Baseline Survey of Bhopal District, Madhya Pradesh

Minority Concentrated Districts Project

Ministry of Minority Affairs, Government of India

Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi

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CONTENTS

I Executive Summary

1. Introduction

1.1 Objectives of the Survey

1.2 Madhya Pradesh: A Socio-Economic and Demographic Profile

1.3 Bhopal: A Sketch of the Field

2. Methodology

2.1 Sampling Design

2.2 A Multistage Sampling

2.3 Locating the Survey: Underlining the Complexities of a Metropolitan

3. Income and Employment

3.1 Poverty level

3.2 Employment and Occupation

3.3 Access to Loans

4. Education

4.1 Literacy and Educational Level

4.2 Schooling

4.3 School Infrastructure

5. Infrastructure and Amenities

5.1 Water and Electricity

5.2 Sanitation and Cleanliness

5.3 Public Transport

5.4 Access to open Public Spaces

5.5 Health

6. Development Schemes: Awareness and Benefits

6.1 Public Distribution System

6.2 Development Schemes for Family Welfare

7. Migration

7.1 Extent of Migration

7.2 Reasons for Migration

8. Issues of Security and Conflict

8.1 Communal Conflict in the District

8.2 Insecurity and Conflict

Executive Summary

Bhopal: A Sketch of the Field

In terms of its area, Bhopal, the city of lakes, is second largest one in Madhya Pradesh after Indore. The city is divided into two major areas, the old and the new city. Muslim population of the city is largely concentrated in old city most of whom find employment opportunities from certain small scale industries. The district is highly urbanized with nearly 80% of its population marked as urban; it also has a sizeable chunk of the population residing in villages many of whom retain their rural characteristics. Administratively, the district of Bhopal is divided into two subdivisions, Berasia and Huzur. Of this, Huzur, is more urbanised with nearly 90 % of its population residing in urban areas. Most of Berasia subdivision is rural comprising of nearly 285 villages. Minority religious groups together comprise close to 26% of the district's population. In terms of their population share, Muslims constitute the principal community among the religious minorities of Bhopal. Despite their predominance, Muslims seem too have lagged behind all other groups. This is made obvious by their relatively poor performance in literacy. Yet Muslim literacy in Bhopal is higher than their literacy rate computed nationally. Amongst minority groups, Jains and Christians together with Sikhs have near total literacy.

Development Deficits in Bhopal District, MP

Sl No	Indicators	Survey results 2008	All India (2005)	Gap between All India and District	Priority ranking
		1	2	3 = 1-2	4
	Socio-economic indicators				
1	Rate of literacy	74.3	67.3	7	7
2	Rate of female literacy	69.3	57.1	12.2	6
3	Work participation rate	33.1	38.0	- 4.9	3
4	Female work participation rate	15.01	21.5	-6.49	2
II					
	Basic Amenities indicators				
5	Percentage of households with pucca walls	46.3	59.4	-13.1	5
6	Percentage of households with safe drinking water**	68.8	87.9	-19.1	1
7	Percentage of households with electricity	83.7	67.9	15.8	10
8	Percentage of households with water close set latrines	58.38	39.2	19.18	9
III					

	Health Indicators				
9	Percentage of fully vaccinated children	24.9	43.5	-18.6	4
10	Percentage delivered in a health facility	74.16	38.7	35. 46	8

Note: (1) Survey data of the district (Col. 1) pertains to rural area only, but other data (Col.2) pertains to total. (2) Data in Col 2 from Sl. No. 5 to 8 pertain to year 2005-06 from NFHS-3 and the rest of the data in Col. 2 pertain to the year 2004-05 from NSSO

Methodology

The methodology adopted was both quantitative as well as qualitative. The primary data was collected through pre-designed and largely pre-coded interview schedules, administered by research investigators hired for the purpose. In the absence of religion wise demographic composition for units smaller than sub-divisions, voter lists of all the constituencies of district were mapped to calculate the religion wise voter population percentage. Thus voter lists constituted our sampling frame.

For the purpose of survey, 600 households were sampled from 30 different polling stations all across the district by the multistage random sampling method. At level- I, The polling stations were segregated into three strata *viz*. Category I, II and III in proportion to their minority population:

Localities with minority concentration between 0 to 25 %: Category I
Localities with minority concentration between 25 to 75 %: Category II
Localities with minority concentration 75% and above: Category III

Income and Employment

Significantly, the data from minority concentrated areas report a relatively lower proportion in the manufacturing units. On the other hand, their section in the primary sector, here farming, is disproportionately higher than the other groups. The tertiary sector of clerical, administrative, managerial and technical workers is weak in Bhopal district. Workers working from their own dwellings i.e., home based, in category I outnumber the workforce from mixed and minority concentrated areas. On the contrary, the workers of Category II and III areas largely work from employer's dwelling or enterprise.

The Survey attempted to address the issue of underemployment by making an assessment of the aspirations of respondents. . The desire to be self-employed was rated highly by the respondents. Salaried jobs that guaranteed a degree of stability in terms of earnings were the next choice that the respondents preferred to exercise. It is noteworthy that all across, there was a summary rejection of caste based hereditary occupations. Amongst those indebted, it was observed that minority groups' dependence on government/ cooperative banks (66% together) was much higher compared to that on the commercial banks. The fact that the research team failed to come across a single person from minority areas who had been able to borrow from commercial/private bank speaks volumes about the functioning of such banks.

Education

Our survey discovered that contrary to state's claim of near total enrollment in school, 7.54 % of the children were not on the rolls. Compared to Category I, enrollment was found to be higher among children residing in Category III areas, however, their presence

is significantly more in informal schools. Madarsa education does not seem to have found much favour as an alternative by the minority households. Only 5.68% of the Category III population between 5-25 years of age had ever attended or were enrolled in Madarsas. Considering the fact that the government schools are better equipped and less cost-bearing, the inclination towards private schools that the survey detected is difficult to explain. Adequate attention is therefore required towards the availability of government schools in minority concentrated areas. The void created by the absence of government schools is filled in by the private schools that the majority amongst the surveyed Category III population had attended.

Unlike other areas, a significant fraction of the population in minority areas had their schooling in Urdu medium schools. At the primary and upper primary level, very few schools have girl toilets and it is alarming to note that nearly a quarter of the secondary schools too depend upon common toilets alone. While other infrastructural facilities have improved, yet much needs to be done to upgrade the quality and content of education.

Infrastructure and Amenities

It is notable that nearly one third of the house types in each category were of katcha khaprail variety. Most of the roads were semi pucca and the few pucca roads were badly in need of repair and maintainance. One fifth of the respondents used public tap in the absence of private taps in their homes. The drinking water quality in minority concentrated localities was far worse than in mixed localities. The electrification was not universal in the district as houses of 16.25 % of the total respondents were not electrified. The results of the survey revealed the poor availability of street light, especially in category I localities where 67.6 % of the households denied having light on their streets. A shocking 95% of the respondents in minority concentrated areas did not have toilet in their houses. Sewage lines were either not laid down or were not functioning satisfactorily. The data clearly showed that drainage facility on the street, too, was reportedly missing on the streets of half of the respondents. The overall position of cleanliness according to more than 90 % of the total respondents was unsatisfactory.

The illness profile of the households showed that incidence of vector borne diseases was higher due to poor sanitation of the area. On the whole, pre natal care fared better than post natal. Government hospitals were used more by category one while category III relied more often on Private medical service. Immunization against diseases other than polio needed to be upgraded. There was very little open space and encroachments on public land were quite common. On an average 85.2 % households in the entire sample denied having any access to a public park Sports facilities were similarly lacking. . In a nut shell, the public infrastructure such as the quality of drinking water, the voltage situation, sanitation and cleanliness, access to good health care and open public spaces needs to be improved on all fronts.

Development Schemes

Not all the households which claimed to have BPL status, however, possessed BPL cards. The mismatch between the claims and the actual card holders was highest for category III and least in category I. Nor does the mere possession of card ensured access to ration in the PDS. Amongst the reasons reported for non availability of ration, insufficient quantity

and dishonesty in measurement were on the top. Irregularity in supply was also felt by a 13.36 % of the respondents.

There are several development schemes run by the state but benefit is not availed by the needy. For instance ICDS which is a flagship programme of the government could benefit only 36.29 % of the women and children of our sample. An analysis of the table revealed the huge gap that existed between awareness and actual benefit with respect to different development schemes. This applied across schemes and across categories though the level of this gap was variable. It is worth noting that National Social Assistance Programme did not benefit anyone in our sample. The % age of beneficiaries for National Old Age Pension Scheme and Total Sanitation Campaign were also comparatively very low. Government must ensure that awareness campaigns are started in category II and category III localities. It also ought to strengthen the existing awareness campaigns to ensure that maximum number of potential benefit seekers could know about various schemes. With regards to PDS, it must provide more centers and at closer distances to ensure that benefits could reach the needy.

Migration

In Bhopal, a total of 521 households from both urban and rural areas, were selected to analyze the pattern of migration into the city. Across all categories, 64.30 % of households were natives of Bhopal, while 35.70 % of households had migrated from elsewhere. Over all, 78 % of migrant households identified employment as the single most significant reason for their migration. The second most important reason that forced people to shift to Bhopal was the abysmal lack of amenities in the native area.

Issues of Security and Conflict

The old city is extremely sensitive to violent outbursts of communalism. Large scale communal strife broke out in Bhopal in 1993 following the demolition of the Babri Mosque. It left nearly 140 dead, majority of them being Muslim. The Survey tried to capture and comprehend the fear and insecurity that these communal skirmishes have instilled in the minds of the residents of Bhopal. The proportion of respondents from minority areas whose families had suffered loss of life and property was considerably higher than those in mixed localities or those staying in the predominantly majority inhabited colonies. The number of families that had to bear the loss of immoveable property, too, was substantially high among the minorities. This has left a pervasive feeling of insecurity amongst the minorities. This could be one reason for the emergence of segregated localities across urban India. During the course of the survey, an attempt was made to comprehend the perceptions about the police force and its role during the outbreak of violence. This again was put into a comparative framework to understand the differentials across categories. The picture that emerges is a complex one. While the residents of the minority dominated areas largely found the police co-operative, but in its handling of communal violence, they felt that the police and the administration were biased against their community. Not many in the majority dominated areas found the police too cooperative in normal circumstances, yet they felt that it operated with a fair degree of impartiality in responding to inter-community clashes.

In a communally charged city such as Bhopal it is imperative that all developmental schemes, particularly those aimed towards uplifting minority groups, take account of the

impending situation so that schemes serve towards mitigating tensions rather than ending up aggravating them. The fact that the minority respondents of Bhopal question the impartiality of the police force and state authorities, especially in situations of inter-community conflicts, makes the task even more challenging.

1. INTRODUCTION

It is worthwhile to mention that the pretext for the present exercise is provided by the Sachar Committee Report on the social, economic and educational status of Muslims in India. Addressing primarily the equity concerns of India's Muslim citizens, the Report attempted at an assessment of the community's performance in the various sectors of the country's economy. Relying primarily on the data made available by the ministries and departments of central and state governments, Census operations, national and state sample surveys, public sector undertakings, universities and other public institutions, the Committee was able to highlight the deficits that various sections of the Muslim community face in terms of their share in public employment, education, commerce and trade, political offices and so forth. Having quantified the shortfall, the Committee laid emphasis on strict adherence to the principles of inclusive development and distributive justice.

1.1 Objectives of the Survey:

The Minority Concentrated Districts Project (MCDP) proposes to identify areas, and more importantly, modes of intervention so as to allow for effective utilization of resources that could reap maximum benefits to the most vulnerable sections of the population. The base line survey of minority concentrated districts is intended to build on and supplement, wherever necessary, the findings of the Sachar Report with reliable primary data collected from sampled villages and localities of the district designated as minority concentrated. At the same time, the Project intends to go a step further. While the brief of the Sachar Report was confined to studying specifically the status of Muslims in India; the MCD Project, is basically an implementation strategy that aims to address development deficits affecting the entire district marked as backward. The units of analyses for this baseline survey are therefore all major socio-religious categories and groups residing within the jurisdiction of the district concerned.

Having said that, it is also important to mention that despite the term minority being a generic one that is used to refer to a plethora of non-Hindu faith communities; the utter preponderance of Muslims among the minority populations of the country together with the specificity of their case, necessitates added attention. In 2001, while Muslims in the country constituted 13.4% of the population, the corresponding figures for Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and others including Parsees and Jews stood at 2.3, 1.9, 0.8 and 0.6 %respectively. The enormity of their population size has not helped them

in appropriating fruits of India's development processes. Thus, in terms of human development, Muslims lag behind all other minority communities of the country. Their literacy rate at the all India level is the lowest at 59.1 when compared to Christians (80.3), Sikhs (69.4), Buddhists (72.7) and Jains (94.1). This seems to have affected their work participation rate too which at 47.4 is also the lowest when contrasted with the national average or the figures returned by other communities (Census 2001). Muslim marginalization and impoverishment along with political disempowerment has paved the way for the emergence of a veritable threat perception among members of the community. It is pertinent, therefore, that strategies aimed at uplifting the minority population focuses itself and takes into account the concerns of India's largest minority.

1.2 The State of Madhya Pradesh: A Socio-economic and Demographic Profile

Madhya Pradesh, often termed the heart of India**,** has Gujarat on its west, Rajasthan on its northwest, Chhattisgarh on its east, Uttar Pradesh on its northeast and Maharashtra on its south. River Narmada, runs nearly 1077 kms across eastern and western territories between the Vindhya and Satpura ranges. The state comprises several culturally distinct regions namely, Malwa plateau in the northwest, Nimar comprising the western portion of Narmada valley, Bundelkhand--a hilly region in the north, Chambal—a mountainous region in the northwest, Baghelkhand that includes the eastern end of the Vindhyas, Mahakaushal comprising the southeastern part and Vindhya and Satpura regions having the most of Narmada valley.

Prior to the bifurcation of the state in the year 2000, Madhya Pradesh was territorially the largest state in the country. Presently, the state covers 308,000 sq. kms, making it, in terms of its size, next only to Rajasthan. The vastness of its size apart, the population concentration seems to be more spread out with the average density of population much below the national average at 196 persons per sq. kms. In terms of its social indicators, Madhya Pradesh does not emerge as a state enjoying any accelerated pace of development unlike its neighbours such as Maharashtra and Gujarat. Urbanization is limited with only 26.5 % urban population--a shade lesser than the national average. The literacy at 63.7 % is also lower than the national average with the gender gap in literacy woefully high (26 %). A high proportion of the state's population, more than one-third, consists of scheduled castes (SC) and scheduled tribes (ST). Major tribes are Gonds, Bhils, Oraons, Korkens, and Kols (Table 1.1). A large part of the tribal population of the state now populates the newly carved out Chhattisgarh.

Table 1.1 a: Basic Demographic Profile of Madhya Pradesh

Population (Census 2001)	6,03,48,000
Scheduled Tribes	19.94 %
Scheduled Castes	15.40 %
Area (in sq. kms.)	308,000

Proportion of Urban Population	26.5%
Districts	50
Tehsils	272
Development Blocks	313
Total villages	55,393
Populated villages	52,143
Gram Panchayats	23,051
Literacy (All)	64.1 percent
Male Literacy	76.5 percent
Female Literacy	50.6 percent
Density of Population	196 per sq. kms.
Sex Ratio	919

Source: Census 2001 and Govt. of MP

About 80% of the population depends on agriculture for its livelihood. The principal crops grown here are rice, wheat, soyabean, rapeseed and mustard. But it is in the matter of pulses, urad, mung, gram and arhar, that Madhya Pradesh leads the others with about one-fifth of the total production of these protein-rich food crops coming from the state. The black soil of the Malwa region is good for cultivation of cotton and some textile mills have also come up because of the availability of cotton. There are many flourishing textile mills in the state and artificial silk manufacturing plants located at Ujjain, Nagda, Indore and Gwalior.

Mainly located in the Vindhyas and the Satpuras, forests are an important source of revenue. Apart from the high quality teak, Sal, an important timber wood, is also available in the state besides bamboo in large quantities. A product of the forests is the tendu leaf used for making beedies. The important minerals of the state are coal, iron, manganese, bauxite, limestone, diamond, marble, sillimanite, ochre etc. Madhya Pradesh has a large deposit of limestone required for the production of cement. The Panna region has a rich diamond bed and is well known for the production of diamonds. Marble is also available in the state in several districts.

Despite the abundance of resources, recent growth patterns in the state have not been promising. In fact, Madhya Pradesh has not only shown a rather dismal annual compound rate of growth of income of only 4.5 per cent between 1993–94 and 2003–04 (at constant 1993–94 prices) as against the national average of 6.2 per cent, but also its compounded annual growth rate of per capita income for the same period stands at 2.3 per cent as against the national figure of 4.4 per cent. The state also has the third highest incidence of poverty as well as the lowest rate of poverty reduction among the major states of India.[1]

According to the state's HDR of 2007, in 1999–2000, 38.5 per cent of urban residents in Madhya Pradesh were BPL. This amounted to nearly 81 lakh persons, and was the highest amongst all states except Orissa in terms of urban poverty. The national poverty ratio was 24.1 per cent at the same time. The low economic growth in the state, particularly in agriculture, forestry, and non-farm rural activities, is responsible for high poverty, both in urban and rural areas of the state, way above the national average.[2]

Table 1.1 b: Population Proportion, Literacy Rate, Work Participation Rate, Sex Ratio by Religion

	ALL	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Sikhs	Buddhists	Jains	Others
Population								
India	100	80.5	13.4	2.3	1.9	0.8	0.4	0.6
Madhya Pradesh	100	91.1	6.4	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.9	0.7
Literacy Rate								
India	64.8	65.1	59.1	80.3	69.4	72.7	94.1	47
Madhya Pradesh	63.7	62.8	70.3	85.8	82.9	74.4	96.2	52.4
Work Participation Rate								
India	51.7	52.4	47.5	50.7	53.3	49.2	55.2	52.5
Madhya Pradesh	51.5	51.7	47.6	48.2	53.8	50.1	53.7	57.1
Sex Ratio								
India	933	931	936	1009	893	953	940	992
Madhya Pradesh	919	918	929	996	882	949	925	1029

In terms of religious distribution of population, an overwhelming majority of the state's population is Hindu constituting more than 91 %. Thus, the combined population of minorities is much lower than the national average. Although Muslims continue to be the largest group among minorities, their population share is dismal. Muslim population in the state is concentrated in certain urban pockets of Bhopal, Indore, Gwalior, Ujjain etc. The sex ratio, seen as number of women per thousand men, among Muslims of Madhya Pradesh follows the national pattern. It is higher than the majority community, yet much below other religious groups such as Christians and Buddhists. But the highest sex ratio is returned by the category 'Other' that probably refers to followers of tribal religions. A high sex ratio means a higher status of women in such communities (Table 1.1 b).

A surprising element is the high literacy rate among Muslims (70.1%) which is higher than the national and sate averages as well as the literacy rate of the majority

community. This suggests that they are largely urban dwellers. However this high literacy figure has not led to greater employment opportunities for Muslims as their work participation remains the lowest when compared to all other communities. This is a matter of concern that requires further investigation (Table 1.1 b).

1.3 Bhopal: A Sketch of the Field

In terms of its area, Bhopal, the city of lakes, is second largest one in Madhya Pradesh after Indore. The city is divided into two major areas, the old and the new city. Muslim population of the city is largely concentrated in old city most of whom find employment opportunities from certain small scale industries such as electrical goods, cotton, chemicals, jewellery, flour mills, cloth weaving and fabric painting, manufacture of transformers, switchgears, traction motors, and other heavy electrical equipment, as well as matches, sealing wax, and sporting goods. Zardozi is the traditional embrodiery that employs large number of home-based workers, many of them women. *Batua,* a small string purse, usually used with Indian traditional dresses is another famous handicraft of Bhopal. There are a large number of garages in the old city in which young Muslim boys work as motor mechanics.

The new city houses offices of state and central government, national banks and insurance companies and residential quarters of middle and high ranking government officials. Bhopal's major commercial area is Maharana Pratap Nagar, which accommodates many business houses such as offices of major hardware and software firms, daily newspaper offices and press, hotels and restaurants, coaching and tuition centers and entertainment.

Table 1.3 a: Population distribution and Household Size across Subdivisions of Bhopal District

Subdivision	Area	Population	Total population	No. of Households	Household Size
Huzur	Rural	1,71,255	1,629,671	29,840	5.7
	Urban	14,58,416		283,176	5.2
Berasia	Rural	189,537	213,839	33,051	5.7
	Urban	24,302		3,994	6.1
Bhopal District	**Rural**	**360,792**	**1,843,510**	**62,891**	**5.7**
	Urban	**1482,718**		**287,170**	**5.2**

Source: Census 2001

Thus, the district is highly urbanized with nearly 80 %of its population marked as urban; it also has a sizeable chunk of the population residing in villages many of whom retain their rural characteristics. Administratively, the district of Bhopal is divided into two subdivisions, Berasia and Huzur. Of this, Huzur, is more urbanised with nearly 90

% of its population residing in urban areas. Most of Berasia subdivision is rural comprising of nearly 285 villages (Table 1.3 a)

Table 1.3b: Population share and literacy rate by religious communities, Bhopal District

Religious Communities	Total Population	Population Share (In %)	Literacy Rate (In %)
Bhopal	1843510	100	74.6
Hindus	1346829	73.05	75.2
Muslims	421365	22.8	70.4
Christians	20429	1.1	94.5
Sikhs	11340	0.6	91.4
Buddhists	20561	1.1	69.1
Jains	22238	1.2	96.0
Others	244	0.01	82.7

Source: Census 2001

Minority religious groups together comprise close to 26% of the district's population. In terms of their population share, Muslims constitute the principal community among the religious minorities of Bhopal. Despite their predominance, Muslims seem too have lagged behind all other groups. This is made obvious by their relatively poor performance in literacy. Yet Muslim literacy in Bhopal is higher than their literacy rate computed nationally. Amongst minority groups, Jains and Christians together with Sikhs have near total literacy.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Sampling Frame

The methodology adopted was both quantitative as well as qualitative. The primary data was collected through pre-designed and largely pre-coded interview schedules, administered by research investigators hired for the purpose. In addition, the team conducted focus group interviews and captured the views and perceptions of targeted groups in a more vivid and detailed manner to enhance the quantitative data. Besides collecting primary data, the team also made use of secondary sources such as Census and Government Reports, reports by non-governmental organizations, research and educational institutions as the background material to develop the context for the study.

A scanning of the secondary data for religion wise population distribution of the localities proved futile. The reason was the non availability of religion wise demographic composition for units smaller than sub-divisions. It was, therefore, decided to map the voter lists of all the constituencies of the district and calculate the religion wise voter population percentage. The voter lists , therefore, constituted our sampling frame.

2.2 Multistage Random Sampling

Multistage Random Sampling was adopted at two levels i.e. the locality and the household respectively. For the purpose of survey, 600 households were sampled from 30 different polling stations all across the district. At level - I, the polling stations were segregated into three strata in proportion to their minority population.
These strata were termed as Category I, II and III depending on their respective concentration of minority:

Localities with minority concentration between 0 to 25 % : Category I

Localities with minority concentration between 25 to 75 %: Category II

Localities with minority concentration 75% and above: Category III

Table : 2.1 List of Sampled Localities and Villages

a. List of Localities

S. No	Name of the locality/Polling Station	Assembly Constituency
1	Piplani	Govindpura
2	Bhanpur	Govindpura
3	Habibiganj	Govindpura
4	T.T. Nagar	Govindpura
5	Abbas Nagar ki Jhuggi	Govindpura
6	Gas Rahat Dawa Nyayalaya	Bhopal South
7	Asha Niketan	Bhopal South
8	Chola Road	Bhopal South
9	Railway Bal Mandir	Bhopal North
10	Kalpana Nagar	Govindpura
11	Sudama Nagar	Bhopal South
12	Ahmedabad Palace	Bhopal North
13	PGBT College Building, Berasia Road	Bhopal North

14	Gas Rahat Work Shade, Seelai Kendra, Berasia Road	Bhopal North
15	MaidaMill, Hoshangabad Road	Bhopal South
16	Noor Mahal Road	Bhopal North
17	New Sindhi Colony	Bhopal North
18	Tila Jamalpur	Bhopal North
19	Barkatullah Smriti Bhawan	Bhopal North

b. List of Villages

S. No	Name of the village	AC
1	Runaha	Berasia
2	Jhirnia Kakar	Berasia
3	Babchiya	Berasia
4	Chanda Saloi	Berasia
5	Kolu Khedi	Fanda
6	Pipalia Hasnabad	Fanda
7	Itkhedi	Fanda
8	Lalariya	Berasia
9	Vagsi	Berasia
10	Semara Kalan	Berasia
11	Gandhi Nagar	Berasia

The localities from each polling station were selected purposively by assigning priority to those localities/colonies wherever the minority concentration was highest in the area under a particular polling station. The next priority was also given to urban villages, if any, within the polling station. We also resorted to over sampling for Category III to ensure adequate representation of the minority concentrated localities in the total sample. In all, 24 urban localities and 8 villages were selected.

At level – II, the sampling of households was done through *cluster quota sampling* by looking at the house numbers in the voter lists and locating clusters of minority populations and non – minority populations. The investigators were given addresses of sampled households in these clusters and were sent to respective localities for data collection with the following instructions:

1. Information must to be collected from households residing in various clusters or

sub-localities within any sampled locality.

2. Diversity must be maintained by the following principles:

   a) if there is one rural cluster, that should be taken as the first cluster.

   b) even if there are more than one rural cluster, only one, would be selected.

4. In clusters having religious homogeneity, not more than two clusters should be selected. There can be an additional rural cluster depending on the situation.
5. In case of heterogeneous localities, at least one rural and one highest minority concentrated cluster to be selected.

The data entry and tabulation of data was also organized in two parts with the help of SPSS. At first the tables for household survey were prepared, followed by tables showing locality profiles. Both were analyzed in unison to arrive at our findings.

3. INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT

3.1 Poverty Level

Madhya Pradesh is largely agricultural with nearly 90% of the rural population employed in primary sector activities such as agriculture, mining and related fields. Majority of the farmers are small cultivators whose income over the years has been declining. Almost one-third of the state's population lives below poverty line. The urban poverty is much higher when compared with that in rural areas. NSSO 61st Round assessed the BPL population in the state at 210.97 lakh comprising 32.4% of the population. Of this, 141.99 lakh or 38.4 % was the share of the poor in the urban areas. The corresponding figure for rural areas was 141.99 lakh or 29.8% of the population. The extent of poverty in the state can also be judged by per capita expenditures. The monthly per capita expenditure (MPCE) of 58.3% of the population living in the villages of MP is less than Rs. 410 and only 4.6% have MPCE of Rs. 890 or more. In urban MP, where prices are higher, the corresponding proportions are 53.5% and 6.7%. The rural condition is appalling as a large proportion, 21.1%, had MPCE less than Rs. 260 per month. Thus almost 98 % of the villagers and 96% of the urban dwellers live on less than Rs. 38.50 per day.

The survey data from Bhopal district suggest a much higher proportion of the population that could be declared as living in impoverished conditions. Table 3.1a shows nearly 75% of the surveyed households returning mean annual income below Rs. 25,000 and another 10 % having yearly income in the range of Rs. 25000-50,000. Thus a total of nearly 85 % per cent of the population manages its living with an annual earning below Rs. 50, 000. Considering the average size of the household in the district is 5.3, the per capita monthly income thus calculated is near about close to the

poverty line declared by the Planning Commission for the state of Madhya Pradesh in 2004-05.

The surveyed population across categories displays almost uniform economic profile. There is a very high frequency of occurrence at the level of the poorest group earning less than 25000 annually, while a very small proportion fall in the affluent or middle income category. While category I and III are identical in this regard, category II seems to be populated almost entirely by the poorest category (Table 3.1a).

Table 3.1 a: Annual Household Income

Income groups	Categories I	Categories II	Categories III	All Categories
Uptill 25000	70.88	98.63	69.62	75.29
25000-50000	11.58	1.37	12.66	10.07
50000-75000	10.53	0.00	6.33	8.01
75000-100000	3.16	0.00	6.33	3.20
100,000 & Above	3.86	0.00	5.06	3.43

3.2 Employment and Occupation

The 2001 Census recorded 42.8% worker population in Madhya Pradesh of which 31.7 % were main workers working for more than six months in a year, the rest were marginal workers. The proportion of non-workers was alarmingly high at 57.2 %. Compared to the state's average, the employment scenario in Bhopal district was even worse with only 27.2 % main workers, and nearly 5% as marginal workers. Following the national trend, the gender inequity in employment remained appalling both, in the state, as well as, the district in particular. A higher worker proportion in rural area dispels the popular notion that urbanization coupled with industrialization necessarily brings in economic prosperity. This indicates that despite the opening up of the economy, the task of creating new employment opportunities has remained unfulfilled (Table 3.2 a & 3.2 b)

Table 3.2 a: Main and Marginal Workers

	Main Workers			Marginal Workers		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Madhya Pradesh	31.7	44.7	17.5	11.1	6.8	15.8
Rural	33.3	45.1	20.6	13.8	7.9	20.2
Urban	27.1	43.6	8.7	3.8	3.8	3.3
Bhopal	27.2	42.7	9.8	4.9	4.8	5.1
Rural	29.3	41.4	15.5	12.9	8	18.5
Urban	26.6	43.0	8.4	3	4	1.9

Source: Census, 2001

Table 3.2 b: District wise Work Participation Rate

Work Participation Rate, 2001						Child workers, 2001			
						Children (5-14) as Main Workers		Children (5-14) as Marginal Workers	
District	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Rural**	**Urban**	**%age**	**No.**	**%age**	**No.**
Anuppur	Included in Shahdol								
Ashok Nagar	Included in Guna								
Balaghat	50.3	54.4	46.3	52.9	33.0	1.7	6115	5.5	19830
Barwani	48.4	53.0	43.7	50.9	33.9	6.3	19581	16.2	50515
Betul	44.2	51.0	37.0	.0	27.2	2.8	10581	8.1	30259
Bhind	36.8	48.3	22.9	40.0	26.3	1.1	4099	3.7	14518
Bhopal	32.1	47.4	14.9	42.2	29.6	1.0	4411	1.9	8619
Chhatarpur	40.2	49.3	29.7	42.9	30.4	1.5	6050	3.8	15723
Chhindwara	42.2	50.8	33.0	46.2	29.6	2.6	12826	6.6	32049
Damoh	44.9	53.1	35.8	47.4	34.2	1.7	4747	4.9	13730
Datia	50.3	56.4	43.2	55.0	33.5	2.3	3683	11.9	19509
Dewas	44.4	51.8	36.4	49.4	31.0	2.7	9250	6.8	23691
Dhar	46.6	52.5	40.5	49.2	33.8	3.8	17834	9.5	44953
Dindori	57.0	58.9	55.0	58.2	31.9	6.9	10167	14.0	20668
East Nimar	43.9	52.8	34.4	49.1	29.7	5.0	22802	8.7	39638
Guna	41.0	51.4	29.2	44.1	29.5	2.0	9370	6.8	31509
Gwalior	32.5	47.6	14.7	38.3	28.7	1.2	4886	2.6	11071
Harda	44.9	52.8	36.4	49.4	28.3	3.2	4005	9.0	11409
Hoshangabad	35.7	49.3	20.5	39.0	28.3	1.2	3210	3.0	8178
Indore	36.2	51.8	19.1	45.6	32.2	2.0	11199	3.5	19874
Jabalpur	37.2	50.3	22.7	45.1	31.2	1.3	6304	2.8	14028

Jhabua	52.5	54.3	50.7	54.4	32.6	7.0	29389	23.1	96643
Katni	41.7	51.5	31.3	44.9	29.9	1.2	3232	4.1	11072
Mandla	51.9	55.5	48.3	54.3	30.9	3.2	7122	8.8	19818
Mandsaur	48.2	55.6	40.4	51.3	34.6	3.4	9944	7.7	22247
Morena	37.1	48.0	23.7	39.9	26.6	1.6	7399	4.6	21324
Narsimhapur	42.1	53.9	29.1	44.3	30.8	1.5	3549	3.7	8619
Neemuch	48.0	55.4	40.1	53.6	33.5	3.7	6385	7.3	12615
Panna	43.6	51.3	35.1	45.6	29.8	1.6	3791	5.7	13303
Raisen	36.6	49.5	21.9	38.1	29.9	1.1	3463	3.0	9259
Rajgarh	49.9	54.6	44.8	53.7	31.9	3.4	11298	11.9	38881
Ratlam	45.1	53.6	36.2	51.3	30.7	3.1	9586	9.0	27939
Rewa	43.7	49.4	37.7	46.2	31.2	1.3	7211	8.4	45973
Sagar	41.5	51.4	30.4	44.5	34.3	1.8	9657	4.4	23478
Satna	39.9	48.4	30.6	41.9	32.0	1.3	6575	3.4	17268
Sehore	41.8	48.8	34.1	44.9	28.0	1.3	3734	4.1	12220
Seoni	48.8	54.0	43.5	51.0	29.5	2.6	7754	7.5	22549
Shahdol	43.3	52.2	34.0	48.8	27.0	1.6	6436	5.4	21896
Shajapur	48.8	55.1	42.0	52.2	33.9	2.7	8910	8.8	29076
Sheopur	41.0	49.4	31.5	43.3	28.8	1.7	2876	5.5	9077
Shivpuri	45.2	52.0	37.3	48.7	27.9	3.1	12503	8.3	33333
Sidhi	41.4	48.0	34.2	43.4	29.0	1.7	9067	5.6	30522
Tikamgarh	47.1	52.2	41.3	49.5	35.9	1.6	5128	6.0	19426
Ujjain	44.1	53.8	33.9	52.4	31.2	3.7	15354	7.9	33139
Umaria	42.2	50.5	33.3	44.5	30.1	1.4	1939	4.8	6590
Vidisha	37.2	51.2	21.2	39.5	28.8	1.7	5579	4.8	15912
West Nimar	46.1	52.3	39.5	48.7	31.3	4.7	19264	8.1	33309
MP	**42.7**	**51.5**	**33.2**	**47.1**	**30.6**	**2.4**	**388265**	**6.7**	**1065259**

Source: Census, 2001

Apart from the distribution between main and marginal activities, analysis of employment data in terms of sectoral deployment of workforce—primary, secondary or tertiary—is also pertinent. A greater engagement in secondary sector is indicative of a growing economy. The data drawn from the sampled households reaffirm a trend towards greater deployment of the workforce in the manufacturing units. These include both large scale enterprises and also the home based or small scale industrial units. Large scale industrial activity is very little in Bhopal district, therefore dependence is largely on the latter. Significantly, the data from minority concentrated areas report a relatively lower proportion in the manufacturing units. On the other hand, their section in the primary sector, here farming, is disproportionately higher than the other groups.

The tertiary sector of clerical, administrative, managerial and technical workers is weak in Bhopal district Table 3.2 c).

Table 3.2 c: Activity Wise Distribution of Workers

Employment Details	Category I	Category II	Category III
Professional, Technical & related work	5.60	6.04	2.63
Administrative, Executive, Managerial Workers	4.86	2.01	6.32
Clerical and Related Work	3.09	2.68	2.63
Sales/Business work	12.81	3.36	5
Service worker	10.60	6.71	12.11
Farmer and Related work	11.93	13.42	36.84
Production and Related work	41.53	38.26	25.26
Activities not adequately defined	9.57	27.52	5.26

An overwhelming majority of the workforce has no fixed place or location of work. Essentially, they are hawkers, unattached service providers such as electricians, plumbers, unskilled daily wagers, rickshaw pullers, handcart pullers etc. This is also the most vulnerable section of the workers with varying daily income. The workers without any fixed place of work have a uniform presence in localities of all three types. However, when it comes to workers working from their own dwellings i.e, home based, it is the category I that outnumbers the workforce from mixed and minority concentrated areas (Table 3.2 d). On the contrary, the workers of Category II and III areas largely work from employer's dwelling or enterprise.

Table 3.2 d : Location of Work

Location of work	Category I	Category II	Category III
No Fixed Place of work/ Location	27.93	28.76	27.48
Own Dwelling	20.21	9.38	9.16
Own Enterprise	6.54	9.38	6.11
Employer's Dwelling	3.12	8.13	6.87
Employer's Enterprise	8.17	13.75	17.56
Street Fixed Location	11.44	10.63	10.69
Construction Sites	5.05	6.88	6.87
Others	17.53	13.13	15.27

Given a choice and depending on their skills and training, what would be the preferred professions of the people in Bhopal district? The Survey attempted to address the issue

of underemployment by making an assessment of the aspirations of respondents. Thus, labour intensive and less remunerative occupations such as manual labour and cultivation figured low in the list. The desire to be self-employed was rated highly by the respondents. Salaried jobs that guaranteed a degree of stability in terms of earnings were the next choice that the respondents preferred to exercise. It is noteworthy that all across, there was a summary rejection of caste based hereditary occupations. This reflects the want amongst the low and middle castes, traditionally seen as service providing caste groups, to break the shackles of a caste based occupational pattern. Across categories, it was the same pattern that was observed (Table 3.2 e).

Table 3.2 e: Preferred Profession

Activity	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Cultivation	6.07	8.94	3.66	5.98
Self Employed Activity	29.69	16.26	30.37	28.46
Manual Labour	14.73	15.45	16.23	15.04
Salaried Job	24.49	32.52	27.23	25.71
Repair & Maintenance	6.83	5.69	7.85	6.87
Business and Trade	6.93	4.88	2.09	5.98
Caste-based Occupation	3.25	0.81	0.52	2.59
Manual Labour (Non-Agr)	2.60	4.07	3.66	2.91
Trade	2.71	8.13	6.81	3.88
Others	2.71	3.25	1.57	2.59

3.3 Access to Loans:

A small proportion of the surveyed population was found to be currently indebted. Their category-wise distribution displays higher occurrence among the category I areas compared to those in minority areas (Table 3.3 a). This could be because of a variety of reasons including lack of adequate banking facilities in minority concentrated areas of Bhopal district.

Table 3.3 a: Indebtedness by Categories

Categories	Indebted
Category I	13.75
Category II	9.75
Category III	3.75
All Categories	11.47

Table 3.3 b : Source of loan

Source of Loan	Categories			
	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Government	6.8%	25.0%	33.3%	10.9%
Commercial banks	31.8%	25.0%	.0%	29.1%
Cooperative banks/ societies	15.9%	.0%	33.3%	14.5%
Traders	20.5%	.0%	.0%	16.4%
Professional Money Lenders	18.2%	25.0%	33.3%	20.0%
Relatives/friends	6.8%	25.0%	.0%	9.1%

Amongst those indebted, it was observed that minority groups' dependence on government/ cooperative banks (66% together) was much higher compared to that on the commercial banks. The fact that the research team failed to come across a single person from minority areas who had been able to borrow from commercial/private bank speaks volumes about the functioning of such banks. As a result, the minority members seem to depend more on the traditional money lenders who charge enormous interest (Table 3.3 b).

4. EDUCATION

4.1 Literacy and Educational Level

In Madhya Pradesh, basic or crude literacy went up from 45 per cent to 64 per cent, with female literacy increasing from 29 per cent to 50 per cent. Growth in literacy is also matched by higher enrolment at the primary level. According to the Human Development Report (2007), almost all children are now enrolled across the state, and this is as much true for girls as for boys. There has also been a reduction in the male–female gap in literacy, improvement in the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER), and other education parameters. While these achievements would set the state up for a leap in educational attainment, there are still many gaps and challenges before the state. The crude literacy level in 2001 was 64 per cent, leaving over a third of the population and nearly half of all women still unable to either read or write (Table 4.1 a).

Table 4.1 a: Literacy Rate, Madhya Pradesh (Urban-Rural Differential)

All			Rural			Urban		
Persons	**Male**	**Female**	**Persons**	**Male**	**Female**	**Persons**	**Male**	**Female**
64.1	76.8	50.3	58.1	72.1	43.0	79.7	87.8	70.6

Almost a similar pattern can be observed in the case of Bhopal district. The literacy rate for the entire district at 74.6 % is much higher than the state average; however, considering that the district is largely urban, the gain is not so significant. Besides, the rural literacy rate of Bhopal district is much below the state and national averages thus suggesting their relative backwardness in educational and other developmental initiatives. This is further corroborated by the Survey result (Table 4.1 b).

Table 4.1 b: Literacy Rate, Bhopal (Rural-Urban Differential)

All			Rural	Urban
Persons	**Male**	**Female**		
74.6	81.9	66.4	52.7	79.6

Table 4.1 c: Literacy Rate with Gender Gap across Categories

Categories	Literacy	Gender	Illiterates	Literates	Gender Gap in Literacy
Category I	78.04	Male	15.49	84.51	14.34
		Female	29.83	70.17	
Category II	68.48	Male	26.79	73.21	9.36
		Female	36.15	63.85	
Category III	70.08	Male	25	75	10.66
		Female	35.66	64.34	

Consistent with the findings of Census 2001, the literacy rate computed through the Survey data varies between 68 to 78 % between categories I, II and III. As it is observed elsewhere, the literacy figures for mixed and predominantly minority areas seem to have fallen substantially behind those returned for localities with areas inhabited by the majority community. Literacy being one of the major indicators of human development, the figures clearly indicate an impeded pace of development in areas of minority concentration.

Table 4.1 c also gives the gender gap in literacy across categories. It is noteworthy that the high literacy rate in Category I areas is mainly because of a phenomenal rise in

male literacy (84.5%) as compared to the literacy among the women of these localities. Thus the gender gap in majority dominated areas is highest (14.34%) as compared to areas with sizeable minority population. A lower gender gap usually suggests higher status that the women in such communities enjoy (Table 4.1 c).

While the literacy rate suggests only basic skills, the quality of educational achievement can be judged by the level of education attained. The Survey tried to comprehend the educational attainment of the population in the school or university/college going age of 5-25 years. Notably, minority concentrated areas reported a very high proportion, nearly 20 % of the surveyed population, that never enrolled in any school. Thus one-fifth of the young population in these areas remains illiterate. Immediate remedial measures are therefore called for. In terms of educational attainment too, the minority populations seem to have dropped back. While a high proportion of inhabitants of minority concentrated areas has attained below primary level, their share starts declining from the primary level onwards.

Majority of the population, across all categories, was found to have attained up till middle level education. This was particularly true of the population residing in minority areas whose educational attainment even at high school level was found to be dismally low when compared with those in Categories I and II. Higher education seems to be the least preferred choice in all sections of the population. However, it is important to note that the desire to obtain a technical degree/diploma appeared to have greater currency among the minorities (Table 4.1 d).

Table 4.1 d: Educational Level Attained (5-25 years)

Educational Level	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Illiterate	**7.04**	**2.56**	**19.48**	**8.34**
Below Primary	**18.88**	**19.87**	**19.48**	**19.14**
Primary	**20.96**	**19.23**	**18.18**	**20.21**
Middle	**15.68**	**20.51**	**14.28**	**16.26**
Management/ Commercial School course	**9.44**	**8.97**	**5.84**	**8.77**
High School	**13.7**	**17.31**	**6.49**	**13.16**
Intermediate	**7.68**	**6.41**	**6.49**	**7.27**
Pre-graduation diploma	**3.2**	**0.64**	**1.94**	**2.57**
Graduation	**0.8**	**3.21**	**3.89**	**1.71**
Post-Graduate degree /diploma/ certificate	**1.12**	**0.64**	**1.94**	**1.18**
Technical Degree/Diploma	**1.44**	**0.64**	**1.94**	**1.39**

4.2 Schooling

While Madhya Pradesh boasts of near total enrollment of children in the school going age, our survey discovered a good section of children who had never enrolled in any school, formal or informal. Taken together, 7.54 % of the children, in the school going age, were found to be not on the rolls. Compared to Category I, enrollment was found to be higher among children residing in Category III areas, however, their presence is significantly more in informal schools. This could be Madarsas or various kinds of informal schools run by community based NGOs. As against their presence in the government schools, children from minority concentrated localities were found to be far more enrolled in private schools than those from other localities. Comparatively, the fraction enrolled in government schools was found to be more in localities of majority preponderance (Table 4.2 a).

Table 4. 2 a: Schooling status (Current Enrollment)

Educational Status	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Never Enrolled	**8.33**	**6.49**	**4.84**	**7.54**
Left After Enrollment	**6.09**	**10.39**	**0.81**	**6.10**
Enrolled but does not go to school	**2.88**	**0.00**	**1.61**	**2.22**
Goes to informal institution	**0.96**	**5.84**	**4.84**	**2.33**
Enrolled in Govt. school	**58.49**	**33.12**	**42.74**	**52.00**
Goes to private school	**16.03**	**37.01**	**42.74**	**23.28**
Others	**7.21**	**7.14**	**2.42**	**6.54**

The school attended figure for the age group up till 25 years also seems to confirm the findings listed above. An overwhelming share of the population, more than 70%, in areas of miniscule minority population had attended government schools (Table 4.2 b). Compared with this, the figure reported from mixed and minority dominated was meager. Does this suggest a lower preference for government schools amongst the minority populations? Considering the fact that the government schools are better equipped and less cost-bearing, the inclination towards private schools is difficult to explain. Adequate attention is therefore required towards the availability of government schools in minority concentrated areas.

Madarsa education does not seem to have found much favour as an alternative by the minority households. Only 5.68% of the Category III population between 5-25 years of age had ever attended or were enrolled in Madarsas .This is consistent with the national trend as reported by the Sachar Committee. The void created by the absence of government schools is filled in by the private schools that the majority amongst the surveyed Category III population had attended.

Table 4.2 b: Type of school attended (5-25 years)

Types of school	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Govt	**70.92**	**39.37**	**39.77**	**60.34**
Private	**23.88**	**45.67**	**52.27**	**32.13**
Madarsa	**0.71**	**3.94**	**5.68**	**2.04**
Missionary	**3.07**	**6.30**	**0.00**	**3.29**
Non-formal	**0.24**	**0.79**	**0.00**	**0.31**
Govt.-aided	**0.95**	**0.79**	**2.27**	**1.10**
Others	**0.24**	**3.15**	**0.00**	**0.78**

Apart from the availability of schools, the content of education also needs to be revisited to make education accessible to minority children. In this context, the inadequacy of Urdu medium schools or schools with Urdu as an optional paper is appalling. While the majority of the government run schools have Hindi as the medium, minority groups have clearly shown their reticence towards the same. Thus, while Hindi is the preferred medium in which almost the entirety of Category I population had their school education in, only one third of those in minority areas opted for it (Table 4.2 c). This explains one of the reasons why private schools with English as a medium of instruction have found favour among minority children. Unlike other areas, a significant fraction of the population in minority areas had their schooling in Urdu medium schools.

Table 4.2 c: Medium of Instruction

Medium	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
English	**7.24**	**24.65**	**33.75**	**12.97**
Hindi	**83.45**	**71.13**	**33.75**	**76.31**
Both Hindi and English	**9.31**	**3.52**	**23.75**	**9.73**
Urdu	**0.00**	**0.70**	**8.75**	**1.00**

4.3 School Infrastructure

According to the District Elementary Education Report Card, 2006-07, Bhopal District has a total of 1724 schools of which 1172 are government, 57 private but government aided, and the rest, private with no government funding. Majority of the government schools are either up till the primary or upper primary level. There are only 3 government higher secondary schools in the entire Bhopal district.

In terms of infrastructural facilities available, Table 4.3 a shows most of the schools equipped with blackboards and drinking water facilities. A quarter of the schools at the primary level are only single teacher one, while there are a few that have only a single classroom. This includes nearly 3 % of the secondary schools too. Moreover, the schools of Bhopal lag behind in providing separate toilets for girl students. While at

the primary and upper primary level, very few schools have girl toilets, it is alarming to note that nearly a quarter of the secondary schools too depend upon common toilets alone.

Table 4.3 a: School Infrastructure

Facilities	Primary only	Primary plus upper Primary	Pri. + Secondary	Upper Primary only	Upper primary + Secondary
% Single Classroom schools	**6.5**	**3.2**	**2.7**	**3.4**	**3.2**
%Single Teacher Schools	**23.6**	**0.3**	**0.0**	**3.9**	**0.0**
% Schools with Drinking Water facility	**91.0**	**99.2**	**100.0**	**91.0**	**100.0**
% Schools with Black Board	**100.0`**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
% Schools with common toilets	**43.1**	**83.7**	**77.3**	**53.2**	**77.4**

The survey also tried to take an account of the distance at which the schools were located from neighbourhoods. Majority of the respondents, irrespective of their location in category I, II or III, found the schools within a range of 2 kilometres.

Table 4.3 b: Distance from the School

Distance	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Within 1 KM	**37.41**	**50.35**	**50.85**	**41.48**
Within 2 KM	**44.31**	**19.86**	**32.20**	**38.50**
Within 3 KM	**9.48**	**10.64**	**12.71**	**10.13**
Within 4 KM	**8.79**	**19.15**	**4.24**	**9.89**

Thus, in Bhopal, education has received enhanced attention since 1991 leading too a steep rise in literacy and enrollment rates. However, retention of students in the classroom continues to remain a challenging task. Despite marked improvement in school infrastructure, much needs to be done to upgrade the quality and content of

education.

5. INFRASTRUCTURE AND AMENITIES

Infrastructure development plays a critical role in creating better conditions of life for human societies. Transport and communications infrastructure is important in terms of providing access to basic health services, education and employment. Electrification plays a similar role, apart from changing the quality of life in general. It is now well-known that basic road connectivity to a school, minimum facilities like separate toilets for boys and girls in school buildings are crucial determinants of the enrolment and attendance of girl children, and so on.

5.1 Housing and Roads

Table 5.1 a: Status of Housing

Housing	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Own House	64.90	38.04	54.55	59.03
Govt. Provided	15.40	15.22	27.27	17.19
Rented	19.19	25.00	18.18	19.97
Temporary Settlement	0.51	21.74	0.00	3.82

The survey revealed that of the total respondents, maximum i.e. 59.03 % lived in their own houses (See Table 5.1a). Amongst these respondents living in their own house, however, the percentage of category I respondents owning a house was higher compared to those in category II and III. Rented accommodation was the next major form of housing of which the mixed locality respondents constituted the largest share. 17.19 % of the total respondents lived in government provided housing, of which the maximum share was found to be in minority concentrated localities. Amongst those residing in mixed localities, maximum respondents were living in temporary settlements.

Table 5.1 b Type of Housing

Type of House	Category I	Category II	Category III	Categories

Thatched	13.32	21.95	1.28	12.89
Katcha/ Khaprail	32.38	28.05	30.77	31.49
Semi Pucca	35.25	15.85	24.36	30.76
Pucca	16.97	31.71	43.59	23.02
Others	2.09	2.44	0.00	1.84

The type of housing also varied from thatched to pucca houses. It is dismal to note more than half of the houses, across as well as within each category, were not in pucca condition. Table 5.1 b shows that only 16.97% houses were pucca in category I while 35.25 % were semi pucca. One third of the houses were of katcha khaprail while 13.32 were thatched in the same category. Within category III, surprisingly only 1.28 % of respondents lived in thatched houses while 43. 59 were having pucca house types. In category III, only one third of the total respondents had pucca houses while a shockingly large 21. 95 % occupied thatched houses. It is notable that nearly one third of the house types in each category were of katcha khaprail variety.

Table 5.1 c : Status of Roads

Categories	**Completely Pucca**	**Pucca but need repair**	**Semi-Pucca and semi-Katcha**	**Completely Katcha**
Category I	3.6%	22.1%	59.0%	15.4%
Category II	4.4%	29.7%	50.5%	15.4%
Category III	17.0%	42.0%	39.8%	1.1%
All Categories	5.8%	26.4%	54.7%	13.2%

More than half the households reported that roads they frequently used in their were semi pucca (Table 5.1 c). The presence of pucca roads were reported by only an about 5% of the total households. This was also the case because a high percentage of pucca roads were badly in need of repair. There are also several completely katcha roads in the city since more than 15% of households in categories I and II reported such roads in their localities.

The roads are repaired after a long time and in many instances they are not repaired at all. For instance, according to 80.5 % households in category III, it was a very long time before the roads were repaired. In category I , 45.5 % cribbed that roads were not repaired at all. The percentage of latter cases was also quite close at 43.3 in category II. (See table 5.1d)

Table 5.1 d Repairing of roads

Categories	Done quickly	Done after long time	Not Done
Category I	0.5%	53.8%	45.7%
Category II	5.6%	51.1%	43.3%
Category III	8.0%	80.5%	11.5%
All Categories	2.5%	57.5%	40.0%

Table 5.1 e Overall Position of Maintenance of Roads

Categories	Done quickly	Done after long time
Category I	4.1%	95.9%
Category II	8.2%	91.8%
Category III	6.9%	93.1%
All Categories	5.2%	94.8%

The overall position of maintenance of the roads was unsatisfactory. Approximately 95% of households in all the categories were unsatisfied with the general condition of maintenance of roads. The concerned authorities, therefore, must improve the quality and regularity of maintenance of roads.

5.2 Water and Electricity

The survey showed diverse sources of drinking water supply in all the categories (see table 5.2 a) . Hand pump, owned by self or public was the most common source available of which the percentage of the latter source was higher compared to the former. For example 47.06 % of the respondents in category III had their own hand pumps while another 25.88 used the public pumps. The availability of municipal water supply was quite low with only about 5% of the households in category I and II availing the facility. Ground water was also used by about 5% of the total sampled households. About another 4- 5 % used the unprotected water in category I and II though no such usage was reported from category III.

Table 5.2 a: Source of Drinking Water

Source of Water	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Own Hand Pump/Tube well	19.47	26.97	47.06	24.91
Public Hand Pump/Tube well	36.58	37.08	25.88	35.02

Own Protected Dug Well	5.53	0.00	3.53	4.33
Unprotected Dug Well	4.47	2.25	0.00	3.43
Public Tap Water	25.79	8.99	8.24	20.40
Ground Water Supply	2.63	8.99	9.41	4.69
Municipal Water Supply	5.53	15.73	5.88	7.22

Only one-fifth of the total number of respondents used public tap, however, the public tap usage in minority concentrated areas was found to be drastically low. Thus suggesting lesser availability of the amenity in such areas (table 5.2 a). An overwhelming proportion of the respondents (70%), across all categories, found the municipal water supply inadequate (5.2 b).

Table 5.2 b Water supply is adequate

Categories	**Responses**	
	Yes	**No**
Category I	28.5%	71.5%
Category II	34.2%	65.8%
Category III	37.6%	62.4%
All Categories	30.8%	69.2%

Table 5.2 c : Quality of Water

Categories	**Quality**	
	Good	**Bad**
Category I	44.2%	55.8%
Category II	52.5%	47.5%
Category III	36.5%	63.5%
All Categories	44.2%	55.8%

The respondents in the households were asked if they found the water worth drinking? More than half of them reported that the water was not drinkable. This percentage was higher in category III which suggests that the drinking water quality in minority concentrated localities was far worse than in mixed localities (table 5.2 c)

Table 5.2 d Water Meter Has Been Installed

Categories	**Responses**

	Yes	No
Category I	9.9%	90.1%
Category II	.0%	100.0%
Category III	3.9%	96.1%
All Categories	7.9%	92.1%

The water meter were not installed either. Alarmingly, all the respondents in the category II reported a lack of water meter (see table 5.2 d) . Similarly , 96.1% of respondents in category III and 90.1 % in category I , also said that water meter was not installed. Lack of meters can be explained in 1/4th of the households since they used public taps for accessing drinking water. The municipal water supply was found only in 5.53 % of total households (table 5.2 a).

Electricity

The electrification is not universal in the district as houses of 16.25 % of the total respondents were not electrified and though the electrification was done in the rest of the houses, the voltage was low almost in half of the households (see table 5.2 e and f).

Table 5.2 e : Electrification Status of the Houses

Status of Electrification	Category I	Category II	Category II	All Categories
Houses Electrified	78.81	93.10	96.51	83.75
Houses Not Electrified	21.19	6.90	3.49	16.25

Table 5.2 f: Voltage Situation

Categories	Voltage		
	Good	Low	Very good
Category I	35.4%	54.3%	10.2%
Category II	46.6%	39.8%	13.6%
Category III	59.8%	28.7%	11.5%
All Categories	41.0%	48.0%	11.0%

Only about 11.5 % of the households were having very good voltage. The condition of wiring was also unsatisfactory, informed more than 70 % of households in all the categories (Table 5.2 g).

Table 5.2 g: Condition of Wiring

Categories	Responses

	Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory
Category I	23.3%	76.7%
Category II	41.4%	58.6%
Category III	28.7%	71.3%
All Categories	27.0%	73.0%

Table 5.2 h : Availability of Street Light

Categories	Responses	
	Available	**Not Available**
Category I	32.4%	67.6%
Category II	51.7%	48.3%
Category III	50.6%	49.4%
All Categories	38.4%	61.6%

Table 5.2 i Maintenance of Street Light

Categories	Responses	
	Satisfactory	**Unsatisfactory**
Category I	15.3%	84.7%
Category II	36.8%	63.2%
Category III	33.3%	66.7%
All Categories	21.6%	78.4%

The trend for electrification of the public areas such as the street, too, is not very heartening. Table 5.2 h and 5.2 i reveal the poor availability of street light, especially in category I localities where 67.6 % of the households denied having light on their streets. It must be noted that with respect to category I, most of the respondents were selected from urban villages or from localities which were having a poor profile. The size of the sample is also far bigger from this category compared to other categories.

The maintenance of the street light also was unsatisfactory, according to 78.4 % of the total households.

5.3 Sanitation and Cleanliness

Even though Bhopal is the capital of its state, it does not have the most basic amenities that are considered to be essential for any town. Sanitation situation was worse than even the most backward districts in the country. Walking through the lanes of the district, it did not seem that we were in the capital of the state.

Table 5.3 a: Toilet facility in the house

Toilet Facility In House	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Available	50.51	57.14	95.35	58.38
Not Available	49.49	42.86	4.65	41.62

Toilet facility is one of the most basic facilities required in a house. The findings of the survey showed that this facility could not be taken for granted as a shocking 95% of the respondents in minority concentrated areas did not have it in their houses (see Table 5.3 a). In category I, only 50% households reported toilet facility in their house. The percentage of such households in Category II was 57.14 %. On an average , 41.62 % of the total households reported a lack of toilet facility at home. Table 5.3 b shows that the drainange facility was also missing in 38.9 % of the total houses sampled

Table 5.3 b Drainage facility in the house

Drainage Facility in the House	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Available	56.94	55.68	85.90	61.03
Not Available	43.06	44.32	14.10	38.97

Table 5.3 c: Sewage Line Available in Your Street

Categories	Responses	
	Yes	No
Category I	15.8%	84.2%
Category II	13.9%	86.1%
Category III	44.1%	55.9%
All Categories	19.9%	80.1%

Table 5.3 d: Overall functioning of Sewage Line

Categories	Responses	
	Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory
Category I	8.3%	91.7%
Category II	.0%	100.0%
Category III	7.5%	92.5%
All Categories	7.6%	92.4%

Table 5.3 e: If unsatisfactory need repair/need new installation

Categories	Responses

	Need repair	Need new Installation
Category I	18.6%	81.4%
Category II	21.7%	78.3%
Category III	40.3%	59.7%
All Categories	23.2%	76.8%

Table 5.3 f Cleaning of chocker server

Categories	Responses	
	Done in time	Not applicable
Category I	4.1%	95.9%
Category II	3.8%	96.2%
Category III	3.1%	96.9%
All Categories	3.9%	96.1%

There is no proper sewage line around the houses of most of the sampled localities. The survey results revealed that approximately 80 % of the respondents were living in areas where no sewage line had been laid (Table 5.3 c). Out of the remaining respondents who did have sewage lines in their areas, 96 % were equally unhappy because these lines were not functioning satisfactorily (Table 5.2 d) and the reason was that choker server was not cleaned in time (Table 5.3 f).

Table 5.3 g : Availability of proper drainage in your street

Categories	Responses	
	Yes	No
Category I	37.5%	62.5%
Category II	51.1%	48.9%
Category III	57.5%	42.5%
All Categories	42.7%	57.3%

Table 5.3 h : Drainage Covered or Uncovered

Categories	Responses	
	Covered	Uncovered
Category I	2.8%	97.2%
Category II	11.4%	88.6%
Category III	32.5%	67.5%
All Categories	8.8%	91.2%

Table 5.3 i : Cleaning of the Drainage

Categories	Responses	
	Clean	Dirty
Category I	2.8%	97.2%
Category II	14.8%	85.2%
Category III	8.6%	91.4%
All Categories	5.7%	94.3%

Table 5.3 j: Overall position of drainage

Categories	Responses	
	Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory/not applicable
Category I	3.9%	96.1%
Category II	12.5%	87.5%
Category III	8.8%	91.3%
All Categories	6.1%	93.9%

Table 5.3 k: If unsatisfactory, need repair/need new installation

Categories	Responses	
	Need repair	Need new installation
Category I	26.4%	73.6%
Category II	20.3%	79.7%
Category III	44.2%	55.8%
All Categories	28.2%	71.8%

The data given in tables 5.3 g, h, i, j and k pertains to the drainage facility on the street The data clearly shows that drainage facility on the street is reportedly missing on the streets of half of the respondents (table 5.3g). 'The nail is uncovered and drains are not cleaned' report more than 90 % of the sampled households as evident in tables 5.3 h, i and j. On an average , there is a requirement of a new nali/ drainage system, according to 71.8 % the households. The rest 28.2 feel that there is an urgent need to repair the existing drain (see table 5.3 k).

Table 5.3 i Frequency of cleanness of your street/near by street

Categories	Frequency			
	Daily	Some times	Never	Don't Know
Category I	2.1%	39.6%	58.0 %	0.3%
Category II	14.3%	45.1%	40.7 %	0 %
Category III	9.1%	67.0%	23.9 %	0 %

All Categories	5.2%	44.9%	49.7 %	0.2 %

Table 5.3 m Frequency of cleanliness of back lanes

Categories	Frequency			
	Daily	Some times	Never	Don't Know
Category I	1.6%	28.2%	70.0%	0.3%
Category II	14.3%	41.8%	44.0%	0%
Category III	6.8%	59.1%	34.1%	0%
All Categories	4.5%	35.3%	60.0%	0.2%

Table 5.3 n Frequency of cleanliness of main road

Categories	Frequency			
	Daily	Some times	Never	Don't Know
Category I	6.0%	67.2%	26.8%	0%
Category II	19.8%	48.4%	30.8%	1.1%
Category III	39.1%	57.5%	3.4%	0%
All Categories	13.6%	62.5%	23.7%	0.2%

Table 5.3 O: Overall position of cleanliness

Categories	Responses	
	Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory
Category I	6.6%	93.4%
Category II	16.9%	83.1%
Category III	10.5%	87.2%
All Categories	8.9%	90.7%

That the streets are not clean is to be expected considering that the sewage or drainage system of the district are highly unsatisfactory. The survey investigators asked the respondents about the frequency of their streets, back lanes, and found that the frequency of the cleaning was quite poor with almost 49.7% of the responding households complaining that their streets were never cleaned (see table 5.3 i). How can back lanes be clean when the main streets are not cleaned regularly . Predictably, an average 60 % of the total households reported that back lanes were not cleaned at all. The main road mercifully was cleaned sometimes and in a few cases (13.6%) almost daily. The overall position of cleanliness was according to more than 90 % of the total respondents was unsatisfactory (see table 5.3 o).

Table 5.3 p: Place of disposing garbage

Categories	Location	
	Specified	Not Specified
Category I	9.4%	90.6%
Category II	24.2%	75.8%
Category III	14.8%	85.2%
All Categories	12.7%	87.3%

Table 5.3 q Overall position of garbage clearing

Categories	Responses	
	Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory
Category I	3.2%	96.8%
Category II	17.8%	82.2%
Category III	5.7%	94.3%
All Categories	5.9%	94.1%

One would think that if roads are not swept , at least, the garbage must be removed. It was found that , on the contrary, 70 to 90 percent of the respondents had no access to any specific location for garbage disposal. Only 9.4 % of respondents in category I, 17.8 % in category II and 14.8 % in category III respectively said that there was a specific location for garbage disposal. 94.1 % of the responding households felt that the overall garbage position was unsatisfactory (see table 5.3 q).

5.4 Health

Table 5.4 a Profile of family members' illness during last one year

Diseases	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Diarrhea	4.11	6.67	5.81	4.86
Dysentery	3.08	4.00	11.63	4.86
Jaundice	6.85	2.67	4.65	5.74
Dengue	3.77	1.33	1.16	2.87
Malaria	11.64	4.00	15.12	11.04
Typhoid	5.48	9.33	8.14	6.62
Pneumonia	1.03	1.33	1.16	1.10
Hepatitis	4.11	1.33	2.33	3.31
Mental illness	2.40	1.33	3.49	2.43
Skin diseases	4.45	1.33	0.00	3.09
Chicken pox	1.71	2.67	2.33	1.99

Problem of Teeth	4.45	0.00	1.16	3.09
Pain in Stomach	13.70	5.33	10.47	11.70
Fracture	2.74	0.00	3.49	2.43
Women related disease	7.19	0.00	3.49	5.30
Pregnancy related complication	1.03	1.33	2.33	1.32
T.B.	2.74	2.67	0.00	2.21
Others	19.52	54.67	23.26	26.05

Illness profile of the households was sketched by collecting data on the types of illnesses and health ailments suffered by the members (see table 5.4 a). It showed that families residing in category III suffered more from dysentery compared to their counterparts in other two categories which may be due to poorer hygiene in their areas. The incidence of malaria and pain in the stomach was relatively high compared to other diseases in all the categories. Jaundice, typhoid and women related problems were also the next frequently reported diseases. Mental illness , chicken pox, dengue , T.B. and teeth problems were relatively less common. Pregnancy related problems were not reported much. similarly fracture , skin problems , and other problems were also reported but by a small section.

Table 5.4 b: Hospitalisation

Hospitalisation	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Hospitalized	44.37	48.65	36.14	43.56
Not Hospitalized	55.63	51.35	63.86	56.44

Table 5.4 c : Use of Government or Private Medical Service

Medical Service	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Govt.	36.4%	16.5%	25.3%	31.5%
Private	9.4%	27.5%	10.3%	12.4%
Both	54.2%	56.0%	64.4%	56.0%

Table 5.4 d : Preferred System of Medicine

Medical system	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Unani	12.03	18.39	15.81	13.54
Ayurveda	19.75	13.22	16.74	18.35
Homeopathy	18.96	12.07	18.14	17.87
Allopathic Govt.	28.38	28.16	25.12	27.80
Allopathic Private	12.94	24.14	16.28	15.04

Mixed	7.95	4.02	7.91	7.40

Table 5.4 e : If you did not use govt. health facility, what are the two main reasons?

Responses	Category I	Category II	Category III
Is at a distance	12.62	3.26	8.99
It takes too much time	10.89	9.78	22.47
Doctor don't give much attention	12.13	18.48	39.33
Rude behaviour of staff	5.69	8.70	8.99
Disease not cured	8.91	11.96	22.47
Unhygienic condition	7.67	7.61	16.85
Adequate medicine not available	8.17	11.96	15.73
others	0.74	2.17	0.00

In case of illness, 55.63 % of the sick were hospitalized in category I. This % age was lower for category II at 51.35 and lowest at 36.14 in category III. Thus hospitalization was not done in 63.86 % of the cases in category III, not because the illness did not require it but due to other reasons given in table 5.4 e. The most cited reasons by this category were that the lack of sufficient attention by the doctors and the low rate of cure. They also informed us that the medicines were not available, especially in government hospitals. That is why only a third of the total respondents relied on government hospitals, while the rest either used only private service or resorted to both (Table 5.4 c). These facts are in consonance with the Sachar Committee's findings that majority of the Muslims prefer private medical services instead of government hospitals. A large Percentage did not seek government health service because it took too much time while others were put off by the unhygienic conditions of these hospitals. The staff was also reportedly rude according to 8.99 % of the respondents. It was found that Allopathy was the most favoured type of medical system, whether government or private while Unani was least favoured. Ayurveda and homeopathy came next while few cases mentioned that they used mixed systems (see table 5.4 d).

Table 5.4 f Details of delivery in the household during the last five years

Place where the last child of the family was born								
	Category I	%age	Category II	%age	Category III	%age	All Categories	%age
Govt Hospital	85	62.50	18	60.00	28	65.12	131	62.68
Private Hospital	10	7.35	5	16.67	9	20.93	24	11.48
Home	41	30.15	7	23.33	6	13.95	54	25.84
Total	136	100.00	30	100.00	43	100.00	209	100.00

Assistance in the delivery								
Doctor	59	48.36	16	57.14	28	77.78	103	55.38
Trained Midwife	24	19.67	9	32.14	6	16.67	39	20.97
Untrained Dai	39	31.97	3	10.71	2	5.56	44	23.66
Total	122	100.00	28	100.00	36	100.00	186	100.00
Pre natal and Post natal care								
Yes	84	61.76	25	96.15	28	66.67	137	67.16
No	52	38.24	1	3.85	14	33.33	67	32.84
Total	136	100.00	26	100.00	42	100.00	204	100.00

The delivery details of the family for the last five years reveal that in category I , 30.15 % of the households where some child was born, had the delivery at home. This % age was 23.33 and 13.95 respectively for category II and III respectively. 20.93 5 age of the total responses from category III mention that the delivery took place in private hospital which is congruent with the results of table 5.4 c which shows that more than 25% of respondents rely on private medical service.

The use of government service (62.5% as shown in table 5.4 f) for delivery compared to their overall reliance on government hospitals (36. 4% as can be seen in table 5.4 c) for other diseases is revealed in category I. On the whole, government hospital has been used for the purpose of the delivery. More than half the delivery cases were assisted by the doctor which is due to the higher use of government hospitals though trained midwives also assisted in $1/5^{th}$ of the cases in the total sample. Dangerously, in alarmingly high 31.97 % of the times in category I, untrained midwives also performed the delivery. the %age of such cases were relatively lower at around 10 % in category II and 6% in category III . It may seem that the indicators for category I pointing poorer health infrastructure and care while in category III , it is looking comparatively better . But it is easily explicable in the light of the fact that firstly our sample from category I, the non- minority category, was fairly large and secondly that the sample was drawn from the poorer sections such as the bastis, villages, or JJ clusters rather than the posh and affluent households. As a consequence, many a times, the condition of the respondents in category I is found to be even poor than those in the minority concentrated areas. As mentioned in our methodology, preference was given to small minority concentrations segregated from the better socio- economic groups of the category I localities. The results of the survey confirm that the latter strategy provided useful insights into the pathetic condition of marginal and segregated population residing in proximity to the affluent groups.

On the whole, pre natal care fared better than post natal (see table 5.4 f). The gap between both types of care was considerable in all the categories but in category II it was very wide as can be seen from the table. It shows that while 96.15 % cases received pre natal care, the post natal care was received or accessed by only 3.85 % of the cases. This requires urgent attention as several of the women related diseases which

figured relatively high amongst the nature of illnesses suffered in table 5.4 a are also related to the lack of sufficient post natal care of new mothers.

Table 5.4 g Immunization of the children below five year age

Immunization	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Polio	29.85	26.52	26.62	28.69
DPT	20.72	23.48	23.38	21.67
BCG	24.71	23.48	25.32	24.63
Measles	24.71	26.52	24.68	25.00

The immunization records of the total households having children below 5 years of age showed that immunization against Polio was the highest when compared against other possible infections. 28,69 % of the children were reportedly immunized against polio while 25 % were immunized against Measles, 24.63 against B.C.G. and 21.67% against D.P.T respectively.

5.5 Access to Other Amenities

Infrastructural facilities such as a sports complex and public parks depict the overall development of a district. The district of Bhopal is densely populated and its interior neighbourhoods are characterized by maze of narrow and dingy lanes. There is very little open space and encroachments on public land are quite common.

Table 5.5 a : Access to Public Park

Categories	Responses	
	Yes	No
Category I	19.7%	80.3%
Category II	6.6%	93.4%
Category III	3.4%	96.6%
All Categories	14.8%	85.2%

Table 5.5 b : Distance of park

Categories	Responses	
	Within a km	Within 2 kms
Category I	28.7%	71.3%
Category II	11.1%	88.9%
Category III	6.3%	93.8%
All Categories	24.0%	76.0%

That is why, on an average 85.2 % households in the entire sample denied having any access to a public park . The lack of access was higher in all categories , however, category III had lesser parks compared to category I and II as can be seen from table 5.5 a. There were fewer respondents who could access the park within one kilometer of their houses. Most had to go up to a distance of two kilometers to find one. For example, 93.8% of the category III respondents reported that the nearest park from their house was two kilometers away. Very few, i.e., 6.3 % of them were able to access a park within a kilometer.

Table 5.5 c Access to Sports Facility

Categories	Responses	
	Yes	No
Category I	11.2%	88.8%
Category II	4.3%	95.7%
Category III	15.1%	84.9%

Similarly , access to a sports facilities was also denied by 84.9 % of the total respondents in category III, and 95.7 5 in category II, and 88. 8 % in category I respectively.

Table 5.5 d Daily Reading of the Newspaper

Categories	Responses	
	Yes	No
Category I	32.9%	67.1%
Category II	34.4%	65.6%
Category III	50.6%	49.4%

Table 5.5 e: Regular Listening to Radio

Categories	Responses	
	Yes	No
Category I	32.1%	67.9%
Category II	21.1%	78.9%
Category III	19.3%	80.7%

Table 5.5 f : Regular watching of television

Categories	Responses	
	Yes	No
Category I	54.8%	45.2%
Category II	56.2%	43.8%
Category III	78.4%	21.6%

Access to media , the oxygen of a democratic society , is as fundamental to everyday life as the rest of amenities**.** The percentage of daily newspaper readers however is less than 50% in the entire sample. The reading is reported more from category III than in category I where the sample consists of marginal population. Television is watched by relatively more people but 45.2 % of households in category I do not do so regularly (see table 5.5 f) . Regular radio consumption is less compared to television in all the categories. Contrary to television which is watched more in category III compared to category I, the radio is frequently listened to by more respondents in category I and II rather than the category III. Thus we can fairly assume that the availability of television is higher in category III respondents than with category I. In a nut shell, the public infrastructure such as the quality of drinking water, the voltage situation, sanitation and cleanliness, access to good health care and open public spaces needs to be improved on all fronts.

6. DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES: AWARENESS AND BENEFITS

6.1 Public Distribution System

The findings of the household survey showed (see table 6.1 a) that of the total households in category III, approximately 40% had registered BPL status while the remaining 60 % had non- BPL status. Within category I, the percentage of the BPL households was higher at 51 % compared to the non-BPL households which was around 49%. The mixed category had highest percentage of BPL households as against the non BPL ones.

Table 6.1 a Households by BPL category

Responses	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Yes	51.31	52.94	40.00	49.91
No	48.69	47.06	60.00	50.09

Table 6.1 b Households having BPL Ration card

Responses	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Yes	49.85	56.76	79.73	55.60
No	49.85	56.76	79.73	55.60

Not all the households which claimed to have BPL status, however, possessed BPL

cards. The mismatch between the claims and the actual card holders was highest for category III and least in category I as reflected through table 6.1 b. For instance, in the former, as against 40 % claiming households , only 22.27% possessed BPL card while in the latter this ratio was quite close at 51.31 % claimants and 50.15 % actual BPL card holders. The %age of BPL card holders compared to those having BPL status was low in category II, as well. This trend can be easily explained as many respondents do not possess BPL cards due to various hurdles that they encounter in acquiring these cards from the concerned department.

Table 6.1 c Percentage of respondents availing ration from PDS

Responses	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Yes	62.85	50.00	21.92	55.05
No	37.15	50.00	78.08	44.95

Mere possession of card , though, does not ensure access to ration in the PDS as can be asserted from the fact that more than 78% of the respondents from category III reported that they did not avail the ration from PDS (see table 6.1c). In category II, only 50% availed this facility while for category I this % age was a little higher at around 62%.

Table 6.1 d Difficulties faced regarding PDS

Nature of Difficuties	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Inefficient Quantity	31.18	29.73	35.09	31.45
Bad Quality	22.88	24.32	31.58	23.74
Dishonesty in Measurement	31.00	40.54	29.82	
Irregular supply	14.94	5.41	3.51	13.36

There are various difficulties which prevent people from availing of the ration facility from the PDS. Table 6.1 d lists four prominent reasons as reported by the respondents. On the top are insufficient quantity and dishonesty in measurement followed closely by bad quality Irregularity in supply is also felt by a 13.36 % of the respondents.

6.2 Development Schemes

Government of Madhya Pradesh runs several development schemes and programmes for the poor and needy. For instance, there are many schemes for the welfare of women, and children and people of old age which are run by different departments yet the benefit of these programmes is not accrued by all. Respondents were asked if they

were aware about various development schemes and aid programmes run by the government in their district. They were further queried if they benefited from any schemes.

Anganwadi Scheme/ ICDS

ICDS is a flagship programme of the government. The data collected from the survey showed that it could benefit only 36.29 % of the women and children in the district of Bhopal (table 6.2 a). Of the total respondents, 58.15 % did not avail the benefit due to the lack of an eligible member in the family. Another 40.15 % of households reported inaccessibility of the location in which the centre was located as a reason for not availing of this facility. Discrimination was also alleged by 6.85 % of the respondents in category II (See table 6.2 b).

Table 6. 2 a : Beneficiaries from Anganwadi/ICDS

Responses	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Benefited	41.94	32.81	20.00	36.29
Not Benefited	58.06	67.19	80.00	63.71

Table 6.2 b : Reasons for not benefiting from ICDS

Responses	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
No Eligible Member	58.21	49.32	67.14	58.15
Inaccesible	41.04	67.19	80.00	63.71
Discrimination	0.75	6.85	0.00	1.70

The survey results also revealed the level of awareness about the schemes was relatively weak due to a lower literacy rate, improper implementation of the schemes and many other factors. It , however does not suggest that all those who were aware could benefit from the schemes.

Given below is a table that shows the number of respondents having awareness about the various development schemes and the percentages of respondents who have benefited from each scheme. The percentages of the beneficiaries are calculated out of only those respondents who exhibited awareness about the schemes.

Table 6.2 c Various development schemes, awareness and beneficiaries

	Aware/ Benefited	Category I	%	Category II	%	Category III	%
National Rural Health Mission	Aware	100		3		17	
	Benefited	15	15.00	0	0.00	2	11
Integrated Child Development Scheme	Aware	127		18		34	
	Benefited	38	29.92	9	50.00	15	44
Mid Day Meal Scheme	Aware	288		32		61	
	Benefited	130	45.14	7	21.88	26	42
National Maternity Benefit Scheme	Aware	99		13		27	
	Benefited	20	20.20	8	61.54	14	51
National Social Assistance Programme	Aware	76		10		19	
	Benefited	10	13.16	0	0.00	0	0.
National Family Benefit Scheme	Aware	99		1		17	
	Benefited	27	27.27	0	0.00	1	5.
Pulse Polio Abhiyan	Aware	367		65		78	
	Benefited	266	72.48	49	75.38	56	71
Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan	Aware	227		24		48	
	Benefited	79	34.80	1	4.17	20	41
National Old Age Pension Scheme	Aware	195		26		38	
	Benefited	19	9.74	0	0.00	2	5.
Total Sanitation Campaign	Aware	93		7		14	
	Benefited	26	27.96	1	14.29	2	14
National Rural Employment Guarantee Act	Aware	170		23		31	
	Benefited	52	30.59	7	30.43	7	22

An analysis of the table reveals the huge gap that exists between awareness and actual benefit with respect to different development schemes. This applied across schemes and across categories though the level of this gap was variable. It can also be noted from the table that awareness is far higher in category I compared the other two categories. For instance, 100 respondents showed awareness about National Rural Health Mission in category I while the number respondents who were aware about this scheme in category II and III were only 3 and 17 respectively. Yet the lamentable part is that despite the awareness about this scheme, only 15% could benefit from it in category I while there was no beneficiary in category II and only 2% could benefit in category III.

The schemes which showed the highest level of awareness was Pulse Polio Abhiyan for which 367 respondents showed awareness in category I. It could also benefit the highest %age of respondents in all the categories and on the average it benefited 71.79

% of the total respondents who knew about it. The second position is held by the National Maternity Benefit Scheme which could benefit 51.85 % of total respondents. The next scheme is Integrated Child Development Scheme which benefited 44.12 % of the total respondents which was the only scheme which respondents in the category II were considerably aware about. Mid Day Meal Scheme, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan, and to an extent National Rural Employment Guarantee Act were other schemes for which respondents claimed awareness. However, as mentioned above, the benefits *vis-a vis* awareness for the said schemes were very low.

It is worth noting that National Social Assistance Programme did not benefit anyone in our sample. The % age of beneficiaries for National Old Age Pension Scheme and Total Sanitation Campaign were also comparatively very low. Government must ensure that awareness campaigns are started in category II and category III localities. It also ought to strengthen the existing awareness campaigns to ensure that maximum number of potential benefit seekers could know about various schemes. With regards to PDS, it must provide more centres and at closer distances to ensure that benefits could reach the needy.

7. MIGRATION

7.1 Extent of Migration

In Bhopal, a total of 521 households from both urban and rural areas, were selected to analyse the pattern of migration into the city. Across all catergories, 64.30% of households were natives of Bhopal, while 35.70 % of households had migrated from elsewhere. In category I, 27.92 % households comprised migrants; Category II shows a much higher proportion of migrants, i.e., 66.29 %; while 35.80 % of households in Category III are migrants. (Table 7.1)

Table 7.1 : Extent of Migration

Migration Status	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Native	72.08	33.71	64.20	64.30
Migrated	27.92	66.29	35.80	35.70

7.2 Reasons for Migration

The respondents were provided with a range of reasons that drove their migration to Bhopal. Among these, the possibility of employment opportunities in Bhopal proved to be the most important factor in deciding the migration of families and households. Over all, 78 % of migrant households identified employment as the single most significant reason. Indeed, in Category II, employment was cited as the reason for migration by as much as 96.6 % of respondent households.

Table 7.2 : Reasons for Migration

Reason For Migration	Category I	Category II	Category III	All Categories
Employment	74.50%	96.60%	72.70%	78.00%
Displacement	1.90%	0.00%	3.00%	1.80%
Lack Of Amenities In the Area	17.90%	3.40%	24.20%	16.70%

Children's Education	4.70%	0.00%	0.00%	3.00%

The second most important reason that forced people to shift to Bhopal was the abysmal lack of amenities in the native area. Bhopal thus becomes a city of choice for it tends to offer better civic amenities than those in their native towns and villages. On the whole 16.70 % of respondent households, and almost a quarter (24.20 %) of those falling in category III, picked this as the motivating factor for their migration to Bhopal.

Displacement (1.80 %) and children's education, or the lack thereof in the native area (3.00 %), were also cited as some reasons for migration. However, it is not difficult to understand the linkages between displacement and loss of employment, and further, employment insecurity and inability of families to educate their children. So ultimately, employment is the single most important factor that makes migration to a city an attractive, viable and mostly the only option for survival.

8. ISSUES OF SECURITY AND CONFLICT

8.1 Communal Conflict in the District

Inter-religious violence involving Muslims, Christians and militant Hindu organizations has been a repeated occurrence in parts of Madhya Pradesh. Militant organizations pursuing majoritarian goals have entered into conflict with the Christian missionaries in the adivasi belt of the state. In the cities such as Indore and Bhopal, the violence has been directed against the Muslims. In Bhopal, as mentioned earlier, the old city is predominantly Muslim with pockets of mixed as well as substantial Hindu population. The old city, over the years, has remained extremely sensitive to violent outbursts of communalism. Large scale communal strife broke out in Bhopal in 1993 following the demolition of the Babri Mosque. It left nearly 140 dead, majority of them being Muslim.

The Survey tried to capture and comprehend the fear and insecurity that these communal skirmishes have instilled in the minds of the residents of Bhopal. To the questions whether their families had suffered communal or group violence of any kind, a large proportion of the population gave a first hand account of their sufferings. This was particularly observed in the minority concentrated areas where nearly 50% of the respondents were found to have experienced violence. The comparative figure from other areas was significantly low thus establishing that conflict had left more victims among the minorities. An overwhelming majority of such respondents had faced and suffered during the communal violence in the city. Here again, the proportion of victims was found to be much higher among the respondents residing in the minority dominated areas. (Tables 8.1a and 8.1 b)

Table8.1a : Whether Suffered Communal Violence

Categories	Responses	
	Yes	No
Category I	14.5%	85.5%
Category II	50.0%	50.0%
Category III	43.8%	56.3%

Table 8.1 b: Type of Conflict

Categories	Caste-based	Communal	Land & Poperty related	Police atrocities	Others
Category I	14.3%	57.1%	9.5%	9.5%	9.5%
Category II	30.0%	20.0%	.0%	.0%	50.0%
Category III	7.1%	64.3%	.0%	.0%	28.6%
All Categories	15.6%	51.1%	4.4%	4.4%	24.4%

The Survey tried to assess the scale of violence that communities had suffered in terms of loss of life or property during such clashes. The proportion of respondents from minority areas whose families had suffered loss of life and property was considerably higher than those in mixed localities or those staying in the predominantly majority inhabited colonies. Thus, while among those residing in majority dominated Category I areas only 3.8% had lost a member of the family in communal clashes, this figure was a high as 21 % in areas with minority concentration (Table 8.1 c). Similarly, the number of families that had to bear the loss of immoveable property was substantially high among the minorities (8.1 d). This is consistent with the accounts of various fact finding reports, reports of commissions of enquiries, news stories; most of whom have noted with concern the disproportionate violence that minorities in the country face during such clashes.

Table 8.1 c : Loss of a member of family during communal violence

Categories	Responses	
	Yes	No
Category I	3.8%	96.2%
Category II	13.5%	86.5%
Category III	21.2%	78.8%

Table 8.1 d: Loss of Property in Communal Violence

Categories	Responses

	Yes	No
Category I	7.0%	93.0%
Category II	17.1%	82.9%
Category III	20.0%	80.0%

8.2 Insecurity and Conflict

Apart from the conflict and violence experienced in their own vicinity, the psyche of minority groups is also affected by the unfolding of such events in other parts of the country. As mentioned earlier, Madhya Pradesh, in recent years has witnessed a spurt in violent flare ups involving religious communities. This has left a pervasive feeling of insecurity amongst the minorities. A large proportion of respondents, particularly from minority areas, felt insecure in such a polarized context. Notably, the proportion of such responses was considerably higher in mixed locality than those in minority concentrated areas (Table 8.2 a). This could be one reason for the emergence of segregated localities across urban India.

Table 8.2 a: Feeling of Insecurity

Categories	Responses	
	Yes	No
Category I	42.8%	57.2%
Category II	79.5%	20.5%
Category III	67.9%	32.1%

During the course of the Survey, an attempt was made to comprehend the perceptions about the police force and its role during the outbreak of violence. This again was put into a comparative framework to understand the differentials across categories. The picture that emerges is a complex one. While the residents of the minority dominated areas largely found the police co-operative, but in its handling of communal violence, they felt that the police and the administration were biased against their community. Not many in the majority dominated areas found the police too cooperative in normal circumstances, yet they felt that it operated with a fair degree of impartiality in responding to inter-community clashes.

Table 8.2 b: Role of Police during Communal Violence

Categories	Cooperative	Non-Cooperative	Indifferent	Biased	Others
Category I	27.3%	22.2%	39.3%	4.8%	6.3%
Category II	20.5%	12.8%	34.6%	24.4%	7.7%
Category III	41.0%	12.8%	28.2%	16.7%	1.3%

All Categories	28.4%	19.2%	36.8%	9.8%	5.7%

In a communally charged city such as Bhopal it is imperative that all developmental schemes, particularly those aimed towards uplifting minority groups, take account of the impending situation so that schemes serve towards mitigating tensions rather than ending up aggravating them. The fact that the minority respondents of Bhopal question the impartiality of the police force and state authorities, especially in situations of inter-community conflicts, makes the task even more challenging.