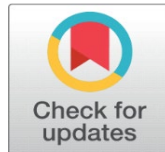
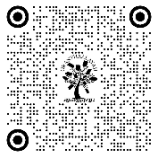


GENTRIFICATION IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT: INSTANCES, INDICATORS AND IMPACTS

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ABSTRACT

Gentrification is an urban process where richer individuals move in and modify the nature, use and adjacencies of an impoverished urban neighborhood. This phenomenon causes displacement of the former citizens which in turn has various effects on the neighborhood fabric such as change in density, built-up area, and land use etc. The research studies gentrification in the Indian context using the complex and diverse case of its National Capital Region – Delhi, which is expected to be the most populous city in the world by 2028 (UN, 2018). To understand diverse types of gentrifications, the research studies various forms of gentrification observed and documented by the western world. This is followed by a character correlation of these types with various urban fabrics in Delhi NCR, using a methodology that documents the formal, social and infrastructural character of such fabrics. The findings from the literature review, case studies, and correlation and analysis are classified under four different kinds of urban impact caused by gentrification: physical, socio-cultural, economic and political.

Keywords: Gentrification, Displacement, Migration, Urban Renewal, Transit Nodes, MRT

AIM

To study the different typologies of gentrification and analyze their examples from the Western and Indian contexts, so as to arrive at common characteristics of gentrifying / gentrified neighborhoods.

OBJECTIVES

1. Study various types of gentrifications established by global researchers.
2. Case studies of gentrified neighborhoods in the Western world and Delhi NCR.
3. Identify common characteristics across gentrified neighborhoods.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. WHAT IS GENTRIFICATION?

Gentrification is defined as ‘the procedure through which wealthier individuals move in, recover and improve housing, and draw new enterprises to a disadvantaged neighborhood’. This pump of investment to rebuild the region often leads to the displacement of old citizens. First coined by the British sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964, the term was first used to explain this ‘people movement’ in inner London. In the past, gentrification has been witnessed in countries

that were affected by wars or disasters, and subsequently redeveloped: signifying the very existence of this phenomenon in rapid developments.

To understand the present-day context, India today has five megacities with populations of above 10 million, but by 2030 this number shall grow to seven (Varma, S. 2016). Urban areas will soon have to withstand stresses that are evident from this growth in population density. More parts of the city will see redevelopment in order to handle the growing population as a result of the demand from the rising density. There would be a significant upsurge in the redevelopment of housing in these transit-rich zones, given the patterns of transit-induced growth observed in India. Gentrification and displacement will also result from this new development. This is a compelling argument for comprehending the trends and outcomes of gentrification in the Indian setting. This paper has two key study objectives. The first objective is to study various types of gentrifications that have been identified globally, and reviews their existence in the Indian National Capital Region of Delhi. This is augmented using a character mapping of such existences, that can serve as a reference to identify other similar instances of gentrification. The second objective of the paper is to document the various impacts of gentrification, classified based on their nature, as seen in the studied Indian fabric and correlated with counterparts from the developed world.

1.2. GLOBAL VIEW ON GENTRIFICATION AND ITS MANIFESTATION IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT:

While the process of gentrification in India is not documented as well as in the western world it also shows a deviation in terms of the categories as well as indicators of this urban process. The country experiences gentrification in approximately every portion of its cities, as well as on the outskirts of our metropolises. This paper sequentially puts together the popular categories of gentrification based on the proximity to transit nodes, in the case of the Delhi-NCR. While the typologies enlisted do not have a direct impact on proximity to transit, it makes a strong case for predicting gentrification patterns in

settlements in rapidly developing cities (like Delhi-NCR).

Given the current investment drive to make cities smart and high on the mobility index in India, the country's budget for implementation as per today's senecio is already running into trillions (1 lakh crore) in INR. The metro-rail network alone proposed in the country is strategized to be spread across 21 cities and projected to run a length of 1,415 kilometers (21 cities, 1,415 km of metro-rail worth Rs 4.09 trillion approved, 2019). This data set helps us understand the sheer volume of transit-induced/influenced gentrification that our cities shall soon have to endure.

2. METHODOLOGY

The research starts with an elaborate literature review to understand the predominate typologies of gentrification. The next step was to look at case studies for each typology, in the NCR Delhi Region, using field visits and expert interviews and comparing each against their western counterpart, this helps us understand the INSTANCES at which gentrification occurs. After the Indian context sites have been studied the data collected a co-relative analysis is done to derive similarity and disparities in the case of the 7 sites, this step helps us understand the INDICATORS of gentrification in the region. Satellite imagery was closely scrutinized to see the physical impacts of gentrification. At the last stage of the research the IMPACTS of gentrification are explored and the categories of physical, socio-cultural, economic and political.

This research is particularly relevant. It illustrates how gentrification risk is influenced by Delhi NCR's density and metro accessibility. It also highlights important neighbourhood characteristics to comprehend gentrification in India.

3. TYPOLOGIES OF GENTRIFICATION IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT THAT OCCUR WHEN A SETTLEMENT IS WITH-IN THE 1-3 KILOMETER RANGE FROM A METRO STATION

Classical Gentrification: This tendency of gentrification, is best explained by the systematic flush of gentrifiers rehabilitating disinvested inner-city districts, displacing original lower income residents in the process. This was defined as Ruth Glass's novel clarification, as set in the context of inner London; the process saw change in socio-economic systems versus the landholdings, with the moving in of the upper middle class from the suburbs, displacing the lower classes from the city centers (Glass, 1964). An apt example of this typology of 'gentrification' are the Fairview Slopes in Vancouver, Canada. Mills, elaborates on the mechanics of this process where, the developers and real estate agents

establish a novel gentrification eco-system, by demonstrating fiscal reinvestment, social upgrading, and middle-class settlement processes (Mills, 1988). Fairview Slopes were built in the first decade of the twentieth century, with modern wooden frame structured homes, the new demographic consisted of trades persons, and industrial workers from the steel plant and saw mills. As the 1960's saw the onset of deindustrialization, the housing fabric of the region saw a change, numerous households were now transformed into 'rooming houses' or 'communal homes' also more space was now carved out for commercial use.

In the Indian context such changes could be seen in the Old Delhi settlements of Chandni Chowk and Paharganj. Here as the influx of new residents increased there was a demolition drive of the old individual and building clusters that belonged to the old Katras, both in part and whole and plots were either converted or refurbished to make room for more and more commercial functions or upgraded residences. This changed the very gentry of the local demographic as well the neighborhood trajectory and reinvestment patterns in the area. Table 1 shows the features of the Chandni Chowk and Paharganj settlements, which are mostly low-raised developments with narrow streets and typically house residential, small commercial and warehouse functions.



Figure 1: Settlement of Chandni Chowk



Figure 2: Settlement of Paharganj

Table 1: Character zones features for Classical Gentrification

Name of Settlement	Chandni Chowk and Paharganj.
Built form	G+1 to G+3; No Setbacks; Mix of small plots and large plots with central courtyards
Land Uses in the Area	Storage Space; Residential Typologies; Shops and Schools
Street Character	Narrow lanes with encroachment
Proximity to Metro Station	Stations Near Chandni Chowk: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lal Qila Metro Station- 1 Kilometer away 2. Jama Masjid Metro Station - 1 Kilometer away 3. Chandni Chowk Metro Station - 1 Kilometer away 4. Shastri Park Metro Station - 1 Kilometer away 5. Kashmere Gate Metro Station- 2 Kilometers away Stations Near Paharganj

1. RK Ashram Marg Metro Station- 1 Kilometer away
2. New Delhi Railway Station- 1.4 Kilometers away
3. Rajiv Chowk Metro Station- 2.2 Kilometers away

Note: Information of the built form, land use and street character are based on site survey by the authors. The information of proximity to metro has been gathered from the Delhi Metro website (<http://delhimetroroute.in/>)

New-Built Gentrification: This typology was considered as a case of the third wave of gentrification. The idea is that the progression and process of ‘gentrification’ has transformed over time and so the effects and the definitions of the term too have evolved. Elaborated by (Zukin, 1990) this new typology of ‘gentrification’ was realized by the real estate developers to offer ‘product based on place’. This typology of gentrification was spread to embrace a wide range of building types. This manifestation of gentrification has a distinct tendency to attract middle-class residents to the ‘edges/outskirts’ or ‘abandoned city cores’ of otherwise dense developments, by offering luxury townhomes and apartments to the residents. This typology of ‘gentrification’ may be explained as a new version of ‘Urban Living’.

In the international context, an apt case to study would be New Castle, USA. The hollowing out of the metropolitan center financially, socially, and culturally was akin to the American doughnut effect. Cities in the United States have long attempted to solve these challenges through a variety of efforts, including festival marketplaces, stadiums, waterfront development, and, more recently, gentrification of social housing. (Lees, L., Slater, T., & Wyly, 2008). New Castle’s urban renewal strategy was named ‘Going for Growth’, the primary objective of this strategy was to ‘re-balance the population’ of the area, which was beginning to form a Ghetto for the stigmatized and the disadvantaged. The hopes of bringing back the middle class to these areas of the city center were simply to catalyze social mixing. To ensure an equitable distribution of social capital between the different citizen classes (Camron, 2003). In this case, high end designer houses and condominiums were added to the dilapidated city center to attract the middle class back (Zukin, 1990).

An Indian context case of ‘New-Built Gentrification’ would be the high-end designer residential spaces in the periphery of Delhi, that now come under the Nation’s Capital Region, such as Gurgaon. Taking the case of Gurgaon where the real estate developers DLF group worked closely with six international grandmasters to deliver the ultra-luxury project, ‘The Camellias’ is a pioneering idea of a sustainable, self-sufficient community that is located in the middle of it all. This case elaborates how corporate builders provide limited edition high quality residential zones for very high incomes who are professionally qualified and ‘High Valued Individuals’. This has grown more common as the Indian economy has become more globalized. Table 2, shows the features of the Camellias settlement, the typology is mainly residential and goes up to 38 floors and towers over the city with a height of about 479 feet.



Figure 3: Settlement of The Camellias

Table 2: Character zones features for New-Built Gentrification

Name of Settlement	The Camellias
Built form	G+38
Land Uses in the Area	Residential, Recreational, Office, Commercial
Street Character	The main extension road is about 50+ meters wide, within the settlement the road widths vary from 13 meters to 7 meters
Proximity to Metro Station	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Metro Station Sector 53-54, Gurugram- 1 Kilometer away 2. Metro Station Sector 42-43, Gurugram- 900 Meters away

Note: Information of the built form, land use and street character are based on site survey by the authors. The information of proximity to metro has been gathered from the Delhi Metro website (<http://delhimetroroute.in/>)

Commercial Gentrification: 'Commercial gentrification,' often known as 'boutiqueification,' or 'retail gentrification,' refers to the gentrification of commercial properties, commercial streets, or commercial neighborhoods (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008). The manner in which consumption spaces, especially along streets, begin to react to the social drives of gentrification; is best described by (Zukin, 1990) as she discourses the cognizance of these drivers are their implications on spatial form. (Ley, 1996) also cites the case example of Kitsilano in Vancouver, and the introduction to 'hippy' retailing, post gentrification in the area. The area became a hub for all 'art-and craft' supplies, the stock available in the neighborhood took pride in being 'ant—mass' in nature and thrived on the concept of boutique supplies.

An apt exhibit case in the local context may be Mehar Chand Market, Lodi Colony in New Delhi, the first beginnings of settlement of this low-end commercial set up dates back to 1948. About 240, temporary spaces were allotted to the refugees, who had just found their way to the capital for Pakistan. In 1963 the government named this settlement the 'refuge market' and constructed about 150 permanent shops. In the 1960's the shops were mostly owned/rented by tailors. The 1970's saw the rise of the Dhaba culture in the area, appealing to many young locals for affordable meals. After the Asian Games came to New Delhi and the Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium and many government offices coming up in the vicinity, this neighborhood saw a surge in capital reinvestment and today the market is completely taken over by designer boutiques, fancy restaurants, trendy cafes, European-style brasseries jewelers, high -end salons, making it a hot destination for designer brands and products. (The making, unmaking and remaking of Mehar Chand Market, 2020) Table 3 discusses the features of Mehar Chand Market; the typology is mainly retail and the built form is timid as it rises up to about 3 floors high.



Figure 4: Settlement of Mehar Chand Market

Table 3: Character zones features for Commercial Gentrification

Name of Settlement	Mehar Chand Market
Built form	G+1 to G+2; Small plots
Land Uses in the Area	Retail and F+B
Street Character	Colonnade Passage, Lane Parking,
Proximity to Metro Station	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium Metro Station - 1 Kilometer away 2. Jangpura Metro Station - 1 Kilometer away 3. Jorbagh Metro Station - 1 Kilometer away 4. Khan Market Metro Station- 2 Kilometers away 5. Lajpat Nagar Metro Station- 2 Kilometers away
Note: Information of the built form, land use and street character are based on site survey by the authors. The information of proximity to metro has been gathered from the Delhi Metro website (http://delhimetroroute.in/)	

Policy Gentrification: Government intervention in gentrification is possible ("state-sanctioned"). Repurposing land and retrofitting buildings—as was the case in London's Bankside—are involved in this. This formerly industrial neighbourhood saw a transformation in the 1980s with a diverse population. However, the early 2000's saw a see-change in the fabric of the urban setting, (even though the urban renewal was announced in 1992 and the site was chosen 1994) land use changes were proposed by the state governments and the old industrial plots were now converted to high-end offices, commercial developments and boutique residences (Harris, 2008) there by displacing the working class from the area.

A point and case in the Indian context for 'State-Sanctioned' Gentrification, is the neighborhood of Dhan Mill compound, in Chattarpur New Delhi. The compound behind the blue gates was once a grain storage in the city, back in the 1980's, the old run-down storage has in the recent years seen a major facelift with retro-fits being made to make room for boutique shopping malls and co-working office spaces. The gentrification in the area was hard to miss, with the coming in of international brands like Nappa Dori. Situated in a mixed (Residential and small Shops) neighborhood, the citizens that currently live on the periphery do not know or understand this new experimental format of luxury and are at a high risk of displacement, given the rise in local rents. Policy-led gentrification in this case demonstrates how change in land use of given plots/sites can trigger instant change and often lead to un-contextual development. While this development does positively impact the economic generation of the area it does also cause cultural disruption in the region. In both cases be it Bankside or Dhan Mills, the change in policy led to a sharp spike in land prices as they almost quadrupled during the mid-1990's displacing the original blue collared citizens for the region. The inflation in the region and the change in land control rights allow extensive development in both neighborhoods, even though there were several public interest petitions against the same (but there was clear political will, and this support ensured that both the neighborhoods gentrified) (Harris, 2008). Table 4 discusses the features of Chattarpur, the built form here is varied and the streets are busy and crowded that provide no visual relief.



Figure 5: Settlement of Chattarpur

Table 4: Character zones features for Policy Gentrification

Name of Settlement	Chattarpur
Built form	Urban Village: G+1, G+2; Small residences: G+3, G+4, Temples: G+5-G+8
Land Uses in the Area	Urban Village, Residential Typologies; Banquets; Commercial + Retail, Religious Buildings
Street Character	Busy and crowded streets, with footpath encroachment, no or little visual relief
Proximity to Metro Station	1. Chattarpur Metro Station.- 1.8 Kilometers away 2. Qutub Minar Metro Station- 3.7 Kilometers away
Note: Information of the built form, land use and street character are based on site survey by the authors. The information of proximity to metro has been gathered from the Delhi Metro website (http://delhimetroroute.in/)	

Super Gentrification: This typology of gentrification is best defined by (Lees, 2000) as a new degree of gentrification that is positioned on an already gentrified district, one that requires a fundamentally different level of economic resource and requires a bigger financial or economic investment in the neighborhood than prior waves of gentrification. 'Super-gentrification' is a more intense form of gentrification that takes place in a few select neighborhoods in global capitals of the world such as London and New York. This nuanced typology of gentrification sets an example of an intriguing

phenomenon, where ‘gentrification’ is addressed as a possible continuing process. This goes against the phased models that have been popularized, where-by an end-point of the process of ‘gentrification’ is said to be a known variable. Discussing the Case of Brooklyn Heights. Perched on a 150-foot hill overlooking the harbor and Lower Manhattan, was one of the first gentrified areas in the United States.

Super Gentrification in the Indian context, can be understood by the case example of the re-development of the Chanakya Puri Complex, in New Delhi. Situated near Lutyens at the cusp of the diplomatic enclave and middle-class government residential colonies, this complex was established in the 1950s. The old complex development had a deep-rooted worldly charm about it that allowed for citizens and tourists of all demographics to experience the space freely. The ambitious redevelopment project of the multiplex-cum-mall called “The Chanakya” was handled by the DLF group and centered around the concept of contemporary luxury. Dinaz Madhukar, senior vice president of the DLF Luxury Retail and Hospitality vertical, told the Sunday Guardian that the theaters are also being designed in never-before-seen designs and luxury (Mondal, 2017). The new development has transformed the neighborhood drastically, with the change in permissible build area being increased in this quarter of the city, the new densification drive is changing the very cultural fabric of the area. The once highly walkable and inclusive neighborhood seems to be a distant memory of the past. Table 5 elaborates on the case of Chanakya Puri, the built form here varies from G+1 to G+16.



Figure 6: Settlement of Chanakya Puri

Table 5: Character zones features for Super Gentrification

Name of Settlement	Chanakya Puri
Built form	G+1- G+4, G+10-G+16,
Land Uses in the Area	Builder Floor Apartment, Residential, Commercial Office Space, Hotels Malls, Institutional, Hospitals, Embassies
Street Character	Wide roads lined with Ashoka trees, wide footpaths, The streets are aptly designed to be human-scaled in the residential quarters
Proximity to Metro Station	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Delhi Gate Metro Station- 1 Kilometer away 2. Jama Masjid Metro Station- 1 Kilometer away 3. Lal Quila- 1 Kilometer away 4. Chawri Bazar Metro Station-2 Kilometers away 5. ITO Metro Station-2 Kilometers away
Note: Information of the built form, land use and street character are based on site survey by the authors. The information of proximity to metro has been gathered from the Delhi Metro website (http://delhimetroroute.in/)	

4. TYPOLOGIES OF GENTRIFICATION IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT THAT OCCUR WHEN A SETTLEMENT IS WITH-IN THE 4-22 KILOMETERS RANGE FROM A METRO STATION

Recreational Gentrification: This typology of ‘gentrification’ may be defined as a product of ‘global commodification’; this is often a case driven by the consumption patterns of the rich. The sheer motivation of this process is expansion of local recreation (Krase and Desena, 2020). At a global stage an important example of this typology of gentrification may be seen in Portugal in the time frame as recent at 2011 to 2014, in this particular typology the governments at both state and national realized the true potential that the city had if ‘touristification’ was to be allowed, this would in turn lead to

a facelift of the inner-city residential areas to strengthen the city's standing in a worldwide environment of 'inter-urban competition'. In the case of Lisbon, recreational gentrification caused a spike in the rent-gap in the city core. While the relaxation of land-use norms, brought with it a strong tourism wave, the changes in the demand of residential typology from long term stay to short term stay caught the interest of developers in the area. As a result, building renovations in Lisbon's historic quarter have increased dramatically, and liberal tax initiatives were rolled out for urban renewal. The negative impacts of this transformation process were the erosion of the cultural fabric of the historical neighborhood. This socially vibrant quarter had been transformed into a tourist shopping district, adversely affecting the existing permanent housing and local convenience shops as well. (Mendes and Nelson, 2016)

In the Indian context Recreational gentrification can be spotted in the predominantly residential neighborhood of Vasant Kunj, in New Delhi. The construction of the 'Mighty Three Malls', by real-estate giants, DLF and the Ambiance Group. Here in this case the Malls were built as state of the art- retail exhibition spaces so as to pull the diplomatic gentry of the city, given the proximity to various embassies and diplomatic residences this programmatic proposal for high-end retail and re-creation was very intelligently proposed and successfully executed. The three malls collectively have become a major tourist spot for everyone visiting this part of the city. The effect as mapped on the residential neighborhood that was once modestly priced, today is one of the most expensive in the city. Rentals are at an all-time high and the fact that DLF is now, post the pandemic looking to pump is about another 200 Crore INR in their malls to boost the luxury section comes as no relief for the average renter. As per reporting in The Economic Times, in order to build a luxury retail area next to DLF Promenade, the business intends to develop 300,000–400,000 square feet of space. They will get approval from the Delhi Development Authority (Haidar, 2022). With such massive expansion plans right around the corner it is expected that the rentals in the adjacent residential zones shall see another sharp spike and thus might cause displacement of existing renters as well as homeowners. Table 6 elaborates on the case of Vasant Kunj, this too is a medium to low rise development and in close vicinity to the South-Central Ridge.



Figure 7: Settlement of Vasant Kunj

Table 6: Character zones features for Recreational Gentrification

Name of Settlement	Vasant Kunj
Built form	G+2 to G+3, Medium to small sized Plots for residential and large plots for Commercial, Retail, Hospitals, and Educational
Land Uses in the Area	Residential Typologies; Commercial + Retail, Hospitals and Educational
Street Character	The South-Central Ridge of the Delhi Ridge encircles the settlement's boundary, and the area is completely covered by this green belt. The streets are aptly designed to be human-scaled in the residential quarters and the Malls and Hospitals have wide 4-6 lane roads.
Proximity to Metro Station	1. Chhatarpur Metro Station. - 4.7 Kilometers away 2. Qutub Minar Metro Station- 6.9 Kilometers away
Note: Information of the built form, land use and street character are based on site survey by the authors. The information of proximity to metro has been gathered from the Delhi Metro website (http://delhimetroroute.in/)	

Rural Gentrification: This typology of ‘gentrification’ analyses the relationship between new middle-class settlement, economic and cultural modifications of the rural landscape, and the eventual displacement and marginalization of low-income groups. Parsons (1980) was the first to notice a trend of ‘rural gentrification’ in the United Kingdom, and successive research in that decade focused on the subject of ‘class transition’ in ‘rural communities’ in the United Kingdom. ‘Rural Gentrification’ explores the consequences of changing landscapes, spike in rents and dislocation in rural areas. A detailed study was undertaken of the Gower Peninsula, South Wales where (Phillips, 1993) predicts that ‘gentrification in rural settings’ is associated with rebuilding and new construction and with time, it is often hard to discern between the two as the old building, is just a façade behind which ‘gentrified dwellings’ are constructed. He also takes this theory forward in his 2002 works where he addresses the ‘Rural Gentrification’ in South England. He discusses the re-investment in the devalued countryside county-side land. The idea of uplifting the existing social and public infrastructure to attract more service class in the area, this in turn led to socially selective ‘in-migration’ in the area (Lorenzen, 2021).

In the Indian context, the re-investment in Sonipat, Haryana can be viewed as an example of ‘Rural Gentrification’. Sonipat, in the state of Haryana, is located on the northern outskirts of India's capital. The area has long been one of the most important agriculture centers in eastern Haryana. The Yamuna River runs through the district, and the entire region is reliant on the tributaries of the Western Yamuna canal, the region's oldest. This district was mostly based on agricultural and cattle rearing due to a well-developed irrigation system and the soil of the Yamuna flood plains. Sonipat was also the main agricultural market in the area, up until the late 1990's. Jumping forward, in 2003, the Haryana Government's Town and Country Planning Department released the final development plan for the ‘Sonipat-Kundli Multifunctional Urban Complex’. Residential, commercial, industrial, transportation, educational, public utility, public and semi-public uses, and green belts and open spaces were all separated into different land use groups in the plan. Suitable areas on ‘Sonipat-Murthal Road’ had been recognized for educational institution purposes, they were so strategically placed so that the ‘selected lands’ in concern which would also act as a buffer between other urban regions and the rural zone,’ according to this 2003 announcement (As per a Notification dated 2 September 2003, Department of Town and Country Planning, Haryana) (Bagchi, 2021). This caused a great push to the currently devalued residential market. The coming up of an educational hub at the peripheries of the National Capital Region ensured the socially selective ‘in-migration’ of the educated upper-middle class, uplifting the region as we know it today. Table 7 elaborates on the case of Sonipat, with busy crowded streets this case also deals with the complexity of multiple land-use functions in the area



Figure 8: Settlement of Sonipat

Table 7: Character zones features for Rural Gentrification

Name of Settlement	Sonipat
Built form	Urban Village: G+1, G+2; Small residences: G+3, G+4, Temples: G+5-G+8
Land Uses in the Area	Urban Village, Small Temples Residential Typologies; Banquets; Commercial + Retail, Institutional Buildings
Street Character	Busy and crowded streets, with footpath encroachment, no or little visual relief
Proximity to Metro Station	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Samaypur Badli Metro Station - 20 Kilometers away 2. Rohini Sector 18-19 Metro Station - 21 Kilometers away 3. Haiderpur Badli Mor- 22 Kilometers away

4. Rithala Metro Station- 22 Kilometers away
5. Jahangirpuri Metro Station- 22 Kilometers away

Note: Information of the built form, land use and street character are based on site survey by the authors. The information of proximity to metro has been gathered from the Delhi Metro website (<http://delhimetroroute.in/>)

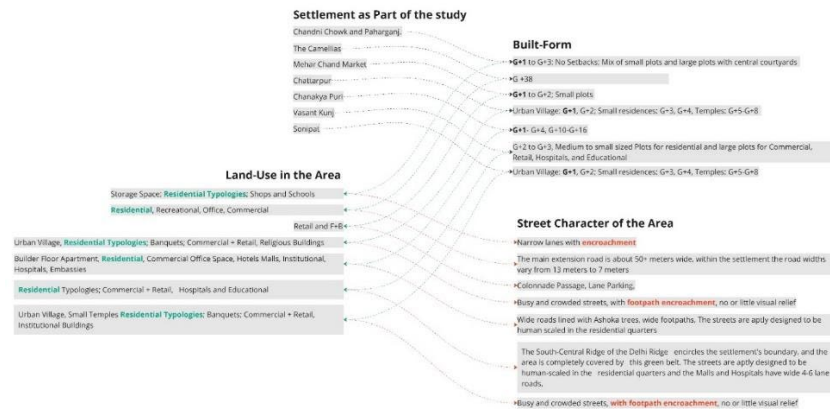


Figure 9: Variables and mapping of sequential responses from all 7 site-studies

5. IMPACTS OF GENTRIFICATION

Physical Impact: The main drawback of gentrification is displacement. Because of skyrocketing rents, it drives out low-income inhabitants, isolating and marginalising existing populations. Displacement stabilizes future deterioration of the region in a constructive way by supporting the development of local infrastructure and services. New development displaces some residents, but improves infrastructure and services. This creates upward mobility chances in the city center, benefiting wealthier residents. However, poorer residents are negatively impacted. (Freeman, 2006). Hauz Khas and Shahpur Jat markets exemplify displacement. Rising rents due to trendy boutiques and cafes forced locals out, making way for wealthier residents. This outward movement is called displacement. The physical form of displacement of the original residents may be comprehended as eviction due to demolished or natural disasters or simply by the landlord making it difficult for the occupant to stay due to the extremely under-maintained property. (Marcuse et al., 1989).

Socio-Cultural Impact: The socioeconomic standing of current residents rises as a result of gentrification, which affects their goals and way of life. But in India, within gentrified regions, gated communities appear, dividing the "new rich" from the original people and causing conflict.

A 2014 Bloomsburg study on Paris defines this phenomenon as "Ghettos for the Rich". With the exodus of lower-income working-class residents, the neighborhood's social diversity is vanishing. As damaged and blighted regions are typically connected with criminal activity, one of the beneficial socio-cultural effects of gentrification is a drop in crime. When it comes to the Indian context this phenomenon is referred to as the act of putting up high boundary walls on the perimeters of high-end housing typology. This is a clear attempt to create an insulated bubble that does not allow for social intermixing. Many such examples can be seen in the satellite city of Gurugram where exclusivity is siloed behind tall perimeter walls such as the ultra-luxury properties by DLF; to name a few Camellias, Aralias and Magnolias.

The social and cultural influence on displacement is most visible when the original resident begins to experience external conditions that make him/her unsafe/uncomfortable. This could induce a feeling of alienation, and isolation in a once supportive neighborhood. The resident no longer has the right to experience the services and facilities that the community once offered. (Marcuse et al., 1989)

Economic Impact: Gentrification is not without its benefits. As housing gets better, property values go up, and local revenue goes up, growing expenses force low-income residents out of the area. This starts a vicious cycle where affordability vanishes in the neighbouring neighbourhoods as well as in the gentrified area. In theory it can be derived that people who own their homes are much more able to gain financial benefits of gentrification than those who rent their houses as they can be displaced without much compensation. (Freeman, 2006). Infrastructure and services are

provided by fresh investment, but residents do not bear the cost of these improvements. This makes the divide between arrivals with lower incomes and those with higher incomes—who are unable to pay rising rent—wider. Lower-class residents are thus permanently displaced, altering the neighborhood's character. A good case example here is the initiative to renovate the slums in Kathputli Colony. This is a community of approximately 2800 artists in the heart of Delhi. This is the country's first in-situ, public-private-partnership project for a slum development project, but the primary concern still lies in the fact that the needs of the original residents are not of paramount concern. Here gentrification is motivated by profit rather than community. Tensions have risen between various stakeholders regarding the city's future, throughout Delhi's social strata, and even inside the neighbourhood itself, as neighbours quarrel over who gets to stay and who must move out. The economic manifestation in displacement can effectively be tracked when the ongoing tenancy rates begin to exceed the resident's capacity to pay and hence the resident needs to move out due to being unable to afford the lifestyle cost of the newly uplifted neighborhood and its new instated services and facilities. (Marcuse et al., 1989)

Political Impact: specific areas address divergent gentrification trends differently and this is mostly dependent on how a state chooses to design and enforce policy. Gentrification has been embraced as a policy of 'urban regeneration' in almost all states. Government policies often play a big role in gentrification. Studying its effects helps policymakers create laws to protect vulnerable neighborhoods. By identifying areas at risk, they can implement preservation efforts before gentrification takes hold. The dichotomy of the situation is that in an area prone to gentrification the 'rising gentrifier' class shall play a significant influence in politics and society. A strong case of reference here can be stated as Khan Market, in New Delhi was initially given to immigrants from North-West of Undivided India as seed land following India's partition. All of the first-floor flats remained occupied as dwellings up until the 1980s. While the commercial set-up on the ground floors served the affluent of Golf Links, Sundar Nagar, and diplomats from Chanakyapuri, it also had neighborhood food stores and middle-class merchants. By the 2010's only a few families were residing in these two-room apartments. Many families were eventually compelled to leave due to the real estate boom and the fact that land use change supported commercial use in this old residential block. Also, the growing families of the first generation of occupants meant that old two-bedroom setup had now begun to fall short in terms of space and the lucrative rents were a great way to make money in the real estate market. This is how houses were sold and the conversion to stores began. Political impact most causes anticipatory displacement, the residents begin to pre-empt a move out due to anticipatory actions and the likely consequences. An example of such a case is, if news breaks out that there is to be a prospective rent increase and the tenants deem the same unaffordable, an exodus is planned to vacate the property. (Marcuse et al., 1989)

6. CONCLUSION AND WAY FORWARD

Urban regeneration and densification will be critical as population density in Indian cities increases. While preparing for new areas, we must effectively develop the ones that already exist. The study's first half investigates the relationship between gentrification near metro stations and various zone characteristics. After analysing data from communities located varying distances from metro stations, we discovered:

- 1) The majority of settlements are low rise, they start at low as G+1. All the cases mentioned in this study baring the case of New Built Gentrification in the Indian context (Camellias G+38). The built form is represented with small sized plots and often no setbacks, creating a perception of a narrow street, baring the case of New Built Gentrification and Super Gentrification (Camellias and Chanakya Puri)
- 2) All the sites studied were predominantly undergo residential gentrification, there by changing the value of housing rates in the area. There is evidence in each case that commercial activity in the area was also saw a boom due to the incoming of new residents.
- 3) The sites in the Indian context studied under Classical, Policy-led and Rural Gentrification (Chandni Chowk and Paharganj, Chattarpur, and Sonipat respectively) show evidence of street encroachment as street character, making the lanes narrow in the settlement and giving no visual relief the pedestrian.

Furthermore, the second half of the research sets out to map the impacts of gentrification on the selected settlements listed below are the findings:

- 1) Displacement is the primary physical effect of gentrification. Lower-class residents are pushed out of their homes by rising rents and property values. They are forced to relocate as a result, upsetting their communities and way of life.

- 2) Structural disruption is caused by gentrification. Long-term neighbourhood residents may feel unsafe, unwelcome, and alone as a result of rising rents and environmental changes.
- 3) The economic effects of gentrification are evident: residents are forced to leave because they cannot afford the new, more expensive neighbourhood due to rising rents.
- 4) Politics can also be impacted by gentrification. Residents may choose to vacate early if they anticipate rent increases in the future as a result of zoning changes or government policies. This "anticipatory displacement" occurs when tenants leave based on the expectation of future rent increases rather than waiting for rent to become unaffordable.

This study and method of data collection may be used as a toolkit to identify patterns as well as inspect the impacts of the urban process of gentrification and its clear co-dependency on transit nodes in various other cities and this mapping to be developed along various other typologies of gentrification.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

None.

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