Chapter 2
THE GROWTH JOURNEY OF GURGAON TO THE MILLENNIUM CITY

2.1 Introduction

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2.1 INTRODUCTION

Urban growth is an inevitable phenomenon as the urban population and the urban centres are continuously on the increase. According to UN’s State of the World Population, 200741 ‘Urban growth’ is the increase in the number of people who live in towns and cities, measured either in relative or absolute terms. It further says

“The world is undergoing the largest wave of urban growth in history. In 2008, for the first time in history, more than half of the world’s population will be living in towns and cities. By 2030 this number will swell to almost 5 billion, with urban growth concentrated in Africa and Asia. While mega-cities have captured much public attention, most of the new growth will occur in smaller towns and cities, which have fewer resources to respond to the magnitude of the change42”.

Bhatta, Basudeb 201043 has emphasised the importance of urban growth in understanding the ever growing towns and cities and their characteristics. He has quoted Clarke (1982) in his work on urban growth,

“Urban Growth is a spatial and demographic process and refers to the increased concentration of towns and cities as the concentration of population within a particular economy and society. The spatial configuration and dynamics of urban growth are important topics of analysis in the contemporary urban studies.”

Moreover, UNFPA, 200744 have also mentioned that the cities are the centres of growth. As it states that the cities are bound to grow and are growing and are the centre of all transformations that is the changes.

“At the global level, all future population growth will thus be in towns and cities. Most of this growth will be in developing countries. This vast urban expansion in

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41 UNFPA, 2007, op. cit.
42 www.unfpa.org/pds/urbanization.htm
44 UNFPA, 2007, op. cit.
Developing countries have global implications. Cities are already the locus of nearly all major economic, social, demographic and environmental transformations. What happens in the cities of the less developed world in coming years will shape prospects...”

Gurgaon, the study area, is a glaring example of urban growth. It has experienced growth spurt both spatially and demographically. With this sharp spurt in its growth, it seems to have taken a modern avatar or reincarnation. It stands today grown and developed from a small town to being the Millennium City of the country.

Gurgaon has been referred to as the icon of India’s Growth and Development at the international platform\textsuperscript{45}. The city’s saga needs to be explored to understand all about the journey of the growth of the city with the series of developments taking place simultaneously. The growth journey of Gurgaon dates back to its period of origin and continues till today. This journey can be divided into different phases of the town’s growth and this chapter looks into each of these phases. It is followed by deciphering the nature of the town’s growth graph hence understanding its dynamism. The town’s growth dynamics involve both the population dynamics and the spatial dynamics experience. This growth has involved multiple actors or players such as the government, the residents and the private developers. In its growth journey, the city space has got divided and changed into differential spaces coexisting within the city. The city has been of late being discussed to be raised to the status of the capital city of the state due to the series of developments\textsuperscript{46}.

But the questions that come to once mind when one hears about a city having ‘gaon’ that means a village as a suffix to its name, now called and labelled as the Millennium City of the country, are firstly, how the town of Gurgaon was during the ancient times of Mahabharata days and what has it become today? – that is how it has transformed

\textsuperscript{45} Yardley, Jim. 8 June 2011. op. cit..
\textsuperscript{46} http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2011-09-21/Gurgaon/
through its journey going back to the Mahabharata days and then during various time periods up to its Modern Avtaar. Secondly, the dynamics of the growth of the city – understanding the changing growth graph of the town and lastly, what has caused the growth of the city and how the events have taken shape for its developments?

The sections below explore and answer all these questions regarding the modern reincarnation of Gurgaon.

2.2 GURGAON - FROM ‘MAHABHARTA DAYS’ TO ‘ITS MODERN DAY AVTAAR’

The journey of Gurgaon’s growth goes back to the BC and has taken various shades over time. Gurgaon has been a ‘gaon’ that is the village since its historical past with a small core town. Its historical past reflects the same nominal growth being experienced by this small town over time. The pace of growth has rather picked up only recently. It has grown from being a class III town till 1970 to a city with only more than a lakh population and in 2011 it has crossed 10 lakh population mark. Based on the growth pace, the section below explores the journey of Gurgaon through the two phases since its historical past to the present day. The first phase covers over its historical past, throughout which it has been experiencing the similar slow growth. Whereas it has entered the second phase since Haryana became a separate state in 1966 and has been experiencing the relatively fast-paced growth.

2.2.1. Looking Back into the Historical Past of the City

Through its historical past Gurgaon has been a small town largely without any recognition or identity. Its historical past has been divided into three sub-phases that includes ancient phase, medieval phase and modern phase. Each of these phase have rendered a different effect on the town of Gurgaon.

2.2.1.1. The Ancient Phase

Though the city has caught the eye of all in the last decade but its existence goes back to the B.C. Though there are different stories and belief about the origin of the city's name, the most
common legend can be traced back to the Mahabharata days in Hindu mythology. It says that Gurgaon is the ancestral village of Guru Dronacharya, the teacher of the Pandavas and Kauravas in the Indian epic, the *Mahabharata*. It is believed that the city of Gurgaon was the gram or gaon on the land given to Guru Drona by Dhritarashtara, the king of Hastinapur in recognition of his teachings of martial arts to the princes, and thus, it acquired its name that is *guru-gram* or Guru’s gaon. In Sanskrit, *Guru* means teacher, which in this case refers to Dronacharya and *Gram* means village. The gram was over a period of time rounded off to a colloquial *gaon* (which also means village in Prakrit) and hence the name *Gurgaon* emerged. The Dronacharya Tank still exists within the Gurgaon city, along with a village called Gurgaon itself. According to another theory, the word Gurgaon has been a farming village its name comes from an amalgamation of the words 'gur' (a kind of Jaggery) and 'gaon'(village). This indicates that it has been sugarcane growing area\(^47\) and thus, *gur* that is jaggery has been produced in Gurgaon. It also signifies that throughout its historical past it has been identified as a small farming village.

In its journey from B.C. to A.D., that it has been under different rulers\(^48\). During the B.C., Gurgaon is presumed to be under effective Maurya control, on the basis of the extent of the Maurya Empire. After the break-up of the Maurya Empire, the foreign invaders like Bactrians, Greeks, Scythians and Kushans, spread confusion in the region. But soon the rule of Kushans was repelled by the Yaudeyas from this region. This area formed the part of the Harsha’s empire in the first half of the seventh century and then of the Gurjara Pratiharas. Later the Tomaras who were earlier the feudatories of the Pratiharas became independent, and laid the foundation of Delhi, then called Dhilika in A.D. 736, and the Gurgaon region was under them till Chauhan (Vlsaladeva Chahamana) conquered Delhi about A.D. 1156\(^49\).

The entire phase of ancient times in Gurgaon reflects that there have been different powers that have ruled and then got changed. Inspite of different rulers who have ruled for varying span of periods, yet the most pronounced effect dates back to the

\(^49\) Gurgaon District Gazetteer, 1983. Chapter II P 36-44.
Mahabharata days only. It is reflected in the fact as the population of Gurgaon constitutes in large proportion of Jaduvanshis or Yadavs, whose origin story is related to Lord Krishna during the Mahabharta time. The following section unfolds the Medieval Phase. This phase also has had effect on the population constitution of the Gurgaon region.

2.2.1.2. The Medieval Phase

During the medieval period, people of the region have experienced the vicissitudes of fortune at the hands of the incoming Muslim rulers. For nearly two centuries the people of this area sturdily resisted Muslim domination. The region was finally subdued after the defeat of Prithviraj Chauhan (Chahamana) by Muzz-ud-din Mohammad Ghori in A.D. 1192. The next instance of historical significance of Gurgaon comes in the writings of the 13th century Turkish traveller, Ibn Batuta. He mentioned the existence of some structures of Islamic importance at a place near Delhi, on the way to Ajmer. Gurgaon has been a part of the caravan route that linked Delhi to Ajmer through Jaipur and was an important trading junction for commodities in the arid belt south of Delhi. Thus, during the medieval phase Gurgaon has been under the control of a succession of rulers appointed by the ruling power in Delhi including Yaduvansi-Rajput and Muslims and later Mughals in this order\(^{50}\).

During the end of medieval phase, for a few years Farrukhnagar (a part of Gurgaon district) was taken from the Muslim Nawab, and Ghasera (also a part of Gurgaon district) from the BadGoojar Rajput Rao Bahadur Singh by Raja Surajmal, a Jat ruler of Bharatpur Kingdom in 1753 and held till 1763. Rewari was under Khor clan heir rulers\(^{51}\). During the Medieval period, Gurgaon was ruled by Muslim rulers and towards the end by Jat rulers and the Maratha rulers. Due to this continuous change of power, this has led to the presence of Jats and Muslims in Gurgaon’s population by the end of the Medieval Period.

\(^{50}\) Gurgaon District Gazetteer, 1910. P 9.

2.2.1.3. The British Phase

The beginning of the 19th century, marked the entry of the East India Company in and around Gurgaon. It took control of Gurgaon through a treaty signed by Surji Arjungao in the end of the year 1803. The Gurgaon district, with other possessions of Sindhia, west of the Yamuna, passed on to the British East India Company by the Treaty of Surji Arjungao signed on December 30, 1803. The town of Gurgaon became the headquarters of the administration in 1816. By the mid 19th century, Gurgaon was part of the princely protectorate of Pataudi which is part of Gurgaon district today. By 1857, the life in the district seemed to have settled down to a peaceful and quiet routine. The feudatory races had betaken themselves to agriculture, the higher castes to trade and British service. The old feuds, if not extinct, were at least dormant. When in May 1857 the freedom fighters from Meerut entered Delhi, W. Ford of the Bengal Civil Service, was the Collector and the District Magistrate of Gurgaon. The proximity of the district to the imperial capital was to play a major role in shaping its destiny. Its chiefs and people, especially the former, threw in their lot with the representative of the House of Timur. Its destiny was thus linked with that of Delhi.

According to the first Gazetteer of the Gurgaon District, 1883-84,

“The station of Gurgaon became the administrative headquarters of the District, consists of public offices, the dwellings of Sadar Bazar and the settlement of Jacombpura, which was laid out by a former Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Jacomb, in 1861, for the accommodation of government servants”.

Gurgaon Gazetteer 1983 further mentions that at the turn of twentieth century Gurgaon continued to be lacking in terms of developments as the British government was not in the favor.

“After 1857, the British Government followed a relentless policy of harshness. No steps were taken - to develop Gurgaon region, educationally and economically.

Though situated in ‘the immediate neighbourhood of Delhi, the district was deliberately kept backward … Under the Minto Morley Reforms, as embodied in the Indian Councils Act, 1909, the District boards and other local bodies of the Gurgaon, Rohtak and Hisar districts were constituted: into an electoral unit to elect a member to the Punjab Legislative Council. This election was held after every three years. The policy of ignoring the district was slightly modified after World War I in which the people of the district contributed liberally in men and money”.

The British rulers played their own part in adding to the layers of Gurgaon's past. All throughout, Gurgaon developed as a commodities and grain market of importance. The British integrated Gurgaon into the Punjab Province where it served as district and tehsil headquarters (as shown in Map 2.1). After India's independence, Gurgaon continued to be a part of the state of Punjab until 1966 when Haryana formed a separate state.

Map 2.1  Gurgaon as a part of Punjab Province in 1903

Source: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gurgaon (last accessed in February, 2009)
The partition of Punjab in 1947 led to mass-migration of Muslims from Gurgaon to West Pakistan and vice-versa. The biggest refugee camps were established in this town namely Bhim Nagar Camp, Arjun Nagar Camp... and ever since then, Gurgaon has not looked back.

After the bifurcation of the state of Punjab, Gurgaon became an important market hub of Haryana within the old economic setup. This bifurcation stands as an important milestone not only for Haryana’s growth but also particularly for Gurgaon’s journey towards its growth. By 1965, the authorities saw the potential evolutionary prospect of Gurgaon in relation to the power centre of Delhi, and developed the first master plan. Gurgaon remained a small farming village while neighboring Delhi emerged as India's political capital. Throughout these slow but major economic and administrative changes Gurgaon remained an agro-based feudal society, which depended heavily on the land for economic sustenance.

2.2.2. Present Day Story of Gurgaon: Contemporary Phase

The present day story of Gurgaon is rather the story of making of the Modern Avataar of Gurgaon, that is the Millennium City. In 1966 when the state of Haryana was formulated, Gurgaon was designated as one of its districts. Initially, most of the area was agricultural in nature being an agro-based economy.

The planned urban development of Gurgaon started in 1966 with the interception of the town under the Urban Estates Department, Haryana. And 1970s mark the beginning of the city’s growth and development journey. But it has been since 1990s onwards that the huge population has moved into the city and giving it a growth spurt. This growth spurt has been an outcome of the new liberal system in the 1990s. With the liberalization and globalization, Gurgaon has become home to numerous job options by the end of the 1990s with GE being the first to set up its outsourcing unit in Corporate Park in Gurgaon in 1997. This has led to the huge population growth contributing to the making of the Millennium City. Based on the differential growth experience of the Gurgaon (that has been there pre-1990s and post-1990s), the city has experienced compartmentalised two

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54 Times of India, Jul 30, 2003, Guru Gram to Gurgaon.
different phases of growth. The table given below shows the growth of the city through the two phases:

Table 2.2 Growth of sectors in the two phases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time line</th>
<th>Sectors that came up</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970s (particularly later half that is 1975-1978)</td>
<td>acquisition of land Near Dundahera, Mulahera for Maruti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975 to 1982</td>
<td>Udyog Vihar Ph.-I Industrial Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982 to 1990</td>
<td>Sectors 31 to 38 (Sector 31, 32, 38-1987; Sector 32A-1989)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990 to 1995</td>
<td>Sectors – 26, 26A, 27, 39, 39, 40 and 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>A, E, G and K blocks, Silver Oaks of DLF &amp; Ansals Only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995 to 2000</td>
<td>Sector 24, 25, 25A, 28, 29, 42 to 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since 2000</td>
<td>Sector 50 to 57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This growth is depicted and reflected in Map 2.1. This map shows that where the growth has happened in the two phases. In the pre-liberalization phase, the growth of the city and the coming up of new sectors has been adjacent to the old colonies of Gurgaon, towards Delhi along the Old NH-8. The sectors developed at then include till sector 23 and are located to the right of NH-8 (while moving on NH-8 from Delhi towards Jaipur). These constitute Old Gurgaon. It has been developed largely by the government except two pockets that have been built by the private developers (Old DLF Colony by DLF near sector 14 and Palam Vihar by Ansals in sector 21 to 23).

The growth started spreading outwards dominantly since 1990s with the coming up of NH-8 (as it is at present). Sectors 24 to 57 (except sector 31 to 38) have all come up post-1990s, that is, in the post-liberalization phase. These sectors have come up post 1990s and largely been built by the private developers. All this growth and the sectors are located to the left of NH-8 (while moving on NH-8 from Delhi towards Jaipur) and constitute New Gurgaon.
The Growth Journey of Gurgaon to the Millennium City

Map 2.2 Phase-wise Growth of Gurgaon

Source: Based on primary survey, 2010.

Thus, the contemporary phase that has experienced differential growth led to formation of Old and New Gurgaon. Based on their period of origin (in the contemporary phase), location in the city and the authority that have developed them, the city area has been divided into Old Gurgaon, New Gurgaon and the urban villages. The old colonies and the adjacent sectors located to the right of NH-8 have been largely built by the government authorities prior to 1990s constitute Old Gurgaon. The areas built to the left of NH-8 have been built by the private developers since 1990s onwards form New Gurgaon. And lastly, the small villages which exist till day and have become urbanised in the process of city’s growth spread in both the Old and New Gurgaon are the Urban Villages. Hence, the contemporary phase experience has led to coming up of Old Gurgaon, New Gurgaon and Urban Villages. The section below explores the compartmentalised growth phases that been experienced by the city.
2.2.2.1. The Pre-Liberalization Phase (Since 1970s to 1990s)

Till 1971, the growth was slow, with only present city centre showing some development. Since 1970s, the growth started picking up slight pace and the town and the population started expanding outwardly.

In the decade of 1970s, the town of Gurgaon has expanded initially juxtaposed to the old colonies of Gurgaon only. The old colonies constituting old Gurgaon were those present next to bus adda i.e., the main bus terminal. These include colonies such as Jacombpura, Arjun Nagar, Bhim Nagar and 4-marllah, 8-marllah initially expanded into the adjoining areas and these newer colonies got the names such as Madanpuri with its gali numbers, New Colony. Thereafter, it was followed by the first sectors during the 1970s. These were sector 4 and 7 that were developed as residential sectors and sector 18 as the industrial estate. These were located close to the old localities of the core town such as Jacombpura, Madanpuri, Jyoti Park, etc. Gradually, the entire areal expansion of Gurgaon started encroaching upon the agricultural land of the villages surrounding Gurgaon town such as Gurgaon village, Dundahera village, Mulahera village. These were the villages located outwards from the Old Gurgaon to Delhi and close to the old NH8. By the year 1975, the sectors started being constructed were sectors 14 and 17 and these were placed outwards from the city core (towards Delhi).

But it was with establishment of HUDA under HUDA act, 1977 the growth and development of Gurgaon gained momentum. This momentum has been built with the advent of both auto industries and the private developers from 1981 onwards. Since then the area experienced a great boom in construction activity. Then the villages located close to the new NH8 were acquired in 1980s (the new NH8 that came up in 1990s followed) such as ChakarPur, SikanderPur, Wazirabad, and Jharsa. This continued in 1990s also and sectors such as 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, and 49 were developed. The same is visible in Map 2 as it shows the areas acquired initially were close to the core town or the Old Gurgaon and gradually the acquisition has moved further away.

55 http://en.wikipedia.org
Simultaneously there was a parallel set of developments taking place that have contributed to the growth of city. These parallel developments included the entry of Maruti and private developers almost during the same time period.

The end of 1970s saw the coming up of industry with Maruti making its foray in Gurgaon. With the beginning of the decade of 1980s, Maruti started its functioning in Gurgaon. It was followed by the ancillary industries of Maruti spreading their base in the city and other automobile industries such as Hero Honda. The coming up of Maruti Suzuki plant in 1983 in Gurgaon has been a major turning point in Gurgaon’s economy. The Indian Express has highlighted the same:

Mangla has remarked “The selection of land in Gurgaon for setting up the Maruti plant during Bansi Lal’s regime was the major turning point in Gurgaon’s development march”. Its proximity to Delhi and the international airport were huge plusses that led others like Hero Honda to set-up at a plant at Dharuhera, which at that point fell in Gurgaon district. It was followed by setting up of number of other automobile industries. At present, of the 3,000 small-scale units manufacturing automobile components in the state, most are located in Gurgaon.

Gurgaon was classified as priority town in metropolitan area, thus supplemented to Delhi needs. The pioneer Developers to step in Gurgaon was DLF and Ansals. The advent of private developers was from 1981 onwards. K.P.Singh, the Chairperson of DLF has remarked

“A few entrepreneurs seized this opportunity when there was nothing but barren land around and began to set up farmhouses and farms around Gurgaon. The City looked like a good opportunity and the land values there were very low and DLF (Delhi Land and Finance), the first among the private developers, began to buy land in hundreds of acres. Over the next several years DLF invested in thousands of acres of

56 J.N.Mangla is the president of Gurgaon Industries Association and this excerpt has been picked up from his interview given to Indian express (www.indianexpress.com).
land in and around Gurgaon. DLF ensured that both office and residential complexes were developed in parallel and were in proximity to enable the setting up of a large city”.

In 1981 Haryana Urban Development Act was implemented, and DLF got the first licence. It was in 1985-86 that DLF sold its first plot in Gurgaon. It was infact DLF that brought in a series of initial few complexes. Amongst the initial projects were those of DLF and Ansals. These developers have had their initial projects situated close to the city, to the east of old NH8 and easily accessible through it. Thus they were largely confined to Old Gurgaon. These included the Old DLF Colony and Ansal’s Palam Vihar. These developers have played a pivotal role in deciding the direction of the city’s growth and development and thus, shaping the landscape of the present day Gurgaon.

2.2.2.2. The Post-Liberalization Phase (Since 1990s)

This phase has seen growth spurt in Gurgaon and expansion to the New Gurgaon. This growth spurt has been largely due to liberalization and consequent processes and the direction has been steered by the private developers. UN’s State of the World Population 2007 has identified liberalization and globalization as a major contributing factor towards city growth as it reads “The impact of globalization on city growth patterns marks a critical difference between past and present transitions. Cities are the main beneficiaries of globalization, the progressive integration of the world’s economies. People follow jobs, which follow investment and economic activities” The same has stood true for Gurgaon. It experienced being a job centre boom during the end of 1990s, followed by people moving into the city along with the private real estate investment taking place and thus, came in a spurt in growth. Initially, though the construction was slow but in 1990s the town experienced a great boom in construction activity (as clear from Table 2.2). It was particularly towards the end of 1990s, that Gurgaon started experiencing growth in terms of population as well as real estate. And the reason has been the role played by the

58 www.dlf.in/dlf/DFL-Chairman/Chairman_profile
private developers and globalization. Globalization has brought in plethora of jobs in the later half of 1990s such as call centres, KPOs, BPOs, IT sector, etc. Moreover, the politico-economy nexus behind the scene is reflected in the statements of DLF chairperson, K.P.Singh. In the early 1990s, when General Electric (GE) wanted to setup an operation in the country for its back-office operations, it was approached by DLF. The Chairman of DLF, K.P. Singh approached Jack Welch of GE, who was impressed by the possibilities that the City and the Developer had to offer. Sensing the opportunity GE set up its operations in the DLF complex in 1997. This phase has been followed by setting up of multiple call centres, BPOs, KPOs and other MNCs. A wave of multinational companies choose to locate their operation in Gurgaon after GE did so in 1997. These MNCs include companies like American express, EXL, IBM, Microsoft, Infosys, Ericsson, Oracle, Bank of America, American Airlines, The Coca-Cola company, Nokia, Sapient, and Airtel, DLF, Maruti Suzuki, Hero Honda, etc.. These have made Gurgaon the call centre capital of India and an important financial centre. Gurgaon has emerged as a major industrial and corporate hub. Its growth has been made possible by the large-scale acquisition of agricultural lands by the government and the private developers. And in 2005 DLF City has become Asia's largest private township. Due to the huge number of private developers who have come up in Gurgaon particularly post 2000; the large-scale ongoing construction is a common scene in New Gurgaon. This is also visible from Image 2.1 shown below. The image shows ongoing construction of all types such as of

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Table 2.3 Growth of colonies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. Of colonies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: HUDA office, Gurgaon, 2000

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residences, malls, hotels in the city. The construction boom is particularly at a larger scale in New Gurgaon and have been brought by the private players in the city. Hence, it won’t be an exaggeration to say that the growth journey of the Gurgaon city began with private developers like DLF and

**Image 2.1 Construction boom in New Gurgaon**

a) Mall under construction on MG Road near Cyber City.

b) Official complexes under construction

c) Country Inn Hotel under construction at NH-8 Toll

Ansals coming into play simultaneously with the Maruti making its foray in the town in the beginning of 1980s.

All the actors as have been pointed out in the preceding paragraphs have steered the growth journey of Gurgaon. These actors include setting up of the industries in Gurgaon, the private developers such as DLF and lastly globalization and the changes in government policies. These have together contributed to the growth of Gurgaon. These actors can be attributed to the advantages that Gurgaon offer. The set of factors offering advantages has marked for Gurgaon a turning point in its growth journey.

a) Physical Aspect: “Koi pehle puchhe tha toh kahve thae ki Gurgaon mein na bayyahenge apni beti ko” (whoever used to ask earlier so the response of the people used to be that we will not marry our daughters in Gurgaon) was the statement of one of the respondents talking about the stories of the history of Gurgaon and then he explained that it was largely due to the poor productivity of the land here and the weather conditions. This indicates that Gurgaon has been unfavourable physically both in terms of its topography and climatically.

Gurgaon has been geographically a semi-arid area. Due to its topography it was historically having a mix of 3 kinds of occupations in the peripheral villages of the Gurgaon town owing to its physical aspects. Due to being located at the edge of Aravallis, there was stone crushing present as one of the occupations of the people. Besides, there was practising of agriculture and cattle rearing by the people as their source of livelihood.

The climatic conditions show that the area is semi-arid. The climate, except during the monsoon, is characterized by the dryness in air, a hot summer and a cold winter. The year may be broadly divided into four seasons, viz. winter, summer, monsoon and the post monsoon or the transit period. The normal annual rainfall in the district is 59cm. The rainfall in the district increases from the west towards the east. About 77 per cent of the annual rainfall in the district is received during the south-west monsoon months. The air
is generally dry during the greater part of the year. Humidity is high in the south-west monsoon season. April and May are the driest months when the relative humidity in the morning is about 30 per cent and in the afternoon less than 20 per cent. In the south-west during the monsoon season and for brief spells of a day or two in winters in association with passing western disturbances, heavily clouded or overcast skies generally prevail. The skies are mostly clear or lightly clouded during rest of the year. Winds are generally light but gain force in the summer and monsoon seasons.

The climate along with the nature of land that is not very rich due to its proximity to desert since the historical past has always ensured the growth of only limited crops such as jowar, bajra and channa and cattle rearing.

b) Locational advantage: The advantage include the city’s proximity to Delhi, with the semi-arid nature of land of the surrounding villages of Gurgaon has given it an edge in the route of its growth, unlike the other satellite towns of Delhi It is located close to south of Delhi. The proximity to Delhi, the capital city of the country has acted as advantageous for the town as it provides easy access to the domestic and International Airport and the administrative hub of the country. This has led to better and quick connectivity in turn. As the TCPO\textsuperscript{61} (Town and Country Planning Organisation) has also remarked “Proximity to National Capital provides it a natural advantage – access to excellent rail, road and air links to the world”. This connectivity has facilitated in forming a base for business as well corporate job hub in the city.

c) Economic Edge: Yet another advantage is related to the rules that have made it a job hub. It includes the Supreme Court order putting a ban on the stone crushing industry followed by coming up of Maruti and other industries. The stone crushing industry provided jobs to people of the surrounding villages such as Nathupur, Dundahera and Mulahera. Consequently, it caused the native people searching for other job options. The coming up of industries as well as corporate jobs during the decade of 1980s and

1990s has led to the city being economically attractive. This has been an outcome of move towards liberalisation.

The generation of jobs both in the industrial sector and service sector has added to economic attraction offered by the city and caused large scale incoming of people from the different states. The report of IBEF (Indian Brand Equity Foundation) identifies Gurgaon as amongst the key industrial centres in Haryana indicating towards Gurgaon being a strong economic base. It further adds highlighting the job variety it offers:

“Gurgaon is the most developed commercial and business centre of Haryana, located on the outskirts of Delhi. The industrial areas in and around Gurgaon house most of the automobile and auto component manufacturers in the state.

Gurgaon also has a number of garment export units.

During the last 3-4 years, Gurgaon has emerged as an important location for the Information Technology (IT) and the Information Technology Enabled Services (ITES) industry in the state. The state is the third largest exporter of software services from the country. Gurgaon, on the outskirts of Delhi, is one of biggest locations for Information Technology Enabled Services (ITES) facilities in India”.

Thus, Gurgaon offers a variety of jobs ranging from different types of industries present here to IT-related jobs and has an added economic advantage.

d) Political factor (particularly with reference to the other suburbs of Delhi): The political rules and laws have also been favourable as they have allowed the private developers to acquire land directly from the people rather than government acting as an intermediate. This has facilitated the role of private developers in the route to growth and development of Gurgaon. The Government have been very supportive and encouraging towards the private developers as is visible from their own statements in one of its report\(^{62}\). The report of IBEF reads:

\(^{62}\) IBEF, 2005. Indian States: Economy and Business – Haryana. IBEF, CII.
“The State Government recognizes infrastructure as a key facilitator of economic development. The state proposes to adopt an integrated approach to develop industrial and supportive infrastructure. The Industrial Policy aims to encourage private sector participation in development of infrastructure”.

All the above factors have led to advantageous situation of Gurgaon and thus, contributing to the phenomenal growth experience of the city. It has been in the post-liberalization phase that the city has grown enormously (for instance the growth in the number of colonies shows a rapid increase and it doubled in 1990s). The growth of the city has been explored in the following section that is the growth dynamics of the city. The growth dynamics have been looked into through understanding the population growth and the areal growth and the consequent land use changes. Along with this growth, the city of Gurgaon has also experienced recently the change in its administrative authority. Till 2008 it was Municipal Council for the old Town and Panchayats for the surrounding villages. But now it is Municipal Corporation that has been formed recently in July, 2008. The growth of the city has preceded the change and formation of newly formed Municipal Corporation of Gurgaon. The following section explores this growth over the years.

### 2.3 THE GROWTH DYNAMICS OF THE CITY

The sequence of growth through the two phases, particularly the present day phase has set the base for the growth dynamics of the city. The growth of the city has been an outcome of the above given factors acting favourably. These have rendered Gurgaon its ‘Modern Avtaar’. The growth has been analyzed taking both the demographical dynamics of the city as well as areal dynamics of the city.

#### 2.3.1. Demograhihal Dynamics of the City

The city of Gurgaon has grown leaps and bounds due to the factors mentioned in the preceding section. These factors have played a crucial role in altering the demographic situation of the city. The demographic changes include the sharp increase in the population numbers thus, taking a numeric turn as well the cultural turn in the population of the city. Both the numeric turn in population numbers as well as the cultural turn has
given the city a new identity. The town of Gurgaon has evolved in a city with the series of changes and dynamics in demography.

2.3.1.1. The Numerical turn

Till the beginning of 1970s Gurgaon was a class III town with a population of less than 50,000 people. The first enumeration of the population of Gurgaon was done in 1868 when this town had 2,643 people. In 1941, the town had a population of 9,935 persons. As per 1951 census, Gurgaon, Rewari and Palwal had population ranging between 20,000 and 49,999 (class III).

Table 2.3 Population Growth in Gurgaon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>2,643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>9,935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>18,613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>37,868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>57,151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1,00,877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>1,35,884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>2,29,243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>15,14,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: District Gazettes of Gurgaon, 1910, 1983 and Census

The Table given above shows the increasing population numbers of Gurgaon. The population of Gurgaon had risen fast from 18,613 people in 1951 to 37,868 in 1961. This increase was mainly due to the growth of industry in and around Gurgaon and its nearness to Delhi. Its importance was also due to the district administrative offices having been located here.

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63 Gurgaon District Gazetteer, 1910.
64 Gurgaon District Gazetteer, 1910 and 1983.
From 1971 to 2001, it has crossed 1 lakh (1.7 lakh) mark adding slightly more than 1 lakh population over a period of 30 years and a much higher number that is 15,00,000 (1.5 million) in the last decade from 2001 to 2011. The steep growth of population during 2001 and 2011 that is the preceding decade indicates large scale in-migration of people from neighboring states in particular. This has been largely due to the work opportunities generated forming a series of them. The initial opportunities were that of the Maruti plant in 1980s and followed by ancillary plants coming up. In the end of 1990s and beginning of 2000, there was a large number of call centres, BPOs, KPOs – all working in shifts with a lot of cabs, thus not only generating in-office jobs but also jobs for drivers, guards,. It was followed by IT companies and other corporate office jobs coming up causing large number of families moving into the city simultaneously with the coming in of the low income generating jobs. These included jobs such as security guards, maids, servants, drivers,. This has further led to a series of businesses coming up and jobs within them along with further greater demand of low paying jobs services such as sweepers, rickshaw-wallahs, sales boys and girls working at the increasing number of shops and malls and the food vendors or redi-wallas such as chawal-chole walas, roti-channa walas.
standing at various places in the city where they can get enough number of people, more so at *chowks* near call centres where there are shift jobs and people are working and commuting 24×7. Not only this but the present urban villages have derived different nature of working options such as giving on rent shared autos, driving shared autos or tempos, giving on rent set of rooms, shops.

From 1971-81, population in Gurgaon city grew almost by 56% while the population in villages grew only by 35.3%. The tables turned during 1981-91. The villages in Gurgaon have shown a much higher growth rate than Gurgaon town, the average being 64.71% during 1981-91 decade compared to 36.32% for the city. Four villages have shown a growth rate of more than 70% during the same decade. The estimates indicate that the rate of growth of population in these villages is likely to be higher still during 1991-2001 on account of industrial, residential and commercial spaces created in the city region as a result of multiple factors such as globalization, key role of private developers and followed by bringing in of corporate jobs. This clearly indicates that the population has been on the increase but initially it was confined to the Old Gurgaon or the core town. But in the last two decades, the population growth has shifted to the surrounding peripheral villages as a result leading to change of these villages into urban villages and the acquired spaces of these villages into New Gurgaon.

### 2.3.1.2. Cultural turn

The population of the city has not only taken a numeric spurt but also has changed its cultural composition. The population’s cultural composition has become much more heterogeneous. Thus, the city has got its own distinct urban personality as has been called by Beall, Jo and Fox, Sean, 2009. In their book, the authors have quoted the classic works of Wirth and Mumford,

> “Wirth has defined ‘a city as a large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals’ (Wirth 1938). Importantly, he argued that these conditions –

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66 Beall, Jo and Fox, Sean 2009. op. cit.
size, density and heterogeneity – create a distinctly ‘urban way of life’ and an identifiable
‘urban personality’. It is the unique nature of the social, political, economic and cultural
life of cities – or urbanism – that lies at heart of urban scholarship. Similarly, Lewis
Mumford, one of the great urban scholars of the twentieth century, offered the definition
of a city...The definition highlights the spatial dynamics of a built environment that
serves as a ‘theatre’ of human interactions as well as a reflection of social relations. But
Mumford is also attentive to the fundamental influences of size and density, ... It is the
concentration – or congregation – of human energies and activities that brings a space to
life and gives it a distinctly urban character.”

Thus, defining the city, Beall and Fox, 2009 have highlighted that the city and its nature is
dependent on the population size, density and constitution. Gurgaon has also got a distinct
‘urban personality’ due to its increase in size and alongwith that change in its cultural
composition. The cultural layers of Gurgaon have been a derivation out of its historical past
and had only Ahirs, Jats and Gujars largely as major caste groups. As the Gazetteer67
mentions:

“Social Groups in the Gurgaon town and its surrounding villages were largely limited to
a few castes only. The population of the district as stated earlier has been predominantly
Hindu and its important traditional social groups are Ahirs, Jats, Rajputs, Gujars,
Brahmans, Banias and the members of the Scheduled caste. The Kambos, Khatris and
Aroras have come to the district after the Independence. The only Muslim group in
Gurgaon are Meos. Ahirs, Jats, Gujars, Brahmans, Kambos and Meos being the chief
agricultural communities of the district preponderate in the rural area”.

The Gazetteer68 describes the various socio-cultural groups and their origin that have
been present in the town as:

“Ahirs are chiefly found in the northern part of the Gurgaon tahsil. Though various
other folk etymologies are there, the name Ahir is derived from the Sanskrit word

68 Gurgaon District Gazetteer, 1983.
abhira, that is a milkman. According to the Delhi District Gazetteer, 1883-84, 'Their (Ahirs') tradition claims for them a Rajput origin, and the story goes back to when the incarnation of Krishan (Krishna) took place in Bindraban (Vrindavan). At then some demon carried off the cattle of an ancestor of the tribe and also the man himself who was tending them. Krishna by his omnipotence, created a man for the purpose of tending the cattle, and brought back the cattle for him to take care of, and his descendants were henceforth to be called Ahirs. The Ahirs are divided into three khanps or sub.castes., viz. Nandbansi, Jadubansi and Gualbansi. The Jadubansi Ahirs, claim to be descendents of the Yadu, a nomadic race. They were probably by origin a pastoral caste, but in Haryana they are now exclusively agricultural. They are also supposed to have given their name to the Ahirwati dialect. The Jats are stout hard-working cultivators. They predominate in the Palwal tahsil.

The Rajputs, who are found all over the district, largely depend on service in the army. The Gujars are chiefly in the villages of the Gurgaon and Ballabgarh tahsils adjoining the hills and are mostly a pastoral rather than an agricultural tribe. Lately, they have, however, settled down in agriculture in the Ballabgarh and Palwal tahsils.

The Brahmans are chiefly of the Gaur clan and are scattered in the Palwal, Ballabgarh and Gurgaon tahsils. They generally live on agriculture but are indifferent cultivators. Due to their tenacity and persistence, they have succeeded in getting 'the best land in the district allotted to them. The Vaish community, which is concentrated in urban areas is mostly engaged in business. The Khatris and Aroras settled here after the Partition of India have brought new life to villages. They are excellent traders and shop keepers. The district has also a large number of the artisan classes. Because all of them cannot find work, they have taken to cultivation and are working as tenants and agricultural labourers. Kumhars, simple folks, belong to the caste of potters. Some of them work at the wheel and others wander with donkeys in search of work.”
Thus, the Gazetteer clearly states that Gurgaon have had largely only four caste groups-the Yaduvansi heir or the Yadavs, Gurjars, Jats and Meos. Mr. Yadav\(^{69}\) supported the cultural constituents groups of the town in historical past as he quoted “Britishers often used to refer to the communities living in Gurgaon as AJGAR (that stands for combination of Ahirs that is the Jadavs, Jats and Gurjars) for their sharp fighting skills like a snake breed known as AJGAR”. ‘Ajgar’ a breed of reptilians- snakes, these are lethargic and slow moving even in its native habitat, they exhibit timidity and rarely try to escape even when attacked. The historical past of Gurgaon also tells that Gurgaon with the rest of the territory known as Mewat, formed part of an extensive empire and has been historically home to Rajputs of the Jaduvansi or Jadon tribe. Likewise, the historical layers of Gurgaon as they unfold also show the presence of the four main caste groups.

As the Imperial Gazetteer, 1908\(^{70}\) states:

“The Jadon power (that is Jaduvansi Ahirs) was broken by Muhammad Ghor in 1196 but they steadily resisted Muhammadan domination and have a record of incursions of the people of Mewat in Delhi territory. Under Feroz Shah III, Jadons were converted to Islam and later it was annexed by Babar. Rewari was under an Ahir family with their forts and in the south was the Jat ruler, Suraj Mal expanding his dominions”.

Thus, the Gurgaon district mainly had four caste groups-the Yaduvansi heir or the Yadavs, Gurjars, Jats and Meos. The Imperial Gazetteer, 1908 further mentions about these four main cultural groups while describing the historical incidents.

North-western part of Gurgaon tehsil (that is where the present Gurgaon city is) had 106 villages of Yaduvansi heir and they constitute 70 per cent of rural population. Gurgaon was home to a significant Muslim population before partition. Rohilla and Yusfaghi

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\(^{69}\) Mr. Yadav is a 40 year old resident of sector 22 that falls in Old Gurgaon. He has been living there since last 14 years but his relationship and understanding of the city goes back to his childhood days as he has some relatives belonging to the same community that is Yadav. They have been living in different parts of the city and the villages.

Pashtuns were settled here after the 1857 war of independence from Delhi and North-western Provinces. Meo Muslim were in majority in the Firozpur Jhirka state, where they still reside in large numbers though some migrated to Pakistan after partition. Thousands of Punjabi Hindu immigrants from the western part of Punjab that became Pakistan came here as refugees after partition of the country in 1947 and made their home here. At the time of the separate new identity being carved out, when Haryana was made a separate state from Punjab in 1966, Gurgaon town having a small population (37,868 in 1961) was home to largely Punjabi Hindus with the surrounding villages inhabiting Ahirs (Yadavs), Jats and Gurjars. Thus, the most dominating cultural group in Gurgaon city and the surrounding villages had been of Jaduvansi Ahirs that is the Yadavs. The other cultural groups included Gujars and Jats. Muslims though were present but majority of them shifted during the time of partition and the Punjabi Hindus moved as refugees into the city. The other minor groups have been kumhars and Punjabi banias.

Figure 2.3 The socio-cultural change in Gurgaon

Source: Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. 12, field work during 2009-2010.
But this cultural constitution of the city has got changed with the city being home to many more diverse cultural groups own as has been shown in Figure 2.. Presently, Gurgaon has expanded and diversified and so is home to diverse ethnic groups and the population includes ranging people from all over northern India such as Bihar, Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. Not only that, today Gurgaon is populated by people from across the globe, often referred to as the expatriates.

Thus, the flavour of Gurgaon in terms of its population constitution has become very diverse. Earlier it was just the local native population that constituted of largely Ahirs or Yadavs, Jats, Gujars and Punjabis but now it has a truly cosmopolitan flavour as it has people not only from the different parts of northern India, particularly, but also people from across the globe. The same is also visible in a number of practices and celebrations in the city. For instance, Ms Vasudha71 mentioned on questioning about the cultural life in the city

“here all the festivals are celebrated at the community level either be it navratras or Diwali or Holi or Dandiya or Garbha or Durga puja as people from different ethnic backgrounds are residing here. Not only this, children also celebrate Halloween and Christmas as the culture is truly global here”.

Thus, from a small local town with its native cultural groups it has now got a new urban personality of being more global and cosmopolitan.

2.3.2. Spatial Dynamics of the City

The demographic dynamics has brought with it the areal growth and spatial transformation of the city. As there has been a sharp spurt in the population of the city in the last 10 to 20 years, there has been a parallel increase and growth in its area. The need to accommodate the growing population has caused this increase in area. The growth in its area has brought with it the change in the nature of landuse with the growing limits of the city. This has brought the encroachment of the peripheral

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71 Ms. Vasudha is a resident of Maple Heights, condominiums in New Gurgaon. She has been living there since last 7 years.
villages. Consequently, there has been landscape change in the city. The following section not only looks into the experience of the areal growth and spatial changes of the city that is vital for understanding the growth dynamics of the city, but also the futuristic areal growth and expansion has also been explored through the city’s master plan.

2.3.2.1. Areal Growth and Spatial Transformation of the City

Simultaneous to the population increase, there has been a contiguous growth and expansion of the area of Gurgaon. The graph in Figure 2.3 shows that prior to 2001 the increase in the city’s area.

![Figure 2.3 Areal Growth of Gurgaon](image)

Source: Municipal Corporation of Gurgaon Office, 2009

The increase has been only marginal and since 2001 there has been a sharp spurt in the areal increase of the city. This has been largely due to the influx of huge population in the city. This influx has been generated by the multiple job generation in the city and has been accompanied by the huge range of housing offered by the private developers.

The areal increase of the city has resulted into the transformed landscape. The landuse transformation in the city has been immense. The most drastic has been the transformation of agricultural land into the built-up area and the resultant changes are
revealed by the explicit differences in the land use transformation over the years depicted in Figure 2.4.

Sources: Based on Nangia, Sudesh and Gupta, Rupesh Kumar, 2005. Population Explosion and Land Use Changes in Gurgaon City Region-A Satellite of Delhi Metropolis. IUSSP.

Over time the land has been transformed from agricultural category and put to the use of built-up category. Out of the 126 sq kms. in 2002, as total area of Gurgaon city/region, nearly 81% was under agriculture in 1971 i.e., under villages. It was reduced to around 51% (50.67%) in 1993 and to 26.5% in 2002. The rate of decline has been higher during the last decade. Since 1971-93, 38.43 sq kms. of agricultural land was lost while from 1993-2002, 30.65 sq kms. of agricultural land was lost. Since this area has been largely put to the built-up category, the ‘built-up land’ category increased substantially from 11.36 sq kms. in 1971 to 84.2 sq kms. in 2002, the percentage share having increased from 8.96 in 1971 to 66.42 in 2002⁷².

Thus, on the basis of the city’s temporal growth graph, it is evident that the city has experienced a simultaneous spurt in its growth both demographically as well as spatially

⁷² Nangia, Sudesh and Gupta, Rupesh Kumar, 2005. op. cit.
towards the end of the decade of 1990s and the beginning of first decade of 21\textsuperscript{st} century. This has been an outcome of the sequence of events taking place particularly the coming up of private developers and various types of jobs.

2.3.2.2. Gurgaon Manesar Master Plan 2001-21: Future Spatial Expansion of the City

The Millennium City in the process of its growth is bound to expand spatially in the years to come. This is also clearly revealed in the Gurgaon-Manesar Master Plan 2001-21. The Gurgaon’s Master Plan, 1981 was already in the process of acquiring the surrounding villages has further added on the villages beyond the city limits (in the Gurgaon-Manesar Master Plan).

The plan shows and intends to develop the Manesar, the adjoining township to the west integrated alongwith Gurgaon. From the Master Plan 1981 to the Master Plan, 2001 there is a huge change as the Master Plan 2001 has planned development of Manesar linked to Gurgaon (as can be seen in Map 2.3 a) and b). But this puts a question on the entire process of future direction of growth planned for Gurgaon through the new Master Plan. As various sectors such as sector 51 onwards were a part of the previous Development Plan but have been developed only post-2001. They are still facing a crunch of water supply and sewerage pipelines along with the lack of electricity supply. Various sectors such as sector 40 onwards the sewerage lines are yet to be laid for. The roads have been made for these sectors in the later half of 1990s but the basic facilities and amenities are missing. The area with sector 40 onwards has high-rise condominiums in which people are residing since the end of 1990s but they have access to only the infrastructure provided by the Private Developers. Inspite of being planned and developed as per the Final which people are residing since the end of 1990s but they have access to only the infrastructure provided by the Private Developers. Inspite of being planned and developed as per the Final Development Plan, 1981 the of the HUDA Officials gave is “the development work is going on and soon these sectors will get all the basic facilities but they are still not facing any problem either as they have been built by the Private Developers”.

69
Map 2.3 Future Spatial Expansion: Gurgaon Master Plan 1981 to Gurgaon-Manesar Master Plan 2001-2021

Map 2.3 a) Gurgaon Master Plan 1981

Source: Town and Country Planning Division, HUDA Office

This entire situation puts a question mark on the new planning and development of the city under Gurgaon-Manesar Master Plan, 2021. The first question is that “does development means only deciding the land-use that is if it is residential or industrial or commercial zone and laying down of selective roads” and secondly “when the last planned development has not yet been achieved, is the Gurgaon-Manesar Master Plan required and ready the begin with development on these lines”.

70
The growth journey of Gurgaon particularly during the last 3 decades has led to its Modern Avtaar: The Millennium City. The city dynamics have led to a sharp spurt in terms of demographics as well spatial. The demographic dynamics experience of the city have led to a many-fold increase in population size of the city particularly in the last fifteen years that is since towards the end of 1990s. That is why the city is often said to have grown in a few years time like as if it would have grown over a millennia that is hundred years. This drastic increase in population size has also brought with it a cultural turn in population of the city rendering it a new urban personality. The new urban personality of the Gurgaon is marked with highly heterogeneous population and much more cosmopolitan and global population. It has transformed from a small town of Ahirs
(Yadavs) and Gujars and Punjabis only to a city having not only population from
different parts of the country but also from outside the country.

The increase in population size has simultaneously led to the areal growth and spatial
changes in the city thus, altering its landscape. The small town has grown and expanded over
to the surrounding villages that were not a part of Gurgaon but today have become an integral
part of the city as the urban villages. Its area has increased by more than six times since 1980.
And the landuse has got transformed with the increase in area as the peripheral agricultural
lands have been put to built-up category. With the demographic and spatial dynamics, the
small town of Gurgaon has not only become a city but epitomizes as the development symbol
of the country at the international platform as ‘the Millennium City’ of India.

Gurgaon with its dynamics has grown and become a class I city in 2001 and a million-
plus city in 2011. It has also turned into a globalized and cosmopolitized city that today
constitutes its new urban personality. Moreover, simultaneously there has been an areal
increase and spatial change in the form of largely built-up area dominating the city. And
thus, has come its branding and labelling as ‘the Millennium City’ in 2003. But there is
need for unfolding and looking deeper into ‘the Millennium City’ so as to investigate and
justify this labelling and branding that it stands for. The following chapter therefore,
explores the saga of this reincarnation of Gurgaon into the Millennium City through
looking into the cityscape. It also questions the experience of the city to understand the
nature of growth and the associated development in the city.