

Slums and the “Right to the City”: Insights from Mumbai Slum Upgradation Policies

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ABSTRACT

Rapid urbanisation in India over the last few decades has resulted in the overcrowding of cities and the emergence of slums. Mumbai, one of the largest cities in India, houses a considerable segment of its population in slums. There have been several attempts to initiate slum policies that meet the housing and community needs of slum dwellers while also gaining the broader objective of urban development. This article examines the impact of slum policies on slum dwellers in Mumbai, using the lens of Henri Lefebvre’s “Right to the City” specifically the aspects of equality, equity and justice. The author concludes by stating that the existing policies overlooked most of the rights of slum dwellers while benefitting other participants such as the real estate developers.

Keywords: *City, Slums, Slum Upgradation Policies, Implementation*

INTRODUCTION

The surge in urbanisation in India can be traced to the expansion of the Indian economy into the global marketplace as well as liberalisation policies. These caused the process of urbanisation to accelerate, leading to a considerable inflow of people from small towns and rural areas to large cities such as Delhi, Kolkata, Mumbai and Chennai, which were by this time already heavily populated (Ganguly, 2019) and made them megacities (Giri, Wassey & Dogra, 2020). Across the globe, these and

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other megacities are home to more than half of the world's population, and this is expected to grow to five billion by 2030 (Obaid, 2007). However, a troublesome aspect of this expansion is that 40 per cent of it is anticipated to be in the shape of slums (Palanivel, 2017).

Recent statistics indicate that nearly a third of India's urban population, which accounts for about 34 per cent of the country's total population, resides in slums (Oxford Policy Management, 2018; Palanivel, 2017). The 2011 Census of India revealed that 17.37 per cent of urban households reside in slums, with states such as Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, and Odisha, having a slum population greater than the national average (National Buildings Organisation, 2013). Moreover, living conditions differ across slums as the provision of amenities in a slum is contingent on its status (Banerjee & Chattopadhyay, 2020). For instance, notified slums (i.e., areas notified as slums by any Act) receive greater amenities than recognised (i.e., areas not notified as slums by any Act) or identified slums (i.e., areas which are neither notified nor recognised as slums but are a dense space with a population of 300 in badly constructed crowded tenements with inadequate hygiene and sanitation) (Banerjee & Chattopadhyay, 2020; National Buildings Organisation, 2013).

It appears that with increasing urbanisation, the number of individuals living in slums correspondingly keeps on increasing. Stokes (1962) noted that the slum "is the home of the poor and the stranger... classes not (as yet) integrated into the life of the city" (p. 187). Further, he observed that the "distinctive feature of slums is not appearance as such, then, but the relation between the slum and its inhabitants and that neighborhood and its inhabitants which the city regards as having met minimum livability standards" (p. 187). By these, he indicated that the nature of slums differs across the world. Nevertheless, their function in the development of a city, at any time, is to accommodate those "classes" which are not directly involved in the city's financial and societal existence (Stokes, 1962). However, the perception of slums has, over the years, progressed from being regarded as an annoyance to an overall consensus that they are distinctive environments which have gradually evolved to accommodate the needs of people living in them (Andavarapu & Edelman, 2013).

The recent Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) proposed by the United Nations have established targets to make sure that by 2030, all the world's citizens have access to sufficient, secure and reasonably priced housing and fundamental amenities (De, 2017). Consequently, it has become a necessity that slums be improved or eradicated in a comprehensive manner across the globe in general and in India, in particular.

Policies and Responses for Slums in India

Section 3 (Chapter II) of the Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act, 1956, of India declares: "Where the competent authority upon report from any of its officers or other information in its possession is satisfied as respects any area that the buildings in that area—

- (a) are in any respect unfit for human habitation; or
- (b) are by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangement and design of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangement of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation facilities, or any combination of these factors, are detrimental to safety, health or morals, it may, by notification in the Official Gazette, *declare such area to be a slum area.*"

Zhang (2018) suggests that slums are often the outcome of unplanned development. However, their spread and permanence are entrenched in their functions, which are political and socio-economic. Slums offer reasonably-priced housing and essential economic prospects for dwellers of the city. They have a fundamental role to play in electoral politics as they serve as 'vote banks' for politicians, both national and regional. Post-Independence, governmental intervention in slums has evolved from harsh government regulation and destruction to acceptance and renovation and schemes are driven by the market (Zhang, 2018).

In general, the government is considered to be responsible for the provision of housing. Provisions in the Constitution of India stipulate that land, accommodation, development of cities and establishment of civic infrastructure are matters of the State, and consequently under the complete control of State Government (Bardhan, Sarkar, Jana, & Velaga, 2015). Accordingly, since Independence, various policies associated with slums and housing have been executed at different times in the planning of cities. However, these seem to have been ineffective as the growth of slums in India has not diminished (Bardhan et al., 2015).

Overall, Bah, Faye, and Geh (2018) highlight that there are different methods to deal with slums such as slum upgrading and provision of reasonably-priced and adequate housing options for the destitute. Slum upgrading entails policies and initiatives for accommodation, relocation and redevelopment of slums, expenditure and financing of upgradation, and involvement of the private sector. On the other hand, provision of housing options entails gradual development of housing, sites and services programmes, rental housing, social housing, housing cooperatives, housing transformation, support services for housing,

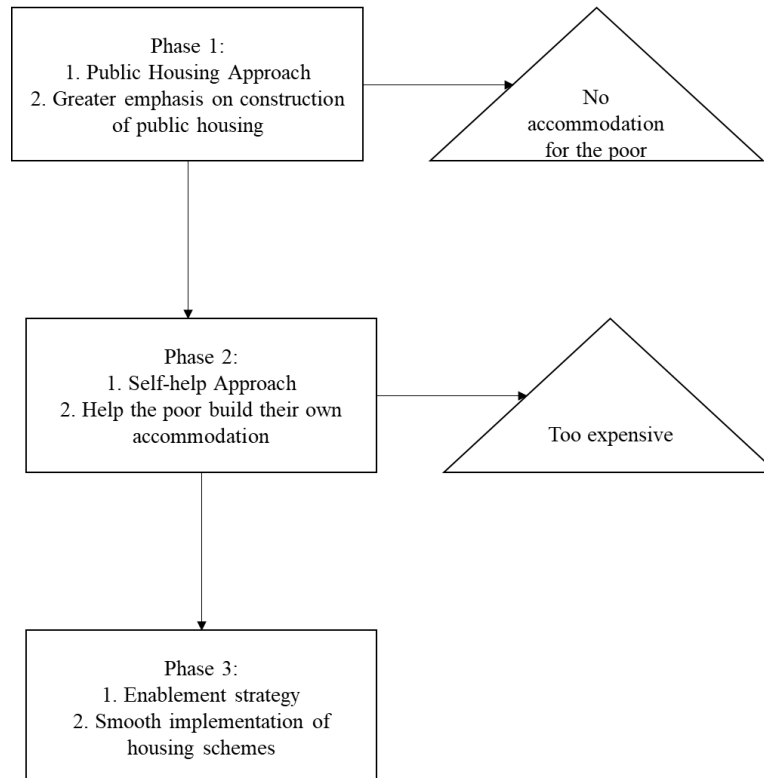
and partnerships between public and private sectors. Specifically, the improvement of slums focuses on access to sanitation and safe water, ensuring that the tenure status is secure, housing is durable, and provision of adequate area for a living (UN-Habitat, 2006).

The UN-Habitat (2012) highlights that three categorisations exist with regard to policies and responses to slums, namely, "*laissez-faire, restrictive or preventive, and supportive*" (p. 8). Early policies (prior to the 1970s) placed emphasis on preventive actions. For instance, clearance of slums, rehabilitation of cities by remodelling or restoring derelict buildings, etc., and relocation. This philosophy favoured the option of slum redevelopment by means of transfer of inhabitants to new municipal housing properties. A parallel philosophy at the time was the *laissez-faire* philosophy which supposed that slums and random colonies were a temporary occurrence. Relatedly, improvement of slums was regarded as a transitory course of action merely to make sure that the facilities for residents conformed to the minimum requirements pertaining to basic environmental health while they waited to be rehoused in municipal housing (UN-Habitat, 2012).

A later philosophy in the 1970s saw the move to upgrade the settlements. This move was perceived to be feasible, and sometimes even advantageous, and entailed upgradation of the setup and social amenities. In this approach, communities were left intact. Another approach involved the support of self-building endeavours in different sites. Both of these approaches indicated an initial essential change in housing policy, a move from the complete provision of municipal housing to civic assistance for construction of housing and provision of infrastructure for underprivileged households (UN-Habitat, 2012). Subsequent changes to the policies included the integration of upgradation of slums into housing policies and more recently (from the mid-1980s), from haphazard upgrading of settlements to slum upgrading programmes that spanned the city (UN-Habitat, 2012).

Housing policies in India can be considered to have followed a similar trajectory (Fig. 1). That is, they commenced with the construction of public housing and progressed to an enablement strategy. However, it is significant to note that though the shelter was identified as a fundamental human requirement, the first National Housing Policy was not introduced until the year 1988. Nevertheless, initial policies were targeted at selected segments of Indian society. For instance, the government's focus on the First Five Year Plan was to provide housing for persons in Low Income Groups (LIGs). In the Second Plan, the emphasis changed to the improvement and resettlement of slums (Bardhan et al., 2015). Emphasis continued to be placed on weaker sections until the

Fig. 1: General Evolution of Housing Policies
(adapted from Bardhan et al., 2015, p. 3)



Fifth Plan (1974-1979). Subsequently, commencing with the Sixth Plan and there onwards, programmes for community advancement actively involving non-profit organisations were supported. The Eighth Plan (1990s) saw the Indian economy becoming liberalised and consequently market forces became more significant and the role played by the States progressed to one of facilitation from one of provision (Mukhija, 2004). Despite these policies, it would seem that developing cities continue to have significant concerns with housing and growth of slums which have resulted as a side effect of the process of urbanisation.

Policies for Slums in Mumbai

Historically, it appears that it is the typical inclination of a 'planned city' to leave out the poor (Watson, 2009). Moreover, slums are typically viewed as breeding grounds for crime and thus removing them is regarded as a prerequisite to making cities secure and liveable (UN-Habitat, 1996). This viewpoint can be perceived in Mumbai's

early planning policies. Moreover, attempts to make city areas less vulnerable have frequently been interpreted to signify movement or total eradication of slums (Stecko & Barber, 2007). Nevertheless, slums continue to exist in the city and in most zones, house more than half the zonal population (Bardhan et al., 2015).

It is reported that about half of the population of Mumbai reside in slums (Burra, 2005; O'Donovan, 2020). In the decades following Independence (1950s-1960s), the Maharashtra government and the municipal corporation worked toward demolishing slums and clearing encroachments. It soon became evident that this policy had failed as people merely rebuilt their homes in the same site or another vacant site in the vicinity (Burra, 2005).

The evolution of policies related to slums in Mumbai is summarised in Table 1.

Overall, it is evident that different policies have been implemented in Mumbai with regard to slum eradication and/or improvement. Nevertheless, the extent to which these policies have contributed to include slum dwellers into the social fabric of the city remains to be seen.

It has been argued by Holston (2008) that the struggle for entitlement to a day-to-day urban existence of dignity is a new interpretation of residency, one that is envisioned in domestic existence. With regard to Mumbai, Weinstein and Ren (2009) found that the administrative disputes resulted in the creation of a more defensive system and which transformed slum residents into urban residents who were livelier and who expressed their entitlements with regard to accommodation and made new demands on the city. Processes of exclusion due to schemes for slum redevelopment, in some instances, have resulted in slum residents expressing their opposition employing a discussion of human privileges and fairness (Imas & Weston, 2011)

Consequently, several works focus on the support of the underprivileged, whether hypothesised as "insurgent citizenship" (Holston, 2009), 'political society' (Chatterjee, 2004), the 'right to the city' (Huchzermeyer, 2011; Weinstein & Ren, 2009), or other kinds of social crusades (Hooper & Ortolano, 2012; Mahmud, 2010; Paller, 2012).

The present article chooses, therefore, to use a theoretical perspective to analyse policies related to slums in Mumbai. In particular, it uses Henri Lefebvre's conceptual and practical work regarding urban space. In "*The Right to the City*" (Lefebvre, 1968), his seminal work, Lefebvre articulates the conflict between place separation and misuse together with the displacement of residents. In this regard, the "World

TABLE 1: EVOLUTION OF POLICIES FOR SLUMS IN MUMBAI

<i>Approach / Policy</i>	<i>Year (Timeline)</i>	<i>Resettlement Plan, If any</i>	<i>Demolition/ Eviction</i>	<i>Thrust</i>	<i>Status/Impact</i>
Clearance and Redevelopment	1896 - 1970s	None, Cleared land	No, significant eviction and demolition	This approach utilised a physical planning model which was a legacy of colonial rule. The emphasis of this model is on the eradication of slums.	This policy was not effective since people would either rebuild their huts after some time at the same location or, move to another piece of empty land in the vicinity if there was extreme persecution. In case apartment blocks were built in the cleared sites, these were often too expensive for slum dwellers and they returned to slum settlements. Landowners show limited interest in creating new supplies of accommodation
Maharashtra Slum Areas (Improvement, Clearance, And Redevelopment) Act, 1971	1971	Yes, Resettlement began to be considered	Yes, Permanent	The focus was on identifying notified slums and working on those slums. Improvements under the Act were carried out only in slums on government lands, earmarked for 'improvement' in the Development Plan.	Resettlement of dwellers in other unauthorised locations

(contd. Table 1)

<i>Approach / Policy</i>	<i>Year (Timeline)</i>	<i>Resettlement Plan, If any</i>	<i>Demolition/ Eviction</i>	<i>Thrust</i>	<i>Status/Impact</i>
Centrally-Funded Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums (EIUS)	1972	On-site improvement related to environmental issues	No, efforts to improve the living conditions on the assumption that these settlements would not be demolished in the near future.	The focus of the scheme includes the provision of water supply, sewerage, stormwater drains, community baths and latrines, street lighting, broadening and covering of present roads, community centre, common municipal service centres, disposal of garbage, and maintenance.	Experienced difficulties due to limited space for implementation. Further complications were caused by court stay orders. Slums on state-owned land were improved, but those on private or central government land could not be improved.
The Maharashtra Vacant Lands (Prohibition of Unauthorised Structures and Summary Eviction) Act	1975	No	Yes, alternative accommodation	As per this Act, all encroached lands are deemed to be vacant, slums included in the Act are transient and can be eradicated. The Act also allows mobilisation of police for eviction of slum dwellers. In this event, alternative housing has to be given.	Slum-dwellers and squatters evicted on a large scale; no suitable resettlement strategies

(contd. Table 1)

<i>Approach / Policy</i>	<i>Year (Timeline)</i>	<i>Resettlement Plan, If any</i>	<i>Demolition/ Eviction</i>	<i>Thrust</i>	<i>Status/Impact</i>
Sites and Services Provision	1983	Redevelopment of land	No	The focus moved from slum demolition and building of accommodation to offering plots that were fully serviced. The model's attractiveness was since it provided a method to reduce costs, enhance the flexibility of investing in housing. It also restored to some extent the capability to enforce norms and regulation., It provided enhanced conditions for living and health for underprivileged households together with financial security and involvement in the development of the economy.	Implementation experiences resulted in the demise of this model. However, it delivered affordable, effective, and well-targeted accommodation.
Slum Upgradation Programme (SUP) (World Bank funded)	1985	Temporarily for a few months	Yes, on-site Up-gradation	The focus of this programme was a two-pronged strategy regarding making squatter settlements regular together with the provision of serviced land to manage the slum problem.	Encountered several difficulties such as, hostility from the slum community, unavailability of relocation sites, establishing eligibility of households.

(contd. Table 1)

<i>Approach / Policy</i>	<i>Year (Timeline)</i>	<i>Resettlement Plan, If any</i>	<i>Demolition/ Eviction</i>	<i>Thrust</i>	<i>Status/Impact</i>
Prime Minister's Grant Project (PMGP)	1985	Yes, rental transit accommodation while construction was in progress	No, on-site settlement	The focus was on the improvement of living conditions of Mumbai slum dwellers. This resulted in a significant change in the strategy regarding enhancement of squatter communities with the commencement of redevelopment projects.	Construction delays, increase in tenement costs, inadequate transit camps.
Slum Redevelopment Scheme (SRD)	1971-ongoing	Yes, for a limited time in transit housing	Construction on existing slum area	The focus was on redeveloping notified in the same location by private builders who were offered the incentive of increased maximum Floor Area Ratio (FAR) of 2.5 by the government.	Ineligible slum dwellers excluded. Limited interest from private developers.
Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS)	1995	Yes, temporary resettlement	Flats, land as a resource	Focus on the rehabilitation of slum dwellers. Increase in carpet area and free tenements. Constitution of the Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA)	Implementation process had large gaps. Maintenance costs were higher; the living structure of residents affected; the real estate market's strength affects the success of the scheme.

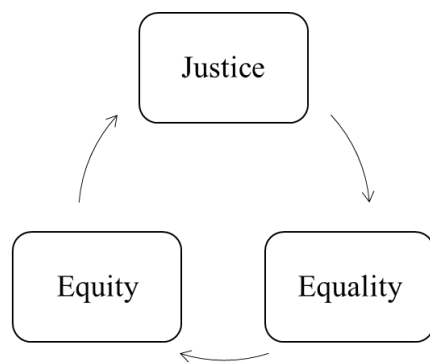
(contd. Table 1)

<i>Approach / Policy</i>	<i>Year (Timeline)</i>	<i>Resettlement Plan, If any</i>	<i>Demolition/ Eviction</i>	<i>Thrust</i>	<i>Status/Impact</i>
Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY)	2001	Yes, to clear existing land and provide slum dwellers with new accommodation.	Flats, bulk construction	Provision of houses for persons Below Poverty Line (BPL), co-funded by the Government of India subsidy (50%) and State Government (50%).	Identification of beneficiaries was challenging, absence of basic amenities resulted in dwelling units not being claimed
Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM)	2006	Yes, taking care of essential services, new houses were constructed.	Flats	Housing units with services (e.g., water supply, sanitation, sewerage, disposal of solid waste, etc.) for urban poor, in general, and slum dwellers, in particular.	Various issues in implementation such as, inadequate community engagement, no stipulations for environmental sustainability of projects
Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY)	2010	Yes, city beautification Public-Private Partnership.	Plot or Flat: "Land as a resource."	"Slum Free City"	Community awareness and involvement needs to be higher

*Compiled from Bardhan et al., 2015, p. 5-8; Burra, 2005, p. 69-72; O'Hare, Abbott, and Barke, 1998, p. 277-281; Owens, Gulyani, and Rizvi, 2018, p. 261-265; Risbud, 2003, p. 13-17.

Charter for the Right to the City” (Habitat International Coalition, 2005) specifies that “Cities should constitute an environment of full realisation of all human rights and fundamental liberties, assuring the dignity and collective well-being of all persons, in conditions of equality, equity, and justice. All persons have the right to find in the city the necessary conditions for their political, economic, cultural, social, and ecological realisation, assuming the duty of solidarity”. Also considering the recommendations of Vale (1996) and Mukhija (2000) it is advisable for researchers to evaluate using multiple indicators, the three parameters of equality, equity and justice. Various slum redevelopment policies have been implemented in Mumbai thus far, or are in the process of being implemented, in terms of the “right to the city” (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2: “Right to the City”: Evaluation Indicators



Source: World Charter for the Right to the City

Li and Wang (2020) highlight the frequent identical usage of terms ‘equality’, ‘equity’ and ‘justice’. Equality focuses on all people having the same status; justice emphasises moral responsibility based on equality; and equity, which is more flexible, permits equality without necessitating precise uniformity (Guy & McCandless, 2012).

The objectives of this paper are: a) to review the concept of the “right to the city” in the context of slum redevelopment, b) to assess the application of the concept concerning slum redevelopment policies used for Mumbai in light of justice, equity, and equality and to suggest steps for moving closer to implementation of the concept of the “right to the city” for Mumbai slum redevelopment policies.

UNDERSTANDING “RIGHT TO THE CITY”

The notion of the “right to the city” can be traced to the writings of the French geographer, Henri Lefebvre in his book *Le Droit à la Ville*

(1968). This notion exists in conjunction with Lefebvre's enduring interest in the importance of urban existence and space in a capitalist scenario (Lefebvre, 1991). The central point of Lefebvre's notion is his idea of the city as an end product, or as a composition resulting from the effort and day-to-day activities of city dwellers. Thus, for Lefebvre, the "right to the city" has a considerable significance.

Moreover, it also signifies the privilege to generate city existence on fresh conditions (unconstrained by the pressures of exchange value) and the entitlement of residents to remain included in city existence. Lefebvre simply describes the "right to the city" (1996, p. 158) as a "transformed and renewed right to urban life." Neil Smith (2003) observes that Lefebvre's idea of the city indicates a move away from both the more traditional sociological investigations of city existence and the more conventionally socialist methods.

Further, in his book, Lefebvre submits that the capitalist economy has an adverse effect on cities, as it transforms the city into a product that merely serves to increase capital. The notion of the "right to the city" was proposed as a novel political view point in response to the impacts caused by neoliberalism. For example, the sale of city neighbourhoods to private owners, usage of the city for commercial purposes including, businesses and industrial zones. In other words, due to its being overwhelmed by the pursuit of wealth, the city no longer belonged to the public. Consequently, Lefebvre advocates for the "rescue of man as the main protagonist of the city he has built." Hence, the emphasis of the 'right to the city' is to re-establish the essentialness of the city to its dwellers, setting up the chance for all to have increased satisfaction with life, and building the city as "the meeting point for collective living" (Lefebvre, 1968).

The city, to Jordi Borja (2003), is a political area where it is possible for a collective will to express itself. Moreover, it is an area for both concord and discord. In this context, the right to the city signifies the construction of a city wherein people can exist with dignity and where it is possible to uniformly circulate resources of all types (e.g., health, housing, education, labour, symbolic resources, membership and right to utilise information). Further, the "right to the city" is everyone's right to construct cities that suit the requirements of humans. The rights of people to construct the various kinds of cities they desire should be equal. As argued by David Harvey (2009) in his inaugural talk at the Urban Reform Tent, January 29, 2009, World Social Forum, Belem, "the right to the city is not simply the right to what already exists in the city but the right to make the city into something radically different."

More than 50 years after the notion of the 'right to the city' was first formulated, it continues to support and bring varied scholastic and societal developments and civil society associations together from diverse parts of the globe (Mathivet, 2011). He clarifies that the 'right to the city' is "not an additional human right." Instead, it is the right to implement other rights already in formal existence. By itself, the basis of the 'right to the city' is "a dynamic of process and conquest" the accomplishment of which is driven by societal measures (Mathivet, 2011, p. 24). The 'right to the city' is composed of various dimensions. For instance, it encompasses the right to 'habitat' that enables a system of societal associations. Further, it is the right to 'social cohesion' and the city's 'collective construction.' Moreover, it is the right to 'live' in the city with self-esteem and the right to 'co-existence.' Finally, it is the right to 'influence' and have access to the civic administration, and the right to 'equal rights' (Mathivet, 2011, p. 25; Velázquez, 2007).

As per the "World Charter for the Right to the City" (Habitat International Coalition, 2005), the "*Right to the City*" is defined as the: "*equitable usufruct of cities within the principles of sustainability, democracy, equity and social justice.*" Further, it is the "*collective right*" of city dwellers, especially defenceless and disregarded groups, that bestows "*the legitimacy of action and organisation, based on their uses and customs, with the objective to achieve full exercise of the right to free self-determination and an adequate standard of living*" on them. Overall, the "right to the city" is reliant on all human rights that are globally devised and acknowledged. Consequently, it encompasses all "*the civil, political, economic, social, cultural and environmental rights*" already standardised in human rights agreements across the world.

Overall, the Charter submits that the "right to the city" concerns the achievement of three principal aspects:

- (a) The implementation of complete citizenship, that is, the accomplishment of all human privileges to guarantee the aggregate prosperity of inhabitants and the social development and the administration of their environment.
- (b) The democratic administration of the city through the immediate involvement of society in administration and planning, in this way fortifying regional governments and community administration.
- (c) The social purpose of the city and city property, with the mutual good taking precedence over individual property rights, entailing a usage of urban areas in a manner that is both fair to the society and the maintenance of the environment.

Mitchell (2003) suggested that the city, for Lefebvre, was a work comprising the varied notions of unrelated people struggling over the form of their city. Lefebvre contended that the “right to the city”, “complemented by the right to difference and the right to information, should modify, concretise and make more practical the rights of the citizen as an urban dweller (*citadin*) and user of multiple services” (as interpreted by Kofman & Lebas, 1996, p. 34).

Slums and the “Right to the City”

In a study based in Brazil, Friendly (2020) used the perspective of social citizenship, property rights and insurgency, to scrutinise the ‘right to the city’ debate in the country. This study emphasised three concerns: the dimension of rights, the role played by the social purpose of property in city statutes and the role of ‘insurgent planning’ manifested in city social programmes. Further, while land and property rights are frequently separated from discussions regarding social citizenship, the case of Brazil offers proof that the two are unmistakably interwoven.

Again, regarding Brazil’s development around legal reforms, Fernandes (2007) suggested that this has been founded on two mainstays of the “right to the city” proposed by Lefebvre: the right to habitation and the right to cooperation. Lefebvre alluded to the right to inhabit and the right to housing as parts of the right to appropriation, including the rights of inhabitants to truly get to, consume and utilise urban space. Specifically, the Right to Participate in choices creating urban space has been taken up as social movements, including in Brazil (Mayer, 2012). Undoubtedly, Lefebvre underscored the need to completely perceive use values to review the chronicled awkwardness coming about because of accentuation on trade values run of the mill of the entrepreneur creation of urban space (Fernandes, 2007). Bah and colleagues (2018) highlight that the urbane governance policy of Brazil, in its entirety, has been re-constructed around the notion of the ‘right to the city’. For instance, in 2001, federal legislation acknowledged the ‘right to the city’ and instructed that city dwellers be included in the process of urban planning.

Uwayezu and De Vries (2018) connected the ‘right to the city’ with the concept of spatial justice. Drawing on the work of prior researchers such as Lall, Freire, Yuen, Rajack, and Helluin (2014), it has been stated that social justice must be embedded into community policies. This is to ensure that rights can be conferred on all groups of citizens to own or utilise land resources. Uwayezu and De Vries (2018) suggest that this is established in the agenda of encouraging the ‘right to the city’ which is the concept corresponding to spatial justice throughout the city (Bret,

Gervais-Lambony, Hancock, & Landy, 2010; Fainstein, 2014; Iveson, 2011; Lefebvre, 1968). Further, they highlight that 'right to the city' is composed of two principal items that can be measured: 'participation' and 'appropriation.' Participation indicates that all city dwellers actively participate in decision-making and enactment of policies that promote the development of city spaces.

On the other hand, appropriation comprises the actual entitlement of city dwellers to the right to use and inhabit the city space in order to engage in their occupations and be involved in the construction of urban space (Lefebvre, 1968, 1991). A mutual facet of these items is the equal opportunity for all citizens to use or enter spatial resources, not excluding the land (Chatterton, 2010; Harvey, 1992; Njoh, 2013). Further, it encompasses the recognition and safeguarding of entitlement to land and accommodation for all citizens, irrespective of their societal and financial standing (United Nations Secretariat, 2016).

Agencies of the United Nations such as, the United Nations Secretariat (2016) and UN-Habitat together with UNESCO (UN-Habitat, 2009), place emphasis on the necessity to practice spatial justice in the different facets of city development and (re)development to avoid all kinds of spatial inequalities that can intensify scarcity of resources or promote uncertainty in land tenure (Dikeç, 2009; Marcuse, 2010). City planners and corporations are encouraged by these agencies to safeguard the privileges of all city dwellers to accommodation and land resources irrespective of their schemes for tenancy. In keeping with the World Charter (Habitat International Coalition, 2005), many countries have begun since 2012 to implement a worldwide scheme for the urban rights of humans. Among the intended objectives are support for the right to use reasonable accommodation and safeguarding the rights of people to property (UCLG, 2012).

Bah and colleagues (2018) suggest that slum-related policies have changed and in the present day, they are prepared in acknowledgement of slum dwellers' "right to the city". As per the UN's Rights to Housing, "right to the city" indicates the promotion of "equal access to the potential benefits of the city for all urban dwellers and encourages the democratic participation of all urban dwellers in decision-making processes, notably at the municipal level, so that they may fully realise their fundamental rights and liberties" (Bah et al., 2018, p. 223). The implications of this are significant for slums (including upgradation, redevelopment and relocation) and affordable housing initiatives. However, as Atlaw (2014) notes, "Relocation erodes communities' access to all elements needed for their well-being – economic activity, social ties, and urban services" (p. 2391). In other words, their "right to the city" is compromised (Bah et al., 2018).

POLICIES FOR SLUMS IN MUMBAI AND THE "RIGHT TO THE CITY"

Even before the notion of the "right to the city", the Constitution of India had incorporated provisions envisioned to offer "equality, equity and justice" to all citizens of the country and by so doing, remedy the offences of the past (Shilpi, 2014). Table 2 summarises the findings of different studies of policies related to slums in Mumbai, as shown in Table 2.

CONCLUSION

The review of studies which had evaluated slum policies revealed that the policies had not achieved the outcomes of equality, equity and justice envisioned by the 'right to the city.' Instead, it appeared that the slum dwellers had been at the receiving end of gross injustice and their needs had been overlooked. Indeed, it appeared that emphasis had been placed on benefitting policy-makers and private developers. Lefebvre believed that space, which is a natural resource, should be associated with equal right to use, ownership and distribution. That is, it is not a matter of welfare or charity, rather a fundamental right to the citizens of a city. Consequently, it appears that there is a need for fresh policies to be made regarding the slums in Mumbai which acknowledge the rights of slum dwellers to live in the city as equal participants in its features and facilities. In this regard, some recommendations provided by Magalhães and di Villarosa (2013) in the context of designing public policies for upgradation of slums and development of cities may be profitable for consideration in the context of Indian slums, in general and of slums in Mumbai, in particular. These are as follows:

1. Two prerequisites determine the successful implementation of any programme: "legitimacy, based on mature social demand" and a "favourable political-institutional climate;"
2. The goal of urban policies must be "integral and sustainable;"
3. Another significant concern is quality (architectural and urban) and costs.

Further, Magalhães and di Villarosa (2013) highlight the significance of political motivation together with participation of essential public stakeholders; a comprehensive approach entailing policies which deal with urban poverty and program sustainability in a balanced manner; achievement of quality regardless of restraints on cost; the need for design to be flexible; and appropriate focusing on programs based on geography and community.

TABLE 2: EVALUATION STUDIES OF POLICIES FOR SLUMS IN MUMBAI

Evaluator	Policies/ Programmes Evaluated	Evaluation Based on		
		Equality	Equity	Justice
Shailesh Gandhi (2007)	Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS)	Cut-off dates for eligibility creates inequality among the citizens.	—	This scheme resulted in stakeholders indulging in rent-seeking and unethical practices. This was attributed to the scheme's lack of endeavour to synchronise the market price of the accommodation with the income of the household to which it was assigned.
Sahil Gandhi (2012)	Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY)	—	—	Fundamental economic principles should be satisfied to prevent the failure of the market for housing
O'Hare et al. (1998)	Slum policies on the whole	Slum policies emphasize the role played by the housing market and self-help (i.e., community-based projects)	—	—
Bardhan et al. (2015)	Slum policies on the whole	Limited participation of slum dwellers has resulted in their actual needs being overlooked by the policy-makers.	—	Policies mirror the political situation instead of the genuine interests of slum dwellers. Interests of the direct stakeholders (i.e., slum dwellers) being overlooked in favour of other stakeholders, e.g., private developers)

(contd. Table 2)

<i>Evaluator</i>	<i>Policies/ Programmes Evaluated</i>	<i>Evaluation Based on</i>		
		<i>Equality</i>	<i>Equity</i>	<i>Justice</i>
Burra (2005)	Slum policies on the whole	–	–	Distribution of land ownership between central and state governments limits their support and participation in resettlement and rehabilitation of slums.
Chatterji (2005)	Slum policies on the whole, Dharavi slum, Mumbai	Slum-dwellers believe that slum development is an avenue by means of which they can express a “sense of shared future” (p. 217)	–	The role of the government is described in three ways in slum legislation: “controller, provider and facilitator” (p. 201). This implies that legislation is oriented towards a certain perspective and can alter over time.
Cadavid (2010)	Slum policies on the whole	New living status given to slum dwellers.	The additional expenses overtake advantages of rehabilitation due to the new living status.	–
Murthy (2012)	Slum policies on the whole	In slums, dwellers are entitled to use water and sanitation based on whether a dwelling was built before January 1, 1995. This is because there is greater land security for the dwellings constructed before that date.	–	Distribution of land ownership between central and state governments limits their support and participation in resettlement and rehabilitation of slums.
Doshi (2013)	Slum policies on the whole	Community groups harnessed	NGOs involved using participatory approaches to facilitate slum clearance	State government depends on private developers’ profit motives to finance low-cost resettlement.

Nevertheless, this study is not without limitations. It relies principally on secondary data to draw conclusions. Moreover, some elements of the researcher's subjectivity could have influenced the evaluation of policies and the selection of studies in this matter. Further, the researcher's interpretation of equality, equity and justice may not correspond to that of another researcher. Future researchers could pursue an empirical study involving various slum stakeholders (slum dwellers, government agencies, NGOs, private developers, etc.) to obtain their individual perceptions regarding the efficacy of current slum policies in the light of the 'right to the city'.

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