



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.38027/ICCAUA2025EN0283>

Sustainability at Crossroads: The Conflicting Needs of Affordable Housing Development Versus Saltpan Conservation in Mumbai, India

* Dr. Sujayita Bhattacharjee , Prof. Dr. Sanjukta Sattar

¹ Department of Geography, D.G. Ruparel College of Arts, Science and Commerce, Mumbai, Maharashtra, India

² Department of Geography, University of Mumbai, Mumbai, Maharashtra, India

E-mail ¹: sujayita100@gmail.com

Abstract

Received: 7 February 2025
Revised: 23 May 2025
Accepted: 18 June 2025
Available online: 5 July 2025

Copyright © 2025 by the author(s).
All rights reserved.

This article is published under an open-access model and is made available in accordance with the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International Licence (CC BY).



The publisher maintains a neutral stance concerning jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

This article has been selected and peer-reviewed for publication in this journal as part of the 8th International Conference of Contemporary Affairs in Architecture and Urbanism, held on 8–9 May 2025 in Alanya, Türkiye.

Housing in Mumbai has emerged as a contentious issue, sparking the urban growth debate, with recent attention on Mumbai's salt pans earmarked for development. This study explores the aspect of sustainability amidst the conflicting needs of affordable housing development and salt pan conservation. It aims to evaluate the sustainability challenges and trade-offs between affordable housing development and salt pan conservation in Mumbai. The study uses data reviewed from a variety of journals, news articles, books, websites, etc., and by using these employs a PESTEL (Political, Economic, Social, Technological, Environmental, and Legal) analysis to delve into the issue. Results show that the conversion of the salt pans into housing zones will potentially undermine their critical ecosystem functions while failing to achieve critical sustainable development goals. Recommendations include prioritising ecologically sensitive urban planning, alternative sites such as brownfield developments, the use of derelict buildings, etc.

Keywords: Housing; Salt pans; Sustainability; Urban growth; Wetland.

1. Introduction

Urbanization is a multifaceted, political, and collective process characterized by a myriad of conflicting agendas (OSCE, 2017), encompassing a multifaceted interplay of political, economic, and social factors. These processes are encompassed by the politics of urban growth, which plays a pivotal role in the contemporary evolution and transformation of cities. Understanding local policy and politics requires an understanding of the interplay between urban political systems, the economy, and demographic change (Kantor & Turok, 2012). The profound impact of urban growth politics on the development, functionality, and sustainability of urban regions underscores its significance (Amen, 2021; Amen & Kuzovic, 2018b; Aziz Amen, 2022; Al-Dujaili & Amen, 2018). This aligns with findings from Husain and Nafa (2020), who note that cities are undergoing rapid socio-economic and geopolitical transitions, which directly reshape their spatial structures and urban forms, reflecting the complexity of growth patterns and planning challenges in port cities (Husain & Nafa, 2020, p. 898–899). Navigating this complex domain becomes particularly challenging when the imperative for urban growth clashes with the ecological integrity of a region (Hu et al., 2023; Onaindia & Fisher, 2020), as observed in the case of Mumbai.

Renowned for its rapid urbanization, 'Mumbai confronts a complex dilemma as its exponential growth encounters geographical constraints' (Bhagat & Jones, 2016). The city's expanding population, coupled with the imperative of providing basic amenities has exacerbated the tension between development needs and growing densities, notably evident in the sprawling slums accommodating nearly half of Mumbai's residents (Lall & Sameh, 2020). At the core of this urban struggle lies the contentious issue of housing, igniting the politics of urban growth and spatial conflicts that shape the city's developmental agenda (Patel, 2005). Recently, Mumbai's salt pans have become a focal point in this urban growth politics, despite their ecological sensitivity, earmarked for housing, injecting a political dimension into the issue (Khergamker, 2019; Venkatraman, 2019). Additionally, the recent removal of salt pans from the status of wetlands in India has led to the possibility of opening Mumbai's salt pans for housing development.

It is noteworthy that salt pans are recognized globally as wetlands (Gbogbo, 2007; Schauer et al., 2023; Wang et al., 2020; Weingarten et al., 2020). The Ramsar Convention defines wetlands as, “areas of marsh, fen, peatland or water, whether natural or artificial, permanent or temporary, with water that is static or flowing, fresh, brackish or salt, including areas of marine water the depth of which at low tide does not exceed six metres” (Ramsar Convention, 1971). Therefore, it is evident that salt pans are wetlands, as they perfectly fit the definition of wetlands. In India, however, the newly incorporated government rules have dropped salt pans from the classification of wetlands (Dixit, 2019). In September 2017, the Central Government officially introduced the revised Wetland (Conservation and Management) Rules, superseding the regulations set in 2010, thereby declassifying salt pans from their previous recognition as wetlands (Bhalerao, 2020).

While the reclassification of salt pans from wetlands does not change their inherent wetland characteristics, it does highlight their entanglement in urban growth politics, positioning them to function as tools for urban expansion. As noted in the existing literature, under the present mode of production land has turned into a speculative form of capital that derives from future rents (Harvey, 2009, 2012; Smith, 1987). Mumbai's relentless demand for expansion has brought these lands into the urban development discourse, with the possibility of giving a significant boost to the real estate sector. This presents a fresh set of challenges as the once-harmonious coexistence of salt pans and their unique ecosystems is threatened by encroaching urban sprawl. Balancing the escalating demands of urbanization with the preservation and sustainable use of salt pans poses a critical challenge. This clash underscores the necessity for thoughtful urban planning and environmental conservation strategies. Striking a delicate equilibrium where development imperatives align with the ecological significance of salt pans becomes paramount. The ongoing dialogue around these challenges reflects the evolving dynamics between urban expansion and the imperative to safeguard ecological heritage.

As Mumbai grapples with the intricacies of urban growth politics, particularly concerning the allocation of salt pan lands to the development of affordable housing, it becomes necessary to explore the viability of such a plan from a sustainability perspective. Here, the basic question of whether such a type of development would be sustainable enough needs to be examined at the very outset. Considering this perspective, the current study delves into the politics of urban growth, specifically focusing on the proposal to utilize Mumbai's salt pans for housing development. The research critically examines the feasibility of undertaking such projects, particularly evaluating their sustainability implications.

The main objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To explore the politics of urban growth centered around the plan for using Mumbai's salt pans for housing development; and
2. To examine the viability of undertaking such projects from a sustainability perspective.

The research questions that are addressed in the study to accomplish the above objectives are given below:

1. What are the key political dynamics influencing the decision-making process regarding the utilization of Mumbai's salt pans for housing development?
2. In what ways do economic considerations intersect with the political landscape in shaping decisions about utilizing salt pans for housing development in Mumbai?
3. What are the potential environmental and social sustainability challenges associated with using salt pans for housing development, and how do these considerations influence the overall viability of such projects?
4. What technological advancements and innovations would be required in the proposed housing development on Mumbai's salt pans, and how would these impact the project's viability and sustainability?
5. What legal frameworks and regulations govern the use of salt pans for urban development in Mumbai, and how do they influence the decision-making process and project viability?

2. Materials and Methods

2.1 Study Area

The study area is Mumbai, a coastal city located in the western state of Maharashtra. Mumbai has salt pans in both its city district and suburban district, together encompassing the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM) at Dahisar, Goregaon, Mulund, Bhandup, Ghatkopar, Chembur, Wadala, etc. (**Figure 1**). Salt pans are geographically low-lying areas within intertidal zones, which play a vital role in protecting Mumbai from heavy rains and floods (Thakur, 2018). They not only serve as a source of livelihood for numerous salt harvesters but also contribute to maintaining ecological balance by supporting diverse species of migratory birds and fishes (Thakur, 2018). The study focuses on these salt pans, whose future has become obscured due to the recent political dynamics of urban growth concerning housing development and the opposition faced by many regarding these plans.

2.2 Data Sources

For this study, an extensive range of secondary sources has been reviewed. This includes scholarly journals, news articles, books, working papers, and various websites, etc. The incorporation of this diverse array of secondary sources aims to enrich the study with a comprehensive exploration of information, perspectives, and analyses available across different platforms. By delving into these varied sources, the research seeks to establish a well-rounded understanding of the subject matter, ensuring that the study is informed by a broad spectrum of existing knowledge and insights derived from reputable sources.

2.3 Research Design and Methods

The research design employed in this study is descriptive-analytical, chosen to address the complexity of the problem under investigation comprehensively. In simpler terms, the study goes beyond merely presenting the observed conditions and extends to analyzing the underlying relationships to provide a deeper understanding of the phenomena. Through this

approach, the study utilizes acquired data to thoroughly examine the issue at hand—the development of affordable housing in the salt pans of Mumbai. The analysis encompasses various dimensions of the problem, including its political, economic, social, technological, environmental, and legal aspects. This comprehensive examination is facilitated by employing a PESTEL analysis. PESTEL, which stands for Political, Economic, Social, Technological, Environmental, and Legal factors (Figure 2), is a systematic framework used to assess external influences on a particular issue or situation. In the context of this study, the PESTEL analysis serves the purpose of scrutinizing the external factors that exert influence on the problem of developing affordable housing in the salt pans of Mumbai. By systematically evaluating each dimension, the study aims to gain insights into the broader contextual factors shaping the issue, providing a well-rounded understanding of its multifaceted nature.

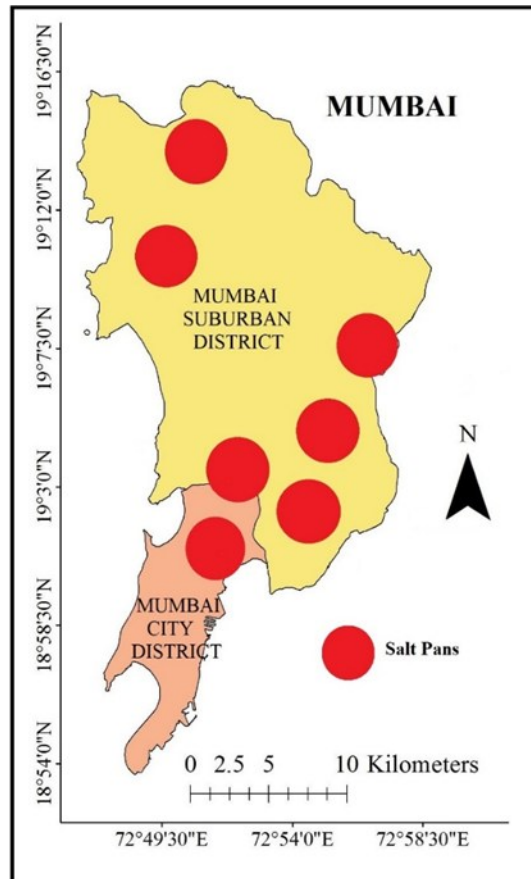


Figure 1. Map of Salt pans in Mumbai. Source: Prepared by the authors based on the map given in Thakur, 2018.

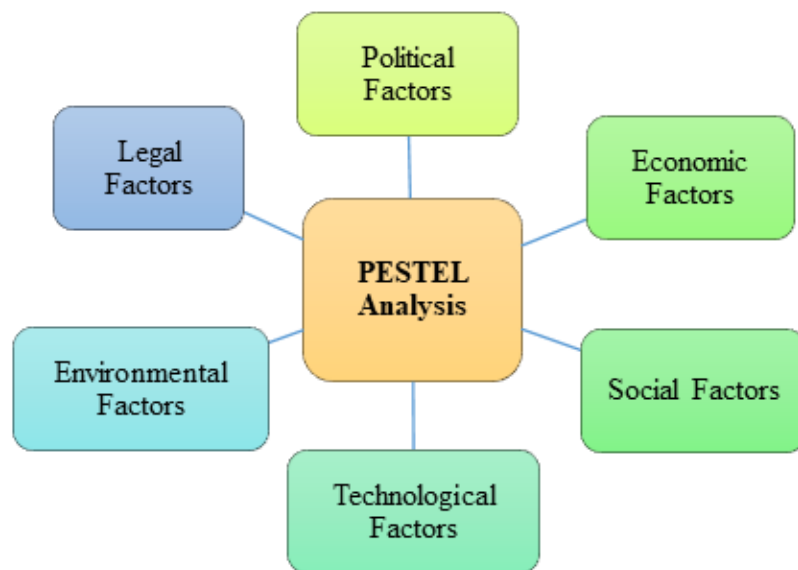


Figure 2. A diagrammatic illustration of the PESTEL analysis framework. Source: Prepared by the Authors.

3. Results & Discussion

To comprehend politics of urban growth centered around the development of housing in the salt pans of Mumbai a PESTEL analysis is conducted wherein the political, economic, social, technological, environmental, and technological factors associated with the issue are explored.

A. Political Factors (P):

Space is produced, shaped, and reshaped by political processes (Lefebvre, 1976). It is the politics of space that initiated the discourse on developing the salt pans areas of Mumbai into residential zones. This discourse was initiated following the reclassification of salt pans in India by the government. This resulted in the removal of their wetland status, which then rendered these areas no longer designated as no-development zones (Khergamker, 2019; Venkatraman, 2019). This policy shift opened salt pans for consideration in housing development projects. Against this backdrop and in consonance with the acute space shortage in Mumbai, the Greater Mumbai Development Plan (DP) 2034 identified 2,100 hectares of salt pan lands to be allocated for the construction of 1 million affordable housing units (Thakur, 2018). While there is undeniable intent for addressing the housing crisis in this political maneuver, a closer examination suggests the potential existence of ulterior political motives. One might question whether the completion of such an extensive construction project is strategically aimed at securing a substantial voting bloc. It is important to note that, despite this being a plausible scenario, there is no concrete evidence to substantiate it. Nevertheless, the Mumbai salt pans have undeniably become entwined with the urban growth politics of the city.

B. Economic Factors (E):

Mumbai is presently witnessing an incessant increase in the demand for affordable housing (Yadav, 2022). This is indicative of a rising necessity among its residents for housing options that are both accessible and reasonably priced. Therefore, the vast expanse of salt pans in this hugely crowded city, emerged as a suitable option for the construction of affordable housing. Along with addressing immediate housing demands (Chatterjee & Kotak, 2018), the project holds the potential to contribute significantly to Mumbai's economic growth. Furthermore, as existing literature shows, real estate and infrastructure projects associated with housing development could also generate substantial revenue, fostering economic prosperity (Du et al., 2022). However, it is crucial to acknowledge that carrying out construction in the salt pans would incur a high cost due to the inherent difficulties of constructing in the areas (Lewis, 2018; Thakur, 2018). Further, the potential loss of income for salt farmers and the economic contributions of the salt pans to the local economy also must to be considered.

C. Social Factors (S):

Acquiring the salt pans from the owners for housing development is likely to be a challenging task for the government and the developers. There are issues involving the ownership and possession of the land, including matters concerning the land itself and its lessees (Business Standard, 2013). Another significant challenge arises from potential opposition and grievances from the local population and concerned groups worried about environmental protection. Salt pans typically contribute to the local ecosystem, and their conversion may be met with resistance from individuals, environmental groups, and political leaders who advocate for the preservation of natural habitats. In fact, many advocates have already raised the issue in various forums (Bharucha, 2018; Bose, 2022; Business Standard, 2018). In addition to these, a critical aspect involves the livelihoods of salt farmers and their families. Converting the salt pans into housing developments may lead to the displacement of salt farmers, posing social challenges and potential unrest.

D. Technological Factors (T):

Salt pans are characterized by their unique saline composition and soft, marshy terrain. The presence of sodium chloride in the salt pan tracts makes them liable to corrosion, which would make the structures built on these lands relatively less stable (Thakur, 2018). Constructing stable foundations in such conditions demands specialized engineering techniques (such as the use of pilings or other foundation systems) and materials. The need for these additional measures would not only add to the complexity of construction but also would increase the overall technological cost of the project. Therefore, there are many technological constraints to the development of housing in the salt pan lands.

E. Environmental Factors (E):

The presence of salt pans in Mumbai, also holds vital ecological significance as they serve as a natural buffer, protecting against high tides and floods (Khergamker, 2019; Thakur, 2018). During high tide, these tracts act as natural sponges, soaking up extra water that would have otherwise entered the city (Jain, 2009). However, utilizing these salt pans for housing purposes would compromise this vital buffer, rendering the city more vulnerable to flood incidences. Besides, constructing housing units in this area raises concerns about the vulnerability of the structures to flooding. Ensuring that the housing area remains unaffected by floods would be a daunting task. It may necessitate the implementation of advanced flood protection measures, such as elevated foundations, barriers, or other flood-resistant construction techniques (New Brunswick Department of Public Safety and Department of Environment and Local Government, 2019; Ventimiglia et al., 2020), further contributing to the technological complexity and cost of the project. This heightened vulnerability could lead to severe consequences for both the environment and the communities living in the affected areas.

Beyond the immediate threat of flooding, the development of housing on salt pans would result in the disruption of unique ecosystems that have evolved in these saline environments. The salt pans support a diverse range of flora and fauna adapted to the specific conditions of high salinity (Varkey et al., 2015), and converting them into residential areas would lead to the loss of these specialized habitats. The salt pans also provide essential ecological services, such as water filtration, sediment trapping, and support for migratory bird populations (Barnagaud et al., 2019; Varkey et al., 2015). Disrupting these ecosystems through housing development could have far-reaching consequences for the overall environmental health

of the region (Marpakwar & Badgeri, 2022). Since, salt pans are basically wetlands in nature, question arises on how the ground would respond to seismic activity following civil construction. Wetlands, with their water-saturated soils, may exhibit different behaviors during earthquakes compared to more solid terrains (Kohler & Puzrin, 2023). Converting these lands for real estate development raises concerns about increased vulnerability to earthquakes as the wet soil in the area is likely to transmit earthquake vibrations rapidly, potentially amplifying the seismic risks in the region (Thakur, 2018). This would necessitate thorough geological and geotechnical assessments, and accordingly engineering solutions, such as seismic retrofitting and reinforcement, may be necessary to ensure the structural integrity of the buildings in the event of earthquakes (Gkournelos et al., 2021).

F. Legal Factors (L):

The process of developing housing in salt pans involves navigating through a labyrinth of legal and regulatory frameworks, and compliance with environmental and land-use laws can pose a substantial challenge. Understanding the intricate web of regulations, including zoning laws and environmental impact assessment (EIA) requirements, is crucial. The Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) is conducted to mitigate potential impacts of development projects on species and ecosystem functions, aiming to limit adverse effects on the environment (Tarabon et al., 2019). Affordable housing development in salt pans requires a meticulous environmental assessment to identify and address potential risks, given the unique ecology and environmental importance of salt pans in Mumbai. Obtaining Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) clearance is a critical step, involving a comprehensive evaluation of potential environmental consequences and demonstrating measures to mitigate risks (Mwanga, 2022). Even with conditional EIA clearance, ongoing compliance with environmental standards requires navigating through complex legal frameworks, adherence to stipulated conditions, regular monitoring, and timely reporting. Failure to comply may result in legal complications, project delays, and severe consequences for the environment.

Therefore, it becomes clear from the PESTEL analysis that although there are some positive dimensions to the plan of developing housing in the salt pans of Mumbai, it is mostly the negative dimension that emerge from the analysis, which out-weights the positive side on a huge scale. Based on the analysis it can be said that the development of housing on the salt pans of Mumbai would be an unsustainable step.

5. Conclusion & Recommendations

From the preceding discussion, it is clear that the salt pans have become a part of the urban growth politics of Mumbai, which is leaning towards the development of housing in the salt pan zones. Such a development would lead to a creation of huge business in the real-estate sector which would directly benefit the economy of Mumbai. Consequently, it would benefit the government by generating revenues and taxes. Despite the ability of addressing immediate housing needs, and the potential of fetching some economic benefits, there are numerous challenges that make the plan unsustainable and unviable. The salt pans, crucial for ecological balance and flood protection, face potential disruption, and their conversion could lead to irreversible environmental consequences. Additionally, seismic risks, high construction costs, and social challenges, such as displacement of salt farmers, further complicate the issue. Navigating complex legal and regulatory frameworks, obtaining environmental clearances, and ensuring ongoing compliance present significant hurdles. Therefore, the implementation of the plan would lead to a delay in achieving several Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and their associated targets such as, goal no. 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities), goal no. 13 (Responsible Consumption and Production), and goal no 16 (Peace, Justice, and Strong institutions) (United Nations, n.d.). Given the sustainability concerns, it is crucial to halt the plan for using salt pans for housing development promptly and more sustainable ideas be thought of in this regard. The following recommendations are proposed as a sustainable approach to address the housing crisis in Mumbai while simultaneously deriving additional benefits from the salt pan lands.

- a) Instead of developing salt pans, alternative locations can be considered for housing projects that are not ecologically sensitive. Identifying brownfield sites or repurposing existing slum areas can help to meet the demand for affordable housing.
- b) There are many dilapidated structures throughout Mumbai, which are lying vacant. Demolition of such structures can provide ample space for the construction of new housing in the form of high-rises.
- c) Resources can be allocated for the improvement of infrastructure in existing urban areas of the Mumbai Metropolitan Region (MMR), to enhance employment, accessibility, and livability. This could include setting up business parks to diversify employment, as well as developing public transportation, utilities, and amenities to accommodate population growth without expanding into sensitive ecological zones.
- d) Considering the option of developing renewable energy projects along the salt pans, to enhance their economic viability by incorporating sustainable development practices.
- e) Alternative land use options for balancing economic development with ecological preservation can be explored such as developing ecotourism and birdwatching along the salt pans.
- f) Sustainable urban planning must be prioritized to integrate housing development with ecological conservation. This approach would ensure that future developments contribute positively to the environment and the overall well-being of the community.

References

- Barnagaud, J.-Y., Papaix, J., Audevard, A., Lascève, M., Wroza, S., & Geoffroy, D. (2019). Interspecific variations in shorebird responses to management practices on protected Mediterranean salt pans. *Biological Conservation*, 237, 470–479. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2019.07.035>
- Bhagat, R. B., & Jones, G. W. (2016). Demographic dynamics of mega-urban regions: The case of Mumbai (Working Paper Series No. 201). *Asia Research Institute*. https://ari.nus.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/wps13_2014.pdf
- Bhalerao, S. (2020, December 10). No wetlands in Uran, says Raigad collector. *The Indian Express*. <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/no-wetlands-in-uran-says-raigad-collector-7098703/>
- Bharucha, N. K. (2018, April 9). New survey could open up Mumbai's salt pan land for development. *The Times of India*. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/mumbai/2016-survey-salt-pans-are-wetland-cant-be-developed/articleshow/63673942.cms>
- Bose, M. (2022). Two Maharashtra ministers reject proposal of salt pan development. *Deccan Herald*. <https://www.deccanherald.com/india/two-maharashtra-ministers-reject-proposal-of-salt-pan-development-1073163.html>
- Business Standard. (2013). Mumbai to get salt pan lands for displaced. *Business Standard*. https://www.business-standard.com/article/economy-policy/mumbai-to-get-salt-pan-lands-for-displaced-107092401094_1.html
- Business Standard. (2018, May 16). Mumbai devp plan: Sena against opening of salt pans for housing. *Business Standard*. https://www.business-standard.com/article/pti-stories/mumbai-devp-plan-sena-against-opening-of-salt-pans-for-housing-118051600775_1.html
- Chatterjee, B., & Kotak, Y. (2018, April 26). Development on saltpan land: Activists write to ministry. *Hindustan Times*. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/mumbai-news/development-on-saltpan-land-activists-write-to-ministry/story-ww2BNAvonUMsHqPC2x7IUI.html>
- Dixit, N. S. (2019, October 14). Salt pans save Mumbai from floods. So why are they under threat? *Mongabay-India*. <https://india.mongabay.com/2019/10/salt-pans-save-mumbai-from-floods-so-why-are-they-under-threat/>
- Du, X., Zhang, H., & Han, Y. (2022). How does new infrastructure investment affect economic growth quality? Empirical evidence from China. *Sustainability*, 14(6), Article 63511. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su14063511>
- Gbogbo, F. (2007). Impact of commercial salt production on wetland quality and waterbirds on coastal lagoons in Ghana. *Ostrich: Journal of African Ornithology*. <https://doi.org/10.2989/OSTRICH.2007.78.1.12.56>
- Gkournelos, P. D., Triantafyllou, T. C., & Bournas, D. A. (2021). Seismic upgrading of existing reinforced concrete buildings: A state-of-the-art review. *Engineering Structures*, 240, 112273. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.engstruct.2021.112273>
- Harvey, D. (2009). *Social justice and the city* (Revised ed.). The University of Georgia Press.
- Harvey, D. (2012). *Rebel cities: From the right to the city to the urban revolution*. Verso.
- Hu, Y., Li, Y., Li, Y., Wu, J., Zheng, H., & He, H. (2023). Balancing urban expansion with a focus on ecological security: A case study of Zhaotong City, China. *Ecological Indicators*, 156, 111105. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolind.2023.111105>
- Husain, H. R., & Nafa, H. (2020). Socio-economic and geo-political transitions in the Mediterranean basin and its impact on urban forms of port cities. *Civil Engineering and Architecture*, 8(5), 898–907. <https://doi.org/10.13189/cea.2020.080517>
- Jain, B. (2009, November 21). 'Building on salt pans will mean disaster'. *Hindustan Times*. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/mumbai/building-on-salt-pans-will-mean-disaster/story-aQjere4nxeZ5t78CtOvQAN.html>
- Kantor, P., & Turok, I. (2012). The politics of urban growth and decline. In P. John, K. Mossberger, & S. E. Clarke (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of urban politics* (pp. 0). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195367867.013.0023>
- Khergamker, G. (2019). Centre, Maharashtra play tag to 'develop' salt pans. *Down to Earth*. <https://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/environment/centre-maharashtra-play-tag-to-develop-salt-pans-63206>
- Kohler, M., & Puzrin, A. M. (2023). Mechanics of coseismic and postseismic acceleration of active landslides. *Communications Earth & Environment*, 4(1), Article 1. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s43247-023-00797-3>
- Lall, S., & Sameh, W. (2020). No urban myth: Building inclusive and sustainable cities in the pandemic recovery. *World Bank*. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/immersive-story/2020/06/18/no-urban-myth-building-inclusive-and-sustainable-cities-in-the-pandemic-recovery>
- Lefebvre, H. (1976). Reflections on the politics of space. *Antipode*, 8(2), 30–37. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.1976.tb00636.x>
- Lewis, C. (2018, April 26). No development zones, salt pans to make way for 10 lakh affordable houses. *The Times of India*. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/mumbai/no-devpt-zones-salt-pans-to-make-way-for-10-lakh-affordable-houses/articleshow/63917572.cms>
- Marpakwar, C., & Badgeri, M. (2022, January 21). We won't allow constructions on Mumbai's salt pans: Aaditya Thackeray, Jitendra Awhad. *The Times of India*. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/mumbai/we-wont-allow-constructions-on-mumbais-salt-pans-aaditya-thackeray-jitendra-awhad/articleshow/89029167.cms>
- Mwanga, E. (2022). Tanzanian environmental impact assessment laws and practice for projects in World Heritage Sites. *The Journal of Environment & Development*, 31(1), 88–107. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10704965211073587>

- New Brunswick Department of Public Safety and Department of Environment and Local Government. (2019). *Floodproofing* (pp. 1–27). New Brunswick Department of Public Safety and Department of Environment and Local Government. <https://www2.gnb.ca/content/dam/gnb/Departments/env/pdf/Flooding-Inondations/Floodproofing.pdf>
- Onaindia, M., & Fisher, J. (2020). Urban growth and biodiversity conservation. In W. Leal Filho, A. M. Azul, L. Brandli, A. Lange Salvia, & T. Wall (Eds.), *Life on land* (pp. 1–11). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71065-5_134-1
- OSCE. (2017). Urbanisation is a political process. *Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe*. <https://www.osce.org/magazine/318341>
- Patel, S. B. (2005). Housing policies for Mumbai. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 40(33), 3669–3676.
- Ramsar Convention. (1971). Ramsar Information Paper No. 1: What are wetlands? (pp. 1–2). *Ramsar Convention on Wetlands*. <https://www.ramsar.org/sites/default/files/documents/library/info2007-01-e.pdf>
- Schauer, H., Schlaffer, S., Bueechi, E., & Dorigo, W. (2023). Inundation–desiccation state prediction for salt pans in the Western Pannonian Basin using remote sensing, groundwater, and meteorological data. *Remote Sensing*, 15(19), Article 4659. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rs15194659>
- Smith, N. (1987). Gentrification and the rent gap. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 77(3), 462–465. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8306.1987.tb00171.x>
- Tarabon, S., Bergès, L., Dutoit, T., & Isselin-Nondedeu, F. (2019). Environmental impact assessment of development projects improved by merging species distribution and habitat connectivity modelling. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 241, 439–449. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvman.2019.02.031>
- Thakur, P. (2018, May 11). Allowing developers to construct on Mumbai’s salt pan lands may do more harm than good. *Housing News*. <https://housing.com/news/allowing-developers-construct-mumbais-salt-pan-lands-may-harm-good/>
- United Nations. (n.d.). The 17 goals: Sustainable development. *United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs*. Retrieved January 21, 2024, from <https://sdgs.un.org/goals>
- Varkey, J., Pandirkar, A., Fernandes, B., Pathak, K., Khadye, P., & Ghadigaonkar, P. (2015). Threats to the existing diversity of avifauna of Gogte Salt Plant, Mumbai suburb. In *Proceedings of UGC Sponsored National Seminar on “Wetlands - Present Status, Ecology & Conservation”* (pp. 1–8).
- Venkatraman, T. (2019, September 12). How much of Mumbai’s salt pans can be developed? Master plan in the works. *Hindustan Times*. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/mumbai-news/how-much-of-mumbai-s-salt-pans-can-be-developed-master-plan-in-the-works/story-QnspgqxeuWPwQJFTbQ2ogO.html>
- Ventimiglia, U., Candela, A., & Aronica, G. T. (2020). A cost efficiency analysis of flood proofing measures for hydraulic risk mitigation in an urbanised riverine area. *Water*, 12(9), Article 2395. <https://doi.org/10.3390/w12092395>
- Wang, H.-W., Kuo, P.-H., & Dodd, A. E. (2020). Gate operation for habitat-oriented water management at Budai Salt Pan Wetland in Taiwan. *Ecological Engineering*, 148, 105761. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecoleng.2020.105761>
- Weingarten, E. A., Lawson, L. A., & Jackson, C. R. (2020). The saltpan microbiome is structured by sediment depth and minimally influenced by variable hydration. *Microorganisms*, 8(4), 538. <https://doi.org/10.3390/microorganisms8040538>
- Yadav, P. (2022, October 7). 67% housing demand in Mumbai from affordable segment: Knight Frank-Naredco. *Business Standard*. https://www.business-standard.com/article/current-affairs/mumbai-registers-67-of-the-demand-for-affordable-housing-report-122100700957_1.html