Community Radio in Gurugram:
A Case Study in Social Entrepreneurship

Sumati Varma*

Abstract

This study examines changing identity of a modern Indian city and entrepreneurial response to make it a more inclusive space. In a globalized world as the city becomes an excluding space, the third sector supplements the effort of the state. This paper chronicles the efforts of Gurgaon's Community Radio as a social entrepreneurial initiative to create social inclusion. This article also emphasizes the emergent need of participatory urban existence where the interests of all find a voice and space through community radio.

Keywords: Modern India, Entrepreneurial Response, Community Radio, Social Inclusion

Introduction

Social exclusion is a global phenomenon. It has existed since the beginning of time, arising out of hierarchies in different social settings. In the Indian context social exclusion has traditionally been based on caste, class, religion and gender (Kummitha, 2015). More recently, the ubiquitous process of globalisation has become the driver of exclusion. As globalisation became the order of the day, consumer tastes and cultures become homogenized and satisfied through the provision of standardized global products created by global corporations with no allegiance to place or community. The global is, thus, claimed to be the natural order of affairs in today's technologically driven world in which time-space has been compressed, the 'end of geography' has arrived and everywhere is becoming same.' (Dicken, 1998). The phenomenon of globalisation proceeds selectively, including and excluding segments of economies and societies in and out of the networks of information, wealth and power that characterise the new dominant system. Divides and inequality are almost synonymous with its promulgation as a widespread process of change.

Social Exclusion in the city has been visible through the ages in the form of urban slums and the urban poor. In a more recent context, newly emerging global cities which have appeared in response to the dictates of neo – industrialisation have also become excluding spaces. Occupying centre stage in the Indian story of globalisation are the mega cities of Delhi,

*Associate Professor, Department of Commerce, Sri Aurobindo College (Eve), Delhi University, New Delhi, India. **E-mail:** varmasumati@yahoo.co.in

Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai, Bangalore and Hyderabad –cities that have grown in response to market needs, but excluded most of its original inhabitants from its new found social, economic and cultural spaces. The city of Gurgaon (a suburb of Delhi to begin with)   has attained great visibility in the world economy due to the phenomenal growth of the Information Technology sector in a single location in the context of a developing country. Commonly called the "Millenium City",   its growth and development has been in response to the needs of   a new class of global migrants, who came here for work and became instrumental in the transformation of existing urban space to suit global requirements. The growth of the city in response to market needs however, has led to the exclusion of its original inhabitants from its new found social, economic and cultural spaces.

The tragedy of exclusion as a part of global existence (United Nations 2010) is exacerbated by the failure of the state to provide adequate and timely redressal. As state policy is largely driven by corporate interests, the scope for minimizing social segregation is limited, which multiplies social problems and expands the neoliberal space (Hirway, 2012). This has led to the emergence of the Third Sector, characterised by a growing number of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), globally and in India, taking on the role of Social Entrepreneurs addressing various issues including social exclusion.

In a community, one of the key factors that can create inclusive spaces is access to information and the opportunity to air grievances and opinions. In India, this has not been made possible either by the state-owned media or the private commercial FM channels. The former follows the top-down method of broadcasting, giving negligible access to the local community to create its own content, discuss their own local issues, and document their own cultural traditions. The latter focuses solely on the bottom line, hence community participation is entirely absent.

Radio for and by the people is a radical democratic idea that is slowly getting its place in India through the government's policy in support of community radio. In this context the present paper focuses on the changing identity of a modern Indian city and entrepreneurial response to make it a more inclusive space. It chronicles the effort of an NGO - *The Restoring Force (TRF)* in Gurgaon: a community radio station that addresses the needs of the hundreds of villages, semi-urban clusters, and urban slums that fall within a 10-km radius around an industrial cluster in Gurgaon, helping to build an inclusive city for those who have been left out on the periphery in the present phase of globalization.

Social Entrepreneurship
Social Entrepreneurship aims to create social value (Peredo and McLean, 2006) through sustainable solutions for unaddressed social problems (Austin et al 2006) to stimulate social change (Mair and Marti 2006, Nicholls 2006b, Nicholls and Cho 2006, Tan, Williams and Tan 2005). Social value here takes on myriad forms, ranging from enabling social justice, creating

social inclusion and adopting social innovation leading to social and environmental sustainability (Hill, Kothari and Shea, 2010).

Social Entrepreneurship is characterized by a diversity of processes to achieve the desired social transformation. These range from reconfiguring resources for social objectives (Dees 1998), measured by the social transformation achieved (Alvord, Brown and Letts 2004, Pearce 2003, Bornstein 2004). While philanthropy and reliance on government subsidies are a defining feature of the process, social entrepreneurship may also lead to the development of business ventures. In order to balance the entrepreneurial aspects of the process with intended social outcomes, there is a need to create commercially viable and socially goal oriented institutions with a mission centric approach (Amin, Cameron and Hudson 2002), (Leadbeater, 1997).

Social entrepreneurship may be conceptualized within existing organizations or lead to new organizational creation, to exploit new opportunities in an innovative manner (Zahra et al 2008). Its basic objective is the creation of social, economic, cultural, political and environmental wealth (Leadbeater 2007, Shaw and Carter 2007, Steyart and Hjorth, 2006). Social enterprises thus have a dual focus on social and financial value creation (Austin et al 2006, Nicholls 2010).

The *Third Sector* through NGOs can act as social entrepreneurs by adopting a professional approach to development (Devine 2003). They can do so by moving out of their intermediary role as grantees or recipients of financial resources (Alvord, Brown and Letts, 2004, Cho 2006, Nwanko, Philips and Tracey, 2007) and adopting a businesslike approach to problem solving and social value creation including enabling social inclusion.

The following section traces the journey of an Indian NGO as a social entrepreneur creating inclusive urban spaces.

Exclusion in the City
Cities of the world are interesting case studies in social exclusion. An obvious manifestation of exclusion are the urban slums and inner cities which consist of the urban poor who have been excluded in the process of urban planning and whose right to be a part of the urban process has been largely ignored. The increasing concentration of poverty and social deprivation in cities is a major challenge for development. Another form of exclusion as a consequence of globalisation is in the context of the original inhabitants of newly visible "global cities" - people who now exist almost as strangers on the fringes of a city that originally belonged to them, but find no space in its current development and growth.

The concept of the inclusive city is derived from the idea that the city belongs to all its inhabitants. This gives rise to the notion of a new urban citizenship, which makes it possible for those who belong in it to fully realise their rights and exercise their responsibilities. At the heart

of the inclusive city, are the three inter – related ideas that contribute to the realisation of full citizenship: respect for human rights, good urban governance and equitable growth.

The Human Development Report (UNDP 2000) characterises human rights into seven core freedoms: freedom from discrimination – for equality; freedom from want – for a decent standard of living; freedom for the realisation of one's human potential; freedom from fear – with no threats to personal security; freedom from injustice; freedom of participation, expression and association; and freedom for decent work – without exploitation.

These human rights however, have to be realised within society; therefore the quality of urban governance – the manner in which individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city becomes crucial. An inclusive city requires collaboration between the national government, city governments, the private sector and civil society, which form new relationships and take on new roles in a globalising world.

Exclusion, as a result of physical, social or economic barriers, prevents certain groups from participating fully in urban life and services, and failure of local authorities to integrate such groups in their decision-making is often a function of inertia, along with bureaucratic and unresponsive forms of government. Ethnicity, gender and religion are also factors that contribute towards exclusion, along with 'self-exclusion' of the urban elite who have cocooned themselves into self-sufficient gated communities.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) refers to social exclusion as a 'process of social disintegration, a progressive rupture of the relationships between the individual and society' (1996). Exclusion surfaces either as marginalization from the rest of society through economic deprivation and social disadvantage or as social and cultural segregation by fragmentation of social relations.

The increased risk of a breakdown of social cohesion due to growing exclusion is recognized in the literature for industrialized countries (Room, 1995). In the developing world exclusion works as a way of controlling and subduing people (Young, 1990) and hence becomes a strategy to maintain hegemonic structures and power distribution. The concept derives from the idea of 'society as a status hierarchy, comprising people bound together by rights and obligations' (Walker, 1995). Exclusion defines a state of detachment, where individuals are restrained from or not enabled to access public services, goods, activities, or resources, which are essential for a life with dignity. Hence, there is a central concern focusing on dominant institutions and rules that enable or restrict social interaction. Social exclusion is recognized as a state of ill being that disempowers and disables people from being full citizens, isolating them from the rest of society (ILO, 1996).

The stigmatization of certain groups as being 'underclass' who are worth less is another aspect that reiterates social exclusion and provides excuses for the rest of society and, particularly, for politicians in power to not do enough (Gans, 1996). Strong prejudices against people from marginal settlements are related to race, education, and income, and ultimately these people are interpreted as having a lower social status within society. In the Indian context *caste* has been a major factor contributing to the exclusion of significant sections of the population for centuries.

Gender-related prejudices force women into disadvantaged employment patterns and social roles. However, the most affected are marginalized children and young people, since they are deprived of future opportunities. In not having access to a regular and healthy diet and primary/ secondary education, as well as professional training, they usually become unemployed or underemployed and end up in the informal sector. With an increase in the number of households having to cope with insufficient income, the number of children living in the streets is also growing. Often these children consume drugs (alcohol, tobacco, and illicit drugs) and become involved in drug trafficking, drug consumption, prostitution, and crime. Since they often have to contribute to the family budget, or have to make a living for themselves, they undertake informal activities (delivery, guarding services, collecting recyclables, street sales, washing cars, polishing shoes, and other street services including prostitution and drug dealing) or begging (Zaluar, 2001).

Exclusion is further exacerbated as different systems of the city - social security systems, education and health, transport, housing, water supply and sanitation – start responding to the needs of a wealthy minority integrated with the global economy. For example, infrastructure projects based on the principle of public-private partnership or privatization, including those for water supply and sanitation, increase the cost of living for the poor and may altogether exclude the poorest. Land development becomes an intensely contested area.

Low and Gleeson (2001) reveal that 'urban distributions, which are highly variegated in socio-cultural and spatial terms, interact to produce a diverse and shifting landscape of ecological politics'. Plotkin (1987), for example, documented that institutional mechanisms, such as planning regulations, keep noxious land uses away from high-income neighbourhoods and concentrate them in poor and working-class communities. In Delhi for example, hazardous and polluting industries located in the city were pushed beyond the boundaries of the urban agglomeration. Slum clearance and rehabilitation policies implemented in the city since the 1960s and the recent episodes of judicial activism in the late 90s (Dupont and Ramanathan, 2005) have contributed to a social segmentation of the metropolitan space and the exclusion of the poor from the central zones of the city.

Gurugram: An Excluding Urban Space

Gurugram –the industrial and financial centre of Haryana is the sixth largest city in the state and is located 30 km south of the national capital New Delhi and 268 km south of Chandigarh, the state capital. As per the census of 2001India, Gurgaon had a population of more than 600,000, out of which 54% were males 46%were females. It has an average literacy rate of 77%, higher than the national average of 65.38%: male literacy is 81%, and female literacy is 73%.

Known as the "Millennium City" on account of its perceived global character, the city has grown and developed in accordance with the needs of the MNE which has been the reason for its birth and existence. developed under the public private partnership mode, the city has seen rapid growth in the last 25 years as   big TNCs like Airtel, American Express, EXL, IBM, Microsoft, Sapient, DLF, Maruti Suzuki, Hero Honda, Infosys, Ericsson, Oracle, Bank of America, American Airlines, have made Gurgaon the call centre, capital of India and an important financial centre.
The city traces its origin to Hindu mythology. Legend has it that Gurgaon is the ancestral village of Guru Dronacharya, the teacher of the Pandavas and Kauravas in the Indian epic, the *Mahabharata*. In Sanskrit, *Guru* means teacher, which in this case refers to Dronacharya and *Gram*means village. According to Hindu mythology, the village was gifted by the Pandavas and Kauravas to Dronacharya the son of Rishi Bhardwaj, and was therefore known as *guru-gram*. Over time the colloquial term *gaon* (which also means village in Prakrit) was substituted for *gram* and the name *Gurgaon* emerged. By the mid nineteenth century Gurgaon was part of the princely protectorate of Pataudi which is a part of Gurgaon district today. The British integrated Gurgaon into the Punjab Province where it served as district and tehsil headquarters. After India's independence, Gurgaon continued to be a part of the state of Punjab until 1966 when Haryana was formed as a separate state.

Gurugram remained a small farming village while neighbouring Delhi emerged as India's political capital. Delhi's economic rise attracted a large influx of labourers from neighbouring regions like Rajasthan, Orissa and Bihar rapidly increasing Delhi's population. By the early 1990s, Delhi was one of the most populous and crowded cities in the world and as the country adopted the most ambitious liberalisation program ever since independence, there was an obvious need for a satellite city to welcome the incoming investment. Gurgaon seemed like an ideal choice given its vast undeveloped farming lands and proximity to Delhi. The Haryana Urban Development Authority bought large areas of land from farmers in Gurgaon and developed residential and commercial sectors.

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factors which attracted the MNE to Gurgaon were the reformed tax laws, proximity to the international airport and promised world class infrastructure including a fast moving expressway connecting the suburb to the city of Delhi in a matter of minutes.

The paradox representing the globalisation of cities such as Gurugram is manifested in their spatial transformation. The central city areas have changed as new up market stores, international banks, fast food chains and pubs made an appearance. Several state sponsored mega development projects such as sports stadium and exclusive mass housing have resulted in the demolition and resettlement of several poor settlements to distant peripheral locations. Rapidly rising land prices have pushed poor and middle income groups to live in distant and sometimes non-serviced locations. The urban façade of the city today is a study in contrast with granite, steel and tinted glass offices next to ill- maintained factories and high class residential neighbourhoods standing cheek by jowl with sprawling slums. Traffic jams on pot holed roads in which the Mercedes shares space with the bullock cart completes the picture of a parallel universe in which the nouveau riche yuppie in his Armani suit tries to create his own exclusive universe.

Urban areas such as these thus become "quartered" cities in the sense that their effort to accommodate the needs of global capital has enriched commercial interests, but at the cost of neglecting the interests of its other stakeholders and their liveability. The central business district consisting of glass walled computer – ready office complexes, exclusive shopping malls and entertainment facilities stand in stark contrast to the dense squatter settlements and their very poor services. The city's urban periphery has also transformed in response to the needs of the IT sector. In the 1980s, the city's peripheral areas evolved as "revenue layouts" with minimal infrastructure and civic amenities catering mainly to low and middle income groups and small scale enterprises. The 1990s saw a development of the southern periphery into gentrified enclaves of exclusive luxury condominiums combined with high quality commercial space for the professional managerial "techie" in peripheral locations as a part of sub-urbanisation of the type witnessed in "edge cities" of the more developed global cities of the Boston region or Santa Clara Valley. The suburb of Gurgaon is an example of the increasing growth of self-sufficient gated communities that have cocooned themselves in their little paradises. These are exclusive "farmhouse clusters and apartment blocks" with their own swimming pools and health clubs, walled in private security, 24 hour electrical power back up and exclusive club facilities. The rest of the city is a sprawl of decaying single story houses and shops occupied by people who livelihoods fall beyond the plans of the IT industry.

Changes in transportation and migration patterns have increased the diversity of local spaces and reflect the cultural and cognitive diversity of its temporary citizens. On the other hand they have led to the exclusion of all sections of the urban population from one or more areas of urban space. Cities such as Gurgaon have witnessed an urban reconfiguration due to their inclusion in the network of global cities. It has led to the emergence of a new lifestyle

characterised by mobility, fast pace, poly-scripted and parallel experiences. It allows people to include and exclude in multiple spaces which we categorise as mind space, information space, material space and social (relational) space. A study of these emerging patterns of poly-inclusion and exclusion helps us to develop strategies and new capabilities that are appropriate for creating and sustaining inclusive urban space or city on a theoretical continuum of decentralization.

"Less than 30 minutes from Udyog Vihar, straddling planned SEZ zones, and within hooting distance of Gurgaon's line-up of glitzy malls, villages such as Garhi Harsaru and Dhankot straddle two very different worlds. In one, English-speaking youngsters throng BPO offices at night, and malls in the daytime. In the other, their children find it difficult to even read their Hindi textbooks in Class 8. Their most difficult subject? English. It's a language they rarely use, and hardly ever hear. But they know that it holds the keys to the consumerist kingdom, to jobs in Gurgaon city, and to a better life not dependent on land, since the land has long been sold off, and few have as yet acquired the skills to earn their bread through anything other than farming." (MIB Case study 2010).

We use a poly-inclusive concept of space (Go 2003), to explain the process of urban exclusion experienced by the inhabitants of cities like Gurugram. Material space is the main environment of experience for an individual. It is his habitat and includes the home space, office space, and also temporary sites such as hotels and meeting centres. Although technology has broadened our understanding and exploration of this physical space, its basic limitation is that it allows human beings to be present at a single site only at any given moment.

People also interact within an information space that captures, represents and transmits images, facts, stories and audio-visual products. Technology enables the participation of individuals in the information space together wherever they are. It provides a real time and asynchronous layer that connects people through the electronic media. Interaction in the information space helps to cut across the different layers of the social fabric as all sections of the population watch a common soap opera or a news item. Common experiences in the information space temporarily help to create a sense of inclusion.

A third space people include is in mind or knowledge space. We develop and express routines and experiences that are communicated, processed and enhanced by other human beings. People have developed stories and scripts that transfer generic knowledge and help us communicate (Grant 1996; Orr 1996). We connect directly or through artefacts with other minds. These stories, scripts and artefacts become a part of the culture of a city or an organisation. Mind space is limited only by the imagination of the human mind and has endless opportunities for growth. As a consequence of the impact of a technological culture, driven by IT-developments, the former is moving beyond mind space, e.g. the literature refers to 'virtual culture' and 'bodily culture'. Moreover, the city affords and offers a platform for the

manifestation of culture, which tends increasingly to be a combination of new media culture (i-pods; etc), corporeal presence (as in 'showing off brand fashions) and traditional cultures (e.g. ethnic communities that have settled in the city historically or more recently). Changing culture goes beyond existing mind spaces and in the process becomes exclusionary for a large section of the urban population.

Social space exists when two or more individuals meet in some format on a relational basis (Gabarro 1990). People create unique interaction patterns and reciprocal knowledge (Schein 1992). They exchange efficiently by using their own protocols, symbols and common knowledge. This cultural and relational space has been associated with uncertainty. People can improvise around uncertain situations when they have established social space (Williamson 1991; Peplowski 1998). They create meaning in a joint process based on similar past experiences (Hall 1959). Social space involves the ties amongst human beings, is independent of space and evolves historically over time.

Agglomeration patterns of the city directly affect the social spaces of the city. The development of the city's residential location of the high skilled IT worker has been accompanied by the development of retail spaces are all done in response to global lifestyle and higher paying capacity of the global executive. The development of these new retail cores of shopping malls, speciality restaurants and entertainment centres are in areas that were meant to serve neighbourhood functions (Aranya 2003). There is thus a clear compartmentalisation of social spaces in which the interests of the "globetrotting techie" seem to predominate. The common non-IT Bangalorean is thus excluded from the newly emerging social spaces of the city.

The extension of the city's mind space excludes the ethnic community, which perceives the aforementioned corrosion of character as a consequence of work in the new capitalism (Sennett) as a threat to the society's traditional language and culture. It is also felt by some that traditional middle class Indian values of simple living and thrift have been replaced by a culture of conspicuous consumption of the global citizen (Sugata, 2007). The growth of the new capitalism, driven by a technological culture has meant that social events like festivals, which used to be community affairs are now organised and "marketed", in part, by commercial sponsors. The global migrant includes in spaces of virtual culture but is unable to relate to the traditional culture of the city both for want of time as also due to the fact that his presence is resented by the original ethnic community. The urban poor on the other hand are excluded from virtual spaces leading to a clear division of the city's mind spaces between different inhabitants of the city. All in all, the entire city is an exclusionary enclave!!

Gurgaon Ki Awaaz – The Voice of Gurugram

Gurgaon Ki Awaaz - Gurugram's only community radio station was born in November 2009[1]. It broadcasts in Hindi and Haryanvi to a community that has remained voiceless throughout the transformation of Gurgaon from a sleepy cluster of villages 20 years ago to a much vaunted "Millennium City". The only civil society-led community radio station in the entire National Capital Region, Gurgaon Ki Awaaz is a platform for and by marginalized community groups in Gurgaon, especially communities living in villages in and around Gurgaon, migrant workers and inner city residents for whom the gloss and glamour of malls and glass-fronted office buildings is simply a testament of the uneven development that has taken place in this town.

Community Radio (CR) in India is in its infancy. The idea of allowing the people to own and run radio channels that broadcast content relevant to their own lives, has taken some time to gain acceptance in India. Radio has always been extremely tightly controlled in India, the monopoly resting with All India Radio. The first break from this monopoly was the start of Campus Radio stations (often confused with Community Radio stations, which are not led by an educational institution but by the members of a community). The first Campus Radio station was set up in Anna University in Chennai in 2004. After a fairly lengthy process of application, screening, and paperwork, the first CR stations have begun broadcasting in India, in places as far apart as Orchcha in Madhya Pradesh, Kutch in Gujarat, Mukteshwar in Uttarakhand and Medak district in Andhra Pradesh.

The Gurugram Community Radio station has a footprint of approximately 20kms originating in TRF's field office in Udyog Vihar, Gurugram, Haryana. Within this footprint, fall hundreds of villages, many of which have practically disappeared inside industrial zones, urban estates and condominiums. The radio station encompasses offices and factories in Udyog Vihar, homes and apartments in the new and old colonies of Gurugram, villages strung along both sides of NH-8, as well as those tucked inside, reached only by broken roads and narrow paths[2].

Broadcasting in Hindi and Haryanvi, the radio station is run by a team of community reporters, the bulk of whom are from these very target communities within Gurugram. The station has been set up and is supported by *The Restoring Force (TRF),* an NGO that works in government schools in Gurugram district. *Gurgaon Ki Awaaz* broadcasts 24 hours a day on a wide range of programs that include programs on careers, entrepreneurship, migration, women's empowerment and health, folk culture especially music, health, sports, and community reportage by school-going children.

TRF's community radio initiative is an attempt to create space for a community struggling with inadequate power, gaps in education infrastructure, and lack of knowledge about opportunities in education, livelihood and income generation. This includes a large number of Gurugram's villagers who either have substantial land holdings, or substantial cash reserves from selling off this land but have got excluded from the millennium city's spaces. It also targets lakhs of

migrant workers who live and work in Gurugram, but who do not fit into any of the transformed city spaces. for whom the city has very little to offer.

The radio is a wonderful medium to reach the community - because by its very sound and music, it is very evidently "their" station. The station records and airs folk music and folk ballads performed by local music groups and performers, children's music (much of it recorded by the children in government schools), and debates and discussions like the *Chaupals* (a common village space for debate and discussion), that bring together diverse, but local, voices.

Gurugram has been shaped by the lakhs of migrant workers from across India who work in the city's factories, farms, homes and offices. A weekly program "Sara Aasmaan Hamara" (the universe belongs to us) brings the personal stories of Gurgaon's migrant workers to the radio as they share their journey from their villages to Gurgaon, their early struggles, the challenge of adjusting to a new milieu and, very often, living far away from home and family. Music on Gurgaon Ki Awaaz gives it a unique identity as it airs local folk music called *Raginis* sung by local troupes known as *mandalis* or devotional songs (*bhajans*) by village women or songs by schoolchildren. Neither the music nor the artists can ever hope to find space on the popular commercial radio stations which air popular Hindi film music. So unique are the sounds emanating from this little studio, so rooted to the land and collective community memory, that there has been an instant connects with the people. Not even one listener has ever asked for Hindi film music!!

Conclusion

In physics, the term "The Restoring Force" refers to a variable force that gives rise to equilibrium in a physical system. Toward this end, the Gurgaon ki Awaaz Community Radio initiative aims to restore equilibrium in the spaces of the city of Gurgaon as it intervenes to minimise the inequality of access and opportunity that currently characterises the people living in the millennium city. Whatever be the form of response there is no getting away from the fact that globalisation and its attendant effects are here to stay. It is therefore important to reconcile old identities and newer realities of our cities. How can the old make way for the new as we strive to conserve? The answer to this perhaps is in the words of urban historian and architect, Dolores Hayden, "the power of ordinary urban landscapes to nurture citizen's public memory, to encompass shared time in the form of shared history – remains untapped in most working people's neighbourhoods in most cities." The need of the hour is participatory urban existence where the interests of all find a voice and space.

Endnotes
[1] http://www.trfindia.org/community_radio.php
[2] https://www.thebetterindia.com/84301/gurgaon-ki-awaaz-gurgaon-community-radio/

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