

FINANCING URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE: PPP APPROACH

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***Abstract:** Urban local governments are entrusted with a set of responsibilities of providing basic urban amenities and services to the people. They are dependent on states and centre for grant in aid and loans as the own resources of ULBs are grossly inadequate. There is mismatch between functions and municipal resources. The efforts for additional resource mobilization to fulfill the commitments by the ULBs are not adequate due to various factors. The ULBs are becoming dependent on transfers and fiscal devolution from central and state governments to meet out their financial requirements. Municipal governments may be allowed to enjoy fiscal autonomy with freedom of choice in regard to imposing new taxes and revising tax rates. Present paper purports to .examine the financing of urban infrastructure in Hyderabad through public private partnership.*

INTRODUCTION

Globally, the governments-national and sub-national-are vigorously pursuing the ways and means of involving the private sector including the NGOs, community based organizations, etc., as active partners in the development process. This entails a paradigm shift in the governance process and the perceptions of the roles of the government, community, NGOs and the for-profit organizations. In the inclusive development parlance, every segment of society has a role to contribute. This realization has led to emergence of the concept of public private partnership (PPP) on the development spectrum. The scope for PPP strategy is immense and wide encompassing varies areas of modern governments. In fact, it has become integral part of governance both, in developed and developing countries. India is no exception to this global happening phenomenon.

Liberalization of the Indian economy paved way for involvement of the private sector in the development and governance process. In fact, partnering with the private sector has been accepted as a national policy for economic and social development of the people. The central, state and local governments are adopting the PPP approach in varying models and strategies. The Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation has initiated a unique financial mobilization exercise called Fund Your City on public private partnership basis to provide certain urban facilities

and infrastructure. This paper examines the initiative in order to understand the dynamics of the PPP approach in urban infrastructure development.

The term, privatization finds many interpretations. In a broader sense, it means a process of reducing state or the public sector in the nation's economic activity and also economic liberalization and deregulation of control that facilitate entry of the private actors into the public domain. The ambit of privatization has been widened involving a range of actors, viz., formal private sector, informal or unorganized sector, the non-profit enterprises, NGOs, social groups, associations, cooperatives and community based organizations including self-help groups. In the process, the concept of privatization metamorphosed into a much broader concept called Public-Private Partnership (PPP).

The fascination for private sector stems from certain perceived advantages viz., competition in the service/infrastructure provision leading to better management and avoiding monopoly; efficient provision of service; maximizing profits by reducing costs; it enables innovations - technical as well as managerial; and optimization of human resource utilization. At the other end, public organizations suffer from ills like viz., wastage, pilferage, unaccounted-for losses, free riders, high administrative overheads, corruption, etc. Another compelling reason for involving private sector is the financial constraint being faced by the governments as against the spiraling demands of infrastructure development. Urban infrastructure demands are mind-boggling in India running into trillions. The Mckinsey Global Institute (2010) for instance, estimated annual per capita spending on core urban infrastructure development of 134\$ from the existing level of 17\$ per year as requirement. In absolute terms, the level of investment would be of the order of 1.2 trillion dollars during 2010-30 period.¹ The 2011 Report of the Government of India under the chairmanship of Dr. Isher Judge Ahluwalia on urban investment estimated that Rs 39.2 lakh crore at 2009-10 prices is required over the next 20-year period from 2012 to 2031. It envisaged increased investment in urban infrastructure from 0.7 per cent of GDP in 2011-12 to 1.1 per cent by 2031-32.²

The role of private sector is indisputable in the contemporary urban development scenario in India. The private sector can play a constructive role only when the governments-central and state, provide an appropriate policy and regulatory framework. The state governments have a major role in this respect. Each state has to devise a policy and regulatory framework based on the local conditions. The framework should provide an enabling environment for private participation. The aspects like public service responsibilities, accountability, quality of service, balancing the rights and obligations of the service providers and consumers, efficiency, sustainability, acceptability and social fall-out issues should properly be addressed. The success of PPP initiatives depends on how effectively these aspects are dealt in the implementation process.

The Government of Andhra Pradesh has been pursuing privatization of infrastructure vigorously in recent years. Several mega projects are initiated in

the urban sector too. These mega projects involve huge capital investments both, from the public sector and the private sector. An effective policy and regulatory framework is therefore, needed to proceed successfully in the PPP initiatives. The Government has taken certain measures in this direction in recent years. The most important of these is enactment of the Andhra Pradesh Infrastructure Development Enabling Act, 2001 which came into effect from August 20, 2001. This Act primarily applies to all infrastructure development projects in the specified sectors. The areas initially identified in the urban sector are: roads, bridges and bye passes; health; land reclamation; water supply – treatment and distribution; waste management; sewerage and drainage; public markets; trade fairs, conventions and cultural centers; public buildings; gardens, parks and recreation; and real estate.

The Urban Local Bodies are initiating several schemes to adopt the Public-Private-Partnership strategy of mobilizing revenues to meet the increasing demand on infrastructure services front. The GHMC initiated a novel scheme called Fund Your City (FYC) to involve the private sector participation. The main objective of the FYC initiative is to involve corporate houses, NGOs, philanthropic institutions and citizens in improving the infrastructure. Junction improvements, installation and maintenance of traffic signals, beautification and maintenance of road mediums, traffic islands, sidewalks, footpaths and fountains, construction of foot over bridges, painting of road markings, erection street furniture, construction and maintenance of public conveniences and slum adoption are certain areas identified to be funded under the FYC scheme on BOT system.

HYDERABAD-MEGA GROWTH AND MEGA NEEDS

The city of Hyderabad was founded by Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah after the earlier capital city of Golconda in 1591. With over four hundred years of history, the city has grown into a metropolitan city in recent decades. The present Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad (MCH) was constituted in 1960 after the formation of the Andhra Pradesh state in 1956. The entire civic administration was divided into 7 circles. In the face of rapid growth of the city in recent years, the boundaries were extended and the MCH was renamed as the Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (GHMC) in 2007 by merging the surrounding municipalities and few other urban areas. The civic body of Hyderabad now commands a much bigger area and larger population. The area of the GHMC is now 650 sq. kms as against 172 sq. kms of erstwhile MCH with a corresponding population increase from 36 lacs to 63 lacs. At present, the GHMC has a population of 68 lacs as per provisional figures of Census 2001 while the projections estimate over 10 million by 2021.

The GHMC is responsible for providing the basic civic services and urban infrastructural facilities within its jurisdiction. GHMC has been under pressure due to multiple challenges: continuous increase in the demands due to expansion of the city; declining infrastructure in the older parts of the city; and the additional burden of providing civic infrastructure and services in the newly included peripheral areas.

The financial status of the GHMC indicates that the civic body generates major share that is, 64.7% from the own revenues constituting of taxes (41.8%) and non-taxes (22.9%). The assigned revenues viz., surcharge on stamp duty and entertainment tax, collected by the state government, contribute 22.3%. The State Government grants appear to be negligible with mere 4.2%. The major single source is however property tax, contributing 39.6% of the total revenues.³

The GHMC has to depend much on its internal revenue generation capacity as the external receipts come mostly in the form of plan schemes like the current JNNURM. The JNNURM funds are being used for major infrastructure, poverty alleviation and housing by the GHMC. The GHMC has initiated alternative financing strategies. GHMC had floated Rs 80 crore tax-free municipal bonds. One of the alternative, gained currency in recent years is privatization and Public-Private Partnerships (PPP). The GHMC adopted PPP strategy in the sanitation sector especially, street sweeping and privatization in the solid waste management. Fund-Your-City (FYC) is one such scheme initiated by the GHMC on PPP mode.

FUND-YOUR-CITY - A PARTNERSHIP APPROACH FOR DEVELOPING URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE

The objective of the FYC initiative is to involve corporate houses, NGOs, philanthropic institutions and citizens in improving the city infrastructure. The following infrastructure facilities are identified for development along with the licensing the advertisement rights.

- Construction and maintenance of Foot over Bridges.
- Junction improvements.
- Improvement and maintenance of Central Medians.
- Construction and maintenance of Public Conveniences.
- Painting of Zebra Crossings and installation of signage in schools.
- Tree Guards at prime locations.
- Grant of right to collect advertisement fee on neon/glow sign boards attached to the shops, establishments, offices, etc. to private individuals/agencies.
- Outsourcing of collection of the entertainment tax on cable TV network operations.
- Design, Finance, Build, Maintain and Transfer of international quality Bus Shelters.

The GHMC received good response for this initiative in the beginning. In the light of good response and competition for various items for sponsorship, it was decided to go for open bids-cum-auction to be more transparent. The first bid was held on 10.09.2005 and more than twelve bids have been held so far under the scheme.

The GHMC issued guidelines for bidding and developing/maintaining the facilities under various items. The successful bidders are to enter into contracts to

develop and/or maintain the facilities in the above-mentioned areas. They are given licenses for advertisement rights over the sites developed during the contract period. The successful bidders can decide whether they would carry out the construction and/or maintenance as the case may be or would like the GHMC to do the same on his behalf for which he shall pay the cost as specified. At the end of the license period, the licensee shall handover the property to the GHMC and the GHMC shall not be liable to pay any compensation for such an act. During the license period, the licensee shall have the rights to advertise through hoardings/boards, etc., as per the specifications given by the GHMC. Further, the licensee has to pay all taxes and fee to the concerned authorities during the contract period. The licensee shall also have the right to collect the user charges if such provision is made in the contract. This facility may be applied in case of maintaining services like public conveniences and toilets.

PERFORMANCE OF THE FYC SCHEME

The GHMC not only developed assets but also is getting additional annual income under this scheme. The assets added to the city's civic facilities while the income generated has shown the ways for improving the civic body's financial strength. The performance of the initiative is examined here to understand the dynamics of PPP approach in urban infrastructure development on a micro scale.

Foot Over Bridges

With unregulated growth especially on the major arterial roads and certain junctions, the city of Hyderabad has been experiencing increased traffic leading to frequent congestion, frequent traffic jams and blockades. The GHMC has taken-up certain measures as part of its overall traffic and transportation planning. Construction of ring roads, by-pass roads, regulating traffic by one-way traffic, widening of the roads and construction of over bridges are some strategic interventions being made by the GHMC. The intensity of traffic jams increase at certain junctions and points due to concentration of official, commercial, educational and business activities. The crossing of roads along these points by the pedestrians has become Herculean task and strain full and risky especially to the children and aged people. These junctions have also become accident prone due to congestion and erratic vehicular traffic movement. In order to ease the traffic flow and facilitate safe road crossing by the pedestrians, construction of Foot Over Bridges (FOPs) was contemplated by the GHMC.

The GHMC has taken-up construction of the FOBs on BOT-build, operate and transfer method of PPP by involving the private sector. M/S IL&FS Infrastructure Development Corporation Ltd. (IL&FS IDC) has been appointed as the strategic adviser for project development, promotion of the concept and to manage the bid process. The land for construction was provided by the GHMC and the design of construction and other technical details was prescribed by the GHMC. In the first phase 8 FOBs were constructed on the following locations by different agencies at a cost of Rs 50/- lac for each FOB. (Table 1).

Table 1
List of FOBs Completed

#	Location	Agency
1	Rasoolpura (Between HUDA lane and Police Station)	M/s Prakash Arts (Pat Media Solutions)
2	Dilsuknagar (Near Hanuman Temple)	M/s Prakash Arts (Pat Media Solutions)
3	HPS, Begumpet (Opposite Govt. Women's Degree College)	M/s Swetha Industries
4	Near NTR Ghat	M/s Ad-age but now taken-over by GHMC
5	St. Ann's School, Secunderabad	M/s Selvel Publicity
6	LV Prasad Eye Institute, Banjara Hills.	M/s Prakash Arts (Pat Media Solutions)
7	Ameerpet (Near RS Brothers)	M/s Amir Ads
8	Khairatabad between MMTS Station and Institute of Engineering.	M/s Saroos Ads

Source: GHMC

These eight FOBs were constructed without escalators. The experience shows that small children, aged people and physically handicapped people have been finding difficult to use them. The usage has become constrained. In order to provide enable the children, aged and physically handicapped and to motivate general public to use the FOBs, the GHMC has now planned to modernize the FOBs by providing the escalator facility. Three of the already completed FOBs are being up-graded with escalator facility. Additionally, 50 more FOBs at different strategic locations with escalator/elevator facility are now planned in the second phase. The method of PPP is Design, Finance, Construct, Operate, and Maintain (DFCOM) the project. The GHMC has involved the Traffic Police Department for selecting the locations. Each FOB is estimated to cost around Rs 3/- crore. The total asset creation under this category is estimated at Rs.59.50/- crore and generation of Rs. 3.35/- crore towards annual premium. The license period is 20 years with advertisement rights.

The private agency gets advertisement rights over these FOBs for the license period, that is, 20 years. The agency will derive income from the advertisements rights by way of hoardings, boards, etc as per specifications prescribed by the GHMC.

These proposed FOBs were to be completed within six months from the date award of the contract, they are at different stages of completion. The execution delays appear to be abnormal. Different problems are being encountered by the executing agencies namely, M/S Lakshya Media, M/S Prakash ads, M/S Apex Group and M/S Totem Infra causing delays. For instance, it is reported⁴ that the FOBs at Imbliban and Afzalgunj Bus Stand, though very important locations, are facing the problem of opposition from traders and businessmen. The road widening works at NMDC, and Shadan College delayed the execution in these areas. A land dispute between the APSRTC and the NFC delayed the work at ECIL. The FOB at the

Ajanta Gate, Exhibition Grounds had to be withdrawn by the GHMC due to objections from the city police quoting perceived terrorist threat for the nearby BJP office. The details of the FOBs and the causes of delay are indicated in the following table 2.

Table 2
Status of Execution of the Foot Over Bridges

Executing Agency	#	Location of Modern Foot Over Bridge	Lift	Escalator	Reason for Delay
M/s Laqshya Media Private Ltd.	1.	Afzalgunj Bus Station	Y	N	Petty shops on the side of Musi river to be relocated. Written permission from Osmania hospital to be obtained.
	2.	Shadan College	Y	Y	One landing in front of Mosque - consensus to be arrived (Politically sensitive issue).
	3.	Sarojini Devi Eye Hospital	Y	Y	Proposed road widening is to be completed.
	4.	Paradise Circle	Y	Y	The landing with Escalator in front of Jade arcade entrance. It is to be sorted out with its owners.
	5.	Jubilee Hills Check Post	Y	Y	No problem.
	6.	Mahatma Gandhi Bus Station	Y	Y	Written permission from APSRTC to be obtained as the landings are in APSRTC's site.
	7.	Himmatpur Junction-Charminar	Y	Y	Space constraint for landing with lifts identified.
	8.	St. Anns School, Tarnaka	Y	Y	Proposed road widening to be completed.
	9.	Opp. Nehru Zoo Gate	Y	Y	Written permission from NHAI to be obtained.
	10.	Opp. Mahaveer Hospital, A.C Guards.	Y	Y	Proposed road widening to be completed.
M/s Totem Infrastruc-ture Ltd.	11.	NMDC Masab Tank	Y	Y	Proposed road widening to be completed.
	12.	Towli Chowki Junction, near Venus School	Y	Y	-
	13.	Rail Nilayam, Sec'bad	Y	Y	-
M/s Amir Ads	14.	GPO, Abids	Y	Y	No problem.

contd. table

<i>Executing Agency</i>	<i>#</i>	<i>Location of Modern Foot Over Bridge</i>	<i>Lift</i>	<i>Escalator</i>	<i>Reason for Delay</i>
M/s Prakash Arts	15.	Abids (Opp. Grammar School)	Y	Y	Private shop on the landing opposite to Grammar School to be demolished/relocated
	16.	Dilsukh Nagar	Y	N	Up-gradation is to be done
	17.	Police line X roads	Y	Y	Up-gradation is to be done
	18.	L.V. Prasad Eye Institution	Y	Y	Up-gradation is to be done
M/s Apex Group	19.	Koti Women's College	Y	Y	Petty shops on both sides to be relocated
	20.	ZIKRA School, Raj Bhavan Road	Y	Y	Transformer to be relocated.

It is clear from the above observations that the GHMC has not taken proper care in selecting the site for FOBs in certain cases as the civic body had to face either objections from the local traders and businessmen who get affected or the ownership disputes. Delays are also due to road widening works. Lack of effective monitoring of the execution is one of the causes for delay. In respect of certain locations, the usage is not encouraging due lack of demand and inconveniences experienced by the children and the aged and physically disabled persons. When infrastructure projects are taken-up, proper demand survey, education of the local people, potential disputes if any, must be adequately taken care of for timely completion and utilization of the facilities created.

Public Toilets

Provision of public toilets and maintaining them under hygiene conditions is one of the main civic responsibilities of the ULBs. But, with the increasing population growth in the city of Hyderabad and the financial crunch, the GHMC has been finding it difficult to meet this basic need essential for maintaining public health. In order to meet this basic need, the GHMC has embarked on construction of public toilets at strategic places accessible conveniently to the public use under PPP method of design, build, operate and transfer (DBOT).

The GHMC invited tenders for construction of public toilets under DBOT at different locations on 05-01-2009 by the registered contractors with GHMC. Auction was held on 19-01-2009 and agencies viz., Valmiki Samaj Seva Sangam, Sanitation Consultancy Services, Akhil Bhartiya Paryavaran Avam Gramin Vikas Sansthan, Suvidha Sanitation Services, Sri Sai Sanitation Social Service Organization, Universal Toilets, Aart Land Media Services were selected in the open auction. The task of construction of 150 public toilets was allotted to these agencies. The features of the DBOT method are as below.

- The GHMC will provide the land for the purpose.
- The design of toilets and the technical specifications of walls, roofing, flooring, tiles, seats, signages, lighting and other facilities shall be as specified by the GHMC.
- The toilets were made into packages each with 10 toilets and 2 urinals.
- The concessionaire has to construct the toilets and maintain them for a lease period of 5 years.
- The agency shall utilize 70 per cent of the outer walls of the toilets for advertisement leaving 30 per cent for the GHMC advertisements.
- The agency will pay usual advertisement fee to the GHMC.

Each toilet is estimated to cost Rs. 7.5 lacs with all the specifications mentioned above. The GHMC has estimated to develop assets worth Rs. 11.25 crore by way of constructing 150 toilets @ Rs 7.5 lac each.

It is observed that construction work is under progress. Some of the allottees did not start the construction work yet. The GHMC is reviewing these aspects and is planning to cancel the allotments and go for re-allocation.

Bus Shelters

The GHMC has initiated a project to construct bus shelters of international standards on PPP mode. It is stipulated that these bus shelters will have digital display with GIS technology and tracking of information of bus arrivals at every 30 seconds intervals. The method of PPP adopted in this case is Design, Finance, Build, Maintain and Transfer. Construction of 500 new bus shelters is planned and it is also decided to up-grade another 642 existing bus shelters to the international standards on par with the new ones. Constructing each bus shelter is estimated to cost Rs. 5/- lacs.

Expression of interest was invited by the GHMC for which 8 agencies have responded. Out them, three agencies viz., M/s Venkateshwara Enterprises, M/s Times Innovative Media Ltd. And M/s Prakash Arts have been short listed. Construction of 500 bus shelter will be done by these three agencies.

These assets when completed will be adding assets worth Rs. 57.10/- crore besides generating annual income of Rs. 7.84/- crore towards annual license fee on ground rent. New bus shelter will be leased for 10 years and the existing ones for 50 months.

The progress of construction of bus shelters reveals that out of the total target of 1142, 700 are grounded and of these 560 are completed. The performance of the execution thus brings-out that the majority of the grounded bus shelters are completed and the others are at various stages of completion (table 3).

Table 3
Construction of the Bus Shelters- The Status
(As on 29-06-2009)

#	Agency	Allotted	Grounded	Base- ment Level	Roof Level	Com- pleted	Balance
1	M/s Prakash Arts Moving Media Pvt. Ltd.	194	140	21	15	104	54
2	M/s Uni-Ads	448	285	27	15	243	163
3	M/s Venkateshwara Enterprises	200	90	6		84	110
4	M/s Times Innovative	200	95	25	0	70	105
5	M/s Prakash Arts	100	90	15	16	59	10
	Total	1142	700	94	46	560	442

The construction of bus shelters under the PPP is an innovative strategy but the implementation appears to be caught in controversy. There is a criticism that the location of the bus shelters is not proper from the convenience point of the bus travelers. It is being alleged that the locations are selected in such places where they attract more advertisements which is beneficial to the advertising agencies who are entrusted this task under BOT agreement. For instance⁵, it is being criticized that there is bus stop opposite to Secretariat where there is much demand. As against this, bus shelter is put-up on the locations like necklace road, near Hotel Taj Krishna (where there are three bus shelters) and such other places where their utility is minimal. It is being alleged that these locations are selected to attract more advertisements benefiting the ad agencies. Further, the bus shelter should have displayed the bus details like buses, route maps for the convenience of the commuters. Interestingly, the bus shelters constructed don not display such details. This requires coordination with the APSRTC which manages the public road transport in Hyderabad.

Other Works: Several other works relating to road infrastructure and central medians were also take-up by the GHMC under the scheme. The central medians are constructed in the middle of the roads to facilitate regulated traffic. Central medians on about 25 roads were put to auction for a bid amount of Rs. Rs 757.21 lacs per year for over three years.

The other categories of works include junction improvement, zebra crossings and signages, obligatory spans on flyovers, lollipops on central medians, electrical poles, tree guards, arches at flyover ends, hoardings, etc. The space on these was leased out for display of advertisements for three years. During the three year period from 2005-06 to 2008-09, thirteen such bids were made. These bid generated additional annual income to the GHMC. For instance, in the year 2009-09, the GHMC could create assets worth Rs 14.72 crore and generated an additional income of Rs. 13.22 crore.

Problems and Issues

The GHMC initiated the FYC scheme with the objective of developing urban infrastructure, assets to the civic body and generation of additional income. These objectives are met with limited success. The success is more seen in the construction of foot-over-bridges and the central medians as far as asset formation is concerned.

The construction of foot-over-bridges is a welcome concept for easing the traffic on the main junctions. The GHMC has been facing certain problems in the execution due to objections from the affected shop-keepers. In some cases, the landing of the foot-over-bridges was just in-front of the shops and the shop-keepers naturally protested this as it affects their business. As land acquisition for this purpose is difficult, the GHMC should take extra-care in selecting the exact site and the landings not to cause inconvenience to the shop-keepers.

The major issue relates to the utilization of the foot-over-bridges by the pedestrians. The experience of the sub-ways constructed in the busy areas in Hyderabad is an example in this respect. The sub-ways have become ornamental pieces with-out any utility as people are not using them. Similar trend is visible in case of the foot-over-bridges. The problem is people have to take-steps and the physically handicapped and old age people find it difficult to use them. The GHMC has now taken-up new foot-over-bridges with escalator to facilitate the physically handicapped, children and old people. There is need for educating the people on the use and benefits of the foot-over-bridges.

With the recent trend of widening of the roads, the central medians are assuming much importance. The GHMC has take-up construction of these central medians and leasing of the advertisement rights for generating income. This is a good example of asset creation and income generation on PPP mode. The road infrastructure like the central medians, electrical poles, arches, lollipops, etc. have become good source of income to the GHMC via auctioning of the advertisement rights.

The FYC scheme was initiated with much enthusiasm and spirit by the GHMC. Considerable ground-work was also done in the form of preparing the over-all objectives, framework and the bidding process. The initial spirit appears to be missing with the GHMC. The major weakness of the system is that adequate efforts were not made to receive good response from the potential private sector agencies and also to educate the people about the scheme and its utility. This scheme is treated as part of the advertisement section in the GHMC. This section is not able to give much attention to the implementation tasks.

Toward Improving the FYC Scheme

The FYC scheme has good potential not only for developing urban infrastructure but also income to the GHMC. The GHMC should bestow more attention for its effective implementation. The following are some suggestions to improvise the scheme further.

- The GHMC should have a separate unit with required experts to give total attention for efficient implementation of the FYC scheme or other projects taken-up on PPP model.
- There is need for developing infrastructure facilities with proper care in terms of site selection, adverse impact on the affected people and the potential opposition, proper grievance redressal mechanism and finally the actual benefit to the people.
- The GHMC should implement the scheme as a PPP project. Hence, there is need for networking with the private agencies with close interactions and monitoring. Close monitoring is essential because some of the private agencies may delay the process for different reasons.
- The GHMC should develop proper accounting of the assets created, income generated and financial obligations.
- The GHMC also should take steps to popularize the scheme by more publicity and peoples' education.

Notes

1. India's Urban Awakening: Building inclusive cities, sustaining economic growth, Mckinsey Global Institute, April, 2010.
2. The High Powered Expert Committee (HPEC) for Estimating the Investment Requirements for Urban Infrastructure Services, Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India, March 2011, pp xxi, xxiv.
3. Account records of GHMC, 2010-11. Note: the figures do not add-up to 100% as the other income which is about 10% is left out here.
4. Sunday Times of India, Hyderabad, June 7, 2009.
5. Sakshi Daily News Paper, Sunday, 21-06-2009.

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