



WYOMUN IX

The Fate of One Million: Development in Mumbai's Dharavi Slum



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WYOMUN IX

Hello delegates!

My name is Katie Callahan, and I am honored to be your chair for The Fate of One Million: Development in Mumbai's Dharavi Slum. I am a junior and I have been active in Model UN since my freshman year, as well as attending OMUN in sixth grade. I am the Director General of General Assemblies for WYOMUN IX, and I am the Secretary of Leadership and Development in Wyoming MUN's Secretariat. Fiery debate and creative solutions have always been my favorite part of MUN, and I hope to see quite a bit of it during this conference. I certainly saw it last year, when I was the Crisis Director for Fidel Castro's Rise to Power (World War III got a bit out of hand). Though I hope to avoid war surrounding Dharavi, I hope that delegates will bring the same passion and energy to this year's WYOMUN.

Outside of Model UN and lengthy school assignments, I am a nerd. I love to relax with my cats and a good book (I am currently re-reading *The Hobbit*), work in my garden, and listen to podcasts (*The Field Guides* is a must for any nature lover). I am extremely passionate about the environment, and I volunteer at the zoo in the summer, where I make paper-mache zebras, identify plants, and talk about Sugar and Wesley, the river otters (and conservation). I love to learn about different cultures, especially ones completely different from my own, which is how I learned about Dharavi in the first place.

Though Dharavi is less than 600 acres of the world (and shrinking), it remains a vital part of Mumbai and is a true cultural melting pot not found elsewhere in India. Its resilience and ability to flourish despite the pressures of a growing city show how important it is. Its residents should not have to live in poverty like they do now, and many desire that Dharavi's people are no longer poor. And yet, despite multiple attempts over almost half a century, no government or association has managed to clear up the Dharavi "problem" in a manner that is good for both the city and the slum development. No slum in the world has been integrated into its mother city. I hope that delegates will find a middle ground among the tense cultural landscape existing in Mumbai. The development of the well known Dharavi would set an example for the success of improving slums in India and around the world.

I look forward to meeting you on October 29th. In the meantime please feel free to contact me at booksartmynature@gmail.com if you have any questions or concerns.

Sincerely,
Katie Callahan
Head Chair



Introduction

When the Shiv Sena party came to power in India's Maharashtra state in the early 1990's, they began to push for slum reform and rehabilitation programs. Often accused of being fascist, the party saw these programs as necessary to spur development in India, as well as being beneficial to the people living in dirty, crowded slums. Though slum reform programs have existed in India since the 1970s and '80s, slum removal in Mumbai seems to be imperative to the party. Mumbai's largest slum, Dharavi, is located in the middle of Mumbai, the capital of Maharashtra and India's wealthy city. The slum is not a draw on Mumbai, and contributes to 6% of the city's GDP (or 1% of the country's GDP). Dharavi is an active workplace, home to many businesses that have been there for generations. Though a fair share of people are just passing through, most residents of the slum are long-term. Dharavi is almost like a miniature city within Mumbai. Despite the wealth it creates, the 1 million people who live there, and the roots they have put in place, Dharavi is truly in a prime location for development. The Slum Rehabilitation Authority has just revealed that Dharavi's development will go up for a bid and be sold to the developing agency that will pay the most. Though the agency will have to prove that certain measures are put in place to relocate those living in Dharavi, the parameters are too loose and many feel that they do not recognize Dharavi's unique nature not just as a slum, but as a neighborhood of Mumbai.

Background

Mumbai Today

Mumbai (formerly known as Bombay, changed in 1995) is a beautiful city - it is India's most wealthy, and it's the home of India's commercial, entertainment, and fashion industries. It



also houses the Bombay Stock Exchange and the National Stock Exchange, as well as numerous important banks. The city contributes to about six percent of India's GDP and 46,000 millionaires as well as 48 billionaires live there. But another group of people lives in Mumbai as well. The central city has a population of 12 million people, and 60% of them are estimated to live in slums - that's about 6.5 million people. Those 6.5 million people often live on one to two dollars a day and live in cramped, single room homes with no running water and rarely electricity.

Mumbai is located on an archipelago of seven islands, with part of the city on a peninsula attached to the Indian subcontinent. This means that space is limited and that any land available is quite valuable. As both a peninsula and the eighth largest city in the world by population, Mumbai only has about fourteen square kilometers of open green space for its entire

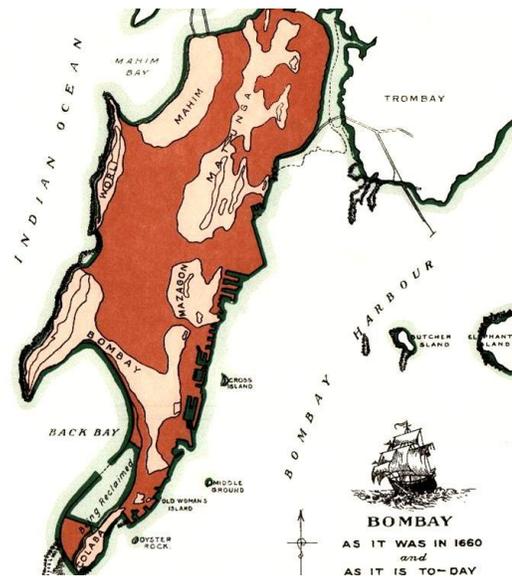
The Fate of One Million: Development in Mumbai's Dharavi Slum

population. Most homes are small and densely populated. On the other hand, the world's second most expensive house, the Anantia, is in Mumbai. Its twenty seven storeys are inhabited by only one family - its owner, Mukesh Ambani and his family. This suggests that Mumbai has not only had poor city planning for its poorer population, but was either lacking planning for the rich, or was encouraged one way or another not to make better decisions.

This density means that having slums in the middle of the city is not viewed as beneficial, because space could be built up rather than out, but building up doesn't necessarily dictate a proper and efficient use of space. Many people don't like that the first view of India that visitors may get when landing in Mumbai is that of Dharavi, which is located right next to the airport. The city is also the capital of India's Maharashtra State, so any poor image associated with the city would be reflected on the surrounding area.

Mumbai's History

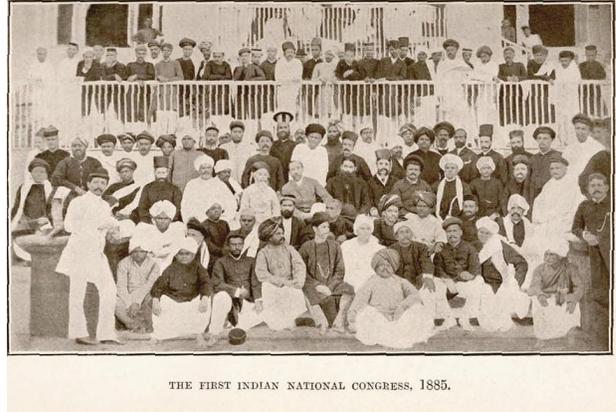
Mumbai used to be an archipelago of seven islands off India's western coast. The archipelago was referred to as Bombay at the time, after the largest island. The Kingdom of Ashoka controlled Bombay until 1343, when Ashoka died. After his death, various West Indian rulers controlled the archipelago. In 1534, the Kingdom of Gujarat ceded the islands to Portugal because the power of the Mughal Empire was growing and Gujarat feared an attack on the militarily advantageous port that Bombay would provide. The islands were ceded to the British in 1661 as part of a dowry from Portugal's Catherine to England's King Phillip II. Despite realizing its military potential, Phillip II later decided that the small port was too much of a hassle, and leased it to the East India Company for only ten pounds (\$1,600 in today's USD). The East India Company relocated their headquarters from Surat to Bombay, which was quickly becoming a city. Between 1668 and 1675, Bombay's population grew from only 10,000 to 60,000 people.



The East India Company also found the islands difficult to handle. Communication between the seven islands of Bombay was difficult and inconvenient. In 1782, William Hornby, the governor of Bombay as declared by the East India Company, proposed to connect the islands by filling in the areas between them. The company rejected this idea, but Hornby continued with it anyway, and his decision worked. By 1845, all of the islands were connected and communicating. Thanks to the influence of the East India Company and the recent completion of the Suez Canal, Bombay became a capital for world trade and grew quite wealthy. New industries attracted workers from the Indian countryside (where most of the population was centered) in droves, and quality construction in Mumbai could not keep up with the numbers. Slums formed instead. A railroad connected the islands to the mainland, allowing Bombay to bring wealth back into India.

The Indian Independence Movement

At the point of its largest growth, Bombay was still a colony. It received independence from the East India Company and from England in 1947. As Bombay's industries grew stronger, the British placed tariffs on the goods produced and taxed the businesses more heavily. They also began to regulate business practices. In order to protect their interests, trades began to form groups, starting with the National Millowners Association in 1885. As this group fought for more rights, people began to realize that India's population was able to do the same. The Bombay Presidency Association was formed in January of 1885 as a governmental group of the Indian people, though it was largely dominated by intellectuals and the upper classes. By December of 1885, the Indian National Congress party had been formed and started discussing ways to better communicate with the British. The group of 72 people, which held meetings in Bombay, was still almost entirely composed of rich businessmen with western education. It wasn't until the 1900s, when the British government began to put more pressure on their colonies in the form of tariffs, taxes, regulations (as well as humans to fight in wars that the colonies had little support for), that the Congress party started to become more radical and anti-British. Surendranath Banerjee, a proponent of peace between ethnic groups in India, helped to move the party's power into a cultural movement.



THE FIRST INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1885.

After the British partitioned the Bengal region in northeastern India into two halves, one for Hindus and the other for Muslims, moderate members of the Congress party started encouraging the Swadeshi Movement. This was a somewhat peaceful revolution that included boycotting or burning British goods and engaging in peaceful protests. The party also supported Indian unity, and did its best to avoid the partition of India and Pakistan, despite rampant religious strife in India. The original Swadeshi Movement laid the foundation for Mahatma Gandhi's protests that led to Indian independence in 1949. Though most of the Congress Party supported peaceful protests, more radical members believed that violence was a suitable and necessary means of achieving independence. Some branched off to create less peaceful anti-colonial groups in India, and sometimes those groups held different values, such as not having a multicultural India. In the end, peace prevailed, and India and Pakistan achieved independence. Maharashtra was established as a state in May of 1960 after protests by socialist and communist groups, many in the Congress Party. This is ironic, as the fascist Shiv Sena Party now controls the state. Mumbai remains a cultural and political epicenter even today, and hosted some of the most influential protests for Indian freedom.

Cultures and Ethnicities In Dharavi

India is far from being a homogenous, monocultural country. Most people living in India are Hindu, at 79.8% of the population, but 14.2% are Muslim (6% are Christians, Sikhs, Bhuddists, or Jains). Though Islam reached India as early as the seventh century C.E., there has

always been some tension and fighting between Muslims and Hindus. Though a number of Muslim people assisted in fighting for India's freedom from colonialism, many more preferred the idea of a separate state, and worked for the creation of Pakistan. They held hope in this idea of a better place with higher status. In India today, Muslims have the lowest average income, and though they make up about 14% of the population, they make up only about 4% of the nation's purchasing power. This is reflected in Dharavi, where 30% of the population is Muslim. Dharavi is divided into cultural nodes, with people of the same ethnicity living in the same area. This is the same in Mumbai, but this was not always the case. Though people often flock to areas with people similar to themselves, whether it is race, religion, industry, or class that is the factor, Mumbai shows evidence that not all of those groupings are by choice. According to Sameera Khan, a Mumbai journalist, founder of the Network of Women in Media, and womens' rights activist, Muslim families in Mumbai are often encouraged by realators to move to certain poorer, more dangerous parts of the city, such as slums like Dharavi or ghettos. Instances such as this have increased since the rise of the Shiv Sena party, which considers all those except ethnic Hindu Indians to be "other." Their hope is to purify Mumbai and encourage the "others" to move out of the city or to Pakistan. Additionally, by crowding Muslims into more dangerous areas, the party exacerbates the association of Muslims with higher crime and danger rates, makes it harder for women to commute safely, and removes the Muslim population from higher paying jobs. Khan also notes that people related by blood to party members are more likely to have access to better housing and jobs.

The original residents of Mumbai are the Koli people, though they now represent only 2% of Dharavi's residents. They were fishers



when the city was still an archipelago of seven islands. Koli is one of the many groups in India's caste system, and though the system is no longer in place, the prejudices associated with different groups live on. When the British arrived in Mumbai and began to fill in the space between the islands, they also added their own buildings - modern gothic architecture that was used more for business than for housing. They employed Kolis to do some of the building, and some began to abandon fishing for more profitable

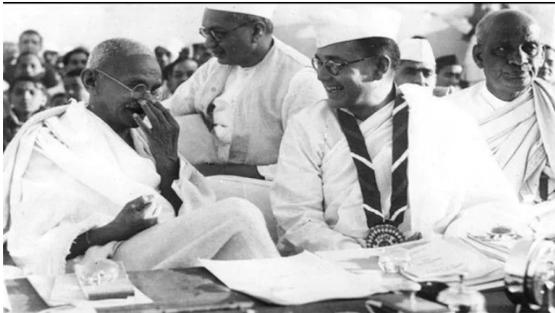
enterprises. As the new development grew, Kolis were forced more and more to less desirable areas, which is how they ended up in Dharavi, which was previously a swamp. As the founders of the slum, the Koli people have some benefits. They have larger houses, which are sometimes two rooms instead of only one. This sometimes causes friction between Kolis and other groups. They are also given higher priority in relocation schemes because they have lived in Dharavi for so many generations. The Kolis are sometimes regarded as brusque or unfriendly, but they actually have a very vibrant culture, from their brightly colored saris to the fish festival held yearly.

Other groups live in Dharavi as well. The Marathi people are also native to Maharashtra, though they lived on the mainland. Some groups are reluctant to employ them because Marathi people are often in unions. It is easier to find self employment in the slums. The younger

Marathis are often very political and engage in protests for workers' rights. Another group is Tamils. These people are from southern India and may work in Dharavi for part of the year and work in their hometown of Tamil Nadu in southern India for part of the year as well. Though they may return to the same areas within Dharavi for many years in a row, it is hard for Tamil people to prove residence in Dharavi. This means that they can't vote there, may have trouble returning after travels, and are not informed of community regulations. They also struggle with outdated transportation systems (ones that were designed by the British to transport goods to ports, not people to different parts of the country.) Tamils are passionate about becoming legally recognized, especially since they make up 37% of Dharavi's population. Overall, Dharavi is divided into 85 separate neighborhoods based on anything from religion to former caste to profession.

Secularism in India

As secularism and multiparty electoral systems have declined in India's government in recent years, the influence of more radical groups' influence on government has increased. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first democratically elected leader (after they gained independence), ardently supported Indian unity despite many disparate factions, communities, and language groups. He encouraged a separation of religion and government so that groups could work past their differences and stabilize India's place in the world. Nehru and the Congress Party were not against religion, only against communalism, a type of divisive religious nationalism that caused the division of India and Pakistan. There was a lot to do in India, including infrastructure projects, farming to reduce malnutrition in the growing population, anti-pollution regulations,



education initiatives, and achieving cultural unity despite violence. The Indian congress allowed 14 languages to be spoken so that more people could have their voices heard, though for a long time, the Congress Party (an early meeting shown at left) was the only party in place. Though this is normally a red flag of totalitarianism, single party unity actually allowed more progress to be made. From the 1950s through '70s, this system worked similarly to a coalition government. Minority groups were well represented. Groups which wanted something passed usually convinced other less sure voters of the expansive Congress Party to join them in an effort to grow India.

Beginning in the 1980s, the relationship between the government and religion in the Congress Party became less clear. Indira Gandhi became president following her father, Nehru. Her son later became president as well, despite having little political background. This relationship raised concerns about corruption in the party. The Congress Party was perhaps losing power and began to work more closely with more extreme religious-based parties from all religions. This angered right wing Congress Party members, who felt their desire for a Hindu nation state and acknowledgement of Hindu majority should be fulfilled. That's not to say that the Indian elected government had never passed any regulation related to religion. For example, the Party created legislation to make traveling to pilgrimage locations easier for people of various religions. What Hindu communalists were angered by was the fact that other minority

groups were being appeased while they were told that their visions were not fair or feasible. The communists and nationalists began to accuse the Congress Party of vote bank politics - exchanging favors and support for votes in other matters.

The Shiv Sena Party

Beginning in the 1960s, groups began to split off of the Congress Party and other secular parties. The Shiv Sena (SS) was supported by the Congress Party only for a short period of time when the Congress Party wanted to decrease unionization in Mumbai, but was in opposition to the Congress Party at most other times in its history.

The Shiv Sena (meaning Army of Shiva, a Hindu deity) party was one group that formed in the state of Maharashtra, where Mumbai is located. It was founded by Bal Thackeray, who is professionally a cartoonist rather than a politician, but he is thought of as “the godfather of Maharashtra,” the “Emperor of the Hindu heart,” and as the most powerful man in Maharashtra. He gained a following as a cartoonist, often depicting Hindu people as suffering as a result of “outside” influence by Muslims and other groups. In his weekly strip Marmik, he would pick on officials who went against white collar Maharashtrians, especially officials who were south Indian or Muslim. He also wrote in Marathi, a language used by one of the larger groups of people living in Dharavi. By the 1980s, SS had a large following in Maharashtra, and the party was elected into a coalition majority in the state in the 90s. This was done with the



assistance of Bharatiya Janata Party, a party that promoted Hindutva, or Hinduness, in India’s culture. Together, the BJP and the SS provided regulations to tear down mosques and protect Hindu religious sites. Both parties were very attractive to groups that had been living in Mumbai and Dharavi since before any external invasions. Thackeray openly admitted to admiring Adolph Hitler’s values of purity. Thackeray believes that

Muslims are not following the true rules of India, thought he is not against, “each and every Muslim.” There are many Muslims and non-Maharashtrian people in Dharavi, including people who have lived in the state for generations and newer migrants. The party will put down whichever minority needed for it to gain the most followers. The party does so by working with mafia groups, gangs, and illegal groups, by starting protests with the help of its faithful supporters, and through other bribes.

Shiv Sena’s economic vision is decidedly anti-communist. They support big business and the upper classes. When the party was formed in the 1960s, its main purpose was to fight for employment preference for Mumbaikars as more people migrated from other parts of India in search of jobs. The SS won the middle class of Mumbai in 1969, when it created a system to require 80% of all jobs in Maharashtra to go to Maharashtrians. The party is focused on creating jobs for Maharashtrians and it wants to create new housing for residents of Dharavi who have lived there for generations. However, with a number of deals that fell through in times of economic crisis, it has yet to succeed. They raise taxes during this time, driving a rise in the cost of rent and public services.

Despite causing and encouraging many violent protests, Bal Thackeray was imprisoned only one time, following a protest after negotiations for a border dispute. After Thackeray was jailed, his supporters rallied harder, and caused the authorities to ask him to call for peace. He was released soon after, even though 59 people were killed. The most destructive Thackeray-influenced riot came in 1992, and involved bombings and attacks that seemed to focus on attacking minority groups and women. It must be noted that this did come in the midst of other political unrest in Mumbai.

A division in the Shiv Sena occurred about the line of party leadership succession. The current leader (newly appointed at the time of this committee) passed leadership, not to his nephew as was expected, but to his son, Uddhav Thackeray, who was not trained in politics. The nephew is beginning a rival party at the start of the committee.

The Shiv Sena will remain highly relevant in this committee due to their role in controlling city and state affairs. The party also started the Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority and the Maharashtra Slum Rehabilitation Authority. The two groups have previously made suggestions as to reducing slums in Mumbai, and are also responsible for selling land bids to contractors who would potentially develop the slum. Many of the employees have Dharavi's inhabitants in mind (and have gone so far as to provide the slum with free - though limited - access to water and electricity), but others are simply hoping to enrich Mumbai. Fortunately, these authorities are not all-powerful and do need some approval from the residents of the slum they hope to develop. The authorities are not focused solely on development- they want to improve the lives of people in the slums as well.

Slum Solutions

Slums often form when a country's urban population grows at a faster rate than city planning and construction can tolerate. They also form as temporary housing when seasonal workers move in for temporary jobs, as was originally the case in Dharavi. Factors such as civil war, intentional exclusion of a group from economic growth (such as American red lining policies), high costs of living, and natural disasters can also cause slums. After these conflicts occur, slums become more permanent if people think they have greater economic opportunities in slums than they would in their hometowns or in a more permanent settlement.

Slums often have high rates of unemployment, disease, malnutrition, and crime. They are considered an economic draw on a city, so naturally cities wish to eradicate these areas.



Various methods of slum improvement have been attempted. Many cities have simply broken down slums and replaced them with large modern buildings. Though this makes the city appear more modern, it displaces the slum population, often leaving them homeless in the city, unable to find affordable housing. Sometimes, affordable housing is built as a replacement, but it is frequently outside of the city limits and too far away for people to get to their workplaces. This affordable housing is often

poor quality, so its residents end up in worse conditions than where they started. For example, the Lallubhai Compound (shown above) is a full ten kilometers from downtown Mumbai and is surrounded by slums. Though the buildings were built only a few years ago, they have already deteriorated and most facilities are broken. And yet, a similar compound is already being built even further from the city limits.

According to the Cities Alliance, which helps cities become slum-free in a sustainable manner, slums should be updated where they are located. This is slower than a total relocation of the slum's residents and must be done incrementally. It may require lawmakers and city planners to rethink their ideas of the city's future. In the end, upgraded slums can be beneficial to a city, if the poor and the government work together to find achievable tax rates and integration into city services. Governments rarely integrate slums into wealthier classes of the city. Often, changes include sanitation, electricity, and schooling. For example, Durban, a slum in South Africa, is being outfitted with public toilet blocks and clean water. Meanwhile, residents of the slum will build their own homes to suit their needs. This is cheaper for the government and allows them to help more people more quickly. However, sanitation is not Dharavi's only problem, and as a more developed slum in such a vital location, it may need more in-depth planning. Additionally, Mumbai is prone to natural disasters, such as flooding and earthquakes, so existing or new resident-built housing may be unsafe.

Disease In Dharavi

Diseases are incredibly common in Dharavi due to cramped living conditions and lack of medical care available. The population density in Dharavi is up to eleven times that of Mumbai. Diseases there are one of the highest causes of deaths in the slum. For example, in 1986, a plague swept through Dharavi, resulting in the death of approximately half of its population. Some of the most common diseases in Dharavi are cholera, dysentery, polio, tuberculosis, and leprosy. These are diseases that are treatable with access to medical care, but due to the poverty in Dharavi, most people are unable to get care in time or at all. Additionally, different strains of diseases have been discovered within Dharavi, including an antibiotic resistant strain of tuberculosis. Diseases can also be transferred from the open sewer which runs parallel to Dharavi.

Many of the issues relating to diseases are related to the issues in sanitation, as there is estimated to be 1 toilet per 1,440 people in Dharavi. Many people utilize the Mahim Creek as a place to dispose of waste, leading to contamination of drinking water and wash water, a cause of many of the cases of dysentery, cholera, and typhoid. Additionally the poor air quality within



Dharavi leads to many issues with the lungs such as asthma, lung cancer, and tuberculosis.

Women In Dharavi

Unlike some slums, the sex ratio in Dharavi is relatively even. Young men will often move from their hometowns to support themselves and settle temporarily in slums while they find work. However, Dharavi has more families and permanent residents than many other slums. Nonetheless, women have

reported facing numerous injustices and inequalities in Dharavi. Most, if not all, bathrooms are public and have long lines, forcing people to not use them at times. Women are especially affected by this and many say that they never go to the restroom after dark because they fear violence. With cramped living conditions, extended families often pile into very small living spaces, and women are given the task of feeding the family, as well as keeping a job. Most women in Dharavi work outside the home or take on extra work that they do from home. The industries where they work are very informal (such as house cleaning, sewing, washing, and mending clothes, or cooking) and therefore do not have stable pay regulations. Many women work for little or no pay, and are unable to argue for better resources if they do not have worker ID cards. They wish to leave the slums for safer living conditions, which some hope to find in relocation projects, while other women wish to embrace the value that they see in Dharavi's culture and businesses. Shown above, Tamil women cook a festival feast that has become well loved throughout the city. Externally and internally, better-off women work to empower and improve wages and lifestyles for Dharavi's women. Banks will rarely give loans to single immigrant women in Dharavi, as they supposedly have a high risk of defaulting on their loans. People who know Dharavi's women know this is not true, and that small loans are often all they need to improve their lives. Mahila Milan is one such group, and by giving small, low interest loans to women, it allows them to become self employed. With a \$100 loan, one woman purchased a sewing machine and began making clothes. She now earns five times her previous pay as a factory employee and is independent of her abusive, alcoholic husband. The government does provide some assistance to women. Jan Shikshan Sansthan, a government funded organization, provides vocational training to marginalized groups and helps women get legal permits to buy and sell their goods.

India's Rich

Many of the rich in India see Dharavi as something to be redeveloped. For example, the Dharavi Redevelopment Plan aims to rebuild much of the slum into high rise apartment buildings, with running water and electricity. This idea however is regarded by a majority of Dharavi residents as a method of removing them from their homes. It is suspected that if Dharavi is to be redeveloped, it will become a wealthier area of Mumbai, as to match many of the wealthy business districts around it, but at what cost is the question. There is a valuable economy in Dharavi, although a majority of workers do so informally, additionally there is a rich culture within the slum, with over 100 years of history to it.

Legal Status of Slums

Due to the nature of a slum being an illegal and unauthorized neighborhood, the government has much difficulty with classification and recognition of Dharavi. There are attempts to improve sanitation and availability of amenities such as water and electricity, but very few succeed in the end, due to water theft and illegal connections to power lines and water pipes. In some ways, Dharavi functions as a separate entity from Mumbai. Its residents know the value of their impact on Mumbai's economy, and they feel they deserve some autonomy as a result. Koli fishermen who have lived in the Dharavi swamp for years are often at the top of the makeshift government and economy. They have more permanent clay houses, with shack-like floors built on top which they rent out to newer members of the community. There is a business

owners' association which helps new businesses get started. People even own livestock within the community. Unfortunately, these businesses are constantly at risk due to varied levels of legality for parts of Dharavi. Some regulations are very unclear and have layers of history. For example, the potters' district in Dharavi claims to have paid a 999 year lease on the land in early colonial times. The government claims that the lease was invalidated when India became independent and that the potters have no right to their own development.

The government had gone back on promises many times, inviting developers to buy the land before they have surveyed it, and failing to find the real population of Dharavi. Mini programs also failed to house large portions of the population. As will be described below, past plans have allocated housing only for residents who have lived in the slums since before 1995, but since slums have migratory residents, this means that very few people will be eligible for housing. Even people who have lived in the slum for many years often lack identification to show that they will deserve housing.

The Slum Rehabilitation Scheme

The most recent slum redevelopment movement before the time of this committee (2004) was the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme in 1995. The Shiv Sena government planned to house all of Mumbai's slum dwellers, including those without houses. All slum land would be used to create housing, and additional land would be allocated when necessary. All people living in slums would theoretically have a place to live for very low rent and half the usual taxes. With high prices per acre and dwindling availability, the government believed that slum land would fetch high prices for developers, and it did. 80,000 units were to be provided. Certain stipulations were made: housing must have a toilet, be 225 square feet, and have at least nine foot ceilings. Buildings would have market space on the ground floor. As many people as possible would be housed in situ (in the same place), but the rest would be moved wherever needed. Three hundred and sixty seven developers were approved to rehabilitate slums throughout Mumbai. For those working on Dharavi, they would receive 13.3 square feet of additional land for every 10 square feet developed. Before construction started, companies would have to get the permission of 70% of residents in an area so they were not forced out. The plan seemed like a good balance negotiated by the Shiv Sena party. But Dharavi residents were suspicious of the plan, and it turned out that fewer people than it previously seemed would be eligible for free housing, especially if they were unhoused. In 1996, the land development market took a hit, and the Shiv Sena party began fundraising and applying for grants to raise two billion dollars needed to start construction. Construction of new housing was slow, and those waiting for new homes had nowhere to stay during the process. Dharavi residents became even more suspicious and began to refuse to move. Developers, lacking funding, backed out of their projects, leaving apartment buildings unfinished.



A variety of theories exist as to the reason for the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme's failure. Many believe that the project was too grand and expensive. The benefits afforded to developers were not feasible, and the scale of the project took in too many slums at once. It failed to recognize that each slum has different needs. Others think that the Shiv Sena was trying to win followers with the rich by using loopholes to let developers move residents out of the slums and develop as they wished in the remaining area. Still more believe that the slum dwellers were too suspicious that they would not be rehoused - but their suspicions were true. Only 87 units were built, though more slums were torn down than could have been housed in that space; 90,000 people were left homeless.

The Need For Dharavi

With all the desperation in Dharavi, the poverty, its frustrating location, and the powerful people trying to get rid of it, it's amazing that the slum is still in place. This may be because of the vital contributions it makes to the city. Many classify Dharavi as a sub-city of Mumbai. It is more developed than many other slums, with slightly lower crime and death rates, and the highest literacy rate of any slum in the world (69%). It is home to the leather business in India, and sells high quality products that rival large brands. Residents of Dharavi, especially the women, are responsible for making lots of the food and snacks in Mumbai, where bicycle food delivery services have flourished for years. Small businesses in Dharavi export products around the world. The slum brought one billion USD into Mumbai in 2018. Other businesses include pottery, textile manufacturing, and even tourism (especially after the release of the movie "Slumdog Millionaire" in 2008).



It is possible that Mumbai would be a city full of litter without Dharavi. Mumbai has no formal waste management system, so organizations such as The Acorn Foundation, based in Dharavi, process the trash. Not only do they collect and remove it from the city, but they separate the waste into different types and send it to be recycled. This business employs 250,000 people in the slum, and earns a small profit. Many employees believe the organizations should be

formally recognized and funded by the government.

Dharavi is important not only because it provides housing for one million people, it is also the home of these people's businesses and livelihoods. Uprooting them, or even placing them in apartments in the same location would destroy the nature of Dharavi's economy and culture. Workers would have no place to meet and the marketplaces, playgrounds, and gathering locations so carefully worked into the slum's layout would be removed. Dharavi's residents do not deserve to live among danger and disease in crowded conditions, but they also have a lifestyle and culture deeply rooted to the location and formation of the slum.

Current Situation

It is 2005, and Vision Mumbai has just been created in order to get rid of slums in Mumbai once and for all, inciting mixed opinions of joy and rage. Under current government standards, only people living in houses built before 1995 will be eligible for rehousing, and 3 sectors of Dharavi are set to become purely commercial. Protests by slum dwellers (led by Jockin Arputham and NGOs) abound. Delegates will take on roles as members of the Dharavi Redevelopment Project, which will oversee debate between the public, private, and government sectors in the hopes of creating a solution for Dharavi. Dharavi's place in Mumbai as an industrial center cannot be denied, but delegates must also reflect on the future of Mumbai as a whole, for it is a powerful growing city, and investors in it have big plans for its growth. Though the developers have money and power on their side, Dharavi's residents have strength in numbers and a love for their home. It's unclear whose hands the 600 acres of downtown Mumbai (and the future of the one million people living there) are in. Delegates must work past anger and greed to find a solution for Dharavi that benefits all the people and Mumbai as a whole.

Topics of Debate

- Dharavi's role within Mumbai
 - Economic relationship
 - Communication between groups
 - Control of the slum
 - Future or suggested uses
- Resources in the slum
 - Housing conditions
 - Medical and social resources
 - Legal status of settlements

Blocs

Conservative Bloc

This bloc is dominated by the Shiv Sena party and wealthy developers. These groups are focused on the good of the city at large, especially when it benefits them. Though they are smaller in numbers as an elite group, they hold an excess of government power, money, and connections. Often proponents of fascism, they believe in keeping your friends close and enemies closer, and may try to disband any lower class political groups. Members of this bloc also have a vision for the ethnic and cultural make-up of Mumbai and gradually try to make it more Hindu-focused.

Centrist Bloc

This is composed of groups who wish that Dharavi was developed proactively. They support the slum dwellers' needs as people and don't want them to suffer at large as a result of development, but they also believe that the slum would be more beneficial to the city if developed. These delegates may be lower level members of the government, less wealthy developers, and owners of some non slum-based organizations. They would find some benefit from development.

Slum-Dweller’s Bloc

These people desire that Dharavi has improved resources without leaving its present location. They are distrustful of change and will desire clear language that establishes their rights. Though they have fewer connections outside the slum, they are large in numbers. The slum-dwellers generally support each other, even if they are torn about what the specific solutions to their problems should be. They will be composed of activist organizations and internal political figures.

Delegates

<p>Vinod Shetty</p>	<p>Shetty is the director of the Acorn Foundation, which works with the ragpickers, trash sorters, and recyclers in Dharavi to give them a more livable wage and better working conditions. He supports embracing the existing economic system within Dharavi and working with the government in Mumbai to integrate the two systems. The Acorn Foundation works to keep children in school, encourage artistic growth, and give identity cards to workers. Shetty works with the Indo-Pakistan Seeds of Peace program and the Mumbai High Court.</p>
<p>Chandrashekhar Prabhu</p>	<p>Prabhu is a politician with a background in architecture and urban planning. He served as chairman of the board of advisors for the Housing Department of the Government of Maharashtra from 1999-2004. He is intimately familiar with the goings on of Dharavi and recognized that Dharavi is not just a slum, but a business place with different districts. He recognizes that innovative solutions are needed to create both homes and business places for Dharavi’s citizens, and believes that this can be achieved by consulting citizens of Dharavi and working more closely with the government.</p>
<p>Shuresh Joshi</p>	<p>Joshi is a member of the Maharashtra government and is head of the Housing Department. He believes that by following a redevelopment plan, the Dharavi area can be</p>

	<p>improved and become a “model township” in the community and is eager to allow new highrise buildings and schools with government money. Elections are coming up and some think that Joshi may be trying to boost his image for re-election, but he believes that the city needs a more attractive Dharavi area and that some of the citizens will also benefit from more spacious apartments.</p>
<p>Babulal Gaur</p>	<p>Though Gaur does not live in the Maharashtra state, where Dharavi is located, he is a member of the government and was the leader of Madhya Pradesh (another state/province) in India. He holds the radical position that Madhya Pradesh’s government owns the land where Dharavi and other Mumbai slums are located and has since the 1950s. Gaur believes that the government must work against the slum dwellers to remove them from the land. Gaur sees the slum dwellers as invaders who have no right to the land and should be expelled without assistance. He also fears that crime, such as mafia groups, are based in Dharavi.</p>
<p>Samir Zaveri</p>	<p>Zaveri is a resident of Dharavi who lost both of his legs when he fell off an overloaded train while on his way to work. He is now an activist for safer train travel and legal avenues for people who have been injured. He wants to bring recognition to the hardships of Mumbai’s poor, and fully embraced the vision of Mahatma Gandhi to do so. He believes in legal avenues for good and peaceful protest as a means of taking a stand.</p>
<p>Fareed Siddiqui</p>	<p>Siddiqui is the General Secretary of the Dharavi Businessmen’s Welfare Association, which is focused on making sure that Dharavi businesses continue to thrive after any development takes place. His organization works to help businessmen become certified</p>

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	<p>so that they may continue to work should the slum be redeveloped. About half of the business owners are not licensed, but would need to be to continue working. Though his focus is on the economy in Dharavi, Siddiqui also recognizes the need to make sure that all people receive housing, and not just long-term residents of the slum. Siddiqui also serves on a State committee about Dharavi’s potential redevelopment plans.</p>
<p>Anirudh Paul</p>	<p>Paul is the director of the Kamla Raheja Vidyanidhi Institute for Architecture and Environmental Studies in Mumbai. He is an architect and urban designer who believes in working with the community to create a housing and business plan that works for everyone, and that is the mission of the school as well. The school’s students have designed a variety of plans for Dharavi, but does not have the legal or economic abilities to put them in place, and the community’s reaction to the plans is currently unknown.</p>
<p>Bal Thackeray</p>	<p>Thackeray is the founder of the Shiv Sena party, which was in control of the Maharashtra state government in coalition with the Bharatiya Janata Party. He is said to be the “Godfather of Mumbai,” and influences much of its politics. He has a very loyal political support group who have often used illegal routes to fulfill his political desires. He has been accused of being fascist and is racist against Muslims, many of whom live in Dharavi. The Shiv Sena founded the Slum Rehabilitation Authority, which supports private contractors to do the slum redevelopment.</p>
<p>Suryakant More</p>	<p>S. More is the Mumbai District Superintendent of land records under the Slum Rehabilitation Authority. Though More has the power to ensure that residents of</p>

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	<p>Dharavi gain the rights to their land, the SRA has traditionally not been sympathetic to people living in Dharavi and has, in the past, denied people rights to the land and let developers and the government take over.</p>
<p>Harish Varade</p>	<p>Varade is a Public Relations Officer for the SRA. He is responsible for dealing with any public disputes and for promoting the SRA's public image. He deals with press releases as necessary and is crucial to how the SRA is seen and what is known about its internal actions. He wants the SRA to appear to be sympathetic to the people of Mumbai in order to keep the peace, and he is able to place some pressure on its higher leadership to take good action for the people of the slum. He did not live in a slum but was not wealthy growing up.</p>
<p>Mukesh Mehta</p>	<p>Mukesh Mehta was employed by the Maharashtra Housing and Urban Development Authority to design a master plan for Dharavi's redevelopment. His plan includes housing, parks, and community spaces for the slum dwellers, but also creates space for new, more wealthy businesses to replace Dharavi's businesses. Some citizens are excited for his plan and others are appalled by it. It also does not take into account housing for those who own business, and people would still be living in cramped spaces. Mehta would benefit from continuing with the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme, as it allows private development with very little regulation as long as the basic needs of some community members are met.</p>
<p>A. P. Sinha</p>	<p>Sinha is Mumbai's Principal Secretary of Urban Development. He thinks that some elements of the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme are effective, such as outsourcing the design to contractors. However, Sinha realizes the need</p>

	<p>to address both businesses in slums and the temporary nature of housing in slums. He thinks that most slum dwellers are just passing through, and though this is not the case in Dharavi, he is willing to create more stipulations in a government plan to meet some needs of the community.</p>
<p>Sharad Mahajan</p>	<p>Mahajan founded the Maharashtra Social Housing and Action League (MSHAL) and is also an architect. He believes that the key to getting rid of slums in cities is to provide the residents with housing in the exact same area where they live, but with proper infrastructure and no high rise buildings. MSHAL has worked in two slums to achieve both government needs and the peoples'. MSHAL works on a regional scale in Asia to advise on the best housing styles for people living in slums.</p>
<p>Ajit Kerkar</p>	<p>Kerkar has grown rich in the hotel industry. He owns Indian Hotels, a chain covering three continents, and his offices are based in Mumbai. He strongly wished to develop northern Mumbai and thinks that Dharavi is prime real estate. To him, developing slums is "clearing the clutter." His corporate group funds very little of his ventures and fears he is over extending his business model. However, with his personal wealth and investment partners, he could have power over a portion of Dharavi.</p>
<p>Uttam Khobragade</p>	<p>Khobragade was the CEO of the Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority from 2000-2002. He is trained in Law, and the MHADA's focus under him is to improve the living standards of the lower classes. He sympathizes with Dharavi because he has Dalit heritage, and there are many Dalit people living in Dharavi. Khobragade is part of the Shiv Sena party, though he is unsure if</p>

	<p>that is the best fit for him. He will encourage MHADA to allow contractors to bid on the slum land, but will assist ones more likely to help the people.</p>
<p>Narayan Rane</p>	<p>Rane, a leader in the Shiv Sena party since 1999, is strongly against Southern Indian people, who make up much of the migrant population in Mumbai. As the Shiv Sena party is in charge of the SRA, Rane has the power to somewhat dictate the goings on in Dharavi. He may choose to limit the ability of immigrants to find permanent housing in Mumbai and make their legal avenues more difficult.</p>
<p>Jockin Arputham</p>	<p>Jockin Arputham is well loved by the people of Dharavi because, where he now lives by choice rather than necessity. He used to live in Janata, another Mumbai slum that was bulldozed despite assurance from Indira Gandhi that it wouldn't be. He realized that slum dwellers would never be able to stop forced evictions and influence government policies unless they were organized. Arputham founded India's National Slum Dwellers Federation and works with Mahila Milan and SPARC, and has organized city and state governments all over India partnerships for slum redevelopment in a way that works with the people. The citizens of Dharavi refer to him as Brother. He also helped found Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI), through which federations of slum and shack dwellers in more than 20 countries support each other and learn from each other.</p>
<p>Armida Fernandez</p>	<p>Armida Fernandez has spent her whole medical career working for the infants, children, and mothers of Dharavi. She set up milk banks and ensured sanitary equipment in the hospital on the edge of the slum. She also set up an NGO called SNEHA, which has</p>

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	<p>halved malnutrition in Dharavi. She believes that change must come from the people within the slums and by working with them. She admires the community and culture in Dharavi, but recognizes that more sanitary living areas must be provided to reduce tuberculosis cases and infections.</p>
<p>Sheela Patel</p>	<p>Sheela Patel founded SPARC (Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centers) in 1984, an NGO set up to explore innovative ways of working in partnerships with the urban poor, especially women-run micro-lending agencies like Mahila Milan. She also works with Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI), which is formed of federations of slum and shack dwellers from 22 nations and their support NGOs. Patel supports finding legal paths to strengthen the legitimacy of slums and the people who live there so that they can succeed as integrated parts of society. She has been an ambassador to the United Nations on this subject.</p>
<p>Fatima Shaikh</p>	<p>Shaikh grew up in Dharavi, where she worked for low wages for as long as she can remember. Unable to resort to legal identification or resources to improve her pay, she was unable to pay for housing and food for her children. After realizing how many women shared her situation, she created the organization Mahila Kamgar Sanghatana, which helps to mobilize unions for informal working women, give these women IDs, and improve their workspaces. She hopes to find legal recognition for her home and fellow women.</p>
<p>Dr. Ramakrishna Sura</p>	<p>Dr. Sura is an assistant director of Jan Shikshan Sansthan, which is a branch of the Ministry of Human Resource Development. They help with job training and literacy in rural India, which theoretically reduces</p>

	<p>migration to slums for factory jobs. In Dharavi, they help women find legal pathways for selling goods and finding work. Their focus is not on undocumented immigrants. Generally, their work is appreciated, though it is worth noting that they serve, according to their website, “minorities and other backward sections of society,” and that they teach women, “the capacity for rational thinking.”</p>
<p>Prakash M. Apte</p>	<p>Apte is a former advisor and project chief in the Housing and Urban Development Corporation in India. He is now a fellow of the Indian Institute of Architects and Town Planners, and an advisor to the World Bank. He believes that Dharavi should not be changed or moved, but rather solidified and used as a model not only for slums but also for small towns. This would allow the people of the slums to keep their businesses and homes. However, it does not account for the 60% of Dharavi’s residents that do not have permanent settlements in Dharavi.</p>
<p>Niranjan Hiranandan</p>	<p>Hiranandan is the president of NAREDCO (National Real Estate Development Council), a group designed to be a bridge between the Indian real estate business and the Indian government. NAREDCO is one of many organizations seeking to reconstruct Dharavi as an area for housing, without much care for the well being of the residents. NAREDCO has pushed many plans of redevelopment over the years since its founding in 1998.</p>
<p>Sushma Swaraj</p>	<p>Sushma Swaraj is the current minister of Health and Family welfare. She has held many positions in the Indian government since 1977, and is a prominent member of the BJP. She has criticized much of the redevelopment plans for their lack of effectiveness and lack of consideration for the lives it would affect. She is focused on a</p>

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	redevelopment of Dharavi that is beneficial to all involved, not just the wealthy.
Sharad Mahajan	Mahajan is a representative from Mahal, a company that uses geographic information systems to gather data about large areas. They have been employed, without the slum dwellers' Consent, to survey Dharavi and gather the true data about its population. While this information could be very beneficial, it would be ideal for Mahal to pursue a legal pathway.
Raju Chauhan	Owner of Sunita Chauhan Pottery, a business within Kumbharwada. Kumbharwada is a portion of the slum, which happens to be a portion of Dharavi in which the residents hold the lease to the land, as there was a deal made in the 1930's. The Kumbhars are a group of potters attempting to hold on to the land they rightfully own. This group is being ignored by many who are attempting to redevelop Dharavi.
Anjum Sheikh	Sheikh is the Chairwoman of the Dharavi Business Welfare Association and the owner of a recycling organization. She is an advocate for the rights of female business owners, legal recognition of all businesses in Dharavi, and a resident of the slum. She teaches new business owners good business practices to ensure their success and reduce business turnover rates in the slum.

Further Research

Although this guide is a great starting point for research, additional investigation is necessary for further understanding of the committee and the topics to be discussed. Delegates

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are strongly encouraged to look for sources beyond the background guide, especially when researching topics specific to particular positions. Taking these actions will ensure a successful committee experience for all delegates.

The following resources may prove useful:

[Jockin Arputham](#)

[Politics and Rehabilitation Projects In Dharavi](#)

[Life and Struggles in Slums](#)

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