Chapter 4
THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT AND THE TALE OF TANGIBLE CHANGES IN GURGAON

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4.1 INTRODUCTION

Gurgaon has experienced growth spurt both demographically and spatially. Gurgaon has evolved in its journey of growth, particularly in the last one decade and is often referred to as the development icon of India at the international platform\(^78\). In the words of UNFPA 1996\(^79\), “the growth of the cities will be the single largest influence on development in the 21st century.”

This indicates that the growth of the cities and their development are inseparably linked to each other. Gurgaon befits as an apt example of the above given statement as with its growth, it has come to be referred to as ‘the icon of development’. But since the growth and development process are inextricably linked to each other, what is the nature of development that the city is experiencing? Growth is largely seen in terms of population increase and areal expansion, while Development is measured in different ways. Asian Development Bank\(^80\) has focussed on improved access to the basic urban services as main component of development. These basic urban services covered are water supply, wastewater management, storm water drainage, urban transport, and slum improvement as main components or targets for development projects. These have been included in ADB’s initiative that is Rajasthan Urban Infrastructure Development Project – RUIDP and Karnataka Urban Development and Coastal Environment Management Project – KUDCEMP that have been launched in India. ADB has focussed on basic urban services on the one hand, and on the other, UNDP has highlighted the aspect of broadening of choices for healthy life, knowledge and decent living standard.

UNDP defines human development and its measures that are most commonly accepted all throughout the worlds as\(^81\):

\(^{78}\) Yardley, Jim. 8 June 2011. op. cit..


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“Human development is the process of enhancing the human capabilities to expand choices and opportunities such that each person can lead a life of respect and value. The choices are in the areas of: (a) Leading a long and healthy life, (b) Acquisition of knowledge and (c) Access to the resources needed for a decent living standard”. Thus development is bound to bring more choices in these areas and is hence ascertained to bring changes. Beall and Fox, 2009 have also highlighted development as freedom of choices to the people. According to them development refers to the progress. Progress means positive changes and quoting the Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen, they define these positive changes as to be assuring more freedom to the people, thus referring to the availability of choices. Beall and Fox, 2009 has defined development as positive changes – or progress. According to them development implies the expansion of substantive freedoms to individuals and communities across the globe. They have quoted Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen, as he says freedom is both instrumental to achieving development and is the ultimate goal of development. They have further identified two dimensions of development practice: progress and differentiation. And further remarked

“Progress implies positive change; differentiation refers to unevenness of progress over time and space. For example, one of the most enduring questions in the field of development is: how and why some countries become richer (progress); and why others have remained persistently poor (differentiation)? Can progress (howsoever defined) be achieved without differentiation? Thus, development is fundamentally about change, and in particular progress and differentiation.”

The Nobel Prize winning economist Amartya Sen (1999) provides a framework for thinking about and evaluating progress and differentiation and thus, development. Definition of development advanced by Sen argues “development as freedom; freedom is

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82 Beall, Jo and Fox, Sean 2009. op. cit.
both the primary end and principal means of development. Freedom means being able to live the kind of life that you value; to be able to choose how to live your life.”

Thus, these definitions refer to development as positive change or improvement bringing in more freedom of choices for basic services and health, knowledge and living standard. Thus, the questions that come up are that has the growth brought the progress i.e., the positive changes or more freedom in the lives of the people? And has there been differentiation (along with the progress) in terms of experience of these changes or developments across the spaces?

The presence of variations in the positive changes or in the degree of choices with the space causes differentiation. Thus, differentiation itself implies a change of different kind across the spaces of the city. These different kinds of changes have been identified as of varied types by different scholars. For instance, World Bank\textsuperscript{84} has highlighted changes such as spatial changes, physical changes leading to change in land use, and particularly changes in patterns of interaction in Metropolitan Cities causing fragmentation, differentiation, growing inequalities, poverty concentrations, decentralization and polarization.

Kostreš and Jelicic\textsuperscript{85}, 2009 have worked on cities and the changes that are setting in them and have discussed the demographic, spatial and social changes.

“Cities of today are dynamic, rapidly-evolving organisms of change. Contemporary urban landscapes reflect the ever-increasing pace of these changes, driven by place-specific conditions, on the one hand, and the homogenizing influences of globalization, on the other”.

They have presented a case study of the city of Novi Sad in Serbia, which has, over the last couple of decades, undergone radical changes within its social and spatial structure. They have looked into the city since 1990s as it has been rapidly populated by refugees from the former Yugoslavia and the resultant great changes of the built form.


“Cities around the world have been increasingly faced with demographic changes during the last decades. The cities are mirrors of change in societies and that the spatial aspects of any social and demographic transformation should be studied carefully... These presuppositions were examined in the case-study of the city of Novi Sad in Serbia, the medium-sized city that was transformed by two decades of rapid change and still copes with major refiguring of urban landscape.”

The experience of rapid growth during the last two decades and consequent change of urban landscape has been noted by Kostreš and Jelicic, 2009. The growth experience witnessed and evident in case of Gurgaon has brought its own set of changes. The nature of these changes is social, infrastructural and cultural. These changes in Gurgaon have been categorized into two broad categories:

1. Changes in Tangible aspects
2. Changes in Intangible aspects

Various scholars have discussed the concept of tangible and intangible from different viewpoints. The concept of tangible and intangible has been discussed by Prosper, 2011.

“Tangible Elements — visible, easily measured such as choices in housing options, universally designed and accessible homes, buildings, public spaces, and communication venues, accessible, affordable transportation, choices in mobility options, healthy living environments—home, workplace, public spaces, access to appropriate and affordable basic necessities—such as healthy food.

Intangible elements are more difficult to define; Intangible Elements — less concretely visible, harder to define such as sense of community, community empowerment, social capital, community character.”

Yigitcanlar and Velibeyoglu, 2008 have also remarked about tangible and intangible assets. They said that

“cities particularly the ones with the knowledge-based economy such as those with IT firms etc. have two types of assets: the tangible and the intangible. They have quoted that even the firms in the knowledge-based economy cities have an opportunity to command high market value even with the limited tangible asset base and a strong set of intangible assets. For example, firms like Amazon and Google also exemplify the same. But the cities need both the tangible and the intangible assets.

The assets of a city region influence the potential success of development strategies. Mapping the tangible (i.e. physical infrastructure and buildings such as transport, property, utilities, and cultural amenities) and intangible assets (i.e. knowledge, trust, cooperation, and creativity) contribute to the competitiveness of that city-region by providing countless opportunities.”

Vaugeois and Whitney-Squire, 2010 has discussed about development and the amenities that provide base for development. They have categorized the amenities that form the base for development into three categories: natural, cultural and system amenities. The cultural amenities have been further categorized into tangible and intangible.

“The mix of natural, cultural and system amenities...have the potential to act as resources for social and economic development.

Work has been included as a category of cultural amenities as the forms of work, for example, agriculture and fishing are as much a way of life as they are a form of employment... community is another category of cultural amenities. It refers to the tangible and intangible features within communities that provide people a sense of belonging, feelings of connectedness, shared values as well as access to scenic settings.

89 Vaugeois, Nicole and Whitney-Squire, Kelly, 2010 A Canadian rural amenity typology and a review of public supports for Canada’s rural amenities
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These include tangible features such as architecture, food, landscaping and gardens or communal places like green spaces and cemeteries. Communities can also be attractive for a range of intangible features such as ambience, pace, hospitality, tranquility, belonging, language expression, values and spirit. These intangible aspects while difficult to describe, are typical images of community life and can attract people to experience the areas”.

Based on these meanings of tangible and intangible categories, these can be applied to understand the tangible and intangible changes in the study area brought in the process of growth and development. Thus, the two broad categories assimilating different types of positive changes or development in the study are:

1. Changes in Tangible elements - visible, easily measured such as the development indicators taken by various bodies like UNDP. These include leading a long and healthy life that can be seen in terms of level and nature of medical amenities, acquisition of knowledge such as the level and nature of educational institutes and lastly, access to the resources needed for a decent living standard particularly the basic urban services as identified by ADB.

2. Changes in Intangible elements - are more difficult to define and less concretely visible such as cultural elements like lifestyle in terms of the nature of interaction with neighbours, means of entertainment, the type of security arrangements and the nature of shops visited for everyday needs.

This chapter explores the tangible changes that have come in the lives of the residents simultaneous to the process of growth that has taken place in the city. There has been a continuous influx of population in the city since the beginning of the 21st century and thus, bringing in the growth dynamics of Gurgaon. The growth dynamics has led to series of changes. The series of changes that have struck Gurgaon are evident as Prem Singh Kataria described.

90 Prem Singh Kataria is 50 year old and a resident of Police Lines, Old Gurgaon. He has been born and brought up in Gurgaon. He works as a property dealer.
“pehle loog roti pe namak rakh ke khaate the, kuch bhi nahi tha, yahan pe loog milon padel chalet the, koi bhi bada hospital ya college nahi tha (earlier people used to eat bread with salt and have had nothing, they used to walk for miles and still there was no hospital or educational institute)”

This statement very clearly suggests the state of amenities in Gurgaon town. The health, educational, civic, and transport amenities form a key social sector that play a central role in development. These have been in the focus of Government policy and investment. The section below explores the tangible changes that have come in these city’s amenities such as those related to the medical amenities, educational amenities, basic civic amenities such as water and power availability and transport, with Gurgaon becoming ‘the Millennium City’ of India. But are these tangible changes positive in nature and thus, brought in more freedom of choices? Has this freedom of choices brought any differentiation in the spaces with it?

4.2 THE CHANGE IN THE HEALTH AMENITIES IN THE CITY

The first aspect of tangible change looks into the nature and choices in the city towards leading a long and healthy life. The choices for leading a long and healthy life have been identified as one of the first parameters by UNDP for looking into development. This has been explored in terms of the status of medical facilities available. It is an indicator of choices available for health related aspects of life. Gurgaon, ‘the Millennium City’ of India has grown and is being addressed today as the International Medical Hub. This title reflects that change has been positive on the medical front. The nature of growth and change in the health amenities across the cityspaces have been examined in the following section.

4.2.1 Growth and changes in the Health Amenities in the city

The growth that has set in the city has its visible effects on the city’s range of choices for health Amenities. The change in the medical arena and facilities in Gurgaon has been enormous. The Figure 4.1 suggests that as many as 90% of the respondents feel that there
has been changes in the medical arena in Gurgaon. In the words of Sonia Mehta\footnote{Sonia Mehta is 29 years old and lives in sector 4, Old Gurgaon. She works with Rana Motors at Rajiv Chowk. She has done MBA from correspondence.} just 3 to 4 years ago people used to go to Escorts, Apollo, AIIMS, Gangaram but now it is not required. Many of the respondents specifically highlighted the difference

“pehle toh koi health problem ho Delhi jana padta tha, par ab aisa nahi hain, ab toh dilli ke log bhi yahan aate hain treatment ke liye (earlier whatever health problem used to be there, one required to go to Delhi, but now it is not the same rather people from Delhi come over to Gurgaon for their treatment)”.

On the other hand less than 5 % of respondents said either that they don’t know or there have been no changes in the medical amenities. Those respondents who did not know are the ones who have migrated from Delhi in the last 3 to 5 years and still continue to refer to some familiar doctor in Delhi. Similarly, approximately 3 % of the respondents gave ‘other’ responses about the changes in the health Amenities in the city. This ‘other’ largely referred to the opinion of the respondents that though there have been changes but only in one part of the city that is New Gurgaon and not in the Old Gurgaon. The ‘other’ category also includes the opinion of the respondents that though there have been changes and increase in the choices available but the increase is largely confined to the costlier options.


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Figure 4.1 Change in Medical Amenities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% of respondents</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Can't say</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The difference that has been made to the medical amenities in the city is more visible if one compares the medical amenities then and now.

Figure 4.2 Medical Amenities: From then to Now


‘Tab (1970s mein) to sirf Civil hospital hi tha Gurgaon mein aur koi bhi labs bhi nahi thi (Civil Hospital was the only option available during 1970s in Gurgaon and diagnostic labs were also absent)’ as Mahesh92 mentioned. Yet another respondent born and brought up in Gurgaon Ms. Ahuja93 added ‘pehle toh bas jhola chaap hote thay aur ab toh MBBS se bhi jyada padhe likhe mil jaate hain (earlier largely only unqualified doctors were available but now doctors who are more qualified than

92 Ms. Mahesh is 55 year old who lives in Jacombpura, Old Gurgaon. She has been born and brought in Gurgaon. She has completed masters degree.
93 Ms. Ahuja is 58 year old and used to live in Arjun Nagar and shifted to sector-7 extension, Old Gurgaon in 1996. She has been born and brought up in Gurgaon and is a home maker.
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MBBS degree are available). Sham Soni94, another respondent quoted his experience ‘during 1990s end when my father was unwell, he had to be rushed to Ganga Ram hospital in Delhi as there were no private hospitals and the government hospital is not trustworthy,’ and further added ‘but now the situation has changed’.

The above statements clearly reveal that there has been immense change in the level of availability of medical amenities in the city. Infact, Gurgaon has become a medical hub as many respondents said. This supports the opinion of as many as more than 90% respondents who said that there has been change in the medical amenities in the city. The nature of the change in the medical amenities is being explained in Figure 8.

Majority of the respondents, as much as more than 90% said that the change in the nature of medical amenities is largely such that there has been an increase in the number of hospitals. Almost a similar high proportion of respondents described this change in the nature largely as referring to more private hospitals only. It is for the reason as Gurgaon has seen only private health care facilities being developed in the city since the last 10 years such as private clinics, private nursing homes, private labs and private hospitals. Leading hospitals like Artemis, Max Healthcare, Columbia Asia and Medanta- The Medicity, have all just come in the last five years. The more recent ones that have come up in the city is Lung care foundation and Fortis, which is forthcoming. These are speciality and multi-speciality hospitals. Thus, more than 50% also felt that this change is towards opening of specialized and multi-specialized hospitals.

Gurgaon today has a wide variety of hospitals. There are ENT hospitals, Maternity hospitals, Dental hospitals, Homoeopathy centers, and even Ayurvedic centers. This diversification of medical amenities reflects the availability in the choice of medical amenities and thus, health amenities that has come in the city. The broadening of choice is also evident in the ample availability of medical facilities of different sizes. These range from the bigger sized hospitals to moderately sized nursing homes, and to different

94 Mr. Sham Soni is 50 year old who lives in Sushant Lok that is in New Gurgaon for 14 years. He owns a jewellery shop in Vyapaar Kendra, Sushant Lok, New Gurgaon. He moved to Gurgaon in 1996 and finds it to be a progressing city.
types of medical consultants from Bachelor of Ayurvedic Medical Sciences (BAMS) doctors in the villages to MBBS doctors to specialist and super-specialist doctors in Old Gurgaon and New Gurgaon. Moreover, there is availability of the newer technology and the upgradation of the Civil Hospital (government hospital – that was the only hospital in Gurgaon in 1970s), as listed by the respondents.

The respondents also added that the patients are coming not only from surrounding areas of Gurgaon but also from other countries of the world thus, the medical amenities in the city cater to the international level. A large number of respondents have voted for Gurgaon as ‘an international medical hub’. Mr. Sanjeev\(^{95}\) said adding to this:

“the hospitals in Gurgaon have an IPD specialty that is International Patient Department besides the OPD (Outdoor Patients Department) commonly found in the hospitals. Most of these hospitals have translators also appointed with them for the convenience of the international patients. These hospitals also have a travel desk to help them. There are patients coming in from different parts of the world specially Gulf countries”. According to Suburb\(^{96}\), a magazine of Gurgaon

“Medical tourism has of late boomed in Gurgaon. It has become of late a haven for medical tourism as word has spread about cut-rate surgery and high quality health care. These hospitals have in-house departments to cater to business coming from foreign countries. The administrative staff in the department works in conjunction with the medical agents who facilitate the visit and medical facilities for patients travelling to the city. The foreign patients travelling to the city come from U.K., U.S.A., Australia, Pakistan, Afghanistan among others”.

Suburb has further quoted Dr. Devlina Chakravarty, Medical Director, Artemis Health Institute, Gurgaon

\(^{95}\) Mr. Sanjeev is 30 year old and lives in joint family. He has been born and brought up in Gurgaon and lives in Civil lines, Old Gurgaon. He and his family owns a 20 room hotel, a multi-storied commercial building and land in village.

\(^{96}\) Suburb, September 2010. Gurgaon: HealthCare Centre.
Suburb is a magazine that is taken out on monthly basis and contains largely the articles on the city life in Gurgaon.
“we have facilitation desk and an international services programme aimed at promoting medical tourism. Apart from providing patients with facilities like initial screening and diagnosis, telemedicine evaluation and recommendation and international insurance cover (if applicable), diagnostics, we also provide assistance for visa arrangements, ticketing, pick-up at the airport, money transfer and exchange, ATM withdrawals, interpretation services, exclusive ‘Help Desk’ and a dedicated relationship manager to ensure smooth services, stay arrangements for return journey and all requirements for food, local travel and stay for attendants”.

Suburb describes this change as “what seemed like a distant dream- that Gurgaon would have excellent health care facilities-has now come true.” This suggests the huge jump that the city has taken in terms of the availability of health care facilities from their being absent to the plethora of options and choices being present. Moreover, these choices are not only confined for the local population but also cater to the global market.

Though 90% of the respondents said that the change in the nature of health amenities is largely such that there has been increase in the number of hospitals, a small 5% of the respondents voted for the lack of facilities in the Civil Hospital. Thus, for them the change is not positive. And another 10% voted for the ‘other’ category. In the ‘other’ category respondents mentioned about the high expense one needs to incur for making these medical amenities available to oneself. Thus, it refers to the financial problems for availing the medical amenities being faced particularly by the low income section as well the middle income section of the city. For instance, Parvati and Armaan⁹⁷, two respondents has described that ‘five-star hospitals hain - garibon ke liye suvidha nahi hain’ (the hospitals are practically five-star hospitals and there are no facilities for the poor). A similar statement was made by Mr. Sharma⁹⁸ ‘loot rahein hain, aam aadmi ke liye toh kuchh nahin hai’ (these medical options are actually an exploitation of the poor

⁹⁷ Parvati lives in Badshahpur village and Armaan lives in Sukhrali village. They belong to low income class. They feel the cost of health care amenities is immense in the city.

⁹⁸ Mr. Sharma is 77 year old is the 1st resident of DLF Phase III, New Gurgaon. He moved to Gurgaon at the beginning of 1990s post-retirement.
and there is nothing available for the common men’). Thus, raising question on the total expenditure that needs to be incurred for availing the medical amenities. Yet another response was of the migrant population largely in the ‘other’ category. They particularly raised doubts about the credibility of doctors. They believe and mentioned that here doctors work for only money and one cannot trust them so easily, whereas in the respective native places they found the doctors to be much more caring and having a personalised touch towards the patient.

But the ‘other category’ also includes some positive remarks of the respondents. A few described the changed nature of medical amenities as ‘very luxurious, very expensive just like 5-star hotels’. Some also mentioned that there has been upgradation of the Civil Hospital.

Thus, as Mr. Sehjwal 99 said “Delhi ko bhi peche chod diya hain ab toh Gurgaon ke hospital ne (Gurgaon’s hospitals have left Delhi also far behind)” can be summed up as the changed nature of health care amenities in Gurgaon. But that represents only one side of the coin. The other side says that these health care amenities come at a huge cost and thus, for some it remains out of reach.

### 4.2.2 Nature of Health Amenities across the city

The three divided cities of Gurgaon have experienced the growth of the health amenities differently. Table No. 4.1 shows the contrast in the health care amenities across the three spaces in the city.

The contrast of the health care amenities available within the Urban Villages amidst the city is very striking. The medical amenities available in the Urban Villages are largely confined to the clinics only and the hospitals are either absent or are present in some of the villages only. The clinics present are both of Government in some of the villages in the form of PHCs (Primary Health Care Centres) and the private ones.

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99 Mr. Sehjwal is a resident of Sarswati Vihar that lies next to Sahara Mall on the MG Road, New Gurgaon.
Table 4.1 Choice of Hospitals Available across the three cities in the Millennium City

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location in the City Scape</th>
<th>Government Hospital</th>
<th>Private Hospital</th>
<th>Speciality or Multi-Speciality Hospital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Old Gurgaon</strong> – Number of different types of hospitals</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23 (some of them are given below)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Hospital</td>
<td>Ahmed Hospital &amp; Ortho Care</td>
<td></td>
<td>Columbia Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESI Hospital (started in May, 2010)</td>
<td>Bindal Hospital</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kalyani Hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiranjiv Hospital</td>
<td>Pushpanjali Hospital</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanshiram Medical Care</td>
<td>Mamta Hospital</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Beds</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fees being charged (at the clinics)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fees being charged (at the clinics or OPDs)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fees being charged (at the clinics)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>Less than 50 ₹</td>
<td>Absent</td>
<td>Less than 50 ₹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 30 beds</td>
<td>Between 50 to 300 ₹</td>
<td>Between 300 to 500 ₹</td>
<td>Absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 - 200</td>
<td>Between 200 to 500 ₹</td>
<td>Between 400 to 1000 ₹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New Gurgaon</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pariwal Hospital</td>
<td>Max Hospital</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shri Ram Memorial Hospital</td>
<td>Paras Hospital</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sidhesh Hospital</td>
<td>Artemis Hospital</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Uma Sanjeevani Hospital</td>
<td>Medanta The Medicity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Beds</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fees being charged (at the clinics or OPDs)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fees being charged (at the clinics)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fees being charged (at the clinics)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>Absent</td>
<td>Are largely absent, if at all present they are in a dismal state.</td>
<td>Absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 30 beds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 1300 beds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Urban Villages</strong></td>
<td>0 (only Primary Health Care Centres)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fees being charged (at the clinics)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fees being charged (at the clinics or OPDs)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fees being charged (at the clinics)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fees being charged (at the clinics)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 50 ₹</td>
<td>Absent</td>
<td>Absent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: [www.gurgaon.nic.in](http://www.gurgaon.nic.in), private websites of the some of the above listed hospital and field work, 2009.

Image 4.1 Health Care Amenities in an Urban Village

Location: Ghatta Village, Gurgaon. Mrinal Clinic in Ghatta Village (Reads Dr. Bengali at the top board under the mobile number). Source: Field work, 2010
Since the villages have the population of the original inhabitants and the migrants largely from the north Indian states, the name boards outside the private clinics read to catch the native population of the same background. This can be seen in Image 4.1. It reads Mrinal Clinic written in Hindi and then it reads Dr. Bengali, a region based nomenclature used for signage. This clinic with Dr. Bengali written aims to captures the migrant from Bengal living in the village. This regional nomenclature on the board helps in building association with the people from the same state and thus, regional background. Similar other name boards read Haryana Clinic, Bihari Clinic in Nathupur Village, Bengali Clinic in Wazirabad Village and Ghatta Village. These cater to largely the migrants with same regional background. These private clinics charge approximately ₹20 to ₹50 per consultancy, and therefore, suit and cater to the low income strata. Image 2 shows the situation of medical amenities in the Gurgaon villages, as it shows the board right outside the clinic of a BAMS doctor in Nathupur village of Gurgaon, who charges ₹20 as fees. Some of the residents knowingly or unknowingly about the qualifications of the doctors are regular to them due to their low fee, inspite of the fact that these doctors rather have a degree in Bachelor of Ayurveda medicine and yet give the allopathic medicines eg. Dr. Anuj Gupta (BAMS, MD (Rohtak))-Physician & Surgeon in Jharsa village.

Image 4.2 captures the nature of medical amenities in the Urban Villages of Gurgaon (if they are available) as is reflected by the ‘Lokpriya Hospital’. Though it reads 24 hours emergency but it is in a dismal state as is visible from outside itself. Besides, some of the private clinics do not even mention the qualification of the doctor like in Image 4.2. It is showing Sharma Dental Clinic board and does not have the qualification mentioned anywhere. Moreover, some of the clinics in the Urban Villages do multi-tasking and their work area is much broader as their board reads ‘yahan aayu pramaan patra bhi bannaye jaate hain (here age proof certificates are also made)’. Another fact that the Image 4.2 suggests as most of them have their billboards written in Hindi too that the people they are targeting at is largely more familiar with Hindi language.
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Image 4.2 Nature of Clinics and hospitals in Urban Villages of Gurgaon

a) Clinic in Nathupur Village with fees mentioned  b) A hospital in Dundahera Village

c) Sign Board of Clinics in Urban Villages that offer many facilities besides treatment. Source: Field work, 2010
The medical amenities in Old Gurgaon are in contrast to the Urban Villages. The Old part of Gurgaon is quite different in terms of health Amenities. Unlike the rural counterpart Old Gurgaon has the presence of qualified doctors and their qualifications are written on their boards. This can be seen in Image 4.3.

Old Gurgaon has seen the mushrooming of a number of small hospitals, nursing homes, clinics and private diagnostic labs, since 1995 particularly. It has a mix of Government Civil Hospital, a number of small hospitals that are nursing homes having less than 30 beds and three big hospitals having 100 beds each as is given in Table 4.1. Out of these three, the branded and more global is only ‘Columbia Asia’ located in Palam Vihar. It has its branches in Malaysia, Vietnam and Indonesia. Old Gurgaon is marked with the presence of a large number of nursing homes (as has been shown in Image 4.4). The Image shows a nursing home, namely, Florence Nursing Home and an eye care centre. The nursing homes cater largely to the middle income class.
The boards in some parts particularly those that are not in the sectors such as in Arjun Nagar, Bhim Nagar, Madan Puri etc. read in Hindi language. For instance, as is visible in Image 4.4, a board of Government Civil Hospital and Sparsh Hospital reads of all the facilities in Hindi. This signifies the population mix present in this part of the city that is educated and more familiar with their mother tongue.
New Gurgaon’s medical set up has yet another Image of health amenities. It is dotted with the presence of mix of hospitals ranging from small to big in size and branded and elite ones in nature (as can be seen in Image 4.5). The small sized ones are those that are less than 20 or 30-bedded. These cater to the middle income to high and very high income strata. In New Gurgaon, there are qualified, specialised and super-specialised doctors. It has presently a number

**Image 4.5 Lavish and Five-star hotel Like: Speciality and Multi-Speciality Hospital in New Gurgaon**

a) Lavish Lobby of Medanta – The Medicity, New Gurgaon
of leading, branded and elite hospitals like the Artemis, Max Healthcare, Paras and Medanta- The Medicity, – all of them located in the New Gurgaon. All the bigger and branded ones are located in the newer part of the city except the Columbia Asia.

These hospitals are branded, specialised, super-specialised and are like luxurious hotels. They also have range of facilities. For instance, Max Hospital (seen in Image 4.5), Gurgaon is centrally air conditioned with more than 100 beds, two modular operation theatres, a 11-bed ICU and in-house diagnostic. The clinical services are supported with the most advanced in-house diagnostic services. It is also equipped with ‘the state-of-the-art’ emergency response and management system. The hospital has other specialised services like Neonatal ICU (NICU) and Paediatric ICU (PICU), an endoscopy suite and a dialysis facility. Likewise,
Paras Healthcare is another 250-bed hospital offering various specialities and multi-specialities. Yet another addition to the city medical services is the Medanta-Medicity. It is a 1250 bed hospital providing 30 specialities and super-specialities.

Artemis Health Institute (AHI), at Gurgaon is a NABH Accredited, 300-bed tertiary care super-specialty flagship hospital established by Artemis Health Sciences (AHS) - a healthcare venture launched by the promoters of the Apollo Tyres Group. The super-specialties chosen by Artemis as its area of focus include Cardiovascular (Heart), Oncology (Cancer), Orthopedics & Joint Replacements, Neurosciences and Bariatric & Minimally Invasive Surgery in addition to host of other specialities.

**Image 4.6 New Super-specialised Branded Hospital Coming up in New Gurgaon**

All these are the specialised or super-specialised hospitals. The more recent ones that have come up in the city is Lung care foundation in Cyber City. And the Fortis is coming up (as Image 4.6 shows) and is also located in the New Gurgaon. The consultation charges in New Gurgaon are also relatively high, between ₹250 to as high as ₹1000 per consultancy.

Thus, Gurgaon has stark contrast in the medical arena across the spatial zones of
study, though they are used irrespective of their location. Yet their location signifies different image and identity of the space that varies across spatial zones of study for the people.

4.2.3 The Medical Experience

The growth of medical facilities and thus, of health amenities has been leaps and bounds in the city. But this growth has been only during the last 10 to 15 years and thus, the entire change and availability of health amenities has been only recent. Yet it raises many questions like are these accessible to all, are people satisfied with them.

![Figure 4.3 Level of Medical Amenities in the City](image)


As much as 70% of the respondents expressed the level of medical amenities to be satisfactory in nature as they said that at least availability is there. A slightly more than 10% said that these are good particularly with the speciality and multi-speciality hospitals being present. Some of them mentioned “number 1 hain saare Gurgaon mein, though very expensive, but very luxurious, like 5 star hotels, aisi jo Delhi mein bhi nahi hain, aur 2 minute ke andar hospital pahunch jaate hain” (Gurgaon is at first rank in terms of medical facilities and such facilities are not available in Delhi also and can be reached very quickly within 2 minutes, though they are very expensive, but at the same time luxurious just like five star hotels)”. Some also highlighted the
availability of the ‘new technology’ such as latest treatments for specific problems like eye surgery, skin treatment through laser and other such latest techniques.

There is a flip side attached to the growth and expansion of the medical amenities in the city. As slightly more than 20% opined that the medical amenities are either average or bad. Some of the respondents remarked that though the facilities have increased but so has the cost and these are largely meant for the rich. As Mr. Virender Gulati\textsuperscript{100} has chosen to live in the city and opines that

“the city is now house to the best known hospitals but these are on the other hand confined only to the rich farmers and the MNC insurance covered employees. Infact, the main reason for coming up of these hospitals is the presence of MNCs that offer huge medical expense packages. Rather there are no residential doctors only commercial doctors are available that is those who are largely working for money only”.

The people largely feel that the medical amenities have improved but not for the poor as the cost are extremely high. Ms Bala\textsuperscript{101} said

“hum toh yahan apna medical treatment bhi nahi karva paate, tumhare uncle to retired hain aur kharcha Gurgaon ke iin private hospitals mein bahut jyada hain, yeh to daughter ki dependents mein naam hain toh sab kharcha mil jaata hain (we would not have been able to get our medical treatment done as your uncle is retired and the expense in Gurgaon hospitals is a lot and it is only since our name is enlisted as our daughter’s dependents (as she is in a government job) that all the medical expenses of ours can be met)”

According to some of the respondents the only negative point of the medical amenities of Gurgaon is not only cost but also the relationship between doctor-patient is not given its

\textsuperscript{100} Mr. Virender Gulati is a retired engineer from hydro-power project and lives in Oriental Villas by Ansals, New Gurgaon. He has moved to Gurgaon 6 years back because his son got job here and its close to his native place – Punjab.

\textsuperscript{101} Ms. Bala is 73 year old and settled in Sushant Lok Phase III in 1997. She moved to Gurgaon after her husband’s retirement as they felt that land prices here were lesser as compared to Delhi.
due importance. This viewpoint has also been shared by a few other respondents as they
said that the doctors are here but most of them are only after money. These respondents
find that as compared to their native place the credibility of the doctors is not there. Yet
another respondent Ms Prachi\textsuperscript{102} said ‘doctors here are very money minded, they are not
very creditable’. Similar had been the medical experience of a friend of Mr. Dua\textsuperscript{103}

\textit{“Mother of a friend of mine was admitted to Artemis and initially they kept on trying to
treat and later on they made the case more complicated and said “we are not able to do
any further and the family can shift her to another hospital and so, they finally brought her
to a hospital in Delhi – Sir Ganga Ram and thankfully due to proper treatment she came
out of danger and is fine now”. Such is the condition and story of hospitals in the city”}.

And probably that is why so many respondents did say that the doctors and hospitals here
are not creditable or trustworthy. So though the city has grown and changed in terms of
the available medical facilities to speciality and super-speciality facilities yet they have
their own problems specially. These problems are related to the cost factor and the
creditability of the doctors or hospitals.

The growth and development of Gurgaon into the Millennium City has seen the growth
of health Amenities in terms of medical amenities as well in the city. The change from the
presence of unqualified, \textit{jhola-chaap} doctors and lack of facilities to no dearth of
facilities such as diagnostic labs, with the ample number of qualified doctors is
remarkable. But the growth of the medical amenities has been largely only by the private
players as all the clinics, nursing homes, hospitals and diagnostic labs are privately
owned. The increase in government medical facilities has only been marginal. It includes
only the recent improvements and up gradation made to the Civil Hospital and the
coming up of 2 ESI dispensaries in the city. This clearly shows that the private players are
the main agents of bringing in more choice of health Amenities in the city. This implies

\textsuperscript{102} Ms. Prachi is 27 year old and has migrated post-marriage from UP as her husband has got job in
Gurgaon.

\textsuperscript{103} Mr. Dua is 45 year old, a top rank manager in an automobile company. He resides in Unitech Nirvana
Country in a villa because as per his position the address has to be a status address.
the cost factor would be high as the facilities being private all is on chargeable basis and with a heavy price tag attached to it. Thus, the entire medical infrastructure has largely got developed for those who can pay.

Moreover, there exists a parallel in the nature of the medical amenities and the growth and the development of Gurgaon. There is the development of 3 divided cities within the city and accordingly, the nature of medical amenities varies based on their location in any of these divided cities in the city. Their location and respective nature signifies different image and identity of the space that varies across these spatial zones. The image and identity of the New Gurgaon space have been carved by the private developers and is that of a high profile society constituting corporates, the gated communities’ condominiums and thus, one could see all the big and branded private hospitals locating themselves in this space of the city only. These accordingly charge more. Likewise, the core town constitutes the Old Gurgaon and being the oldest space of the city the Civil Hospital that is Government hospital and an ESI hospital are located there. Besides, now the Old Gurgaon is largely dotted with the small nursing homes that are usually 20 to 30 bedded, except only one big and branded hospital present that is the Columbia Asia. Of course, the charged amount as treatment fee gets reduced in this part of the city. Lastly, there are the spaces of Urban Villages that have been the home of the native population. Now this space also accommodates large number of migrant population earning their livelihood and living here on rent. Thus, the Urban Village landscape has a unique presence of doctors that are usually qualified in the field of ayurvedic medicines and yet giving the allopathic medicines. Moreover, their fee is substantially low as they cater to huge low income groups that have made these urban villages their home.

The stark differences exist in the medical amenities across the three spaces in the city. The medical amenities have grown and multiplied for the entire city, but these have been by the private players only. Though the healthcare options have increased in the city but their distribution is highly skewed. The New Gurgaon has all the branded, specialized health care facilities. These are costlier and thus, making their
accessibility limited as they are not affordable for all. Whereas the Old Gurgaon has
the presence of a Government hospital and a number of small private nursing homes.
These are relatively inexpensive. Lastly, the Urban Villages have a lot of medical
amenities but their nature is drastically different as compared to the Old and New
Gurgaon. These are the clinics of Bachelor of Ayurvedic Medicine (BAMS) doctors
but giving the allopathic medicine and the hospitals either private or Government are
absent. So, the medical amenities have grown and developed but not in the same
manner across the three spaces in the city.

4.3 THE EDUCATIONAL AMENITIES

Just like the nature and options of health amenities, the nature and options of
educational amenities in any space is an indicator of choices available for acquisition
of knowledge. This has been referred to as the second parameter of Human
Development by UNDP. Gurgaon, ‘the Millennium City’ of India has grown and now
has multiple choices for education ranging from government schools to private
schools to international or global schools to private institutes of higher learning.

4.3.1 Growth and changes in the Educational Amenities in the city

The city’s growth has brought with it a change in the educational amenities. The
educational scenario too has grown and expanded in the city. This is reflected in
figure 10 that shows majority of the respondents (almost 80 %) opine that the
educational set up in the city has changed. There has been a spurt in the educational
institutes to put it in the words of the respondents. Another more than 10 % fall in the
category those who are not aware about the changes in the educational amenities.
These respondents are not aware of the changes taking place or the level of the
educational facilities as neither they nor any of their family members are using them.
They have migrated since the last few years only, with none of the family members
pursuing education. Alok Ranjan\textsuperscript{104} mentioned ‘na toh hamaara koi padta hain, na hi

\textsuperscript{104} Alok Ranjan resides in Mulahera Village and is 26 years old. He has moved to Gurgaon from Bihar and
does not have anybody from his family pursuing studies here.
*hum kisi ko jante hain* (neither any of our known is studying here nor do we know anybody pursuing studies)

![Figure 4.4 Change in the Educational Set up](image)

Source: Primary Survey, 2010

here). Besides, some of the respondents said that their experience is very limited as their children are school-going and they have been living here for last few years only. Consequently, their knowledge about the choice of education amenities is confined to schools only. Therefore, they were not aware about the education related changes in the city.

Lastly 5% to 7% said that either the educational amenities has remained same or changed partially. The respondents who said that the educational amenities have partially changed identified the main reason as the change being only limited to schools. The residents were of this view as according to them Gurgaon has never been the base of any chief minister of Haryana and this has resulted in presence of only limited number of government colleges and absence of university. Madan Lal Yadav also upheld this view and commented “jahaan tak shiksha suvidhaon ki baat hain na pehle thi na ab hain”.

Out of the respondents who opined that the educational amenities has changed, as much as 84% described it as the increase in the number of schools, and 75% of them said that

105 Madan Lal Yadav used to reside in Nathupur Village and has now moved to Pink Town House in DLF Phase III and finds the role of government missing in terms of providing education.
there are more private educational institutes, particularly schools. Whereas only 25% said that there are also more colleges or institutes of higher learning.

![Figure 4.5 Change in the Nature of Educational Amenities](image)


The change in the nature of educational amenities is visible in the city as to add to the already existing government and private schools, some of the government schools have been upgraded. Moreover, a lot of new private schools have mushroomed in the city particularly in the last 10 to 15 years keeping abreast with the pace of growth in the city. The number of educational institutes has multiplied for instance schools, and the other higher education institutes also to certain extent. But the multiplication is largely of the private schools particularly the play schools and the primary schools. ‘Duniya bhar ke private schools khul rahe hain (a lot of private schools are being opened)’ as Khabar Singh\textsuperscript{106} said. Some of them largely emphasized that it is the private institutes that have mushroomed be it primary schools such as Baby’s Day Out, Bachpan, Budding Blooms Preparatory School, Egmont International Pre School, Excelsior American School or senior secondary schools. These include Swiss Cottage school, Manav Rachna

\textsuperscript{106}Khabar Singh resides in Dundahera Village, Old Gurgaon and has seen the journey of growth of Gurgaon as he is 63 years old.
International School, Alpine Convent School, Amadeus High School, Amazon International School, Amity International School, etc.

The higher educational institutes that have increased are also private except one new government college (Gurgaon Dronacharya College of Engineering). These comprise of the Management institutions in Gurgaon like IITM (Institute for International Management and Technology), AIT (Algol Institute of Technology), ABS (Amity Business School), GITM (Gurgaon Institute of technology and Management); engineering colleges of, Institute of Technology and Management, Ansal Institute of Technology, Gurgaon Institute of Technology and Management, Gurgaon College of Engineering. The other colleges include Anupama College of Engineering, Apeejay College of Engineering, BM College of Technology and Management, Gurgaon College of Engineering, GITM (Gurgaon Institute of Technology and Management), Guru Gram Institute of Aeronautical Engineering and Technology, ICFAI Business School, IIMT (Institute for International Management and Technology), Institute of Technology and Management in Gurgaon, Kamrah Institute of Information Technology in Gurgaon, World College of Technology and Management, World Institute of Technology, First India School of Business and other non-engineering colleges.

And as many as 10% gave the mix responses in the category of ‘others’ (to define the kind of change). The others category refer to the responses of the people such as the upgradation of government schools, lot of co-curricular activities, the education system becoming more private, awareness about the education Amenities limited to only schools and not about the higher education, better facilities in government schools like ‘kapde, kapiyaan ki suvidha’ (the facility of clothes and notebooks), angan vaadis, lack of master's degree.

Thus, though majority of the respondents feel that the choices of educational amenities have got changed and enlarged but they largely find it to be confined to the level of school education only. Moreover, like the health amenities it has also been changed by the private players to a large extent.

4.3.2 Nature of Educational Amenities in the city
The educational scenario varies across the three spatial zones of study in the city. Old Gurgaon has older schools which are a mix of both the Government and Private schools (as given in Table 4.2).

**Table 4.2 Choice of Schools and Higher Educational Institutes across the three divided spaces in the city**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location in the City Scape</th>
<th>Government Schools</th>
<th>Private Schools</th>
<th>International or Global Schools</th>
<th>Higher Learning Institutes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Old Gurgaon</strong> – Number of different types of schools</td>
<td>Primary: 15 &lt;br&gt; Middle: 3 &lt;br&gt; High: 3 &lt;br&gt; Sr. Secondary: 3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 – Government Institutes &lt;br&gt; 4 – Private Institutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fees being charged</td>
<td>Less than 1,000 ₹/quarter</td>
<td>8,000 to 15,000 ₹/quarter</td>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>Varies a lot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New Gurgaon</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7 – Private institutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fees being charged</td>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>15,000 to 50,000 ₹/quarter</td>
<td>15,000 to 3 lakh ₹/quarter</td>
<td>Varies a lot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Urban Villages</strong></td>
<td>Primary: 40 &lt;br&gt; Middle: 7 &lt;br&gt; High: 5 &lt;br&gt; Sr. Secondary: 7</td>
<td>Only available till class 4\textsuperscript{th} or 5\textsuperscript{th} only, if present in some of the villages.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fees being charged</td>
<td>Less than 1,000 ₹/quarter</td>
<td>2000 to 3000 ₹/quarter</td>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: [www.gurgaon.nic.in](http://www.gurgaon.nic.in), private websites of the some of the above listed schools and field work, 2010.

Some of the schools in Old Gurgaon are Sachi -Sachi Geeta Pathshala, Old Lady Fatima School (both are shown in Image 4.7), Vaidik Kanya High School and DAV School. These cater to the middle income class. Their fee structure is also accordingly designed as they charge much lesser fees that is usually between 1500 ₹ to 2000 ₹ per month. These schools do not have the features offered by the newer branded schools such as being fully air-conditioned, activities like swimming, horse-riding, etc. It also has a mix of Government and private higher learning institutes such as colleges although limited in numbers.
Whereas New Gurgaon in contrast to Old Gurgaon has all the new schools that are hardly a decade old and are private schools only. Some of the private schools in New Gurgaon are International or Global schools. Euro International School, Summer Fields Schools, G.D. Goenka World School, Shri Ram School, Pathways World School and Amity Global School (Image 4.8) are a few of those present in New Gurgaon. Image 8 gives a glimpse of schools in New Gurgaon showing their size and approach. For instance, the Image of Pathways School shows the open amphitheatre and adjacent ground with its beautiful surrounding buildings. Moreover, the ambassadors of these schools are also from other parts of the globe as is visible in the Images of Pathways School as well as Amity Global School. Thus, their approach is global. ‘World Citizens attend global schools’, reads the website of Amity Global School in Gurgaon. This statement also suggests that these premium schools are largely meant for the niche part of the city and caters to not only students from India but also those from the other parts of the globe.
Largely the schools in New Gurgaon are more branded and cater to the cross-section of society ranging from middle to high income class. The international ones particularly differ drastically in terms of fee structure. As far as the colleges and private institutes of higher learning are concerned, the Old Gurgaon has the mix of both government college
(although only three in number) and the private institutes and New Gurgaon has only the private institutes of higher learning.

The villages have a stark contrast in nature of the educational amenities as compared to the rest of the other parts of the city. Bhagwan Singh\textsuperscript{107} said that the schools have increased in the city and exemplified with schools such as Little Flower School, R.R Public School. The schools present here are largely the government schools and the private schools are largely only up to fourth or fifth standard only, if at all they are present in a selected few villages.

**Image 4.9 School in Urban Villages**

![Image 4.9 School in Urban Villages](image)


Image 4.9 shows Gyan Deep Public School in Ghatta Village with its small-sized building and no infrastructure for co-curricular activities. It offers both Hindi and English medium for studying which is in contrast to the Old and New Gurgaon as the two spaces have English-medium schools only. Moreover, these schools since are located in the Urban Villages, they cater largely to the low income group of migrants living there and thus, have low fees structure. The institutes of higher learning are conspicuous by their absence in the Urban Villages.

\textsuperscript{107} Bhagwan Singh is a resident of Nathupur Village. He has been born and brought up in village and thus, have lived the transformation in the study area.
Thus, with the change of space, the nature of educational institutes drastically differs in the city. The Old Gurgaon has both the Government and private educational institutes. Here the schools have moderate fee structure whereas in New Gurgaon there are only private schools that are more global in their approach, huge space, good infrastructure and hefty fee structure. In New Gurgaon there are only private educational institutes. In contrast to this are the Urban Villages where the higher learning institutes are absent and only a few schools are there.

4.3.3 The Educational Experience

The educational amenities in the city have a very different feedback as compared to that of medical amenities. As Figure 4.6 clearly shows only 1% of the total population feels that the educational facilities are good in the city as there are a lot of new academic institutes present. These academic institutes include schools as well as the colleges and institutes of higher learning.

![Figure 4.6 Educational Amenities Experience](image)

Source: Primary Survey, 2010

The most prevailing viewpoint as much as 75% in the study area is that the level of educational facilities is satisfactory (which is neither good nor bad). On the other hand, almost 15% of respondents said that they are not much aware about the level of
educational amenities in the city. It is because most of the residents particularly the migrants are not much aware of it. The migrant population largely constitutes of young couples either with no children or with small children thus, knowing largely not much about the entire education system. Some of the migrant population in the city have their children studying at higher level of education in Delhi. Thus, their knowledge about the city’s educational amenities is confined only to the schools.

8 to 9% of the respondents feel that the educational amenities in the city are either bad or not as good as the native place. These are the original inhabitants in the city and most of them largely blame the government as they opine “sarkar ne kuch khaas toh kiya naa hain shiksha ki disha mein, na toh koi university hi hain yahan pe kyunki yahan se toh koi mukhya-mantri bana na hain” (Government has not done anything special in the direction and field of education, as there is no University present here primarily because of the fact that none of the Chief Ministers has been from Gurgaon)

The respondents who are natives of the city are largely of the view that the educational facilities are lacking since the scope of higher studies is confined to only to 2-3 colleges due to absence of university in the city. But the city’s majority find the educational amenities to be largely satisfactory.

The educational amenities have also grown with the city. The educational institutes at every level have increased in terms of numbers ranging from schools to professional institutes and colleges. Thus, this has led to availability of more choice of the educational institutes in the Millennium City. The change has also been drastic like the medical amenities. This indicates towards the presence and availability of the bigger, branded and the international schools in the city from the more desi versions of schools such as pathshalas and vidyalas. Simultaneously, there are a number of higher level professional institutes that mark the city landscape today.

The educational amenities, just like the medical amenities have also been totally an outcome of private players, be it schools or the professional institutes. The
development of the three divided cities within the city has been accompanied largely by the development of private educational amenities. The nature of these educational amenities varies based on their location in each of the three divided spaces in the city. Their location and respective nature also signify different image and identity of the space that varies across these spatial zones. The image and identity of the New Gurgaon space have been carved by the private developers and is that of a high profile society, thus, it has the presence of branded private schools such as international schools and global schools and private institutes with affiliation from international universities. In contrast to this, Old Gurgaon has the presence of private schools but they are largely more desi and the private institutes that have sprung up are limited in numbers. The Urban Villages have an altogether different story as the same are largely absent there. Thus, the three spaces in the city have the presence of different nature of educational amenities. These amenities are branded and costlier in New Gurgaon whereas in Old Gurgaon they cost much lesser. And these are hardly present in the Urban Villages.

4.4 BASIC CIVIC AMENITIES

The choices required for decent living standard forms the third aspect of Human Development as highlighted by UNDP. This has been taken into account as various development programs highlight and cover some basic initiatives such as availability of basic amenities like access to water and power, transport, sewerage disposal. This section explores the availability of basic civic amenities as a parameter for decent living standard.

With the multiple set of changes being experienced in the city, and the population continuously growing at fast pace, there has been resultant noticeable pressure on the very basic amenities of Gurgaon. These basic civic amenities are electricity, water and sewerage. These form the base and lifeline of all households.

The level of availability of the water and power has been said to be of satisfactory nature by more than 80 % of the respondents. But the seemingly satisfactory response for the
arrangement of provision of these facilities has another story to say. For water availability, each of the three cities within the study area has different arrangement and experience.

The Old Gurgaon has the water supply from the Public Health Division, which looks after water and sanitation needs. The water is provided for fixed hours twice a day. To backup the hourly supply, a lot of people have got the individual borewells done. In total contrast to this is the story of Urban Villages. They were under their respective Village Panchayats till 2008 and were having water availability either through the borewell taps for common use of households or individual bore well arrangements. These have now been replaced by total dependence on the individual boring. This is because though Municipal Corporation has laid the pipes in some of the villages but the supply is extremely limited. Consequently, not only for their own selves but also for the large number of migrants living on rent in these villages the assured water supply is provided for limited hours through these borings only. The people living on rent also do not pay any separate water bill and just the room rent. The result is drastically fallen water table. As one of the respondent from Sikander Pur Village.
mentioned that just 7 to 8 years back the depth at which water was available was 50 to 100 feet but now it has fallen down to below 400 to 500 feet.

But the culprit is also the newer societies. They play a hand in glove. The water arrangement for these societies is also a mix of water provided through borewells and supply given by the Municipal Corporation. The borings have been made by the respective bodies such as the private developers or the Co-operative Group Housing Society itself. Consequently, the boring water is available but as that is hard in nature, the majority people have got RO treatment for the drinking water or they buy the mineral water for drinking (as shown in the Image 4.10).

**Image 4.10 The Mineral Water Containers Supply in Belvedere Park - one of the posh New Gurgaon Condominiums**

Since in New Gurgaon the water supply is by the private developers, therefore the water bill payment is also to the private developers or the Housing Society itself. And usually that is not charged separately but as fixed amount as a part of the maintenance itself irrespective of quantity of water consumed. The plotted development, on the other hand,
gets the limited hourly supply on daily basis. The backup is also provided by the private
developer through tankers supplying the water to the houses in the lane by filling the
water tanks made in the ground. And within these plotted houses people have also made
their own individual arrangements of having the private bore wells. These plotted houses
also pay only the water charge that is a part of their maintenance bill only.

Thus, the water availability is assured at individual level in plotted housing areas across
different spaces in the city and by the concerned bodies in the apartments. This indicates that
though the government bodies have a role to play in but that is very limited and also is
subdued by the individuals or the concerned bodies making the situation more dependable.

The sewerage situation also presents a similar story. The Old Gurgaon’s and the New
Gurgaon’s situation seem to be better off than the villages. The Old Gurgaon has the basic
pipes for sewerage basic laid out before hand by the Public Health Division and is maintained
by it. But this has also changed over the years from the open drains to covered sewerage
system. But in the rainy season there is the problem of overflow in certain localities such as
Jyoti Park, Madan Puri. Whereas the New Gurgaon has well maintained sewerage amenities
but only within the society complexes as the main pipes for the sewerage and storm water
drains of the city were in the process of being laid down in 2010. This has often caused water
logging and water entering in the houses in certain years during the rainy season like in the
year 2002. The houses ranging from the plush condominiums to the society complexes have
the sewerage pipes of the society linked to the sock pits. Golf Course Road, considered to be
the most posh and elite location of the city have many such societies like the Vipul Belmonte,
the Orchid Garden, that have such sock-pit arrangements. These sock pits are huge dig ups in
the ground and are cleaned on annual basis or as per the requirement of the society. But for
most of the respondents it is still fine as they know that it will happen sooner or later for the
city and their everyday life does not get affected by this.

The villages on the other hand have a situation of dismay as the condition of sewerage
system is bad, with open drains that are often overflowing. The villagers put the blame on
the corporation. As per the villagers
“corporation ne Panchayat toh radd kar di hain par kucch na hain, naaliyan ki gandagi toh sadko par bahi hain” (the Municipal Corporation has removed and replaced the Panchayat but it is not doing anything as the sewerage of drains is overflowing on the roads).

But to look deeply and closely, it is not only the administrative authority that has changed, there has also been a parallel increase in the burden on sewer lines since the population has got multiplied many times with lot of migrants settling in these villages.

Thus, for water supply and sewerage the three spaces in the city have a different stand, with all the three spaces managing their water supply privately to a large extent. But for sewerage, Old Gurgaon is being managed by the government, and although the New Gurgaon and the Villages have also come under the Corporation since 2008, yet the action needs to be taken. New Gurgaon residents have a privately managed system for sewerage and in the villages there exists dual problem of provision and maintenance of sewerage.

The electricity story is also somewhat similar for the city. Though the electricity supply is from the government yet people have their individual or privately managed system for power supply. The elaborate to small scale arrangements have been made for power supply inspite of the government supply being there. This indicates towards the lack of reliability and thus, again a self-managed power supply system. Unlike water, an assured all time power supply comes at a proportionate cost, higher will be the power consumption higher will be the power bills. The power supply arrangements range from the individual level to the level of the society. The individual power arrangements comprise of the candles used by the lower income class people, to the inverters and generators used by individuals and at the community level generator sets being used. The electricity meters are also placed accordingly, that is usually there are two meters, one of the government supply and the backup supply from the association. For example, as is the case in Orchid Petals. The cost of the backup is definitely higher than the normal supply.

In societies, where the dual meters are not present, there is a meter for power supply by the government and the total diesel cost is taken on the basis total diesel consumed in ratio to the total number of families in the society. This gives total number of units
consumed divided into total houses in the complex. In certain societies, the electricity charges are taken only by the private developer like in the case of Mapple Greens. In this case, people pay a single bill generated by the meter and the developer pays to the government on the basis of total units received. In all such power supply arrangements the cost is relatively higher for instance, the community power arrangements provide 80 to 100% backup, thus, supporting the luxurious lifestyle of these condominiums assuring the continuous running of refrigerators, television sets and air conditioners. The individual backups also have an attached cost like the cost of diesel in case of generator set or the cost of battery in case of inverter.

The three spaces might be seemingly satisfied with the availability of the three basic civic amenities but they are also privately managed either individually or by the developers. The water supply and sewerage facilities have a different stand across the three spaces in the city. All the three spaces manage their own water supply privately to a large extent. But for sewerage, Old Gurgaon is being managed by the government, and although the New Gurgaon and the Villages have also come under the Corporation since 2008, yet the action for sewerage needs to be put in shape. New Gurgaon residents have a privately managed system for sewerage and in the villages there exists dual problem of provision and maintenance of sewerage. The electricity is provided by the respective electricity authority (DHBVN – Dakshin Haryana Bijli Vitran Nigam) but only nominally as the supplies lag far behind as compared to the demand and the resultant backlog is managed by the private players providing an assured supply. Thus, all the basic household facilities assured supply is provided by the private players in the city.

4.5 TRANSPORT SITUATION IN THE CITY

The mode of commuting forms another crucial parameter for access to decent living standard. In everyday lives of the people, the modes of commuting are very important to the people. The mode of commute that is the transport amenities constitute the lifeline of the people of the city. The nature of change in the lifeline of the city along with the growth of the city plays an important role. The transport situation has remained same
according to as much as 45% of the respondents. This is because that they don’t find any additions to the transport means. Another slightly lower proportion of the respondents find it to have improved over the years as it is largely due to the recent increase in the means of travelling options. These newer options have been added to the list in the last two years only that is 2010 and 2011 only. They include the auto service being available of different kinds such as autos available at certain specific points, autos on call, more cab facility easily available, and Delhi Metro. Mr. Sham Soni\(^{108}\) opined that the transport situation has improved because of the coming in of metro, particularly with respect to the connectivity to Delhi “my daughter used to change 4 buses to go to her college in 2005-06 and now my younger one also goes to Delhi and takes a rick to the Sikander Pur Metro station and takes Metro from there”.

![Figure 4.8 Nature of change in transport facilities](image)

Source: Primary Survey, 2010

Ms. Kamla Yadav\(^{109}\) along with her husband added to this that now the transport facilities have improved and are good for intra-city commute. She further said that it is definitely an improvement over the years and it facilitates the mobility of people. The respondents

\(^{108}\) Mr. Sham Soni – as mentioned in footnote number 88.

\(^{109}\) Ms. Kamla Yadav is 62 years old and shifted to Gurgaon 20 years ago in 1990 as her husband shifted to a job here. Moreover, she found it to be an upcoming area and close to their hometown – Narnaul, Haryana.
gave examples of means of travelling that have increased such as Rtv, autos (that were not there earlier) and mentioned that they might charge you extra but will go and at least are available. This largely indicates that the means of transportation have improved but remains limited to choice of few only and also are largely private. Lastly, a total of less than 10% of the residents opined that either the transport facilities have deteriorated or they can’t say or that it is not applicable to them.

The change in the transport facilities is reflected in the nature of vehicles being used. The dependence on transport was highest on bi-cycles. More than 30% of the residents used to be dependent on bicycles and slightly more than 20% used rickshaws. Thus, the dependence was largely on bi-cycles and rickshaws in Old Gurgaon and the other means of transport included motorized two-wheelers.

![Figure 4.9 Change in the modes of transport used](image)

Source: Primary Survey, 2010

The dependence of the people in Old Gurgaon had been confined to the non-motorized vehicles as the people required to travel only small distances to reach the other place in the town. But now the situation has changed altogether as a very negligible proportion of respondents are now dependent on bicycles. Now the dependence is highest on cars. Cars
alongwith the scooters and motor-cycles now constitute for 50 % of vehicles being used.

The heavy reliance on personal motorized vehicles has contributed to high volume of traffic and traffic jams at specific points in the city. According to the respondents majority have marked traffic jams as the most glaring problem of the city.

“Yahan to gine chune vehicles hote thay, aur ab sabke paas own vehicles hain, tab to is road pe sirf ek Vishkarma ki pachaas saal purani bus chalti thi” (earlier only a few vehicles used to be there and now all people have their own vehicles, at then there used to be only a fifty year old bus named Vishkarma on the roads)

was the description of change in transport situation in Gurgaon given by Balram Singh Yadav\textsuperscript{110}. Vigyan Jolly\textsuperscript{111} mentioned about the increase in the volume of traffic as he compared 2002 with today’s situation

“56-sector road evening ke baad toh ek dum biyabaan hoti thi aur ab poori raat traffic chalta hain (post-evening time 56-sector road used to be absolutely people less and now the traffic keeps on running throughout the year)”, he further added that “in 2002 I used to reach Malviya Nagar in just 20 minutes with a comfortable drive, now it takes more than an hour”.

Thus, there has been increase in the traffic volume over the last few years in the city and has led to increase in travel time between two places in the city. Similar experience has also been quoted by Satbeer\textsuperscript{112}. He said

“pehle 5-6 baje ke baad rasta band ho jaata tha, ab saare raat loog aate jaate rehte hain” (earlier after 5 or 6 o’clock the road used to get closed and now throughout night the people keep on commuting on this road)

\textsuperscript{110} Balram Singh Yadav is 57 year old and resides in Wazirabad Village. He is a retired teacher born and brought up in Wazirabad Village itself.

\textsuperscript{111} Vigyan Jolly is a resident of Sushant Lok I. He owns a photoframe shop in DLF Phase I and moved to Gurgaon in 2001 as he was able to buy a house prior to that within his budget here.

\textsuperscript{112} Satbeer is 47 year old and resides in Dundahera village. He has moved to Gurgaon 10 years old from Rohtak, Haryana for job.
Though the changes are setting in the transport system of the city, a large proportion of the residents find them to be bad as is shown in Figure 4.10. It shows that as much as more than 50% of the residents opined that the lifeline of the city is largely bad or absent. Infact, some of the residents believed that they are equivalent to ‘zero, negative, useless, pathetic, total poor, unsatisfactory, hopelessly bad, minus mein’. This is because that they don’t have options for local commute such as buses, autos.

Another 30% categorized the public transport facilities as average. This is largely due to the factor that in the last two years there have been improvements and introduction of the auto services of different kinds, such as tuk-tuk, auto on call, metro. Moreover, those in the Old Gurgaon and the villages have access to rtvs and shared autos particularly, which ply on multiple routes and in good numbers.

Only a very small proportion of only 5% described the public transport facilities as good. Another 5% constituted those who can’t say as the experience of this small proportion of residents is rather limited. They are largely those who belong to high income bracket and thus, prefer and use their own private vehicles only.
Consequent to the bad status of transport facilities, there has been an increasingly heavy reliance on personal means of conveyance and thus, their own means of conveyance has become indispensible for living for majority of the population. Mr. Sham Soni also supported the same situation as he stated that any individual lady in the family cannot move on her own without having a car and knowing car driving. Rijuta also agreed to the same. She mentioned that here she initially tried for doing it without a car but since here there is no connectivity from home to workplace, she used to come or get dropped from somebody. But that was not feasible on everyday basis, therefore she finally bought a car for herself and learnt driving too. The higher degree of reliance on personal vehicles particularly cars is also reflected in the Figure 17. About the transport situation Vinod Khanna opined that jams are increasing day by day and he also identified one of the causes or culprit being the call centre cabs, “sara problem call centre kay cab wallo say hai, bina rules regulations kay thook tay raha tay hai.”

Besides the problem of public transport facilities availability, a big question mark is also placed on the city’s transport system as it sounds to be handicapped along with bad roads. A number of respondents mentioned that here some of the roads disappear after the rains and thus, they are seasonal and the rest are in such shape and condition that they are broken badly. Such roads along with heavy vehicular traffic on the roads make the situation worse as most of the people prefer and use their personal vehicles. “Yahan toh roads ki situation itni kharab hain, barsaat mein ganga-yamuna bahta hain yahan” (here the situation of roads is so bad that during rains the roads seem to have become rivers like Ganga, Yamuna with flow of water) as per Manoj Paswan. The similar situation was explained by Rijuta. While mentioning about her experience about the traffic situation in Gurgaon

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113 Mr. Sham Soni – as mentioned at footnote number 88.
114 Rijuta is 26 year old and is an IBM employee. She moved to Gurgaon 5 years back and resides in an apartment in Sushant Estate with her friend on sharing basis.
115 Vinod Khanna is a taxi driver who has been living in Saini Khera Gaon for 12 years now. He has migrated to Gurgaon from Delhi.
116 Manoj Paswan works at Italia Restra Resturant and has been living in Nathupur Village for 4 years. He has migrated from Bihar looking for work. He shares the room in which he resides at a monthly rent of 2000 ₹.
117 Rijuta – as mentioned at footnote number 108.
“last year – in 2010 due to preceding rains and bad roads, the traffic got choked in the city and it took 3 hours to move out of the parking, it was such bad condition, neither one could leave ones car nor was there any scope to keep the air-conditioners of the car on”.

Thus, since majority of the residents find the intra-city public transport facilities to be absent, they largely resort to private means of transport. They also mentioned that the city is crippled with the bad and broken roads and time and place-specific traffic jams. But most of them said that inspite of heavy vehicular numbers, parking is not a problem as of now. It was also visible as there are vacant plots that can be observed next to markets, plotted residential societies, small hospitals, so people do not find the problem to be acute. But a few did mention about parking problem in official complexes which causes a steep parking charges being levied for example 20 ₹ per hour are being charged at the open parking at various open spaces in Cyber City and that makes it to be more than 100 ₹ per day. So, parking is not a challenge at present at most of the places in Gurgaon but it is likely to become one. The problem is bound to come with gradually all open spaces or plots getting occupied.

Gurgaon’s cityscape has witnessed with its growth a sharp increase in the number of vehicles on the roads and thus, is marked with bumper-to-bumper traffic during peak hours. The city faces the problem of traffic jams and broken roads with parking problem at a few places. Moreover, though the change in terms of increase in number of vehicles is visible across the spaces in the city, the nature of transport means being available and used varies from one space to another in the city. Since the public transport means have been absent in the New Gurgaon, there is dominance of use of personal vehicles largely. The situation has slightly changed with the coming in of metro in the New space of the city as that has brought in the availability of autos, rickshaws, radio-autos such as tuk tuk, auto-on-call, etc. but in Old Gurgaon and Urban Village space people largely found the commuting means to be available as they use shared autos, tempos, rickshaws.
4.6 CONCLUSION: THE NEW CITYSCAPE

The new cityscape is the result of all the changes that have set in the city. As Beall and Fox, 2009\textsuperscript{118} have said “development implies changes”. The study area has also experienced the same. There have been a series of tangible changes with the growth of Gurgaon. These include the changes in the choices available for the health amenities, the educational amenities, for the basic civic amenities and for the transport amenities. All these changes constitute the key social sectors of development. All these tangible changes dominate the city and have resulted into the formation of the new cityscape. This new cityscape is marked with the presence of range of medical facilities such as hospitals, diagnostic labs, diverse type of educational institutes like schools and institutes of higher education, assured power and water supply and transport facilities such as radio autos, metro and rapid metro. All these social sectors have changed with an explicit role played by the private players. These have been developed by the private players and their availability varies across the three spaces in the city.

The medical and educational amenities has grown with the city’s growth in the past 10 years largely. Both medical and education facilities are largely privatized in the city. There is availability of only a government hospital and an ESI hospital. On medical front, Gurgaon though has become the ‘international medical hub’ yet there is a difference in the level of service to all, the city is different to different people medically. New Gurgaon is dotted with the presence of private, big, branded and the multi-speciality hospitals. There is the presence of qualified and specialised doctors and the charges are also hefty. Whereas in Old Gurgaon both the only Government hospital and a large number of small private hospitals are present. The hospitals here are though more in number but they are of small size only except two of them. The charges of the medical facilities are also relatively less here. The Urban Villages have a different story. There is only the option of clinics available to the villages and the hospitals are totally absent. The charges are also very low for example, they range between 20 to 50 ₹ per consultation and thus, caters

\textsuperscript{118} Beall, Jo and Fox, Sean 2009.op. cit.
largely to the villages that have a large proportion of low-income migrant population living in them. Thus, each of the three spaces in the city have developed in terms of medical amenities differently and offers different options of health care amenities. But all the choices of medical amenities have been developed only privately.

Similarly, though the city has changed and grown educationally but the nature of its educational growth is confined to the private schools and institutes. It has a broad range of options ranging from government schools to private schools to the international or the global schools. Similarly it has a number of choices for higher level studies also but with only a few government institutes, and large number of private institutes. But these choices available are different across the spaces. New Gurgaon has only the branded, plush, global private schools and private institutes. Neither Government schools nor Government institutes are present here. These private education options offer lavish facilities and have a huge cost tag attached to them. Thus, these are accessible only to the rich. Whereas Old Gurgaon has both the Government schools as well as the private schools but they have moderate to low fees structure. The higher education institutes available are also both Government and private. Unlike the two spaces, the Urban Villages lag behind in availability of both the schools and the higher learning institutes. The private schools that are present here are either up to 5th class only or are Government ones. And the higher education institutes are totally absent. Thus, the education choices available across the three spaces in the city differ drastically.

Likewise, the basic civic amenities like water and electricity availability and the sewerage facilities also vary across the three spaces. Their assured supply is managed by the private developers in New Gurgaon. In Old Gurgaon, these are taken care of by the Government. In the Urban Villages also the Government is supposed to manage these basic amenities. But the basic amenities in the villages are largely missing.

Transportation amenities also vary in the city across the spaces. In New Gurgaon, since the means of travelling have been very limited in the city, the people are managing privately. The degree of reliance on personal means of conveyance is very high. But in
the last two years there is an increasing role of availability of private means of transportation such as auto on call, forthcoming DLF’s Rapid Metro. In Old Gurgaon and Urban Villages, there is a mixed reliance on public buses and on the private means of transport like shared autos and rtvs. This brings out the difference in the choice of travelling means across spaces in the city.

The private players dominate the development story of Gurgaon, the Millennium City. They have shaped the availability of these amenities in the city. This reflects on the role privatopia that is visible in the key social sectors of development in the city. Though the choices of amenities in Gurgaon have grown and developed but it has not been the same across the spaces. Rather the choice of availability of various amenities such as health care, educational, basic civic and transport amenities is different across the three spaces and has been shaped by the private players. Hence, each of the three spaces in the cityscape have grown and developed with their unique experience of development and constitute micro-cities within Gurgaon.