



## Understanding the issues within the urban renewal strategy of Dharavi

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**Abstract:** Slum redevelopment is a global issue that primarily developing and underdeveloped countries face. As one of the cases, Dharavi Slum in Mumbai took the world's attention for a long time. Even after multiple proposals and attempts made by the government, the conditions didn't get any better. This paper aims to understand the key weaknesses and urban project objectives of the latest Dharavi Redevelopment Project (DRP) in 2004. Take an example of a successfully finished redevelopment project from another country with a similar situation.

**IndexTerms** – Slum redevelopment, Dharavi, DRP.

### I. INTRODUCTION

Slums are usually a gateway to the cities for the rural population which migrate to urban areas in search of jobs hoping for a much better lifestyle and find shelter in these informal settlements. The UN-Habitat report on Slums from 2004, highlights four basic form of urban population expansion which significantly contribute towards the expansion of informal settlements.

1. Rural - Urban Migration.
2. Natural Growth.
3. Combination of Natural and Migration Growth.
4. Population displacement because of armed conflict, internal strife or violence.

During the census of 2011 it absolutely was seen that over 30% of the overall urban population lives in slum (Table 1).<sup>1</sup> According to census of 2011 Mumbai has the highest number of slum population and is additionally sometimes said as "slumbai". As India's Financial capitol and most populous city with total population of 12.44 million 42% of the overall population lives in slum. Mumbai also host Dharavi which is commonly referred as 'Asia's largest Slum'. Dharavi is spread across 239 hectares with population of over 1 million people. It's an explosive mixture of different communities that lives in impossibly crowded surroundings. Dharavi although being a slum provides jobs to almost 80% of its inhabitants. The landuse of Dharavi has a mix of Housing, commercial and industrial spaces.

Table 1.1 Slum and Non-Slum Population in Major Million Plus Cities in India - 2011

Name of the city	Total population	Slum population	Non-slum population	% of Slum Population to Total Population in the city
Jabalpur	1081677	483626	598051	44.71
GVMC	1728128	770971	957157	44.61
Greater Mumbai	12442373	5206473	7235900	41.84
Meerut	1305429	544859	760570	41.74
Raipur	1027264	406571	620693	39.58
Vijayawada	1143232	451231	692001	39.47
Nagpur	2405665	859487	1546178	35.73
Agra	1585704	533554	1052150	33.65
Greater Hyderabad	6993262	2287014	4706248	32.70
Kota	1001694	319309	682385	31.88
Kolkata	4496694	1409721	3086973	31.35

Dharavi has not just emerged suddenly; it's been here since even before when Mumbai was called Bombay. It had been ignored by many until 1970s but suddenly started getting attention because of its location. Before 1947 Dharavi was on the northern most

<sup>1</sup> Slums in India: A Statistical Compendium, Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, India, 2015

a part of the Colonial Bombay but when city started expanding towards north because of restrictions in south and west, Dharavi became a part of centre of the city increasing its land value, successively getting attentions from government and developers. Cause of its locational advantage today Dharavi is additionally referred to as a "Goldmine Location". The addition to the prime locations Dharavi also got world's attention cause of various national and international movies and documentaries like Slum dog Millionaire and slumming it which showed the case of Dharavi.

Dharavi home to a huge number of micro industries, including pottery, tanning and leatherworking, and plastic recycling. It's not clusters of temporary shelters, but complex ecological and economic systems, "a city within a city." Many slum dwellers in Mumbai don't seem to be the official poor who live below the poverty line, but are well-educated, middle-class people that are deprived of adequate housing.<sup>2</sup> There are several attempts made by many to redevelop or uplift slums or designing for lower income groups with common intention of providing a better life for the dwellers but most of them fails due to ignorance of architectural, social and cultural character of the area. While there are some successful cases where the dwellers have accepted the upgraded proposal, many projects are rejected by the dwellers resulting in its failure. Similarly just in case of Dharavi there are various interventions made by government and native bodies within the past few decades to upgrade the conditions of slums, but all attempts have their own reasons of failure. Designing housing for a place like Dharavi requires special attention. Instead of solving the tangible problems one must understand the untangible community structure of Dharavi. The social structures like community and neighborhood play a crucial role within the liveliness of slums like Dharavi which the designers usually ignore specializing in the physical problems. Thus the understanding of the social structure may help finding solution for the issues with the redevelopment.

### 1.1 What is the Slum

There are various definitions of a slum. The United Nations(UN) operationally defines a slum as "one or a group of individuals living under the same roof in an urban area, lacking in one or more of the following five amenities" (Nolan, 2015):

1. Durable housing (a permanent structure protecting from extreme climatic conditions);
2. Sufficient living area (no more than three people sharing a room);
3. Access to improved water (water that is sufficient, affordable, and can be obtained without extreme effort);
4. Access to improved sanitation facilities (a private toilet, or a public one shared with a reasonable number of people);
5. Secure tenure (de facto or de jure secure tenure status and protection against forced eviction).

Quality of life in slums is one in every of the foremost significant issues for the poor, having the worst shelters and intolerable physical environmental conditions. The basic reason for increasing slums in any place is that the unaffordability of formal houses. Slums were widespread within the late 19th to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in developed nations. Developed nations converted informal housing to a formal settlement with their strong economic support. But, within the last decades, slums became a significant urban issue for developing and under-developing countries.

### 1.2 Slum Condition in India

World Bank states India as one of the most populous countries globally, with a population density of over 464 people per Km<sup>2</sup> (data.worldbank.org, n.d.)<sup>3</sup>. The slums population estimates are often seen varying in several organizations as Census of India (2001) reported 42.6 million people living in slums while UN-Habitat (2003) estimated the slum population in India to be 155 million (Measuring multiple housing deprivations in urban India using Slum Severity Index, 2020). The population of slums in India increased from 2001 to 2011, consistent with the Census of India (2011), while consistent with the UN, it decreased (Measuring multiple housing deprivations in urban India using Slum Severity Index, 2020).

The slum is categorized into three types according to the India Census 2011 report

1. Notified slums - "All notified areas within a town or city notified as 'Slum' by State, Union territories Administration or Local Government under any Act including a 'Slum Act' is also considered as Notified slums".
2. Recognized slums - "All areas recognized as 'Slum' by State, Union territories Administration or Government, Housing and Slum Boards, which haven't been formally notified as slum under any act is also considered as Recognized slums".

Identified slums - "A compact area of at least 300 populations or about 60-70 households of poorly built congested tenements, in an unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and lacking in proper sanitary and water facilities. Such areas should be identified personally by the Charge Officer and inspected by an official nominated by the Directorate of Census Operations. This fact must be duly recorded within the charge register. Such areas may be considered as Identified slums".

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Dharavi Redevelopment Project 2004

The government of Maharashtra proposed the Dharavi Redevelopment proposal in 2004. Under the Special Planning Authority, Dharavi was considered the undeveloped area of Maharashtra (SRA Mumbai). The govt. gave the design work to Architect Mukesh Mehta and asked to provide the redevelopment plan of Dharavi. After nine months of labor, Architect Mukesh Mehta divides the Dharavi into five sectors, each for various communities. Sector 1 consist of leather and recycling industries with SRA housing land to rent. Sector 2 belongs to strong social structured clusters and people with a high amount of business activities. Sector 3 was industrial and institutional functions; Sector 4 got the ephemeral population, mostly migrants. In the end, sector five is reserved for municipal and public services for complete Dharavi. The redevelopment plan had high rise buildings and 21 sqm apartments for every inhabitant.

<sup>2</sup> Zhang, Y., Building a Slum-Free Mumbai.

<sup>3</sup> data.worldbank.org, n.d.

But very soon, the project began to face problems, one amongst the explanations was that the number of families given in the proposal was way too small. It absolutely was estimated that there was no data on the precise population. But the population miscalculation wasn't a reason to protest; the realm of 21sqm for a family of 4-5 people was also significantly less. There was no information provided on how the and would be acquired from private owners and therefore the eligibility of the residents to get the ownership of the apartments. There have been problems with the plan initially, but as time passed, much deeper concerns were developed. The plan didn't have any scope for future expansion, and it literally stacks up the Dharavi people in vertical slums. Large scale informal business suffers the foremost as these flourish in small narrow alleys. The foremost concerning thing was what would happen to the informal economy and its sustenance.

Koliwada was the foremost affected community because it is often an independent village but considered a slum in Slum Redevelopment Plan. With some support from Non-Profit organisations, the community protested Koliwada to be excluded from Dharavi Redevelopment Plan. Simultaneously there have been several oppositions from the remainder of Dharavi. The people worried about the eligibility criteria for getting an apartment, how relocation will occur, and what's going to happen to local businesses.

The assurance for everything wasn't provided, and there have been no answers to the questions raised. The major concern was to extend the apartment area from 21sqm to 37 sqm. The govt. didn't answer anything for almost three years, but in early 2008 government came up with some answers to the question of inhabitants. The area of 21sqm was increased to 27 sqm, to accommodate the present density, the number of floors increased to 10 and more, eligible families for apartment living in Dharavi was before 2000, raised to 2004 Koliwada are excluded from the Redevelopment Plan.

The government made his decision clear and so released the world tender inviting bidders (developers). Only 450,000 sqm was reserved for the residents of Dharavi, and 1,050,000 sqm was allocated for outsiders. The govt. shortlisted 19 bidders, but 14 left thanks to the worldwide recession at that point of time 2009-10; five bidders also left, but eventually, everyone left for the identical reason.

The government decided to go ahead with the sector-wise development, Sector 5 with a section of 21- hectare construction allocated for 9000 families given to Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority (MHADA). Work started in 2011, and in 2018 three high buildings were constructed, with one fully completed and two of them close to finish when the govt. gave the order to stop the development. The recession period was gone, and therefore the government has different plans for redevelopment for now.

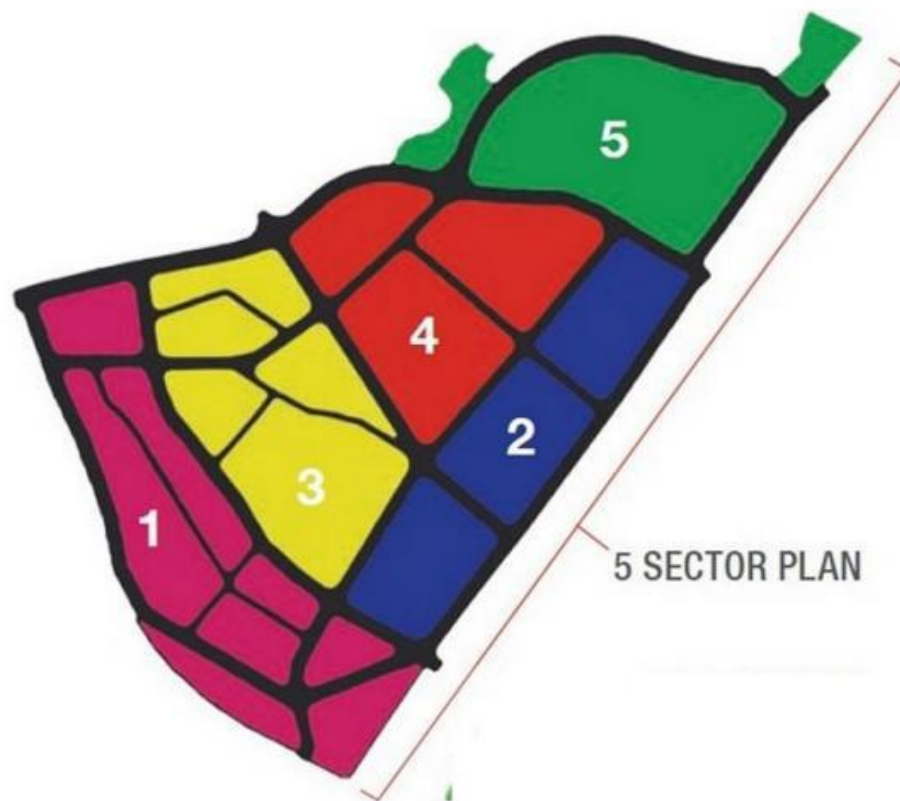


Figure 2.1 Dharavi five sectors

Source: Rethinking The Future, 2020

### Existing Diversity in Dharavi

In order to know the plurality of socio-economic and cultural interactions in Dharavi, the subsequent section relies on interaction and space utilisation maps prepared by academic institutions as an essential information source (fliphtml5.com, n.d.). Dharavi is split into five sectors according to the DRP, and most of the land is owned by the federal agency Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (Mehta, 2010).

### Strategies used in Planning

- Inclusion of sustainable development plan
- Accommodate all the slum families/businesses of Dharavi within Dharavi
- Retain all eligible existing rehabilitated families/businesses

- Rehabilitate non-polluting industries
- Integration of slum dwellers with mainstream residents
- Integration of slum dwellers with mainstream residents of Mumbai through HIKES

### 2.1.1 Shortcomings within the plan

1. Governmental effort, developed documentation, analysis and planning don't consult local residents and their organizations. Their interests are ignored.
2. The special feature of Dharavi is that the intricate connection between residence and work-place since about 80% of its population both live and work there (KRVIA, 2010). Buildings of 30 storeys or 50 storeys wouldn't allow the plethora of small businesses and enterprises to survive. If their livelihoods are destroyed, they'd value more highly to live in slums where they might continue earning a living.
3. This plan is silent about its mechanism of rehabilitating people.
4. These plans haven't tried and true Environmental Impact Assessment.
5. On the executive side, no procedures were prescribed for grievance redressal or adjudication of conflicting interests.
6. It's being discussed that the methods of survey weren't appropriate and complete, and hence the information base created by the government is incomplete. The resultant planning calculations have plenty of error and might face serious consequences in future.
7. Great deal of area is kept for sale, which could have been used for horizontal expansion of housing.
8. Cause of poor plan on rehabilitation, it's being revised time and again, delaying bidding process and construction.

### 2.1.2 Opposition to DRP

Amid all this process, this project has always been opposed by the dwellers of Dharavi. It is mostly because, despite the poor conditions of living, the community is self-sustained and fear the event process will push them to worst. Many NGOs, CBOS and other organizations together with residents of Dharavi have successfully kept Private developers from getting the contract of redeveloping Dharavi. The Government never got enough cooperation to fulfill its criterion of 70% people's consent to require decision toward land that belong to inhabitants, ironically illegal inhabitants. Following reasons make people reluctant to development:

3. The inhabitants of Dharavi have their feet firmly planted within the chawls. They appreciate the potential of improvements to their environment but fear displacement.
4. They fear that their existing small-scale industries wouldn't be allowed to continue after redevelopment and that they wouldn't have any place in ne Dharavi (Menon, 2007).
5. There's a large gap between the developers and the inhabitants.
6. Under the project, every family is entitled to receive a 225 sq. ft. flat (Dharavi.org, 2008). Those that have already got space quite this doubt they'll get the identical space (Menon, 2004).
7. Some believe that 225 sq. ft. is not enough and wouldn't be a profitable deal.
8. Beyond living, polishing off their enterprises in a very apartment in a multi-story building is unfathomable for the locals. Individual apartments don't have outdoor space or roofs.
9. Some fear that if the realm gets developed, they will face unemployment as they're not qualified for other jobs (Menon, 2004). People of Dharavi are balanced in terms of land uses, economic performance, and livelihood. Yield the land for development will disturb the balance.
10. In addition, the eligibility criteria make illegal those who settled or resided in Dharavi after January 1, 1995. This makes 57,000 families eligible but estimates suggest that there are over 90,000 families (Indian Environment Portal, 2008).
11. The people don't seem to be prepared to trust another promise to remodel their lives without material evidence.
12. Experts say that, within the process of rehabilitating people, government will create more slums.
13. The problem of Dharavi has also been politicized. Beyond the eye it draws an important vote bank, Dharavi has emerged as a very important issue within the formal domain (Perera, 2012).
14. Dharavi being situated adjacent to Mumbai Central train depot, aids the commuters from Dharavi to travel to their workplaces and return within the evening very effectively. The new rehabilitation centre might make their journey non-feasible.

### 2.1.3 Current scenario of Dharavi redevelopment

2. Maharashtra government invited bidders in 2019, and the tender went to Seclink Technology Corporation, a Dubai based company. The project aims to transform 600 acres. Time duration of the project is nine years.
3. The redevelopment process will start with the construction of Rehabilitation tower in a ten acre empty plot that will accommodate 1200 residents. The 200 acres will be used for inhabitants, 100 acres will be for large green spaces, and 200 acres will be used to construct commercial complexes and sale buildings.
4. The rehabilitation for slum dwellers would be along the Sion and Mahim area, and the construction of sales buildings and commercial complexes will be next to Bandra-Kurla complex. There were multiple landowners of Dharavi, such as central government, railways, and municipalities, but how it will be distributed is not cleared yet.

## 2.2 Favela Bairro

The Favela-Bairro programme, arguably the most well-known urban upgrading initiative in its geographic area, is regarded as a model for urbanising squatter communities. The Favela-Bairro could be a noteworthy illustration of successful urban interventions in social services and infrastructure that are planned in accordance with a life-cycle perspective, with strong community involvement.

**Origins and components of the program:** The Favela-Bairro initiative produced policies to address the issue of long-ignored slums (favelas) when the mayor of Rio de Janeiro recognised it. These policies and procedures were then properly implemented.

The term "favela-bairro" comes from the Program of the Urbanization of Popular Settlements of Rio de Janeiro, which started out as a self-help favela urbanisation programme in which the municipality hired residents from the beneficiary communities to work on sanitation and street improvement projects while also performing and funding those projects.

**Innovation: no displacement, participation, and integral approach:** Favela-fundamental Bairro's strategy was to take care of the residents in the places they inhabited and inform them of the amenities available in other wealthier city districts, as opposed to forcibly displacing the slum's population. For each favela, competition and bidding mechanisms were put in place to choose urban upgrading projects. Additionally, locals chose plans for interventions in social services, infrastructure, and initiatives that create jobs. Favela-Bairro also supported the regularisation of illegal communities and incorporated elements of community development, sanitation, and environmental education.

**Transparent selection of neighborhoods:** Transparent and technical criteria were used to determine the favelas to be included in the initiative, avoiding the costly politics of the process. The favelas were chosen using a ranking system that supported poverty indicators, cost-effectiveness, and strategic considerations that favoured favelas in the same area in order to increase the urban impact of the intervention. The program's apolitical orientation was underlined by the adoption of those selection criteria from the beginning, which also protected it from any partisan objectives. It was important to consider how the public would see the program's transparency.

**Continuity between administrations:** The programme has been maintained through various city administrations. The initial stage took four years to complete its objectives and was hailed as a tremendous success by both its recipients and the vox populi as a whole. The programme helped 195,000 people in 55 favelas during those four years, plus an additional 25,000 people in 8 haphazard subdivisions. Phase II was methodically planned to apply a redesigned, integrated upgrading technique because the primary phase of the program's effectiveness convinced the town government to increase the dimensions of the operation. The second phase, which started in 2000, aims to benefit an additional 89 favelas (320,000 people) and residents of 17 ad hoc subdivisions. the program's inception, the financial and technical (web.worldbank.org).

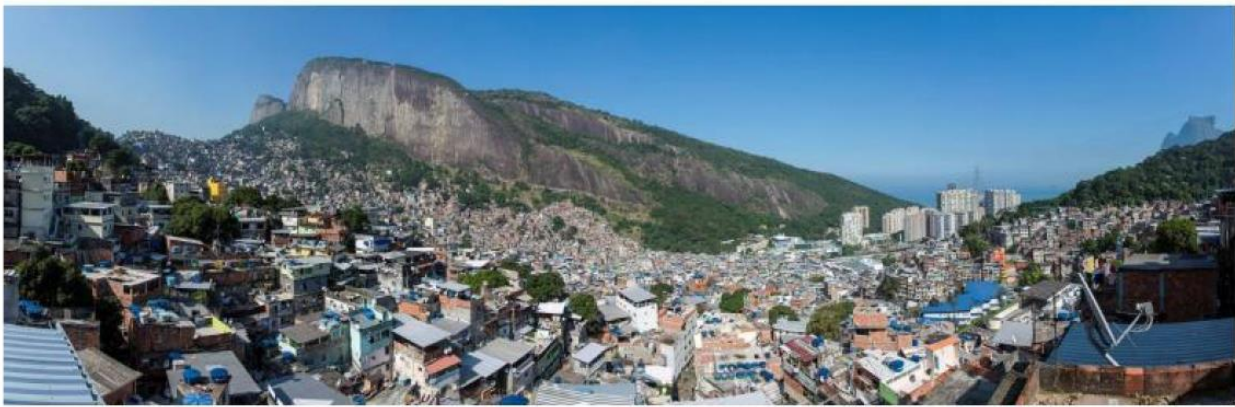


Figure 2.2 Favelas in Rio



Figure 2.3 Slum degradation in Rio

### 2.2.1 Impact

The major effects of the program, among many others, relate to

1. Improving the quality of living of the residents and surrounding neighborhoods;
2. Improving health conditions, with direct reflections in health indicators;
3. Increasing the worth of the important estate of slum residents (overall property value has increased between 80 and 120 percent within the favelas that a part of the program);
4. Reducing poverty-related risks within the most vulnerable groups (children, teens, female heads-of-households);
5. Improving the technical skills and competitiveness of the residents, thereby increasing their ability to seek out work and earn income.

### 2.2.2 Critical factors of success

The programme was successful because it (i) addressed difficult and socially relevant issues in urban and human terms; (ii) was implemented effectively with sound financial and managerial controls, transparent selection criteria, and a high level of community involvement; and (iii) adopted a methodological approach that integrates a holistic vision of urban poverty with a liberal arts education. These factors contributed to the program's success and made it a benchmark for urban upgrading.

**Physical and social investments with community participation.** In the 1960s and 1970s, urban initiatives for addressing urban poverty and slums heavily relied on subsidy programmes that were frequently misdirected to middle-class households. Many housing developments were established by institutions that eventually grew to be too enormous, too expensive, and ineffectual, only to be rejected by their occupants or turn into vertical slums.

It takes coordinated measures to transform squatter settlements into regular neighbourhoods by giving them legal infrastructure and regularising their legal rights condition in order to close the gap between the formal and informal city. Compared to other urban intervention strategies like resettlement or housing subsidies, this upgrading procedure is frequently more cost-efficient and productive. Although this strategy has previously been tried, the new focus has been.

Involving the community in the project's decision-making process from the beginning to the end; creating neighbourhood associations and using them as a means of communication with the rest of the community; and using neighbourhood associations to produce services like trash collection, child care, and reforestation are some strategies for fostering community participation.

**The social macro function.** The Favela-Bairro programme was implemented with a range of characteristics that helped it overcome the challenges that come with running such a complicated multisectoral and multiinstitutional programme. To ensure an honest degree of coordination across the many departments involved in the project implementation, a permanent intersectoral committee—the social macro-function—and a technical group were established. This social macrofunction linked the municipal divisions of labour and, later, of education, health, housing, social development, and culture.

**Project management model.** The experience of Favela-Bairro shows the efficiency of a management-by-projects strategy in such intricate operations. A key component of effective supervision and control has been the implementation of professional managerial practises that allowed managers to coordinate all initiatives and monitor progress in each area.

**The correct methodological approach.** The integral approach tactics utilised by Favela-Bairro include suggestions of participatory and integrative actions. Programs and services for social and human development should be provided alongside possibilities for employment and income generating on the path from welfare to work. However, for social promotion activities to be successful, attention should be paid to the poorest families in areas with a high concentration of poverty.

Policies for reducing poverty and inequality can have a higher impact and be more sustainable if they are developed using an intersectoral, decentralised, and participatory approach.

Although the idea of integrated urban infrastructure interventions has been accepted for Favela-Bairro, the programme initially did not include all the essential elements of an integral approach strategy. As a result of the participatory process and the changes that took place inside the municipal administration, these elements were eventually included into its design.

Favela-Bairro is the outcome of an iterative process that produced a typical integral development model with a territorial foundation that takes into account life-cycle perspectives.

**Public perceptions.** Rio de Janeiro inhabitants, either living in favelas or not, recognize the importance of the Favela -Bairro Program. A popular opinion poll mented out in 2003 asked cariocas (as Rio residents are called) to settle on from an inventory of governmental programs the one to which the subsequent mayor should give priority. Favela-Bairro was chosen in first place in all the three rounds of the survey. The identical institute asked respondents about the foremost important project for the town, and again Favela -Bairro ranked first: 26.1 percent of respondents have elected Favela - Bairro as more important than programs like minimum income, popular restaurants, and even essential works in major city roads (web.worldbank.org).



Figure 2.2 Plan of Favela- Bairro interventions at Fuba, Rio de Janeiro, designed by Jorge Jauregui, 1995

### 2.2.3 The scaling-up effect: influencing other regional programs

The Favela-Bairro program has indeed been promoting a scaling-up effect not only in Brazil, but also in other countries. Favela -Bairro inspired similar initiatives within the area of neighborhood upgrading in a minimum of six other countries: Argentina (National Neighborhood Upgrading Program, 1996), Ecuador (Housing Sector Support Program, 1997), Bolivia (Housing Sector Reform Program, 1998), and Uruguay (Municipal Development, 1997 and Integration of Informal Settlements, 1999). In Brazil, other programs were inspired by the success of this program: in Rio de Janeiro, the Baixada Viva program (1997); in metropolis, the Slum Upgrading Program (1996); and also the national reach upgrading program Habitar Brazil (1998) (web.worldbank.org).

### 2.2.3 Lessons learned: from small to large scale

Despite the inherent complexities of slum-upgrading projects, technical problems don't seem to be the largest difficulties in moving from small or pilot programs to large undertakings that may have a big urban impact. What's most vital to the current expansion is acceptance of the upgrading policy. During this case, the integrated multisectoral and life-cycle-based approach may be a legitimate and effective style of public policy. Only integrated solutions produce significant improvements on the standard of lifetime of the urban poor. Although integral approaches are more costly, during this case thanks to signify ant complementarities and synergies, marginal benefits are even larger. Certainly this outcome has helped to make sure the required funds to support a large-scale effort either at the local or the national level. Single sectoral solutions don't solve complex urban problems. (SHANGHAI POVERTY CONFERENCE: CASE STUDY SUMMARY)

### 2.3 Analysis

#### 1. Unemployment assumption

- Dharavi people are concerned about future unemployment from the start of the proposal. Because Dharavi isn't only an area where people only live, it has its economic chain. There was no data on how the Dharavi business will run after development and the way much the employment rate will affect.
- It is observed that the Dharavi proposal by DRP is more concerned about physical development; however other aspects like future business strategies and employment rate aren't seen.
- The Favela Bairro project aims to upgrade the slums instead of destroy the full colonies, and also the project members continuously communicated with the slum dwellers about their needs and gave training on sanitation and hygiene.
- The Dharavi redevelopment project proposed plan includes G+12 residential apartments, however, the project isn't feasible for various types of industries and small factories.
- Similarly many businesses like recycling, food making, leather and laundry have different space requirements. These space requirements weren't considered within the plan.

#### 2. Public demand

- From the start of the redevelopment project of Dharavi, the 1<sup>st</sup> strategy was to divide Dharavi into five sectors. The section 5 was given to MHADA's (Maharashtra housing and area development), Mumbai Board and in 2012 one building construction started, and other people moved to different slums, and also the government provided only three months rent.
- In 2019 government allowed residential permits to shift people who were living before construction.
- People want proper documentation, and legal living rights agreement, only during people will shift to temporary homes.
- In slum development in Rio, the general public was concerned about employment and social development. The project focuses on social development as they provided the early daycare centers, given training to all or any students and teenagers people, and enabled many job opportunities for the slum dwellers.

### III. CONCLUSION

On analyzing the matter of redevelopment policy, this thesis project provides a possible solution by providing an another way for slum redevelopment.

By using standard principle of one size fits all approach which solves the physical problems with the slums but tends to ignore the architectural, social and cultural character of the area. The identical problem of ignorance is seen in most of the reclamation projects of Dharavi. This thesis involved analysis of the site with regard to its existing condition with reference to both social and physical aspects. And even gazing attempts of redevelopment and reason for their failures. Dharavi teaches us how families and community networks will be the foundations from which a built environment emerges. The Strategies which can be obtained to supported the concept to provide solutions to the Physical issues while considering the social and community structure of Dharavi. Because of Dharavi's variegated nature one uniform strategy can not be applied to the entire area.

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