Chapter 7
CONCLUSION AND MAJOR FINDINGS

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7.1 **THE STUDY AREA: GURGAON**

The beginning of the 21st century has marked the global landscape dotted with Cities. Cities have seemed to have brought an “urban revolution”. Cities, particularly the Global Cities stand distinctly on the global map driving the world economic situation. The Global Cities such as London, New York, Paris, Singapore, Mumbai are the icon of development. But it is not only the ‘World City’ rather the ‘World of Cities’ that are increasingly going to dominate the urban spaces. It is the ‘Ordinary Cities’ that are likely to grow at a phenomenal pace.

Gurgaon presents a very befitting example of this. It has often been referred to as a sleepy suburb of Delhi. It was nowhere on the global scene at the turn of this century but within following few years it has made a niche for itself and has become the development epitome of India. It has taken a modern avatar with its growth from a Class III town to the Millennium City of the country.

Gurgaon is one of the four satellite towns of Delhi, the capital of India. It is located in the neighboring state of Haryana and constitutes the study area. From being a sleepy town it has experienced a sharp growth spurt in the preceding decade as compared to the other cities of Delhi NCR (National Capital Region). It has witnessed phenomenal growth and development in the past two decades. From a small city it has emerged as the ‘Millennium City’ an icon of modern, ‘shining’ India representing India’s success story as an emerging global economic power. It has been chosen as the study area for exploring the dynamics of growth and development being experienced by the smaller towns and cities across the developing countries. But the question arises why Gurgaon only?

Why Gurgaon?: Gurgaon has been entitled as ‘The Millennium City’ of our country and has been selected by the researcher as the study area for 3 reasons; as the researcher was impressed by the landscape changes that have come to mark right at the entry point, with 8-lane high speed expressway (in contrast to the old NH 8 in 1980s) and high-rise glass buildings and impressive architecture with look-alike of any of the developed countries city. Secondly, in these landscape changes there has been a major role played by the
private developers which is visible as one enters Gurgaon with names such as DLF City, Unitech South City. Lastly, it is also because of the researcher’s firsthand experience of living in Gurgaon and feel of Gurgaon from 1980s that marks the transition of a small piggy town to the Grand Millennium City.

7.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND MAJOR FINDINGS

The cities and towns keep on growing across the world. Their growth and development has expanded to the so-called developing countries. Consequently, there has been an emergence of a number of bigger towns and cities due to the expansion of smaller urban centres. India has also experienced a similar growth of existing towns and cities. Befitting this situation is the case of Gurgaon. It has grown and developed from a small piggy town to being the grand Millennium City of India. This is reflected through the space and place it has made for itself at various platforms such as in the global scenario. It has made a place for itself in the Global market as it has been reported even in the New York Times\textsuperscript{189} and by BBC\textsuperscript{190} for its glass, sky high-rise buildings forming an impressive skyline. It has the third highest per capita income in India after Chandigarh and Mumbai. It ranks eleventh amongst Indian cities on the "Life after Work" index of Business Today\textsuperscript{191}.

The study looks into the growth journey of Gurgaon. It investigates the nature of growth and development in the city and explores nature of changes caused by development. It further observes if there are variations in these developments from one space in the city to another. Thus, the spatial variations in the experience of development have been analyzed. Lastly, the development in the city and its sustainability has been looked into. The study aims to understand the growth, development and sustainability of the study area as it has witnessed fast growth in the last few years. The following are the objectives of the study:

\textsuperscript{189} Yardley, Jim. 8 June 2011. op. cit.
\textsuperscript{190} BBC, 2009. India boom threatened by slowdown. 27 March, 2009. news.bbc.co.uk/
\textsuperscript{191} Behl, Tejeesh, 28 June, 2009. op. cit..
• **Research Objective 1 - to examine the trajectory and nature of growth in the study area:**

The growth journey of Gurgaon particularly during the last three decades has led to its Modern Avtaar: The Millennium City. The making of the Millennium City can be accredited to the happenings over the past twenty-five to thirty years. It has undergone rapid growth and construction. Its journey has got compartmentalised into two different phases of growth that are pre-liberalisation and post-liberalisation. In the post-liberalisation phase GE was the first to set up its outsourcing unit in Corporate Park in Gurgaon in 1997. A wave of multinational companies choose to locate their operations in Gurgaon after GE did so in 1997. Liberalisation has brought call centres, BPOs, KPOs and other MNCs coming up in Gurgaon. It made the city the corporate hub of northern India. Big companies like Airtel, American express, EXL, IBM, Microsoft, Sapient, DLF, Maruti Suzuki, Hero Honda, Infosys, Ericsson, Oracle, Bank of America, American Airlines, The Coca-Cola company, Nokia, etc. have made Gurgaon the call centre capital of India and an important financial centre. Gurgaon has emerged as a major industrial and corporate hub.

The city dynamics reveal that growth of Gurgaon has accelerated in the last two decades. The city dynamics have led to a sharp spurt in terms of demographical aspects as well spatial aspect. The demographic dynamics experience of the city has not only resulted into many-fold increase in population size of the city but also a cultural turn. The mani-fold population increase has been 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. And thus, has come its branding and labelling as ‘the Millennium City’ in 2003.

The 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 Gurgaon is marked with highly heterogeneous population and much more cosmopolitan and global population. It has transformed from a small town of **Ahirs (Yadavs), Gujars and Punjabis**
only to a city having population from different parts of the country as well as from outside the country.

The increase in population size has been accompanied by 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 they have become an integral part of the city as the urban villages. The city’s area has increased by more than six times since 1980. And with the increase in area the landuse has got transformed 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 transformed into a globalized and cosmopolitized city that today constitutes its new urban personality.

- **Research Objective 2 - to analyze the nature and process of consequent development in the study area:**

In the journey of its growth, the dusty and sleepy class III town of Gurgaon has turned into ‘the Millennium City of the country’. The city has experienced both the demographic and areal dynamics at fast pace recently. Both demographic and areal spurt has occurred simultaneously. But ‘the Millennium City’ reveals and unfolds the micro-details as one looks deep into it. The saga of this reincarnation of Gurgaon into the Millennium City has led to the transformation of the cityscape and birth of three spaces within the city. The two cities within the Millennium City are the Old Gurgaon and New Gurgaon that stand on either side of the NH 8. The two cities have another space that geographically is a part of the both yet has different traits and has an identity of its own – the Urban Villages. The nature of growth and the associated development in the Millennium City has have been different as that varies across these 3 spaces within the city.
The Old Gurgaon constitutes the core town and is being managed by the Municipal Corporation of Gurgaon (MCG) since 2008 (and till 2008 it was under Municipal Council and the sectors were under HUDA for their initial phase post-construction). It has a truly desi small town like feel attached to it. It has narrow lanes, congested roads, houses stuck to each other like compartments of a train. In total contrast to it is the space of New Gurgaon, with plush buildings, swanky official and commercial offices where all is managed by the creators of these small pockets of self-sufficiency. These small pockets are mini worlds in themselves and have been created by the private developers. Right from security at the entry to water, power and maintenance of common areas – all is done by the private developers at a charge, giving birth to these islands of beauty and richness. New Gurgaon has come under the Municipal Corporation since 2008, but inside the complexes it continues to be the private developers. Prior to 2008 it was under no administrative body (as HUDA has been responsible for only the initial part of cutting the sectors and deciding their various land uses) and the inside of the mini beautiful islands was managed by the private developers giving them a comfortable life in lieu of the maintenance charge. Most importantly, there is resentment amongst people post coming up of MCG. This is because now they are required to pay tax to the government for which they feel that they will get poor services only whereas private developers have assured relatively hassle free services. And lastly, is the space of urban villages where one finds a mix of both the spaces. On the one hand, these urban villages have the people who have made a lot of money by selling their land and on the other hand, there are others who are barely earning their livelihood. These villages were under their respective Panchayats till different points of time like till 2002, or 2003 etc. and have also come under the MCG since 2008. And during the time period from 2002 to 2008 there was no authority or administrative body. But even now they are largely unsatisfied as most of them feel that the MCG is not doing much for them. Thus, the three spaces have had their own experience of growth and developments.
• **Research Objective 3** - to understand and analyze the effect of growth and developments in the study area on everyday living of the people:

The story of the Modern Avtaar of Gurgaon into the Millennium City of the country is the story of its growth and development. The growth and development has changed the cityscape. The changes in Gurgaon have been of various types. These have been put into two categories based on their nature that are the tangible and intangible aspects of changes. But these have not been the same across the city rather there are variations from one space in the city to another. The nature of change and development across the cityscape has been different and consequently, the resultant transformed spaces in the city are also different and unique. Thus, the term development and change can be used as corollary to each other for the Millennium City.

The new cityscape is the result of all the changes that have set in the city. As Beall and Fox, 2009 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. 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 have 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 variation in the level of service to all, the city is different to different spaces 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 fees being charged is 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 caters 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 has developed in terms of medical amenities differently and offers different choices 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 the Government schools as well as the private schools and 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 fifth 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 civic amenities in the villages are largely missing and are largely managed privately by the individuals.

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 real estate developers dominate the development story of Gurgaon, the Millennium City. They have shaped the availability of the amenities in the city. This reflects on the role of private players 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. 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.

Each of the three divided micro-cities in the Millennium city has got a new culture of development with the experience of the series of intangible changes. These changes and the culture is unique in each of the three divided cities. The three divided spaces in the city have contrasting buying and living culture in terms of their everyday lives. The nature of places for buying the everyday needs like groceries and vegetables is varies.
across the three divided spaces according to the identity of the space and the lifestyle of people living there.

New Gurgaon has a lot of people working in corporate sector and a lot of people here reside in gated and fortress communities. There are branded and big marts in New Gurgaon and there is restricted and limited presence of vendors or ‘redhi-wallahs’ (the vendors). The varying degree of security across the three cities in Gurgaon has led to different type of security arrangements. These are being made by the individuals or provided by the Private Developers. In New Gurgaon the Condominiums are the gated complexes and these stand as example of the Fortress Guarded living are common. These reflect on security being an issue due to the lifestyle of the residents. The security arrangements are made by the private players.

New Gurgaon’s culture can be said to be the mall and mart culture that is highly consumerist. Here visit to the malls has become a part and parcel of the resident’s lives as the corporate lifestyle has brought with it higher incomes and a busy and hectic lifestyle. These malls provide the everyday life needs under one roof and thus, are very convenient to the people. Here the lifestyle is much more self-confined and involves a very low degree of interaction with their neighbors. This can be largely credited to the new lifestyle that has emerged due to the presence of private multinational jobs that are more demanding and the RWAs or rather the Condominiums Associations of private developer’s residential complexes. These private developers and the Condominiums Associations play the role and have replaced the need of neighbor in the need of hour. Moreover, it has now got a wide range of choices for entertainment. These include discs, pubs, malls, park like the Leisure Valley Parks, multiplexes with options of Gold Class and Platinum Class, Kingdom of Dreams, ice hockey, Golfing – such as night golfing and golf simulators, etc. These have been brought by the private players and are much more grand and also relatively costly and thus, here the entertainment has a new version which is more grand and elaborate.

Whereas the culture in Old Gurgaon is in complete contrast to this. The Old space and
Village space are open to the ‘redhi-wallahs’, have easily accessible ‘bazaars’ and lot of local shops unlike New Gurgaon. Security is not a matter of concern for the people in Old Gurgaon. Here people often sit together and interact with each other. The neighbors know each other. The feeling of aloofness is not there. In Old Gurgaon though the interaction with the neighbors has decreased but some level of interaction is still present in the everyday lives of the people. Here, the everyday interaction with the neighbors is present and the entertainment options are traditional. The multiplexes and other branded entertainment alternatives are missing. Thus, the turn in the everyday lives of the residents in Old Gurgaon had been much lesser as compared to New Gurgaon as the private players have not ventured here.

The villages were not a part of Gurgaon earlier but now they definitely constitute an integral part of the city. But still they have their own style of living in total contrast to the city spaces of Gurgaon. The change in the life of village residents is visible in more than one ways. Village space are open to the ‘redhi-wallahs’, have easily accessible ‘bazaars’ and lot of local shops. The Village spaces also face the security challenge but usually do not have any arrangements. The influence of city culture is visible in the villages and due to this the Urban Villages have witnessed the transformation. There is change in the way the people dress, nature of pet animals owned by them, the way they think, entertainment sources and an increase in income. The villages have had a community based relation but now it has changed with change in occupation and means of livelihood. The people largely find it to be highly individualistic and self-confined. One can see a group of old age people having a puff of community hookah. Though nowadays this kind of scene is visible in the Village spaces but that’s only confined to the older age groups. Whereas the younger residents of the villages prefer to move out to the entertainment options available in the city spaces, particularly those who can afford, but the older age group does not have a liking for it.

The change that has set in the everyday living of the residents has rendered a distinct culture of development peculiar and unique to each of the three spaces in the city. The
divided cities largely have a different actor carving out the experience of development in each of them. The private developers have carved out the New Gurgaon. New Gurgaon that is referred to as ‘Modern Gurgaon’ presents and represents the image of Gurgaon at all platforms. Whereas the other two Gurgaons do not find any mention and have a distinct culture of development being experienced by them. These cultures of development have been shaped by the private players such as in the form of entertainment alternatives they offer like multiplexes, Night Golfing, the lifestyle provided by the private developers through the fortress gated community living and the availability of stores for fulfilling the everyday needs of the residents such as the marts. Each of the three cities has a different culture of development. Inspite of the contrasts and contradictions in the three cities of the Millennium City, they do co-exist but simultaneously raise a number of questions about the differentiated development experience and the sustainability aspect of the development in the city.

- **Research Objective 4 - to examine the sustainability of the city in terms of the institutional aspects and practices in everyday lives of the people living in the study area:**

The phenomenal growth and the series of developments in the city has increased the burden on the means to meet the of everyday life needs of the people. The burden has pressed the need for efforts towards the practices that would ensure minimum wastage and better availability through optimal consumption. There is a need to focus on such measures at two levels that is from the authorities as well as from the residents. This would contribute in managing the basic needs in everyday lives of the residents in a rather more sustainable manner.

The efforts that can contribute towards sustainable development of the city at the institutional level require the major institutions to work in tandem. This can assure better governance for the city and assure sustainable development. The strict rules towards private developers, transparency and accountability of HUDA and complete hand over of role to Municipal Corporation of Gurgaon would lead to effective governance and sustainability.
Secondly, the people themselves need to put in an effort so that the developments in the city are sustainable. Their everyday life practices can contribute a big step towards sustainability. These practices involve using the rainwater harvesting for ground water replenishment, use of renewable sources of energy such as solar power to reduce energy consumption, using the shared means of transport to reduce individualistic use of vehicles and individual and community level proper disposal and treatment of garbage. Such practices need to be encouraged and followed in all the three spaces of the Millennium City. These practices are easy to be followed by the people of New Gurgaon and Old Gurgaon as they have the resources as compared to the Urban Villages. The villages have a mixed proportion of the rich population and large population of migrants that belong to low income class.

Hence, the authorities, both the governmental and non-governmental ones and the people of the Millennium City need to put in efforts at the grass-root level to make the development sustainable.

7.3 CONCLUDING THE GURGAON’S DEVELOPMENT SAGA

Gurgaon, the Millennium City of India has grown from a dusty small town to being a million city. It has become the brand ambassador of development of India at the international platform. A bird’s eye view of the city gives a glimpse of ‘Modern Gurgaon’ but it is only a superficial apparent image of the city. This view of the city is built by the all-glass facade, high rise, and swanky, glitzy buildings with their neon boards forming the skyline of the city. Gurgaon seems to be ‘the glam city’ of India. But a detailed insight into the city shows the presence of three micro-cities within the Millennium City: New Gurgaon, Old Gurgaon and Urban Villages. Each of the three cities has experienced differential development which has been unique to each of them and has brought change in the everyday lives of the people.

The development in the city has transformed the cityscape in terms of changes in the key social sectors which are tangible in nature and the resultant intangible aspects. All the developments and the consequent changes have been brought by the private players affecting
the everyday lives of the people. For instance, the presence of various private hospitals that range from those that provide facilities of a five-star hotel to smaller ones, private diagnostic centres, the private educational institutes such as the global and international schools and colleges affiliated to foreign universities, the private power supply and water and sewerage discharge arrangements such as 100% uninterrupted assured power backup through huge generators or individual backup alternatives of invertors or mombattis, supply of water through tankers, presence of socket arrangements and the means of commuting. These constitute the key social sectors such as medical amenities, educational amenities, basic civic amenities and transportation. All have witnessed a drastic change brought and shaped by the private players. This development experience has been different in each of the three divided cities in Gurgaon. Moreover, the consequent intangible changes have also been unique in each of the three divided cities. The corporate, mall, mart and multiplex culture has come in New Gurgaon with the private corporate jobs. The nuclear families have brought in the gated living and aloof everyday lives and grand and elaborate means of entertainment options like night golfing, ice skating, bridge playing groups and clubs. Whereas in Old Gurgaon the community feeling is still present and gated living is not found. The urban villages have also got the flavour of city culture as the occupations, income levels, dressing and mindsets and aspirations of the people has drastically changed here. All the changes have brought the transformation at the micro-level thus, affecting the everyday lives of the people.

The differentiated development has been brought by the private players and has brought changes at the grass root level that is in everyday living of the people. The differentiated nature of development puts a question mark on the sustainability of development in the city. Since the development has a huge impact at the grass root level, the sustainability can also be assured by taking measures at the same level. Firstly, the creators and sculptors of development in the city that is the institutions need to work towards it assuring effective governance. The institutions include both governmental such as HUDA, MCG as well as non-governmental that is the private players like DLF, Unitech. And secondly, the people’s participation towards everyday living aspects such as water consumption, power, sewerage and transport itself can contribute to sustainability of development.