Worlds Apart? Comparing Immigration and Gentrification Policies in the Superdiverse Cities of Mumbai and Rotterdam (1991-2011)

Anshula Tiwari

541064

History of Cultural Difference

Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication

Erasmus University, Rotterdam

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Liesbeth Rosen Jacobson

Email: 541064at@student.eur.nl

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my sincerest gratitude to my thesis superivor, Dr. Liesbeth Rosen Jacobson, for her constant help and unwavering support. Her valuable insights and edits made me see things I otherwise would have missed, and add details that enriched my research.

I would also like to thank Dr. Gijsbert Oonk and Dr. Jacobson for their illuminating classes and structured approach in preparing us to write our theses. I have also been extremely lucky to have a supportive and helpful group of classmates, who have given me feedback and assistance whenever needed.

My deepest appreciation goes out to my family for their emotional and intellectual support, especially my father, Atul Kumar Tiwari, for his edits and inputs. I extend this appreciation to my mother and sister, for their kind words and for helping me through writing a thesis during quarantine, even if it was from thousand of miles away. I would also like to thank my dog, as his occasional appearances on video call eased my stress more than anything else.

Lastly, I would like the Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication for organising such a well-structured programme which gave me the opportunity to conduct this research.

Contents

List of Tables

List of Charts

List of Figures

List of Images

Introduction

Diversity is the backbone of everything human: there exist countless traditions and cultures, each more different than the next. For a long time, these cultures existed mostly parallel to each other, and were contained to specific areas. However, in the contemporary world, these diversities are intersecting like never before. Different cultures and peoples exist together in the same geographical vicinities. The tremendous growth in the volume of immigration over the past few decades has significantly changed the demography of many cities, and this has led to an unforeseen scale of diversity. So much so, that many of these cities have gone beyond being just diverse, and have become superdiverse[1]. This, in turn, has both positive and negative socio-economic impacts. The superdiversity has led to a deeper inter-mingling of people, but at the same time, more contentions. With diversity comes difference, with superdiversity, these differences are amplified. These contentions take many forms, and the form this research will focus on is that of immigration[2]. Immigrants are not readily accepted as a part of society. They must change, adapt, and leave aspects of their culture behind to fit into the dominant culture. But, as will be subsequently explained, in superdiverse cities, every group including the native population is a minority. This happens because the combined non-native population exceeds half of the total population.[3] How does immigration and integration policies change in such a context?

With cities housing an increasing number of people, the urban landscape is also changing. There is a need for more and better housing, necessitating an increase in the process known as gentrification. Gentrification is mostly a government sanctioned procedure, which can be loosely defined as the

[1] The concept of Superdiversity will be explained in detail in the coming sections.
[2] To get the definitions of important terms related to migration, the following website can be accessed: https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms
[3] Steven Vertovec, "Superdiversity and Its Implications," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30:6 (2007): 1024-1054.

modification and transformation of derelict neighbourhoods.[4] Many-a-times, the neighbourhoods that are selected to be gentrified are immigrant-dominated ones. These neighbourhoods, or sections of the city, are generally poorer, less maintained and in dire need of an upgrade both in terms of infrastructure and demography. Several concepts such as neighbourhood mixing, residential segregation, redevelopment and social housing come into play here, which will be discussed in this research.

The underlying theme of this research is that of superdiversity, which will be assessed on the basis of immigration and gentrification. Integration and citizenship are also concepts that come into play here. Immigration is closely related to citizenship; many immigrants seek citizenship in their destination countries for a smoother life. The label of being a 'citizen' comes with several privileges. In the Netherlands, it allows one to stay in the country indefinitely, work without a work permit, and makes them eligible for important civic and social rights such as social security, health etc. The most crucial of these is, of course, the right to vote, stand for office and join the armed forces. It also comes with the added benefit of being able to reside and work in the European Union freely.

The process of acquiring citizenship holds within it the implicit goal of maximum integration that can be expected from someone who is not a naturally born citizen[5]. Taking the case of the Netherlands again, this means that the applicant needs to be proficient in Dutch, be aware of the cultural and social mannerisms and customs, a contributor to the Dutch economy, and someone who has lived within the country for a long period of time at a stretch. The applicant must give and pass the Civic Integration Examination, sit for interviews and go through many more requirements. Thus, integration takes place before citizenship is granted, and the idea is to *become* Dutch. For Malik

[4] Author's definition.

[5] That is, someone who does not have to go through any naturalisation process, and is a citizen by birth or, in some countries, by being born to a parent who is a citizen.

Azmani, a member of the European Parliament, "Dutch citizenship should be seen as a crown jewel, as a cherry on the cake. You have to do your absolute best for it."[6]

In the case of Mumbai, this research will focus on migrants who are already Indian citizens. They come from other states within the country itself, and thus do not have to go through any official naturalisation or integration procedures. Unofficially, however, integration remains an important goal for them as well. In a country with 22 recognised languages (not including several thousand local dialects), and twenty-eight states, each district is vastly different from the next. This difference does not arise solely on account of language, but also in terms of cultures and customs, development, religion and so on. Moving from, say, a state in North India to one in South India, can count as for many as moving to a completely foreign land. In India, the language of communication within white-collar jobs is largely English. This, however, does not hold true for blue-collar jobs, as those engaging in manual labour tend to be mostly poorly educated or educated only in their local languages/dialects. In such a scenario, speaking the local language becomes necessary, especially when most of the migrants from states such as Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat and Bihar come to Mumbai as blue-collar workers. Thus, in both instances, the concept of integration remains pertinent, albeit in different circumstances. As we shall see, these migrants are the ones who make Mumbai superdiverse, due to their numbers and the distinctive cultural elements they bring to the city.

Despite being a relatively new approach, superdiversity is exceedingly popular within scholarly research. Much has been written on the interplay between immigration, gentrification and diversity.[7] However, the combination

[6] Janene Pieters, "Total Burka Ban in Netherlands Part of Ruling VVD Party's Integration Plan," NLTimes, February 16, 2017, https://nltimes.nl/2017/02/16/total-burka-ban-netherlands-part-ruling-vvd-partys-integration-plan (accessed 07-02-2020).
[7] See the Appendix for a list of references.

of all three- superdiversity, state immigration policies and gentrification- assessed on the basis of a comparison, is relatively novel.

The innovative aspect of this research is putting these concepts to use in the way of a comparison. The comparison between two very contrasting cities- Rotterdam and Mumbai- will offer a better understanding of the working and nature of superdiversity. Rotterdam is a developed, Western European city, while Mumbai belongs to the developing South-Asian cluster of countries. They are worlds apart in almost every way, and it might be fruitless for many to compare two cities which have nothing in common to begin with. However, within the myriad of differences, there exist some similarities. Mumbai and Rotterdam are both port cities. Port-cities were and are, by definition, magnets for migrants. Usually, the destination countries themselves facilitate this, for instance the Guestworker Scheme of Rotterdam. Through this, two major immigrant groups, the Turks and Moroccans, were encouraged to shift to the Netherlands for work, albeit temporarily and without their families.[8] The cost of living and lack of space makes Mumbai a very popular destination for workers migrating alone and temporarily as well. Rotterdam and Mumbai both belong to democratic countries which have well-defined immigration and gentrification policies, with set goals and expectations regarding the same.

Most importantly, however, they are both superdiverse. That is the starting point of the comparison. Both the cities inhabit peoples speaking different languages, coming from different places, having different cultures and customs, but nonetheless co-existing. These similarities may seem broad in scope, but they provide the necessary push to begin analysis. After this initial push, the common link of gentrification and immigration policy will be used to complete the comparison.

[8] "The City of Rotterdam: Intercultural Profile," Council of Europe, accessed 22-06-2020, https://rm.coe.int/1680482b8a.

It is also worth keeping in mind, however, that the concept of superdiversity itself is mainly Eurocentric in nature[9]. It has been used to explain diversity solely in the European context. For instance, cities like Mumbai have been superdiverse from the outset- they were built to accommodate and already existing diversity. In contrast, European cities like Rotterdam *became* superdiverse only recently. Therefore, studying superdiversity in a city where diversity has been a given and a natural state for centuries, and in a city where it's a relatively novel development, will also heed interesting results.

The time-frame for this research, that is, 1991-2011 is deliberately chosen. 1991 marks a major change in the Indian economy: liberalisation. This opened the market to foreign investors and brands, who began establishing their offices and factories in India. As a result, thousands of jobs were created and large cities like Mumbai became even more popular for workers from all over the country. The European Single Market and Schengen area was established in 1993, which made the movement of goods, labour, capital free within the EU, and transport/travel passport-free. This resulted in a greater movement of people as well, and counts as one of the major reasons for increased migration. Another reason for this was the refugee crisis in Yugoslavia and Iran in the 1990s, due to which an increased number of people came to Europe for asylum.

Today, several major cities in the world are becoming superdiverse. Each have their own situational contexts, governmental goals and public perceptions. The way superdiversity works in these cities, is therefore very subjective to these considerations. However, can some common features be established? Can certain broad features of superdiversity be ascertained by analysing its working in two very different contexts? This research aims to do so. It will combine the theories of superdiversity, immigration and gentrification in the context of a comparison between two vastly different, but superdiverse,

[9] For example, Vertovec studied superdiversity in the context of London, while Maurice Crul did so by analysing Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Other scholars too have focussed only on European cities, and there is a discernible absence of Asian, African and Oceanic contexts.

cities: Rotterdam and Mumbai.

Keeping these factors in mind, this research aims to answer one main question, which is: *How do the superdiverse cities of Rotterdam and Mumbai compare in State immigration and gentrification policies, between 1991-2011 and how can the perceived differences and similarities be explained?*

To answer the research question comprehensively and accurately, the aid of several sub-questions will be used. These sub-questions are as follows:

1. Was Mumbai and Rotterdam superdiverse/become superdiverse between 1991-2001? If not, then how and when did these cities become superdiverse?
2. What was the nature of immigration and gentrification policies of the two respective cities in response to growing diversity in the time frame of 1991-2001 and then 2001-2011?
3. Can the comparison conducted in this research shed light on the following aspects, and if yes, how:
    a. Can some general characteristics can be ascertained?
    b. What impact did gentrification have on immigrants, specifically on the basis of:
        i. Characteristicsof immigrant-dominated neighbourhoods,
        ii. Extent of price rise, if any, and the affordability of this by immigrants
    c. What is the impact of state immigration policies in the two cities, are there any commonalities? Impact being assessed on the basis of:
        i. Integration
        ii. Natives' response to migration
4. How can the results of this comparison be explained?

The structure of this thesis is as follows. Chapter One deals with the research question and sub-questions, the theoretical concepts, historiographical overview of literature and research that has already been published on these concepts. This is followed by a list of the sources and methods used. Chapter Two and Three will then delve into the research. These chapters will be divided as per the decades of 1991-2001 and 2001-2011. Each of these chapters will analyse the case of Mumbai and Rotterdam separately, and will end with a brief conclusion. The last chapter, Chapter Three, is the comparative chapter, wherein the two cities over the two decades will be compared in detail.

Chapter One

1.1 Theoretical Concepts

The underlying theoretical concept behind superdiversity is that of diversity. Understanding diversity first will thus provide a theoretical basis to move onto the analysis of superdiversity. It will be analysed using Steven Vertovec's conceptual triad[10] which, "points to configurations (measurable diversity and its changes), encounters (how diversity is experienced in social interactions) and representations (how diversity is described) and how the three inter-link."[11] This triad provided the necessary framework needed for diversity research, as one aspect of it cannot be fully understood without analysing the other two.

The concept of superdiversity itself was first introduced by Steven Vertovec in his seminal work, "Superdiversity and Its Implications" (2007). For him, superdiversity is not merely 'more ethnicity', but a concept to understand "new social complexities arising from migration related diversification."[12] The concept will be explained in detail further below.

Immigration is "From the perspective of the country of arrival, the act of moving into a country other than one's country of nationality or usual residence, so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence."[13] Furthermore, the concept of migration as a social process will be used, which views migrants as part of a larger social structure influenced by several macroeconomic factors. This approach also allows the

[10] Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (London; New York: Routledge): 27-40.
[11] Fran Meissner, "Exploring Superdiversity and Relational Diversity," in *Socialising with Diversity: Relational Diversity through a Superdiversity Lens* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016): page range, 6-7.
[12] Vertovec, "Superdiversity and Its Implications."
[13] "Key Migration Terms," International Organisation for Migration, https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms, (accessed 24-04-2020).

interaction between migration flows and structural conditions in the sending and receiving countries respectively. This will be used to interpret the relationship between migration and conditions such as housing shortage, social housing, residential segregation in Mumbai and Rotterdam.

This research will be dealing with two types of migration, internal and international. The former can be defined as the movement of people across an international border, to a land of which they are not citizens.[14] The latter refers to the movement within a State with the goal of establishing residence, either temporary or permanent.[15] Since the nature of migration differs in Rotterdam (mostly international) and Mumbai (mostly internal), it is therefore necessary to properly understand the two concepts**.** An analysis of immigration which includes not just one but two types of immigration will provide a broader and more nuanced understanding of the concept as a whole.

Another facet of migration important within the context of this research is that of selective migration. Upon analysing primary data from Rotterdam, it is clear that selective migration poses as a major concern which should be, in an ideal situation, minimised. Due to this, the theory becomes relevant in this research. A significant determinant of integration is the immigrants' pattern of self-selection. In this situation, migration is not a random event, but a pre-meditated, strategic action. It entails the pros and cons that immigrants keep in mind to improve their economic standing.[16] They *choose* immigrate to places where they believe their skills will receive the highest returns. For instance, immigrants with high level of qualifications tend to migrate to places with high levels of inequality, while those who do not have these skills migrate to more equal societies as the drawback of being unskilled is lessened in such places.[17] With selective migration, the immigrants are interested only in the

[14] "Https://Www.Iom.Int/Key-Migration-Terms." (accessed 03-02-2020).
[15] "Https://Www.Iom.Int/Key-Migration-Terms." (accessed 03-02-2020).
[16] Yitchak Haberfeld et al., "Selectivity and Internal Migration: A Study of Refugees' Dispersal Policy in Sweden," *Frontiers in Sociology* 4, no. 66 (accessed 10-11-2020).
[17] Haberfeld et al.

consequences of their migration and how it effects their standard of living.[18] In this situation, their decisions are based solely on self-interest. For host countries, this poses as a problem as this means that only a certain type of immigrants will choose to migrate there and the model situation would be that they get maximum leeway on who immigrates, based on the economic and social needs and goals of that country. The 'agency of migration' therefore assumes importance here, with the migrants and host countries having different expectations and requirements, but both wanting to hold the agency. However, often, the agency to decide the terms of migration ends up with the latter, and this can sometimes work against the interests of migrants.

The agency of migration further works in disfavour of migrants when they are not sufficiently represented or considered in policy-making. This could happen, for instance, when migrants as a group are clubbed with the poor. This trend had been popular in India until very recently. Due to this, schemes specific to internal migrants remained scarce. It was only in the late 2000s that internal migration began being focussed and researched on, both regarding their housing and general ease of living. An aspect which is specific to the migrant situation is political nativism[19], wherein policies are initiated explicitly to keep migrants out and to maintain the status quo. For example, the far-right political party *Shiv Sena* in Mumbai, or the Rotterdam Act in Rotterdam. These will be mentioned in the 'Literature Review' section. The integration of immigrants is something which comes up regularly in this research. The term 'integration' is not an end in itself, as there are different types of integration and the process itself is very complicated and subjective to several other factors.

The remaining dimension of this research, gentrification, will be analysed according to Hackworth and Smith's third wave. They propose that the

[18] Wolfgang Ochel, "Selective Immigration Policies: Point System Versus Auction Model," *CESifo Forum* 2, no. 2: 58–52.
[19] Nikhar Gaikwad and Gareth Nellis, "The Majority-Minority Divide in Attitudes toward Internal Migration: Evidence from Mumbai," *American Journal of Political Science* 61, no. 2 (April 2017): 456–72.

process of systematic gentrification began in Europe in the 1950s, and has since then gone through three phases.[20] The third phase is most important here- it refers to the post-recession gentrification beginning from 1993. For them, it is the most pervasive phase as in this phase gentrification has expanded beyond the immediate core of the city. It is aided by the new involvement of private real-estate developers, the process of gentrification has become more normalised and, most importantly, the state is more involved than ever before. In Mumbai, the boost to housing policies and gentrification came after the liberalisation of 1991, due to which it became a public *and* private enterprise, instead of being solely public.

A related aspect to gentrification is also that of housing poverty and urban poverty. We are living in an era which is referred to as the 'urban century', with most of the economy and population of the world being concentrated in urban areas.[21]However, as the world continues to urbanise, a significant chunk of the population are unable to keep up and get left behind. As a result, around a billion urban dwellers now live in informal settlements, which lack basic amenities.[22] They are the urban poor, and they earn less than what is needed to sustain a comfortable life.

There is thus significant link between housing and material depravity: it can either increase or decrease the impact of poverty.[23] Housing costs and the concept of 'urban revanchism' needs to be assessed here. The latter is defined as strategies aimed at attracting gentrifiers and tourists at the cost of marginal and minority groups, who may threaten the 'quality' of life.[24] It is, in essence, a

[20] Jason Hackworth and Neil Smith, "The Changing State of Gentrification," *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 92, no. 4 (2001): 464–77.
[21] "Introduction to Urban Poverty," International Institute for Environment and Development, n.d., https://www.iied.org/introduction-urban-poverty (accessed 14-04-2020).
[22] "Introduction to Urban Poverty."
[23] Rebecca Tunstall, "The Links Between Housing and Poverty," Joseph Rowntree Foundation, April 5, 2013, https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/links-between-housing-and-poverty (accessed - 03-02-2020).
[24] Gwen Van Eijk, "Exclusionary Policies Are Not Just about the 'Neoliberal City': A Critique of Theories of Urban Revanchism and the Case of Rotterdam," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 34, no. 4 (December 2010): 827.

class struggle, wherein the powerful and dominant seek to 'reclaim' the city on the basis of income, family values, civic mortality and neighbourhood security.[25] A major effort of this includes the prevention of formation of concentration neighbourhoods, also known as residential segregation or ethnocentrism. This is when a neighbourhood consists dominantly of a particular group/community, in this case, migrants. The extent of housing poverty in a city further determines the ability to maintain buildings, the personality of the neighbourhood and the overall quality of life of its residents. It is in such situations that the need to gentrify and thus upgrade the neighbourhood becomes especially necessary.

Gentrification is closely connected to the classification of income groups. The spatial concentration of the unprivileged (both income and social status wise) is known as social segregation.[26] In the Netherlands, the income levels range from 'less than EUR 10,000 ' to 'more than EUR 200,000' (per annum). In 2018, 343,000 out of 17.18 million people came under the former category.[27] In India, there are four main income groups. These are as follows: High Income Groups (HIG), Low Income Groups (LIG), Middle Income Group (MIG) and Economically Weaker Sections (EWS). LIG and EWS are those whose annual household incomes are above Rs.300,000- 600,000 (EUR 3,600-7,202). MIG ranges from Rs. 600,000- 1,800,000 (EUR 7,202- 21,607). In India, migrants come under the LIG and EWS categories, and under the income level 'less than EUR 10,000' in the Rotterdam. Gentrification policies also target areas where these groups live.

The next two sections will provide information on the sources and methods. A historiographical overview of the secondary sources used will be given, followed by a list of primary sources used.

[25] Eijk.
[26] Eijk.
[27] "Income Distribution" (Netherlands: Statistics Netherlands, 2018), https://www.cbs.nl/en-gb/visualisaties/income-distribution (accessed 15-05-2020).

1.2 Literature Report

In addition to primary sources, secondary literature helps place the research within a historiographical space, and also helps recognise its innovative contributions. While the previous section underlined the main concepts used in this research, this section will provide a historiographical overview pertaining to these concepts, both separately and in connection to each other.

Why Superdiversity?

Migration is becoming increasingly globalised.[28] A.G. Champion explains how migration has never been as pervasive as it is today, and neither has it been prioritised by state authorities to such an extent.[29] International movements are becoming large enough to induce significant changes in the populations of both the receiving and sending countries. This makes it extremely complicated to study international migration, as there exist several variations that need to be taken into consideration. Champion mentions, however, that the very nature of being an 'international' can change over time due to many reasons including changing perceptions, changes in national boundaries, governmental policies etc. Furthermore, he delineates three changes that are occurring in international migration today. These are as follows:

1. Most of the developed countries have recorded huge increases in immigration.
2. The types of people migrating have also changed from 1970s onwards. This has been due to alterations within established migration channels and new geographical sources.

[28] A.G. Champion, "International Migration and Demographic Change in the Developed World," *Urban Studies* 31, no. 4/5 (1994): 653-677.
[29] Champion.

3. The international context itself has changed, politically, economically and demographically. The most dramatic change has been the increase in the number of refugees and asylum seekers over the past decades.[30]

Rotterdam and Mumbai are both important port cities, which has subjected them to immense migration over the decades. The scope of this migration has become so broad, that these cities are not just diverse, but *superdiverse.* As mentioned above, superdiversity was introduced by Steven Vertovec in 2007. Taking London as his area of research, Vertovec came up with the concept in response to the changing patterns observed in British migration data: new hierarchies, stratifications, inequalities. Vertovec places superdiversity within the context of a 'diversification of diversity'[31] and seeks to explain and theorise this change via the categories of migrants (workers, students, asylum seekers etc.) and their demographics (age, gender). The concept was well-received, albeit not uncritically as we shall soon see, and has become increasingly popular within academia.

Superdiversity has been extensively researched by Maurice Crul, together with Schneider and Lelie. They state that superdiverse cities/neighbourhoods contain a majority-minority scenario: wherein there is no longer one single majority, and every community is a minority. It is a situation of 'minority rule'[32] in which diversity is the norm. The authors further raise the question of 'why superdiversity', which they answer by listing two reasons, namely that superdiversity provides a higher level of analysis, and that it is pertinent not only for migration but also linguistic, philosophy, sociology etc.[33] Both Crul and Vertovec stress that ethnicity should not be the only criterion

[30] Champion.
[31] Steven Vertovec, "Talking Around Superdiversity," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42 (2017): 125–39.
[32] Maurice Crul, Jens Schneider, and Frans Lelie, "A New Perspective on Integration," in *Superdiversity: A New Perspective on Integration* (VU University Press, Amsterdam): 11-23.
[33] Maurice Crul, "Super-Diversity vs. Assimilation: How Complex Diversity in Majority–Minority Cities Challenges the Assumptions of Assimilation," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2016, 42:1: 54–68.

used to assess diversity. Albert van der Zeijden further states, "Super-diversity calls for a more 'liquid' interpretation of communities, as volatile networks that involve many different stakeholders." [34] Like Vertovec, Frans Meissner agrees that superdiversity should take the multi-dimensional nature of diversity into account, which will not only help in a broader understanding, but also in treating migration as the norm rather than the exception. In consonance with Crul, Meissner also states that the unique aspect of superdiversity is its "superness"[35]: the scale, scope and implications of migration today is at a level never seen before.

In my understanding, therefore, superdiversity provides an updated, more inclusive understanding of high-scale migration, and is better equipped as a scholarly method to understand migration in the face of its increasing volume and intensity.

This is not to say that superdiversity has been accepted uncritically in academia. Crul highlights certain criticisms: its vagueness, lack of a clear definition, its over-reliance on ethnicity, impact and for not specifying a cut off to deem a city/neighbourhood as superdiverse. He also provides a solution to the last criticism by labelling cities as superdiverse only when they present a majority-minority situation and when both the number and size of different ethnic groups are substantial.[36]Meissner goes on to state that although superdiversity brings about new understandings of migration-related diversity, it cannot outdo the practical limitations which exist in data collection and analysis. The goal of superdiversity research then becomes finding linkages between how superdiversity exists and comes about in different contexts which

[34] Albert van der Zeijden, "'Super-Diversity' and the Changing Face of Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Case of West-Kruiskade, Rotterdam" (Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage: 31.
[35] Meissner, "Exploring Superdiversity and Relational Diversity."
[36] Crul, "Super-Diversity vs. Assimilation: How Complex Diversity in Majority–Minority Cities Challenges the Assumptions of Assimilation."

are influenced by different variables[37], which is also something I seek to do in this research.

Why Gentrification?

The notion of contexts and variables mentioned by Meissner above hold the risk of vagueness. Changing migration patterns are closely related to other processes of social change, and do not exist in a vacuum. One process it especially impacts is that of urban planning and housing, and in extension, gentrification. This research seeks to narrow down superdiversity by focussing on the impact that it has on gentrification. As mentioned previously, port cities are perhaps more vulnerable to high-scale migration than other types of cities. Factors such as where the migrants live, what effect this has on the urban planning of the city and on natives' residence then become important factors to analyse. This is where the concept of gentrification comes in.

The term itself was coined by a British sociologist Ruth Glass, who defined it as the "replacement of working-class people by a 'new gentry' in many London neighbourhoods."[38] Jackelyn Hwang defines it as the movement of middle and upper-class residents into debilitating neighbourhoods, which eventually leads the renewal of these neighbourhoods.[39] It is the process of residential selection, where households, states, corporate actors and institutions invest in neighbourhoods. She mentions three possible linkages between immigration and gentrification:

1. Revitalisation: which can be explained as the demographic renewal of declining urban neighbourhoods created by immigration. This renewal is facilitated by renewed demand, and through the contribution of

[37] Meissner, "Exploring Superdiversity and Relational Diversity."
[38] Sujayita Bhattacharjee, "Comprehending the Gentrification of a Suburb: The Case of Mulund, Mumbai," *GeoJournal*, 2019: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-019-10067-5 (accessed December 18 2020).
[39] Jackelyn Hwang, "Gentrification in Changing Cities: Immigration, New Diversity, and Racial Inequality in Neighborhood Renewal," *American Academy of Political and Social Science*, The Annals of the American Academy, July 2015: 319-340.

immigrants to the economic improvement and stability of low-income households.

2. Changes that immigrants bring to the 'quality' of neighbourhoods: either negatively (for instance, more crime) or positively.
3. Alteration of the ethnic and racial composition of neighbourhoods. According to Hwang, racial mixing is usually related to a higher level of gentrification.[40]

These three linkages are discernible especially in Rotterdam, where gentrification policies are mostly initiated in ethnically-dominant neighbourhoods, which are considered to be 'problem areas' due to their segregation and crime rates. The goal of these policies is thus the third linkage.

For Marguerite Van Den Berg, gentrification is the strategy to move cities away from their industrial past.[41] She gives the example of Rotterdam, where many port areas changed into residential and urban facilities.[42] It is both a "process of change and a changing process."[43]

The popularity of gentrification in scholarly research over the past few decades has only made it more contested. However, its dynamism cannot be denied. The phenomenon has 'mutated over time'[44] and can no longer be understood solely in economic terms. It is also a physical, social and cultural in nature. Similarly, it has evolved from the upgrading of existing housing to that

[40] Hwang.
[41] Marguerite Van Den Berg, "City Children and Genderfied Neighbourhoods: The New Generation as Urban Regeneration Strategy," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37, no. 2 (536-543): March 2013.
[42] Paul Stouten, "Gentrification and Urban Design in the Urban Fabric of Rotterdam," *Journal of Urban Regeneration and Renewal* 11, no. 1 (2017): 92–103.
[43] Brian Doucet, "A Process of Change and a Changing Process: Introduction to the Special Issue on Contemporary Gentrification," *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 105 (2014): 125–39.
[44] L Lees, T Slater, and E Wyly, *Gentrification (1st Edition)* (Routledge/Taylor and Francis Group, 2008).

of building new housing and megaprojects, making it an "upward class-transformations of urban space."[45]

Architecturally, Rotterdam is a relatively new city. The city-centre was bombed to the ground during World War Two in 1940[46], and was then rebuilt in a modern and unique style after the war ended. Mumbai, too, is a recent city-it was developed during the British rule in India for commercial purposes. Both cities are highly gentrified and the link between immigration and gentrification is already well-established. But how is this connection altered in the context of a superdiverse city?

In "Population Change and Migration in Mumbai Metropolitan Region: Implications for Planning and Governance", R.B. Bhagat and Gavin W Jones explain how the spatial distribution in Mumbai has undergone significant changes since the 1960s, resulting in a highly gentrified landscape with sky-scrapers being built next to slums. Majority of the migrants end up living in one of the two thousand slums of the city due to the exorbitant prices and lack of space. The authors conduct their research via a comparative approach developed by Jones, which relies on studying spatial dynamics by dividing mega-urban areas into core, inner and outer zones.[47] The extent of diversity differs in each zone, which has a direct connection with gentrification. This connection can be summarised as follows: the more the diversity, the more the gentrification.[48]

Urban renewal in Mumbai, however, has mostly been at the expense of the poor and powerless: the residents of its slums. This is because the target has been to convert slum lands into developable property, and the slum-dwellers are

[45] Brian Doucet, Ronald Van Kempen, and Jan Van Weesep, "'We're a Rich City with Poor People': Municipal Strategies of New-Build Gentrification in Rotterdam and Glasgow," *Environment and Planning A* 43 (2011): 1438–54.
[46] The 'Rotterdam Blitz' during the German invasion of the Netherlands, which left around 800 people dead and the city in shambles.
[47] R.B. Bhagat and Gavin W Jones, "Population Change and Migration in Mumbai Metropolitan Region: Implications for Planning and Governance," *Asia Research Institute*, Working Paper Series, 201, http://www.nus.ari.edu.sg/pub/wps.html .
[48] Bhagat and Jones.

thus regularly displaced without any/enough warning or compensation. Urban renewal in Mumbai is mostly confined to the conversion of urban land, both private and public owned, and administered by all three levels of government (national, state and local), but mostly by the state level. [49] It has also been heavily influenced by electoral politics. In 1995, the Shiv Sena party promised homes to four million slum residents, but his soon turned into a land-conversion program, whereby the slums were arbitrarily cleared. The residents of the slums come from all over India, and even from neighbouring countries such as Bangladesh and Nepal. In the latter case, they are mostly undocumented.

Immigration has been a reality in Europe for decades now. However, the growth of immigrants in Netherlands has been especially rapid compared to other European countries, especially in Amsterdam and Rotterdam.[50] According to Entzinger and Engbersen, Rotterdam is a major gateway and transfer port, and is today the second-largest city in the Netherlands.[51] It houses over 610,000 people, who come from 176 different nationalities.[52] The city offers several highly skilled job opportunities, mostly in transport and architecture. They have found, however, that most of the high skilled workers commute from the suburbs rather than living within the city itself. To tackle this, neighbourhoods built specifically to attract these workers have been developed. "In some parts of the city, cheap housing is (slowly) being replaced by owner-occupied housing and higher-rent apartments for high-income households (termed "social mixing")."[53] The authors further explain how Rotterdam is a highly segregated city. Immigrants, especially those of non-Western origin, tend to live mostly in the older neighbourhoods in South Rotterdam, while those from Western

[49] Liza Weinstein, "Mumbai's Development Mafias: Globalization, Organized Crime and Land Development," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 32, no. 1 (March 2008): 22–39.
[50] Rohit Madan, "Introduction," in *City in Sight: Dutch Dealings with Urban Change* (Amsterdam University Press):281-284.
[51] Han Entzinger and Godfried Engbersen, *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*, Transatlantic Council on Migration (Migration Policy Institute, 2014): 1-19.
[52] "The City Lounge" (Rotterdam: Gemeente Rotterdam, 2013).
[53] Entzinger and Engbersen, *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*.

countries and the natives live in the expensive neighbourhoods of the North and city centre.

As mentioned above, the process of gentrification has mutated over time. However, its effects have been widely debated in academia. While it does lead to new urban environments, a demographic mix, poverty dispersal and potential solutions for violence and low quality of life, it is also connected to the direct increase in socio-spatial divisions between old and new neighbourhoods.[54] Other negative impacts include resentment, conflict, displacement and the rise of house prices. This displacement can occur without actual movement as well- when residents fail to recognise their neighbourhoods due to the rapid changes.[55] The poor and/or immigrants are usually the ones who bear the brunt of gentrification, as they end up feeling excluded and feel aggression towards the gentrifiers. Several scholars have highlighted the drawbacks of state-led gentrification, and they believe it does more harm than good for poor and disadvantaged residents.[56] According to these scholars, middle class residents moving to less developed areas hardly interact with the poorer residents of that neighbourhood, and the two groups mainly live apart. These limited neighbourhood networks hamper the upward mobility of the disadvantaged, something which is hoped for through gentrification. This also sharpens divisions and making this attempt at 'social mixing' counterproductive. This is what Kirsteen Paton describes as the 'paradox of gentrification'.[57]

[54] Stouten, "Gentrification and Urban Design in the Urban Fabric of Rotterdam.", 95-98.
[55] Brian Doucet and Daphne Koenders, "'At Least It's Not a Ghetto Anymore': Experiencing Gentrification and 'False Choice Urbanism' in Rotterdam's Afrikaanderwijk," *Urban Studies* 55, 2018, no. 16, 3631-3649.
[56] Peter van der Graaf and Lex Velboer, "The Effects of State-Led Gentrification in the Netherlands," in *City in Sight: Dutch Dealings with Urban Change* (Amsterdam University Press, 2009): 61-81.
[57] Kirsteen Paton, *Gentrification: A Working Class Perspective* (London: Routledge).

Why Governmental Gentrification and Immigration Policies?

Gentrification is, more often than not, a state-sponsored enterprise. It is not something that just 'happens'.[58] Besides, the nature and extent of gentrification depends upon what the government in power seeks to achieve, their opinions regarding integration/urban planning and their political leanings. It is therefore necessary to analyse gentrification taking governmental policies regarding it into account. Additionally, the process of immigration and integration (or lack thereof) in general cannot be understood without taking the State into account. For Ananya Roy, the contemporary city is marked by more inequality, displacement and segregation.[59] This holds true for both Rotterdam and Mumbai. In the former, the neighbourhood Afrikaanderwijk, for example, is infamous for its immigrant dominated population. In the 1970s, it became a place of intense conflict and contention, when several natives stormed into immigrant boarding houses and threw their belongings on the street. In the latter, conflict is almost a given state, with countless slum-dwelling migrants becoming the henchmen of crime-lords, and with their high number also causing religious contentions. Roy also relates regimes of participation and inclusion to 'civic governmentality'. This civic realm is managed by what Roy terms as 'grassroot organisations'[60], and it produces a 'governmentalisation of the state', which affects citizenship and the nature of rule.

In the Netherlands, the State and housing associations have explicitly pursued the gentrification of disadvantaged neighbourhoods.[61] The funds for this have been primarily supplied by the national government to the local governments. The goal has been, in the recent decades, to reduce social-housing,

[58] Doucet and Koenders, "'At Least It's Not a Ghetto Anymore': Experiencing Gentrification and 'False Choice Urbanism' in Rotterdam's Afrikaanderwijk."
[59] Ananya Roy, "Civic Governmentality: The Politics of Inclusion in Beirut and Mumbai," *Antipode* 41, no. 1 (2009).
[60] Roy.
[61] Justus Uitermark, Jan Willem Duyvendak, and Reinout Kleinhans, "Gentrification as a Governmental Strategy: Social Control and Social Cohesion in Hoogvliet, Rotterdam," *Environment and Planning A* 39 (2007): 125–41.

and increase the 'liveability' of these designated neighbourhoods. This trend began from 1990 and lasted till around 2000.

Rohit Madan states that a very high number of Dutch middle-class continue to rely on subsidised social housing. To understand the trend of governmental policies regarding migration in Rotterdam, ample attention has been given to the 2002 elections, in which Pim Fortuyn's party 'Livable Rotterdam' (*Leefbar Rotterdam)* became the largest in the Rotterdam City Council.[62] He launched an ambitious integration project, through which several 'problem neighbourhoods' were identified. These neighbourhoods housed mostly low-skilled and residentially segregated people. The goal was to integrate them with the native Dutch. Subsequently, the controversial Rotterdam Act was enacted, which gave local authorities the freedom to restrict the inflow of new and vulnerable residents into these 'problem neighbourhoods'. According to Entzinger and Engbersen, Rotterdam's approach to migration has been that of 'mainstreaming' since 2010, which involves general policies to improve the opportunities of *all* Rotterdam residents. Within this broad approach, however, there exist certain targeted initiatives as well, for instance the anti-poverty program (*Activerend armoedebeleid*). They conclude by stating that Rotterdam has constantly taken a pragmatic approach towards enabling interaction between immigrants and natives, immigrants and immigrant organisations etc. Furthermore, citizenship and inclusion have also been continually emphasised.[63]

In Mumbai, a direct relationship between government and migration can be discerned via nativist movements, which culminated in the formation of the Shiv Sena. The Shiv Sena is a political party founded in 1966 to, as they mention, to safeguard the welfare of the people of Maharashtra. Gaikwad and Nellis mention how job competition between Maharashtrian and non-Maharashtrian was an important backdrop in the formation of the party. They

[62] Entzinger and Engbersen, *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*.
[63] Madan, "Introduction."

further list the goals of nativist politicians, some of them being[64]:

1. Reserving public-sector jobs for speakers of Marathi, the regional language
2. Migrants should not get voter IDs, housing and various other public services
3. Violence and intimidation against migrants

Such efforts have no doubt increased the tension and animosity between native Mumbaikars and migrants. Numerous infrastructural and developmental programs have been launched in Mumbai, each with the aim to transform this congested city into a 'world-class' one, for instance the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (1990s), several slum-clearing schemes, Urban Renewal Mission (2005) etc.

In conclusion, the purpose of this historiographical summary was to form a solid theoretical base for further research but also to highlight the several intersections between these concepts. This will make it easier to place this research accurately within academia, and hopefully, with the addition of superdiversity, create its own niche.

1.3 Sources and Methods

The primary sources used for this research consist mainly of government documents and reports. For Rotterdam, statistical reports published by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP), and the annual reports of the Immigration and Naturalisation Service (IND) were used. These documents shed light on the perspective of the government, as well as their goals and the

[64] Gaikwad and Nellis, "The Majority-Minority Divide in Attitudes toward Internal Migration: Evidence from Mumbai": 436-72.

features of their policies. The primary method of analysis in this research is of comparison. Mumbai and Rotterdam will be compared on two levels. First, whether or not they are superdiverse (or become superdiverse) during the period of 1991-2011. Secondly, after their superdiversity is established, they will be compared on how gentrification and immigration policies work in this context. This will be supplemented by a comparison on public and governmental perception, level of superdiversity, features of immigration and spatial planning.

Table 1: ***List of Primary Sources: Mumbai***

	Name of Source	**Year of Publication**
1.	Census of India	1991
2.	The Development of Control Regulations for Greater Mumbai	1991
3.	National Housing and Habitat Policy	1998
4.	Migration in India, January to June 1993	1998
5.	Maharashtra Rent Control Act	1999
6.	Report on Urban Housing in India	2000
7.	Census of India	2001
8.	Tables on Houses, Household Amenities and Assets: Slum Households	2001
9.	Maharashtra State Housing Policy	2007
10.	Working Group on Housing with Focus on Slums	2007
11.	National Slum Development Programme	2008
12.	Migration in India, 2007-2008	2010
13.	History of the Census of India	2011

14.	Summary National Policy Strategy for Infrastructure and Spatial Planning	2011
15.	National Workshop on Internal Migration and Human Development in India	2011
16.	State of Slums in India: A Statistical Compendium	2013
17.	Handbook of Urban Statistics	2016
18.	Report on the Working Group on Migration	2017
19.	Migration and its Impact on Cities	2017

Table 2: ***List of Primary Sources: Rotterdam***

	Name of Source	**Year of Publication**
1.	Equal Treatment Act	1983
2.	Complete Revision of the Aliens Act (Aliens Act 2000)	1999
3.	*Het Multiculturele Drama*	2000
4.	*Ruimtelijk* Plan Rotterdam 2010	2000
5.	Social and Cultural Report 2002 (Summary)	2002
6.	*Rotterdam Zet Door: Op Weg Naar Een Stad in Balans*	2003
7.	*Ruimtelijk Plan Regio Rotterdam 2020*	2005
8.	*Stadsvisie Rotterdam 2030*	2007
9.	Immigration and Naturalisation Service (IND) Annual Report 2007-2011	2007

10.	At Home in the Netherlands? Trends in Integration of Non-Western Migrants	2009
11.	Dutch Multicultural Society: Facts and Figures	2009
12.	Integration in Ten Trends	2010
13.	*De Staat van Integratie*	2012
14.	Dutch Census: Analysis and Methodology	2014
15.	A Home Away from Home	2016

The composition and method of reading and understanding the Census of India and the various Municipal documents of Rotterdam is explained in detail in Chapter Two.

However, using these sources also have drawbacks. Government reports and summaries tend to highlight only the positive aspects and focus more on the progress than on the problems faced and weaknesses. In this sense, they to a great extent, show only what they want to show. It then becomes hard to get a full picture of the situation. To get past this limitation, secondary sources have been used, which provide, to a greater degree, a fuller picture of the implementation and effects of a policy.

Furthermore, analysing the primary sources for Rotterdam had the added limitation of being in Dutch, which had to first be translated. In this process, it is likely that information was missed or lost in translation. The global situation of the COVID-19 pandemic too made it hard to access archives and libraries, and thus obtain a sufficient number of primary sources.

The comparability of data of the two cities is based on what can be discerned about housing and immigration policies, and the evolution of opinion regarding migration in policy documents.

Chapter Two: 1991-2001

1. Introduction

In this chapter, the following sub-questions will be covered: How and when did Mumbai and Rotterdam become superdiverse? What was the nature of immigration and gentrification policies of the two respective cities in response to growing diversity between 1991-2001?

Managing human mobility is one of the greatest challenges. For example, in India, the contribution of migration to urban growth was 21% in 1991.[65] The relation between migration and urban growth can produce a variety of results. This chapter will analyse these results via immigration and gentrification policies in Rotterdam and Mumbai, focussing on the period from 1991 to 2001.

The division of this chapter is as follows. First, the case of Mumbai will be taken up, which will then be followed by Rotterdam. Key figures regarding migration will be given for both, as well as the establishment of superdiversity. Then, statistics and details regarding immigration, immigration policies, gentrification and gentrification policies will be explored. This will be followed by a conclusion, which will assess the broad differences and similarities between the two cities.

Since this is the first and introductory chapter, several concepts and typologies will also be included. They might not relate directly to the matter at hand, however, they will make it easier to understand the data and its consequences.

[65] R.B. Bhagat and Soumya Mohanty, "Emerging Pattern of Urbanisation and Contribution of Migration in Urban Growth in India," *Asian Population Studies* 5, no. 1 (2009): 5–20.

2. Mumbai

Mumbai, with its several hundred British-era buildings, an accepting culture and as the home of Bollywood, has always held a sense of allure for many Indians from the colonial era itself. This has led to millions coming to the city to start anew. However, other than a single column in the decadal census (which specifies place of birth), this migration is mostly undocumented. This is also because it is internal in nature, and of less significance than international migration. Despite being undocumented, however, their migration is not illegal, and they are already citizens of the country.

Such an influx of people into one city has decisive consequences. It has led to overcrowding, with the population density becoming 73,000 people per square mile (in 2020). The city is constantly undergoing expansions, and the construction of high-rise apartment complexes is the newest trend towards accommodating the almost unbelievable number of people. With the endless Arabian Sea as a backdrop, this has given Mumbai one of the most mesmerising skylines in the country. The bustle of the city can be overwhelming, but it also holds within it opportunities that those who come from small towns and villages could not have previously conceived. The allure of Mumbai is more than its sea and skyline- its also about the new chances and experiences.

The magnetism of Mumbai increased by a manifold after 1991. This was when India opened her markets via the economic reform of liberalisation. Initiated by the Finance Minister of the time, Dr. Manmohan Singh, this change was made due to the conditions laid by the World Bank and IMF in return for a $500 million bailout for India.[66] Liberalisation made the market significantly service oriented, opening it up to private, public and international players, and diversifying its investment opportunities. State control on the economy was reduced over time, and India eventually became a open-market economy. The

[66] World Bank, "Structural Adjustments in India," (http://documents.worldbank.org.eur.idm.oclc.org/curated/en/923271468750298112/Structural-adjustment-in-India , (accessed 14-04-2020).

foreign investment in the country increased from EUR 121 million in 1991–92 to EUR 4.8 billion in 1995–96.[67] The GDP growth saw a drastic rise- 1 ¼% to 7.5%[68], and in the span of a few years, India had developed a framework and long-term plan regarding foreign investment.

The effects of liberalisation were not solely positive, however. Increased investment opportunities and a freer market also meant that multinational companies (MNCs) assumed greater control over the economy. The entry of MNCs also resulted in more intense competition for smaller companies, something they were not always able to survive. Furthermore, such a drastic step also destabilised the economy, making it vulnerable.[69] In Mumbai, the results of liberalisation was blatant. Several factories were set up and international brands opened their shops in the city. The textile mills which began declining from the 1960s and were mostly abandoned began to be revamped as high-end shopping complexes and entertainment centres. Building contractors, both national and international, procured more freedom than before, and saw the profitability in bringing their business to Mumbai.

An effect of liberalisation more directly related to this research, however, is that of the new wave of people coming into the city. The huge rise in investment and GDP did not happen all on its own, it was facilitated by those who built the infrastructure for this change. In India, the economic differences between states is comparable to that between countries- for example, the wage gap between states can go up to as high as 250%.[70] It is thus understandable why people choose to migrate to more profitable areas. Furthermore, this growth

[67] Ajay Singh and Arjuna Ranawana, "Local Industrialistis Against Multinationals," *Asiaweek*, (http://edition.cnn.com/ASIANOW/asiaweek/96/0412/nat1.html, accessed April 14, 2020).
[68] Astaire Research, "The India Report", (http://www.iptu.co.uk/content/pdfs/india%20related%20article/india_independance_day.pdf (accessed 14-04-2020).
[69] Srinidhi Ramesh, "Positive and Negative Impacts of Liberalisation on Indian Economy," careeranna, https://www.careeranna.com/articles/indian-economy-liberalisation-impacts/ (accessed 15-04-2020).
[70] Abhijit Banerjee and Esther Duflo, *Good Economics for Hard Times* (Juggernaut Books, 2019): 34.

facilitated by liberalisation was mostly service-led, for which physical labour is a necessary prerequisite. The inflow of migrants was therefore decisive, with construction workers needed to build the factories, offices, buildings etc. and metaphorical, with white-collar workers managing these new companies. The former was especially obvious. To become a labourer/blue collar worker was the most popular way for people from all over India to make their way into the city.

Statistically, the effects of liberalisation are available in Census data. Arvind Kumar analysed four consecutive census', and saw that from 1981-1991, there was a trend of continuous decline in internal migration, which changed post 1991.[71] Below is the data he collated in a tabular form. Although he mentioned the total, rural and urban divisions, I will be showcasing only the total.

Table 3: ***Internal Lifetime Migrants in India by Gender (in percentage), 1971-2001***

Census Year	Total	Male	Female
1971	30.60	18.90	42.80
1981	30.30	17.22	44.30
1991	26.75	13.96	40.53
2001	30.07	17.04	44.05

Source: "*Spatio-Temporal Changes in Internal Migration in India During Post-Reform Period"*, Arvind Kumar Pandey (2014).

The table clearly shows that there was a stark rise in internal migration between 1991-2001, which is the immediate period after the liberalisation policies were introduced. Furthermore, this period also saw a growth rate of

[71] Arvind Pandey, "Spatio-Temporal Changes in Internal Migration in India during Post Reform Period," *Journal of Economic and Social Development* 10, no. 1 (July 2014): 10.

53.6% in interstate migration, with an increasing number coming to cities such as Delhi and Mumbai in search for jobs.[72]

1991 also marks an important milestone as it is the beginning point of the census decade of 1991-2001. This census is considered to be one of the most important ones, as it collates the data of an India going through major changes. A practice that first began in earnest in 1881 under the then Census Commissioner of India, W.C. Plowden, it is an activity that has taken place uninterrupted every decade ever since.[73] These censuses do not focus only on economic criteria, but also demographic and social characteristics. The first census of independent India was conducted in 1951.

The execution of the census is a daunting task. With its enormous population and countless sections and sub-sections, enumerating the economic, social and demographic data of a country like India is a massive endeavour. Yet, the process has remained extremely systematic and organised, and is done every decade within just a fortnight. This research will be using information from the census of 1991 and 2001 in order to ascertain the statistics of internal migration within India between the years 1991-2011, and this data will further be used to see whether Mumbai qualifies as a superdiverse city.

India has twenty-eight states and eight Union Territories, and each state has several districts, and cities/towns/villages fall within one of these districts. The states are divided into districts on the basis of a combination of size and population density, and the reason for doing so is to make the administration and functioning more micro and inclusive. These districts are then often divided into sub-districts, and in the case of big cities such as Mumbai, into wards. Although for administrative purposes sub-districts play an important role, they are not given as much consideration as far as information collection for the census is concerned.

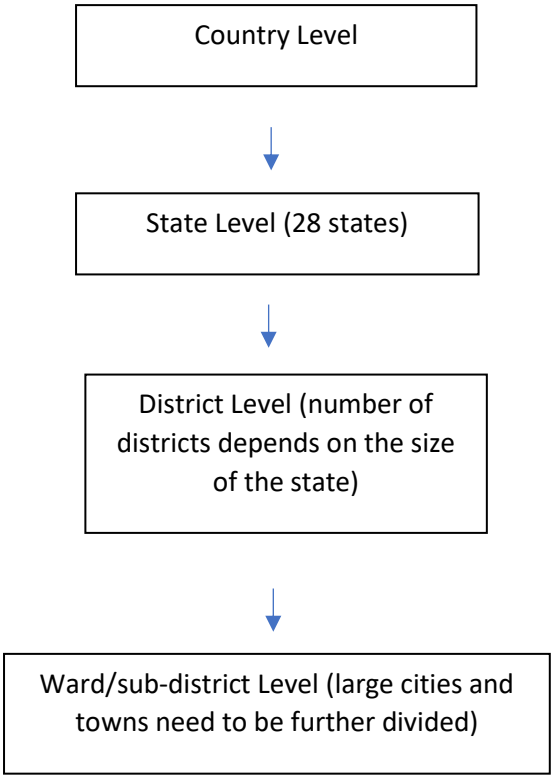
---

[72] R.B. Bhagat, "Internal Migration In India: Are the Underpriveleged Migrating More?," *Asia-Pacific Population Journal* 25, no. 1: 31–49.

[73] Drop in Article, "History of Census of India," censusindia.gov.in (accessed 27-03-2020).

Mumbai belongs to the state of Maharashtra, which has thirty-six districts and 109 sub-districts. For this research, the data which will be used comes under the sub-division of Greater Mumbai (Bombay in the 1991 census). From the 2001 census onwards, the administrative unit of Mumbai consists of Mumbai and Mumbai Suburban area. Mumbai city, owing to its size and population density, is divided into six zones, which are further divided into a minimum of three wards (Ward A, B, C etc). The total number of wards are 24.

Chart 1: ***Division of Information within Indian Census***



In the context of this research, the most valuable section of the census is Table 'D', which deals with migration. Table 'D' is divided based on states, and upon selecting the required state, the information is divided into the entirety

of the state, and then on the basis of the districts. In Table 'D', the wards within Mumbai do not come into account, and the data on the city comes under the sub-heading of 'Greater Bombay' as a whole. In the 1991 census, 'Greater Bombay' consists of Mumbai Island City and Mumbai Suburban District.

Information in Table 'D' is structured as follows. First, data for the whole of Maharashtra is provided: as a whole the total population, the number of people belonging to the district of enumeration, those who do not belong to the district of enumeration but do belong to the state, and those who do not belong to the district of enumeration or to the state. This last criterion is the most important for this research. Further information is available on the number of migrants coming from different states, whether they settle down in urban or rural areas, the reason for their move. The data is then divided based on age and duration of residence. The same divisions are then applied district-wise, which provides the most relevant data for this research, as Mumbai and Mumbai Suburban Area are both classified as districts in the census.

There are a few drawbacks related to census data which need to be specified. Firstly, the census does not take into account seasonal and temporary migration. Secondly, it excludes gender-specific data to a large extent. Thirdly, it provides data on the stock (i.e. where they are born) of migrants rather than on their movement. Although the third and second aspect do not concern this research, the first means that those who immigrate for short periods of time are grouped with those who become permanent immigrants.

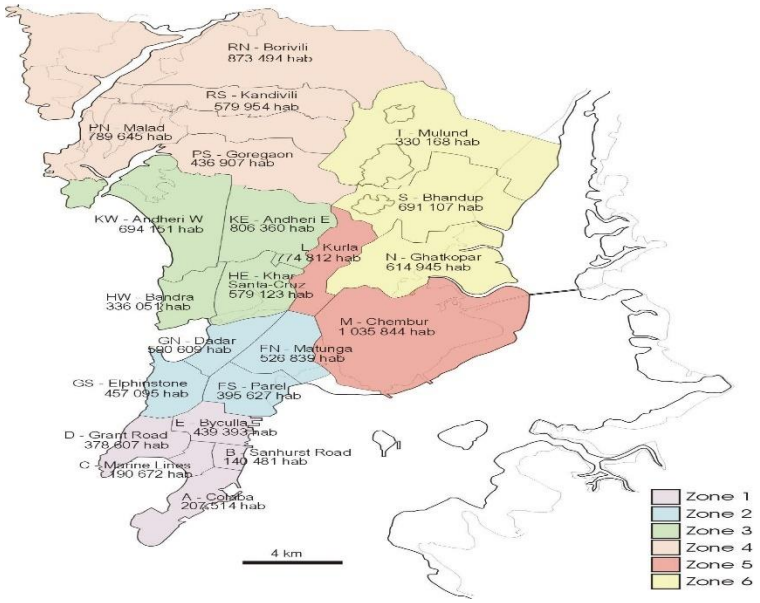


Figure 1: ***Zones and wards in Mumbai.***[74]

After understanding the structure of the census, it is now time to delve into the statistics. As per the census of 1991, the total population of Maharashtra was 78,938,187. The population of the Greater Bombay District was 9,925,891. The migration-related information is collated in the table below. This information pertains to all age groups, and to all durations of residence. As there is no requirement for naturalisation, for instance as in the Dutch case (three to five years of continuous stay), this research will look at all durations of stay as an entirety.

[74] http://www.archidev.org/IMG/jpg/wards.jpg (accessed 27-03-2020).

Table 4: ***Total Number of Population, Migrants and Migrants from Other States in Maharashtra and Bombay, the states from which the largest number of migrants come, and reason for leaving home-state***

State/District	Total Population	Total Migrants	Migrants from other states	States from which majority of migrants belong	Reason for leaving home-state
Maharashtra	79,938,187	25,462,420	4,059,626	• Karnataka: 815,400 • Gujarat: 608,218 • Madhya Pradesh: 365,782	Information available on a district level
Greater Bombay	9,925,891	4,436,167	2,095,697	• Uttar Pradesh: 795,144 • Gujarat: 474,600 • Karnataka: 275,187	• Business: 245,074 • Family: 214,160 • Education: 58,300 • Marriage: 11,360

					• Natural calamities: 2,370 • Others: 214,510

Source: Census of India, 1991

From the above data, is it clear that out of the total population in Maharashtra, 31.8% do not belong to the place of enumeration, that is the place where they currently reside. Out of this, 15.9% come from outside Maharashtra. The highest number of migrants come from Karnataka and Gujarat, and they mostly settle down in the urban areas of Maharashtra. In Greater Bombay, 44.6% of the total population do not belong to the place of enumeration, out of which 47% do not belong to Maharashtra. Most of these migrants come from Uttar Pradesh (37%), Gujarat (22%) and Karnataka (13%). Since Mumbai is an urban area, their destination is naturally urban. Their reasons of moving to Mumbai are varied. Most of them come on business (11%), education (10%) and other reasons (10%).

2.1 Establishing Superdiversity

After analysing the statistical details of internal migration into Mumbai, the next step is to establish its superdiversity. Is Mumbai superdiverse? Rather, *was* it superdiverse in 1991? Other than looking at migration numbers, superdiversity can also be established in two other ways: through the language spoken and the religion practiced.

2.1.1 Language

The language of Maharashtra is Marathi, however, owing to its position (almost in the middle of India, making it very open to North-Indian influences), it also inhabits millions of people who speak in North Indian languages such as Hindi and Gujarati. This can be seen in the table below.

Table 5: ***Mother-Tongue of Residents of Maharashtra and Mumbai***

State/District	Total Population	Dominant Mother-tongue
Maharashtra	79,938,187	• Marathi: 77,461,172 • Hindi: 14,481,513 • Urdu: 7,540,324 • Gujarati: 2,371,743
Mumbai Suburban		• Marathi: 3,295,533 • Hindi: 2,767,141 • Urdu: 1,041,853 • Gujarati: 1,078,189
Mumbai Island		• Marathi: 1,108,464 • Hindi: 831,401 • Urdu: 417,515 • Gujarati: 349,902
Greater Bombay (Mumbai Suburban + Mumbai Island)	9,925,891	• Marathi: 4,403,997 • Hindi: 3,598,542 • Urdu: 1,459,368 • Gujarati: 1,428,091

Source: Census of India, 1991

It can be seen from the above data that Mumbai is home to several languages, which are not vernacular to Maharashtra. Although the probability of Marathi speakers also knowing Hindi to some extent is very high (as Hindi remains the main language in North and Central India), the variety of languages is a major determinant of superdiversity within a society.[75] Statistically, the number of those speaking a language other than Marathi (including only the most dominant languages of Hindi, Gujarati and Urdu) amounts to 65%, which is more than half of the total population.

2.1.2 Religion

India is home to eight major religions, and there are likewise eight religion-based divisions in the census, which are: 'Hindus', 'Muslims', 'Christians', 'Sikhs', 'Buddhists', 'Jains', 'Other Religions' and 'Religion Not Stated'. Religions that come under 'Other Religions' include Judaism, Zoroastrianism and Baha'I Faith amongst others. The religion statistics of Mumbai in the 1991 Census are as follows:

Table 6: ***Religions in the Greater Bombay District***

District	Total Population	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Buddhist	Jain	Other Religions	Religion Not Stated
Greater Bombay	9,925,891	6,747,676	1,670,170	441,338	76,892	557,089	353,613	60,165	18,948

Source: Census of India, 1991

As per the above data, in 1991 Mumbai was certainly a superdiverse city. 47% of the people residing in Mumbai were not born in Maharashtra. 47% is a huge number, and amounts for almost half the population. 65% of the population do not speak the native language of Marathi, and the city is home to

[75] Vertovec, "Superdiversity and Its Implications," pp. 1030-1032.

nine religions. All these factors are important prerequisites to a city being referred to as superdiverse.

2.2 Immigration

The popularity of Mumbai for migrants from all over the country has been discussed at length above. Most urban migrants are casual wage workers who work in the informal sector and live in slums.[76] A trend which was followed, and is also followed today to a great extent, is the clubbing of migrants with the poor. Due to this, there have not been many migrant-specific policies initiated by the government. Similarly, internal migration, the volume of which is four times larger than international migration (2011), has remained a low priority has been viewed negatively. This is due to several reasons; it is believed that migration: can overburdens urban areas, result in loss of productivity in rural area and exploitation of labour in informal sectors.

Thus, first and foremost, governmental policies (both national and state) have focussed on reducing migration by increasing rural employment and agricultural productivity and initiate programs to develop small and medium towns.[77] Due to their highly mobile life, seasonal and temporary migrants get excluded from both rural and urban social security programs, making them socially invisible, politically disenfranchised (as they can only vote from their birthplace) and thus non-citizens.[78]Another major problem that exists in the Indian context is a policy non-response: migrants are not provided with the same public services that permanent residents receive. For instance, migrants are excluded from the ration system (wherein grains, fruits and vegetables are sold

[76] "National Workshop on Internal Migration and Human Development in India," Summary Report (New Delhi, India: Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), December 6, 2011).
[77] Kate Bird and Priya Deshingkar, "Circular Migration in India," *Overseas Development Institute*, World Development Report, Policy Brief no. 4 (2009): 1-8.
[78] Neelima Risbud, "The Case of Mumbai: India," Understanding Slums: Case Studies for the Global Report on Human Settlements (New Delhi: School of Planning and Architecture, 2003).

at a highly subsidised rate), do not have access to basic amenities and live in illegal settlements.

The most common internal migration chain in India is that of circular migration, which is temporary and repetitive in nature.[79] This type of migration is practiced mostly by the poor and illiterate who are attracted by higher wages available in urban areas. As already mentioned, a bulk of these people work in the informal sector, for instance as street hawkers, construction workers and rickshaw pullers.

2.3 Gentrification

"Bambai has become a city of housing."[80]

Maharashtra is one of the most urbanised states in India.[81] According to the UN, Mumbai will be the third largest urban agglomeration in the world by 2025, with over 25 million people.[82]Gentrification in the city has been focussed on efforts to curb the expansion of an growing under-class, and this is where the connection between migration and gentrification arises. Most of the migrants coming from the rural areas of other states arrive in Mumbai to elevate their status. However, with little resources to begin with, many end up living in sub-par conditions, either in slums or *chawls*. In this sense, migrants become one of the dominant groups towards which gentrification policies are initiated.

Housing means much more than mere construction with bricks and cement, and it extends to the availability of supporting infrastructure such as opportunities for employment, schools, parks and transport. As mentioned

[79] Bird and Deshingkar, "Circular Migration in India."
[80] Dwiparna Chatterjee and Devanathan Parthasarathy, "Gentrification and Rising Urban Aspirations in the Inner City: Redefining Urbanism in Mumbai," in *Sustainable Urbanisation in India* (pp. 239-255: Springer).
[81] Housing Department, "Maharashtra State Housing Policy" (Government of Maharashtra, July 2007).
[82] Andrew Harris, "The Metonymic Urbanism of Twenty-First-Century Mumbai," *Urban Studies* 49 (October 2011): 2955–73.

above in the section on the liberalisation of India, this economic development had the inevitable consequence of increased urbanisation, and led to increased migration from rural to metropolitan areas. This inflow of people however, led to "tremendous pressure on the cities to augment infrastructure, provide shelters and livelihood"[83] to those who arrived.

As per the Indian Constitution, land, housing and urban development fall under the purview of the state government. The national government plays a huge role too, mainly in the devolution of resources via the Five-Year Plans.[84]

Housing in Mumbai is very regional based. Migrants tends to reside with their co-villagers, family members and members of the same caste. The subsequent table shows the type of homes migrants settle in before and after they migrate. To explain some of the terms used, *pucca* houses are those which are solid and permanent (that is, built with bricks and cement). *Semi-pucca* are those which are only partly permanent, while *katcha* houses are temporary dwellings constructed with makeshift items.

Table 7: ***Percentage Distribution of Households Before and After Migration by Type of Stucture***

STRUCTURE TYPE	RURAL		URBAN	
	Before Migration	After Migration	Before Migration	After Migration
Pucca	31.8	49.2	64.0	84.7
Semi-pucca	28.0	19.4	23.7	11.4
Katcha	36.6	30.5	10.5	3.7
No Structure	2.0	0.7	0.6	0.3

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation

[83] Housing Department, "Maharashtra State Housing Policy."
[84] Five Year Plans are centralised economic programs, first published in 1951 under the then Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. Since then, twelve plans have been launched by the government.

Dwellings in slums usually come under the latter two categories, namely *semi-pucca* and *katcha*. Yet, as can be seen, there is a noticable improvement in the type of dwelling, as more reside in *pucca* houses after migration in both urban and rural areas. This can be interpeted as an elevation in status post migration, as well as perhaps a greater success rate of housing schemes.

Before further delving into the housing situations, schemes and their impact, a brief overview on the housing typologies present in Mumbai is necessary. Like any other densely populated, historically capricious city, Mumbai contains several types of homes. These might cater to different stratus of society, or were built at different times in history. But they all make Mumbai what it is today: an agglomeration of the old and new, the rich and poor, with the constant effort to make up for the lack of space. Housing here means "a form that is generated in a specific cultural epoch/condition."[85] It does not refer to architecturally specific or unique structures, and is generic. The type of housing prevalent in an area depends largely on the landscape of that area, and the report on 'Housing Typologies in Mumbai' by CRIT in 2007 has identified seven of these landscapes chronologically. These typologies are evidence of the changing nature of the city, and the evolution of certain housing being dominantly occupied by a particular stratum of society. These strata is determined both class wise, and ethnically. For instance, *chawls* (which will be explained below) were built primarily for mill-workers. And since a bulk of mill-workers were from Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Bihar, these *chawls* too were, to a large extent, occupied by workers from these states. The housing landscapes are as follows, and came one after the other.[86]

1. Agrarian: fishing and agricultural villages, paddy fields, early ports and forts. Mumbai developed as a set of seven islands, and the economy was primarily agrarian.

[85] Prasad Shetty et al., "Housing Typologies in Mumbai" (Mumbai: CRIT, May 2007).
[86] Shetty et al.

2. Trade Routes and Market Places: the markets that developed around important trade junctions and routes. Farmlands began being converted into real-estate development.
3. Industrial: where several textile mills were set up in the second half of the nineteenth century. The landscape was characterised by everything needed to make a mill run: bridges, railway stations, houses for the mill-workers etc.
4. Colonial Precidency Capital: the city planned by the colonial government. This phase saw the construction of universities, courts, planned developments with wide roads and public transport.
5. State Capital: the city planned as the Maharashtra state capital of the newly independent India. All the administrative schemes and projects to manage the urbanisation of the city were introduced at this time. These included the Housing Authority, Repair Board, Housing Board etc.
6. Overgrowing Metropolis: the coming up of slums due to the ever-growing migrant inflow into the city. The urban areas became increasing dense and housing shortages became widespread. There was an unstoppable growth of slums and suburban developments.
7. A Global Capital: post-liberalisation, the city became dependent not on the primary or secondary sector, but on the tertiary sector. This phase is characterised by the constriction of malls, townships, multiplexes and other large projects. This research will focus on Mumbai at this stage.

On the basis of these landscapes, the report identified twenty-one housing typologies that exist/existed in Mumbai. The most important ones within the context of this research are: *chawls*, mass housing, slum and slum improvements, building redevelopments, pavement dwellers/*jhopadpattis*. It is important to remember that in many developing countries such as India, although in theory several types of houses exist with each catering to different class groups, in reality, there are often large gaps in the housing ladder. This means, that the next thing available after a slum might me a

small flat which is entirely out of reach.[87] Now we shall briefly analyse each type.

Chawls

Chawls are the characteristic housing type of the third landscape, which is the industrial landscape. They were mostly built during the British era, to accommodate the growing textile industry in the city. They are one or two roomed units, which are not bigger than hundred square feet, and are attached by a common corridor with shared bathrooms on each floor.[88] They are characterised by a close-knit community of residents since they share courtyards, staircases and corridors. Many of the *chawls* that exist today have been declared unfit for residency by the government. This is due to lack of light and ventilation, dilapidated buildings and sub-par sanitation. In some cases, refurbished slums offer better living conditions than *chawls*.[89] However, their community-feeling and affordability make the residents hesitant to leave, and they continue to be an extremely popular option for the middle-class. The rent in 2010 was a mere Rs. 250 a month (EUR 3). The rent for the same size in other parts of Mumbai range between Rs. 25000-50000 (EUR 300-450) per month.[90]

The rents are so low due to the *pagdi* system. It is a traditional rental and tenancy model in India, wherein the renter is also part owner of the house (but not of the land). This means that the renter pays rent exponentially lesser than the market rate, and can also sublet and sell the property. For instance, in South Mumbai, many pay rent of only Rs. 500 (EUR 6.25) for a plot whose rent could go up to as high as Rs. 60,000 (EUR 750). Although this may seem like a good deal, this system is criticised mostly because the burden of maintenance

[87] Abhijit Banerjee and Esther Duflo, *Good Economics for Hard Times* (Juggernaut Books, 2019): 34.
[88] Priyanka Karandikar, "Chawls: Analyisis of a Middle Class Housing Type in Mumbai, India" (Iowa, Iowa State University, 2010).
[89] Karandikar.
[90] Karandikar.

falls on the renter. Receiving close to no rent, the tenant steps back from paying for maintenance. Naturally, the renter refrains from maintenance as much as possible as well, and this results in debilitated structures all around Mumbai. The incidences of houses falling and leading to severe causalities are aplenty. To prevent this, houses that come under the *pagdi* system are popular targets for redevelopment and gentrification.

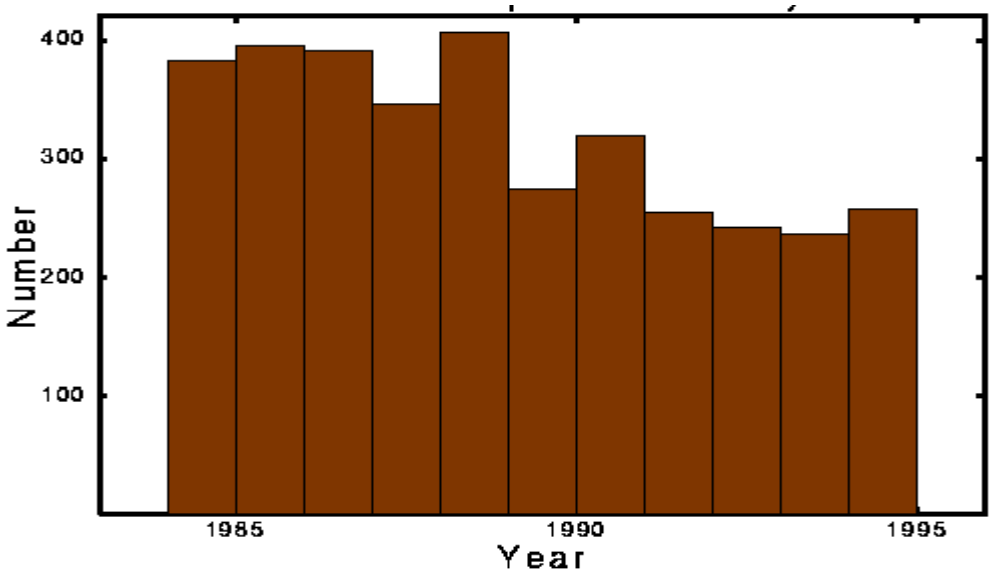


Figure 2: ***House Collapses in Mumbai. Source: Mumbai Page***[91]

Chawls have a very decisive role to play in the gentrification of the city. Their current land-value is so high that builders are ready to pay residents Rs. 600,000 (EUR 7,500) to vacate one room. After these rooms are vacated, these *chawls* are reconstructed into high-rise buildings, which are then occupied by more affluent people.[92]

[91] http://theory.tifr.res.in/bombay/stats/housing/collapse.html (accessed 03-05-2020).
[92] Chatterjee and Parthasarathy, "Gentrification and Rising Urban Aspirations in the Inner City: Redefining Urbanism in Mumbai."

Slums and Building Redevelopments

Other than Bollywood and its high-rise buildings, Mumbai is probably best known for its slums. It houses the biggest slum in Asia, Dharavi, which inhabits more than 1,000,000 people in an area of 2,16 square kilometres. Slums can be defined as informal structures, which do not have an adequate supply of basic necessities such as water, sewage systems, electricity and sanitation. They tend to be extremely dense in structure, and contain 'houses' made of temporary materials.[93]

Mumbai's slums are very diverse: in size, land ownership, location, population and income levels.[94] In the 1990s, slum housing was calculated to occupy around 900,000 individual structures spread over 2335 different slum pockets, and housing more than five million people.[95]It can be assumed, with these high numbers and with the slums being a part of the superdiverse city of Mumbai, that these slums too are not just diverse, but superdiverse, maybe more so than other parts of the city. These slums house people from all over the country, speaking several languages and practicing a variety of faiths. For example in 2001, Dharavi, 63% are Hindus, 30% are Muslims and 6% are Christians.[96] The slum itself contains numerous churches, mosques and temples making it extremely heterogenous in demography.

[93] "What Is a Slum: Definition of a Global Housing Crisis," Habitat for Humanity, Great Britain, https://www.habitatforhumanity.org.uk/what-we-do/slum-rehabilitation/what-is-a-slum/ (accessed 03-05-2020).
[94] Greg O'Hare, Dina Abbott, and Michael Barke, "A Review of Slum Housing Policies in Mumbai," *Cities* 15, no. 4 (1998): 269–83.
[95] O'Hare, Abbott, and Barke.
[96] "2001 Census Data," Governmental, Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India, (accessed 01-06-2020), https://censusindia.gov.in/Census_And_You/religion.aspx.

Image 1: ***Dharavi Slum with Mumbai Skyline as Backdrop. Source: Dhaka Tribune, photo by Reuters***

These large numbers have naturally facilitated several state and private initiatives to redevelop and/or improve slums. These took hold primarily from the 1970s onwards, and the lack of resources to tackle the housing shortage was alleviated by efforts to build 'less western' and 'less capital-intensive' houses for the poor.[97] Two main strategies were adopted in Mumbai, namely the Slum Improvement Programme (SIP, 1976) and the Slum Upgradation Programme (SUP,1983). The former dealt with providing basic amenities such as lighting, electricity, sanitation, latrines etc. to slum pockets built before 1985. The latter was controlled largely by the World Bank, and provides loans for environmental and house improvements.[98] Both schemes grossly underestimated the funds they would require, and the lack thereof limited their scope and effect. The Prime Minister Grant programme of 1985 was a scheme with a budget of Rs. 1000 million and the aim to remove and upgrade urban squalor, mainly in the slum of Dharavi. However, this scheme also proved to be very expensive for the slum dwellers and the state alike, and the programme was shut in 1993 when the funds

[97] O'Hare, Abbott, and Barke, "A Review of Slum Housing Policies in Mumbai."
[98] O'Hare, Abbott, and Barke.

dried up.

There has been a wide and long-drawn repairing drive around Mumbai from 1971 onwards. This included the repair of *chawls*. By 1986, around 10,000 building had been repaired, but this effort too was handicapped by the paucity of resources. From the 1990s onwards, liberalisation gave private individuals and organisations the incentive to made Mumbai a 'slum free city'.

Pavement Dwellers/*Jhopadpattis*

Unique to Mumbai is another type of housing typology: people who live in hutments built on the footpaths of the city. These are built and inhabited mostly by single male migrant workers, and their location is always near their place of work. It is not a free accommodation; they pay rent to local strongmen who control the pavements.[99] These hutments are locally known as *jhopadpattis*, and they fall below slums in the line of housing in Mumbai.

Image 2: ***Pavement Dwellers in Mumbai. Source: The Indian Express, photo by Prashant Nadkar.*** [100]

[99] Risbud, "The Case of Mumbai: India."
[100] https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/of-no-fixed-address-mumbais-street-dwellers-are-neither-beggars-nor-destitute/ (accessed April 29, 2020).

Mass Housing

Considered to be one of the most ambitious ventures to tackle the issue of housing shortage, the Maharashtra Housing Area and Development Authority (MHADA) embarked on the mission to construct standardised apartment-blocks in the 1960s and 1970s.[101] These were designed as per international standards, and were built for specific income groups such as the economically weaker sections (EWS), low-income group (LIG) and the middle-income group (MIG). Close to 200,000 dwelling were constructed in what came to be known as the suburbs of Mumbai, and they housed a million people in 2012.[102] However, increased bureaucratic constraints and corruption hindered this progress, and the state-share in public development continued to decrease in effectiveness.

The purpose of listing these housing typologies was to make it clear what types of houses are targeted for gentrification policies, and what type of houses are a result of these policies. For instance, most of the mass housing structures were constructed after clearing out slums. In this case, the slums were redeveloped- and as these mass houses were akin to international standards- also gentrified to create these mass housing structures. In the next section, we will look into the main gentrification policies of the 1991-2001 time period, specific to Mumbai.

2.3.1 Housing and Gentrification Policies: Mumbai

The conventional slum development strategy followed in Mumbai is that of slum clearance.[103] With liberalisation, slum improvement and clearance became increasingly privatised. The Slum Redevelopment and Rehabilitation Scheme (1991) stimulated private developers to redevelop slums and provide slum dwellers with upgraded housing for as low as Rs. 15,000 (EUR 178), with

[101]Florian Urban, "Mumbai's Suburban Mass Housing," *Urban History* 39, no. 1 (February 2012): 128–48.
[102] Urban.
[103] Rohit Jagdale, "An Overview of Slum Rehabilitation Schemes in Mumbai, India" (Austin: The University of Texas, May 2014): 13-15.

a renewable lease of thirty years. This also required a 75% consensus from the slum dwellers, but these schemes were only applicable to those who had lives in the slum for over ten years.[104] This was a major drawback, since most of the migrants that settle down in slums come to the city on a cyclic and temporary basis.

To improve the environmental living of the slum dwellers of the Mumbai City & Suburbs District, the Govt of Maharashtra formed the Mumbai Slum Improvement Board in November 1992. It sought to provide basic civic & social amenities to the slum dwellers, and these works were carried out via the funds allocated in the District Annual Plan schemes.

The Slum Rehabilitation Scheme of 1995 was initiated by the Shiv Sena government. The eligibility criteria were abolished, and the new apartments were provided virtually for free. However, only 26000 households were shifted to these apartments by 2002, and the geographical scope was very limited.[105]

In sum, this section has proved that Mumbai was superdiverse between 1991-2001, and this was assessed by the numbers of internal migrants in the city, and the variety of religions and languages.

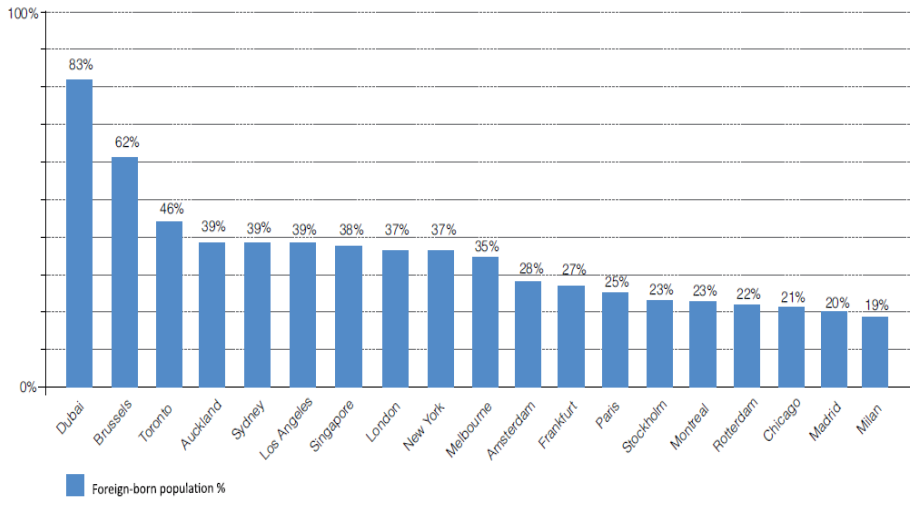
3.Rotterdam

Rotterdam is Europe's largest seaport. From 1962-2004, it was also the world's busiest port, and it continues to occupy a very central position in the global economy even today. In 2018, the port saw the arrival of 29,476 vessels with an annual cargo tonnage of 469 million tonnes, which brought in a revenue of 707.2 million euros.[106] Being an extension to such an important port, the city

[104] "Slum Rehabilitation Authority: Our Projects," Government of Maharashtra, https://sra.gov.in/page/innerpage/our-projects.php (accessed 05-05-2020).
[105] Jagdale, "An Overview of Slum Rehabilitation Schemes in Mumbai, India."
[106] "Port of Rotterdam," https://www.portofrotterdam.com/nl (accessed 05-05-2020).

of Rotterdam too has assumed significance in national and international affairs. With the central area being bombed to the ground during the Second World War, Rotterdam built itself up from scratch and is today known for its avant-garde infrastructure. Iconic architectural pieces such as the Euromast, Cube houses and Erasmus Bridge make up only a part of Rotterdam's cosmopolitan and active personality. A part of the 'big four' cities of the Netherlands- Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht and Den Haag- it is an international city and a popular destination for international tourists, students and workers alike. It is also undoubtedly an immigration city coming at par with the national capital, Amsterdam.

Figure 3: ***Foreign-Born Population in Major Cities***



Source: World Migration Report 2015

Netherlands consists of twelve provinces and four-forty-one municipalities. South Holland is further divided into fifty-two municipalities, of which Rotterdam is most populated followed by Den Haag.

Figure 4: ***Provinces in the Netherlands***

Source: commons.wikimedia.org

Unlike India, the Netherlands discontinued the traditional method of collecting census data in 1971. However, this does not mean that the country stopped mapping and collecting data on its population- quite the contrary- it merely does not do so by the means of a census. Dutch household and population statistics are based on municipal population registers (*Gemeentelijke Basis Administratie Persoonsgegevens,* GBA), which has replaced the census,[107]with every municipality having one of its own. Furthermore, there are various methods to obtain demographical, economic and social data on the Dutch. For example, the Statistics Netherlands (CBS) holds carefully researched statistical data on the various facets of society, which are easily accessible. Furthermore, the government and institutions such as the Netherlands Institute for Social

[107] Virginie Guiraudon, Karen Phalet, "Monitoring Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands," *International Social Science Journal* 183, no. 75 (2005): 75-86.

Research conducts several surveys on specific themes (in this case migration and gentrification) such as the *Sociale Positie en Voorzieningengebruik van Allochtonen* (SPVA) and the follow-up survey on Migrant Integration (SIM). The SIM was started in 2006 and is conducted every four years. These surveys are done either face-to-face or online or both. Other documents that can be used to gather data include Minorities Report (2001), Dutch Housing Needs Survey (1993-2006), Labour Surveys (1996,2002), SCP Report on Minorities and so on. Based on these reports, four main features of Dutch cities can be obtained[108]:

1. An overwhelming number of immigrants who are still of low socio-economic status
2. Spatial scale of Dutch neighbourhoods and cities is small overall
3. 2/3rd of minorities consist of four ethnic groups: Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antilleans
4. The cities consist of the highest number of social housing in Europe

Below are the population statistics for the year 1991-2001, including the total number of people, people added by immigration, inter-municipality shift and the population growth for the city of Rotterdam.

Table 8: ***Total Population, Total Arrivals Due to Immigration and Intermunicipal Moves and Population Growth in Rotterdam (1991-2001)***

Year	Population on January 1	Arrivals due to immigration	Arrivals due to intermunicipal moves	Population Growth	Population on December 31
1991	582,266	11,192	17,566	7,441	589,707
1992	589,707	9,461	18,526	6,316	596,023

[108] Jack Burgers and Jeroen van der Waal, "Post-Industrialization and Ethnocentrism in Contemporary Dutch Cities: The Effects of Job Opportunities and Residential Segregation," in *City in Sight: Dutch Dealings with Urban Change* (Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 25–40.

1993	596,263	8,625	18,877	2,498	598,521
1994	598,521	6,410	19,056	-571	597,950
1995	598,239	6,001	18,495	-5,494	592,745
1996	592,745	6,739	19,696	-2,758	589,987
1997	589,987	7,424	20,148	491	590,478
1998	590,478	9,076	22,492	2,187	592,665
1999	592,665	8,275	20,634	8	592,673
2000	592,673	9,444	20,752	2,582	595,255
2001	595,255	9,244	20,787	3,405	598,660

Source: CBS Statline.

The above data shows that the arrival of people into Rotterdam due to immigration remained more or less constant and averaged around 1.4% of the total population through the decade. Their numbers did not make a decided change in the population growth of the city, with arrivals due to intermunicipal shifts having a larger impact on that front. Yet, these numbers cannot be ignored, as long-term immigrants are less likely to leave than those who transfer between municipalities.

3.1 Establishing Superdiversity

40% of non-western migrants live in the four major Dutch cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht and Den Haag, and the former two are predicted to have a share of over 50% non-western groups by 2020. Furthermore, 10-20% of neighbourhoods in these cities already have a non-western population crossing 50% of the total population.[109] One in every fourth person is an immigrant in Rotterdam[110] and it is predicted that it will soon overtake Amsterdam and Den Haag to become the Dutch municipality with the

[109] Merove Gijsberts, "Ethnic Minorities and Integration: Outlook for the Future" (The Hague: Social and Cultural Planning Office, September 2004): 7-12.
[110] Entzinger and Engbersen, *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*.

Table 9: ***Total Population, first-generation migrants in the Netherlands***

Year	Total Population	First Generation Migrants Total	First Generation Migrants Non-Western	First Generation Migrants Western
1996	15,493,889	1,284,106	761,552	522,554
1997	15,567,107	1,310,705	785,999	524,706
1998	15,654,192	1,345,719	816,207	529,512
1999	15,760,225	1,390,141	853,761	529,380
2000	15,863,950	1,431,122	886,232	560,403
2001	15,987,075	1,488,960	928,557	560,403

Source: CBS

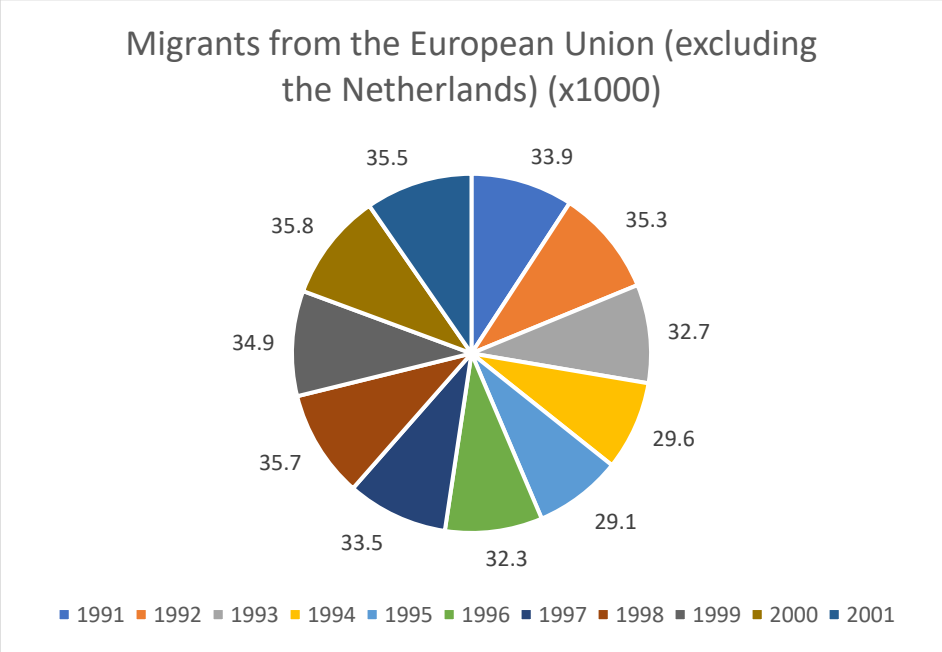
highest proportion of immigrants.[111] These statistics were a factor of major concern during the 1990s, which can be exemplified in Paul Scheffer's influential article, *Het Multiculturele Drama*, published in the NRC Handelsblad on January 29th 2000. According to him, the culture of tolerance has reached its limits, and there is a clear danger in integration becoming the exception rather than the rule.[112] A lot of this sentiment had to do with a migration wave that hit the city around this time, with mostly high-skilled migrants such as IT professionals, doctors and nurses coming to Rotterdam and settling down.[113]

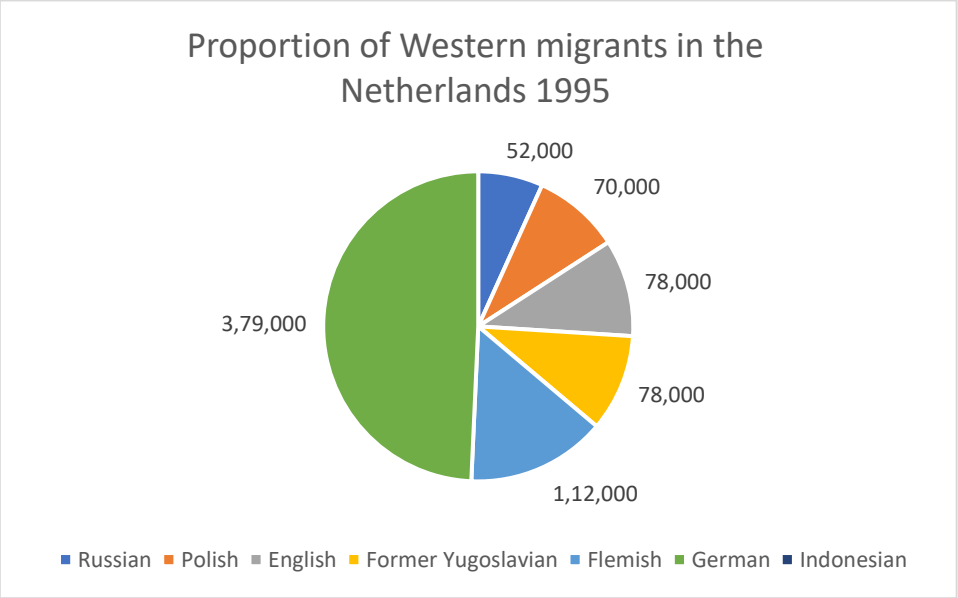
As is clear from the above data, the total immigration population in the Netherlands, including both those from Western and Non-Western backgrounds, averaged 1,182,458 people between 1996-2001 (earlier data is not available). Of the total population in the Netherlands, the number of migrants averaged to 8.7% through these years. Out of the total number of migrants

[111] Han Entzinger, "A Tale of Two Cities: Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Their Immigrants," in *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity: The Case of Rotterdam* (IMISCOE Research Series): 173-189.
[112] Paul Scheffer, "Het Multiculturele Drama," *NRC Handelsblad*, January 29, 2000.
[113] "Migration and Its Impact on Cities" (World Economic Forum, October 2017): 74-78.

(8,250,753), 70.2% came from a non-Western background, while the rest 29.8% came from a Western background. The latter consist of people mainly from Russia, Poland, England, Belgium, Germany, Yugoslavia and Indonesia. Their data is given below.

Figure 5 and 6: ***Migrants from the European Union (excluding Netherlands) (x1000); Proportion of Western Migrants in the Netherlands (1995)***





Source: CBS

As for Non-Western migrants, there are four main groups in the Netherlands, which are[114]:

1. Colonial repatriates from the former colonies of Indonesia and Suriname
2. Invited guest-workers (the Guestworker Scheme will be explained later in this chapter)
3. Refugees and asylum seekers
4. Irregular dwellers

Superdiversity can also be established by looking at the religious composition of a city. The main religion in the Netherlands is Roman Catholicism, but the country is also home to a variety of other faiths. These are Catholicism, believers of the Dutch Reformed Church, Protestants and other

[114] Jeanet Kullberg and Isik Kulu-Glasgow, "Building Inclusion: Housing and Integration of Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands" (The Netherlands Institute for Social Research, July 2009): 12-14.

Christian denominations, along with Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Judaism.[115]

Table 10: ***Religion in the Netherlands in Percentage (1997-2001)***

Year	No Religion	Roman Catholic	Dutch Reformed	Calvinist	Other Denominations (Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism)
1997	39	32	14	7	8
1998	41	31	14	7	8
1999	41	31	13	7	8
2000	41	31	13	7	8
2001	41	30	14	7	9

Source: CBS

The highest proportion of people, however, belong to the 'No Religion' group, followed then by Roman Catholics. With the volume of immigration increasing year after year, especially from Turkey, Surinam, Morocco and the Dutch Antilles, the proportion of Muslims is likewise increasing, making them the largest religious minority in the Netherlands.

After specifying the various trends and data regarding immigration and religion in the Netherlands, the most important task pertaining to this research, however, remains the immigration data of the city of Rotterdam. It is through this that we will be able to sufficiently establish whether Rotterdam was, in the decade 1991-2001, superdiverse. This can be analysed via the

[115] Schmeets, Hans *De religieuze kaart van Nederland, 2010–2015*. Centraal Bureau voor der Statistiek (2016): 5.

following table, which specifies the proportion of migrants from different countries, relative to the total population.

Table 11: ***Total Population and number of migrants in Rotterdam (1996-2001)***

Year	Total Population	Non-Western Migrants	Western Migrants	Total Migrants
1996	592,745	155,097	55,722	210,885
1997	589,987	159,688	55,405	165,093
1998	590,478	165,643	55,682	221,325
1999	592,665	173,270	56,171	229,441
2000	592,673	180,643	56,399	237,042
2001	595,255	188,837	57,270	246,107

Source: CBS

The above data shows that the number of non-western migrants entering the Netherlands gradually increased over the years, and averaged to 19,956 people over the period of seven years. The proportion of migrants in the city each year (both Western and non-Western) in progression are as follows: 16%, 18%, 18%, 20%, 20%, 22%, 22%.

As can be seen in the above two tables, the share of migrants in Rotterdam continuously increased over the years. These increasing percentages are reaching what is a necessary indicator of superdiversity, that is, close to half of the population being non-natives. Significantly, Vertovec, Crul and other scholars writing state that non-Western migrants do not solely contribute to the superdiversity of a city. Anyone who is not a native (that means in this case, who is not born in the Netherlands, or has one parent not born in the Netherlands) is applicable to be considered a foreigner. Therefore, the share of migrants (both Western and non-Western) in Rotterdam relative to the total population between 1991-2001 has been tabulated below, and ascertain whether the city became superdiverse.

Table 12: ***Percentage of total migrants (Western and non-Western) in Rotterdam (1996-2001)***

Year	Share of Migrants
1996	35.5%
1997	27.9%
1998	37.4%
1999	38.7%
2000	39.9%
2001	41.3%

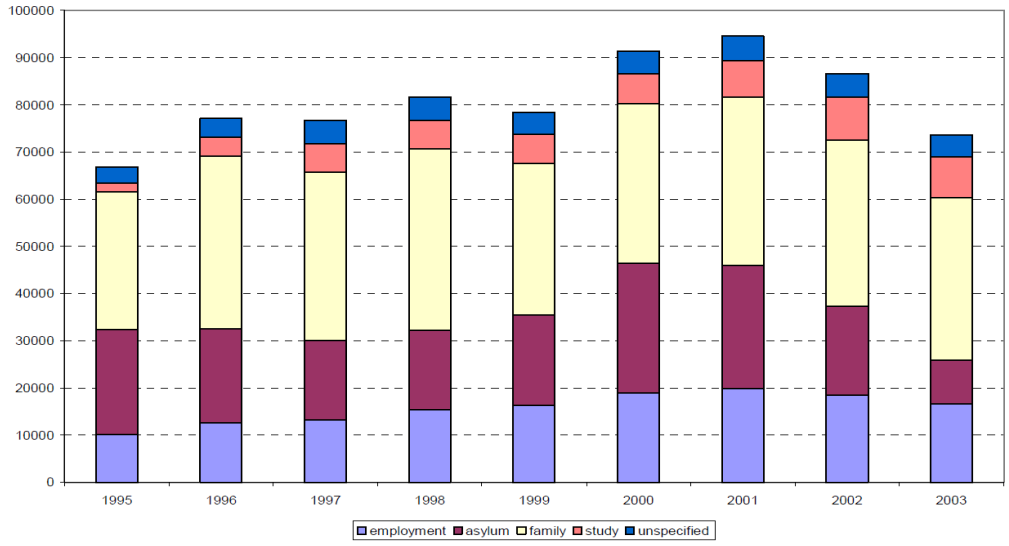
Source: Author's calculations based on CBS data

This table shows that although the share of migrants, both of Western and non-Western origin, did gradually increase over the years, it did not reach the level for the city to be deemed as superdiverse. The proportion of Dutch natives remained more than half of the total population, and they thus continued to be the majority group in the city. This means that Rotterdam does not check off a major criterion for a city to be declared as superdiverse, which is of the native population not being the majority anymore.

3.2 Immigration

Superdiverse or not, the Netherlands is an immigration country. Below are some of the reasons people choose to settle down in the country, focussing on the years from 1995-2003.

Figure 7: ***Motives for Migration to the Netherlands (1995-2003)***



Source: CBS

The concept of 'ethnic minorities' was first introduced in Dutch integration politics in the White Paper on Minorities in 1983, which called for the reduction of socio-economic deprivation of minorities, and integration while retaining their ethnic identity. According to this document, minorities were people of a low socio-economic position, who lacked the ability to wield political power. There are two definitions of ethnic minorities in Dutch documents. The old definition defines them as people who do not have a Dutch nationality/ or have the nationality but were not born in the Netherlands. The new definition, on the other hand, defines them as people who were either not born in the Netherlands or who have one parent who was not born in the Netherlands.[116] However, the term itself was mostly abandoned after 2005, and the term 'people with non-Western background' began to be used instead. This

[116] Dick Houtzager and Peter Rodrigues, "Migrants, Minorities and Employment in the Netherlands," RAXEN 3 (RAXEN Focal Point for the Netherlands and Dutch Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, June 2002).

research, too, will use this term to refer to such migrants. Furthermore, minorities are not defined solely by their race and colour but also by the responsibility the Dutch government feels towards them.[117] Political discourse on migration in the Netherlands focusses chiefly on non-Western migrants, even though, as seen above, the number of Western migrants is just as high.[118]

By the end of the nineties, there was a public consensus on the fact that Dutch integration policies had failed, and this failure was due to the continuing dependency on Multiculturalism[119]. The tendency that came about as the result was then more stringent in nature, and the social climate regarding integration likewise became increasingly negative.[120] Opinions on Muslims, especially, deteriorated extensively between 1995 and 2005. These sentiments peaked when Pim Fortuyn, politician and founder of the party, Pim Fortuyn List, was assassinated in 2002. Fortuyn was infamous for his extreme right views on immigration, integration and multiculturalism, and the very fact that he and his ideologies were successful enough to form the government with a 36% margin (2002) shows the increasing polarisation against non-Western immigrants.

The period after 1989 therefore focussed on integration rather than separateness in the name of multiculturalism. This integration was heavily dependent on the assimilation into the dominant culture, which in this case is the Dutch culture. This assimilation was based on two main factors: knowledge of the Dutch language, and the knowledge of Dutch society. This was emphasised to such an extent, that lack of integration began being interpreted as deviant behaviour.

---

[117] Guiraudon, Phalet, and Jessika, "Monitoring Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands."
[118] Gijsberts, "Ethnic Minorities and Integration: Outlook for the Future."
[119] Multiculturalism is when each section of the diverse population placed on an equal pedestal. According to Crul, this inclusion itself became an excuse for exclusion and discriminatory practices.
[120] Leo Lucassen and Jan Lucassen, "The Strange Death of Dutch Tolerance: The Timing and Nature of the Pessimist Turn in the Dutch Integration Debate," *The Journal of Modern History* 87, no. 1 (March 2015): 72–101.

The Rotterdam Municipality similarly emphasised the development of the idea of urban citizenship and active participation. Here, integration policies do not target immigrants alone, but as a joint effort between the natives and foreigners. Furthermore, both indirect and direct discrimination against immigrants is strictly prohibited.[121] The Civic Integration (Newcomers) Act of 1998 is a good example of this shift in attitude. The Act stipulates that all those who settle down in the Netherlands and who come from non-EU countries must learn Dutch and understand how the Dutch society functions. This is known as *inburgering* or civic integration. They are required to take the *inburgeringexamen* (civic integration examination), and are only open to apply for permanent residency after they pass this and receive a civic integration certificate.[122] This Act sought to identify the migrants who were willing to commit themselves to integrating into society and participating in the Dutch economy in a way dictated by the Dutch government.

The 1990s were also marked by an active effort by the government and municipalities to prevent migrants and their children from becoming an underclass, something they were susceptible to.[123] The Equal Treatment Act of 1994 banned both direct and indirect discrimination on the basis of race, sex, religion, political opinion, nationality, ethnic origins and sexuality. The novel addition of this Act is that it made it illegal to discriminate in the fulfilling of job vacancies, job placement, access to professions, commencement or termination of employment and working conditions as well. It further established the Equal Treatment Commission, the task of which was to investigate any acts of discrimination, and to publish annual reports of its activities. Every five years, the Commission is required to publish a report on its findings on the operation of this Act.[124]

---

[121] Entzinger and Engbersen, *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*.
[122] "Immigration in the Netherlands," ACCESS, https://access-nl.org/relocating-to-netherlands/legal-matters/immigration-to-netherlands/what-is-civic-integration-act/ (accessed 06-04-2020).
[123] Gijsberts, "Ethnic Minorities and Integration: Outlook for the Future."
[124] Government of Netherlands, "Equal Treatment Act".

The Aliens Act of 2000 is a revised legislation regarding the admission, deportation and supervision of foreign nationals. It also deals with border security. It further established an Advisory Committee on Immigration Affairs to advice the government on immigration law and on amendments of this Act. This Committee is allowed to collect from anyone, in writing or orally, the information is considered necessary to carry out its duties. As per this Act, entry into the Netherlands can be denied to an 'alien' who[125]:

1. Is not in possession of a valid travel document
2. Is a threat to public policy
3. Cannot cover his costs
4. Does not fulfil the conditions laid down in the Order in Council

The Act was largely implemented as politicians were becoming increasingly concerned about the large number of migrants arriving for the purpose of family reunification. A lot of these marriages were 'fake' and were done only to obtain a visa. Another area of concern was the growing number of migrant children- particularly Turkish and Moroccan- marrying people from within their communities. The government believed this would lead to the continuance of their social marginalisation. The law thus raised the bar for marriage migration.[126]

3.3 Gentrification

Dutch society is based on a highly developed welfare state which guarantees a certain level of income, social security, healthcare and housing. [127] In Rotterdam, immigrants largely live in the western and southern regions of the

[125] Lower House of the States General, Government of Netherlands, "Complete Revision of the Aliens Act (Aliens Act 2000)".
[126] Evelyn Ersanilli, "Country Profile: Netherlands," *Focus Migration*, no. 11 (November 2014): 1-14.
[127] Kullberg and Kulu-Glasgow, "Building Inclusion: Housing and Integration of Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands."

city, and the poorest neighbourhoods consist of 72% migrants.[128] This can be, to a certain extent, understood as an example of residential segregation. There are two conflicting theories regarding residential segregation. The Conflict theory states that the higher the number of minority groups within a neighbourhood, the higher the threat to the natives, or in other words, higher the ethnocentrism. The Contact theory, on the other hand, states that the prevalence of ethnic minorities promotes mutual understanding, and thus results in a lesser level of ethnocentrism.[129]

The concept of a neighbourhood itself is very complex and multi-dimensional. It is hard to find a universal definition, and to analyse its effect on different people. This becomes especially hard in recent times, as the neighbourhood as a framework of social interaction and community has been on the decline. Nonetheless, neighbourhood preferences play a decisive role housing stock. That said, from an administrative point of view, there are five types of neighbourhoods (according to the Dutch Housing Needs Survey). These are listed below:

1. Priority neighbourhoods in the four main cities of Utrecht, Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Den Haag
2. Priority neighbourhoods in the other twenty-six big cities
3. Non-priority neighbourhoods in the four main cities
4. Non-priority neighbourhoods in the other twenty-six big cities
5. Neighbourhoods in the smaller rural Dutch cities

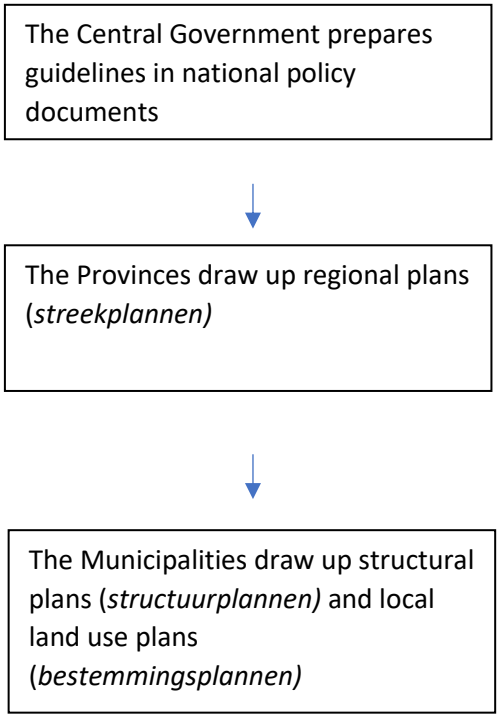
In the context of this research, the type of neighbourhood most important is the first one: priority neighbourhoods in the four main cities, specifically Rotterdam.

In the Netherlands, urban and rural spatial planning is the prerogative of the provinces and municipalities more than it is of the national government,

[128] Entzinger and Engbersen, *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*.
[129] Madan, "Introduction."

and housing initiatives usually come under welfare schemes. The administrative set-up is thus as follows[130]:

Chart 2: ***Administrative Set-Up Regarding Urban Policies***



In addition to this decentralised structure to formulate and execute spatial planning schemes, it is also worthwhile to list the different types of houses that are common in Rotterdam. Through this, as was the intention with listing the housing typologies in Mumbai, it will become clear what type of houses are the targets of urban and gentrification policies, and it will even shed

[130] Maaike Galle and Ettjen Modderman, "VINEX: National Spatial Planning Policy in the Netherlands During the Nineties," *Netherlands Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 12, no. 1 (1997): 9–35.

light on the popularity of these houses amongst different minorities. Houses in Rotterdam can be broadly listed as[131]:

1. Municipal dwellings
2. Reception centres for asylum seekers or Orientation and Civic Integration Centres
3. Rentals
4. Homeowners
5. Housing resorts/ *woonoorden* (camps) and boarding houses

According to Harloe, Netherlands follows a mass model rather than a radical model of social housing.[132] Majority of the non-Western ethnic minority groups live in houses of poor quality.[133] These include Renovation Homes, certain rentals, boarding houses and reception centres for asylum seekers (this research will, however, not focus on the last type, as reception centres are beyond the scope of gentrification). Those included within gentrification policies are mostly rentals, and to a lesser extent municipal dwellings and home-owned houses.

The years from 1970 to 1988 saw a massive reconstruction of urban areas, with 44,000 houses being built Rotterdam. Although this urban renewal did improve housing conditions, it also minimised the scope of the gentrification process as more ethnic groups moved into these newly constructed social houses and more Dutch people moved elsewhere. As a result, this variety of urban renewal was abandoned in 1994, and more priority was given to socio-economic mixing which most agreed would help deprived groups.[134] This was done by providing more independence to housing corporations and increasing the

[131] Kullberg and Kulu-Glasgow, "Building Inclusion: Housing and Integration of Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands."
[132] Michael Harloe, "The Social Construction of Social Housing," *Urban Research Program*, no. 34 (February 1993): 20-24.
[133] Kullberg and Kulu-Glasgow, "Building Inclusion: Housing and Integration of Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands."
[134] Kullberg and Kulu-Glasgow, pp. 30-34.

decentralisation of housing schemes. Examples of gentrification projects that took place in Rotterdam during this period are the Le Medi Project and developments in the Spangen region.

After 1994, Rotterdam actively sought to avoid the settling down of temporary migrants in the unattractive parts of the city.[135] This policy was especially adopted in the light of a growing number of ethnically segregated neighbourhoods in Rotterdam, which was fast becoming the most multi-ethnic city in the country. It was widely believed that having a large number of ethnic minorities in one neighbourhood was not good.[136] In other words, the central notion in Dutch urban policy was to prevent selective migration of the middle class by offering them a house within the city. High nuisance and problem areas (or high priority areas as per the distinctions discussed above) were selected for urban renewal programmes, which largely focussed on residential mixing. It was believed that this mixing would lead to social equality, neighbourhood improvement and social efficiency.[137]

VINEX (*Vierde Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening Extra*), which translates into Fourth Memorandum Spatial Planning Extra, is a policy briefing note of the Dutch Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (Ministry of VROM) released in 1991. Its target was to build 880,000 houses between 1995 and 2010 in such a way that each region must provide for its own housing and developmental needs. This target was decided after 1,747,100 houses were built between 1980 and 1995. This included 30% compulsory subsidised housing. The newly built houses were also to take into account spatial and demographic diversity, and their clean, spacious and easy to maintain designs sought to attract higher-income residents as well.[138]

---

[135] Entzinger and Engbersen, *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*.
[136] Kullberg and Kulu-Glasgow, "Building Inclusion: Housing and Integration of Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands," pp. 30-34.
[137] Graaf and Velboer, "The Effects of State-Led Gentrification in the Netherlands."
[138] Galle and Modderman, "VINEX: National Spatial Planning Policy in the Netherlands During the Nineties."

4. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a broad overview of how immigration and gentrification work in Rotterdam and Mumbai respectively in the decade 1991-2001, and how these two themes can be linked to superdiversity. The superdiversity (or lack thereof) of the two cities has been established by analysing the number of migrants, and the different religions and languages. Mumbai was clearly superdiverse, however, the same cannot be said for Rotterdam. In the latter, the majority continued to be Dutch natives, and the population composition did not reach the level for it to be superdiverse.

However, despite there being obvious differences, there also exist broad similarities. This is evident in the perception towards migrants, the policy response in providing migrants suitable and subsidised housing. These similarities and differences will be discussed in detail in the last chapter.

Chapter Three: 2001-2011

1. Introduction

The sub-questions this chapter seeks to answer are as follows: How and when did Rotterdam become superdiverse? What was the nature of immigration and gentrification policies of the two respective cities in response to growing diversity between 2001-2011?

The new millennium brought with it a lot of excitement and anticipation for the future. But it also brought about major changes. The whole world changed overnight after the terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre on September 11th, 2001. Muslims were mercilessly prosecuted and discriminated against, and its repercussions can still be felt today. The anti-Muslim sentiment was not limited to the United States alone, and percolated into almost every country, especially Western ones. In the Netherlands, it was supplemented by the rise of the far-right political party The Pim Fortuyn List, which advocated for the curbing of immigration and for stricter integration laws. The assassination of Fortuyn and Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh led to anti-Muslim and in general anti-immigrant sentiments reaching a peak. As will be seen in the course of this chapter, these instances led to a change in the perception towards immigration in the Netherlands.

On the surface, nothing seemed to change in Mumbai: it was as crowded, busy and chaotic as it had always been. However, similar attitudinal changes took place with the gaining influence of Shiv Sena, a right-wing party, which promoted *Hindutva,* or the hegemony of Hindus and the Hindu way of life. They believed in keeping migrants out and opening the job-market for natives only. The terrorist attack in Mumbai on 26th November 2008, perpetrated by the terrorist organisation Lashkar-e-Taiba, which continued for four days and killed 166 people further heightened these perceptions.

However, developments in this period were not all negative. Despite prevailing perceptions about Muslims and migrants, social-housing in both

cities continued to increase, and the acceptance rate of immigrants in the Netherlands did not decline. Furthermore, Indian policy-makers began paying attention to internal migrants as a separate category, began gathering data on them to better implement policies aimed at bettering their movement, housing and employment opportunities. It is thus in this context that we move onto the second chapter, which will analyse Mumbai and Rotterdam through the decade of 2001-2011.

2. Mumbai

In the early 2000s, Mumbai was still facing the increased inflow of migrants due to liberalisation. The city was simultaneously becoming more modern, Western-oriented and also assuming a more central role in national and international affairs alike.

2.1 Establishing Superdiversity

Although the superdiversity of Mumbai has already been established, it will be interesting to see how the statistics changed and evolved from 1991. However, before beginning the analysis, it is important to mention a few distinctions between the 1991-2001 census and the 2001-2011 census. Unlike the 1991 census, the district of Mumbai, which consists of Mumbai Suburban district and the Mumbai district, is referred to as Greater *Mumbai* instead of Greater *Bombay*. This is because by this time the name of the city had been changed. This change in name points to a hardening of provincialism, as the Shiv Sena considered 'Bombay' a legacy of British colonialism. Further, the 2001 census focussed separately on slum dwellings, which the 1991 census did not do. Due to this, there is ample new data available on housing in Mumbai, which will be covered in the 'Gentrification' section.

Starting off with the number of migrants relative to the total population, the population in Maharashtra increased from 79,938,137 to 96,878,627, which

is a jump of 16,640,490 people. The number of migrants increased by 15,233,069. In the Greater Mumbai region, population increased from 9,935,891 to 11,978,450, while the total number of migrants increased by 5,111,219 people. The number of migrants from other states went up from 2,095,697 to 3,171,728.

If compared to the total population, the proportion of migrants coming from other states within the country equals to 27% in the Mumbai suburban region, and 22% in the Mumbai region. This means that the total proportion of migrants relative to the total population of the Greater Mumbai region is 49%. This is an increase of 2% from the 1991-2001, wherein inter-state migrants constituted of 47% of the total population.

Table 13: ***Total Number of Population, Migrants and Migrants from Other States in Maharashtra and Bombay, the states from which the largest number of migrants come, and reason for leaving home-state***

State/District	Total Population	Total Migrants	Migrants from other states	States from which majority of migrants belong	Reason for leaving home-state
Maharashtra	96,878,627	40,695,489	7,756,307	• Uttar Pradesh: 2,172,97 • Karnataka: 1,267,42 • Gujarat: 890,428	• Work and Employment: 6,904,737 • Business: 192,775 • Education: 604,270 • Marriage: 14,868,141 • Moved after Birth: 5,109,186

					• Moved with Household: 7,188,361 • Others: 6,848,241
Mumbai Suburban	8,640,419	3,816,896	2,409,402	• Uttar Pradesh: 951,29 • Gujarat: 398,02 • Karnataka: 239,904	
Mumbai	3,338,031	1,294,323	762,326	• Uttar Pradesh: 288,73 • Gujarat: 98,245 • Karnataka: 62,444	

Greater Mumbai (Mumbai+ Mumbai Suburban)	11,978,450	5,111,219	3,171,728		**(For both Mumbai Suburban and Mumbai, i.e. Greater Mumbai)** • Work and Employment: 2,577,221 • Business: 67,560 • Education: 1,07,615 • Marriage: 1,388,234 • Moved after Birth: 659,165 • Moved with Household: 1,287,824 • Others: 1,053,964

Source: 2001 Census

2.1.1 Language

The next aspect is the mother-tongue of *Mumbaikars* (people residing in Mumbai). Other than Marathi, the two languages which are dominant in Mumbai are Hindi and Gujarati. The percentage of people of people who speak these languages adds up to 33% of the total population. This is in contrast to the 65% of the earlier decade, as the census of 1991-2001 also included Urdu as a dominant language. The omission of Urdu is not explained.

Table 14: ***Mother-Tongue of Residents of Maharashtra and Mumbai***

State/District	Total Population	Dominant Mother-tongue
Maharashtra	96,878,627	• Marathi: 66,643,942 • Hindi: 10,681,641 • Gujarati: 2,315,409
Greater Mumbai (Mumbai + Mumbai Suburban)	11,987,450	• Marathi: 4,524,559 • Hindi: 2,582,201 • Gujarati: 1,434,569

Source: 2001 Census

2.1.2 Religion

The number of major religions remained unchanged over the decade, and Hinduism continued to be the most practiced religion. Like in the 1991 census, the religions that come under the 'Other' category include Judaism, Zoroastrianism and Baha'I Faith. The data is as follows:

Table 15: ***Religions in the Greater Mumbai District***

District	Total Population	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Buddhist	Jain	Other Religion	Religion Not Stated
Greater Mumbai	11,987,450	11,593,567	2,646,735	581,750	97,370	865,268	N.A.	62,864	5,988

Source: 2001 Census

To conclude this section, Mumbai remained a superdiverse city, as was expected. The share of inter-state migrants increased to 49%, which is extremely close to half of the population. The people of the city continued to speak several different languages and practice different faiths, thus fulfilling the conditions to be classified as superdiverse.

2.2 Immigration

The National Sample Survey, which comes under the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation of the Government of India, released its NSS 64th Round report in 2008. It was a report dedicated solely to migration and unemployment, and the data available in this report acts as an important mid-point between the migration statistics of the 1991 and 2001 census'. Other than what is already included in the census, the report contains data on household migration, short-term migration, out-migration, remittances of out-migrants and the usage of these remittances as well. Its key findings are tabulated below.

Table 16: ***Key findings of the NSS 64th Round Survey Report (2007-2008)***

Topic	**Urban total**	**Rural Total**	**Rural + Urban**
Proportion of migrant households per 1000 households (country-level)	33	13	19
Migration rate[139] (per 1000 population) (country-level)	354	261	285

[139] Migration rate is defined as the proportion of migrants in the population.

Proportion of migrant households per 1000 households (Maharashtra)	29	16	22
Migration rate (per 1000 population) (Maharashtra)	421	98	205

Source: Migration in India, NSS 64th Round, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India

Other main findings derived from this source can be summarised as follows[140]:

1. The distribution of urban migrants (per 1000 people) in Maharashtra who came from other states is 292.
2. The distribution (per 1000 people) of urban migrants in Maharashtra who stay less than 12 months, more than 12 months and permanently are 4, 118 and 878 respectively.
3. The dominant migration stream in Maharashtra is that of rural-to-rural, at 477 per 1000 people. This is followed by rural-to-urban, which is 267 per 1000 people.
4. Per 1000 people, the reason for migration of urban migrants in Maharashtra is:
    a. Employment: 291
    b. Studies: 37
    c. Forced migration: 3
    d. Marriage: 308
    e. Movement of parent/earning member: 283
    f. Others: 74

[140] "Migration in India 2007-2008," NSS 64th Round (National Sample Survey Organisation, Department of Statistics, Government of India, June 2010).

5. The net migration rate[141] in urban Maharashtra per 1000 persons is 81.

One aspect regarding migration which is not mentioned in the census but is in the NSS Report is the principal activity status of migrants before and after migration. This has been summarised in the table below:

Table 17: ***Principal Activity Status of Migrants Before and After Migration***

Region	**Usual activity status before migration**	**Usual activity status after migration**
Maharashtra	• Self-employed: 82 • Regular wage: 104 • Casual labourer: 72 • Total employed: 259 • Unemployed: 79 • Not in labour force: 662	• Self-employed: 126 • Regular wage: 237 • Casual labourer: 55 • Total employed: 418 • Unemployed: 7 • Not in labour force: 575

Source: Migration in India, NSS 64th Round, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India

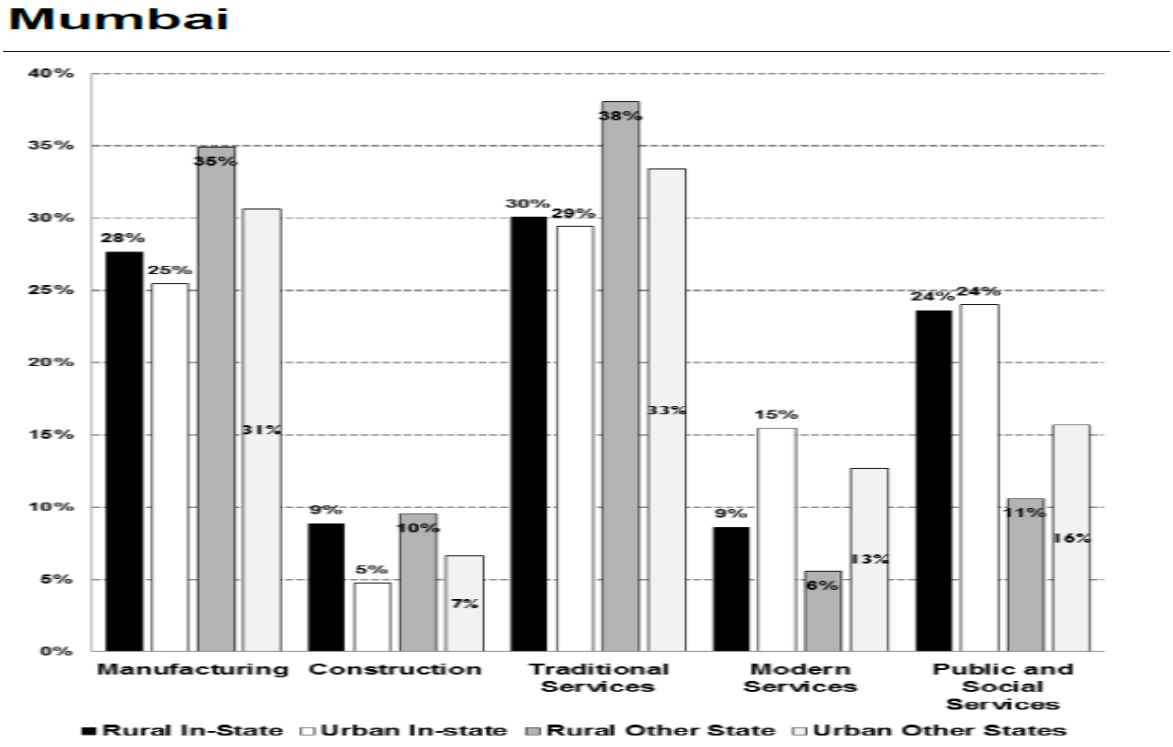
A lot can be inferred from the above data. As per Table 16, there are more migrant households and higher migration rates in the urban areas of Maharashtra. There are 292 urban migrants coming from other states, and most of these people stay for more than 12 months. Interestingly, the census does not account for 'forced migration' as a reason for migration, therefore the results of this report offer new perspectives. According to Table 17, there was an elevation

[141] Net migration is the difference between in-migration and out-migration. The number of net migrants per 1000 of a population gives the net migration rate

of status after migration, as more people got employed in formal sectors and unemployment went down drastically. This elevation was also noted in the previous chapter, wherein an increasing number of migrants could afford *pucca* (permanent) houses after migrating.

A major drawback of this report is that it does not contain data specifically on Mumbai. The idea of summarising this report was therefore to understand the general trend of migration within the state of Maharashtra, and to look at dimensions which are not part of the census. Nonetheless, the one graph available on Mumbai signifies the proportion of migrants working in different sectors of the economy. Most of the urban migrants from other states provide traditional services, that is trade, hotel, transportation etc. This is followed by the manufacturing sector, with 31% being employed within it. The least number of urban migrants from other-states work in construction, totalling to only 7%.

Figure 8: ***Sectors in which migrants are employed (2007-2008)***



Source: Migration in India, NSS 64th Round, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India

2.3 Gentrification

Table 17 fulfils several purposes. It provides information on the kind of economic activities migrants depend on for their livelihood, but, as mentioned above, it also shows their economic elevation post-migration. This directly affects where they live, as affordability increases. This should, however, be taken in combination with the fact that prices are generally higher in urban areas. Mumbai is specifically infamous for its sky-rocketing rents, especially as one gets closer to the sea.

Migrants face difficulties in finding suitable housing and in acquiring access to basic amenities such as water and sanitation. Urban migrants also face abuse, forcible eviction and demolition of their dwellings by urban authorities.[142] As a result, they are often forced to settle down in informal, illegal and temporary settlements. Housing for migrants, therefore, cannot be fully understood without considering the broader issue of housing in informal settlements, such as slums. The more economically viable a city is, the more attractive it is for migrants. Higher number of migrants also means more housing shortage, which in turn results in more informal housing options, such as slums. The slum statistics as collected in the 2001 census are summarised below[143]:

1. The Greater Mumbai region houses 12.36% of the total slum population in the country.
2. 1,959 slums were identified in Greater Mumbai, with a total population of 6.25 million. This made up 54% of the total population of the city.

[142] "Report of the Working Group on Migration" (Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, Government of India, January 2017): 44-51.
[143] "Tables on Houses, Household Amenities and Assets - Slum Households," Census of India 2001 (Government of India).

3. The Western suburbs of the city housed 58% of slum dwellers, and the Island City housed around 17%.
4. 62% of slum structures were made from permanent materials, while 27% were semi-permanent structures. Only 115 slums were completely temporary.
5. Slum structures were very small: 42% have an area of less than 10 m^2. Only 9% of slum dwellers lived in structures more than 20m^2 in size.
6. Sanitation in slums were sub-par. 73% depended on community toilets. There was inadequate water supply and garbage facilities.
7. The household monthly income averaged at Rs. 3000 (EUR 36), while 40% of the households were below the poverty line.

Despite the appalling living conditions, however, the rental market in slums was and is very profitable.[144] The initial deposit in 2001 varied from EUR 180 to EUR 1110, and rent went up to Rs. 3200 (EUR 40) for even a very cramped and filthy space. Houses within slums were in such high demand that 25m^2 spaces sold for EUR 16,000.

The Indian Constitution does not recognise Housing as a basic right. Furthermore, in the set-up of housing schemes, migrants are excluded from public-sector housing.[145] Many-a-times, the Below Poverty Line (BPL) cards issued in the state of origin are not recognised in the state of destination. This also means they are excluded from rehabilitation housing. The exceeding levels of housing vulnerability[146] in metropolitan cities such as Mumbai has remained a concern for decades. According to the 10th Planning Commission which began in 2002, the urban housing backlog was at 8.8 million, and the total requirement at 22.4 million dwellings. This shortage became 24.71 million in 2007, while

[144] Risbud, "The Case of Mumbai: India."
[145] "Report of the Working Group on Migration."
[146] Housing vulnerability is the lack to access to quality shelter and sanitary living conditions.

the backlog increased to 26.53 million.[147] Most of this housing shortage was for those economically backward and below the poverty line.

Table 18: ***Housing Requirement During the 11th Plan Period (2007-2012)***

Housing Shortage at the beginning of the 11th Five Year Plan	**24.71 million**
Addition to household	8.71 million
Addition to housing stock	7.27 million
Total housing requirement during the 11th Plan period (2007-2012)	26.53 million

Source: 11th Five Year Plan (2007-2012), Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, Government of India

This housing shortage led the government to launch the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) in 2005, with the target of investing in 63 cities, and with the budget of Rs. 500 billion. It comprises of two sub-missions, one for Urban Infrastructure and Governance, and the other for Basic Services to the Urban Poor. The latter deals with the development of slums, and Mumbai too comes under it. The aim of the Mission is to promote "sustainable and inclusive city development and at the same time integrating the housing and related infrastructure development for the poor."[148] Fifty-three projects come under the second sub-mission, with the total cost of Rs. 40 billion (up to July 2019).[149]

3. Rotterdam

The new millennium brought about several changes in the Netherlands, politically, socially and demographically. These broad changes percolated down

[147] "Report of the Working Group on Migration."
[148] "Working Group on Urban Housing with Focus on Slums," 11th Five Year Plan 2007-2012 (Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, Government of India, 2007).
[149] "Working Group on Urban Housing with Focus on Slums."

to Rotterdam as well, and as we shall subsequently see, this resulted in the enacting of new policies and schemes regarding immigration and gentrification. The table below lists the population specifics of the city. The number of people arriving due to inter-municipal moving remained higher than those due to immigration, and the rise in population remained modest by the end of the decade.

Table 19: ***Total Population, arrivals due to immigration and intermunicipal moves, population growth Rotterdam (2001-2011)***

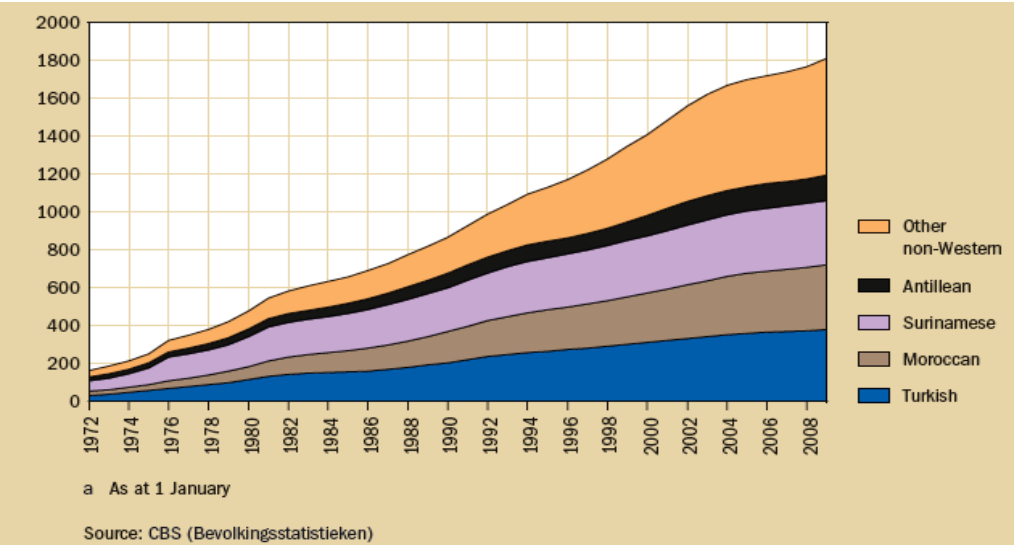
Year	Population on January 1	Arrivals due to immigration	Arrivals due to intermunicipal moves	Population Growth	Population on December 31
2001	595,255	9,244	20,787	3,405	598,660
2002	598,660	7,985	21,713	991	599,651
2003	599,651	8,674	21,398	-728	598,923
2004	598,923	6,928	21,499	-2,516	596,407
2005	596,407	5,731	19,987	-7,710	588,697
2006	588,697	6,140	21,779	-4,639	584,058
2007	584,058	7,503	21,877	-1,107	582,951
2008	582,951	9,525	22,407	4,183	587,134
2009	587,134	9,535	21,722	5,195	593,049
2010	593,049	10,830	22,502	4,843	610,386
2011	610,386	11,858	22,430	5,874	616,260

Source: CBS

3.1 Establishing Superdiversity

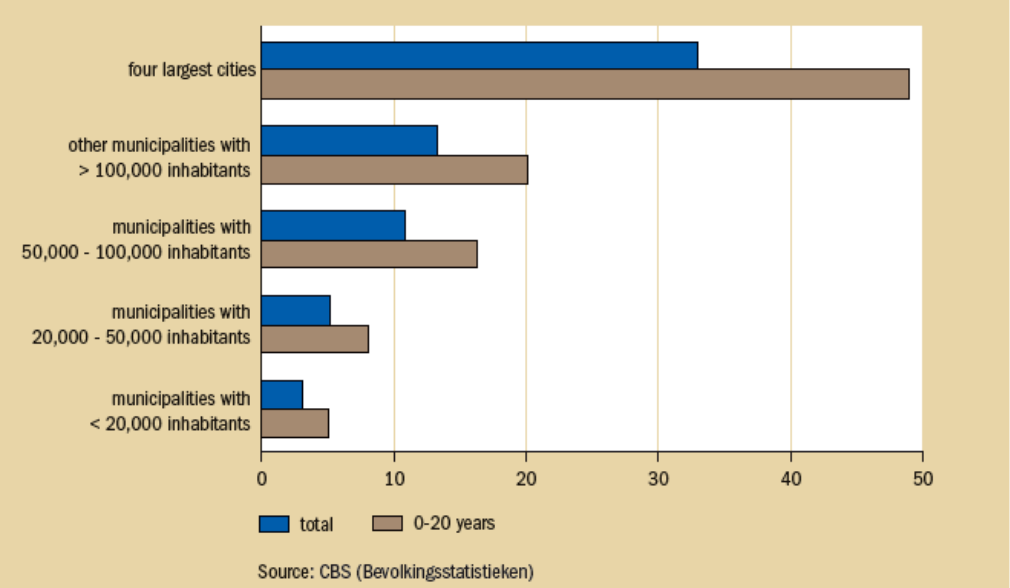
The proportion of non-natives in the Netherlands has been increasing for several decades. This can be seen in Figure 10 below:

Figure 9: ***Non-Western population in the Netherlands on January 1 (in absolute numbers x 1000)***



This rise was more acute in the four major cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, the Hague and Utrecht. As can be seen in the graph below, the numbers of non-Western migrants are extremely close to 50% in the four cities combined. Individually, these numbers are the highest in Rotterdam. The share of non-Western migrants and their descendants increased form 26% in 1996 to 37% in 2009. This growth was attributed both to natural increase and to arrival from abroad.

Figure 10: ***Rise in non-Western migrants in the Netherlands (1991-2009) (Rotterdam belongs to the four largest cities)***



However, as mentioned earlier, non-Western migrants do not exclusively contribute to the changing demography of the country. From 2004, the dominant trend which could be seen was of a sharp increase in the immigration from Western countries, and the decline of emigration by non-Western migrants and their children.[150] Within the Western migrants, those of Polish origin immigrated the most, possible due to the enlargement of the European Union in 2004.

[150] "At Home in the Netherlands? Trends in Integration of Non-Western Migrants," Annual Report on Integration (The Netherlands Institute for Social Research, 2009): 33-67.

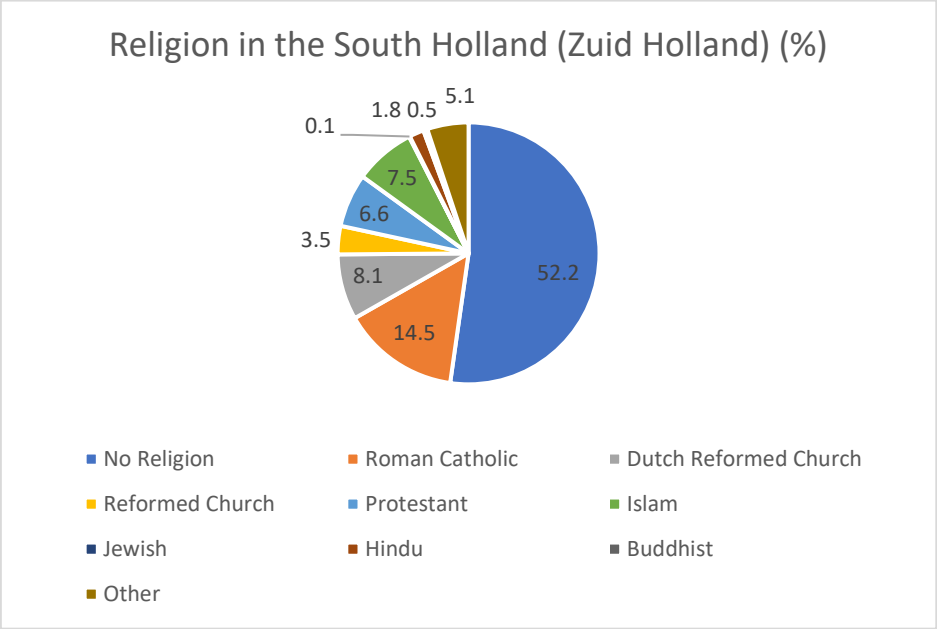
Table 20: ***Number of migrants (Western and non-Western) in Rotterdam (2001-2011)***

	2001	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**
Morocco	31,519	33,019	34,158	35,317	36,127	36,685	37,159	37,477	38,160	38,985	39,713
Antilles	17,529	19,151	20,039	20,282	20,012	19,403	19,298	19,563	20,256	21,099	22,065
Surinam	50,857	51,896	52,148	52,239	52,504	52,097	51,964	51,880	52,201	52,654	52,949
Turkey	41,303	42,447	43,327	44,603	45,024	54,173	45,461	45,699	46,204	46,871	47,519
Other non-Western countries	47,629	50,931	53,376	54,955	55,743	55,192	54,723	55,235	57,219	59,417	61,504
Total Western Countries	57,270	58,270	59,108	59,305	59,267	58,492	58,044	59,319	61,309	63,833	67,371
Total non-Western	188,837	197,444	203,048	207,395	209,410	208,550	208,605	209,854	214,040	219,026	223,750
Total Migrants (Western and non-Western background)	246,107	255,838	262,156	266,701	268,677	267,052	266,649	269,173	275,349	282,859	291,121

Source: CBS

3.1.2 Religion

Figure 11: ***Religion in South Holland (2010-2015)***



Source: *De Religieuze kaart van Nederland, 2010-2015*[151]

The above data pertains to South Holland, of which Rotterdam is a part. While those not practicing any religion remain the highest in proportion, it can be seen that the number of Muslims and Hindus are increasing.

Table 21 provides sufficient data to determine whether Rotterdam was superdiverse or became superdiverse between the years of 2001-2011. The proportion of migrants (both Western and non-Western) compared to the total population is given below.

[151] Hans Schmeets, "De Religieuze Kaart van Nederlands, 2010-2015" (The Hague: Central Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS), 2016): 8-9.

Table 21: ***Percentage of migrants in Rotterdam relative to total population (2001-2011)***

Year	Share of Migrants
2001	41%
2002	42.7%
2003	43.7%
2004	44.5%
2005	45%
2006	45.3%
2007	45.6%
2008	46.1%
2009	46.8%
2010	47.6%
2011	47.6%

Source: Author's calculations based on CBS data

This data proves that the share of migrants increased steadily throughout the decade. In 2011, it reached 47.6% of the total population, which is almost half the population. Taking this in conjunction with how during this period a growing number of neighbourhoods in Rotterdam were becoming more than 50% migrant (this will be discussed below in the section 'Gentrification'), it is therefore safe to say that the city had become superdiverse.

3.2 Immigration

The Dutch word for a foreigner cannot be literally translated into English. 'Allochtoon' is a word derived from ancient Greek and means 'originating from elsewhere'.[152] In the Netherlands, the population with a

[152] Maarten Alders, "Classification of the Population with a Foreign Background in the Netherlands" (Statistics Netherlands).

foreign background are analysed through two basic criteria: first and second generation; and western and non-western. The remaining persons are considered native.

The new millennium marked many radical changes within the Dutch immigration system. For instance, The Civic Integration (Abroad) Act was introduced in 2006 which stipulated that those coming from countries which require a visa would first need to sit for an examination in their home country before obtaining a residence permit. Although candidates mostly pass this test, the number of applications have declined sharply because of it.[153] Another change occurred when the civic integration system was completely overhauled in 2007. A minimum pass mark was introduced was the exam, a greater collaboration between local and private sectors was achieved, and the quality of integration programmes was increased. This was done to increase the number of potential integrators, however, the numbers continued to remain slim.

Following the national election of 2002, the Ministry of Immigration and Integration launched the 'Integration Policy New Style' in 2002. It was based on citizenship and self-responsibility, and integration was defined as 'participation in Dutch society'. An integration masterplan (*Deltaplan Inburgering*) was launched by introducing two new acts: the Civic Integration Abroad Act and the Civic Integration Act. They have been discussed above. Subsequently, the 'modern migration policy' was introduced by the Dutch government in June 2006. According to this, the primary criteria for allowing immigrants into the country would be their ability to contribute to society. They should be highly skilled and educated, so that the country can make optimal use of the opportunities offered by migration.

The Immigration and Naturalisation Service (IND) is directly responsible for granting or rejecting residence permits to applicants. It further set up the Modern Migration Policy Implementation Programme for the

[153] "At Home in the Netherlands? Trends in Integration of Non-Western Migrants."

implementation of the 'modern migration policy'. There are two main types of permits to reside in the country: the Regular Provisional Residence Permit (*Machtiging voorlopig verblijf,* MVV) which is applicable to those who come from outside the EU and wish to reside in the country for more than three months (residence shorter than three months requires only a visa). After receiving the MVV, the applicant can apply for the Regular Residence Permit (*Verblijfsvergunning,* VVR) which will have to be extended periodically. The tables below provide details on the rate of acceptance, the reasons for application and the country of origin of the applicants, as available in the IND annual reports through 2007-2011.

Table 22: ***Reasons for MVV Applications (2007-2011)***

Year ↓	**Labour/work**	**Family formation/reunification**	**Students**	**High-skilled migrants**	**Other**
2007	81%	62%	93%	95%	75%
2008	81%	64%	96%	96%	74%
2009	84%	58%	98%	97%	67%
2010	81%	47%	99%	98%	62%
2011	86%	48%	99%	98%	80%

Source: IND Annual Reports 2007-2011

Table 23: ***Reasons for VVR applications (2007-2011)***

Year ↓	Labour/work	Family formation/reunification	Students	High skilled migrants	Other
2007	87%	93%	97%	98%	79%
2008	87%	93%	97%	98%	79%
2009	82%	93%	99%	98%	72%
2010	78%	94%	99%	99%	78%
2011	81%	94%	99%	98%	80%

Source: IND Annual Reports 2007-2011

Table 24: ***Application for VVR based on country of origin and purpose***

Year* ↓	Labour/Work	Family formation/reunification	Students	High-skilled migrants	Other
2009	Chinese American Philippine	Turkish Moroccan Indian	Chinese American Turkish	Indian American Japanese	Bulgarian Romanian American
2010	Chinese American Turkish	Turkish Moroccan Indian	Chinese American Turkish	Indian American Turkish	Bulgarian Romanian American
2011	Chinese Bosnian American	Turkish Moroccan Indian	Chinese American Indonesian	Indian American Japanese	Bulgarian Romanian American

Source: IND Annual Reports 2007-2011

*Purpose-wise data on the nationality is not available for 2007 and 2008, however the top five nationalities applying for the regular residence permit (VVR) can be ascertained. For 2007 these are American, Turkish, Chinese, Indian and Moroccan; while for 2008 these are Turkish, Chinese, American, Indian and Bulgarian.

The data from the IND annual reports sheds light on the nature of immigration into the Netherlands. The country has a high-rate of acceptance, both for the short-stay and long-stay visas. Furthermore, the main reasons people apply to settle down is for study, work (both high-skilled and low-skilled) and family formation/reunification. Interestingly, applicants from one country stand out in all sections (except family formation/reunification): those from the United States of America. This has not been sufficiently highlighted in the reports and statistics referred to for this research.

3.3 Gentrification

Despite the city is becoming poorer and more immigrant, there was a clear progression of migrants in the housing market.[154] An increasing number of non-Western migrants moved out of large cities into the peripheries, and this process is known as suburbanisation.[155] Within the cities, however, residential segregation remained considerable, with many neighbourhoods (1%, which equals to around 50 neighbourhoods countrywide) becoming completely devoid of any indigenous Dutch.[156]

Most migrants choose to settle down in mixed neighbourhoods[157], and this is especially true for the larger non-Western migrant groups such as the Turks and Surinamese. Another factor which contributed to the increasing residential segregation is the occurrence of 'white flight', or the "exodus of

[154] "Rotterdam Zet Door: Op Weg Naar Een Stad in Balans" (Rotterdam: Municipality of Rotterdam, Rotterdam, December 2003).
[155] "At Home in the Netherlands? Trends in Integration of Non-Western Migrants."
[156] Jaco Dagevos and Merove Gijsberts, "Integration in Ten Trends" (The Hague: The Netherlands Institute for Social Research, January 2010).
[157] Mixed neighbourhoods are those which consist of more than 25% of non-native residents.

indigenous Dutch residents."[158] This creates more space for immigrants to settle down in. Despite this however, more migrants than the natives live in what qualifies as 'cheap housing' (EUR 120,000 or less) and majority of them live in social-rented homes. It is nonetheless important to note that the share of non-Western migrants buying their own homes is also increasing, but they still have a very long way to go to reach the level of the indigenous Dutch.

The size of houses has been discussed in the case of Mumbai, especially of those in slums. It was seen that migrants tend to live in smaller dwellings as compared to the native population, and this can be seen in the Netherlands as well.

Table 25: ***Average Home Size by Ethnic Origin in 2002 and 2006 (in square metres)***

	2002	**2006**
Turkish	88	92
Moroccan	81	85
Surinamese	89	89
Antillean	86	82
Other non-Western migrants	87	89
Indigenous Dutch	124	128

Source: At Home in the Netherlands?[159]

The Act on Extraordinary Measures for Urban Problems (or the Rotterdam Act as it is popularly called, since it was initiated first in Rotterdam) was introduced by the Dutch government in 2006. Considered controversial, it allows local governments to disallow certain disadvantaged groups from moving into designated neighbourhoods, and to refuse the grant of the residence permit to those who have lived in the metropolitan region for less than six years

[158] "At Home in the Netherlands? Trends in Integration of Non-Western Migrants."
[159] "At Home in the Netherlands? Trends in Integration of Non-Western Migrants."

and who do not have any income. The basic premise behind this policy is to increase the liveability of a region by preventing poor and disadvantaged groups from living there and making these neighbourhoods 'demographically balanced' or socially mixed.[160]

It was triggered by a 2003 study which predicted that by 2017, almost half (and in some districts as much as 75%) of the population in Rotterdam would be of non-Western descent.[161] This Act was introduced in four Rotterdam neighbourhoods: Carnisse, Hillesluis, Oud-Charlois and Tarwewikj. By preventing poor people, it aims to fill in vacant places with employed and educated persons, which clearly qualifies as gentrification. In a study done by analysing data from the System of Social-statistical Databases (SSD) of Statistics Netherlands, it was found that most of the people who were prevented to move into these neighbourhoods were single-males or first/second generation immigrants.[162] The effect of this Act was that there was a sharp decline in demand for social and social benefits within the designated neighbourhoods, especially in the hotspot streets where the ethnic population was especially high.[163] There was no established relation between these restrictions and improved safety of the neighbourhood, as some showed an improvement while others showed a decline. Improvement in the social quality of the neighbourhoods was likewise modest. Another effect of this Act was that it redirected the excluded groups to other neighbourhoods, creating low-income clusters around the city. The designated neighbourhoods showcased negative living conditions such as traffic, nuisance and lack of cleanliness. All this shows

[160] Wouter van Gent, Cody Hochstenbach, and Justus Uitermark, "Exclusion as Urban Policy: The Ducth 'Act on Extraordinary Measures for Urban Problems,'" *Urban Studies* 55, no. 1 (2017): 2337–53.
[161] Eijk, "Exclusionary Policies Are Not Just about the 'Neoliberal City': A Critique of Theories of Urban Revanchism and the Case of Rotterdam": 820-834.
[162] Gent, Hochstenbach, and Uitermark, "Exclusion as Urban Policy: The Dutch 'Act on Extraordinary Measures for Urban Problems.'": 2338-2353.
[163] Andre Ouwehand and Wenda Doff, "Who Is Afraid of a Changing Population? Reflections on Housing Policy in Rotterdam," *Geography Research Forum* 33 (2013): 111–46.

that it was not particularly successful.[164]

The direct effect of immigration on housing quality has thus been readily recognised by the Rotterdam municipality. In 2003, the report '*Rotterdam Zet Door*' (Rotterdam Endures) envisioned improvement in city-housing through three main objectives[165]:

1. An immigration policy that focuses on the expulsion of illegal migrants, and the control of domestic migration to ensure sustainable residence.
2. A tighter establishment policy aimed at attracting desired residents and controlling the disadvantaged.
3. Integration and investment in care, guidance, work and the economy. This includes closing the gap between those who settle in the city and those who integrate. The two points of focus here would be to prevent the city from going over its 'absorption capacity' that is, its capacity to receive and integrate; and to eliminate mutual negative perception between immigrants and natives.

This report also suggests the amendment the Housing Act, to make it necessary for people to have a minimum level of socio-economic capacity to settle down in Rotterdam. This is to avoid attracting 'problem groups' from outside Rotterdam.

In 2007, the Rotterdam city council published the city vision, '*Stadsvisie* Rotterdam 2030' (City-Vision Rotterdam 2030), which outlines the plan for spatial economic development until 2030. A major problem this report has identified is the relative failure of Rotterdam in attracting well-educated residents, and the outflow of young people from the city. This has resulted in an increase in selective migration, which has led to an unbalanced population composition. This further leads to impoverishment of the city as a whole.[166] The

[164] Gent, Hochstenbach, and Uitermark, "Exclusion as Urban Policy: The Ducth 'Act on Extraordinary Measures for Urban Problems.'"
[165] "Rotterdam Zet Door: Op Weg Naar Een Stad in Balans."
[166] Gemeente Rotterdam, "Stadsvisie Rotterdam 2030," 2007.

goal is then to prevent this, and to build a city with a strong economy, balanced population and attractive housing. This balanced population also includes international residents.

Rotterdam already has several sought-after neighbourhoods with beautiful parks, monuments and canals. The aim, as per *Stadsvisie* Rotterdam 2030, is not to build neighbourhoods from scratch, but to strengthen already existing ones.[167] The factors that make a neighbourhood strong have been identified as follows:

1. Presence of quality education, sporting facilities and shops in the immediate vicinity.
2. Quality of outdoor space, social security and good accessibility.
3. The image of the neighbourhood.

This would be achieved by binding middle and high-income groups to the city, attracting highly educated people and by improving the living environment for all Rotterdammers. These three objectives would be facilitated by building more houses in response to the demand. This was envisioned by planning to construct 56,000 homes between 2005-2020, at an average of 3200 homes per year.[168] The main aim is to make the city attractive enough to stall the process of selective migration, by targeting social climbers (mostly immigrants), students and young families and by making more room for middle and high-income residents.

The focus would also be on disadvantaged neighbourhoods and vulnerable homes and the demolition of around 13,000 homes to combat illegal residence. All of this would be made possible by a EUR 3.8 billion investment, and the biggest boost to the gentrification process would be by increasing home ownership. The disadvantaged neighbourhoods (barring the pre-war areas where gentrification processes had started already) were been recognised as

[167] Gemeente Rotterdam.
[168] Gemeente Rotterdam.

follows: Kralingen, Delfshaven, Katendrecht, Afrikaanderwijk, Hellesluis, Carnisse, Pendrecht.[169]

4. Conclusion

Mumbai continued to be a superdiverse city in the period 2001-2011. A breakthrough pertaining to this research is that Rotterdam became superdiverse as well. The migrant population in the city neared half. Furthermore, an increasing number of neighbourhoods in the city became dominantly non-Western in composition, which is also a novel development compared to the previous decade.

[169] "Rotterdam Zet Door: Op Weg Naar Een Stad in Balans."

Chapter Four: The Comparison

After analysing superdiversity, immigration and gentrification separately in the two cities over the span of two decades, it is time to delve into the other important aspect of this research: the comparison. This will be done topic-wise (superdiversity, immigration and gentrification), and by combining the data of the two decades (1991-2001, 2001-2011) within these topics. The goal of this section is to ascertain whether the comparison shed light on some general characteristics of superdiversity, immigration policy and gentrification, as well as their impact on the respective cities.

Before beginning the topic-wise comparison, there are a few methodological differences which need to be reiterated. The data for Mumbai was largely collected from the Indian Census of 1991 and 2001, but Netherlands discontinued its Census in 1979. The data for Rotterdam was thus collected from a variety of reports and publications, as well as the statistical database, *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek* (CBS). Another methodological difference arises in the form of migration assessed. In Rotterdam, the focus was on international migration from both Western and non-Western countries, while in Mumbai it was on internal migration from different states within the country. In both cases, the form of migration assessed was the one which had a greater impact on the policy-making and everyday life of the city. In the Netherlands, inter-municipality migration is not as influential as international migration. In contrast, international migration into Mumbai cannot compare to inter-state migration in terms of volume and impact.

A broader comparison can also be established in terms of context. In 1991, India liberalised, opening her economy to the rest of the world. In 1993, the Single European Market was established, which allowed a free movement of goods, capital, services and labour within the European Union. Politically, the 1990s marked the end of multiculturalism as an integration method in the Netherlands, and in India the Shiv Sena dominated the Maharashtra Assembly

polls throughout the decade. Both developments had a decisive impact on the nature of immigration policy. The Netherlands was further impacted by the Yugoslav and Iraqi refugee crises in the 1990s, which changed the nature of immigration into the country. The table below documents the rise in their numbers over the years.

Table 26: ***Number of first generation Yugoslav and Iraqi immigrants in the Netherlands***

	Yugoslav Immigrants	**Iraqi Immigrants**
1996	43,668	10,148
1997	45,932	14,388
1998	46,602	20,295
1999	47,422	27,229
2000	50,416	29.825
2001	53,747	33,685
2002	55,760	35,918
2003	56,043	35,732
2004	55,381	35,909
2005	54,386	35,856
2006	53,554	35,346
2007	52,857	34,729
2008	52,672	35,642
2009	52,653	38,671
2010	52,739	40,886
2011	52,554	40,938

Source: CBS

Superdiversity

The primary focus of this research is to analyse immigration and gentrification trends as influenced by superdiversity. For this, each chapter had

a section named, ‘Establishing Superdiversity’ to assess whether the cities could be called superdiverse. The results of this analysis are given below:

Table 27: ***Superdiversity of Mumbai and Rotterdam (1991-2011)***

	Superdiverse?	**Percentage of non-native population relative to total population**
1991-2001	Mumbai: Yes Rotterdam: No	Mumbai: 47% Rotterdam: 41.3%
2001-2011	Mumbai: Yes Rotterdam: Yes	Mumbai: 49% Rotterdam: 47.6%

Superdiversity in this research was determined by the existence of a majority-minority situation. What this means is, that the natives no longer remain the majority, and the proportion of natives crosses or very closely nears 50%. This happened in Mumbai during both decades, but in Rotterdam only during the latter period (2001-2011).

Immigration

This research deals with two forms of migration, that is, internal and international in Mumbai and Rotterdam respectively. However, there are several other aspects of immigration which need to be assessed and compared.

Policy wise, the main distinction that arises is between the efforts of the Rotterdam government to ensure active participation and citizenship of its migrants, and the relative in-action by the Mumbai government in this regard. In Mumbai, and India in general, internal migrants are not prescribed the same importance as international migrants and due to this, there is a dearth of policy dealing specifically with internal migrants. In contrast, Rotterdam follows a very pragmatic approach with regard to its migrants. However, this pragmatism

has not been constant. In the early 1990s, immigration and integration policies in the Netherlands was heavily dependent on the theory of multiculturalism, which meant that although the variety in culture was recognised, their integration and the formation of a unified society was not given preference. This subsequently changed, and integration policies became progressively stricter and tougher. A major aspect of the integration policies of Rotterdam was to prevent selective migration, which meant that the municipal authorities had more influence in selecting who would be allowed to come into the city. The Civic Integration (Newcomers) Act of 1998 made it mandatory for those who wanted to settle down in the country to learn the Dutch language and societal customs. This was to be assessed via an integration exam. The Aliens Act of 2000 allowed to government to demand details on the migration background from anyone and as per this permission to reside in the country could be allowed/rejected. The Integration Policy New Style of 2002 and the 'modern migration policy' also directly chose the type of people who would be allowed to immigrate. Preference would be given to those who were high-skilled and could contribute to Dutch society and economy.

It can therefore be concluded that there are several policies aimed at immigrants, specifically to prevent selective migration, in Rotterdam. The same cannot be seen for Mumbai, as there were no internal-migration specific policies introduced. This holds especially true for the decade 1991-2001. In the subsequent decade, however, there was an active effort to gather more data on internal migration. Migration specific reports like the NSS 64th Round report of 2008 provided details which were not covered by census'. There was also a shift in the attitude regarding internal migration. The process of internal migration was accepted as a natural phenomenon by national and state authorities alike, and these migrants began being seen in a less critical light. Their vulnerability was recognised and the policies in major destination cities such as Mumbai began taking their influx into account while planning their urban development schemes.

Another important dimension pertaining to immigration is the reason people migrate.

Table 28: ***Reasons for Migration in Rotterdam and Mumbai***

Rotterdam (2007-2011)	**Mumbai (1991-2011)**
Labour/Work	Work and Employment
Family formation/reunification	Marriage
Studies	Moved with Household
Others	Education
	Moved after Birth
	Business

Source: IND Annual Reports (2007-2011) and Census of India 1991,2001

The reasons for migration in both instances are more or less the same. Most people migrate for work and employment, followed by marriage or family formation/reunification and education. Another similarity which comes up is in migration streams in India and Netherlands. The dominant migration streams are rural to rural and inter-municipal respectively. What this shows is that even though politically and demographically the migration streams chosen for this research (which is, rural/urban to urban in the case of Mumbai, and international in the case of Rotterdam) are more decisive, they are not the dominant streams. In Mumbai's case, this was determined by the NSS 64th Round Report, and in Rotterdam by looking at the number inter-municipality transfers. In both cases, the migration within rural areas or within municipalities (which may or may not be rural) are higher in volume.

Table 29: ***Dominant Migrant Streams in Mumbai and Rotterdam (2001)***

	Rural-Rural/Municipality-Municipality	**Inter-state/International**
Mumbai	477 per 1000 people	264 per 1000 people
Rotterdam	37 per 1000 people	15 per 1000 people

Source: Author's calculations based on 2001 Census and CBS data

Gentrification

The Housing Act of 1902 recognises housing as a national responsibility in the Netherlands, and this sentiment has continued till now. In contrast, as per the Indian constitution, housing does not come under any basic right. That said, housing shortage was and continues to be reality in both Rotterdam and in Mumbai. In Mumbai, this shortage numbered at 24.71 million in the beginning of 2007, and it was also readily recognised in all the policy and statistical documents pertaining to Rotterdam.

There are several differences when it comes to the housing situation in Rotterdam and Mumbai. The first and most basic one is related to the concept of a neighbourhood. In Mumbai, neighbourhoods do not occupy a prime role in urbanisation schemes as they do in Rotterdam. The importance is instead given more to housing type, i.e. whether it is an area dominated by slums or *chawls*. In Rotterdam, by contrast, the ethnic and class composition of the neighbourhood is taken more into account. Furthermore, the issue of residential segregation and concentration neighbourhoods is more pertinent in Rotterdam than it is in Mumbai. Neighbourhoods which compose primarily of non-natives are considered to be more likely to turn into 'problem' or 'nuisance' areas. They are seen as rigidly segregated from the dominant culture, which can cause issues in communication and control. The aim is thus to create more mixed and balanced neighbourhoods through gentrification.

Naturally, differences also arise in the housing typologies of these cities.

Houses in Mumbai can be summarised as *wadis*, *chawls*, slums, *jhopadpattis*, mass housing and others. In Rotterdam, types of housing include municipal dwellings, reception centres for asylum seekers, rentals, homeowners, and housing resorts.

There are, however, significant similarities when it comes to housing and urbanisation between the two cases. In both instances, this aspect of governance is the responsibility of the local government. In India, housing comes under the state government, and in Netherlands under the municipal government. Furthermore, in each case, the concept of mass/social housing is very popular. Netherlands has the highest number of social housing in Europe, and in Mumbai, all gentrification policies aim to build mass-housing structures, provided virtually for free to slum-dwellers and other disadvantaged groups. This is an important similarity, as it tells us that gentrification policies in both cities give preference to subsidised and government sponsored housing.

This can be seen in the Slum Redevelopment and Rehabilitation Scheme (1991) in Mumbai and increased collaboration with local housing associations to make cheaper housing possible in Rotterdam. Both cities thus focus on providing low-income groups adequate housing options and opportunities.

Another similarity which is an extension to social housing is housing vulnerability. There are certain sections in society more at risk of living in derelict conditions or being homeless than others are. In Mumbai, these consist of slum dwellers (especially those coming from other districts and states) and in Rotterdam, these are the non-Western migrants. The issue of housing vulnerability has been long recognised in both cases, and it occupies a major part of urbanisation and town-planning schemes. In Mumbai, for instance, it led the government to launch a Housing Scheme for Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) and Low-Income Groups (LIG). This scheme sought to reduce the housing shortage by focussing specifically on providing quality homes to the poor. The target population for these homes included immigrants, students and young families. Both Mumbai and Rotterdam's response to housing

vulnerability was to increase the number of available dwellings, and to also increase the likelihood of house ownership.

In fact, the emphasis on slum dwellers and non-Western migrants in Mumbai and Rotterdam gentrification policies respectively has remained the general trend throughout the time period of this research. This, however, was not always inclusionary or designed to help these groups; sometimes they were to keep them out. This is clearly evident in the implementation of the Rotterdam Act in 2006, which disallowed those who did not have an income or adequate skill to settle down in earmarked neighbourhoods. By prohibiting the poor and disadvantaged groups from moving into a neighbourhood, the Rotterdam government hoped to fill these vacant spots with more educated and skilled residents. In Mumbai, migrants are often excluded from social housing because their BPL (below poverty line) cards which are issued in the state of origin are not recognised in the state of destination. Furthermore, several of the housing policies require the applicant to have resided in Mumbai for at least ten years, which disqualifies a large number of migrants who would otherwise need these houses.

Public Opinion Towards Migrants

Another important dimension which influences the nature of immigration and gentrification policies is the perception towards migrants within the general public. The failure of multiculturalism in prompting integration of non-Western migrants in the Netherlands has been previously mentioned. This opinion became widespread in the late 1990s, and also led to a worsening of views on migrants in general. They were accused of not trying to actively integrate, and the large influx of immigrants became a cause of concern for both policy-makers and Dutch natives. These sentiments were amplified in the early 2000s with the assassination of the far-right politician Pim Fortuyn and filmmaker Theo van Gogh. 42% believed that Muslims turn instinctively towards violence, and 43% considered the headscarf hinders adaptation into

society. 26% believed that Muslims are dangerously fanatical, as compared to 20% in 1995.[170] The percentage of native citizens who preferred not admitting anyone into the country also increased between 2002 and 2006.[171] This negative perception had a lot to do with being threatened by a higher immigrant population, and also with the belief that immigrants would increase competition for jobs, social benefits, housing etc. In the recent years, however, the process of migration and immigrants have begun being looked at in a relatively milder light.

Increased competition in the labour market posed as a problem in Mumbai as well. Shiv Sena, the right-wing party discussed in the prior chapters won the assembly polls in Maharashtra throughout the 2000s. The Shiv Sena ideology is based on the 'sons of the soil' theory, which propagates elevating the status of the natives, even if this comes at the cost of other sections in the population.

These developments had a sizeable impact on the policies and events that took place during this time, for instance, Newcomers Integration Act in Netherlands and the Bombay Riots of 1992. Furthermore, in both cases, language was given key importance. For the Shiv Sena, the knowledge of Marathi was a mandatory requirement to acquire good jobs and a comfortable life; and as per the Newcomers Integration Act, the knowledge of Dutch was necessary to apply for a permanent residency permit.

These perceptions go a long way in influencing what kind of policies are initiated and the goals they aspire to achieve. Other than elevating the status of these disadvantaged groups, the focus is also on reducing the friction and separation between the natives and non-natives, mostly by demanding integration from the latter. A common thread in the policies of both cities was to improve the urban planning and ethnic/state distribution within these cities, mostly to ensure that the natives do not suffer as a result of increased hostility

[170] Dagevos and Gijsberts, "Integration in Ten Trends."
[171] "At Home in the Netherlands? Trends in Integration of Non-Western Migrants."

and unfamiliarity. This is not to say that policy-makers do not have the well-being of migrants in mind. In Rotterdam, non-Western migrants are granted the highest proportion of social benefits, and in Mumbai, slum redevelopment programmes mean that the poor and disadvantaged receive upgraded homes at a minimal cost. Therefore, the ultimate aim of both governments is to increase cohesion and to create a more balanced society for the benefit of migrants and natives alike.

In conclusion, as expected there are several differences between the superdiverse cities of Rotterdam and Mumbai when it comes to immigration and gentrification. However, there are many similarities as well. First and foremost, both cities were (or eventually were) superdiverse between the years of 1991-2011. Both had a very high proportion of non-natives. The repercussions of this were widespread in both instances, and could be seen in the way people lived, the houses and neighbourhoods they lived in, the way the local government dealt with this and the general atmosphere regarding migrants. The consequences of this comparison will be further looked at in the next section.

Conclusion

The aim of this research was to establish the degree of superdiversity of two cities, Rotterdam and Mumbai, and then analyse how gentrification and immigration policies worked out in these cities, which are no longer just diverse, but superdiverse. More specifically, this research aimed to answer the following question:

How do the superdiverse cities of Rotterdam and Mumbai compare in state immigration policies and gentrification, between 1991-2011 and how can the perceived differences and similarities be explained?

This research establishes the superdiversity via the existence of a minority-majority situation in that city, wherein every group, including the native population, becomes a minority. It was also determined by analysing language and religion. The existence of superdiversity results in decisive consequences on policy-making and the everyday life of the public. For example, in Rotterdam, this led to natives feeling increasingly threatened, and the government trying to integrate the immigrants, manage the size of their arrival and prevent residential segregation and selective migration. In Mumbai, this translated into the government implementing several policies to accommodate the high number of migrants, and to reduce the pervasiveness of slums by focussing on redevelopment projects. Certain factions of society were likewise threatened by the high number of migrants coming into the city.

The first and most basic question which was addressed was whether or not Mumbai and Rotterdam were superdiverse, according to the above conditions.

Mumbai, as mentioned in the initial sections of the research, has been superdiverse for a while. It is a relatively new city, and was built and transformed into the economic centre of the country only during the colonial era. The set-up of the city was such, that diversity was a given from the

beginning, and became the way of life. However, it was mostly after the liberalisation policy of 1991 that the city became truly superdiverse, as prior to 1991, migration into the city was slowing down. Liberalisation thus gave a much-needed boost and reversed this trend, and Mumbai saw the arrival of more migrants than ever before. In contrast, Rotterdam has not always been superdiverse. In fact, it was not superdiverse in the first period examined in this study as well. Although migrants did occupy a large proportion of the population, and even though some neighbourhoods in Rotterdam had more than a 50% migrant composition, the numbers needed for the city to be superdiverse had not yet been reached. This, however, changed in the next decade. By 2011, the share of non-Natives in Rotterdam almost neared half, making every group (including the native Dutch themselves) a minority.

The term superdiversity was not explicitly used by either the Maharashtrian state government or the Rotterdam municipality. There is a very simple reason for this. The concept of superdiversity itself was introduced by Steven Vertovec only in 2007. This research does not, therefore, rely on the explicit usage of the term by government bodies and authorities. It relies more on the fact that policy-makers were aware of the statistical details which, as this research has recognised, pointed to the fact that these cities *were* indeed superdiverse. All the policies regarding migration and gentrification were thus implicitly in response to the monumental increase in diversity, or the superdiversity, of the cities.

The link between superdiversity, gentrification and immigration was further established through primary data on various grounds such as:

1. Superdiversity in the slums of Mumbai, which remain the most popular target for gentrification policies
2. Gentrification in Rotterdam neighbourhoods wherein the number of non-Western migrants occupy more than half of the total population

3. The evolution of immigration policies in the light of ever-growing diversity
4. The public perception pertaining to this diversity

For gentrification, Hackworth and Smith's third wave, which is the post-recession wave from 1993 onwards, was used in both cases.

The last chapter dealt with the comparison between the cities. By situating Rotterdam and Mumbai in such a position, it becomes evident that although there are several obvious differences between them, there are also similarities. The question then remains of how these differences and similarities can be explained. The perception of migrants becomes central here. In both cases, the term 'migrant' is credited with a negative connotation. This stems from the view on labour-market competition, and ethnocultural dissimilarity which often causes antagonism. The Dutch perception of non-Western migrants is a reflection of this. The view on Moroccans and other Muslims is predominantly negative, and there is a consensus on ghettoization causing tensions between natives and migrants. A similar sentiment is evident in Mumbai as well, with the rise of the Shiv Sena. Here too, the knowledge of the native language is put on the highest pedestal.

Because of this, integration polices in the Netherlands have been revamped and utmost emphasis has been put on migrants learning Dutch and adapting to the Dutch way of life. These policies have also made it harder to obtain both short and long-term visas. To reduce the volume of immigration into cities like Mumbai, the Indian national and state governments have launched several policies to increase rural employment. This is evidence of how the immigration policy has evolved over the span of this research. In the Netherlands, policies began being based on multiculturalism, and ended up focussing entirely on integration. In Mumbai, a discourse on internal migration slowly grew from being blatantly absent in the 1990s to becoming more focussed on internal migration, and also by responding more positively to them.

The differences between the cities have other explanations, which may seem obvious but are nonetheless crucial. For instance, their difference in development and wealth. The Netherlands is a highly developed, rich European country which has more or less reached all its developmental goals. India, on the other hand, is an exceedingly populated, developing country, which seems to be always short of funds. The nature of immigration policy, its extent, the funds allocated and the emphasis given to it all depend on these factors. Due to its high population, schemes in India have to be acutely specific to a certain section of society, in this case internal migrants. In contrast, the immigration policy of Rotterdam has evolved to look at migrants and natives in conjunction, and work for the betterment of both groups as a whole rather than separately. Due to the sheer number of people within each group, such an approach is not feasible in Mumbai's case.

Despite these obvious differences, however, this research has highlighted that there are nevertheless important similarities between these two cities. The primary aim of policy-makers in both instances was to increase social cohesion and mobility, despite it being done in two completely different contexts.

The conclusions of this research lie in its comparison. This research thus worked towards finding linkages between how superdiversity exists in different contexts which are influenced by different variables. This was further done by analysing two types of migration: internal and international. The comparison gives us the following insights.

The superdiversity of the city was more readily recognised in Rotterdam than it was in Mumbai. The focus in Rotterdam was, however, predominantly on non-Western migrants. This shows that the superdiversity of the city was connected to and defined by only the non-Western composition of the population. This is not what Vertovec had in mind, as according to him, all

foreign populations make up the superdiversity of a city.[172]

Vertovec and Crul further mention that ethnicity should not be the sole criteria to judge superdiversity. It should also take factors such as language and religion into account. In the attempt to do this, it became clear that importance is attached to these factors more in India than it is in the Netherlands. Data regarding religion and language is not as readily available in the latter, making it harder to link them with the superdiversity of Rotterdam. This shows that in Rotterdam, superdiversity was assessed first and foremost through ethnicity. Furthermore, the prevention of selective migration was heavily emphasised throughout, and it was underlined as one of the main problems Rotterdam faced during the research period. The Indian Census, in contrast, has separate sections dealing exclusively with religion and language, probably because India is home to more languages and religions than the Netherlands.

The impact of superdiversity can be seen on immigration policies. The size of immigration is directly proportional to the level of superdiversity. With an increased number of people from different parts of the country (in the case of Mumbai) and the world (in the case of Rotterdam), the respective state and municipal governments have had to respond to this more decidedly and urgently than before. In both cases, the first response has been to gather more information on the situation, statistically and through surveys. In this research, migration was assessed primarily as a social process. The reasons for migration were highlighted, and its impact on quality of life were also specified. Migration, broadly, leads to betterment in lifestyle, at least economically.

Lastly, certain broad conclusions regarding the impact of superdiversity on urban planning, specifically gentrification, can also be ascertained. Firstly, emphasis is given on preventing the clustering of immigrants. Secondly, there is an effort to make housing more accessible to immigrants and other disadvantaged groups through social housing/redevelopment projects which sell houses very cheaply. Thirdly, these redevelopment projects result in the

[172] Vertovec, "Superdiversity and Its Implications."

construction of houses which are of better quality, which in turn attracts other sections of society, namely the middle and upper-middle class, into these neighbourhoods. Lastly, with increasing number of migrants settling down in the city, a major aspect of urban planning now pertains to reducing housing shortage. Plans to build several hundred houses over a span of few years have thus become popular. Jackelyn Hwang's assumption (mentioned in the Historiographical Review section), that more racial mixing leads to a higher level of gentrification, holds true in both cases. In Mumbai and well as in Rotterdam, gentrification policies were emphasised in areas where state/ethnic diversity was more prominent.

In a world where an increasing number of cities are becoming superdiverse, what then, is the future of immigration and socio-cultural integration? Is it marked by social exclusion and strong identification with one's own cultural group, or is it marked by cohesion and unity? It is unrealistic to expect a future which is completely negative or completely positive. This research has shown that reality exists somewhat in the middle. In Mumbai's case, policy-makers are becoming increasingly aware of the benefits of internal migration, and the city is flourishing in its superdiversity. Emphasis is being given on making migrants more economically integrated. In Rotterdam, cultural integration (more than economic integration) has been given utmost importance since 1998, and although the guidelines to ensure this are becoming stricter, ethnic identity is also being promoted with the construction of mosques, a more ethnically diverse employment pool etc. In both cases, the volume of social housing is growing, more information is being generated on the lives and status of migrants, and more informed policies are being initiated. This has happened despite of the continuing distrust of immigrants and their increasing numbers.

This research is by no means conclusive. However, the aim was to take a phenomenon- superdiversity- which has become a reality for so many cities

around the world and analyse it in two very different perspectives. This was also done by associating it with aspects it is closely connected to, namely, immigration and gentrification. Nonetheless, further research needs to be done, and several more cases need to be analysed to discern the commonalities in the working of gentrification and immigration in superdiverse contexts, both in the global south and the west. Furthermore, superdiversity needs to be assessed on other factors as well, to create a convincing scholarly repository on it. More research needs to also be conducted on the superdiversity of the slums of India, particularly that of Mumbai, to more comprehensively understand their character.

In the meanwhile, it is important to remember that the road ahead regarding immigration and life of migrants is not all rosy, but it is not completely hopeless either. Immigration is slowly being accepted as the new normal, differences are being recognised, cohesion is being cultivated, and cities which are seemingly worlds apart have more in common than ever because of it.

Appendix

1. List of articles and books related to the interplay between immigration, gentrification and diversity:
    a. Gentrification in Changing Cities: Immigration, New Diversity, and Racial Inequality in Neighborhood Renewal by Jackelyn Hwang
    b. Revisiting the Diversity of Gentrification: Neighbourhood Renewal Processes in Brussels and Montreal by Mathieu Van Criekingen and Jean-Michel Decroly
    c. Gentrification: Culture and Capital in the Urban Core by Sharon Zukin
    d. Immigration, Europe and the 'new' cultural dimension by Wouter Van Der Brug and Joost Van Spanje
    e. Diversity, inequality and urban change by Vassilis P. Arapoglou
    f. From London to Mumbai and Back Again: Gentrification and Public Policy in Comparative Perspective by Andrew Harris

References

Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India. “2001 Census Data.” Governmental. Accessed June 1, 2020. https://censusindia.gov.in/Census_And_You/religion.aspx.

Alders, Maarten. “Classification of the Population with a Foreign Background in the Netherlands.” Statistics Netherlands, n.d.

Astrair Research. “The India Report,” n.d.

“At Home in the Netherlands? Trends in Integration of Non-Western Migrants.” Annual Report on Integration. The Netherlands Institute for Social Research, 2009.

Banerjee, Abhijit, and Esther Duflo. *Good Economics for Hard Times*. Juggernaut Books, 2019.

Berg, Marguerite Van Den. “City Children and Genderfied Neighbourhoods: The New Generation as Urban Regeneration Strategy.” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37, no. 2 (536 523): March 2013.

Bhagat, R.B. “Internal Migration In India: Are the Underpriveleged Migrating More?” *Asia-Pacific Population Journal* 25, no. 1 (n.d.): 31–49.

Bhagat, R.B., and Gavin W Jones. “Population Change and Migration in Mumbai Metropolitan Region: Implications for Planning and Governance.” *Asia Research Institute*, Working Paper Series, 201 (n.d.).

Bhagat, R.B., and Soumya Mohanty. “Emerging Pattern of Urbanisation and Contribution of Migration in Urban Growth in India.” *Asian Population Studies* 5, no. 1 (2009): 5–20.

Bhattacharjee, Sujayita. “Comprehending the Gentrification of a Suburb: The Case of Mulund, Mumbai.” *GeoJournal*, 2019.

Bird, Kate, and Priya Deshingkar. “Circular Migration in India.” *Overseas Development Institute*, World Development Report, Policy Brief no. 4 (2009).

Burgers, Jack, and Jeroen van der Waal. “Post-Industrialization and Ethnocentrism in Contemporary Dutch Cities: The Effects of Job Opportunities and Residential Segregation.” In *City in Sight: Dutch Dealings with Urban Change*, 25–40. Amsterdam University Press, 2009.

Champion, A.G. “International Migration and Demographic Change in the Developed World.” *Urban Studies* 31, no. 4/5 (1994).

Chatterjee, Dwiparna, and Devanathan Parthasarathy. “Gentrification and Rising Urban Aspirations in the Inner City: Redefining Urbanism in Mumbai.” In *Sustainable Urbanisation in India*. pp. 239-255: Springer, n.d.

Crul, Maurice. “Super-Diversity vs. Assimilation: How Complex Diversity in Majority–Minority Cities Challenges the Assumptions of Assimilation.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42:1 (n.d.): 54–68.

Crul, Maurice, Jens Schneider, and Frans Lelie. “A New Perspective on Integration.” In *Superdiversity: A New Perspective on Integration*. VU University Press, n.d.

Dagevos, Jaco, and Merove Gijsberts. “Integration in Ten Trends.” The Hague: The Netherlands Institute for Social Research, January 2010.

Doucet, Brian. “A Process of Change and a Changing Process: Introduction to the Special Issue on Contemporary Gentrification.” *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 105 (2014): 125–39.

Doucet, Brian, Ronald Van Kempen, and Jan Van Weesep. “‘We’re a Rich City with Poor People’: Municipal Strategies of New-Build Gentrification in Rotterdam and Glasgow.” *Environment and Planning A* 43 (2011): 1438–54.

Doucet, Brian, and Daphne Koenders. “‘At Least It’s Not a Ghetto Anymore’: Experiencing Gentrification and ‘False Choice Urbanism’ in Rotterdam’s Afrikaanderwijk.” *Urban Studies* 55, no. 16 (2018).

Drop in Article. “History of Census of India.” censusindia.gov.in, 2011.

Eijk, Gwen Van. “Exclusionary Policies Are Not Just about the ‘Neoliberal City’: A Critique of Theories of Urban Revanchism and the Case of Rotterdam.” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 34, no. 4 (December 2010): 820–34.

Entzinger, Han. “A Tale of Two Cities: Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Their Immigrants.” In *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity: The Case of Rotterdam*. IMISCOE Research Series, n.d.

Entzinger, Han, and Godfried Engbersen. *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*. Transatlantic Council on Migration. Migration Policy Institute, 2014.

Ersanilli, Evelyn. “Country Profile: Netherlands.” *Focus Migration*, no. 11 (November 2014).

Gaikwad, Nikhar, and Gareth Nellis. “The Majority-Minority Divide in Attitudes toward Internal Migration: Evidence from Mumbai.” *American Journal of Political Science* 61, no. 2 (April 2017): 456–72.

Galle, Maaike, and Ettjen Modderman. “VINEX: National Spatial Planning Policy in the Netherlands During the Nineties.” *Netherlands Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 12, no. 1 (1997): 9–35.

Gemeente Rotterdam. “Stadsvisie Rotterdam 2030,” 2007.

Gent, Wouter van, Cody Hochstenbach, and Justus Uitermark. “Exclusion as Urban Policy: The Ducth ‘Act on Extraordinary Measures for Urban Problems.’” *Urban Studies* 55, no. 1 (2017): 2337–53.

Gijsberts, Merove. “Ethnic Minorities and Integration: Outlook for the Future.” The Hague: Social and Cultural Planning Office, September 2004.

Government of Netherlands. Equal Treatment Act (n.d.).

Graaf, Peter van der, and Lex Velboer. “The Effects of State-Led Gentrification in the Netherlands.” In *City in Sight: Dutch Dealings with Urban Change*. Amsterdam University Press, 2009.

Guiraudon, Virginie, Karen Phalet, and ter Jessika. “Monitoring Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands.” *International Social Science Journal* 183, no. 75 (2005).

Haberfeld, Yitchak, Debora Birgier, Christer Lundh, and Erik Ellder. “Selectivity and Internal Migration: A Study of Refugees’ Dispersal Policy in Sweden.” *Frontiers in Sociology* 4, no. 66 (September 13, 2019).

Hackworth, Jason, and Neil Smith. “The Changing State of Gentrification.” *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 92, no. 4 (2001): 464–77.

Harloe, Michael. “The Social Construction of Social Housing.” *Urban Research Program*, no. 34 (February 1993).
Harris, Andrew. “The Metonymic Urbanism of Twenty-First-Century Mumbai.” *Urban Studies* 49 (October 2011): 2955–73.
Housing Department. “Maharashtra State Housing Policy.” Government of Maharashtra, July 2007.
Houtzager, Dick, and Peter Rodrigues. “Migrants, Minorities and Employment in the Netherlands.” RAXEN 3. RAXEN Focal Point for the Netherlands and Dutch Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, June 2002.
Hwang, Jackelyn. “Gentrification in Changing Cities: Immigration, New Diversity, and Racial Inequality in Neighborhood Renewal.” *American Academy of Political and Social Science*, The Annals of the American Academy, July 2015.
ACCESS. “Immigration in the Netherlands,” n.d. https://access-nl.org/relocating-to-netherlands/legal-matters/immigration-to-netherlands/what-is-civic-integration-act/.
“Income Distribution.” Netherlands: Statistics Netherlands, 2018. https://www.cbs.nl/en-gb/visualisaties/income-distribution.
International Institute for Environment and Development. “Introduction to Urban Poverty,” n.d. https://www.iied.org/introduction-urban-poverty.
Jagdale, Rohit. “An Overview of Slum Rehabilitation Schemes in Mumbai, India.” Austin: The University of Texas, May 2014.
Karandikar, Priyanka. “Chawls: Analyisis of a Middle Class Housing Type in Mumbai, India.” Iowa State University, 2010.
International Organisation for Migration. “Key Migration Terms,” n.d.
Kullberg, Jeanet, and Isik Kulu-Glasgow. “Building Inclusion: Housing and Integration of Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands.” The Netherlands Institute for Social Research, July 2009.
Lees, L, T Slater, and E Wyly. *Gentrification (1st Edition)*. Routledge/Taylor and Francis Group, 2008.
Lower House of the States General, Government of Netherlands. Complete Revision of the Aliens Act (Aliens Act 2000) (n.d.).
Lucassen, Leo, and Jan Lucassen. “The Strange Death of Dutch Tolerance: The Timing and Nature of the Pessimist Turn in the Dutch Integration Debate.” *The Journal of Modern History* 87, no. 1 (March 2015): 72–101.
Madan, Rohit. “Introduction.” In *City in Sight: Dutch Dealings with Urban Change*. Amsterdam University Press, n.d.
Meissner, Fran. “Exploring Superdiversity and Relational Diversity.” In *Socialising with Diversity: Relational Diversity through a Superdiversity Lens*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
“Migration and Its Impact on Cities.” World Economic Forum, October 2017.
“Migration in India 2007-2008.” NSS 64th Round. National Sample Survey Organisation, Department of Statistics, Government of India, June 2010.
“National Workshop on Internal Migration and Human Development in India.” Summary Report. New Delhi, India: Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), December 6, 2011.

Ochel, Wolfgang. “Selective Immigration Policies: Point System Versus Auction Model.” *CESifo Forum* 2, no. 2 (n.d.): 58–52.
O’Hare, Greg, Dina Abbott, and Michael Barke. “A Review of Slum Housing Policies in Mumbai.” *Cities* 15, no. 4 (1998): 269–83.
Ouwehand, Andre, and Wenda Doff. “Who Is Afraid of a Changing Population? Reflections on Housing Policy in Rotterdam.” *Geography Research Forum* 33 (2013): 111–46.
Pandey, Arvind. “Spatio-Temporal Changes in Internal Migration in India during Post Reform Period.” *Journal of Economic and Social Development* 10, no. 1 (July 2014): 10.
Paton, Kirsteen. *Gentrification: A Working Class Perspective*. London: Routledge, n.d.
Pieters, Janene. “Total Burka Ban in Netherlands Part of Ruling VVD Party’s Integration Plan.” NLTimes, February 16, 2017. https://nltimes.nl/2017/02/16/total-burka-ban-netherlands-part-ruling-vvd-partys-integration-plan.
“Port of Rotterdam,” n.d. https://www.portofrotterdam.com/nl.
Ramesh, Srinidhi. “Positive and Negative Impacts of Liberalisation on Indian Economy.” careeranna, n.d. https://www.careeranna.com/articles/indian-economy-liberalisation-impacts/.
“Report of the Working Group on Migration.” Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, Government of India, January 2017.
Risbud, Neelima. “The Case of Mumbai: India.” Understanding Slums: Case Studies for the Global Report on Human Settlements. New Delhi: School of Planning and Architecture, 2003.
“Rotterdam Zet Door: Op Weg Naar Een Stad in Balans.” Rotterdam: Municipality of Rotterdam, Rotterdam, December 2003.
Roy, Ananya. “Civic Governmentality: The Politics of Inclusion in Beirut and Mumbai.” *Antipode* 41, no. 1 (2009).
Scheffer, Paul. “Het Multiculturele Drama.” *NRC Handelsblad*, January 29, 2000.
Schmeets, Hans. “De Religieuze Kaart van Nederlands, 2010-2015.” The Hague: Central Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS), 2016.
Shetty, Prasad, Rupali Gupte, Ritesh Patil, Aparna Parikh, Neha Sabnis, and Banita Menezes. “Housing Typologies in Mumbai.” Mumbai: CRIT, May 2007.
Singh, Ajay, and Arjuna Ranawana. “Local Industrialistis Against Multinationals.” *Asiaweek*, n.d.
“Slum Rehabilitation Authority: Our Projects.” Government of Maharashtra, n.d. https://sra.gov.in/page/innerpage/our-projects.php.
Stouten, Paul. “Gentrification and Urban Design in the Urban Fabric of Rotterdam.” *Journal of Urban Regeneration and Renewal* 11, no. 1 (2017): 92–103.
“Tables on Houses,Household Amenities and Assets - Slum Households.” Census of India 2001. Government of India, n.d.
“The City Lounge.” Rotterdam: Gemeente Rotterdam, 2013.
Council of Europe. “The City of Rotterdam: Intercultural Profile.” Accessed June 22, 2020. https://rm.coe.int/1680482b8a.

Tunstall, Rebecca. “The Links Between Housing and Poverty.” Joseph Rowntree Foundation, April 5, 2013. https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/links-between-housing-and-poverty.
Uitermark, Justus, Jan Willem Duyvendak, and Reinout Kleinhans. “Gentrification as a Governmental Strategy: Social Control and Social Cohesion in Hoogvliet, Rotterdam.” *Environment and Planning A* 39 (2007): 125–41.
Urban, Florian. “Mumbai’s Suburban Mass Housing.” *Urban History* 39, no. 1 (February 2012): 128–48.
Vertovec, Steven. “Superdiversity and Its Implications.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30:6 (2007).
———. “Talking Around Superdiversity.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42 (2017): 125–39.
———. *Transnationalism*. London; New York: Routledge, n.d.
Weinstein, Liza. “Mumbai’s Development Mafias: Globalization, Organized Crime and Land Development.” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 32, no. 1 (March 2008): 22–39.
Habitat for Humanity, Great Britain. “What Is a Slum: Definition of a Global Housing Crisis,” n.d. https://www.habitatforhumanity.org.uk/what-we-do/slum-rehabilitation/what-is-a-slum/.
“Working Group on Urban Housing with Focus on Slums.” 11th Five Year Plan 2007-2012. Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, Government of India, 2007.
World Bank. “Structural Adjustments in India,” n.d.
Zeijden, Albert van der. “‘Super-Diversity’ and the Changing Face of Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Case of West-Kruiskade, Rotterdam.” Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage, n.d.

Abstract

Diversity is the backbone of everything human: there exist countless traditions and cultures, each more different than the next. However, in the contemporary world, these diversities are intersecting like never before. So much so, that many of these cities have gone beyond being just diverse, and have become superdiverse. In a superdiverse city, every group, including the native population is a minority. In this research, superdiversity will be assessed on the basis of two related phenomena: immigration and gentrification. The innovative aspect of this research, however, is putting these concepts to use in the way of a comparison. The comparison between two very contrasting cities- Rotterdam and Mumbai- will offer a better understanding of the working and nature of superdiversity, and will help ascertain the commonalities and general features. The time frame of this research, namely 1991-2011, was chosen for several reasons. The main ones being that 1991 marks a major change in the Indian economy. It was the year the economic policy of liberalisation was initiated. This opened the market to foreign investors and brands, who began establishing their offices and factories in India. As a result, thousands of jobs were created and large cities like Mumbai became popular for workers from all over the country. The European Single Market and Schengen area was established in 1993, which made the movement of goods, labour, capital free within the EU, and transport/travel passport-free. This resulted in a greater movement of people as well, and counts as one of the major reasons for increased migration.

The superdiversity and its impact on immigration and gentrification policies will be assessed via governmental records and laws, statistics and surveys. The conclusions of this research lie in its comparison between two seemingly incomparable cities. This research has thus worked towards finding

linkages between how superdiversity exists in different contexts which are influenced by different variables. The goal is to understand a phenomenon which is quickly becoming the new reality, but which is still nonetheless misunderstood.