

## Analyzing the Dharavi Redevelopment Project through a Capabilities and Livelihoods lens

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(Source: Getty Images)

### I. Introduction

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Rising inequality is globalization's theme tune (Watkins, 2013). Nowhere is this inequality more apparent than in Mumbai- the dream city of India. For decades an image of high rise posh buildings at the backdrop of a vast sea of tin roofed housing has been used to make an observer get a visual idea of the rampant inequality. This sea of tinned roof is 'Dharavi', one of the largest and perhaps the most talked about informal settlements in Asia. Whereas Mumbai may signify extreme urbanism, Dharavi signifies extreme survival.

Home to anywhere between 0.3 to 1.0 million people, Dharavi, spread across 525 acres, and a key hub of informal economy that has a turnover of about USD 650 million per year, conservatively. The entrepreneurial community thrives on the availability of cheap labor in the form of residents of Dharavi who live there while paying a rent of USD 4 per month. Residents of Dharavi live in appalling conditions with a toilet to share between 1500 people, inadequate sewerage systems and only one water tap to share between 15 families.

What is also unique to Dharavi is its location over a prime piece of land in the peninsula city of Mumbai, a city that boasts of one of the highest real estate prices in India. Strategically located at the intersection of two main train lines, over-looking Bandra Kurla Complex, the financial and commercial centre of Mumbai.

### ***Dharavi Redevelopment Project- Slum Rehabilitation***

In order to set Mumbai on the path of becoming a 'World Class City', the Vision Mumbai document prepared by Bombay First and McKinsey articulated key aspirations in terms reducing the percentage slum population from 50%-60% to 20%-30% by increasing the stock of affordable housing (McKinsey 2003). This combined with the national vision of Slum Free Cities is what is driving the Dharavi Redevelopment Plan (DRP). Envisaged by architect Mukesh Mehta, DRP is a state-led public private partnership to redevelop Dharavi by providing free housing for eligible residents and providing essential infrastructure for improving their living conditions. Essentially the DRP has the following characteristics:

- Dividing the total area of 217 Ha into five sectors. Each of these five sectors is to be developed by five different developers. Sector V that been allocated to Maharashtra Area and Housing Development Authority (MAHDA) for development.

- Increased floor space index (FSI) of 4 compared to 2.5 in the rest of Mumbai. Stimulus FSI to be used as an incentive for developers
- 42% land for rehabilitation and 58% for market-sale construction.
- Families registered on the electoral rolls prior to 1<sup>st</sup> January 2000 eligible for free hutment on site (one unit of 300 sqft/family). Can be increased to 400 sqft/family provided the family pays construction cost for the 100 sqft. (Sen 1983)
- Eligible families: 59,000 (does not include families living on mezzanine floors and those residing in industrial units). Unofficial estimates of families living in Dharavi are close to 90,000.
- Change in typology from horizontal low-rise to vertical high-rise.
- Socio-economic survey conducted by state appointed Non Government Organization (NGO) in the year 2007.
- DRP promises to rehabilitate all non-polluting industries.

**II. Information Base**

The following section presents a collation of data base that is utilized to analyze Dharavi Redevelopment Project (DRP)

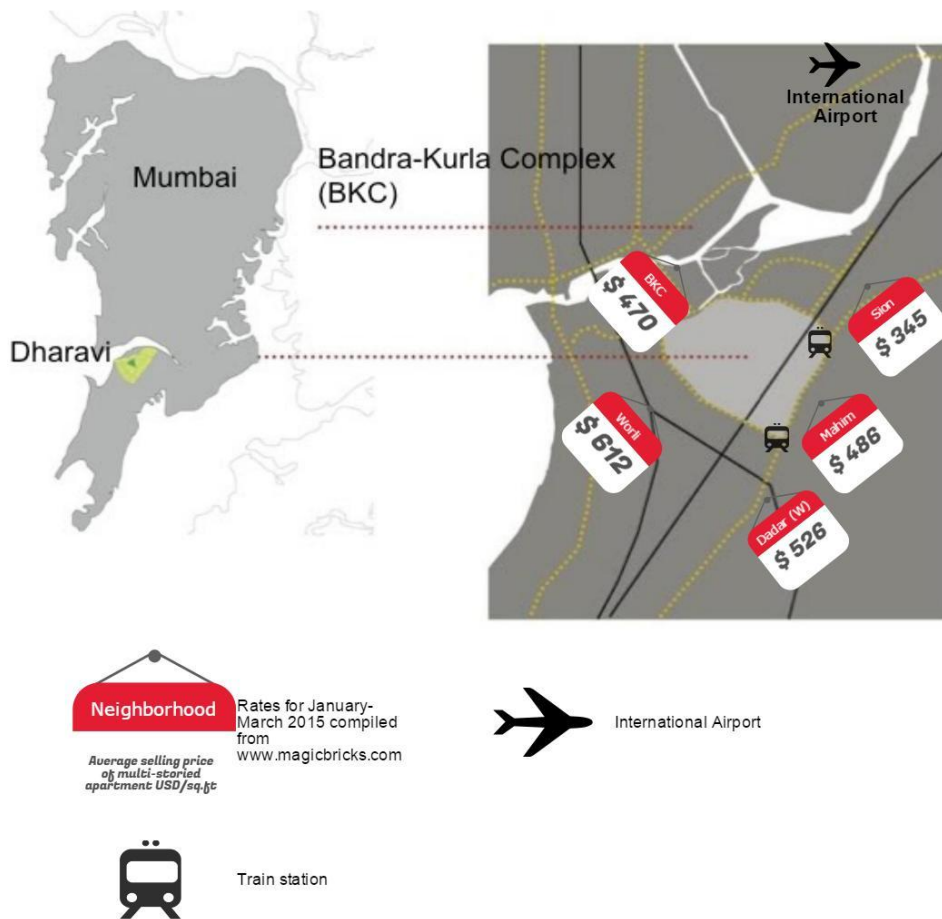
Given the special characteristic of DRP, most of the data is qualitative and descriptive, spatial even, rather than numerical. The unique characteristic of Dharavi demands a change in perspective in the kind of informational base to be utilized for analysis.

**2.1 Introduction**

**2.1.1 Context:**

In order to begin understanding Dharavi, it is important to locate it in the city of Mumbai. Figure 1 shows how strategically Dharavi’s location is with respect to the city, in terms of accessibility to transportation network and also in terms of being surrounded by neighbourhoods that currently fetch some of the highest real estate prices in the city. This is what gives Dharavi its strategic advantage and hiked real estate values.

Figure 1: Contextual location of Dharavi in Mumbai



Source: Base Image available from <http://www.thepollblog.org/2010/04/contested-urbanism-reclaiming-right-to.html>

### 2.1.2 About Dharavi- The Basics

It is important to note that there is no universally accepted source of information on Dharavi and as an extension that on the Dharavi Redevelopment Project. Information is collected by organizations depending on their interest in the project. Like most NGOs have information on entrepreneurial indicators, Government agencies have information relating to land area, and other details of the DRP. Hence information is compiled from different sources to showcase a comprehensive picture.

#### Existing



#### Planned



Description	Information
Total Area (Mehta, 2010)	217 Ha
Total Population (no official estimates)	3,00, 000 to 9, 00, 000
No. Of households	60,000- 1,80, 000 (calculated from above information, taking avg. HH size of 5)
Total Density	1382- 4000 person/Ha (calculated on the basis of the above)
Categorization of hutments	(Residential)- 45859: 76% (Residential, Commercial)- 330: 0.6% (Commercial, Industrial)- 12976: 22% (Religious)- 292: 0.5%
Proportion of land area available to Dharavi Residents	100%

Description	Information
Total Developable Area (Mehta, 2010)	151 Ha
Total Population	3, 00, 000 (calculated on the basis of the below information)
No. Of Households Eligible for Free Housing in Dharavi (not including those residing and working in loft spaces)	59, 000 (according to the survey conducted by MASHAL)
Proposed Density (Patel, 2007)	2326 person/Ha
Categorization of hutments (Boano, Hunter, & Newton, 2013)	76%- High end Residential 17%- High end Commercial 2% - Industrial
Proportion of land area available to Dharavi Residents	43% (57% for sale in free market component)



### 2.1.3 Dharavi's relationship to Mumbai



Dharavi currently occupies 5% of the metropolitan Mumbai area (Boano et al., 2013)

Dharavi is 1.5% city's GDP, GDP of Mumbai is 5% of India's GDP. 80% of Mumbai's recycling happens here. (Bhide & Martina, 2013)

Turnover= 650 m/annum (BBC, 2015)

## 2.2 Dharavi- The Livelihoods

After getting an idea about the context and location of Dharavi, this section explores Dharavi from a livelihoods perspective. 66% of the total land area is currently being used for productive activities (Boano et al., 2013)

### *Entrepreneurial and Commercial Hub* (SPARC & KRVI, 2010)

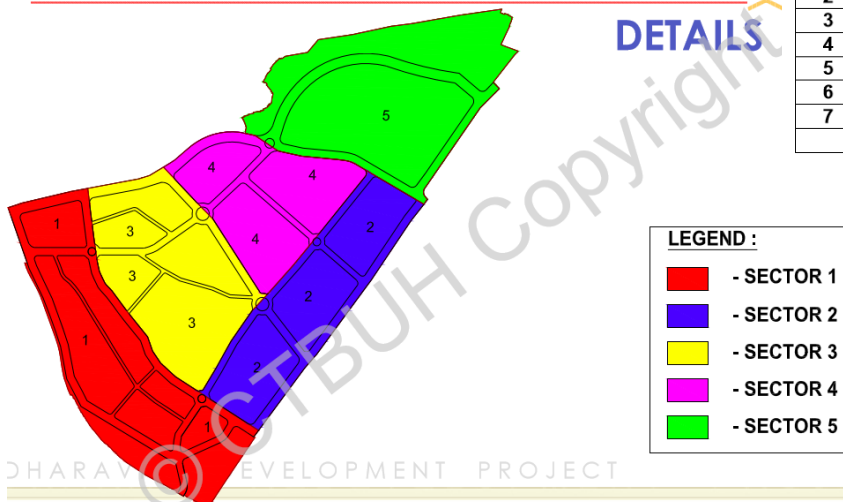
Description of Activity	Quantity
Manufacturing units of all kinds	1700 (does not include smaller units, which work out of homes and lofts)
Small scale manufacturing (employing 5-10 people)	244
Big industries	43
Food processing units	152
Printing press	50
Restaurants	111
Scrap and Recycling units	722
Export units	85
Bakeries	25

Industry	People Employed
Tanneries	5000
Embroidary	600
Papad making	50
Plastic recycling	>5000
Pottery making	2000

## 2.3 Existing Diversity in Dharavi

In order to grasp the plurality of socio-economic and cultural interactions in Dharavi, the following section relies on interaction and space utilization maps prepared by academic institutions as an important information source. Dharavi is divided into five sectors according to the DRP and most of the land is owned by the local authority Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (Mehta, 2010), as illustrated below:

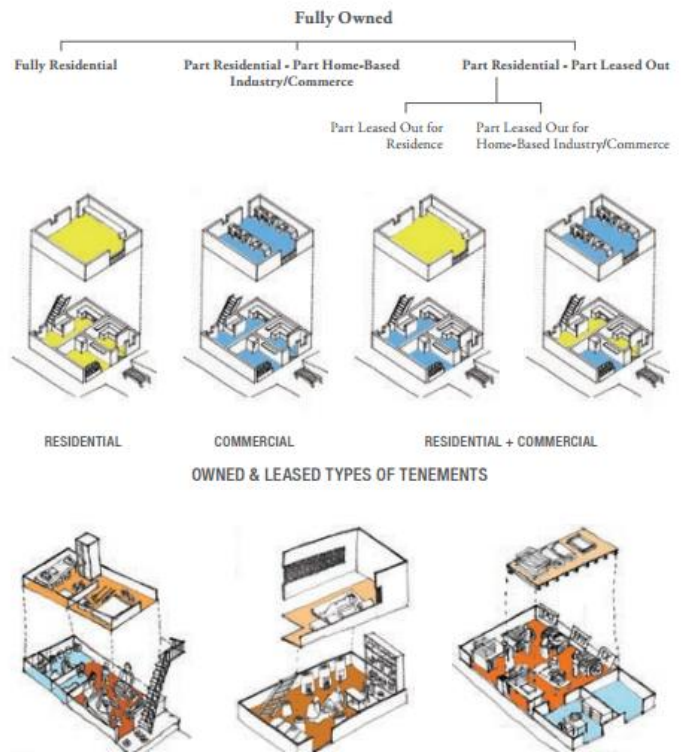
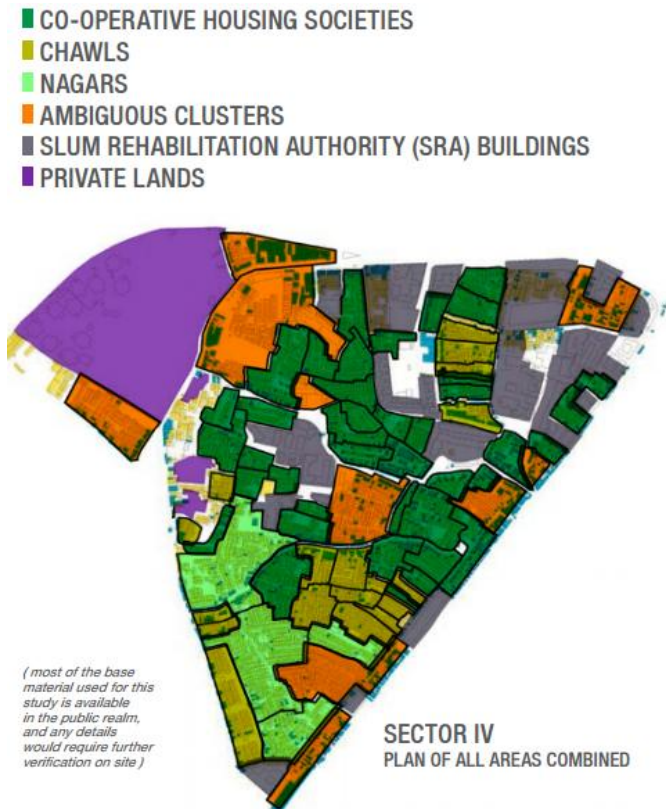
### SECTOR LAYOUT



### LAND OWNERSHIP IN DHARAVI

No	Ownership	Ownership area (Ha)	%
1	MCGM	141	59
2	MCGM & Pvt	1	1
3	Private	40	17
4	Railway	9	4
5	State Govt.	32	13
6	Addl. Pvt Properties	6	3
7	Not Specified	10	4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>239</b>	<b>100</b>

The following maps illustrate the level of complexity in Sector 4. As observed one single sector has different kinds of organizations of people and communities in terms of co-operative housing societies, chawls, nagars, etc and there exist diverse typologies of hutments, most of which are a combination of living and working spaces (SPARC & KRVI, 2010)



The following shows diversity of various aspects in a single nagar (Boano et al., 2013)



# 1 Kumbharwada

Kumbharwada is the centre of the pottery activity. The potters form a very compact community, established in the area since the XVIII century, and their income is relatively high. Between 1000-1200 families reside in Kumbharwada.



5	Cohesion
4	Connectivity
2	Community participation
3	Density
4	Income
2	Infrastructures & amenities
5	Productivity

# 2 Shatabdi Nagar

Shatabdi Nagar is a recent settlement, established in the 90s on a dump ground in a peripheral area of Dharavi. Hygienic conditions are extremely poor. Most of the population is dalit and there is a large population of transient workers. Locals are marginalized within Dharavi and a sense of community is lacking.



1	Cohesion
1	Connectivity
1	Community participation
5	Density
2	Income
2	Infrastructures & amenities
3	Productivity

# 3 Shahu Nagar

The neighbourhood is peripheral to Dharavi, but close to Mahim train station and well connected to the rest of the city. There aren't strong social ties.



2	Cohesion
5	Connectivity
1	Community participation
2	Density
3	Income
3	Infrastructures & amenities
2	Productivity

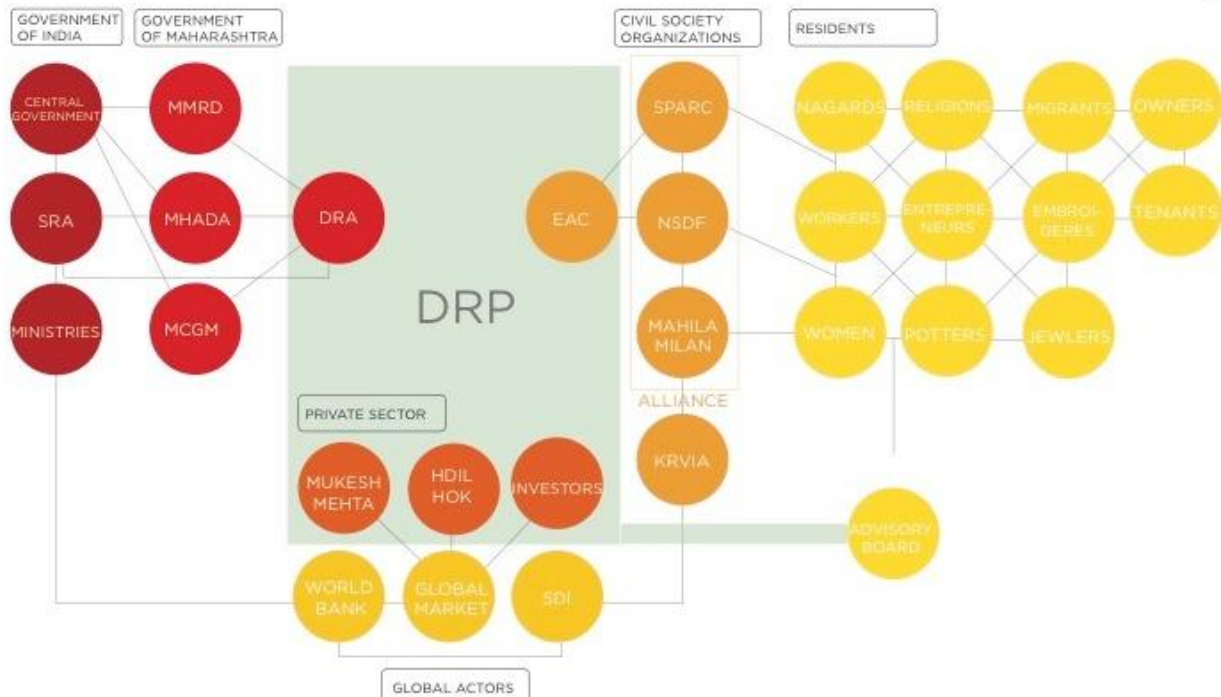


The following map shows spatial integration of spaces. It is due to this reason that the livelihoods are so intricately connected to each other, example the waste picking industry feeds into the transportation industry which both support service industries like tiffin etc. (Bhide & Martina, 2013)



## 2.4 Status of Participation

The following shows a map that shows the main actors involved at different stages of planning and implementation of DRP. The yellow circles are the residents who have no say in the existing DRP space directly (Boano et al., 2013)



The following is the composition of the Committee of Experts (SPARC & KRVIA, 2010)

D.M. Sukthankar, IAS (Retd.), former Chief Secretary, GoM

Shirish Patel, structural engineer and urban planner

Vidhyadhar Phatak, urban planner

Chandrashekhar Prabhu, architect and housing activist

Arvind Adarkar, Director, Academy of Architecture

Neera Adarkar, architect and social activist

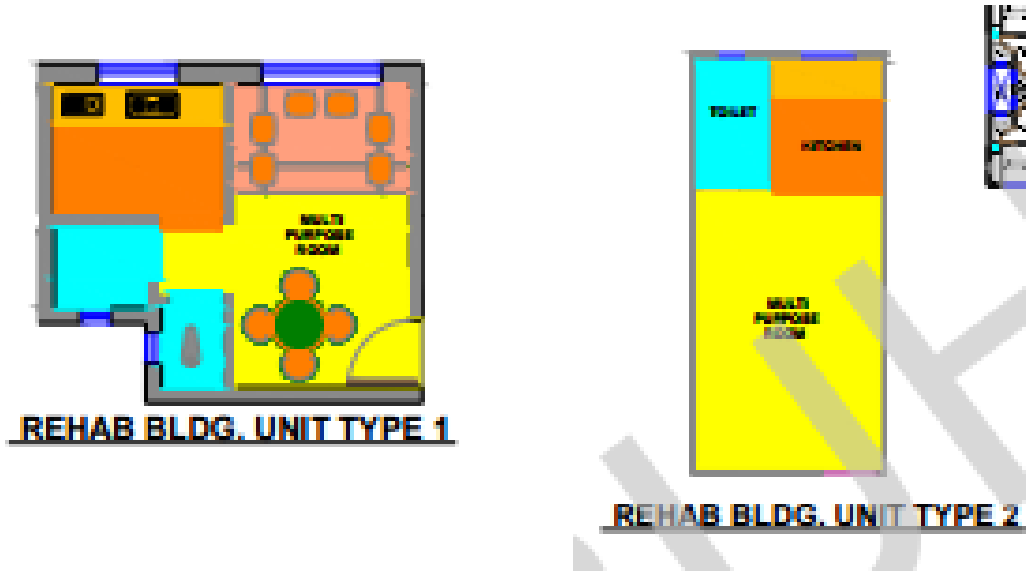
Aneerudha Paul, Director, Kamala Raheja Vidyanidhi Institute of Architecture

A.Jockin, President, National Slum Dwellers Federation

Sheela Patel, Director, SPARC

Sundar Burra, IAS (Retd.) and Adviser, SPARC

## 2.5 Restrictive and homogenous proposed rehab building typologies (Mehta, 2010)



### ***Mumbai to Dharavi: Extreme Urbanism to Extreme Survival- Locating Dharavi Redevelopment Plan in the greater realm of slum rehabilitation policies.***

Slum settlements in Indian cities are accepted as natural by-products of urbanization (Goswami & Manna, 2013). A slum is usually defined as compact area of overcrowded populations, poorly built congested dwelling condition, unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and lacking in proper sanitary and drinking water facilities. What is often left out of the definition is that most of the slums are squatter settlements. The role of the central government in the realm of slum policies in India has been to provide enabling policy framework for slum rehabilitation along with financial resources

and channelling funds from international donors to sub-national governments (Goswami & Manna, 2013). Land and housing are primarily state<sup>1</sup> subject, hence, the states are given the freedom to devise their own slum rehabilitation acts as long as they fall in the ambit of the central policies. Slum rehabilitation in the state of Maharashtra (state government for the city of Mumbai) has progressed from the regressive approaches of 'slum clearance' and 'demolition' to that of provision of basic amenities and finally in-situ up gradation and redevelopment. The concepts of poverty and slum settlement are

<sup>1</sup> State in the context of India and for the purpose of the essay means sub-national government, the administrative division following the national government and preceding district and city governments.

almost synonymous in India and hence any scheme for poverty alleviation has slum redevelopment as a major part of it. Lack of property entitlement as perpetuating poverty was realized and in the second half of 80s provision of secure land tenure was introduced in the slum up gradation programs in Mumbai. The introduction and acknowledgement of the sustainable livelihoods approach by the donor community resulted in the state government making every attempt to minimize resettlement and promote in-situ up gradation along with participative processes and maintaining existing social networks (SRA, 2001). A rights-based approach to slum redevelopment was adopted in the year 1995 with the Slum Rehabilitation Act was approved. This gave rights from eviction and to be resettled in case demolition was absolutely necessary to citizens who can prove that they are residents of Mumbai since 1<sup>st</sup> January 1995 (later amended to 1<sup>st</sup> January 2000). Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS) was introduced in 1995 utilizing land as a resource private developers are selected by the slum communities co-operative societies (at least 70% slum dwellers in a particular co-operative should agree to this) to rehabilitate and provide free housing. The developers in turn get an FSI of upto 4 and can subsidize the cost of rehabilitation by selling the remaining stock

in the open market. For every 1 sq.mt of rehab construction, the developer can avail upto 1 sq.mt of sale component. In case of Dharavi the ratio is 1:1.33 (SRA, 2001). Many aspects are different in DRP, namely the top-down non-participatory approach vs. what is advocated by the SRS. Treating Dharavi as a homogeneous group, notwithstanding the existence of 85 unique neighbourhoods. The increased FSI shall not only result in vertical slums but also destroy the entrepreneurial utopia that exists in Dharavi today that is an ingrained part of the social capital of the community. The question of land tenure is rather murky in DRP, it only talks about a unit tenure which provides no security. Availability of an increased for-sale component renders the DRP much more oriented towards the needs and requirements of the developers rather than the slum dwellers, not to mention the inherent exclusiveness of more than 70% residents who live on the mezzanine floor or are not able to prove residency before 1995.

Hence, the key components of the debate here are non-democratic, exclusionary, top-down market driven approach that risks livelihoods that are a mark of unique entrepreneurship by destroying the social fabric of the community.

Thus, discourse around slum rehabilitation forms an important backdrop for the essay.



### III. Analyzing DRP through Capabilities and Livelihood lens

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The following section focuses on developing theoretical concepts and utilizing the same as framework for analyzing DRP.

#### ***Capabilities Approach as an evaluative space***

As a normative theory of social justice, the capabilities approach emphasizes a person's capability to achieve certain actions (functioning) that the person deems valuable for living (Sen 1993). In the most basic sense, functioning's refer to 'being' and 'doing' and capability is the opportunity freedom that an individual exercises and decides the functioning's he/she deems of value. This 'opportunity freedom' of an individual does not exist in isolation and is dependent on a number of factors, 'individuals draw on entitlements and endowments, and use their capabilities, to secure functioning that are "...things a person may value doing or being" (Sen 2001: 75). Robeyns elaborates on these factors by adding that capabilities are acquired not only through economic and financial inputs, but also 'political practices and institutions, such as effective guaranteeing and protection of freedom of thought, political participation, social or cultural practices, social structures, social institutions, public goods, social norms, traditions and habits'(Robeyns 2005). Hence, the capabilities approach focuses on a range of social, economic, political and cultural

factors that influence individual capabilities, and hence, their functioning. This is a broader, multi-dimensional approach to human development or well-being, rather than a restrictive one-dimensional utilitarian approach that uses a narrow approach of economic wellbeing. The main contribution of capabilities approach is to place humans at the center of economic development rather than economic growth itself (Dong 2008). Since its conception by Sen, the capabilities approach has contributed much to the development and well-being realm in general and poverty reduction in particular, especially the definitional aspects of poverty. Poverty is increasingly being defined as lack of capabilities. The capability approach has influenced the development of the Human Development Index (HDI), one that is a departure from welfare economic based indicators of development like, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Gross National Income (GNI). The HDI provides a general assessment and critic of development by bringing to forefront the inequality, poverty and other capability deprivations, despite high levels of GDP growth (Sen 2005).

Theorists have increasingly specified that the main objective of public action should be to enhance capabilities of people to undertake valued doings and beings (Sen & Dreze 1989).

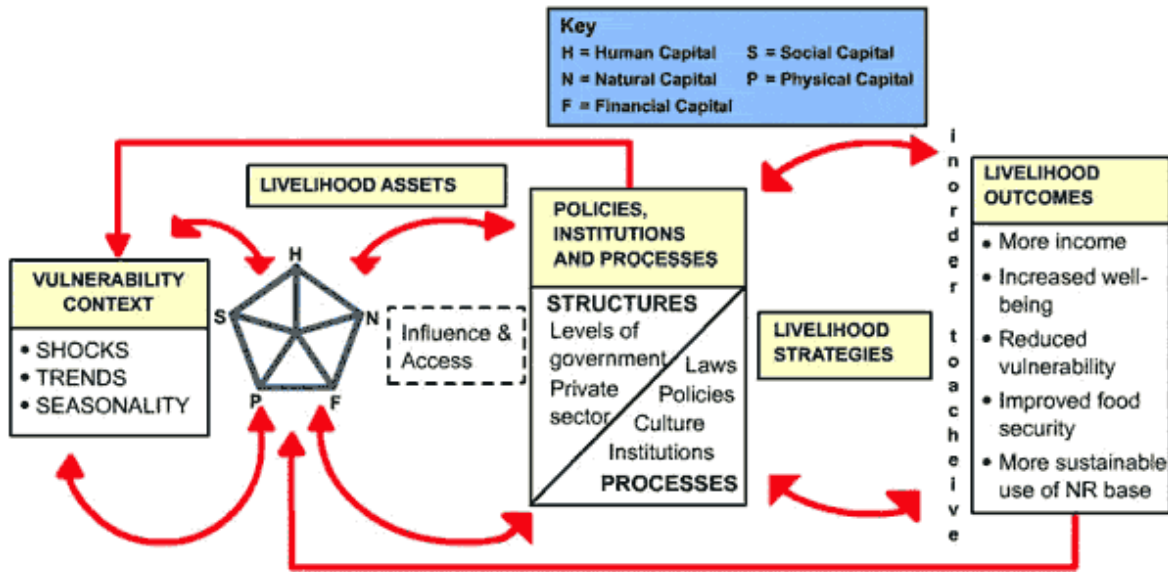
The capabilities approach since is being continually utilized in human development realm in general and poverty reduction in particular through the sustainable livelihoods approach.

***Right to participation as an extension to Sen's capability approach***

A concern for agency is critical to capability approach. Sen defines an agent as someone who acts and brings about change and agency as one that depends on the ability of the individual to choose the functioning one values (Sen 2001). This highlights the relationship between the individual and his/her societal context. Thus, with respect to the capability approach, agency essentially refers to a person's role in the society, to participate in economic, social and political actions. Lack of agency, is thus, deprivation of an essential capability. This concern for agency stresses that participation, public

debate, democratic practice and empowerment should be one of the important indicators of development and well-being (Alkire 2005). Nussbaum has further qualified participation as central to human functional capabilities. As a framework for seeking justice under the capabilities approach, Nussbaum classifies 'control over one's environment as an important functional capability. (Nussbaum 2000). This encompasses a control over both, political (such as participation in civil administration) and material (such as being able to hold property) (ibid). Given the specific context of urban environments, it would not be entirely inappropriate to also bring in the ideas of 'right to cities and city-making' articulated by Harvey (Harvey 2008). Thus, a liberal interpretation of capabilities approach can entail classifying participation in development processes as an important functional capabilities of individuals.

### *Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) as an Evaluation Tool*



Ideas of Sen's capabilities approach are seamlessly incorporated in the sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA), a practical framework that aids in understanding the various dimensions of poverty and deprivations and the ways in which surrounding institutions perpetuate or prevent the same.

Livelihood is fundamental to this approach and encompasses capabilities for earning a living and a sustainable livelihood as one that is able to withstand shocks and other vulnerabilities and maintain or achieve better capabilities. Capabilities are qualities possessed by households to earn a living like education, health, etc. Assets include material and non-material capital like, human (skills, knowledge), physical (land, other

endowments), infrastructural (transportation networks, health, sanitation facilities), financial (savings, investment) and social (informal networks of social navigation). Another important aspect of the SLA is the external environment which consists of structural processes like laws, institutions, policies that have a critical impact on the livelihoods.

SLA, thus charts the various vulnerabilities experienced by the poor, rather comprehensively, focusing not only on enhancing the agency of the poor, but also giving equal importance to contextual and institutional factors (Bhide & Martina 2013).

The following essay reviews the Dharavi Redevelopment Project from a SLA lens.

***Dharavi Redevelopment Project: Missing***

Slum rehabilitation in the state of Maharashtra (state government for the city of Mumbai) has progressed from the regressive approaches of 'slum clearance' and 'demolition' to that of provision of basic amenities and finally in-situ up gradation and redevelopment. As described in the first section, Dharavi Redevelopment Project consists of free housing and basic amenities (for those eligible) as key components that address the development of slum communities.

***Lacking in Livelihood focus***

Viewing through the SLA lens, the DRP seems flawed at a conceptual level, as it has free housing and infrastructural improvement at the core of its objectives with only a very narrow focus on livelihoods. In its current form, the DRP recognizes livelihoods fleetingly by mentioning that, '(...), it is being proposed that, non-polluting industrial / businesses will be retained in Dharavi itself. All the established businesses and manufacturing units will be encouraged and will be provided with modern technical and economical strategies for sustainable development'(SRA 2015). Considering the sheer scale and diversity of livelihoods that operate in Dharavi as illustrated in the data above, this lack of

information on rehabilitation of the same serves as a proof of its importance in the plan.

As elaborated in the data, Dharavi currently has low levels of HDI in terms of education and other quality of life indicators; hence, provision of basic amenities shall improve the HDI and housing shall add considerably to the infrastructural capital of individuals. However, it is treating this as the end and not a means for enriching lives that is against Sen's capabilities approach (Robeyns 2005). Focusing on provision of free housing and infrastructural improvements without addressing contextual nuances (livelihoods) is only furthering a Rawlsian approach.

Extending the capabilities approach to Dharavi would mean enhancing the ability of the residents to pursue goals that they deem valuable. The scale, and diversity of economic activities currently being pursued by the residents as portrayed by the data, gives an idea of the goals that are valuable to the Dharavi community. Further, the dynamic use of hutments and public spaces is what makes these diverse set of activities and informal social networks thrive, as shown in the data section. Hence, in case of Dharavi, spatial structure and form is a critical input in generating livelihoods that are sustainable. Any redevelopment plan under the premise of capabilities approach and SLA needs to address this aspect. DRP however, takes no



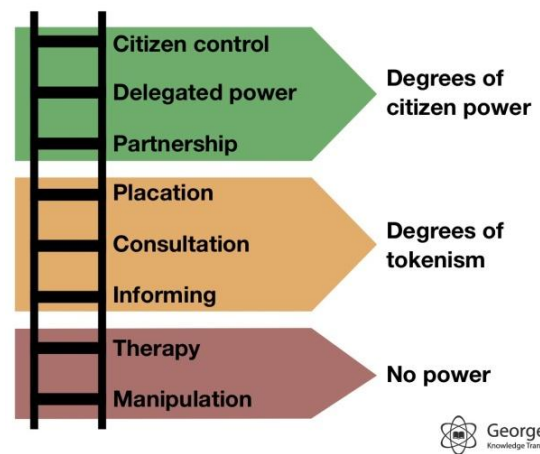
note of this; rather some aspects of physical plans may actually prove detrimental to the capabilities of the individuals in Dharavi to pursue valued entrepreneurial activities and can result in the destruction of the social capital of the community, as described below:

The physical proposals of DRP in its current form advocate segregation of uses in terms of residential, commercial, industrial and others. It also proposes homogenous hutment typologies as shown in the data section. This not only turns a blind eye to the existing multi-functionality of spaces, but may also prove detrimental for existing livelihoods by breaking socio-economic interaction patterns. Poor need open spaces-not small, confined flats on upper-deck floors-so that livelihoods, which often require street space for selling or rooftop space for drying, continue to thrive (Carr 2011).

Further, the building structure proposed in Dharavi is high-density high-rise. This fails to cater to the needs of how the people live, work and interact. This may result in the rupture of social cohesion; hence prove detrimental for the social capital. Social capital may further suffer, as the community shall be segregated between project *beneficiaries* i.e. those who are eligible to receive free housing and the *others*.

The capabilities approach addresses individual diversity in terms of plurality in capabilities and personal, socio-environmental and

Arnstein (1969) Ladder of citizen participation



institutional circumstances that influence this conversion (Robeyns 2005). This aspect elaborates on the informational requirements to use capabilities approach as an evaluative space. For DRP this entails undertaking detailed socio-economic surveys and given the criticality of relationship between livelihoods and spatial structures, also conduct detailed space usage mappings. Unfortunately, DRP was conceived without any such informational base. Such informational base, however exhaustive is not difficult to collect, as is represented in the database, where such analysis has been conducted at neighbourhood or '*nagar*' level. Dharavi consists of more than 80 such nagars (SPARC & KRVI 2010) and each of these nagars is representative of certain livelihood groups like '*kumbharvad*' is the potter's neighbourhood, '*chamda bazaar*' is where the leather business is located, and so on. Each of these nagars are cities in their own rights with unique sets of characteristics in terms of community participation, density, cohesion,

productivity, to name a few. Not recognizing such diversity in charting the redevelopment plan may either end up enhancing already existing 'capitals' or completely ignore some.

### ***Participation or Tokenism?***

Participation is one of the key themes emerging out of a justice based perspective of the capabilities approach as described in the earlier section. Thus, having control over one's environment through participation is advocated under the capabilities approach. The SLA framework as a strategy for poverty alleviation also emphasizes the need for participation in its various processes (DFID 1999). Participation in the current DRP process can be articulated at two scales. One is at a conceptual level, that entails participation in decision-making, and the other is at a programmatic level that involves participation in design of hutments and other spaces. Conceptually, participation is not recognized as a right of the communities residing in Dharavi. This is apparent in the lack of formal spaces for participation in the existing DRP process. The only known participatory exercise was after the strategic DRP was prepared (Mehta 2010). This can be deemed only as tokenism as it involved informing and consulting (Arnstein 1969), which treats slum dwellers as beneficiaries rather than partners in development. It is the

later that is envisaged under the capabilities approach.

Further, the only representation that the interests of slum dwellers have in the DRP process is through the Committee of Experts (CoE). The CoE, instituted as a mediating agency between the redevelopment authority and the slum dwellers, is just that, representational. As observed in the data section, the CoE lacks direct representation of slum dwellers. Hence, the question of whose interests are being represented can be highly contested here. At a design level, participation would entail utilizing slum dwellers as key informants for design of hutments and spaces as a way of giving them the right to influence the proximate built spaces, ones that have the deepest impact on their capabilities to pursue their livelihoods. Identifying uses and functions of space through the citizens and creating spaces that are a true reflection of their daily lives, instead of a one-size-fit all monolithic typology. Currently, no such arrangements exist. Such non-democratic practices deprive the slum dwellers of the opportunities to actively participate in socio-economic and political processes. This denies them of agency capability (Alkire 2005) and the capability of participation (Nassbaum 2000). One of the numerous ways non-democratic planning is achieved in Dharavi is by deliberate withholding of information. Information, according to Forester has

important implications on democratic planning, as it is those who control the information, have power in decision making (Forester 1980).

Going back to the SLA, the slum dwellers are extremely vulnerable to the pressures of urbanization, in the sense that their needs are often neglected in the way urbanization shapes the cities. Participatory processes in such planning endeavours as the DRP which are conceived both as slum rehabilitation as well as urban renewal, can help reclaim right

### ***Re-development as perpetuating neo-liberal capitalist ideas***

Dharavi redevelopment is a classic case of perpetuating neo-liberal capitalist ideas, a trend that is shaping the urban development discourse in Indian cities recently, with narratives of urban renewal and re-development laden heavily with techno-managerial concepts like 'smart cities' and Shanghai-esque models of development. Even when 'inclusive growth' is a key objective of India's 12th Five Year Plan (Planning Commission of India 2015), while competing against its counter-part namely 'faster growth', it has been observed to fail. Case in point is the coveted urban renewal project of Sabarmati Riverfront Development which illustrates how world-class planning has resulted in capitalist pattern of 'accumulation by dispossession' (Mathur 2012). Lack of

to the city for a group that is often neglected in such processes. As expressed by Harvey 'to claim the right to the city in the sense (..) to claim some kind of shaping power over the processes of urbanization, over the ways in which our cities are made and re-made'(Harvey 2008). The non-democraticness or the exclusionary stance of the existing DRP is reflected in the fact that it completely ignores families living and working on mezzanine floors, producing a sense of graded citizenship.

participation and control of information is a way of practicing top-down, totalitarian planning in Dharavi. Another way of inflicting neo-liberal, top-down planning is by alienating slum communities through the introduction of 'technical' imagination. Beatriz Sarlo, an Argentine cultural critic who has written extensively on Argentina's fascination for 'all things scientific' and 'the new', elaborates that such cultivation of technical imagination detaches the city from its beings. The DRP too as observed in the data section tries to inculcate an imagination heavy on technology, and modern architectural design, devoid of simple forms, space, uses, etc.

DRP, by providing extra FSI and higher 'free-market' sale ratio of 1.33 as compared to 1, while completely dis-regarding the loss of livelihoods and social capital, is catering exclusively to the private developers. The DRP specifies that 70% of the premium is to be

given to the land owners. Given that close to 60% of the land is owned by the local body as shown in the data section, there appears high incentive for the local government to increase the free-market sale component. Thus, there are two competing rationalities at play here, social rationality that incentivizes nurturing of the existing livelihood and social capital in Dharavi by allowing democratic planning, and, the market rationality of attracting developers by offering higher FSI and higher free market sale ratio, both of which may eventually lead to extremely high densities, high-rise structures, displacement and eventually rupture of the social fabric. This, according to Harvey is detrimental to achieving social justice in cities (Harvey 1991).

### ***To Conclude...***

The essay is an exploration of the Dharavi Redevelopment Project through Sen's capabilities approach and the sustainable livelihoods framework. DRP fails to uphold critical elements of both. The key points of departure are a lack of focus on livelihoods and social capital along with a complete disregard for democratic participation. Given that the project is already underway, re-shaping the vision to include social rationalities may seem rather impossible. However, what may be likely is introducing formal spaces of participation in the DRP process. Given the complexity of Dharavi

adopting an incremental approach that entails further division of each sector, not according to existing infrastructure, but rather, livelihood and social clusters shall facilitate participation. It shall however be noted that Dharavi itself has multiple levels of inequalities in terms of gender, ownership, income and caste, hence caution needs to be further exercised with respect to 'who' participates and 'whose' interests are being incorporated, hence avoiding perpetuations of existing inequalities.

All said and done, the core of Dharavi debate is the land on which it is located, one that is of premium real estate value. Given that most of this land is owned by the government, should the government let go off of these rights and transfer entitlements to the slum dwellers? Or utilize it as a resource to attract market investment, thus utilizing to the maximum the assets in its possession? Whereas, social theorists may vehemently rally for the former, urban and municipal finance experts shall prioritize the later. There needs to exist much more to support for social rationalities to take precedence over market rationalities, especially in resource constrained societies, a national level social urbanism discourse perhaps? One that can help change the vision of Mumbai from 'Transforming Mumbai into a World Class City' to 'Transferring Mumbai to the most Equitable City'.



**World Count: 4920**

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