programmes) and harmonisation (across states). From this perspective, the recent shift in institutional mandate that led to the Ministry of Human Resource Development holding full responsibility for school WASH is regarded by UNICEF local experts as a positive change. the Ministry of Human Resource Development is now in a better position to set its own goals, and define a consistent strategy achievable with its own resources. The Ministry of Human Resource Development is certainly better positioned than the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation to assess the exact needs of schools and students, and identify feasible operation and maintenance arrangements. "There is greater clarity on stakeholders' roles and responsibilities", explains Mamita Thakkar, UNICEF school WASH expert. He also points to a growing sense of ownership of the school WASH mandate in the Ministry and State Departments of Education: "The general secretary at the Ministry never really felt responsible for that [school WASH] before. Now the minister talks about it in a much more responsible and compassionate way than before, even a year ago. There is clearly a shift in responsibility and hopefully in results."

Likewise, a WaterAid India regional manager recalled an Education for All state director acknowledging that she had never really given much thought to WASH, all she focused on was academic performance and quality of education. There are tangible signs that school WASH awareness is growing within the Department of Education. Yet the new full mandate on school WASH implies developing new capacities. Several conversations with WaterAid India and Department of Education staff underscore the need to strengthen the understanding of school WASH work, and to build a vision and the skills needed.

In certain states, the panchayat system (local government) at district, block and village level provides coordination platforms. In Karnataka, the panchayat system is very robust and allows for good coordination between department representatives, convergence between their programmes and mobilisation of different resources. The president of the gram panchayat (local/village/small town government) are the most influential people locally, and hold the key to the prioritisation of many resources such as funding for WASH and school WASH. They have the authority and responsibility of monitoring all activities taking place in the village, and of ensuring the provision of school WASH services. This often becomes more of a priority when the gram panchayat is engaged in an open defecation free campaign. The village health, sanitation and nutrition committee acts as a sub-committee of the gram panchayat, and represents another coordination body at the local level. These village health committees are a key component of the National Rural Health Mission, and are meant to become a platform for improving health awareness and access for the community to health services, addressing specific local needs and serving as a mechanism for community-based planning and monitoring.

Roles and responsibilities

The Clean India Clean Schools publication from the Ministry of Human Resource Development (2014) provides guidance on potential school WASH roles for a number of stakeholders at both the national and local levels, which comprises: private sector actors,



NGOs, religious leaders, the media, headteachers and teachers, midday meal cooks and helpers, parents, School Management Committees and community members, child cabinets and students, and school administrators.

This suggestive, non-prescriptive list of roles does not tackle the specific responsibilities of key stakeholders such as Panchayat Raj Institutions stakeholders, officials from the Department of Education at cluster, block and district level, representatives of the Department of Health and Family Welfare, or of the Department of Public Health Engineering. The list of all school WASH stakeholders is very long, as demonstrated by the mapping exercise carried out during the workshop organised in Mysore. Listing their respective roles and responsibilities generates a vast amount of information that is complicated to embrace.

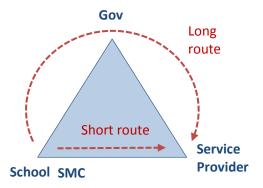
There is a need for state government to clarify these roles and responsibilities in policy documents, address overlapping roles, and draft terms of references for each player. In the meantime, it is important to think of school WASH responsibilities in a strategic way, identifying key stakeholders to focus on to ensure the sustainability and scaling up of school WASH programmes.

d) Standards

Formulation of standards

The Right to Education Act (2009) requires separate toilets for boys and girls, safe and adequate drinking water facilities for all children, a boundary wall or green fencing, a kitchen for cooking midday meals, a playground, and teaching/learning materials. Under the Total Sanitation Campaign, the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation developed standard design norms for school toilet facilities and urinals, which are generally followed across the country. A unit consists of one toilet for 80-120 girls or boys separately, and 3-4 urinals, each of which caters for 20-40 boys or girls separately. ¹³

Figure 2: Accountability routes



The Bureau of Indian Standards requires an ablution tap for each toilet, one drinking water tap for every 50 children, and a wash basin for every 60 boys or 40 girls.¹⁴

Technological innovations have been promoted in many states, and NGOS have been particularly active in demonstrating innovative or alternative technologies, designs and materials adapted to context-specific solutions, as well as fostering the adoption of more inclusive designs. UNICEF (2014) supported the Government to develop technical design manuals providing various costed options for toilets and group handwashing facilities for schools and anganwadi, and is currently working with the Ministry of Human Resource Development to revise the designs inherited from the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation. Indeed, according to a high-level decision maker in the Ministry of Human Resource Development, promoting more child, gender and disabled-friendly designs of toilets and tap stands is a priority.



Interestingly, the Ministry of Human Resource Development's Clean India Clean School handbook encourages schools to rehabilitate existing facilities and upgrade their design rather than building new ones, as long as the corresponding costs do not exceed 75% of a new construction. This economically sound advice, which can reduce the proliferation of latrine cemeteries' in school backyards, sends important signals as to the importance of ensuring good maintenance of what ought to be considered as 'non-disposable facilities'. Conversations with NGO representatives, however, discussing findings from recent field studies, have revealed an extreme zeal amongst government officials to foster the construction of new facilities instead of upgrading them. The intense pressure to achieve the targets of national school WASH programmes, expressed in number of toilets built, goes a long way to explaining this apparent contradiction (see Section 6.1.2).

Limited resources under past government-led programmes have made it difficult for states to comply with the norms and adopt inclusive designs for toilets. Moving from pilots to scaling up uniformly state-of-the-art designs has proven very challenging, and small doable actions approaches such as UNICEF's Three Stars approach, are a very pragmatic solution. The definition of the standards to be achieved by schools along their progression towards excellence needs to reflect the socio-economic and natural context prevailing in each state or district. As Murat Sahin, school WASH Advisor for UNICEF notes, "States need to define benchmarks adapted to their context and ensure an effective monitoring of compliance with standards and functionality. Small doable approaches work very well when accompanied with a reward scheme. The Clean School Programme makes provision for such a scheme, but this has not been launched yet. To the Karnataka Education for All state director, such reward schemes "need to consider discrepancies between regions in socioeconomic and cultural profiles, and the baseline. We cannot use the same yardstick."

Members of the Karnataka Education for All programme team and a UNICEF WASH consultant also stress that weak compliance with official standards frequently result from biased bidding processes, which lead to selecting low performing contractors. The fundamental problem, they explain, is that the latter are not directly accountable to customers (i.e. schools, School Management Committees and gram panchayats) but to district level authorities, who may have chosen them by favouritism. The 'short route to accountability' (see Figure 2), also referred to as the 'customer voice', is not working. Entrusting School Management Committees and the community with greater responsibilities and the opportunity to become service providers would enhance the level of community ownership and the extent to which the Committee has a stake in ensuring the good operation and maintenance of facilities. The risk, explains the informant from UNICEF, is that such School Management Committee contractors become both the providers of the services and those who should judge their quality. External oversight is always a good

^e Much insufficiently documented so far, according to both WaterAid India, WaterAid India and UNICEF. f Rather than promoting the ideal WASH practices (e.g., build and use a flush toilet or insist that all students wash hands at all five critical junctions using running water and soap), SDA approaches consider a continuum of behaviours spanning from unacceptable to ideal. SDAs are behaviours that are deemed feasible to perform in resource-constrained settings, and effective at personal and public health levels. Adapted from (WASHPlus 2015).

⁹ For further information on the short and long route of accountability, see World Bank (2004). <u>The World Development Report</u>. Making Services Work for Poor People.



thing. In such cases, it is important to engage the whole community, including local pressure groups, and the gram panchayat can exert sufficient pressure on the School Management Committee to deliver well.

Addressing the weak 'long route of accountability' requires community society organisation-led monitoring to shed light on bad practices, name chronically deficient contractors, and to play a watchdog function and alert the media. The influence or pressure exerted by schools on decision-makers will be stronger if block or district level School Management Committees and federations amplify the signal.

6.1.2. Planning

a) Targets

Recent years have seen the Government make a series of strong commitments, setting very ambitious targets related to school WASH or sanitation in general:

- The Supreme Court of India on 18 Oct 2011 directed all states and union territories to build toilets, particularly for girls, in all government schools by the end of Nov 2011.
- The approach paper for the 11th Five Year Plan (2007-2012) committed to full coverage of schools with drinking water and sanitation facilities by the end of 2012.
- On 15 Aug 2014 Prime Minister Narendra Modi announced the Swacch Vidyalaya Abhiyan, the Clean Schools Movement, and promised to build separate toilets for 137.7 million boys and girls at schools nationwide within a year. It was assessed that 417,796 toilets would need to be created or repaired to ensure that every child had access to toilet facilities in school.¹¹
- As for the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation, one of their chief objectives is to attain a clean and open defecation free India by October 2019, which implies achieving full coverage of toilets in schools and other education centres.

Such declarations send strong and very positive signals in a country where nearly half the population, more than 595 million people, practice open defecation. But as noted above, these targets mostly focus on hardware, the construction of toilets and tap-stands. And the arguably precipitated approach taken by the central and state government to achieve these targets generally reflects a stark disconnect with key principles enshrined in official guidelines, which constitute the pillars of successful interventions. Informants concur that the intense pressure to achieve these ambitious targets has resulted in standardised interventions showing sheer neglect for the local context (e.g. access to water and electricity, availability of material for construction, local beliefs and practices associated with given ethnic, social and religious groups). The approach also conflicts with UNICEF's most pragmatic Three Stars approach, which requires tackling hygiene, and notably handwashing with soap, as a first step.

According to official statistics (the reliability of which is seriously questioned, as explained in Section 6.1.2.c), the targets set in August 2014 by the prime minister have been met: toilets are now present in every school: 400,000 of them have been built in under a year,

^h Customers (dissatisfied schools) influence the government (e.g. district authorities), who then influence the service provider (under-performing contractor).



and they comply with the norms set by the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation. Informants who are supportive of Education for All monitoring of the Government back these results and indicate that the following step now consists of a) increasing the number of toilets to match the number of students per school, and b) addressing the needs of disabled people, where a huge gap remains.

Parachuting 400,000 toilets into schools in the hope that state or district governments will be capable of following up with complementary hygiene education, behaviour change and operation and maintenance activities can be regarded as a risky gamble. Particularly when considering the challenge associated with behaviour change in many regions, and the well documented benefits of simultaneous delivery of hardware and software components.

This very critical outlook can be nuanced however, by analysing things from a different perspective. The priority put by the prime minister on equipping all schools with toilets can be criticised and regarded as a decision politicised around a symbolic target rather than a sound plan. But, as some informants suggest,

"It is not an infrastructure but a behaviour change issue. As a policy the Government see it as a latrinisation issue, we look at it differently and keep the software part at least as important as the hardware part. It is a challenge because donors count the physical structures rather than changes that typically occur through generations, these less tangible changes of attitudes and behaviours".

Dr. Seetaram, M.R, Vice President, WaterAid India

it can also be celebrated as a great move, setting a vision and a strong impetus for the country, and calling state and district level leadership to complement this investment with software interventions to achieve the impact sought. Some states, such as Karnataka, have actually already taken steps to provide specific budgets to hire janitors and more generally to cover school WASH operation and maintenance expenses.

According to well-informed interviewees, the Government is engaged in negotiations around tackling school WASH operation and maintenance needs. The formal political processes surrounding such negotiations, involving billions of dollars, follow their own pace and ultimately require approval by the cabinet. The Ministry of Human Resource Development cannot take such a decision unilaterally. The government is well aware that, having constructed toilets in schools all over the country, they now feel compelled to remove the bottlenecks for the proper operation and maintenance of these facilities. According to key informants, a solution should hopefully come in the course of 2016.

b) State plan and approaches to achieve national targets

The routes available to contributing to national targets and to implement the National Clean School Campaign are many. "Everything is negotiable except the outcome", notes a high-level official from the Ministry of Human Resource Development in charge of Education for All programmes. In the view of the Karnataka Education for All state director, flexibility granted to states to contextualise the national programme exists in theory but is often curtailed by time and financial constraints.

The development of the Education for All work plan, he describes, is a bottom up process, which involves successive development and aggregation of plans at (sub)-district, district, state and finally central level. There, state work plans are negotiated and approved, and start their downward journey for implementation. There is no flexibility in the downward



journey, but if all stakeholders have the skills and take the time to undertake a plan that reflects local needs and contexts, then a meaningful state work plan is possible. Failure to grasp this time-bound opportunity often results in the application of plans of limited relevance to the context, and complicated to implement effectively. Good training of district level staff leading the planning process is critical. It offers a key occasion to clearly define priority areas and guiding principles.

Such guiding principles and best practices can be borrowed from programmes successfully conducted locally. S. R. Sutar, Programme Coordinator at the Centre for Environment Education, explained how the methodology of the Karnataka Education for All programme has been informed by the learning the Centre for Environment Education derived from 15 years of school WASH programming in the state. Extremely valuable lessons from the school WASH model jointly developed and refined by WaterAid India and Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement in Mysore and Raichur districts would gain the attention of state Education for All teams. Adapting successful NGO approaches demonstrated at relatively small scale to large-scale government-led school WASH programming involves significant trade-offs.

Meaningful plans need to respond to the needs of schools. In theory, school development plans are developed by School Management Committees and form the basis of district-level annual working plans and budgets. In practice, Committee members are rarely involved in their development, and they fail to address the school's most pressing needs. Also, school development plans are rarely collated and incorporated into the annual working plan and budget, as a result, school level plans are not reflected in the state's planning and budgeting process.¹⁶

c) Monitoring

Evolving monitoring tools

Despite recent evolutions, the official systems in place to monitor and report school WASH progress keep presenting significant weaknesses. In the past, the sub-sector has chiefly relied on three main data sources: the Management Information System of the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation; the DISE of the Ministry of Human Resource Development; and the Annual Status of Education Report produced by civil society organisations.

- The Management Information System is used to track progress on the School Sanitation Hygiene Education component of the nationwide Total Sanitation Campaign. The Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation recently stopped tracking school sanitation data, as the Ministry of Human Resource Development was entrusted with a full mandate on school WASH work.
- The DISE was launched by the Ministry of Human Resource Development in 2005-2006. Its annual database covers more than 1.3 million primary and upper primary schools, and includes qualitative and quantitative data from school report cards. The DISE is now the main official monitoring instrument to track school WASH progress as part of Education for All.

ⁱ Much insufficiently documented so far, according to both WaterAid India, WaterAid India and UNICEF.

See www.schoolreportcards.in



The Annual Status of Education Report, a civil society initiative launched in 2005 by the NGO Pratham, assesses enrolment, reading and arithmetic levels among children in the elementary education system. Every two years it also reports on facilities in schools (including WASH), according to norms established by the Right to Education Act, and based on data collected following rigorous sampling methods. The Annual Status of Education Report is the largest independent household survey undertaken in India.¹³

The analysis of school WASH progress nationwide has relied on these three monitoring tools. Discrepancies between the findings produced, and the resulting difficulty for sector players to access reliable school WASH data, have led UNICEF to lead an enquiry into the sources of these inconsistencies. First, all three tools use different sets of indicators, while similar indicators are defined differently. Differences on basic indicators such as availability and functionality of toilets and drinking water facilities were found to be unacceptably high. Another weakness common to all three monitoring tools is that they tend to focus on output (access to facilities) and fail to capture data on functionality and use. Information on hygiene education, handwashing facilities and handwashing practices is even rarer. ¹⁷

Positive evolutions have been noted in the past few years: UNICEF India's school WASH advisor points out that the DISE has been expanded with new WASH-related indicators (e.g. availability of handwashing facilities near toilets, availability of gender-specific toilets, availability of toilets for children with special needs). Equity and inclusion considerations are thus better taken into account. The definition of functionality has been clarified to facilitate its understanding by enumerators. However, the absence of district- and block-level unpacking of data prevents an analysis of the most acute needs at local level.

DISE credibility under severe scrutiny

In August 2015, one year after the prime minister's commitment to equip all schools in India with separate toilets for boys and girls, the Ministry of Human Resource Development declared that the target had been fully achieved. However, field assessments, validation studies and independent analyses unpacking the statistics have raised very serious concerns around the validity of this claim. The validity of the DISE baseline (at odds with Annual Status of Education Report figures) and thus of the number of toilets needed to be built to achieve the target is highly questionable. Observers have shown their profound incredulity at a system capable of suddenly delivering 600% more on sanitation than it has for years. The widespread suspicion of data fudging by the government in order to achieve the numerical target set a year ago is compounded by serious doubts on the quality and usability of facilities built under time pressure. Acharya (2015) also stresses the opacity of the monitoring system and the absence of space for independent monitoring, and deplores that in this monitoring exercise, the Ministry of Human Resource Development is both judge and party. He suggests that putting up details and photographs of the supposedly 418,000 toilets built in one year for public scrutiny would be relevant, and technically easy to achieve in today's digital India.

^k For instance, from 2005-2006 to 2009-2010, DISE recorded that 0.2 million schools gained access to drinking-water facilities, corresponding to an increase in coverage from 85% to 93%. For the same period, ASER reported that 18% of rural schools still did not have drinking-water facilities. Very large gaps were also noted with respect to the number of available vs. functional toilets and with regard to the functionality of "common toilets" and "girls' toilets".



The same source recalls that, "data fudging, botched construction and ghost toilets [...] have always been the bane of government sanitation programmes", and reports that in 2012, Jairam Ramesh, former Minister of Drinking Water and Sanitation admitted that states deliberately fudged data on toilet construction to get central government funds released. Such factors may contribute to discrepancies observed between the rather optimistic school WASH landscape depicted by DISE data, and the comparatively critical view presented by the Annual Status of Education Report.

The low robustness of DISE outputs also originates in the data input and validation processes at school, cluster and block level. Mysore district's deputy director of public instruction and part of his Education for All team explained that teachers often send the wrong information, sometimes as a result of errors made when filling in forms. They also described deficiencies in the data validation system: data inconsistencies are not adequately checked at the various levels of aggregation (e.g. cluster, block and district) and do not systematically lead to correction. They also underscore that teachers usually fulfil this obligation as a secondary duty for which they have received no technical or leadership training (e.g. ensuring compliance from teachers and requiring them to correct inconsistent data on time calls for certain leadership and management skills). Teachers' awareness of the exact nature of their duty, and of the importance of their contribution, is often very limited. Furthermore, they have no incentive to perform this function well: there is no sanction nor recognition (not even a letter of appreciation) to stimulate compliance.

In this respect, mandatory visit to schools from Block Education Officers, which falls beyond the process described above, constitutes a good opportunity to influence headteachers and other teachers. Such oversight visits, if they include a dedicated time to inspect WASH facilities and assess their functionality, can send strong signals to teachers and School Management Committees to raise their awareness on the need to properly report school WASH status and needs.

Using monitoring data

Valid school WASH data is essential for the proper design and implementation of programmes, and the lack of rigorous use of DISE in planning has been noted as a bottleneck to universal coverage. The doubtful robustness of DISE data may partly explain this. The Annual Status of Education Report findings, arguably more reliable, have been used by the Planning Commission for the approach paper to the 11th Plan and by several state governments during the development of their annual educational programmes. Yet limited use of monitoring data for planning may be more structural: data collection has often been primarily carried out for reporting purposes rather than for tracking real progress, or to inform decision-making. Data is seldom analysed along critical indicators such as student-toilet ratio, access to improved drinking water sources or status of facilities, which should call for targeted, corrective action.

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A UNICEF representative supporting Karnataka SSA programme stressed the tendency of governments to reinvent the wheel, making minor changes to existing programme, renaming them and then dispatching new forms for teachers and anganwadi staff to fill. The proliferation of programmes and new forms is a burden for them.



Fostering a more strategic use of the DISE implies forming the habit of planning on the basis of field data, the quality of which will require a more robust monitoring system. The Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation recently encouraged states to foster an accountable, transparent, participatory and responsive monitoring and evaluation framework and tools for the open defecation free campaign. Similar recommendations of course should apply to the DISE. UNICEF India's school WASH advisor calls for the development of multi-level monitoring allowing greater participation, cross-checks and transparency, noting that SMS monitoring (complementary school-level validation process) has hardly moved beyond pilot testing so far.

School WASH programmes should look beyond mere WASH indicators (e.g. availability of facilities, their functionality and use and related operation and maintenance budget, as well as hygiene behaviour). Water For People's country representative stresses the importance of taking other critical indicators into account, such as: teacher attendance, teacher performance, teacher/student ratios, and School Management Committee existence. Such indicators provide insights into critical conditions that may be more or less conducive to delivering hygiene education, promoting behaviour change, or setting up effective operation and maintenance arrangements for school WASH facilities.

Monitoring and incentives

Combining monitoring systems with incentive mechanisms (i.e. reward and sanction schemes) is common practice. In the past year, the DISE failed to highlight variations in performance on school WASH objectives thus preventing State and districts to be rewarded according to their efforts and success. The Government has claimed that 100% of targets have been met (which observations on the ground contradict) without discerning the quality of implementation. In other words, there has been no assessment and corresponding reward of the extent to which states have ensured compliance with quality standards, or complemented the construction of facilities with budget provision and/or software components to increase the likelihood of their proper use and maintenance. By levelling performance and failing to reward hard work and excellence, the Government misses an opportunity to stimulate leadership and create emulation among states and districts.

The Ministry of Human Resource Development has established Clean School Award schemes, which some states have started implementing, sometimes in combination with UNICEF's Three Stars approach. Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement's senior managers are of the opinion that such schemes have some value in accompanying more fundamental leadership building processes. Nonetheless, they warn of the risk of establishing perverse incentives in a country where the Government has already made indiscriminate use of nudges in the past, and underline that stakeholders' efforts ought to be primarily orientated towards achieving core objectives, rather than the prospect of the award. As noted above, benchmarks used in such reward schemes need to be adjustable to varying contexts. It's important to recall too that ultimately, the success of such reward schemes depends on the transparency of the monitoring system and selection process.

Transparency boards and community participation in oversight and monitoring

Observers have highlighted the relative opacity of the DISE, and numerous informants stressed the importance of promoting greater transparency by making information easily accessible online, but also available within school premises. Transparency boards



recommended by Education for All, displaying key information for the consumption of school and community stakeholders, fulfils this function.^m In the schools visited, critical budget expenditure data was generally painted on walls, but in several instances updating of this information had been discontinued due to non-disbursement of the corresponding budget.

Community oversight by parents and community volunteers can motivate parents to partake in school development, and can prove an excellent means of fostering the development of improved hygiene habits. Sustaining such voluntary engagement requires commitment and motivation. Parents and community members can also participate in monitoring activities by helping fill up score cards used to record WASH-related data, amongst other relevant information. Piloted by the Annual Status of Education Report, such school score cards are not very commonly used to address WASH issues, noted WaterAid India's Andhra Pradesh regional manager, who observes that their relevance may be more limited where the government system is weak and unresponsive. In such circumstances, working through a School Management Committee federation to strengthen parents' voices will be a welcome complementary measure.

d) Curriculum

Official Ministry of Human Resource Development primary school textbooks – National Council of Educational Research and Training NCERT Textbook Class III, IV; NCERT Sciences Textbooks, VI, VII, VIII, IX, XII - include WASH-related content such as: domestic and personal hygiene, handwashing, wastewater management, water quality and water purification, safe handling of water, solid waste disposal and health issues in relation to these topics. NCERT Health and Education textbook comprises content on WASH-related practices, such as eating habits, personal hygiene and proper use of toilets. ¹²

Many states in India have incorporated school WASH behaviour change components into their own school textbooks and supplementary reading materials, as shown in Table 3. In many states, UNICEF is supporting the 20-day in-service mandatory teacher training programme, under Education for All, by incorporating WASH and hygiene issues. This support comprises the development of training modules and resource materials on hygiene for teachers, and the training of key resource persons.¹³

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^m To disseminate school-related information, states should operationalise SSA-mandated 'transparency boards' in schools. These boards should be painted on a wall in a common area within the school grounds and should include information on student-teacher attendance, Mid-Day Meal status and receipt of entitlements. Transparency boards are a simple, cost-effective way to encourage schools to share information with parents and facilitate access to school-level data. Accountability Initiative (2014). Policy Brief – school Management Committees - Successes, Challenges and Opportunities



Table 3: Integration of WASH in the classroom in Rajasthan (MHRD 2014).8

Class/Subject	Issues
III/ Environment education	Ending open defecation; handwashing
IV/ Environment education	Personal hygiene; faecal-oral transmission
V/ Environment education	Safe water; safe food
VII/ Health and physical education	Operation and maintenance of school toilets and campus
VIII/ Health and physical education	Water quality
Condensed course for all classes/ environmental education	Water quality; operation and maintenance of school toilets; handwashing; toilet use

The Ministry of Human Resource Development (2014) recognises the need to move from a knowledge transfer approach towards life skills-based education, as focusing on knowledge, skills and attitudes is critical given how challenging it is to change hygiene behaviour. Child- to-child approaches are thus officially recommended, morning assemblies are presented as ideal channels to disseminate hygiene messages, and prayer time is suggested as an appropriate moment to check cleanliness amongst students.¹²

A key learning from WaterAid India/Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement's work in Mysore is that successful behaviour change in children requires engaging them in a joyful and experiential way. A number of popular field games have thus been converted into effective hygiene promotion tools, such as snakes and ladders, quizzes, millionaire wheel and dodgeball. Through such games, hygiene messages are conveyed in both conscious and subconscious ways. Through repetition, children integrate messages about the life saving value of good hygiene, the threat of faecal coliforms, etc.

The attention paid to school WASH and operation and maintenance of toilets in the curriculum is fairly recent. A representative of UNICEF in Karnataka recalls that school WASH used to be led by the Department for Public Health Engineering, which did not address school WASH operation and maintenance as seriously and as a result, most teachers are not sufficiently aware of the nature and implications of this software component. He mentions the efforts of the Government to scale up hygiene promotion through the ambitious midday meal scheme.

A representative of the Department of Education of Karnataka in charge of training in Education for All stresses the challenges associated with the cascading of training from state to district to block level, then down to the cluster resource centre level. "There is a loss of vision," he explains, "a gradual loss in the understanding of the approach and a decline in capacity. [...] On-the-job training is limited and does not lead to feedback and corrective action." The problem, he adds, "is that we have a standard package training approach instead of a cafeteria approach, which would allow building the capacity of trainees based on their specific needs." Yet, in the view of this senior official, while training is important, the main factors underlying the success of school WASH programmes have more to do with motivation and accountability.

UNICEF is actively supporting the development and piloting of hygiene education materials, incorporating key messages into a set of teachers' guide books, supplementary reading



materials, and extra materials such as games, posters, songs, etc. In several states the Education Department has disseminated this material to all primary and upper primary schools, and it is being regularly used in schools. In other states the priority put on hygiene education is lower: a study conducted by WaterAid in Andhra Pradesh showed that only 9% of schools reported teaching hygiene education such as handwashing with soap. In much relevance as well is the partnership formed in August 2013 between UNICEF and the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation, the Ministry of Human Resource Development, the Administrative Staff College of India, and the Hyderabad and Emory University, which has been delivering a school WASH leadership course. The course caters to state director (in charge of sanitation and school WASH-WSSO Director), state and local level officials associated with schools, Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan (NBA) District Coordinators, Head of Knowledge Resource Centres (KRCs), and NGOs.

6.1.3. Budget

a) Budget amount

Education for All – total budget and allocation

In recent years, the Government has increased its contribution to elementary education through the launch of centrally sponsored schemes such as Education for All, Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV) and the midday meal scheme.²⁵

Since its launch in 2001, Education for All is the largest scheme run by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, accounting for 67% of the total elementary education budget. Between the financial years 2009-10 and 2012-13 the total budget for the programme increased over two-fold, reaching 700 million rupees. Since 2013-14, this budget has been reduced by 22%.

The passing of the Right to Education Act in 2009 and the corresponding obligations on state governments has resulted in an increasing reliance, particularly among fiscally weaker states, on central government funds. Education for All allocations are based on annual work plans and budgets submitted by state governments (following the bottom-up process described in Section 6.1.2.b). Funding is shared between central government and states according to a 65:35 ratio. Government funds are released to states in two instalments, the second being subject to conditions such as expenditure certificates and the disbursement of matched funding. The Education for All budget can be broadly classified into six categories, presented in Table 4.

A significant gap exists between the allocations proposed by states and those actually approved by the Government. In 2014-15, for instance, the Government only approved 58% of the budgets proposed by states.

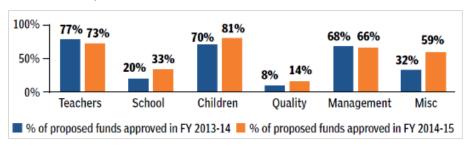
Figure 3 shows that only 33% and 14% of funds proposed for the **schools** and **quality** categories were approved, which, "gives a sense of what activities are prioritised when there are budget cuts," Further research is needed to understand the factors responsible for such low levels of approval, and the extent to which measures can be taken to increase the 'approvability' of WASH-related school budgets.



Table 4: Education for All budget categories (adapted from Accountability Initiative 2015).²⁶

Budget category	Description
(i) Teachers	Teacher salaries, teacher training and teacher learning materials or equipment, etc.
(ii) Schools	Infrastructure expenses such as construction of civil works and maintenance grants, etc.
(iii) Students	Allocations directly benefitting children enrolled in school: e.g. transport allowance, uniform and textbooks and mainstreaming activities to get out-of school children back into school.
(iv) Quality	Largely untied monies for activities to improve learning, such as the learning enhancement programme and innovation grants to districts.
(v) Management	Allocations related to administration and management activities.
(vi) Miscellaneous	Allocations made to community training and mobilisation.

Figure 3: Level of approval by Government of the funds proposed by the states (Accountability Initiative 2015)²⁶



Union influence on school governance

Figure 3 shows that over 70% of funds proposed under the **teachers** and **children** categories were approved in both financial years. Whilst allocations for teacher salaries constitute the largest share of Education for All allocations, teacher absenteeism, which reaches on average 16% in primary schools and 19% in upper primary schools, is a serious cause for concern.²⁶

Kingdon (2011) noted that the ratio of teacher salary to GDP per capita in India (7.8) compared very favourably with the same indicator calculated for Asia (2.9), for countries with per capita GDP of less than US\$2,000 (3.7), and for developed countries (1.2-1.6). The considerable success achieved by Indian teachers in improving their salary and service conditions, he explains, results from their high participation in unions, which have become politically very powerful. The National Commission on Teachers publically stated as early as 1986 that, "the purpose of the school governance environment created by teacher unions and their political connections was to avert the proper use of teacher accountability measures".²⁷



By supporting unions to improve their wages, teachers have created powerful entities "vehemently opposed to decentralising reforms at various points," an observation that concurs with comments made by several informants, who regret that the system (largely influenced by teachers' unions) is not genuinely committed to empowering School Management Committees. The latter are presumably perceived by some teachers more as a threat than as a supportive stakeholder. A senior representative of Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement also shared how teachers are as yet unaware of how empowered School Management Committees and child cabinets can actually significantly ease their burden.

Thus, the stronghold of teachers' unions on politics not only manifests itself in their influence on Education for All budget allocations but also – and perhaps more perniciously – on the weakening of school governance by the spread of a climate of impunity. This is relevant in all schools, where the 'toxicity' of passive teachers hinders good implementation of school WASH activities.

A critical implication of the gradual weakening of public school governance has been the steady mushrooming of private schools, a direct expression of the effectiveness of 'client power' (i.e. the short route to accountability linking parents directly to education service providers – see Figure 2). Between 2013 and 2014, enrolment in private schools progressed in almost all states, with 30.8% of all 6-14 year old children in rural India attending private schools. And in five states enrolment rates in primary schools exceeds 50%. Parental dissatisfaction around public schools extends beyond concerns over poor infrastructure (such as toilets, taps and boundary walls) or high rates of teacher absenteeism, to include dissatisfaction with the Government more broadly.

These insights support the relevance of combining Education for All budget advocacy with the implementation of school WASH programmes, including strategic components to strengthen school governance. Integrated WASH/health/menstrual hygiene management/nutrition approaches presumably provide enabling contexts to provide this support through the more continuous engagement of stakeholders on a broader range of objectives.

Khandelwal and Biswal (2004) (cited in Kingdon 2011) found in their study that one of the "visible factors affecting the development of education" in India is "a highly politicised teaching force and the resulting low level of accountability".

This supports the findings from Drèze and Sen (also cited in Kingdon 2011) who concluded in 1007 that "the most striking."

Kingdon 2011) who concluded in 1997 that "the most striking weakness of the schooling system in rural Uttar Pradesh is not so much the deficiency of physical infrastructure, as the poor functioning of the existing facilities. The specific problem of endemic teacher absenteeism and shirking, which emerged again and again in the course of our investigation, plays a central part in that failure. This is by far the most important issue of education policy in Uttar Pradesh today".

To boost the engagement of teachers and headmasters, the Centre for Environment Education systematically organises an oath-taking ceremony at the onset of the school WASH project it implements in Karnataka: teachers take an oath in front of the district education officer, committing to fulfil their school WASH objectives, provided other stakeholders meet their obligation (e.g. connection of the school to the village water scheme by Panchayati Raj Institutions stakeholders).



b) Budget adequateness

As noted above, planning, budgeting and monitoring systems have focused on outputs – with the construction of toilets as the main target – rather than on outcomes, with behaviour change as the overarching goal.²⁸ Arguably, the budget allocated by the Government for the building of latrines may have been adequate to meet the numerical targets set, but is far insufficient to form new hygiene habits in a population. Bridging this funding gap is perhaps only a matter of time, one could optimistically think, now that some states have shown the way in making provisions to allocate schools earmarked funds for school WASH operation and maintenance expenses, and that billion-dollar negotiations are taking place at the highest level of government to address these needs.

The failure to address the funding gap associated with the operation and management of school WASH facilities also stems from a lack of analysis of such expenditures. As Murat Sahin, UNICEF's school WASH advisor explains, "In many countries the budget of the Ministry of Education rarely exceeds 4% of GDP, and much of it goes to teacher salaries and financing the maintenance of the system. The 10% left needs to be distributed amongst a great many budget lines. The assessment of school WASH capital costs and operation and maintenance expenditures, including consumables and everything, is an area that has not been very well studied and as a result we are not in a position to do some real advocacy. And often countries end up with a single budget line, which does not lend itself easily to the purchase of soap and such critically needed operation and maintenance consumables, for accountability reasons."

To meet its targets, the Government has also sought financial support from non-traditional stakeholders: the Swachh Bharat Kosh (Clean India Fund) was set up by the Ministry of Finance to facilitate voluntary individual and CSR contributions. Contributors can choose to feed the fund at central or state level, or directly engage with specific schools. Under the second model, individuals, corporates or institutions interested in building toilet blocks select schools and are invited to follow the Ministry of Human Resource Development's Clean India Clean School handbook to plan their interventions. By putting much emphasis on building school toilets, the Government has encouraged corporates to reach low-hanging fruit, as CSR people usually do not clearly see how investing in maintenance and monitoring systems could have much impact. But some companies, such as Toyota, are taking initiatives to combine the construction of toilets with awareness-raising activities and establishing operation and maintenance protocols.

c) Budget spending and prioritisation

The Annual Status of Education Report for 2014 provides useful insights into the extent to which the three school grants (the maintenance grant, development grant, and teaching and learning materials grantⁿ) are being disbursed. Respectively, 7.4% and 15.1% of schools surveyed had not received their maintenance grant in financial years 2011-2012 and 2013-2014 (the information was not collected in financial year 2012-2013), which of course would have a major bearing on their capacity to cover their school WASH operation and maintenance costs. This gap is much lower in Karnataka, where only 3.4% of schools sampled reported such an issue.

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ⁿ See the description of these grants in Section 6.1.3



Whether funds received are spent appropriately and contribute to effective operation and maintenance of school WASH facilities depends on several factors. Functionality of the School Management Committee and levels of awareness from Committee members on priority needs and the importance of improved hygiene are determining factors, as is the integrity of the headteacher and Committee members, and the extent to which the latter take part in the budgeting process.

Corruption is not rare, and some funds occasionally get embezzled by education officials. The process advocated by Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement to address the challenge posed by unsupportive teachers and headteachers is one of relentlessly dedicated work despite defiance, opposition or passivity from some individuals, which gradually leads people to respect the commitment they witness. Their resistance diminishes and they gradually rally to the cause as commitment propagates itself amongst other parents and teachers until the more toxic people do not represent such a hindrance any more.

"The sense of corruption burdening many schools will decline as a result of the greater amount of information and level of transparency made possible by ICTs. Women's empowerment - 50% of SDMC are women – will also be a positive factor," he adds. "The Government is not really the bottleneck nor is the corruption. Today the disbursement of grants is getting more and more transparent because it is all computerised, transparently transferred. You know if the transfer has been made or not.

There are some critical, macro issues relating to teachers' attendance, transfer, laxity, that you cannot address, but we should not overly worry about those. The solution is not to directly confront the system, as this drains a lot of energy and immediately triggers enormous resistance. We always say to our staff: 'be a termite. Operate from within. Work is the response to anger.'"

M.A. Balasubramaniam, Secretary and CEO, SVYM.



Table 5: To what extent does WaterAid India programming address school WASH Policy-level bottlenecks?

- ▶ Policy advocacy WaterAid India collaborates with organisations, networks and federations (e.g. the Right to Education forum, child right movements focusing on inclusion in child education, Dalit networks) on advocacy initiatives at local, district, state and national levels, extending support to their causes and influencing to mainstream WASH in their demand for rights of marginalised people.
- ▶ Norms and standards WaterAid India continuously seizes opportunities to pilot test, demonstrate and documents new designs, which may favourably influence norms. In Odisha, flood-resilient models and those designed to be friendly to children with special needs have been demonstrated. WaterAid India West programme is planning to conduct an action research on school WASH quality standards and monitoring mechanisms to influence state government quidelines.
- ▶ Planning WaterAid India's efforts to integrate WASH-health-nutrition in school WASH work are very relevant WaterAid India thus developed a collaborative arrangement with the Coalition for Food and Nutrition Security and the World Food Programme, and contributed to the South Asia Conference on Nutrition Security, highlighting the need for a multi-sector convergent approach to nutrition and the importance of WASH indicators on nutrition outcomes. In Odisha, WaterAid India and World Food Programme have partnered to establish the role of handwashing in the midday meal scheme. WaterAid India's efforts to integrate school WASH work into community WASH work is also very relevant.
- ▶ Monitoring (and incentives) Reward schemes have been put in place by WaterAid India and WaterAid India in Mysore and Raichur to congratulate the best-performing schools, School Management Committees and child cabinets. Conversation with headmasters and School Management Committee members during the school visits suggest the effectiveness of such schemes in creating a healthy emulation across schools.
- ▶ Curriculum WaterAid India and its partners are making use of playful approaches to teach hygiene for children in school and out of school contexts. Interactive games such as puzzles and board games are developed to help them learn while they play. WaterAid India has contributed to developing the WASH capacity of teachers (e.g. in 2015 WaterAid India and partners trained 689 teachers in Jharkhand and 1,242 teachers in Odisha).
- ▶ Budget WaterAid India recently undertook a comprehensive study in Andhra Pradesh leading to the development of operation and maintenance plans for sustainable use of WASH facilities in schools. Amongst other aspects, this study takes stock of current practices, addresses key school WASH operation and maintenance principles, analyses institutional and financial requirements, suggests capacity building measures and recommends IEC materials. With similar research about to be published by UNICEF and Save the Children, this study represents a critical input for budget advocacy at state and national level.



6.2. Developing

6.2.1. Access

a) Access to adequate water supply

According to the DISE, access to improved, functional water supply improved from 72% to 75% between 2008 and 2013. Prinking water is available in 75.6% of the schools sampled by the Annual Status of Education Report. The same survey carried out in 2010 revealed coverage of 72.7%. In Karnataka, this increase in the coverage of drinking water supply in schools is significant too, jumping from 75.8% to 81.2% between 2010 and 2014. The Annual Status of Education Report findings certainly contrast with the data provided by the DISE, which suggested an increase in coverage from 83% in 2006 to 95% in 2013. As noted above, significant discrepancies exist between the Annual Status of Education Report and the DISE, but both sources confirm much progress.

Picture 2: Pumping water: play-pumps and hand-pumps usefully complement electrical pumps during power shortage periods. Bhimanahalli Government Higher Primary School, Mysore district. (Operation and maintenance costs of play-pumps are a limitation, however.)







This progression can be resituated in the context of efforts made to reduce the proportion of the population relying on unimproved sources of water, which dropped from 9% in 2011 to 6% in 2015.³⁰ Indeed, the Education for All state director attributes this progress in part to the priority put by the state on supporting the National Rural Drinking Water Programme.

Quality of water, however, remains a problem. A study conducted by WaterAid India in Andra Pradesh in 347 schools found that amongst the 69% of schools equipped with drinking water facilities, none of them had quality testing systems in place.²³

As part of the activities conducted to raise awareness of teachers and students on WASH issues, several NGOs, including Pratham, are conducting analyses with students to assess water quality on indicators such as faecal contamination and fluoride content. According to a representative of Pratham, 50% of the schools and angawandis where such tests were conducted showed signs of faecal contamination.



b) Sanitation

Major progress is noted in access to school toilets throughout the country. The data reported by the DISE in 2014 already reported an increase in the proportion of schools with separate toilet facilities for girls from 37% in 2005-06 to 88% in 2012-13. During the same period, the fraction of schools providing access to separate toilets for boys merely increased from 63% to 67%.

According to official statistics, which need to be considered with due caution, all schools are now equipped with separate toilets for boys and girls. As noted above, field assessments, validation studies and independent analyses that have unpacked the statistics have raised very serious questions on the validity of this claim. The coverage of toilets in schools has however considerably improved during the past few years, with significant acceleration between 2014 and 2015.

Karnataka keeps showing outstanding statistics, even through the more robust the Annual Status of Education Report assessment: the coverage of schools providing access to toilets progressed from 94.4% to 98.4% between 2010 and 2014. The Karnataka Education for All programme director indicates that all schools in the state now have at least one toilet unit for boys and one for girls, but underscores that this is not sufficient in many schools, due to the number of pupils.

Efforts need to continue, he adds, before pointing out that chronic or seasonal lack of water represents another challenge: pour flush toilets cannot be properly used in such conditions, and pit latrines, deemed unhygienic, are not allowed. Access to toilets for teachers is another area where progress is much needed, as WaterAid India's study in Andhra Pradesh suggests that 50% of schools surveyed do not provide such facilities.

Picture 3: Separate toilet for girls and boys. The visits to primary schools in Mysore district showed relatively old facilities (five-seven years old) very well used and maintained. Such sustainability, which characterises the joint WaterAid India/Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement work in Mysore, is rare and not representative of what is achieved in the rest of the country.









c) Handwashing facilities

According to the DISE, 51% of schools have a designated space for handwashing facilities, but only 37% of schools have handwashing facilities close to the toilet facilities.³¹ The baseline study conducted by WaterAid India in Uttar Pradesh shows a comparable picture: 48% of schools surveyed were found to be equipped with a handwashing station. A similar assessment carried out in 160 schools in 20 districts of Odisha revealed that only 24% of all schools had functional handwashing facilities.

Picture 4: Handwashing facilities. Five to seven years after their construction, the facilities inspected in several schools of Mysore district remain very functional.





6.2.2. Equity

a) Addressing gender specific needs

The data presented in Section 6.2.1.a shows the Government has been closing the gap between boys and girls in terms of their access to toilets, to the point that official statistics claim that all schools are now equipped with separate toilets for boys and girls.

The Centre for Social Equity and Inclusion recently carried out a public hearing on issues pertaining to violence faced by children in schools.³² 50% of such violence takes place in relation to toilets, according to a member of WaterAid India policy team, who underlines that the "gender-toilet linkage used in advocacy has backfired". Simplifying and stereotyping the issue of violence and toilets as one chiefly regarding females is perceived as a way to narrow the issue: this focus on women excludes all those pertaining to low castes, who face discrimination in relation to toilets, such as girls and boys forced to do tasks such as cleaning.



The focus on menstrual hygiene management is still highly insufficient at the upper primary school level, with limited capacity by teachers to deal with the issues, and not enough bespoke information, education and communication materials being used. The recent survey conducted by WaterAid in 347 schools in Andhra Pradesh found that 50% of schools distributed sanitary napkins, but only 25% of them provided disposal options for girls. Over 60% of girls explained that they went home during menstruation. Another study carried out by WaterAid India in Uttar Pradesh found that 2% of the 491 schools surveyed were found to be conducting regular sessions on menstrual hygiene.

Minutes from the workshop organised by Education for All, RGSM and UNICEF in Raipur in 2013 put the emphasis on addressing the nutritional requirements of adolescent girls, along with interventions for anaemia prevention: 80% of women suffer from this condition in the state of Chhattisgarh and because of the loss of nutrients during menstruation, it is essential to raise the awareness of adolescent girls on nutrition, and to combine WASH, health and nutrition. ³³

The school WASH coordinator of Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement thinks that explicit attention paid to menstrual hygiene management in the organisation's school WASH programmes started around 2010. Before that, menstrual hygiene management was already part of Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement's intervention, addressed through maternal and childhood interventions with health workers.^p There is now much more focus on menstrual hygiene management, he observes, which also manifests in specific toilet designs.

Picture 5: Learning about menstrual hygiene management from the girls. Bhimanahalli Government Higher Primary School, Mysore district.



A school visit brought to light the role that cooks can play on menstrual hygiene management in the absence of female teachers. In that school, girls explained that they are shy to address such issues with their male teachers, and can get sanitary pads through the cooks when needed. In this school, there is no incinerator in toilets to get rid of used pads. To address this issue of lack of female teachers, Plan International involves accredited social health activists (local community health educators) to promote menstrual hygiene management among adolescent girls.²³

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^o WaterAid India was founded by doctors and the medical dimension of the mission of the organisation remains prominent

^p SVYM was founded by doctors and the medical dimension of the mission of the organisation remains prominent



b) Addressing the needs of people living with disabilities

The Ministry of Human Resource Development's Clean India Clean School handbook¹² stresses that all school WASH facilities must be user-friendly, and that "every child – including those facing disability – must be able to access and use facilities. This means paying adequate attention to the quality, uniformity of technical designs and essential components." This explicit concern from the Government to address the WASH needs of people living with a disability appears to be relatively recent. A WASH specialist at UNICEF in Chhattisgarh raised during a workshop organised by Education for All, RGSM and UNICEF in 2013 in Raipur the point that technologies and designs used for school toilets failed to appropriately take into account disability considerations. Since 2012, however, toilets for physically challenged persons have been provisioned under Education for All in the state following a design shared by UNICEF.

A lot of efforts are still needed on the ground to properly address the needs of people with disabilities. WIN, Freshwater Action Network (FANSA) and Arghyam report that children with special needs are rarely accounted for in the planning and development of facilities in the state of Andhra Pradesh, with many regarding toilets for disabled children as a special category that requires little attention.³⁴ The baseline study undertaken by WaterAid India in 2015 in Uttar Pradesh shows indeed that only 2% of all 491 schools surveyed have toilets appropriate for children with special needs, while only 12% of schools have drinking water facilities that can be availed by disabled children.

c) Geographic discrepancies in access to water

Data aggregated at national and state level can mask huge contrasts between regions and districts. One of the criticisms aimed at the DISE is that it fails to monitor with an equity lens: data is not unpacked at the district level, and the poorest districts in the states are not highlighted.¹⁷ Geographic inequalities with regard to access to water are also manifest between rural and urban areas: drinking water coverage in urban areas (98%) is significantly higher than rural coverage (88%).¹³

The Annual Status of Education Report points out regarding drinking water provision that, whilst at national level coverage in 2014 reaches 75.6% of all schools, the value for this indicator exceeds 85% in four states (Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh). In contrast, coverage in schools of Manipur and Meghalaya is reported to be below 17%. Similar discrepancies are noted on access to usable toilets (e.g. below 35% in Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram vs. 85% and over in Himachal Pradesh and Gujarat). 9

Whilst the Annual Status of Education Report reports coverage of 85.8% in Uttar Pradesh, internal variations are noted. The recent baseline study carried out by WaterAid India in 491 schools across six districts of the state showed that 25% do not have a functional source of water supply, and only 24% were found to have water quality systems.

Whether accelerated progress over the past year has allowed a reduction in these gaps is uncertain. The focus has been on ensuring the availability of a separate toilet unit for girls and boys in every school, but significant contrasts between regions persist with regard to access to drinking water and student/toilet ratios. The functionality of school WASH facilities is an indicator that still shows major variations across states: whereas in 13 states/UTs of



India water facilities are functional in over 90% schools, this is only the case in less than 65% of schools in four states (Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya and Tripura). ³¹ Discussions with WaterAid India and the Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement also suggest that conditions with regard to water supply in schools differ drastically between Mysore and Raichur districts, Karnataka, separated by less than four hundred kilometres on a north-south gradient.

6.2.3. Capacity

a) Community support and social norms

Changing mind-sets

Throughout its Clean India Clean School handbook, the Ministry of Human Resource Development underscores the importance of strengthening community-school links. All sources consulted in this research concur that school ownership in the community is an essential ingredient for the success of school WASH programmes. Create it and a huge potential can be unleashed, predicts Asadur Rahman from UNICEF.³³

Several informants referred to the important responsibility of parents and mothers in raising the awareness of their children on issues surrounding the use of toilets, i.e. boys should respect girls, not tease them and girls' toilets are safer for girls for x and y reasons. The Karnataka Education for All programme director stresses that proper use of school toilets depends to a certain degree on social factors. Open defecation still prevails in certain parts of the state, and "to move from this condition to using toilets proves to be a big challenge, and toilet training is a determinant factor. The quality of training is not only what is happening in the classroom. What happens in the family is very critical too. Changing the mind-set is a challenge, and Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan has put a very strong emphasis on IEC, recognising that mind-set change is the major factor in this entire process."

A representative of Save the Children in Bangalore explains that the awareness of family heads on the importance of school WASH frequently rises once they realise the economic implications of adopting improved hygiene habits, through a quick exercise on income and expenditures. As for M.A. Balasubramaniam from the Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement (SVYM), he suggests that water needs to be framed differently: "We need to look at water from several perspectives, it is a major denominator for health and respect, dignity, we need to package it into a sociopolitical discourse, push it as a foundational element of social status, and insist on the cost/benefit of the use of a toilet."

"Then we started entering in schools, taking a different approach, and we actually had to negotiate the space for toilets in the school in the first place. The credibility of the initiator is the major factor. You cannot enter the school as a stranger and expect to succeed if you don't have credibility [individual and/or organisational], what the people trust is the quality of the relationship, it is not the dollars!

To build trust you need to respect people, be transparent – how open are you to address the issues that people are raising once you have explained your project – and accountable. When you start working on these core issues, trust gets nurtured, interventions become possible and impact is possible. Transparency seems easy, but you need to be able to put things on the table and answer the questions that are going to be raised."

M.A. Balasubramaniam, Secretary and CEO, SVYM.



Mysore's district deputy director of public instruction explains that forming personal hygiene habits in students whose parents have not developed such habits can prove very time consuming. Obstacles of various shapes and sizes can surface along the way. Pressure groups and local leaders are frequently involved in confrontational interactions because of the stronghold of taboos, pointed out several members of WaterAid India: suggesting that all children should contribute to cleaning toilets is often perceived as tacitly confronting the social norm according to which this is the duty of the Dalit cast. Some will regard it as a challenge to the state of affairs and the Government in power.

Building trust and commitment

In the view of a senior manager of the Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement, the principal obstacle to community support is the mistrust that generally characterises the attitude of community members towards those implementing school-based interventions. This distrust often finds its origin in the fact that the 'programme people' are new and unknown to the community. Legitimate suspicion also stems from the track record of such interventions, which, despite all the money spent, have rarely delivered on their promises. There is often a gross disconnect between what is said and what is done. Not all schools and communities can be expected to *genuinely* engage in a school WASH programme from the onset. A key principle adopted by Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement in Mysore district consists of allowing schools to progress at their own pace. Following a phase of mobilisation and awareness creation targeting all schools, the most proactive are accompanied first. Pioneer schools will become models for those lagging behind: success is thus propagated to less proactive schools through exposure visits and focus groups exchanges.

Building trust, and regarding it as a core objective, is also recommended by research from the American Indian Foundation on School Management Committee engagement under the Act. The findings confirm that engaging in dialogue with communities is delicate and complex. It requires development facilitators trusting in the abilities of the community instead of bypassing participatory processes.³⁵ It takes indeed a special mind-set to work effectively with communities, explains the assistant secretary of the zilla panchayat in Mysore, who confides that this mind-set is not widespread amongst government workers: the latter tend to behave as if they can impose the programme on people. But to be successful in gaining community support, government-led programmes need a dedicated team with a social perspective.

b) Prioritising hygiene education

As noted in Section 6.1.2.d, official primary school textbooks do include WASH-related content. Also, the Ministry of Human Resource Development recognises that fostering the acquisition of improved hygiene behaviour requires moving from a knowledge transfer approach towards life skills-based education. The priority put on hygiene education varies across states.

In West Bengal, the Paschim Banga Sarva Siksha Mission organises an annual week-long hygiene promotion campaign, the Nirmal Vidyalaya Saptaha, to coincide with the state's School Hygiene Day on World Health Day. As part of this campaign, a 'sit and draw' competition is carried out to promote school WASH, involving four to six million children annually. The baseline study recently carried out by WaterAid India in 491 schools of Uttar



Pradesh revealed a grim picture: hygiene messages are displayed in only 23% of the schools and education sessions on hygiene are only delivered to children in 17% of all schools.

The breakthrough of handwashing with soap in schools at national level is commendable and an example for a great many countries. Global Handwashing Day has been celebrated since 2008, in partnership with State Education Departments, Departments of Rural Development or Departments of Water Supply and Sanitation. UNICEF and its partners have supported the Government with resource materials, teachers' guide books and reference materials on handwashing with soap. In 2012, an estimated 89 million children in schools and anganwadis across the country participated in related activities. These celebrations aimed to institutionalise handwashing before the midday meal. Such celebrations have paved the way for a major level of attention being paid to the formation of this critical hygiene habit.

As illustrated on Figure 4, the Government has redoubled its efforts to mainstream quality midday meals throughout the country, the Ministry of Human Resource Development calling all state departments to roll out handwashing with soap as part of the flagship midday meal scheme, served to nearly 110 million children in 1.3 million primary and upper primary schools.²³

Figure 4: Government prioritising the midday meal scheme: a springboard for group handwashing with soap.¹³









www.wateraid.org/ppa



c) Student engagement

There is a tradition in India of engaging students in school WASH programmes, which has been encouraged in the series of programmes piloted in the country since the mid-1990s. Child-to-child activities and school-community links placing students as agents of change are promoted by the Government. The Ministry of Human Resource Development's Clean India Clean School handbook thus recommends that schools establish child parliaments, child cabinets or 'bal sansads': "Assisted by the entire student body, the bal sansad generally takes on the responsibility of maintaining school facilities as well as to track and sustain healthy behaviours and sanitation practices. This includes ensuring cleanliness of the school environment, checking on students' personal hygiene practices, following up on absentees, and supervising the lending of books and other materials from the school library that reinforce healthy behaviour and habits. The formation of child cabinets has been institutionalised in many states like Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand and Odisha, by issuance of necessary circulars." ¹²

The Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation notes that the engagement of children as potential agents of change in homes "needs to be leveraged to the maximum extent possible and be included in any plan made to upscale [domestic] sanitation facilities and use".³⁶

A conversation held with a School Management Committee member during a school visit exemplified the change agent function played by

children in the context of the national total sanitation campaign. The father explained: "Children in school are used to using toilets and they influence the family, encourage us to take up the habits. In my home, there is no toilet. My daughter and son told us that we should not defecate in the open, that the teachers trained them not to and that they feel bad if we do it. We were forced to build the toilet and then observed the children use it, and gradually started using it to finally abandon open defecation."

This use of child clubs is widespread in the country, but they are particularly functional in schools targeted by NGO-led programmes. They strongly contribute to achieving a state of cleanliness in the school, reports a headmaster, and actually allow a second level of oversight: "there are the teachers' eyes and the parliament'

Picture 6: The chief of cabinet introduces the members of the child parliament Nanjanaikanahalli Government Higher Primary School, Mysore district.



eyes." The headmaster concludes: "parents, teachers, students: all should do their tasks."

Health clubs, WASH clubs and eco-clubs are variations of the same principle. Dr. Seetaram, Vice President of the Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement, observes that adults are pretty set in their attitudes: "not only did we want to change the young minds, the



children in the schools, but we were considering them as agents of change. We have scaled up our approach to a few gram panchayats and to 360 schools gradually. We focused a lot on the school structure itself, making it a matter of pride for the entire community, as a common value for the community. We wanted to see children happy to come, parents proud of the schools, and teachers considering WASH as an opportunity to work in more comfortable conditions."

WaterAid India's programme manager for the western region notes that they found child clubs in the schools targeted by the programme, but that WASH was not part of their activities. Following the programme, such clubs are brought to promote personal hygiene, oversee the midday meal and foster good use of toilets (this considerably eases their cleaning, a responsibility of School Management Committees). Such WASH clubs are more or less effective depending on regions. Such structures prove difficult to institutionalise, says WaterAid India's representative, notably because of student turnover and the need to revive the clubs each year.

The school parliament was already in place, certain roles were given but this was not as formal, not as comprehensive and not under the same denomination. This used to be an extra burden for the teachers, who had to remind children to perform. Now, with the mainstreamed parliament system, and given the training that children have received, it works very well. On a monthly basis they [the teachers] have to grade them, that is the only thing they have to do now, as the kids are autonomous." Headmaster, primary school, Mysore district.

Challenges with the sustainability of WASH clubs exposes the chronic and global challenge of building genuine ownership of such clubs amongst headteachers, teachers and School Management Committee/Parent Teacher Association members. WASH clubs, albeit a good tool, can sometimes be regarded as an instrument serving a single agenda, rather than a tool tailored to meeting the specific needs of the school. Child parliaments address a wide range of issues, respond to more needs of the school and can aggregate potentially more interest. But they require more effort to set up in the first place, as well as a committed focal teacher. Once in place in a supportive environment, such clubs prove immensely valuable for the school in numerous ways, including student empowerment. Independently from these clubs, some initiatives seek to create a dynamic around school WASH amongst children through various competitions involving sport activities (e.g. WASH United), or arts.



Table 6: How is WaterAid India contributing to the developing component of the school WASH bottleneck analysis tool?

- ▶ Demonstrating models as evidence for policy advocacy WaterAid India and partners contribute to increasing school WASH coverage in India under state-of-the-art approaches. Although this input is quantitatively marginal considering the magnitude of the needs at country level, it allows the country programme and its partners to learn from the field and gain the legitimacy needed to influence sector policies and practices.
- ▶ Promoting inclusive principles and approaches WaterAid India and partners strongly support child, gender and increasingly differently-abled friendly principles, both on the hardware (design) and software (sensitisation and training) facets of projects, as well as through policy research. In particular, WaterAid India and partners have put special emphasis on menstrual hygiene management, which has become an integral part of hygiene education in projects. 35% of a total of 58 projects carried out in 2014-2015 focus on menstrual hygiene management. WaterAid India is also influencing policies so that the needs of students living with disabilities are better addressed. For instance, a manual on toilets designs for Individual Household Latrines (IHHL) for people with disabilities was finalised with inputs from the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation, Ministry of Social Justice and Sanitation, and coordinators/engineers from six states. Also, in 2013-14, a WASH education manual in braille and sign language for visually and hearing impaired people was developed. Both were appreciated by the director of disability in the Government of Odisha, who planned to distribute them to all government special schools.
- ▶ Redressing inequalities With its partners, WaterAid India intervenes in public schools, where students are likely to come from lower income families and in project areas where the needs are most acute, thus reducing geographical and socio-economic disparities.
- ▶ Promoting hygiene education WaterAid India is actively working to institutionalise hygiene education in schools. WaterAid organised a massive campaign in Madhya Pradesh on Global Handwashing Day: 60,000 schools participated and over 1.5 million people simultaneously washed hands with soap. The chief minister of the state capital flagged off the campaign, also joined by other dignitaries including state cabinet ministers. The campaign attracted widespread media attention and the attention of the prime minister, and is likely to be an annual event, triggering mass awareness on hygiene.
- ▶ Integrating school WASH work in community WASH using children as vectors of change WaterAid India and partners try to integrate as much as possible school WASH into community WASH programmes and make use of WASH clubs, child parliaments, and child-to-child approaches to foster improved hygiene in schools and communities.



6.3. Sustaining

6.3.1. Operation and maintenance inputs

a) Supply chain for parts and services

The research has not investigated in great detail the challenges related to the availability of specific school WASH-related parts and services. Conversations have not particularly stressed such issues, which are not given particular attention in the documentation consulted. Presumably, in most of India, accessing parts and services for school WASH operation and maintenance is not a major constraint. The value for money of parts and services and the reliability of suppliers may be an issue, however, and a representative from Water For People stressed the benefits of schools liaising with the gran panchayat to identify the most appropriate supply chains.

Indeed, identifying the various options available to address the different facets of school WASH operation and maintenance, and selecting the most appropriate, can prove challenging for School Management Committees, who bear this responsibility. WaterAid India recently carried out a comprehensive analysis on school WASH operation and maintenance in two districts of Andhra Pradesh, and formulated a number of recommendations regarding such options (see Table 7). At the time of drafting this report, UNICEF and Save the Children were also in the process of finalising a global study on school WASH operation and maintenance, which featured a case study on India.

Table 7: School WASH operation and maintenance options and modalities (listed by order of priority)

-Kakumanu Arokiam for WaterAid India. 37

Hiring paid cleaners	 Hire at school level to be managed by headteacher. Hire at gram panchayat level to be managed by sarpanch. Hire at cluster level within 1km, to be managed by high school headteacher or Mandal Education Office. Contract out to outsourcing agency such as SHG federation, private agency, at an appropriate level. 	
Hiring plumbers, masons, carpenters, electricians	 Create pool of private service providers at appropriate level on the basis of annual maintenance contract and make payment based on repairs undertaken. Promote women plumbers, masons, electricians at appropriate level to undertake minor repairs. Where possible use the services of plumbers and masons working under Swach Bharat Mission. 	
Procuring consumables and durables	Supply of Hatchais	
Carrying out routine checkups	 Student committees and teachers shall undertake daily checkups. School Management Committee shall undertake fortnightly and monthly checkups. Civil wing of Education for All in collaboration with MEOs and CRPs shall undertake quarterly checkups. 	



b) Committee in charge of operation and maintenance

School Management Committees form throughout India as mandated by the Right to Education Act

The Right to Education Act provides the legal basis for the creation of School Management Committees in all elementary government, government-aided schools and special category schools. It presents School Management Committees as the basic unit of a decentralised model of governance calling for active engagement of parents in the school's functioning, as a means to improve their efficiency, since they have the highest incentive to demand a better quality of education for their children. It stipulates that School Management Committees, composed of parents, teachers, headteachers and local authorities should:

- 1. Monitor the working of the school (midday meal provision, toilet facilities, teacher attendance, etc.).
- 2. Monitor use of different grants received.
- 3. Prepare and recommend annual and three-year school development plans, which address infrastructure, academic achievement etc. School development plans should collectively feed into creating an annual work plan for every district, and subsequently every state.¹⁶

With regard to school WASH specifically, the Ministry of Human Resource Development's Clean India Clean School handbook requires School Management Committees to, "thoroughly inspect the school infrastructure, assess the quantum of repair for each and every component such as school buildings, toilets, drinking water facilities, storage tanks, hand pumps, ramp railings, child-friendly elements etc., and with the help of the local masonry carpenter or other skilled worker, assess the tentative cost after verifying the value in the local market." The handbook also specifies that a schedule of periodic visits will have to be planned for the staff of district, block and cluster resource centre to check if the maintenance schedule (a template is provided) is being followed as expected, and to suggest follow-up actions.

Since the Right to Education Act came into force in 2009, Accountability Initiative notes that the implementation of School Management Committee provision has seen all states and union territories notify their state-specific School Management Committee rules. Most schools have formed their School Management Committee (88% of government and government-aided schools, according to 2012-13 DISE for Education (DISE) statistics, 94% according to Annual Status of Education Report 2014 data), and have made the president a joint bank account holder with the headteacher, to facilitate the Committee's entitlement over grant expenditure.

The Government now requires the management of toilets to be handed over to approximately 1.2 million School Management Committees, many of whose presence and functionality is questionable. [...] By this sudden build-and-transfer mode of toilet construction, maintenance will be now shifted to a group whose authority, capacities and immediate realities of gender, caste and culture are all a matter of concern.

Low on resources and with little external monitoring, schools have resorted to all kinds of quick fixes to manage toilets. Worst of which is to make Dalit students clean them. The Ministry of Human Resource Development itself agrees in its Swachh Vidyalaya handbook that weak management contributes to unusable toilets. Somehow, in the debate on numbers, the fact that 418,000 toilets will now need to be brought under school development plans and then managed accordingly by School Management Committees has gone unnoticed. A. Acharya (2015).



The functionality of School Management Committees remains weak

The Annual Status of Education Report 2014 describes School Management Committees as ineffective, noting the variability of their performance across states: only 42.3% of all schools surveyed in the country (71% in Karnataka) reported having prepared a school development plan that they could show. Conversations with members of WaterAid India and several representatives of national NGOs confirm that in many states, most School Management Committees function merely on paper. Such dysfunction in these structures entrusted with the responsibility for school WASH operation and maintenance is highly problematic in the context of the massive efforts recently deployed by the Government to equip each school with new toilets.

Most informants and sources concur however that effective School Management Committees represent a powerful tool, not only to ensure sustainable school WASH services, but also to improve school enrolment and retention. 19 38 School visits carried out in Mysore district confirm the astonishing degree and sustainability of the transformation that schools can undergo when school-based interventions targeting WASH objectives put special emphasis on building cohesive, capable and motivated School Management Committees. This transformation not only stems from the actual participation of the School Management Committees to school management but also from the sense of school ownership that develops within the whole community and fosters accountability amongst teachers.

"It is about raising their understanding of their roles and responsibilities, and it is also very much about building cohesion amongst School Management Committee members and developing their sense of responsibility. Diverging views can threaten this cohesion, but conflicts are instantaneously reduced when issues are recontextualised putting children's needs and interests at the centre."

M.A. Balasubramaniam, CEO and Secretary, SVYM.

Challenges

Accountability Initiative reports that headteachers, teachers and especially parents lack awareness of the existence of School Management Committees, school-related information and their roles and responsibilities, and that greater effort is required to encourage headteachers to share information with parents. This coincides with the experience of M.A. Balasubramaniam, CEO of SVYM, who notes than in many cases parents are not even aware that they are officially School Management Committee members: they only know that the headteacher asks them to sign resolutions at the end of meetings. According to him, parents and Committee members are not as reluctant to engage in school matters as sometimes portrayed, but are instead waiting for genuine opportunities to get involved, which they fail to perceive or are not being proposed. In fact, Balasubramaniam suggests the overall system is not proactively working to empower School Management Committees.

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^q A representative of Save the Children in Bangalore shared very similar observations regarding the lack of awareness of parents on SMC issues and the reluctance of the school authorities to share the power with SMCs.

^r As mentioned in Section 6.1.3., The National Commission on Teachers publically stated as early as 1986 that the purpose of the school governance environment created by teacher unions and their political connections was to avert the proper use of teacher accountability measures.



It emerges from the exchanges held during the workshop organised in Mysore that obstacles to parents' participation in School Management Committees are more cultural than economic. Many parents have very low financial resources and time available. Working as daily wage labourers certainly constrains the capacity to attend meetings and contribute to activities during the day, but adapted methods can always be found. According to participants, the importance parents put on the education of their children, and the conviction that their engagement can have a positive impact, are chief determinants. At times, such a supportive culture is already present; at times it needs to be developed.

The frequent absence of clear state-level procedures for the election of School Management Committee members is yet another barrier highlighted by Accountability Initiative. Sometimes teachers are reluctant to share power with less vocal parents, notes M.A. Balasubramaniam. In other cases, as observed by a regional manager at WaterAid India, School Management Committee members are chosen by the headteacher according to the performance of their children, on the assumption that the brighter the child, the more likely parents will be to contribute. Participants of the workshop in Mysore underline that there is often some prestige associated with School Management Committee membership, and that political interference affecting Committee working is not rare.

The tenure, sometimes limited to two years, can prove insufficient for School Management Committee members to create lasting change. Various exchanges on this subject could not be reconciled, and it seems that different practices occur throughout the country. In some regions members may be re-elected as long as they have children enrolled. The informal practice of keeping former Committee presidents on as honorary members has proven effective in fostering commitment and accountability amongst acting president, explains the representative of an NGO: "Ex-presidents remain participants: the secret of success is that they bring wisdom, manpower and often financial support. And they also put pressure on the president in office."

Accountability Initiative stresses that funds allocated to the training of School Management Committee members can be deemed insufficient, in respect of their central role in the development of schools and education planning. Furthermore, funds allocated are utilised minimally: in 2012-13, Maharashtra only spent 14% of the earmarked amount and Madhya Pradesh just 22%. The timing of training and follow-up sessions is often inappropriate (too late to inform the drafting of the school development plan); their content not relevant enough (failing to build the skills of trainees to prepare a school development plan or addressing schools' most pressing needs), and the teaching pedagogy and approach are mediocre. ¹⁶

A study by CFBT (2013) on community-based accountability for school improvement in India raises interesting issues on the relevance of transparency and accountability initiatives. Research findings question the 'short route to accountability' theory, according to which community (possibly represented by School Management Committee members) empowerment and voice increases the responsiveness of service providers (teachers and headteachers) and leads to better service provision (see Box 2).



Box 2: Questioning the impact of transparency and accountability initiatives (CFBT 2013).

A study by CFBT (2013) on community-based accountability for school improvement in India notes the mixed evidence about the impact of community oversight on public service outcomes despite successful intermediary outcomes, such as increased community awareness, participation and increased efforts from service providers. For instance, it cites a study by Banerjee et al. (2008) on a project in Uttar Pradesh, which aimed to empower School Management Committees, raise educational rights awareness and improve monitoring of schools, and that found no increase in community participation in School Management Committees and therefore no impact on education outcomes or teacher effort. In contrast, the DFID-funded Vidya Chaitanyam project (2008-2012) carried out in rural Anantapur, Andhra Pradesh targeting 500 schools, delivered very positive outcomes: building the capacity of illiterate and semi-literate women to assess the quality of basic education provision in state schools through the use of school scorecards, it led to improvement in School Management Committee functionality, teacher attendance, student attendance, student performance and the quality of the midday meal.

CFBT also stresses the lack of in-depth examination of the exact mechanisms through which transparency and oversight lead to improved accountability and improved outcomes: "Enthusiasm for transparency and accountability initiatives has overtaken an assessment of impact." The study reports that the link from parental pressure to service improvement has been shown to be rather tenuous where the School Management Committee lacks the capacity and skills to govern. In fact, studies undertaken in other countries suggest that the impact of such interventions is strongly mediated by parental 'capital', and correlated to the level of education of Committee members. According to CFBT, parental 'voice' cannot be assumed to be effective and a driver of accountability in all contexts: parents do not always have the ability to make their voices heard, and decentralisation can allow local elites to capture the benefits of public resources. Furthermore, the concept of 'choice' associated with the theory of the short route to accountability ('client power') is problematic, especially in poor rural areas

Some of these reflections resonate with views shared by informants in Mysore district. For instance, whereas WaterAid India representatives reckon that raising community awareness and building the knowledge of School Management Committee members regarding their role are critical, they particularly stress the importance of developing a vision, cohesion and leadership within Committees, as well as community support. WaterAid India often describes its action as building human and social capital. Examples from the work of UNICEF in Uttar Pradesh also stress that a cohesive group of illiterate, yet highly motivated parents supported by a proactive headteacher can change the fate of the community school and revert a local trend towards enrolment in private schools. A key success factor of the DFID-funded Vidya Chaitanyam project is the pre-existing social capital from the microfinance sector, in the form of highly functioning women's self-help groups. Where single School Management Committees may have insufficient political influence, the participants of the workshop organised in Mysore highlighted the value of federating School Management Committees at block and district level as a means of effectively influencing issues (e.g. related to school WASH, midday meals, milk provision) with the chief executive officer of the zilla panchayat.

¹UNICEF India (2014). SMCs bringing back students to classrooms in remote Uttar Pradesh – Latest Stories.



c) Adequate and reliable funding for school WASH operation and maintenance costs?

Grants and other resources available at school level

Every year schools in India receive three financial grants:

- 1) **School maintenance grant**: for minor repairs and infrastructure maintenance, e.g. repair of toilets, boundary walls, whitewashing, school WASH maintenance and purchase of school WASH consumables.
- 2) **Development grant**: for operation and administration and for purchasing school and office equipment, e.g. blackboards, sitting mats, chalks, duster.
- 3) **Teaching learning material grant**: for purchasing teaching aids.

These grants represent the only funds over which schools have any expenditure discretion. In addition to these, WaterAid India's recent study on school WASH operation and maintenance in Andhra Pradesh notes the availability of additional resources to cover school WASH operation and maintenance expenditures, and highlights the encouraging results of the **school WASH operation and maintenance corpus fund** set up by certain schools. According to this study, potential sources of funding include:

- NREGA: For major repairs of WASH facilities including solid and liquid waste disposal systems^s
- . Integrated Watershed Management Programme, Ministry of Rural Development.^t
- NRHM: village watsan committees receives around Rs 10,000 to address community WASH issues (can potentially be used for school WASH O&M).
- . Gram Panchayat funds: Either for school WASH O& M or part salary for paid cleaner
- MLA and MP local area development funds: for major repairs or contribution to school WASH O&M corpus fund
- Other sources of funding: CSR companies, donors, trusts, NGOs, rotary & lion clubs, etc.

Minutes from a workshop organised by Education for All, RGSM and UNICEF in Raipur in 2013 also list the availability of additional funds to build handwashing facilities and to procure school WASH consumables: panchayat resources (including the mul bhut fund), midday meal funds, backward region grant funds as well as other grants available to schools, and support and contributions received from the community. The Ministry of Human Resource Development's Clean India Clean School handbook indeed underscores that a shortage of funds, if any, should be mitigated through community contributions.

Last but not least, many states such as Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat or Madhya Pradesh have actually already taken steps to provide specific budgets to hire janitors and more generally to cover school WASH operation and maintenance expenses. In Madhya Pradesh, funds for maintenance of school WASH facilities are leveraged from

^s According to Karnataka SSA SDP, however, this budget cannot legally be used for school WASH O&M.

^t There is a provision to undertake activities such as fixing drinking water and sanitation facilities. District could mobilize this budget for major repairs of WASH facilities or contribution towards school WASH O&M corpus fund.



the State Department of Rural Development, and in 2013, 3,111 cleaning personnel were appointed by panchayats across the state to clean school toilets. ¹² In Andhra Pradesh, WaterAid India's study stresses that schools with relatively few students are not eligible for the new funds earmarked for school WASH operation and maintenance.

In the absence of such dedicated funds for school WASH operation and maintenance, when disbursed^w the maintenance grant rarely proves sufficient to cover the expenses associated with the use of school facilities. This is particularly so, explains WaterAid India's regional manager for the western region, in parts of the country where school toilets are heavily used by the community during wedding celebrations. A representative of WaterAid India confirms that resources granted by the Government are usually mathematically insufficient to cover school WASH operation and maintenance expenses, but who suggests, to put things differently: "for schools, the opportunities to mobilise resources are there. A school is a social hub in the community, and many people take pride in contributing to its development. It requires some leadership to make the most of this potential."

6.3.2. Maintenance

a) Available vs. functional and useable latrines Closing the gap

Ensuring in the space of one year that all schools in India provide access to separate toilets for boys and girls is a formidable task, which the Government claims to have accomplished. Guaranteeing that such facilities remain functional and useable (rather than locked or abandoned) is the much greater challenge awaiting the authorities. A significant gap between the number of toilets 'available' and the number of those 'functional and in use' has been documented in the past: in 2010, the Annual Status of Education Report contrasted the availability of toilets in 90% of schools with their functionality in just 51% of all schools.¹⁷

Private schools are more likely to have functioning toilets (for boys and girls) and score better on measures of school sanitation and hygiene. Overall, we find that private schools are worse than Government schools on input-based measures of teacher quality, but that they do much better on measures of teacher effort and active teaching.

K Muralidharan (2014). Understanding the relative effectiveness of Government and private schools in India. Ideas for India.

The latest statistics from the Annual Status of Education Report reveals a marked improvement in the availability of useable toilets in the past five years, showing the indicator

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u schools with >150 students are eligible for Rs 2500/mth. Upper primary school with >100 students are eligible for Rs 1,500/mth. Primary school with >60 students are eligible Rs 1,000/mth. schools not meeting the thresholds in terms of number of students do not receive this fund and are managing school WASH O&M from SSA grants, which appears inadequate to undertake qualitative repairs and maintenance (especially major repairs and replacements) and to pay the salary of adult cleaner (WaterAid India 2015).

This budget covers the following items: a) Cleaning material (phenyl, brooms, brushes, bleaching powder, etc.); b) Cleaning of toilets, urinals, water storage tanks, wash basins, access path to toilet blocks, etc; c) Handwashing soap/liquid; d) Minor replacements/repairs (buckets, mugs, dustbins, taps, water filter candles, latches and bolts, etc).; e) Major repairs/replacement of doors, walls, construction of toilet pits, motor and pump, emptying septic tanks, etc.; f) Engagement of paid adult cleaner (WaterAid India 2015).

Respectively 7% and 15% of schools reported not having received the grant in 2011-2012 and 2012-2013 (ASER 2015).



progress from 47.2% in 2010 to 65.2% in 2014. A comparable progression is observed on the availability of usable girls' toilets (55.7% in 2014 vs. 32.9% in 2010). Again, significant variations emerge across the country: in Gujarat, Kerala, Himachal Pradesh and Haryana, more than 75% of schools visited had useable girls' toilets. In Karnataka, this increase in the coverage of useable toilets in schools is significant too, jumping from 38.4% to 60.2% between 2010 and 2014. The percentage of schools with unusable toilets (dysfunctional, not clean) dropped from 56% to 38.2% during the same period. ⁹

Baseline studies carried out in 2015 by WaterAid India in Uttar Pradesh and Odisha revealed a grimmer picture: in Uttar Pradesh 64% of boys' urinals and 47% of boys' toilets were found to be dysfunctional, and comparable values were found for girls' urinals and toilets. In Odisha, 36% of all schools assessed did not have even one single functional toilet, 59% of co-ed schools did not have separate functional toilets for both boys and girls, 43% of all schools had no functional toilet for girls, and 52% of schools did not have functional toilets for boys.

Who cleans the toilets?

The Ministry of Human Resource Development recommends that School Management Committees issue annual maintenance contracts or rely on other arrangements to ensure the regular maintenance of facilities, and the regular supply of cleaning materials, consumables such as

soap, disinfectants, brooms, brushes, buckets etc. The Clean School Clean India handbook also suggests arrangements such as the appointment of local cleaners, appointed by the school or the district, and provided with a regular supply of consumables. Section 6.3.1. provides a comprehensive list of options and modalities available to schools to procure cleaning and maintenance services. The budgetary constraints faced by schools and financial opportunities available to them are also discussed above.

A study conducted by WaterAid India in 347 schools of Andhra Pradesh reported the presence of cleaning staff in only 45% of schools. ^{23Error!} ookmark not defined. This figure would probably be revised upwards in light of the recent release by the state Government of additional resources specially earmarked for school WASH operation

Picture 7: Health Minister, Child Parliament, Nanjanaikanahalli Government Higher Primary School, Mysore district.

After describing his functions, the minister explained how teachers and children of certain age groups are tasked to clean the toilets on a rota basis according to a timetable.



and maintenance. The recent assessment conducted in 2015 in the same state indicates that most upper primary and primary schools have engaged a midday meal assistant to clean toilets, urinals and other common areas. Hiring a sanitation worker (previously known as a manual scavenger) seems to be the most common and preferable option in schools of Mysore district. The inspection of toilets during the few (announced) visits to schools in

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Mysore district showed very clean facilities in remarkable shape eight years after construction. Several visits showed, however, that in the absence of such workers locally and the prohibitive cost of hiring persons requiring transport to reach the school, schools sometimes have to opt for an arrangement requiring children to clean the toilets on a rota basis, which can trigger tensions in the community.

Participation of students in the cleaning of toilets, depicted as children undertaking degrading labour, is frequently dramatized and framed as a violation of child rights, explained a representative of UNICEF. Very often, the objective is merely to have children properly use the toilets, which involves some cleaning, to lighten the burden on the actual cleaner.

Box 3: Boundary walls

A compound (boundary) wall is often much needed at the onset of school WASH programmes in urban areas and wherever a sense of ownership of the school has not yet developed in the community. There, vandalism frequently cripples school WASH operation and maintenance budgets, to a point where the headmaster or School Management Committee may decide to give up replacing taps and mending toilets.

Participants to the workshop in Mysore explain that it is often as a result of interventions, when the community is more engaged in the school, that it polices the behaviour of its members. In all cases, compound walls are useful to avoid the intrusion of animals and theft of valuable material. Involving School Management Committee members in the design, budget management and labour associated with the construction of such a compound wall can be a good preliminary step to undertaking WASH-health-nutrition activities.

b) Regular provision of soap and water for handwashing?

The research did not identify data sources providing nation or state-wide assessments of the availability of soap for handwashing. The midday meal has been mainstreamed with significant efforts by the Government and requires handwashing with soap. Although further research is needed, these elements suggest that the provision of such consumables in most schools in the country must have increased notably recently.

WaterAid India's study in two districts of Andhra Pradesh in 2015 reports the systematic presence of soap available for washing hands, but questions whether all children can access soap and wash hands at critical times, such as after using the toilets. The few (announced) visits carried out in Mysore also revealed the presence of soap. In a couple of schools, fines levied on students on infraction (e.g. unjustified absenteeism, dress code infraction) feed a clean school fund used to buy soap.

c) Safe and functional water supply?

Marked discrepancies exist in the functionality of school water supply facilities across the country. This is well depicted in Figure 5, where the states coloured in red are those presenting the highest prevalence of dysfunctional systems. In five of these states, less than one in two drinking water facilities is actually working properly. By contrast, in 13 states/UTs water facilities are functioning in over 90% of schools.

Acharya (2015) highlights the unsustainability of a rainwater harvesting scheme launched in 2007 under Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan by the Government of Karnataka, indicating that

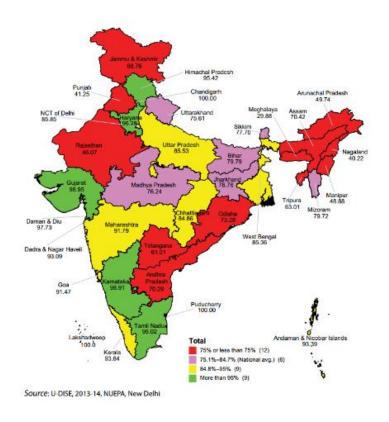


facilities in barely 10% of the 20,760 schools targeted by the programme remain functional.¹⁹

Keeping a good quality of water by maintaining filtration systems has also proven very challenging for most schools so far. The Centre for Media Studies conducted a study of 320 schools spread across 20 districts and six states to assess the performance of the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation's Jalmani programme. This government initiative was launched in 2008-09 to grant rural school children safe and clean water through the installation of simple stand-alone water purification systems targeting bacteriological contamination and turbidity. The study found that only 41% of the devices were being used, and that their inefficiency was a major concern. It revealed limited knowledge and awareness on the significance of purification systems amongst key stakeholders, as well as the absence of systems to ensure reliability of suppliers.⁴⁰

A school visited in Mysore illustrated this situation well. As in all schools in the neighbourhood, a filtration device had been installed three to four years before. The filters clogged rapidly however due to the hardness of the water, and the device only worked a year and a half. The headmaster who had been instructed to maintain the device and replace the filters regularly was reluctant to disassemble the apparatus, afraid to break a small tap that was unavailable as a spare part in the area. This headmaster reported that most water purifying devices installed in schools in the neighbourhood are in the same situation: filters have become defunct and no spare parts are available.

Figure 5: State-wise functionality of drinking water facilities in schools (Ministry of Human Resource Development 2014). 12



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6.2.3. Proper use of school WASH facilities

Despite a broader range of indicators included in the DISE, and notably specific questions regarding the availability of functional facilities for handwashing before and after the midday meal, ²⁹ use of school WASH facilities remains very difficult to assess. Sustaining the proper use of toilets is notoriously difficult, particularly in areas where open defecation still prevails. Forming new hygiene habits in children, such as appropriate toilet behaviour, takes persistent efforts. ²⁸

The PAHELI Survey conducted in 2012 by Pratham on 392 schools in seven states revealed that only 32% of children were washing hands with soap before eating. As noted above, however, this practice is much more prevalent now, having been imposed by the Government as part of the midday meal scheme.

"From 1998 to 2004, children were defecating in the open, outside the premises. The toilets, two units, were built in 2002 when they constructed this building. [...] But community members still practised open defecation and we had to teach the children how to use the toilet. They were shown how to use it well. It was very challenging: some children were afraid to fall inside. It took five to six months. But then it was easier for the next generation: the younger picked the habit by imitation.

Headmaster, Nanjanaikanahalli Bovi colony government lower primary school, Mysore district.

Whether the consequently high availability of soap in schools results in it being accessible to all children for washing hands at critical times, such as after using the toilets, needs to be investigated.

The challenge addressed by UNICEF's Three Stars approach, which is already being adopted by a few states, is to make handwashing with soap a routine supervised activity, and to monitor it. It is about moving from hygiene education and awareness-raising to habit formation.

Schools such as the 'model schools' visited in Mysore district, which can rely on well-performing child cabinet/parliaments, already have protocols in place to ensure the proper use of toilets, their adequate cleaning and maintenance, and a supervised routine of handwashing with soap. Conversations with students demonstrated their effective acquisition of theoretical and practical knowledge related to proper handwashing with soap. Elder students transmit this knowledge to younger fellows. Their understanding of the rationale for handwashing with soap is reinforced through games still played years after project phase out.



Table 8: To what extent does WaterAid India programming address school WASH sustaining-level bottlenecks?

- ▶ School WASH operation and maintenance beyond the efforts of WaterAid India and its partners to put in place effective operation and maintenance systems in schools, WaterAid India is actively working, notably through a series of in-depth studies, on shedding light into school WASH operation and maintenance constraints and opportunities. This contributes to bridging knowledge gaps, which have prevented the subsector to undertake effective advocacy work on this critical matter.
- ▶ Strengthening School Management Committees WaterAid India and its partners are strengthening school and community structures, raising their awareness on the importance of school WASH and making sure that they engage as much as possible in the decision-making processes related to school improvements. By building the capacity of School Management Committees and federating them, WaterAid India and partners are raising the functionality and actual influence of School Management Committees.
- ▶ Critically assessing access, functionality and use the field studies (e.g. detailed baseline studies) carried out by WaterAid India are providing critical insights into the gaps between access to school WASH facilities (as influenced by recent government-led efforts), their functionality and the extent to which they are actually used and associated with the formation of improved hygiene habits.



7. Rationale for recommendations

The recommendations formulated below build on the assessment of the school WASH subsector in India presented in Section 6: its strengths and weaknesses, and the nature of the factors underlying key bottlenecks. The suggestions made also take into account the position occupied by WaterAid in the sector and its current contribution to addressing school WASH bottlenecks. In particular, the recommendations consider the following trends, which are shaping the overall strategy of WaterAid India:

Table 9: Key organisational trends informing future school WASH programming

District-wide approaches	After a two-year piloting phase, WaterAid India is now gradually mainstreaming district wide approaches countrywide. Upcoming school WASH projects will increasingly be situated in programmes seeing WaterAid India engage at district level and strengthening the capacity of key stakeholders from the grassroots to district and state levels.
Support to government-led programmes	The thrust of the Government towards improved school WASH services is likely to influence the nature of the contribution made by WaterAid India. Addressing inequities in the delivery of services will probably remain a priority, simultaneously allowing the organisation to perfect its models in challenging contexts. Yet the added value of WaterAid India to the sector will probably increasingly become one of technical support to government agencies delivering school WASH services at scale, through the provision of technical guidance, and the development of capacities and leadership within departments of education and panchayati raj institutions. Gradually, as noted by a representative of UNICEF, WaterAid India will need to move from intervening in 100-300 schools in the remotest areas to supporting the states delivering services there.
Integrated WASH/health/nutrition/menstrual hygiene management approaches	WaterAid India is embracing WaterAid's global trend towards the integration of WASH, health and nutrition. School-based interventions provide much scope for such integration, as the nationwide mainstreaming of handwashing with soap in the midday meal programme shows. WaterAid India recently made inroads into health and nutrition sectors, establishing relationships with key stakeholders and positioning itself as a key WASH stakeholder within the education, health and nutrition sectors.
Rights-based approaches	At global level and in India, work carried out by WaterAid is increasingly framed under rights frameworks, such as child rights or the Human Right to Water and Sanitation.

^x E.g. in the design of the approach, in the planning process, and to establish transparency and accountability mechanisms



Addressing school WASH under the banner of the Right to Education, which makes clear provision for school WASH, would allow WaterAid India to join forces (at advocacy and service delivery level) with other organisations striving for a better learning environment in schools (e.g. on nutrition, health, gender, and school governance fronts) as a condition for quality education.

Caveat: some of the following recommendations emerge from the analysis of the model developed and implemented by WaterAid India in Mysore and Raichur districts in the state of Karnataka. Key lessons derived from this very successful model are presumably valuable for all school WASH practitioners working throughout India. The relevance of some principles and practices will vary according to the circumstances prevailing in each state.

8. Recommendations

8.1. Recommendations for WaterAid country strategies

8.1.1. Foreword

The scope of this research is broad. Two overarching recommendations emerge, which reflect the need to address school WASH bottlenecks both at the macro and micro levels.

a) Macro-level influences

The study shows how top-level political will can invigorate major momentum around school WASH. High-level commitment to ambitious targets can result in unbalanced approaches exclusively focused on hardware provision. Given the autonomy of state government in the field of education, state-level policies and the quality of leadership at state (and district) level are very significant macro influences too. The relevance of these policies and the extent to which this leadership permeates in the system, fostering the engagement of Department of Education staff at district, block and cluster levels have a strong bearing on the buy-in of school management for the school WASH agenda.

As noted, monitoring and planning processes are deficient and the training of Department of Education staff on school WASH is yet much perfectible. These represent structural obstacles to an effective delivery of school WASH at scale. Budgetary decisions made at national and state levels, and the timely disbursement of funds, also affect the development and maintenance of facilities across the country. Other influences lie well beyond what schools can address by themselves, such as the biased nature of bidding procedures applied at district level, or the influence of teachers' unions on school governance and teachers' absenteeism.

b) Micro-level influences

At the local level, this study stresses how widespread mistrust towards school-based programmes, backward social norms and a low level of interest in school WASH work often make the implementation of school WASH programmes challenging. It highlights the sheer influence of the human and social capital of School Management Committee members on the capacity of schools to take ownership of their development. This research also suggests that parents' engagement is less constrained by economic factors than by cultural and leadership issues, and a lack of meaningful opportunities to engage. The attitudes of



headteachers and teachers have a significant bearing on school dynamics. The quality of school links with local authorities and committees also affect the resources available to complement regular grants. Finally, local natural and geographical circumstances influence access to water (in sufficient quantity and quality), as well as the availability of building material and operation and maintenance inputs.

8.1.2. Overarching recommendations

a) Keep influencing policies and practices to enhance the enabling environment

The findings reported in Section 6.1 and the above listing of the key macro factors influencing the outcomes of school WASH work all indicate the need to keep strengthening the enabling environment at national, state and district levels. Sustainable progress at scale requires the Government to devise appropriate school WASH strategies and programmes (combining state-of-the-art hardware and software components), and consistent planning and budgeting informed by a more robust monitoring system. This implies building capacities of a range of stakeholders, and increasing their accountability.

The support provided by UNICEF, WaterAid India and other international and national NGOs to the Government at national, state and district levels is instrumental in bringing gradual improvements to the system. Through their advocacy work, policies, norms, systems and practices have all improved.

b) Develop and disseminate approaches fostering local-level commitment for school development

While WaterAid India's ongoing efforts to address school WASH bottlenecks in the enabling environment is much needed, it is critical to realise that this process will be lengthy. Ministries and departments of education are very large organisations, which generally show much inertia and are slow to reform. Depending on individual states it might take five years as a best case scenario, or up to a decade or two, before the ecosystem is enabling. Designing appropriate policies, clarifying roles and responsibilities, devising strategies, addressing budget issues, agreeing on coordination mechanisms, etc. will all take time. Likewise, building stakeholder capacity so that they can fulfil their duties will be time consuming. And it will presumably take even longer to reach the point where the degree of policy enforcement and stakeholder accountability is satisfying. Even then, it is important to recognise that an enabling environment for school WASH may not provide a full guarantee of success at school level.

This research shows that, despite all the detrimental macro and micro influences which may affect them, schools should by no means be considered victims of a disabling environment. WaterAid India and Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement have demonstrated in Mysore district (and in Raichur district under more challenging conditions) that widespread success is possible. Moreover, this success is not only measurable in terms of school WASH performance, but also tends to be reflected in other criteria listed under the Right to Education (e.g. midday meal, presence of a playground and boundary wall/fencing). The model appears particularly relevant for WaterAid India, considering the organisational trend pushing for more WASH-health-nutrition integration. An essential aspect of the holistic approach adopted by WaterAid India and Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement in Mysore and Raichur is that it enhances human and social capital and fosters



institutional development. Successful interventions are generally associated with good school governance, a precious outcome from the perspective of quality education.

The success achieved in Mysore by WaterAid India and Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement is outstanding. The sustainability of the outcomes is unprecedented, in the experience of the author. WaterAid India certainly deserves much credit for these results, which reflects their expertise and dedication. As discussed with various representatives of WaterAid India, the enabling environment of Mysore district is particularly favourable. Similar outcomes are unlikely to be attained in other parts of India and with different implementing partners. However, it appears critical to build on the fundamentals of the WaterAid India- Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement model to design an approach that WaterAid could tailor to the distinct contexts prevailing across India.

8.1.3. Building on WaterAid India-Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement model

a) Fundamentals

According to WaterAid India's senior managers, the success of their model stems from the emphasis put on developing human and social capital amongst core school stakeholders (i.e. students and their representative clubs, headteachers and teachers, parents and School Management Committee members), and the engagement of other stakeholders in their direct sphere of influence, such as: community members, community-based organisations, educations officials and local authorities. Success hinges on strengthening local-level leadership and accompanying the emergence of a genuine collective commitment of school stakeholders towards school development.

Amongst key prerequisites, implementers need to:

- Create confidence community mobilisers must be able to dispel any possible mistrust between themselves and school stakeholders by being respectful, transparent (answering all questions raised by stakeholders), and accountable (being punctual, fulfilling agreed objectives, and being responsive to requests made by stakeholders).
- Build skills a key role of outreach workers is to raise the level of awareness and build the capacity of key stakeholders (headteachers, teachers, School Management Committee members, members of the child parliament) on a number of issues, including school WASH, school governance and School Management Committee roles and responsibilities. Bespoke methodologies foster the effective acquisition of knowledge and skills. Frequent interaction and on-the-job learning considerably favour the development of skills.
- Trigger interest towards greater goals interventions exclusively focused on WASH can hardly trigger significant and unwavering interest from all school stakeholders. Following a holistic approach integrating WASH, health and nutrition amongst other objectives is essential, not only because of its synergetic effects on child health and education, but also because of its benefits to stakeholder engagement.
- . Build collective commitment towards a shared vision creating mutual trust, developing a shared awareness of the problem and triggering interest in holistic solutions all pave the way for the emergence of a collective commitment towards a shared vision amongst local stakeholders. This often proves insufficient however, and preaching by example is generally the way to catalyse the emergence of a sense of shared



responsibility and a willingness to change things amongst local stakeholders. The persistence and accountability of implementers eventually wins the hearts and minds of most school stakeholders.

• Follow a natural growth curve — WaterAid India has transferred to development projects a fine understanding of the importance of respecting natural growth processes, characterised by a long incubation phase followed by a phase of exponential growth. The incubation phase is mainly dedicated to communications, awareness raising, capacity building and empowerment, and learning. During the very progressive growth phase, schools are allowed to progress at their own pace, and early successes are propagated through exposure visits. Graduation scales are used to facilitate project phase out.

b) Constraints of the WaterAid India-Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement model for its replication and scaling up throughout India

• Quality of engagement – building collective commitment towards a shared vision for the school can be a long and challenging process, the success of which depends in good part on the skills, values and attitude of implementers. Outreach workers are required, which has a profile allowing for rich interactions to develop with school and community stakeholders. During special events, such as the launch of the project, the achievement of critical milestones, or an awards celebration, support from their managers is needed, who can demonstrate leadership skills and convening power (notably to ensure officials can attend and bring gravitas).

WaterAid India excels in the art of community and school engagement. Securing the same quality of engagement from implementing partners across India is a first constraint. WaterAid India themselves, who pay great attention to the skills and attitude of the community mobilisers they recruit, sometimes experience challenges in forming high-quality project teams in new areas of intervention.

- **Time –** engagement needs to be frequent and extended in time. Its intensity needs to vary to allow the emergence of a genuine shared commitment following a natural growth process. This has significant implications on the budget and timeframe of programmes.
- Tailored approach finally, an important ingredient of success lies in the capacity of the implementing partner to create genuine interest amongst stakeholders. Combining WASH, health and nutrition activities proves very helpful in that respect, and implies that the implementing organisation can form versatile project teams. The more tailored the nature and the sequencing of activities to the actual needs and context of each school, the more likely the project will generate buy-in. Planning tailored integrated approaches is of course much more complex than planning standard WASH interventions.

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^y All schools are simultaneously engaged in the incubation phase. The growth phase follows a demandresponsive approach whereby more inputs are directed in priority towards the most proactive schools. The other schools are given the time they need to mobilise the community, reflect upon the opportunity provided by the programme and build confidence in the process, cohesion, and a shared vision (facilitation can be the main input at this stage). Focus group exchanges and exposure visits are organised during inter-school and inter Gran Panchayat events to help propagate success and showcase its underlying attribute (e.g. sense of ownership, commitment, and good governance).



c) Suggested mechanism to support replication and scaling up throughout India

A first objective for WaterAid India consists in improving the impact of its school-based interventions implemented throughout India with NGO partners of varying levels of expertise. Increasingly, though, WaterAid India's focus will shift towards supporting state and district governments in the design and implementation of their own programmes. Such support will probably involve more technical guidance, capacity building, research and learning than actual contribution to service delivery.

WaterAid India can build on its success in Mysore to develop a model adapted to these two different scenarios. This model needs to embed as much as possible the fundamentals of the WaterAid India-Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement model, but trade-offs are inescapable. In the short term, the enabling environment prevailing under both scenarios will presumably be less favourable than that encountered in Mysore. But circumstances are evolving in an encouraging manner: as noted in Section 6, many states are taking measures to allocate specific resources for school WASH operation and maintenance, and in some regions school WASH certification schemes are being introduced.

The most significant trade-off identified relates to the quality of the stakeholder engagement process: replicating the model with NGO partners in other regions or helping the Government scale it up will often imply lowering one's expectations with regard to the quality of engagement of school and stakeholder by project teams. The lower capacity of the staff appointed by NGO partners or the Government – in terms of expertise, attitude, resources, availability, compared to WaterAid India – will indubitably reduce the effectiveness of interventions in this area so critical to success: loss in the quality of stakeholder engagement indeed directly affects the emergence of the shared commitment needed to catalyse transformative change in schools.

A mechanism has been developed by Partnerships in Practice Ltd., which can be plugged onto the WaterAid India-Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement model and compensate for this loss in the quality, frequency and continuity of engagement. This mechanism, described in detail in Annex A, is an ICT-based, PPP-wise inter-school competition, which operates as a playful system of monitoring and incentives catalysing the development of human and social capital on dimensions jointly selected by the school and community.

d) Further observations

An option amongst others – the above mentioned mechanism is one suggestion of how WaterAid India could increase the impact of its school-based interventions throughout India with NGO partners. It also provides insights into how WaterAid India could support state and district governments in the design and implementation of their own programmes. This concept is one attempt amongst many others to cope with current school WASH bottlenecks.

Monitoring and incentives – beyond the need to integrate the fundamentals of WaterAid India-Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement model, it is recommended that the approach chosen by WaterAid India is to incorporate existing certification schemes or put in place



reward and (multi-level) monitoring systems, in the context of a competition or otherwise. This has been underlined by conversations held with numerous stakeholders.

Focus on school governance – strengthening school governance is a priority challenge to address. As highlighted by informants on several occasions, WaterAid India efforts need to increasingly focus on addressing this bottleneck. At the very least, school WASH initiatives should be packaged as programmes simultaneously promoting a better learning environment and strengthening leadership, commitment and accountability amongst school and community stakeholders.

Through its integrated school-community WASH approaches, WaterAid India is in a good position to strengthen school-community links, which are critical to reinforcing school governance. School Management Committee empowerment is a key objective, which calls for more than mere awareness raising and training sessions, and requires on-the-job training. Ideally, NGOs should accompany School Management Committees in the preparation of their school development plans, and coach them in the implementation of *successive* projects (e.g. the building of a boundary wall, the construction of a handwashing station and the enforcement of school WASH operation and maintenance protocol, the refurbishment of toilets, the expansion of the kitchen garden and upgrading of sport facilities...). Significant time is needed to gradually increase the confidence and autonomy of School Management Committees. Ideally, this process needs to follow a small doable action approach, and be combined with appropriate incentive mechanisms.

Reconcile equity concerns and merit-based approaches – allowing schools to progress at their own pace is essential. Few schools typically prove responsive initially, which depends on school leadership, agenda and other circumstances. Following a phase of mobilisation and awareness creation targeting all schools, the most proactive should be accompanied first. Pioneer schools will become models for those lagging behind. Fundamentally, there is a need to reconcile equity concerns and principles with the value of merit-based approaches. It is important to avoid the perverse effects of so-called demandresponsive approaches, where requirements put on schools and communities to substantiate their demand are often merely formalities, or easily achievable conditions, which do not guarantee genuine engagement and commitment.^z

8.1.4. Recommendation for advocacy work

The capacity of WaterAid India to generate targeted evidence from research activities and school WASH models is commendable, and can be most instrumental in continuing to influence policies at national and state levels. The studies recently conducted on **menstrual hygiene management** and **school WASH operation and maintenance** and the pilottesting of more **inclusive toilet designs** are examples of activities contributing to advocacy work in important areas, where such work needs to be pursued.

School WASH monitoring and planning – is another area identified as a bottleneck in the study. WaterAid India could promote better practices in the Department of Education by

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² Merit-based approaches imply treating equitably every school/community, giving them the same opportunity to engage at start, but adjusting inputs to level of engagement and commitment. A working assumption is that success in model (pioneer, fast-responding) schools can be propagated to less proactive schools through exposure visits and focus groups exchanges.



demonstrating the added value of planning on the basis of an analysis of robust monitoring data and information contained in genuine school development plans.^{aa}

Sector performance review – as state governments develop more ambitious and sophisticated school WASH policies, systems, strategies and programmes, WaterAid India could bring its technical expertise to support the Government through a sub-sector performance review analysing gaps at policy, programme design and implementation level. Some of the states currently taking proactive budgetary measures to support school WASH operation and maintenance may welcome such independent feedback, which may showcase their willingness to serve more efficiently and their support to the Right to Information. WaterAid India would probably benefit from joining forces with other national and/or local partners to undertake this exercise.

Networks, **forums** – it makes much sense for WaterAid India seek to establish networks and forums at national and state level to rally organisations working on WASH, health, nutrition, menstrual hygiene management and other areas relevant to the quality of the learning environment and the Right to Education Act. Establishing a working group under the Right to Education forum may be relevant. It would be essential that the working group states the improvement of school governance as the core objective common to all members.

Capacity building – WaterAid India's experience in building the capacities of teachers and officials from the Department of Education and local government can be leveraged to provide state and district government with technical guidance on their training programmes.

8.2. Recommendations for WaterAid India re. school WASH programming process

8.2.1. Relevant tools

Aspects of the methodology applied to this research appears relevant to a school WASH programming process. In particular, the exercises and assessments carried out during the workshop, if conducted during longer sessions allowing more in-depth analysis and exchange, may prove very relevant.

- Mapping stakeholders strategically appears to be a good starting point to distinguish key stakeholders to engage in programmes amongst the myriad of organisations and individuals with a stake in school WASH (see section below).
- 2. Carrying out an enhanced school WASH bottleneck analysis on the three components of the school WASH bottleneck analysis tool, building on existing material (such as this report, and other documents listed in references).
- 3. **Prioritising issues to address** amongst the bottlenecks identified.
- 4. Carrying out a power analysis on selected issues.

8.2.2. The Golden Triangle

The district-level workshop organised in Mysore on 23 Dec 2015, and which brought together around 40 stakeholders active at school, community, cluster, block and district

^{aa} As noted SDPs are often considered as a mere formality. But interventions with an extended time frame provide the opportunity to build the skills of SMC members and have them realise the value of using SDP as a useful tool supporting the development of their school.



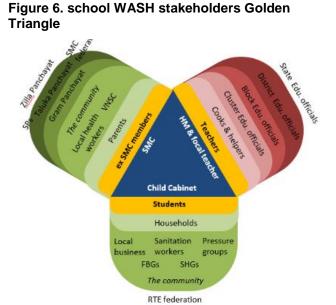
level, led to interesting insights regarding school WASH roles and responsibilities. The general awareness of participants on school WASH stakeholders and their respective roles and responsibilities appeared particularly high. The stakeholder mapping was impressively comprehensive and clear, and stakeholders' roles (both formal and informal) were defined very specifically. bb

In this research, listing school WASH stakeholders and their respective roles and responsibilities constitutes a logical starting point towards assessing their accountability and exploring the underlying issues explaining low levels of compliance, transparency and responsiveness. But in the Indian context, this list proved so vast and complicated to process and to use, that the need for a visualisation tool emerged: a tool helping organise these stakeholders, and highlighting their relative importance and relationships.

The so-called Golden Triangle of a public education system was used. Referred to by

several informants as a practical model to focus on key dynamics at school level, it consists of a triangle whose sides represent parents, teachers and students. Each side of the triangle requires individual attention and has its own needs, unique resources and contributions. The country visit allowed exploring how to make use of it in the context of school WASH work. It was found that this triangle is most useful when enhanced by adding spheres of influences bound to each side of the triangle.

The visualisation tool presented in Figure 6 is as yet very tentative, but nonetheless appears useful to organise a relatively complex set of stakeholders (not totally unpacked here) around the teacher/School



Management Committee/parent-student trio. Building commitment amongst these core stakeholders is most critical to achieving sustainability of school WASH programmes. This is particularly true in the absence of a very supportive enabling environment, and until each stakeholder of the complex school WASH puzzle effectively fulfils its responsibilities. cc

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bb As noted before, Mysore has been particularly exposed to WASH and school WASH intervention and presents a very enabling environment. The shared understanding witness in the room is not representative of the awareness that may prevail in a similar group from a different State.

The government and its partners are working on strengthening the coherence and functionality of the system and will gradually ensure that all stakeholders comply with their duties. This will take some time before roles are clarified in policies, stakeholders' capacities are built and policies are enforced. In the meantime, WAP and partners need to engage the most school WASH strategic stakeholders. This starts by examining the potential for creating commitment and leadership amongst key local stakeholders, starting with parents, teachers and students, and exploring within their sphere of influence other stakeholders who can contribute to make school WASH a success.



This visualisation tool can facilitate an analysis of the respective characteristics of these core stakeholders (e.g. their school WASH roles, level of engagement, interests, constraints and resources), and mutual relationships (power, influence) in a way that may foster more creativity. It can also stimulate reflection on accountability mechanisms, and the development of leadership from the grassroots to the top.



Annex A - Inter-school competition ISC 2.0

A mechanism has been developed by Partnerships in Practice Ltd., which can be plugged on WaterAid India-Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement model and compensate for this loss in the quality, frequency and continuity of engagement. This mechanism is an ICT-based, PPP-wise inter-school competition, which operates as



a playful system of monitoring and incentives catalysing the development of human and social capital on dimensions jointly selected by the school and community.

This concept encourages all key stakeholders to join forces for the development of their schools following a pathway matching the specific context of the school and its community. It can conveniently integrate the numerous competitions, certification schemes (e.g. UNICEF's Three Star approach) and reward scheme (Vidyalaya Purushkar) already institutionalised in some States.

The inter-school-competition 2.0 concept (see a practical description in Table 10) has been presented and discussed with project management team of Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement, members of WaterAid India team in Bangalore and in New-Delhi. Preliminary discussions suggest that the concept might be very well suited to complement the existing WaterAid India-Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement model, replicate and scale it up in circumstances less favourable than those which have prevailed in Mysore. The concept, which fosters WASH-Health-Nutrition-MHM integration and is ideally implemented as a district-wide-approach, is aligned with WaterAid India organisational trends.

ISC. 2.0 avoids perverse incentives^{dd}. It proposes an incentive scheme rewarding merit, progress and excellence on dimensions of human potential development which are meaningful for students, teachers and the wider community. The concept relies on the development of a new type of PPP between the DoE and private sector partners, such as national and international companies, foundations.

Section 6.1.3.c shows that there is a willingness of private sector to support school WASH. CSR is here to stay. But the practice consisting in spending CSR funds in the "parachuting" of latrines often doomed to expand the latrine cemeteries in school backyard needs to stop. It shall give way to more meaningful forms of engagement, shifting from a purely philanthropic to a more strategic CSR agenda, providing much higher value for money, and responding to the increasing demand of younger generations of CSR managers to contribute meaningfully to social causes rather than to merely target short term visibility objectives.

The private sector can contribute to school WASH in meaningful ways and support national efforts towards education for all and quality education. ISC 2.0 proposes one way to do it

^{dd} Perverse incentives can lead stakeholders to pursue the rewards whilst losing track of the real goal.



and may inspire alternative approaches. In all cases, there is a need for enlightened and experienced organisations such as WaterAid to help broker a new generation of partnerships a) sufficiently attractive to the private sector to keep it sustainably engaged, b) aligned with the moral and ethical standards of NGOs, c) responding to the demands from civil society (e.g. Forum) and d) respectful of the deontological principles held by DoE.

The main features of the Inter-school Competition 2.0 concept are presented in Table 10 below. Alternatively, the reader can watch the online video presentation of ISC 2.0.

Table 10: ISC 2.0 explained.



- 1 Schools select a set of light-touch activities, tailored to age groups, supporting the curriculum and matching local needs. WASH activities and school Governance activities (e.g. school Development Plan) are mandatory and weighted more heavily. These activities must be strongly supported by all stakeholders:
- They need to be selected by the school AND the community (e.g. involving the SMC, traditional and religious leaders, self-help groups)
- They must be tailored to the local context (e.g. enhancing local life skills), foster productive community-school interaction and boost girls' leadership (e.g. through women's cooperatives).
- They need to reinforce the curriculum, support the MoE and match teachers' interests (a few light-touch activities – no extra burden)
- They can be coordinated by a focal teacher and member of the Child Parliament as needed.



2 Private partners (e.g. MNEs, domestic companies, foundations) sponsor activities matching their core business and CSR interests. They collectively bear the cost of a secretariat for the competition, hosted by the DoE at district level and assisted by a local NGO.

Physical meetings (sponsored) are held on special days, as usual. In addition, ISC 2.0 uses ICTs to enhance school interaction by:

- Keeping the spirit of competition alive all year long
- Providing continuous incentives for stakeholder engagement





3 Mobile phones are used to send and receive information: the secretariat dispatches instructions for activities to head teachers (HT) who report back activity results to the secretariat. The data exchanged consists of text, pictures or sound files, depending on activities.

The secretariat sends back activity scores and rankings to head teachers and SMC members. Head teachers update scores and rankings on a dashboard* visible to school and community members. Cluster, Block and District-level officials are emailed a monthly digest with alerts. * (c.f. the transparency board recommended in Education for All)



4 Repeated positive feedback helps form new habits. ISC 2.0 supports:

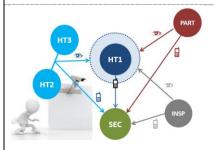
- Excellence by rewarding best performing pupils and schools
- Progression: any progress needs to be supported.
- Official certification schemes (e.g. Three Stars approach)



5 Private partners support progress on their chosen activity by providing meaningful incentives encouraging all stakeholders to remain engaged in a virtuous cycle of continuous development:

- · Rewards for pupils, also of interest to parents, and CBOs
- Prizes for schools matching their specific needs and catalyzing further progress on their preferred activities (e.g. instruments and clothes for musicians and dancers, fertilizer, RWH or drip irrigation systems for midday meal gardeners, sport equipment, books etc.)
- Air time, discounts on M-banking services and other prizes for school staff, community & district stakeholders.

An awards ceremony rewards the champions at school, community, cluster, block and district level.



6 A multi-level monitoring system prevents cheating. *Examples*:

- 1. Self-monitoring (HT, SMC, Child Parliament report to secretariat)
- Peer review (head teachers or SMC from neighboring schools)
- 3. Partner review (unannounced visits, randomly selected sample)
- Officials visits (regular visit by cluster resource persons and official inspection once or twice annually as mandated)







7 ISC 2.0 runs for typically 4-5 years, a period long enough to allow new habits to take roots within schools, for confidence and cohesion to emerge, and for shared visions to manifest gradually.

This long timeframe combined with a small, doable action approach provide repeated opportunities for on-the-job training of SMC members who see their skills (e.g. project management, technical skills, financial management, oversight skills) and confidence improve.

School governance is strengthened. School Development Plans are used to sequence improvements according to agreed priorities. Progress in the compliance of each school with the Act is tracked as part of the SDP. The extent to which SDPs inform the district level Annual Working Plan & Budget is monitored.



Annex B - TOR

Background

These terms of reference relate to a programme of research and advocacy on school WASH, initiated by WaterAid's East Africa and South Asia regional teams. It sits in the context of WaterAid's well-established school WASH work in eight countries of the two regions^{ee}, and a recent grant by H&M Foundation to extend this work. It also sits in the context of WaterAid's Global Strategy, Programmatic Approach, District-wide Approach, Framework documents, Country Strategies and Evaluations.

Aim

To set out a systematic process by which WaterAid can design and improve its strategies and approaches for school WASH

Objectives

- 1.Review and deepen existing school WASH bottleneck analyses (school WASH BATs) or in the case of countries with no such analysis undertake them. Focus on detailed description of the BAT components and explanation of underlying causes of strengths and weaknesses. Explicitly include review of country monitoring system and indicators.
- 2.Analyse WaterAid country programme activities, and as far as possible the work of other organisations, and the extent to which they address school WASH needs and weaknesses.
- 3.In the course of the work, highlight examples of good practice and promising innovations. Also identify unsuccessful approaches which should be avoided in the interventions of WaterAid and / or other organisations.

- 4.Recommend modifications to existing WaterAid school WASH strategies and approaches, based on the analyses undertaken and clearly articulated reasoning which is harmonised across the two study regions.
- 5.Recommend ways of strengthening the existing Bottleneck Analysis Tool and make other recommendations relevant to the work.

General approach

The research will be undertaken through a combination of country-level document reviews, key informant and group interviews, stakeholder workshops, and field visits in an indicative programme as follows:

Preparation

- Development of generic themes / questions framework by stakeholder group (0.5 day)
- Document review and pre-visit planning – 2-3 days

Country visits

Ocument y viole	
Activity	Days
Briefing with WA team	1 – 1.5
and planning	
National Key Informant	1 – 1.5
interviews	
National workshop	1
Field visits	4-5
State/Provincial	1
workshop	
Workshop with WA staff	1
and partners	
Reporting	2
Total	11 – 13

School visits - purpose

A small number (approximately 5) of visits (a) to explore bottlenecks and practices at school and community level, (b) to give legitimacy to the discussions with national and local stakeholders, and (c) to facilitate

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^{ee} In East Africa: Ethiopia, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. In South Asia: Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan.

discussions with school management, students and communities. These visits are not intended to generate a body of statistically representative data, but to understand the potential challenges and opportunities viewed at that level. The schools visited should be ones which were the subject of an intervention by WaterAid at least 2 years ago. Selection of schools should be purposive, where possible focusing on

- High performing schools in the public sector.
- A mix of rural and urban, large and small.
- A mix of interventions in which (a) the entry point has been the school, and (b) the entry point has been the wider community.

Deliverables

- Draft desk report at least one week prior to the relevant country visit (in note form, taking account of existing BAT, baseline and other relevant country documentation, max 5pp).
- Research protocol for each country, including:
 - Planned itinerary, including key informants
 - Research framework specific to the country
 - Semi-structured interview guides specific to the country
- Draft country reports (four, guide length 20-25pp excluding summary and Annexes).
- Final country reports (4)

Timescale

Target completion of all final country reports 31 December 2015.

Inputs

WaterAid will provide the following:

 Contact details of country focal person(s)

- WaterAid general documentation, namely:
 - Global Strategy
 - Programmatic Approach
 - District-wide Approach
 - Frameworks
 - H&M Foundation Programme Summary
 - All relevant country documentation, including
 - Policy documents of Ministries of Education, Health and Water which refer to school WASH
 - Laws, guidelines and standards related to school WASH
 - Documentation of Educational Management Information Systems (EMIS) and monitoring indicators and data
 - Sector Performance Reports
 - school WASH plans, budgets, targets
 - WaterAid Country Programme Evaluations
 - WaterAid Country Strategy Papers
 - WaterAid Annual Reports for last 3 years
 - WaterAid current Multi-year Plan and Budget
 - WaterAid school WASH research and monitoring reports
- All in-country arrangements for meetings, field visits and workshops.

The maximum person-days per research consultant is set at 70 days

Other requirements

The consultant is required to keep a record of time devoted to the programme, and to invoice for time spent up to the maximum days payable. Receipts must be submitted for all reimbursable expenses.

Payment milestones

- Up to 10 days fees on completion of four desk reports and research protocols
- Up to 14 days fees plus expenses against receipts on submission of each

draft country report (total 56/70 days in up to 4-5 tranches)

• 4 days on submission of final reports after one round of comments

Country report structure

Pages	Section	Responsibility			
1	Background	RCC			
1.5	WaterAid context	RCC			
2	Country context	JT			
0.5	Research aim and objectives From TOR				
1	Specific methodology (including limitations in each country)				
10	Findings in relation to Enabling, Developing, Sustaining	JT			
1	Rationale for recommendations	JT, RCC			
4	Recommendations • For WA country strategies • For WA regional strategies • For the BAT • Other	JT			
	 Annexes A – TOR B – Itinerary C – Informants/contact details D – Reports of KI interviews, visits, workshops 	JT			

In addition, each country report will be supplemented by a 2-4 page easy-to-read summary illustrated with 'voices from the field', photographs and analysis.



Annex C – Itinerary

Date/Location	Time		Table/A addition
	From	То	Task/Activity
Mon 16 Nov	09:00	17:00	Individual meeting with school WASH stakeholders including Gov official not attending Tue afternoon meeting
Delhi	13:00	14:00	 K.Girija Shankar and Avaneesh Tripathi (EdCil India, Technical Support Group to Education for All, Government of India (TBC) - India Habitat Centre
Tue 17 Nov	10:00	10:45	Intro meeting with WA India team
Delhi	10:45 14:00	12:00 17:00	 Discussion with Research and Policy team (on analytical framework and last minute changes on schedule) Working meeting with selected pool of national level school WASH stakeholders (e.g. Mr. RK Srinivasan (Plan) – confirmed: Mr. Satyanarayan Ghosh (Water For people); Mr. Asad Umar (Aga Khan foundation); Ms. Trupti Ashtankar (Save the Children); Mr. Ambarish Rai (forum); Mr. Ranajit Bhattacharya (Annual Status of Education Report Centre, PRATHAM).
Wed 18 Nov	11:00	12:00	Meeting with Save the Children
Delhi >	12:30	13:30	• Meeting with Dr Jaffer, school Project Director, Education for All (Government of India Education for All
Bangalore	13:30	14:00	programme)
	14:30	16:00	Meeting with CEE (Center for Environment Education) office
			Meeting with Ramasamy Krishna State Consultant –WASH KRWSSA – UNICEF
Thu 19 Nov	11:00	12:30	Brief presentation from WaterAid India (WaterAid India's NGO partner)
Bangalore >	13:30	15:00	• Meetings with WaterAid India (continued): learning from completed programme in Mysore and recently
Saragur	15:00	16:00	launched school WASH programme in Raichur
	16:00	17:30	Travel to Mysore Meeting with District Education official
Fri 20 Nov	09:30	16:00	Meetings with Block Education Officer, resource centre person and teachers.
Mysore			· Visit of two schools (including in-depth visit/discussions in one very successful classroom) – including
•	19:30	20:30	sandwich lunch Meeting with Manoj Kumar, assistant secretary Zilla Panchayat Mysore
Sat 21 Nov	09:00	13:00	· Visits to 2-3 schools (including one in-depth visit in one very successful classroom). Urban/rural mix of schools
Mysore			amongst the 5 schools Afternoon study time: Consultant analyses data from week 1 and prepares district workshop



Mon 23 Nov Mysore	10:00	16:30 22:30	 District-level workshop 25-30 participants (30 max including ourselves) including: school and community representatives (e.g. head teachers x4, SMC members x4) Local government representatives (e.g. VDC members, Panchayat), as relevant (4) Block and District officials: e.g. Block Education staff (officer, cluster resource, teacher (a total of 6)) from two Blocks for instance, but also relevant representatives from Min. of Drinking Water and Sanitation (2) as well as Min of Health (2); NGO representatives from Bangalore, local and international, with school WASH experience (6) Feedback meeting with Hemalatha WaterAid India
Tue 24 Nov Bangalore			 Tele-con with Mamita Bora school WASH expert, UNICEF India Second meeting with Dr Jaffer, school Project Director, Education for All (Government of India Education for All programme)
Wed 25 Nov Bangalore > Delhi	9:00	17:00	Morning: departure to Delhi (Time TBC) Afternoon: Integration of workshop data
Thu 26 Nov Delhi	13:00 17:00	14:00 18:00	Optional face-to-face meeting(s) with national informant and/or WaterAid India staff with Rajeev K.J., Regional Manager at WaterAid Meeting with Ms. Rina Ray, Additional Secretary, Department of school Education and Literacy, Ministry of HRD, Govt. of India Preparation of feedback meeting including drafting of preliminary findings and
Fri 27 Nov Delhi	10:00	12:30	Feedback meeting with WaterAid India staff



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