FOREWORD

by Mr N.S. Hariharan
Principal Secretary, Urban Development Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh

Poverty alleviation is central to the urban development strategy of Andhra Pradesh and active community participation is an essential component of a successful program. Working with the Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rojgar Yojana and the National Slum Development Program, emphasis has focused on the empowerment of women, development of urban areas, urban employment and poverty reduction. Greater flexibility introduced by the Government of India in the past two years has underpinned our efforts in these four areas and yielded good results in infrastructure development and income-generating activities.

In the past, frequent changes of programs, erratic and tardy release of grants, inadequate project staff and lack of information have seriously affected the utilization of funds. While our own experience has been positive, it is clear from this Think Tank that in many municipalities there are large information gaps about the programs available. We welcome the opportunity provided by this meeting to better understand and more effectively utilize the various urban poverty funds that are available.
The Heart of the Argument - Paradox of Poverty Reduction

The genesis of the 10th Urban Think Tank, ‘Flow and Utilization of Urban Poverty Funds’, stems from what could be termed the paradox of poverty reduction in India. A lack of funds is often cited as one of the main obstacles frustrating the urban poverty reduction strategies of the Government. And yet...research shows that a significant proportion of funds, available through Central Government and state programs as well as international agencies, is simply not being used. Efforts to find reliable data about the exact amount of Central and State Government and external donor funds available have met with varying degrees of success. But estimates suggest that probably only 60% of available funds are spent at the national level and between 30% and 90% at the city level.

Against this background, the Think Tank set out to discuss the following questions:

- just how much money is available for urban poverty reduction;
- what is the utilization pattern of the funds available under various programs;
- the efficiency of the various organizations and local bodies who disburse funds;
- are the poor benefiting; and
- why is the uptake of funds low in many states and cities, and where do the bottlenecks occur.

The outcome of these discussions would help municipal managers, local officials, NGOs and others involved in program implementation to draw lessons and suggestions for improving the effectiveness of the schemes. What emerged from the Think Tank were some glaring information gaps and a lack of real grasp about available programs from most municipal managers. This publication attempts to highlight significant findings and recommendations about the four flagships of urban poverty reduction in India — Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rojgar Yojana (SJSRY), National Slum Development Program (NSDP), Low Cost Sanitation and Liberation of Scavengers (LCS) and Accelerated Urban Water Supply Program (AUWSP) — and hopefully provide insights at the national, state and local levels into some contentious problems and issues that have influenced the quality of program implementation.

The discussions were creative and realistic. It was generally accepted that all is not really well with the implementation of the programs and more evaluation of exactly what is happening is needed. Common themes which emerged were the need to:

- get the focus of the programs back on to the poor;
- redefine the parameters of poverty;
- establish realistic roles at the right levels of both state and local governments; and
- simplify the flow of money from Center to state and from state to municipalities.

VOICES...

“It appears that no one is clear about the amount of money available for urban issues.”  Professor Amitabh Kundu, JNU

“Some of these schemes indicate a craze for names, but at the field level the concepts are more difficult to grasp and the programs hard to sustain: financial reform and good management are crucial.”  Dr P. K. Mohanty, Municipal Commissioner, MCH

“Credit is the main engine of livelihood promotion, but access to credit by lower income groups is very low.”  Mr Vijay Mahajan, BASIX

“The methodology for identification of the poor is very weak; economic data is not enough, social indicators which include the living conditions of the poor must be used.”  Mr DG Surya Rao, UPACOR

“Underestimation of the urban poor is a very serious issue. In Mumbai only 27,000 families are so identified — this leaves millions who, despite living in gutters, are denied access to programs, thanks to the use of ridiculous indicators.”  Mr K. Nalinakshan, Municipal Commissioner, Mumbai
Poverty in India has often been seen as a problem of rural areas at the policy-making level. Official statistics tend to support this view since, until the late eighties, urban poverty levels were about 10 percentage points below rural levels. This is so, irrespective of the poverty lines and price indices used by the experts in their calculations. But the scenario has changed significantly in recent years. By the late eighties, the gap between the two poverty levels narrowed so much that the Expert Group on Poverty Measurement, set up by the Planning Commission, reported a higher figure for urban than rural poverty. Though urban poverty levels have once again dipped below rural poverty, the rural urban poverty differential in the late nineties is narrower than ever before.

While poverty in rural areas tends to go down smoothly with economic growth, there is no significant negative correlation between per capita income and urban poverty at the state level and the percentage of urban households covered through basic amenities does not increase with per capita income. One can, therefore, hypothesize that while in many Indian states, urban poverty is due to lack of economic development, in others it is due to the nature of development itself. Furthermore, the number of urban poor is increasing at a much faster rate than in rural areas. All these factors underline the need for policy focus on urban poverty.

It is often argued that urban areas do not need government support or budgetary resources to tackle problems as the people have higher income levels, can mobilize resources internally and attract higher levels of outside investment. While the urban sector has indeed attracted more private sector resources, most of the investment has gone to commercially viable infrastructure projects. Funds for slum improvement have been extremely meager. Given the political economy, it is difficult for the local governments to mobilize resources from rich areas within the city and provide basic amenities to the poor.

With a few exceptions, institutional funds and capital market resources have gone to a handful of large cities. Most small and medium towns, with a population below 50,000, have received very little private or even public sector investment during the past decade. Even government subsidy has been linked to the capability of the urban center to design economically viable projects and attract commercial capital. Official data from the National Sample Survey and Population Census reveals that these towns have poverty levels as high as in rural areas — about four times that in metropolitan cities. Further, the deprivation in terms of households not covered by electricity, drinking water and toilets is about three times that for cities with populations over 100,000. This implies that any program designed for the poor would have to embrace a large number of small towns. This would mean a paradigm shift in the urban development policy of both government and external donors who channel funds for anti-poverty programs to a few large cities.

It is important to analyze whether recent changes in the poverty alleviation programs, particularly in the Ninth Five Year Plan, meet the requirements of ground reality, as presented above. In fact, there have been significant changes in the norms and stipulations of the programs that are likely to alter the thrust, coverage and targeting. A broad overview based on the aggregate data at the national level suggests the following changes:

1. The allocation for anti-poverty programs has gone down in recent years. The per capita figure for the nineties is about 24% less than in the mid-eighties. Further, these have higher loan component and fewer grants compared to earlier years.

2. There is an attempt at better targeting to people who are likely to succeed in their economic ventures. For this purpose, banks, other financial institutions and NGOs are involved in the design and implementation of the programs. Their involvement is sought to ensure that beneficiaries have the entrepreneurial skills and the capacity to repay the loans.

3. There is greater emphasis on the promotion of self-employment to generate long-term income earning capabilities among the poor. The basic idea is that government money should be used as a one-shot measure to help the poor cross the poverty line. Wage employment programs are being discouraged as these are seen as long-term subidization measures. Greater emphasis is placed on imparting training and entrepreneurial skills for the self-employment activities.

4. Group-based activities are encouraged as these are likely to ensure better compliance of norms and lower default rates on loan repayment. Encouraging women groups to participate is also expected to ensure better cost recovery and higher benefits to the women and children through familial bonds.

The above overview suggests that under the new perspective, there is an attempt to make the anti-poverty programs part and parcel of the general development plan. While this would increase economic viability and cost recovery, there is a serious risk of missing out the most vulnerable groups among the poor. Additionally, larger cities with a stronger economic base stand to benefit more by this restructuring. Small and medium towns, particularly those in backward states, are likely to be bypassed as a consequence of this changed perspective.
**Analysis contributed by Mr Ratnakar Gaikwad, Pune Municipal Commissioner**

- Seeks to abandon traditional top-down implementation and promote community empowerment by establishing and supporting neighborhood groups and Community Development Societies (CDSs). The CDSs prioritize viable projects, identify beneficiaries, and generally provide support in social sector inputs, including health, welfare and education.
- Consists of two programs: The *Urban Self Employment Program (USEP)* and The *Urban Wage Employment Program (UWEP)*.
  - **USEP** promotes self-employment for individuals and groups. **Some special features:**
    - It is applicable to all towns in India with emphasis on urban poor clusters;
    - Targets the urban poor but includes non-economic parameters;
    - Households headed by widows, divorcees, single women and those where women are sole earners given priority;
    - Assists unemployed youth to establish micro-enterprises using local skills and crafts;
    - Thrift and credit societies existing for 12 months or more to receive subsidies and other funds;
    - A unique incentive for groups of 10 or more poor urban women establishing self-employment ventures is the *Development of Women and Children in Urban Areas (DWCUA)*; and
    - 2% of state allocations available for information, education and communication.
  - **UWEP** provides wage employment on socially and economically useful public works to those living below the poverty line; available to urban local bodies with a population less than 5 lakhs. **Special features:**
    - Community Development Societies (CDSs) will (a) identify missing basic minimum services and (b) prioritize other required infrastructure;
    - Work carried out by CDS under control and supervision of urban local bodies; and
    - Community Organizer, preferably a woman, appointed for each 2,000 identified families to work with the community in implementing and monitoring the program, training and information-sharing.

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### Constraints and Recommendations Identified by the Think Tank

Serious and fundamental flaws were identified which need to be addressed if the tempo of poverty alleviation via SJSRY is to be speeded up sufficiently to make a measurable difference. Most critical of these were:

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<td>Poverty measurement: For rural poverty, employment is a reasonable indicator but it becomes meaningless in an urban setting where the poor lack in physical assets such as shelter, drinking water, sanitation, health and education. Some cities are simply not able to locate beneficiaries using the present formula.</td>
<td>Revision of poverty indicators to include, in addition to consumer expenditure data, non-economic indicators which are sensitive to the poverty of urban infrastructure. Social indicators are a must.</td>
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<td>Institutional: Doubts about the capacity of local urban bodies to handle the new flow of funds necessary to implement these programs.</td>
<td>Appoint an independent agency to implement all SJSRY activities except policy-handling.</td>
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<td>Financing: 80% of package released via banks yet bankers reluctant to liaise with beneficiaries to implement schemes. Excuses for not sanctioning funds include lack of experience, security and entrepreneurship. In fact main lack is commitment on the part of the bankers to implement SJSRY.</td>
<td>Adopt “direct finance approach” using organizations such as Self Employed Women’s Association (SEWA) who have a proven track record in social banking. Funds could be released through the District Urban Development Authority (DUDA).</td>
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<td>USEP program promotes the idea of micro-industrial estates without specifying where that land is to come from. As Mr Ramanath Jha commented: “A fundamental point about dealing with poverty in the city is that the poor have no place — land is a basic criteria. Castles cannot be built in the air and nor can the poor build enterprise in the air.”</td>
<td>When building a poverty reduction program which needs land, then provision for that land to be there must be included in the scheme.</td>
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National Slum Development Program (NSDP)

- Launched by the GOI in August 1996. The beauty of the scheme is that it is “slum-sensitive” and targets funds to those states with the most pressing slum clusters. But the difficulty lies in the funding arrangement which has a 30:70 grant/loan ratio.
  - In some states, NSDP has more or less replaced the Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums (EIUS) scheme where allocations are now so low that the program is almost defunct.
  - For 1998-99, the Planning Commission allocated Rs 350 crore of which Rs 241 crore had been released by December 1998.
- The objective of NSDP is to provide adequate and satisfactory water supply, sanitation, education facilities, health care, housing and environmental improvement through the creation of sustainable support systems.
- The focus is on community infrastructure, provision of shelter, empowerment of urban poor women, training, skill upgradation and advocacy.
- The involvement of NGOs, Community Development Societies (CDSs), private institutions as well as state level bodies is essential if the program is to achieve meaningful impact.
- Implementation will be at the grassroots level through CDSs and Neighborhood Committees set up for the SJSRY. For every rupee raised by the community for this fund, a matching Rs 5 will be contributed from Central allocation
- Monitoring and progress will be through the District Urban Development Agency at district and state level and through the Department of Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation at the national level.

Constraints and Recommendations Identified by the Think Tank

Basic problems were raised in the context of both design and policy

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<td>Technical: NSDP is infrastructure-oriented which leads to alienation of individuals and poor community participation; the scheme has a spatial concept but does not correctly identify the urban poor; non-notified, that is, illegal slums, are not included; and insufficient technical staffing.</td>
<td>Greater community involvement in the planning process to establish demand-driven projects. Develop an accurate data base for slums with agreed “slum indicators”; and develop a fair policy on land tenure and de-notification of slums.</td>
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<td>Managerial and Institutional: Limited technical, managerial and financial capacity; too many schemes overburden the ULBs; confusion between implementing ministries; and the lack of effective monitoring.</td>
<td>ULBs to develop comprehensive micro/macro slum plans and improve governance and transparency of decision-making; and establish effective inter-agency co-ordination for all urban poor schemes.</td>
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<td>Financial: Cost recovery as conceived is not happening; inadequate financial management; infrequent audit; gaps in funding cause frustrations in active ULB; and allocations do not match requirements.</td>
<td>Concept of user charges for quality services and scheme for cost recovery to be integral part of project design; and the loan/grant component must be adjusted to a more realistic 50:50 ratio.</td>
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“There is too much semantics in this discussion. How can we talk about a ‘model’ slum or a ‘developed slum’. Surely a slum is a slum.”
Renu Khosla, NIUA

“We should not segregate the poor. Segmenting cities into ‘slums’ and ‘others’ does not create a sustainable city and sharp inequalities will cause social unrest.”
Amitabh Kundu, JNU
### Constraints and Recommendations Identified in Group Discussions

This is a very good scheme, but there are five hurdles which are seriously affecting implementation:

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<td><strong>Technical:</strong> Inflexible design. States often do not adapt to local conditions (eg: building latrines on cotton soil or where there are acute water shortages); and no provision in scheme for generating awareness of the program.</td>
<td>Technical options available must respond to demand and local conditions. This is a pre-requisite for success.</td>
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<td>Funds: Not sufficient at present costs; financing mechanisms too complex; fund flow from Urban Local Body (ULB) to beneficiaries is too slow; and no mechanism or will in the ULBs to recover loans.</td>
<td>Pre-financing should be considered. One-stop financial intermediary at state level should be appointed.</td>
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<td>Targeting: Insecure tenure major hurdle in accessing funds; and political interference in identifying beneficiaries.</td>
<td>Simplify conditions for getting access to funding.</td>
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<td>Capacity of Implementing Agencies: Lack of understanding/clarity on how to recover loans; lack of training at both basic and skilled levels; low motivation; and inappropriate organizational structure.</td>
<td>Guidelines for implementation to be drawn up at state level after consultation with local bodies.</td>
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<td>Attitudes of Beneficiaries: Doubts about the technology; disappointment with low quality construction; poor awareness of scheme; poor arrangements for payments of “pay and use” facilities by urban poor; and doubts about whether beneficiaries are in fact a priority.</td>
<td>Evaluation of program right across the country. Facilitate ULB to create demand and recover costs.</td>
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Accelerated Urban Water Supply Program (AUSWP)

**Background:** A Centrally sponsored scheme started in 1994 and operated through the Ministry of Urban Affairs and Employment. The rationale behind it is that due to the low economic base and lower priority given by state governments to supply water to smaller towns, these are often neglected during normal times and are worst hit during periods of drought. The estimated cost of the selected schemes is to be borne on a 50:50 basis between the Center and the states.

**Objectives:** To provide a safe and adequate drinking water supply to small towns with populations of less than 20,000 (according to the 1991 census, there are 2,151 eligible towns); to improve the environment and the quality of life; and to enhance socio-economic conditions and thereby improve economic productivity.

**Eligibility:** Towns are selected by a committee established by the state government. Priority is given to towns with special problems such as: (i) Very low per capita supply of potable water (ii) Very distant or deep water sources (iii) Drought-prone areas (iv) Excess salinity, fluoride or iron content (v) high incidence of water-borne diseases.

**Financing:** The share of each qualifying state is decided on the following scale:
- 50% on the population of the towns
- 35% on the incidence of poverty in the state
- 5% on the number of such towns in the state
- 10% for towns covered under DPAP, DDP, HADP and special category hilly states.

**Implementation:** The program is to be integrated with the Water Supply and Sewerage Board and Public Health Engineering Bodies. However, as community participation is the cardinal principle underlying the whole program, efforts must be made to train local people to operate and maintain the scheme.

### Constraints and Recommendations Identified in Group Discussions

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<td>The program suffers from limited spending because the states are often unable to provide the matching 50% grant to the local bodies.</td>
<td>The money should be directly channelled to the local body, therefore raising additional funds should be the responsibility of the local body.</td>
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<td>The implementation of the projects is often the responsibility of state public health and engineering departments (PHEDs), and there is a possibility of over-estimation of costs in order to get higher grants from the Central Government.</td>
<td>The authority of evaluating cost estimates can be the responsibility of the local body. There were questions about whether the local body had the capacity to monitor the PHED.</td>
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<td>The amount of money allocated under the AUWSP per town is very small; the reason being that the funds are distributed equally amongst all towns, making water supply projects unfeasible.</td>
<td>The amount of money allocated to local bodies should be based on a selection criteria which includes ability to repay the costs and maintain the assets of the local body.</td>
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<td>Presently the program only incorporates a “downward” or grant system of funding, therefore the pot of money is inadequate.</td>
<td>The program should have a system of the “upward” or repayment principle for funding built into it and enforced.</td>
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The Planning Commission Perspective on Urban Poverty Alleviation

**Background**

Poverty alleviation has been one of the major goals of Indian urban policy. The initiatives, “to raise living standards and promote enterprise among the disadvantaged classes”, emerged in the early fifties during the First Five Year Plan. Initially poverty reduction focused on social and economic equity and later as distortions in income distribution. The Fifth Plan identified Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums (EIUS) as a basic need of the poor population. The Seventh Five Year Plan made an attempt to address urban poverty issues directly instead of treating them as a mere adjunct of rural poverty. The Urban Basic Services for the Poor (UBSP) took a participatory approach in tackling physical and social needs. The Nehru Rozgar Yojana (NRY) was designed to provide employment for the urban poor. Its components were:

(i) SUME (Scheme for Urban Micro Enterprises)
(ii) SUWE (Scheme for Urban Wage Employment)
(iii) SHASU (Scheme for Shelter Upgradation and Slums).

In addition, a major initiative — known as the Prime Minister’s Integrated Urban Poverty Eradication Program (PMIUPEP) — was developed to tackle the problem of urban poverty with a multi-pronged long-term strategy aimed at bringing community organizations to the center of the development process by facilitating the direct participation of the target groups.

**Present Position**

It is accepted that poverty is multi-dimensional and cannot be defined in terms of any single measure. Just who “the poor” are can depend as much on where they live as what they earn and therefore the GOI has adopted a number of multifaceted strategies to alleviate urban poverty. In December 1997, the earlier programs were integrated into the Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana (SJSRY) which both rationalizes the components of previous schemes and provides assistance for the unemployed/underemployed through self-employment ventures or the provision of wage employment. The thrust of the new measures has been to move away from the traditional “top down” approach and empower urban poor communities, in particular women and children under Development of Women and Children in Urban Areas (DWCUA). Some states have set up neighborhood groups and Community Development Societies to facilitate local participation and ensure that schemes can work in a decentralized manner. The allocation for this program under the Ninth Plan is Rs 1,009 crores. Additional urban poverty reduction strategies are delivered through the National Slum Development Program which includes shelter and infrastructure upgradation. Under this program, the Government of India provides additional Central assistance to the states/urban local bodies. In addition, the Ministry of Social Welfare and the Public Distribution System operate schemes to ensure subsidized food and nutritional security.

**Impact of Programs**

Although no comprehensive assessment has so far been undertaken, some impact studies seem to indicate that the programs may require certain modifications that would enable better targeting and improve the quality of service delivery.

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Guest Editorial

by Mr Ramnath Jha
Managing Director, Small Scale Industries Dev Corp Ltd, Mumbai

I would be guilty of practising deceit if I did not confess that the deliberations of the Tenth Urban Think Tank at Hyderabad were brutally critical and utterly honest. The large attendance at this well structured seminar displayed a high quality of debate and deep understanding and compassion. Urban analysts, academicians and municipal practitioners displayed rare unanimity in concluding that the urban poor had been given a raw deal, that programs designed for them had failed to yield healthy results and that for far too long we had tinkered with systems in place that were flawed from the start.

The lessons learnt pointed in the direction of a fundamental redesigning of poverty schemes with less of Government, banks and their procedures and more of community and self-regulation. It had dawned on all of us that empowerment is the only route to salvation.
Hyderabad Metropolitan Water Supply and Sewerage Board (HMWSSB)

In 1962 there were 106 slum settlements in Hyderabad housing a population of 0.12 million. By 1994 this had risen to 811 slums with a population of 1.25 million. With migration going on unabated, it is projected that by 2001 these slums will contain 1.6 million people; or roughly 40% of the total projected population of the city. HMWSSB take the view that the poor should not be expected to stand in line at pumps, a practice which leads to water wastage and creates social tensions. In the last 18 months, 54,000 individual tap connections have been made and a further 35,000 are projected for the next few months. 50% funding comes via the NSDP with beneficiaries contributing the remaining 50%. Much of the work is being done by women’s groups especially trained in tap connection; this provides employment and encourages women in non-traditional roles.

Additionally, Rs 5.7 lakhs has been allocated for individual latrine connections of which Rs 3.61 lakhs has already been spent.

The 30-member Addagutta Development Social Welfare Committee has been outstandingly effective in educating and encouraging everyone in the Addagutta slum to take individual water connections. Apart from the economic gains of reduced water loss from public standpipes and less need for costly tanker supplies, the social gains are manifold. These include improved domestic hygiene which is reflected in lower medical bills and a great increase of time which women can spend with their family.

Another innovative feature of HMWSSB includes a Citizen’s Charter which came into effect in January 2000. This provides a commitment to service and quality which customers can expect in terms of water and sanitation supply and provides a fixed timeframe for dealing with complaints.

HMWSSB feels that more success stories such as the one in Addagutta are possible only if the NSDP guidelines about funding infrastructure requirements are specific in deleting “developed” slums from the scheme.

Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad (MCH)

Under the auspices of the DWCUA (Development of Women and Children in Urban Areas) program, a unique incentive for groups of 10 or more poor urban women to establish self-employment ventures, the Corporation has recently introduced a Community Contracting Scheme. This has allotted 14 sanitation units for sweeping and garbage lifting to women’s groups on the same terms and conditions as apply to private contractors. The women’s groups no longer operate through middlemen but are direct contractors to the Corporation. They have grouped themselves into Thrift and Credit Societies and save part of the amounts received from MCH each month. The scheme is running very successfully.

The MCH also encourages the public to take up door-to-door collection of garbage in their area by the appointment of their own sanitation workers. MCH provides a tricycle free of cost to a colony/group of houses which engages a ragpicker to collect garbage from their doorsteps every day and pays him at the rate of Rs 10 per household. By adopting this scheme, the people get a garbage fee locality and a poor ragpicker gets employment. This scheme is called Voluntary Garbage Disposal Scheme (VGDS) and so far 550 such VGDS units are operating in Hyderabad.
Tenth Urban Think Tank: List of Participants

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