Gentrification and Its Impact on Urbanization in India

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Abstract-At present the world is experiencing an extraordinary rate of urbanization. India is also in a major phase of urbanization. Almost all Indian cities have grown up beyond their limits. Thus, the ecological footprint, which is the 'area of wilderness of both land and sea needed to supply resources to a human population and needed to assimilate human waste' of these cities is at the warning stage. In developed countries, the decision makers and planners had renewed the entire urban area once it attained a reasonable age and size in such situations. Few of the western cities were entirely renewed when they were demolished by natural or manmade calamities. Fortunately, India never experienced such entire fresh development or renewal of its cities. But now-a-days, India is not the exception for it. The Global South is the new site of gentrifying cityscapes and also the leading edge of gentrification. Indian cities and the peri urban areas of metro cities are experiencing various forms of gentrification in the process of urban renewal. It is a curative concept to restructure the declined areas of the city. But it has more negative views compared to positive due to the concerns in the process in India. The paper brings out the impacts of gentrification and concerns related with the process in Indian context with a case example of core city.

Key Words- Urbanization, Urban renewal, Gentrification, Restructure, Core city.

I. INTRODUCTION

Indian planning commission has highlighted in 12th five-year plan that the pace of urbanization is now set to accelerate as the country sets to a more rapid growth. 300 million Indians currently live in towns and cities. Within 20-25 years, another 300 million people will get added to Indian towns and cities. So it is clear that urbanization is inevitable and India needs to improve its urban infrastructure and governance in order to increase productivity and create jobs for the poor. Today the 'ecological footprint' of existing cities, which is the 'area of wilderness of both land and sea needed to supply resources to a human population and needed to assimilate human waste' of these cities is at the warning stage.

In developed countries, these situations were tackled by demolishing the entire city and complete fresh development as 'Urban Renewal'. Few of these cities in developed countries were affected by wars, natural or man-made calamities. Those cities also experienced such fresh development. E.g. Greater London was totally renewed after the Great fire of London in 1666. Paris was razed to ground in 1850s before it became 'the city of lights'. Fortunately, India never experienced such entire fresh development or renewal of its cities. Smith (2002) said that such development now-a-days had become a 'global urban strategy' called as 'gentrification' [1]. He suggested that the Global South is just a new site of gentrifying cityscapes but, indeed, the leading edge of gentrification: "Gentrification is happening on a more massive scale in Shanghai or Mumbai than in the older post-industrializing cities of Europe, North America and Oceania'' (Smith, 2008) [2]. Indian cities and the peri urban areas of metro cities are experiencing various forms of gentrification in the process of urban renewal. It has become necessary to map the susceptibility of these gentrification for future growth by understanding its impacts on urbanization.

This paper has six parts after this introduction. In the first section the author attempts to explain the phenomenon of gentrification by comprehensive analysis of definitions, origin and evolution, theories of causes and working models, impacts of the process of gentrification. In the second section, agencies and actors, policies and schemes participating in gentrification process in India are explored. The third section discusses study tools and assessment techniques of gentrification. In the fourth section contains comparative analysis of typologies of gentrification in Indian cities. The fifth section attempts to explore the process and impacts of gentrification that exist in Indian city by discussing case example of slum redevelopment in Prabhadevi, Mumbai. The sixth part ends with the conclusion.

II. COMPREHENDING GENTRIFICATION

A. Definitions of Gentrification

Gentrification is a broad framework concept. Huge literature is available on it, but it is mainly focusing on western countries. The term can be defined in various ways. Hamnett (1997) [3] defines gentrification "(like) a phenomenon both physical, economic, social and cultural. Gentrification generally involves the invasion of neighborhoods before workers or apartment buildings in degradation by groups of upper or middle classes and the replacement or relocation of many of the original occupants of these neighborhoods. This involves the renovation or physical rehabilitation of what was once a dilapidated housing stock and its improvement to suit the needs of the new occupants. During the process, the price of units in the affected areas, rehabilitated or not, increases sharply. Such neighborhoods transition process typically involves some degree of transformation of tenure, letting the occupying property."

Lees, Loretta, Tom Slater, and Elvin K. Wyly (2008) [4] defines gentrification as "the transformation of a working-class or vacant area of the central city to a middle class residential and/or commercial use". In the US, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention Report Health Effects of gentrification defines the real estate concept of gentrification as "the transformation of neighborhoods from low value to high value ".

B. Origin and evolution of the term 'Gentrification'

British sociologist Ruth Glass was the first who coined the term "gentrification" in 1964 to describe the influx of middleclass people displacing lower-class worker residents in urban neighborhoods. The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia states the root of gentrification from the word 'gentry' taken from the Old French word genterise, means "of gentle birth" and "people of gentle birth". As per The Oxford Dictionary of Etymology (1966), in England, Landed gentry denoted the social class, consisting of gentlemen.

In 1980, David Ley published 'Liberal ideology and the Postindustrial city'. He introduced theoretical scheme on the origins and causes of gentrification in it. A new ideology of livability in urban development changed the Vancouver landscape between 1968 and 1978. The agents of liberal ideology were a new elite of professional, technical, and administrative workers whose association agreed with Vancouver's transition toward a service oriented postindustrial city. This group founded an urban reform party which assumed political power in 1972. They agreed on growth of city with a program of apparently humane, socially progressive, and aesthetic urban development. Despite some significant successes, the new ideology was also selective and has generated new problems of social justice, giving rise to a countervailing political movement in the late 1970s. Except in special circumstances it seems the ideology of the livable city is rarely compatible with criteria of social equity or economic efficiency. (D Asher Ghertner ,2014) [5]

The roots of today's Vancouver city as one of the smart cities in the world can be traced in this period. Today gentrification is identified in many North American cities, Europe and Australia. Smith (2002) suggested that Global South is not just new site of gentrifying cityscapes but also at the leading edge of gentrification. (D Asher Ghertner, 2014) [5]

C. Theories of causes 'Gentrification'

There are two main theories of which explains the causes of gentrification which are production side theory and consumption side theory. There are contrasting views for both the theories within scholars. Some of them partially accepted that both theories together provide adequate explanation about the form and processes of gentrification. These theories are briefly discussed in table 1 below.

	Production-side theory (Rent Gap theory)	Consumption-side theory
Propagator	Neil Smith	David Ley and Chris Hamnett
Causes of gentrification	1. Gentrification is the result of capital movement.	1. Gentrification is a consequence of major changes in the industrial and occupational resulting in the growth of middle-class professionals.

Table -1 Theories of Causes of Gentrification

2. Rent gap is key factor for gentrification which	2. Post industrialization changes the occupational structure in
means the disparity between the potential ground rent	capital cities from manufacturing to service industry. This led
and actual ground rent capitalized under the present	to expansion of the middle-class professionals or 'cultural
land use.	new class' who preferred to live in the city than suburbs.
3. Gentrification occurs when the gap is wide enough	3. Gentrification is the product of demand for locations in city
that developers can purchase the land cheaply; can pay	centers and for public and cultural facilities that will be offered
for construction, rehabilitation, can pay interest or	to gentrifiers. It depends upon consumption power of new
mortgage and construction loans and then sell the end	middle class to remove other users from the urban areas.
product for a sale price that leaves satisfactory return	
to developers	

D. Theories of working models of 'Gentrification'

The neighborhood can be gentrified by implementing three different working models. These theories and their merits and demerits are discussed briefly in Table-2.

Table-2 Theories	of	working	models	of	gentrification
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	Description	Merits	Demerits
Gentrification	Gentrification by gentrifiers on their	1. Encouragement and increased	1. The time duration for process is
with	own by gradually expanding the	viability of further development by	generally longer due to dependence
reinvestment:	homes as and when resources, time	gentrifiers on their own.	on availability of resources, time and
(Retrofitting /	and state support became available.	2. Reduced strain on local	state support.
Back to the City)	The self-help housing practices	infrastructure and services.	2. The uniform development is not
	were common in these areas which	3. Limits the process of 'urban	possible due to complex urban
	resulted into gentrification with	sprawl'.	settlement in core areas.
	reinvestment.	4. The displacement with or without	
		resettlement is avoided in the	
		process.	
Gentrification by	Gentrification of areas which lack in	1. The further declination of the area	1. Loss of affordable housing for
complete	basic services necessary for human	gets stabilized.	economically weaker section (EWS)
demolition in	survival. The increase in the	2. Rehabilitation of property with or	and lower income group (LIG)
public/private	population further decays the	without government help.	population.
land	physical, and social environment		2. Displacement is the measure
(Redevelopment)	such that it becomes nuisance to		demerit which causes housing
	surrounding neighborhood. The		demand pressures on surrounding
	situation arises where entire		poor areas.
	demolition and redevelopment of		
	existing settlement remains the only		
	solution to gentrify the area.		
Vacant	The agricultural land (Green field)	1. The further declination of the	1. Massive conversion of agricultural
gentrification	or unutilized land (Brown field) is	underutilized area is stabilized. The	land for other uses reduces the
(Green / Brown	converted for residential and	quality environment can be provided	ecological footprint of the city.
field	commercial use in vacant	while development in the	2. Further enhance the 'Urban
development)	gentrification. In other words, the	gentrification process.	

	underutilized land is converted for	2. The development and resettlement	Sprawl' which increases strain on
	higher and better use, as suggested	takes lesser time and provides	existing infrastructure.
	by the definition of gentrification.	revenue generation in the process.	
Forced	'Forced gentrification' working	1. The uniform development is	1. Forceful eviction results into
gentrification	model is a part of all of the above	possible through state intervention by	displacement without resettlement,
	three models. In this model, the	planning and financing aid.	homelessness, conflict and bitterness
	gentrification continues without the	2. The historical significance of the	in the community.
	willful agreement of occupiers.	area can be preserved in the process	2. Increases pressure on State
	State policies play a key role in this	of gentrification.	economy for financing the
	type of gentrification by application		redevelopment.
	of eminent domain in the acquisition		
	process of property. Slum		
	demolition, dam-induced		
	displacement, displacement in		
	disaster prone zone are the other		
	applications of forced		
	gentrification.		

E. Impacts of 'Gentrification'

1. Physical Impact:

Displacement is one of the most studied negative aspects of gentrification. Displacement in the context of gentrification is defined in the gentrification reader as "forced disenfranchisement (alienation) of poor and working class people from the spaces and places in which they have legitimate social and historical claims. In the positive way, it stabilizes further deterioration of the area by encouraging further development of local infrastructure and services. Gentrification represents the possibility of achieving upward mobility without having to escape to the suburbs or predominantly white neighborhoods. (Freeman, 2006) [6]

2. Socio-cultural Impact:

Gentrification changes sociocultural status of an individual's neighborhood which shapes one's behavior and future. The process results into formation of gated communities in and around the neighborhood and enhanced the confrontation of self-versus the others. This become the reason for bitterness and conflict within community. The social diversity is lost in the neighborhood with displacement of lower income working class. The positive socio-cultural impacts of gentrification include the reduction in crime as deteriorated and blighted areas are often associated with criminal activities. The social mix increases in the community, which enhance individual's capabilities of further development and upgradation to higher level.

3. Economical Impact:

Improvement of housing conditions in the process of gentrification decentralize the poverty from the declining areas. It increases property value and local revenues. Higher incentives are provided to the property owners from the capable gentrifiers. It not only reduced strain on local infrastructure and services but also rehabilitates property by both with and without sponsorship.

However, the negative impacts include loss of affordable housing in the gentrified neighborhood. The property prices and land value increases by leaps and bounds making them unsustainable. Lance Freeman (2006) [6] in his book 'there goes the hood' states people who own their homes are much more able to gain financial benefits of gentrification than those who rent their houses and can be displaced without much compensation. Developed infrastructure and services demand more cost and charges implies on the local residents. The economic gap between the lower income working class and the white-collar elite class becomes wider and wider and ultimately displacing the lower income group permanently from their native area.

4. Political Impact:

The role of the state is important for understanding the process of gentrification is some neighborhoods. Almost all the states have accepted the 'gentrification' as urban renewal policies. Government policies played fundamental role in gentrification. Gentrification and its impact assessment helps to further guide the political views and regulating bodies in order to form and modify rules and regulations for the improvement of the declining urban neighborhood. The 'emerging' elite class in the gentrified neighborhood plays a key role in politics and culture. This class actively participates at the local political level for the further development of the area.

5. Positive and Negative Impacts:

Gentrification does not follow any discreet process; it often acts in the combination with many. The process has not only positive but also few negative impacts on the gentrifying neighborhood and surrounding area. Sometimes the process becomes the reason for conflict between the communities. Loretta Lees, Tom Slater, and Elvin Wyly mentioned positive and negative impacts of Gentrification in the Gentrification Reader, Routledge (2008) [4] as follows.

Sr.No.	Positive Impacts	Negative Impacts		
1	Higher incentive for property owners to increase /	Displacement through increased rent / price of land or		
	improve housing.	housing.		
2	Reduction in Crime.	Loss of affordable housing.		
3	Stabilization of declining areas.	Commercial / industrial displacement.		
4	Increased property values.	Unsustainable property prices.		
5	Increased consumer purchasing power at local business.	Displacement and housing demand pressures of surrounding poor areas.		
6	Reduced vacancy rates.	Community bitterness and conflict		
7	Increases local fiscal revenues.	Homelessness increases.		
8	Encouragement and increased viability of further development.	Secondary psychological costs of displacement.		
9	Reduced strain on local infrastructure and services.	Increased cost and charges to local services.		
10	Increased social mix.	Loss of social diversity (from socially disparate to rich class)		
11	Rehabilitation of property both with and without state sponsorship.	Under occupancy and population loss to gentrified areas.		

Table 4- Positive and negative impacts of Gentrification

Source- Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) [4]

III AGENCIES AND ACTORS, POLICIES AND SCHEMES PARTICIPATING IN GENTRIFICATION PROCESS IN INDIA

A. Agencies and actors participating in 'Gentrification'

In the gentrification process the individual producers / consumers play a key role. However, Smith also focuses on the production of urban space, the functioning of land and housing markets, the role of capital and collective actors such as developers and mortgage credit institutions and mortgage for the supply of properties for gentrify as important actors in

the gentrification process. He states that "It is possible to explain gentrification considering gentrifiers actions alone but cannot ignore the role of real estate agents, developers, owners, lenders and government agencies, tenants, politicians, etc. A broader theory of gentrification must take into account the role of producers as well as consumers." (Smith, 1979) [7]. He denies the role of individual gentrifiers in favor of collective social actors. He also considered state as important actor in the gentrification process which further guides the development by understanding the process of gentrification in some neighborhoods.

B. Institutional policies, schemes participating in gentrification in India.

The reasons for existing gentrification in Indian cities are rooted in the government policies and schemes which are undertaken for the urban renewal of the cities. The eighth five-year plan (1992-1997) recognized the importance of urban sector in the national economy in India. The new housing and habitat policy revealed in 1998 emphasized the role of the private sector, as the other partner to be encouraged for housing construction and investment in infrastructure facilities. This resulted into rapid growth in private investment in housing with the emergence of real estate developers mainly in metropolitan cities. The process of gentrification started in India from this period.

In the 10th five-year plan (2002-2007), Government of India launched one of the ambitious urban renewal program named as "Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission" (JnNURM) in 2005 which is renamed in 2015 as "Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation" (AMRUT). The JnNURM program was spread over 65 cities with investment of Rs. 100,000 crores from national and international research and funding agencies. This program contributed to handle the challenges of proliferating slums, homelessness, urban poverty and crime, pollution and ecological damage.

Slums are not a passive stage in land privatization. Rather they function as a central vehicle for facilitating the alienation of public land to private developers. The national level program announced 'Rajiv Aawas Yojana' in 12th five-year plan (2012-2017) to create a 'slum free India'. It has enshrined this process into national policy through its heavy promotion of public-private partnerships in slum rehousing. This model gives developers access to valuable slum land in exchange for an obligation to rehouse the displaced slum dwellers in a portion of the multistory flats built on the site- a process known as transfer of development rights (TDR). This is the model proposed in Mumbai's Dharavi Redevelopment Project, described as gentrification by Banerjee- Guha (2011), as cited by D. A. Ghertner (2014) [5]

Government of India has launched Smart City Mission which will provide opportunity for city improvement (retrofitting), city renewal (redevelopment) and city extension (greenfield development). The objective of the mission is making the existing city smarter and sustainable by implementing any one of these proposals. The implementation of these proposals will itself result into gentrification of the neighborhood, as all three proposals perfectly match with the gentrification definitions given by various scholars.

Recently launched 'National Rurban Mission' aimed at developing rural areas which have potential of growth with other proximate rural areas by providing economic, social and physical infrastructure facilities. The Mission aims at development of 300 Rurban clusters, in the next five years with an objective of stimulating local economic development, enhance basic services, and create well planned Rurban clusters. This development can be termed as 'Rural gentrification or greentrification' as suggested by Lees, Slater and Willy (2008) [4].

IV. STUDY TOOLS AND ASSESSMENT TECHNIQUES OF GENTRIFICATION

A. Assessment of physical enhancement:

Gentrification of the neighborhood brings about the physical enhancement of the neighborhood from its declined state. The gentrified area of the city shows improvement in the physical infrastructure which enhance its the environmental quality. One of the basic techniques of assessment of gentrification is calculating addition of new houses in the neighborhood in the last few years. Gentrified area will show positive growth in the number of houses whereas non-gentrified area will probably show negative or zero growth.

It is also found from the studies that the area around rail transit stations may be particular to gentrification and displacements. Thus, on the other hand we can say, the development of transit stations in particular neighborhood shows the spread of gentrification.

The analysis of 'changes in landcover' by using remote sensing and GIS techniques is the easiest study tool for assessment of gentrification in a particular neighborhood. E.g. the satellite imageries captured at different period of time by using 'google earth' show the changing pattern of landuse and addition of builtups as shown in fig. 1.

Fig.1 Assessment of landcover changes by using satellite imageries



Year- 2003

Year- 2008

Year- 2016

B. Assessment of economic enhancement:

The economic changes in the form of increase in both real estate investment and household income show the gentrification of the area. Freeman (2006) [6] defines gentrification of the area if housing price appreciation above the regional average and household income at or below 40 percentiles of regional household income in the starting year (Chapple, Karen 2009) [8].

In India, National Housing Bank (NHB) launched 'Housing Price Index (HPI) also called as Residex' in 2007 for regular monitoring of the house prices in urban areas. This index can be used for the assessment of gentrification in a particular area of city as it measures the price changes of residential housing. It also helps to analyze the growth and need of infrastructure in the area to enhance the process of development.

C. Assessment of demographic changes:

Freeman (2006) [6] suggests in his definition of gentrification that it results into demographic change by increase in educational attainment above the regional average. This definition does not include any measures of indirect displacement that occurs as the neighborhood changes. "Several national studies suggest that gentrification and mobility are not strongly associated. In fact, poor renters are more likely to remain in gentrifying areas than to depart. The reasons for displacement may vary within the households. The reasons of displacement can be voluntary or nonvoluntary" (Chapple, Karen ,2009) [8]. The demographic changes can be analyzed through the census report at zonal level. The work-force participation rate also indicates the gentrification of particular area.

D. Assessment of Socio-Cultural changes by Liveability, Environmental Sustainability indices:

Gentrification results into socio-cultural changes in the neighborhood. These can be analyzed by measuring the changes in the liveability and environmental sustainability indices of the city.

Institute of Competitiveness, India is publishing the liveability index report every year since 2010 [9] which defines it as 'a composite measure of the social, environmental, economic and civic factors that directly provides insight into the quality of life available to people and evidence on the future state of the city in terms of its liveability. It is a tool that gauges the potential of the city to attract human resource and subsequently industry. The index model is based on eight core pillars that are demographic, education, health and medical standards, safety, housing option, socio-cultural-natural environment, economic environment and planned environment.

The environmental Sustainability Index is a comparative analysis of the environmental achievements, challenges and priorities as defined by report on Environment Sustainability Index of Indian States, Center for development finance, India (2011) [10]. This is a diagnostic tool, which highlight and provide insights into areas that require government and other stakeholder interventions in order to protect the environment in the development process. The index is calculated by 9 indicators namely air quality & pollution, water quality & availability, land use & agriculture, forests & biodiversity, waste generation & management, energy management, impact on human health & ecosystem, population pressure on ecosystem, environmental budget.

V. TYPOLOGIES OF GENTRIFICATION IN INDIAN CITIES.

Gentrification is classified into typologies on the basis of its consequences. Few of these typologies of gentrification are described below in the table.

Table 7- Typologies of gentrification in Indian Cities	
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Sr. No	Typology	Name of the Areas	Type of Changes
	Classical	Lower Parel, Prabhadevi, Worli and most	Redevelopment in the form of demolishing individual
1.	Gentrification	of the area of Central Mumbai.	buildings or groups of buildings. These plots are being
			redeveloped into high end commercial or residential spaces.
	Commercial	Conversion of mill land into high end	From low end commercial to high end commercial
2.	Gentrification	shopping malls in Lower Parel.	
	Recreational	Sabarmati Riverfront Development,	Removal of slum along Sabarmati river and conversion of
3.	Gentrification	Ahmedabad.	riverfront into recreational areas.
	Policy	All the cities in Maharashtra	Slum redevelopment Programme in the cities provides
4.	Gentrification		opportunity to private developers to use the large land parcel
			occupied by slums for higher and better use in return of
	Global	Lower Parel, Mumbai.	High end commercial and residential development on
5.	Gentrification		mill land.
	State-led	Entire National Capital Territory.	DDA low income housing going to middle income families
6.	Gentrification		
	Mega Event-	Entire National Capital Territory.	Evictions from Yamuna Pushta for development of
	Led		Commonwealth Games Village, 2010
	Rural	Colonization around Mumbai and Pune.	Corporate builders' pave the way for residential development
8.	Gentrification		on existing agricultural land in the periphery of large cities.
	New Build	High end designer residential spaces in	High end residential areas are developed by corporate builders
9.	Gentrification	the periphery	for very high earners in the suburbs of Mumbai and Navi
		of Mumbai and Navi Mumbai.	Mumbai. These areas are yet to be connected to the city by
	Gentrification	Magarpatta City & Amanora City- Pune,	High end residential development of bungalows and
10.	of Urban	Tanaji Malusare City- Karjat, Mumbai.	apartments in the urban villages of the metro cities of Mumbai
	Villages		and Pune.

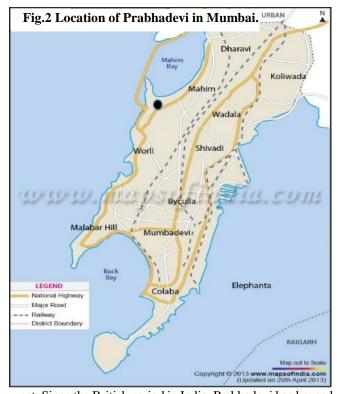
Source- Ashok Kumar (2014), A Framework for gentrification of Indian Cities [11].

VI. CASE EXAMPLE OF GENTRIFICATION-SLUM REDEVELOPMENT IN PRABHADEVI, MUMBAI.

The gentrification process in Mumbai has acquired prominent status after the decline of textile mills which was thought to be its lifeline. The area of Parel, Lower Parel, Chinchpokli, Sewri, Dadar, and Elphinston was known as Girangoan means 'the land of the mills'. The neoliberal policies started deindustrialization resulting into closure of these mills in the period of 1970-1980. Gradually, the huge abandoned landmass in the central part of the city became a focal point of attraction for the builders and the city built up area started gentrifying from the land of mills to malls and towers (Chatterjee, 2013) [12].

The case example of classical gentrification in Prabhadevi is discussed briefly below.

Prabhadevi is a small-scale district neighborhood of Mumbai city. It is situated between the Shivaji Park Residential Zone to the north and Worli to the south and the Arabian Sea to the



west. Since the British period in India, Prabhadevi has housed a number of mills, which have been sold to make way for upscale residential sky scrapers. Few of the mills still stand today but with the advent of the power loom are no longer profitable and hence are closed down. The mill lands were surrounded by low income people who were working as mill workers. After the closure of mills the surrounding areas started converting into blighted areas. This phase was provoked by change in occupational structure that caused to outmigration of people. Due to the best locational attributes, area surrounding the mill lands became expensive due to the strong market force. Private developers started ultraluxurious and ultra-expensive developments on the mill lands. As Smith states in his 'Rent Gap theory', the rent gap started increasing due to the infrastructure development. The increased rent prizes are not directly affecting the original occupants by Rent Control Act. But these occupants prefer to rent out or sell their small rooms for higher rent value and shift in the suburbs with higher floor area of flat. In the case being discussed here, the area around the standard mills is redeveloped by private developers. The process of redevelopment is explained in fig. 3.

Year 2000-2001: The area around standard mills was housing thousands of families' in a group of 4-5 slums till the end of year 2000-2001. The area was already converted into blighted conditions after the closure of mills. This phase was aggravated by change in occupational structure that caused outmigration of some population in search of employment in the suburbs.

Year 2004-2005: Standard mill was totally demolished. The land was sold to private developer. He started construction of 3 high-rise towers each of 22 storey exclusive for high income and elite classes. This resulted into increase of land value by leaps and bounds. The other physical, social, economic infrastructure started developing rapidly. By the end of year 2010 the main street became landmark for 8-10 four-wheeler showrooms of international brands.

Year 2015-2016: By the end of year 2015, 3 out of 4 slums are converted into Slum rehabilitation (SRA) buildings, in a compacted area. The high-rise towers of more than 50 storey are being developed exclusively for rich and elite. People are moving in to these areas from around the world due to its proximity from airport, railway station, recreational facilities. The gentrification process has totally changed the urban fabric of the area. The declined and undeveloped area of the city before 20 years has now become the down-town and landmark of the city. The current land value is so high that builders are ready to render fifty-sixty lakhs to the occupants of SRA buildings to further vacate it.

Government policies played important role in this gentrification. After the closure of textile mills 600 acres of land had been generated. As per development control rule 58, formed in 1991, it is decided that if the mill owner demolishes the mill structure he was supposed to hand over 33 percent to B.M.C. (Bombay Municipal Corporation), 27 percent to MHADA (Maharashtra Housing Area Development Authority) and 40 percent for the mill owners themselves. The mill owners argued for this rule and did not submit any parcel of land. In 2001, the modified D.C. Rules allowed mill owners to demolish the mill structure and not to submit any piece of land to BMC and MHADA. The reasons of gentrification are rooted in this period. The mill lands were sold to hundreds of crores to private developers (Chatterjee, 2013) [12]. This gentrification can be termed as 'Planned Gentrification' or 'State-led classical Gentrification'.

Figure 3- Gentrification of area near standard mills- Prabhadevi (Source- Google Maps)



Year 2000-2001



Year 2015-2016

VII. CONCLUSION.

World Urbanization Prospects, 2014 by United Nations states, "Urbanization is one of the biggest challenges that both developed and developing countries across the world must face. The challenges differ based on stages of development and regional factors. Some developed countries face the challenges of ageing infrastructure and shrinking cities, while others face the challenges stem from an ageing society. In developing countries, cities must bridge the demand and supply gap for core city's physical and social infrastructure, provide a safe environment for urban dwellers and develop a thriving urban economy". The developed countries had accepted the gentrification strategy much earlier to overcome these challenges. In a developing country like India, the



Year 2004-2005



Existing skyline of Prabhadevi, Mumbai.

process of gentrification has started after the acceptance of neoliberal policies and in post-industrialization period. Thus, the process of gentrification is different from western counterparts and unique in nature. The urban fabric in India has many layers in it due to its historical significance which altogether form the 'City'.

Every part of the country is undergoing massive urbanization in different forms. The newly formed government policies and schemes are aiming to give the western look to urban areas by well-planned and sustainable development. However, the core city urban development mainly termed as 'gentrification' is ignoring the original inhabitants particularly belonging to LIG and EWS category. The number of people displaced by development projects is highest in the world. (Swain, Nadine Walicki and Marita, 2016) [13]. Thus, the process of gentrification has more negative views in the country though being good for future development. The forced displacement without resettlement is the major concern of the process.

The case example studied describes that, the gentrification policies have focused on small declined area in core city without considering its impact on surrounding built-up. The few more case examples from other parts of country highlight that gentrification is going on in parts and pieces in the same way. But gentrification cannot be practiced in isolation due to its physical, social and economic impact on the gentrifying area. The 'Neighborhood Gentrification' strategy should have been accepted and implemented to avoid negative impacts. The 'inclusive planning' provides opportunity to original residents to develop the necessary socio-cultural strategies required to retain affordable housing.

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