

*Ethnic Entrepreneurship among Tibetan
Diaspora in India:
The Case of Ladhakh Buddha Vihar, Delhi.*

A dissertation submitted to the University of
Hyderabad
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award
of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

SOCIOLOGY

By

V. HARISH SRIVATSAVA



DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD
HYDERABAD 500046.
DECEMBER, 2000

To
My Parents

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work embodied in this dissertation entitled "Ethnic Entrepreneurship among Tibetan Diaspora in India: The Case of Ladhakh Budda Vihar, Delhi", carried out by me under the supervision of Prof. Chandrasekhar Bhat, Department of Sociology, University of Hyderabad, has not been submitted for any other degree in part or full to this or any other university.



V. HARISH SRIVATSAVA

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "Ethnic Entrepreneurship among Tibetan Diaspora in India: The Case of Ladhakh Budda Vihar, Delhi", submitted by V. Harish Srivatsava in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in Sociology is a record of the bonafide work carried by him under my supervision and guidance.

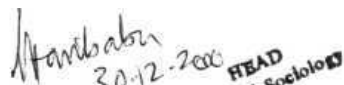
This dissertation has not been submitted previously either in part or full to any other University or Institute of learning for the award of any degree.

Place:

Date:



Prof. Chandrasekhar Bhat,
Dept. of Sociology,
University of Hyderabad.



30-12-2000 HEAD
Dept. of Sociology

Prof. Haribabu
Head, Dept. of Sociology,
University of Hyderabad.



Dean
School of Social Sciences
University of Hyderabad.

DEAN
School of Social Sciences

Acknowledgements

It is most befitting besides being a great pleasure for me in this brief 'note of thanks and praise' to record my gratitude to the people who have provided a great deal and a very real assistance to my work.

First, I wish to express my deep sense of gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Chandrasekhar Bhat, whose constant engagement and inspiration persisted through out the course of my work. The invaluable discussions we had, during the course of the work have contributed greatly in giving final shape to this dissertation. I extend my gratitude to him not only for his help during the work but also for his concern and advice since my initiation in to Diaspora studies.

I am grateful to Prof. Hari Babu, Head, department of sociology, for his care and timely cooperation in all aspects. I am extremely thankful to all the faculty members of the department of sociology; especially Dr. Shasheej Hegde and Dr. Janardhan for taking interest in my work and offering me valuable suggestions.

I owe a great deal to Prof. Anand Kumar, center for the study of social systems, and Prof. Dawa Norbu, school of international studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi, for their cooperation and constructive suggestions. I acknowledge the efforts of Lama Chospel Jodhpa, treasurer India-Tibet Friendship Society and Mr. Sonam. C. Sosur, welfare officer Tibetan refugee camp, Delhi, for spending hours together with me, patiently explaining and describing many aspects of the Tibetan ethnography despite of their pressing pre-occupations.

A special word of thanks to my good friend Jwala for her unstinted help, constant support and encouragement, whenever I needed them most.

And then there is an endless list of people who otherwise made my every moment a cherished memory. My friends Seenu babu, Anil, Rahul, Raghavender, Nagaraju, Nishant, Dobby, Tanay, Anand, Benerji, Raghu, John, Sam, Madhuri and Lakhmi, who by their affection and friendship have made my days full of pleasant memories. I am grateful to my colleagues, well wishers Bhasker and Sahoo for their cooperation during various stages of my work. I am also thankful to my seniors Kamesh, Prafulla, Gurram Srinivas, Sudharshan and many more for their extended support on all occasions.

I am deeply indebted to the Tibetan community in Ladhak Buddha Vihar, Delhi for offering me immense information with out any hesitation.

Finally, I have no words to express my thanks and gratitude to my parents. It might be minuscule yet I offer my profound gratitude to my parents and family. "Dad and Mom, I owe you million thanks for your endeavor in building my strength of conviction and power of determination. Thanks for all your affection, love, concern and care about me all through these years".

...Harish

CONTENTS

	Page Nos.
List of tables ...	1
List of graphs and maps...	2

Chapter-1

Introduction ...	3 - 24
------------------	--------

Ethnic entrepreneurship: the problem of study, scope of present study, research objectives, methodology, interview schedule, selection of sample, gaining rapport, difficulties in data collection and limitations, concepts employed in the present study: i. Tibetan Diaspora, ii. ethnic group, iii. ethnic enterprise, iv. ethnic entrepreneur, v. ethnic enclaves, vi. family mode of production, vii. psychological motivation, viii. value attitudes, ix. ethnic market, scheme of chapters.

Chapter-II

Entrepreneurship: A conceptual frame work ...	25-40
---	-------

The concept of entrepreneurship, perspectives for the study of entrepreneurship: a. psychological approach, b. sociological approach, c. integrated approach, ethnic entrepreneurship, theorization in ethnic entrepreneurship, various studies in the subfield of ethnic entrepreneurship.

Chapter-III

The ethnic entrepreneurship: ...	41-56
----------------------------------	-------

Perspectives for the study of ethnic entrepreneurship, ethnic entrepreneurs: attributes of ethnic entrepreneurs, factors conditioning ethnic business, new wave ethnic entrepreneurs a changing scenario.

List of tables:

Title	Page No.
1.1. Dispersal of Tibetans around the globe ...	15
4.1. Tibetan population in India ...	60
4.2. Entrepreneurial activities of the Tibetans ...	63
4.3. Order of generation and entrepreneurial activity ...	64
4.4. Proportion of first generation in various entrepreneurial activities	64
4.5. Proportion of second generation in various entrepreneurial activities ...	65
4.6. Educational qualifications of the entrepreneurs ...	65
4.7. Marital status of the entrepreneurs ...	66
4.8. Prime entrepreneurial activity of Tibetans ...	66
4.9. Occupational background of the entrepreneurs ...	67
4.10. Reasons for entering in to entrepreneurship...	69
4.11. Nature of entrepreneurial relations ...	81
4.12. Family and entrepreneurship ...	82
4.13. Family involvement interms of entrepreneurial activity ...	83
4.14. Rate of diversification ...	86
4.15. Psychological motivation and entrepreneurship ...	88
4.16. Perception of Tibetan entrepreneurs towards success ...	92

List of graphs and maps:

Graphs:

Title	Page No.
1. Entrepreneurial activities of Tibetans ...	63a
2. Education and entrepreneurship ...	66a
3. Order of generation and the prime entrepreneurial activity ...	67a
4. Occupational background and entrepreneurship ...	68a
5. Factors conditioning entrepreneurship among Tibetans ...	69a
6. Family and entrepreneurship ...	83a
7. Family involvement in business ...	84a
8. Diversification among Tibetan entrepreneurs ...	87a

Maps:

1. Dispersal of Tibetans around the globe ...	15a
2. Tibetan population in India ...	61a
3. Entrepreneurship among Tibetans: an interactive model ...	99a

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The study of entrepreneurship is always full of exciting discoveries about the profiles, resourcefulness and motivations of entrepreneurs. The growing interest witnessed all around the world in the field of entrepreneurship can be attributed to the realization of the importance of entrepreneurship as an integral part of the strategy of industrial development. The history of growth of entrepreneurship leaves many questions unanswered; for instance why people only from certain communities were attracted to entrepreneurship? Why did not spirit of entrepreneurship permeate among other sections of the society? Why only a few venture unbeaten paths of business and industry? Why only few undertake challenging tasks despite the risks involved?

Lack of necessary entrepreneurship appears to be the most acute problem faced by the present day developing countries and the shortage of entrepreneurs is possibly the most potent limiting factor of their economic development. In the recent years there has been an increasing realization that entrepreneurship plays a crucial role in the development of mankind and it has come to be accepted that entrepreneurship is not merely the private economic activity of the few people but a phenomenon with far reaching socio economic consequences.

Entrepreneurial development is outcome of purposeful human activity. It is a highly dynamic process characterized by continual and often rapid changes. The spirit of entrepreneurship makes a person an entrepreneur. Such a spirit transformed him from a nomad to a cattle rearer, a settled agriculturist, a trader and ultimately to an industrialist or entrepreneur. Various contributors to the concept of entrepreneurship are in consensus, in so far as the definition is concerned, that entrepreneurs are the persons who initiate, organize, manage and control the affairs of a business unit by combining the factors of production with

supply of goods and services. They viewed entrepreneurship as a creative human activity, which plays a vital role in socio economic development.

The development of entrepreneurship spirit had been recognized as a function of individuality of the entrepreneur. Such individuals offer scope for the economic advancement of the society. The industrial society is not only conducive for entrepreneurial operations but it also provides the context and opportunities for the entrepreneurial development. The entrepreneurial activity at any time depends upon a complex interplay of infrastructural, financial, institutional, cultural and personality factors.

We learnt in school that four essentials constituted economy: land, labour, capital and enterprise. Few people would entertain any doubt about the important role of entrepreneurs in the economic development and social change. The liberal capitalistic economic systems rest on the basic pillar of entrepreneurship. Whereas the socialistic systems too recognized the importance of regulated enterprise and entrepreneurship. The economic history of most societies point to a strong co-relation between overall economic development and entrepreneurial activity. While this fact was probably recognized by common sense at all times, but a scientific analysis of the role of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship in economic development is of recent origin. The credit should perhaps goes to Schumpeter for initiating and crystallizing scientific interest in the study of the relationship between entrepreneurship and economic development by highlighting the role entrepreneur. After him the scientific analysis of entrepreneurship came through the works of many others.

Ethnic entrepreneurship: The issues for study

Defining ethnic group is some thing like signing on a blank cheque. The ethnic groups are defined and interpreted in the perspectives which ever are convenient. They are defined in terms of their objective attributes, with reference to their subjective feelings, and in relation to their behaviour with other groups. A

comprehensive definition of ethnic groups came from the work of Paul Brass (1991). According to him "an ethnic group is a distinct category of population in a larger society whose culture is usually different from that of its own. The members of the ethnic groups are bound together by common ties of race, nationality or culture".

Generally speaking ethnic entrepreneurship is a small business activity undertaken by members of an ethnic group. The concept of ethnic entrepreneurship could be applied to any business activity owned and run by a member of an ethnic minority. The concept of ethnic entrepreneurship itself appears to be quite ambiguous and difficult to define. Many scholars entertained the doubt of calling the entrepreneurship of the ethnic groups as ethnic entrepreneurship. When the ethnic group member engages in entrepreneurial activity, they generally produce for three purposes. First, for his own consumption, second for the consumption patterns of his community members and third for the needs of the wider market. A person engaged in transactions of the wider market, no matter what his status (whether ethnic or capitalist), employ certain strategies to obtain capital, to acquire information, to recruit efficient, honest workers and to manage relations with customers and suppliers with the idea to face the challenges of the wider market. Like the other capitalists, ethnic group members also own the means of production, engage in production through investments and reinvestments. When the ethnic business men engaged in production process similar to that of other entrepreneurs what is so ethnic about them and why to call it ethnic business.

One point to be noted at this juncture is that this study examines the entrepreneurship from the "*sociological*" point of view. 'Ethnic entrepreneurship' is being understood here in a '*sociological sense*' to study and explain the entrepreneurial activity undertaken by a member or members of an ethnic group, which constitutes partly or wholly the migrant community in a society which is otherwise not its own. An important objective is to study and

understand the entrepreneurial spirit that drives members of this ethnic group to engage in business activity in an alien society and the positive and negative social factors in conditioning the entrepreneurship among the ethnic groups. The main focus of this study is to examine how values, beliefs, norms that are transplanted in the culture of an ethnic group are being retrieved, produced and reproduced to start and maintain business. This study aims at explaining ethnicity as a resource is useful for a migrant ethnic group, intent on pursuing an entrepreneurial path to economic advancement and mobility. So in the context of present study the concept of ethnic entrepreneurship seems tenable to apply.

The nature of entrepreneurship among ethnic minorities is worth investigating. The present society is characterized with the presence of many ethnic groups whose presence is a result of constant migration. Generally for any migrant group, surviving in the host land is a challenge. If the members of this particular group possess skills that require for jobs in the mainstream of the host nation then their migration is welcomed. If there is no compatibility between the skills they possess and opportunity structure of the host nation, then they will be confined to the secondary labour market and subjected to exploitation. So by being precluded from the mainstream economy, they have to look for the alternative avenues like selfemployment through business for their economic advancement and mobility. It would be interesting to investigate how the ethnic groups enter into business, what are their strategies for survival in an increasingly uncertain environment of the host nation and what are the conditions that pave their way in adopting entrepreneurial behaviour. There is a need for understanding the process through which ethnic groups evolve their unique entrepreneurial activities in the context of immigrant's settlement and mobility.

Scope of the present study

While it is possible to extend the horizons of any research investigation, practical considerations usually demand that certain limitations be imposed. Thus the scope of the study had to be restricted because of resource and time

constraints. The present study is concerned with the analysis of entrepreneurial development among Tibetans from a sociological perspective. Tibetans are the first and foremost refugees to India. They are scattered all over the world and issue of Tibetan nationhood has become an international concern in the recent times.

The entrepreneurship among Tibetans is relatively neglected field of study. Most of the contemporary studies aim at their political problems, and their colonial exploitation. Their immense orientation to adopt to entrepreneurship behaviour is yet to be focussed. There has been a limited attention towards the development of entrepreneurial spirit among the Tibetan refugee group in India, and their entrepreneurial activities.

Research Objectives

The study is based on the primary data personally collected from the field essentially through interviewing and observation. The design of the study is exploratory, and it is aims to examine certain factors, like constraints and opportunities on the ethnic group in a host land, valueattitudes, psychological motivations, inter generational changes and their relationship with entrepreneurship among the refugees or immigrants.

The objectives pertaining to this present study are as follows:

Objectives of the study

- This study aims at the examination of entrepreneurship among the Tibetans. The data is collected on the variables ranging from age, sex, marital, status to their ethical values, psychological motivations, family feliations etc. Efforts have been made to analyze the variables that promote entrepreneurial activities.
- To study the changes brought about by entrepreneurship among the Tibetan refugees.

- To examine the relationship between Tibetan culture and entrepreneurship.
- To examine the fact that entrepreneurial spirit among the ethnic groups develops with the support of the family and kin groups.
- To study the importance of religion, values, ethos and their relationship with the entrepreneurial development. The ethnic groups are marked by their distinctive religion, values, community ethos, these orientations have a definite impact on the entrepreneurial development of ethnic communities
- To analyze the psychological motivation among the Tibetans which play a vital role in their entrepreneurial development. Apart from the ethical values the need for achievement and motivational factors play a vital role in case of entrepreneurial development among ethnic groups.
- To study family orientation in ethnic business firms. The mode of production is family oriented and family relations play a vital role in ethnic business. The division of labor and tasks among the family members related to their enterprise leads to the entrepreneurial development in turn economic advancement of the family.
- To examine the relationship between marginality of the ethnic groups and the entrepreneurial activity.
- To study the link between literacy and ethnic entrepreneurship. For less educated Tibetans, small business is the most lucrative alternative by which they can attain marginal middle class status.

Methodology

Social research generally undertakes the inquiry of certain variables, which are related to the problem of study. The extent and the depth of variables to be investigated impose certain limitations on the choice of techniques to be employed for collecting the data. Interview schedule was used for the purpose of data collection. Data pertaining to the social and structural conditions, personality structure, motivational factors, ethical values and their relationship with entrepreneurial development was collected.

Interview Schedule

The interview schedule employed in this study consists of 39 questions mostly open-ended covering important variables pertaining to the study. The interview schedule had questions to obtain the relevant information on the variables ranging from age, sex, marital status, social background, attitudes, behavioural characteristics, entrepreneurial goals and career. There are questions to elicit information on certain value attitudes, psychological motivations, entrepreneurial practices, and selfperceptions of the entrepreneurs.

Most of the variables covered by the interview schedule need no operational definitions, as they are self explanatory. Keeping in mind the contents of the study the care was taken to secure relevant information to examine the relationship between ethnic group i.e. Tibetans and their entrepreneurship.

Selection of the Sample

The value of the data collected by using any research instrument, however scientifically developed depends on how well the representative sample is selected. Thus utmost care was taken in selecting the representative sample of entrepreneurs among Tibetans to analyze the entrepreneurial development.

Ladhakh Buddha Vihar (Tibetan refugee camp: Delhi) where, majority of Tibetans in Delhi are dwelling, and having an ethnic market, which is marked by good consumer in flow was selected for the purpose of the study. In the absence of any authentic official records, estimations regarding the total Tibetan population in Delhi, and their entrepreneurial activities, information had to be gathered through various inquiries. Therefore a pilot study was carried out by administering the interview schedule to make sure that it secures all the data needed for the study and also to obtain the information about total number of entrepreneurial households in the settlement. On the basis of general information obtained from the pilot survey, Tibetan welfare office and Tibetan bureau, it was found that there are 150 families living in the settlement. Among these 150 families, around 84 families are involved in some entrepreneurial activities or the other. Most of the entrepreneurial families are joint families, enterprises being collectively owned by the family members. These families are pursuing four types of entrepreneurial activities namely garments and cloth business, restaurants, enterprises concerning with ethnic specific items of the Tibetans and the other small-scale enterprises.

A sample of 21 business households was taken, represents 25% of the total number entrepreneurial activity among Tibetans.

The sample also consists of the entrepreneurs belonging to two generations i.e. first generation entrepreneur who migrated to India in late fifties and early sixties, and second generation entrepreneurs (the children of the first generation). In the total entrepreneurial activity the proportion of the first generation is more than the second generation. So accordingly 11 respondents were taken from first generation whose contribution is 52.3% to the total entrepreneurial activity and 10 respondents selected from second generation that contributes 47% to the total entrepreneurial activity.

Ethnic community networks and organizations play an important role in of their entrepreneurial development. In the present inquiry information was also collected from certain key persons, who hold important positions in the community welfare organizations and other institutions of the Tibetans. Information was also obtained by carrying informal interviews. The information collected from these people helped to assess the institutional support and to analyze the role of formal organizations in the entrepreneurial development.

Gaining Rapport

Gaining rapport is another important factor in case of social research. The present study is concerned with the entrepreneurial development among the Tibetan ethnic group in Delhi. Tibetans are a closed community and they put restrictions to the entry of outsiders. Though they have been living in Delhi for the past 50 years and have considerably assimilated with the Indians, they keep certain distance with the latter in their community life. Initially gaining rapport with the community seemed to be difficult task. So instead of approaching the community members directly, I began my inquiries through formal organizations with which Tibetans are closely associated. In this regard, first I sought the support of the welfare officer of the settlement, some key persons of the Indo Tibet Friendship Society and some of the Tibetan welfare organizations in carrying out this study. Once I gained their confidence, they introduced me to their community members and established rapport. Through out the study there was no threat for my identity and credentiality as a researcher. This made my work easier and helped me to finish the task of obtaining information from respondents within the stipulated period.

Difficulties in the Data collection and limitations

Although I gained considerable rapport with the community I had to encounter some difficulties during my field work, particularly in course of my interview with the entrepreneurial respondents. The difficulties are nothing new and extraordinary because collection of data in social sciences is itself a difficult

task, requiring as it does, a considerable extend of patience and courage on the part of the researcher. I have encountered difficulties while interviewing the ethnic entrepreneurs than the organizational people. Except a few, almost all the entrepreneur respondents are not ready to reveal their incomes. Some of the entrepreneurial respondents are declined to give details about the problems that they are facing in the host land.

Interviewing entrepreneurs was quite difficult and entailed a lot of inconvenience because of their nature of work that keeps them busy most of the time. However, necessary interviews were completed successfully.

Concepts employed in the study

This study is centered on ethnic enterprises among the Tibetan refugees settled in Delhi. During the course of this study several concepts have been employed in understanding the empirical context. The following concepts are found useful in this present study.

1. Tibetan diaspora
2. Ethnic group
3. Ethnic enterprise.
4. Ethnic entrepreneur
5. Ethnic enclaves.
6. Family mode of production.
7. Psychological motivations
8. Value attitudes
9. Ethnic market

Tibetan diaspora

As Vertovec (1998) observes that 'Diaspora' is a term often used today to describe practically any population which is considered 'deterritorialized' or 'transnational', that is, an ethnic group which has originated in a land other than it

currently resides and whose social, economic and political networks cross the borders of any nation-state.

The status of Tibetans - people from the Roof of the World - is questionable. The journalistic literature called them a Diaspora but conceptually referring Tibetans as a diaspora is not yet crystallized in the literature of Diaspora studies. Many of the scholars entertain the doubt that Tibetans do not come under the category of diasporic communities. Tibetans, when compared with other immigrant diasporic communities like Chinese, Africans and Jews, are not given the status of immigrants and citizenship in India. They are refugees. Their stay in India is contractual and temporary one. They are not recognized as immigrants. They are not given any employment in public services, and they do not take part in any of the political process of India.

Despite these, Tibetans maintain certain similarities with other diasporic communities in terms of common characteristics. This is illustrated in the following paragraphs.

Tibetan migration is a kind of refugee migration. They are the people who were forced out of their country of origin due to a real threat of persecution, on the grounds of their political opinions. Tibetans are deterritorialized, originated in a land other than that they reside currently and they also have their own people settled across the globe.

Diaspora is a concept that refers to the experiences of certain immigrant groups invoking their traumatic exile from an historical homeland and dispersal throughout many lands. If this experience is taken as a point of reference then the connotation of diaspora could be applicable to Tibetans because their migration is a result of forced displacement, victimization, alienation and loss. Like Jews they also intended to return to their 'motherland' when it is freed from the Chinese invasion.

Some of the scholars referred Diaspora is a 'state of mind' and a 'sense of identity' (Cohen 1999). It is particular kind of consciousness or awareness said to be generated among contemporary transnational communities. They contended that it is constituted negatively by experiences of discrimination and exclusion and positively by identification with an historical heritage. Tibetans is a conscious community. The solidarity and internal cohesion, awareness of their collective interests are the results of their partial humiliation and segregation from their homeland. Tibetans maintain remarkable identity even in the host land because of their historical background, rich cultural legacy and intriguing spirituality.

Certain common feature Tibetans shares with other Diaspora communities is as follows:

- Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically to two or more foreign regions.
- A collective memory of myth about homeland, including it's location, history and achievements.
- An idealization of the putative ancestral home and collective commitment among the members.
- Strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history and belief in a common fate.
- A sense of empathy and solidarity with coethnic members in other settlements.
- A distinctive, creative and enriched life in the host countries, with tolerance for pluralism.

One of the achievements of His Holiness Dalai Lama is establishing a representative government among the Tibetan refugees, which is democratic, popular and characterized by electoral college voting system. Tibetans have a parliament in exile with judiciary, executive and legislative branches and a diverse group of official and independent news organizations. Members of the assembly of Tibetan people's deputies are elected by ballots cast in all the Tibetan

MAP-1
DISPERSAL OF TIBETANS AROUND THE WORLD



MAP
IS
AN ART

1. INDIA
2. NEPAL
3. BHUTAN
4. UNITED STATES
5. CANADA
6. SWITZERLAND
7. AUSTRALIA
8. NEW ZEALAND
9. JAPAN
10. SCANDINAVIA

settlements once in every 5 years. The seat of the government is Dharmasala, Himachal Pradesh.

Tibetan economy **in** exile is based on agriculture, agro-industrial firms, handicrafts, small business and carpet weaving. The incomes to the government are generally earned from the annual voluntary tax, business revenues and donations.

The Tibetan government in exile has their international offices in Budapest, Canberra, Paris, Geneva, Katmandu, London, New Delhi, New York, Tokyo and Zurich. 'The Tibetan Bulletin', 'News Tibet' includes some of the publications of the Tibetan government in exile

The map 1 and the table 1.1 illustrate the dispersal of Tibetans to various parts of the world.

Table.1

Dispersal of Tibetan around the globe

Country	Population
India	1,00,000
Nepal	20,000
Bhutan	1,500
United States	3,000
Canada	560
Switzerland	2,000
Australia and New Zealand	120
Japan	40
Scandinavia	90

Source: <http://www.tibet.com/exileglance.html>

Tibetans do share similarities with many other diasporic communities at the same time they have certain differences with them. Tibetans never suffered any humiliation from the native Indian population. Some of the Tibetans experience frustrations because of the blocked avenues of mobility in occupational structure. They face certain hardships because of their denial of

access to important networks in India though they never experienced a hostile and suspicious environment, which is quite common to many of the diaspora communities like Japanese, Jews and Africans in the countries of their immigration. Over the years, Indian government and population remained accommodative about Tibetans, which sustained their subsequent migration.

Ethnic Group

Ethnicity is a sense of identity. George De Vos (1982) defined ethnicity as "consisting of the subjective, symbolic or emblematic use by a group of people.... Of any aspect of culture in order to differentiate themselves from other groups". Ethnicity has been used by different groups to make demands on the political arena for alterations in their status, in their economic well being, in their civil rights, or in their educational opportunities. Ethnic groups are engaged in a form of interest group politics, which sought to improve the well being of the group members.

An ethnic group is a distinct category of population in a larger society whose culture is usually different. The members of such a group are thought to be, bound together by common ties of race or nationality or culture.

Paul Brass in his work 'Ethnicity and Nationalism' (1991) defined the three dimensions of ethnic groups: in terms of the objective attributes, with reference to subjective feelings and in relation to their behaviour with other groups.

Objective definitions assume that there must be some distinguishing cultural features that clearly separate one ethnic group from another. These features may be language, territory, religion, colon, diet or dress.

The subjective definitions explain that an ethnic group uses its cultural symbols in this way, to develop as a subjectively self-conscious community, that establishes inclusion and exclusion from the group

Behavioral definitions are really a form of objective definitions since they assume that there are specific, concrete ways in which the ethnic groups behave particularly in relation with the other groups.

Ethnic group is a group, which is more than a temporary aggregation. It is organized for cohesion and persistence; that is to say the rights and duties of membership must regulate internal order and relations with other groups. Members usually identify themselves with the group and give them the name (Encyclopedia of Social Sciences)

Ethnic groups are in fact interest groupings whose members share some common economic and political interests and who, therefore stand together in the continuous competition for the power with other groups. (Abner Cohen 1964)

Ethnic groups are marked with ethnicity, which is the result of the intensive interaction between ethnic groups. (Barth 1969)

Ethnic enterprise

The concept of ethnic enterprise could be applied to any small or big business owned by a member of an ethnic minority (Ward and Jenkins 1994). The social conditioning, environment, hostile geographical conditions and the exploitation determine the structure and functioning of ethnic enterprise. Added to it, ethnic entrepreneurship is also determined by the social background of the entrepreneurs in terms of age, gender, religious adherence, location of the firm, education, occupational background, family and residential type. Apart from these, cultural predispositions are a resource in case ethnic enterprise and its subsequent development (Berger 1991).

For Barth (1969), ethnic enterprise is a response against blocked avenues of occupational mobility, economic opportunities and a survival strategy for coping on the margins of the native dominated main streams of the economy.

Ethnic entrepreneurs

Ethnic entrepreneurs, like other capitalists, own their means of production. Unlike owners of large business houses however, ethnic entrepreneur and their entrepreneurial activity are extremely vulnerable to the vicissitudes of the market (Ward and Jenkins 1994).

The early sociological literature described ethnic entrepreneurs as political conservatives who put in long hours and worked hard to maintain a sense of autonomy and independence. Many social scientists assumed that a need for autonomy and independence is the reason for people, particularly from ethnic minority groups to enter in to small business (Bunzel 1955). Small business satisfies social-psychological need of the entrepreneurs; i.e. to be one's own boss (Mills 1951). Entrepreneurship is the lucrative alternative through which an ethnic group member, who lacks educational qualifications and professional skills, could attain marginal middle class status.

Ethnic entrepreneurs usually pay single-minded attention to their enterprise and are capable of putting in fifteen hour work per day. These long working conditions generally strain their family relationships, and hence successful ethnic entrepreneurs usually involve their families in the affairs of the enterprise. Ethnic entrepreneurs are also likely to put in many more hours of work than their employees.

Ethnic entrepreneurs usually depend on the community for support. They generally get support from two levels: informal support from friends and relatives

of aspiring ethnic entrepreneurs and also formal support from the networks of ethnic institutions.

Apart from this, the tendency of self-advancement and self reliance is found among most of the ethnic entrepreneurs. The need to create some thing of their own, the proprietary instinct, dislike of out side authority, blocking of avenues for economic opportunities could have become embedded in a variety of ways for their entrepreneurial development (Boswell 1972). The signs of hard work and sacrifice can be observed very easily among the ethnic entrepreneurs. Deprivation and difficulties of various kinds play an important part in the background of many ethnic entrepreneurs (Boswell 1972).

Ethnic enclaves

The immigrant ethnic entrepreneurs in their business activities depend on the community for support. As mentioned above, these ethnic communities provide support at two levels. The strong community ties strengthen in group solidarity and cohesiveness, which helps the ethnic firms to maintain some degree of independence and autonomy in the host land (Wilson and Portes 1980). These social forms or ethnic communities are labeled as 'ethnic enclaves'. The term ethnic enclaves first employed by Wilson and Portes in 1980.

The ethnic enclaves are formed when the ethnic group is confronted by the host group with hostility, along with status withdrawal. Ethnic enclaves benefit greatly from residential segregation and concentration. The support provided by the ethnic enclaves varies from one ethnic group to another. The attitudes of the ethnic enclaves are oriented towards the collective interest of the ethnic community (Lovell and Troy 1972).

Family mode of production

Another important concept, which is useful in the present study, is family mode of production. Family plays a significant role in the entrepreneurial

development of ethnic groups. Family is the basic economic unit and most of the ethnic entrepreneurs have involved their family in their entrepreneurial activities. The family members commonly own the enterprise and the tasks concerning the enterprise are divided among the members of the family. Members of the family share the work and contribute for enterprise (Waldinger 1982).

Ethnic enterprises require long working hours to gain toehold autonomy in the hostland. The family is always with the enterprise. For many of the ethnic groups family is the basic unit of production. Every member of the family contributes for the production by fulfilling the allocated tasks. "The capacity of the collective action and their mutual aid alliances facilitate an ethnic group in their entrepreneurial activities" (Lindal984)

The cohesiveness among the family members is greater in case of ethnic communities. Each family is a compact, homogenous, undivided group, and family among the ethnic groups is based on two basic principles. On the horizontal axis they are cohesive, common dwelling and collectively hold the enterprise and on the vertical axis there is hierarchy and seniority and the supremacy of elders prevail. The elders play key role than younger generations (Stein 1982).

Psychological motivations

Psychological factors play a vital role in motivating entrepreneurial development among the ethnic groups. Psychological factors such as need for achievement and need for power influences the entrepreneurial orientation among the ethnic groups. This achievement motive is inculcated through child rearing practices (McClelland 1961). Many studies reflected the relationship between the need for achievement and entrepreneurial development. The psychological factors like need for power was generally associated with starting of enterprise (Collins and Moora 1964).

The role of these underlined motivations for entrepreneurial development has been assessed in various studies of entrepreneurship. The need for recognition and maintaining and preserving one's own identity are some important factors for entrepreneurial development (McClelland 1961) Along with this, construction of one's own self images by entrepreneurial activities, feeling of one's own boss, the desire to pass on wealth to the next generation, personal gratification from entrepreneurship are certain other important factors which motivate the individuals to take up the business.

Value attitudes

According to Shobhahal Singh (1985) value attitudes refer to the belief towards Religion, Customs, Culture, Community or group values etc. For the ethnic groups, these value attitudes facilitate their entrepreneurial development (Christopher 1969, Singh 1985).

There exists a close relationship between value orientation and social outlook of the entrepreneurs and their entrepreneurial activity. These value attitudes have an inhibiting or encouraging role in the emergence and development of entrepreneurial activity among the ethnic groups.

Values in this context refer to the religious beliefs and community ethos. The entrepreneurial growth among ethnic groups depends upon a specific value orientation of the individuals and that has been generated by the ethical values. Entrepreneurship develops faster in those societies where the ethical values are oriented towards business. This process of entrepreneurial development is fueled by the efforts of the individuals and their groups to achieve essential entrepreneurial goals including economic profit and self-advancement. All these reflect the fact that ethnic entrepreneurs are high in ethical values and less of practical mindedness (Komivies 1972).

Ethnic market

The main area of opportunity for any ethnic entrepreneur, is the market provided by the ethnic group's own consumption and also for the consumption patterns of others. An ethnic market is most likely to grow where a minority is culturally distinct from the host society (Medhora 1965; Nandy 1973).

Ethnic entrepreneurs take advantage of the size of the ethnic market and its compactness. The ethnic entrepreneurs use it as a platform from which they expand into the wider market. The survival of the ethnic market depends on the sufficient openings in the labour market and also on the demand for the ethnic products and services. Indeed, the demand for ethnic products mainly based on their potentiality and attractiveness to the outsiders.

Generally the ethnic market is small and its expansion into the wider market is difficult. That is the reason why the ethnic entrepreneurs generally engage in diversification. It can be profitable for an ethnic group member to diversify into other areas by using existing premises, from retailing to trading, to travel agent services etc. They initially launch enterprises in the areas, where there is suitable and protected market for their products. The ethnic markets are well known not only because of the fact that products supplied are ethnically distinctive but also because of their nonavailability on the same terms outside the ethnic context.

Many of the ethnic enterprises are labour intensive. The ethnic entrepreneurs are relatively less entrepreneurial oriented and application of effective methods of market expansion is also less. There can be a spatial expansion of the ethnic market, which increases the overall sales with a smaller margin of profit (Ward and Jenkins 1991). The expansion of the ethnic market into the wider market is particularly difficult, and it depends on the demand for the ethnic products.

Ethnic markets benefit greatly from the residential concentration of the ethnic groups. The residential concentration of the ethnic group brings several advantages mainly it helps the ethnic market by providing an initial cushion of customers to their products.

Scheme of chapters

This dissertation consists of five chapters including the introduction. The introductory Chapter-1 provides a brief description of the research question, objectives, methodology and concepts etc.

Second chapter provides a discussion on the conceptual framework of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship is analyzed from psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologist's point of view. This chapter examines various approaches in theorizing the ethnic entrepreneurship and also gives a multi dimensional approach for analyzing entrepreneurship. This chapter also reviews important studies on entrepreneurship.

Chapter III provides insight into the ethnic entrepreneurship. Various theoretical perspectives employed by thinkers like Weber, McClelland, Hegan, Schumpeter, Cochran, Young, Burger is briefly examined in this chapter. This chapter gives a detailed description of the conditions that felicitate the ethnic entrepreneurship in a host nation. It also examines the role of various factors like economic, educational, cultural, market conditions in entrepreneurial development among ethnic minorities. A review of the existing literature on ethnic entrepreneurship is provided to serve as a back ground for the empirical study presented in the fourth chapter.

The fourth chapter deals with empirical context of ethnic entrepreneurship by taking the case study of Tibetan entrepreneurs in Delhi. It is based on the data collected from the secondary sources through books, other documents, as well as

through fieldwork among the Tibetan entrepreneurs employing an interview schedule.

The final chapter of the work comprises the summary of the field report and conclusion. This chapter makes a comparative analysis of Tibetans and other immigrant ethnic groups like Jews, Japanese, and the Chinese. This chapter also analyses the overall position of Tibetan entrepreneurs and finally it gives a brief account about the area in which future research in ethnic entrepreneurship is needed.

Chapter II

ENTREPRENEURSHIP: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

ENTREPRENEURSHIP: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter discusses the concept of entrepreneurship and various perspectives for the study of entrepreneurial development. The chapter further introduces the concept of ethnic entrepreneurship. Review of significant studies on ethnic entrepreneurship is also included in this chapter.

The concept of entrepreneurship

Entrepreneur is a highly respected person in the developed world. The word entrepreneurship conjures up visions of active, purposeful men and women accomplishing significant achievements. The entrepreneurs are important agents of change in every society, yet they present the most enigmatic characters in the drama of economic development, particularly in the less developed world. Although it is an entrepreneur's purposive activity that bridges the gap between plan and reality, the precise way that this agent of change acts is often unpredictable.

Understanding of entrepreneurship in the less developed countries is very important in the context of their growth and development. Entrepreneurship is not a uniformly distributed quality throughout these given societies. The psychological attributes are the key factors in driving the entrepreneurial activities. Certain individuals are achievement oriented and are prepared to take risks. Entrepreneurship is scattered over a wide range of business functions to bring out the effects within the structure of business itself (Broehl Jr. 1978).

The entrepreneur also plays a mediating role between the larger society and his economic unit. Entrepreneurial action is likely to initiate changes for both the economic unit and its environment.

Entrepreneur may be either an individual or a group; both are equally significant in the development of less developed countries. Entrepreneur generally belongs to a family, a kin group, a caste, a religious sect, a political party, and so on. These are certain determinants and constraints, which shape the nature of entrepreneurial activity.

Entrepreneurs identify and develop business and create opportunities for its success. Entrepreneurs are risk takers. They are people who recognize the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of their enterprise and build opportunity for its success. Their decisions are based on better information and experience than that of an average observer. What others perceive as risky may not be as great a risk to those who bare more information and skills. (Colombo Plan Staff College 1998).

Entrepreneurs are free thinkers, who combine a large element of creativity and experience. They have knowledge of economic, social, psychological and demographic trends. They have experience and are comfortable with new technology and change. They are the agents of change who can effectively live with uncertainty and stimulate and implement lasting changes (Raj.1998). Entrepreneurs are the leaders of industrial development. They are necessary to create employment and to contribute to the economic growth.

Entrepreneurship is often defined as "the process of starting and running ones own business". The term entrepreneur is increasingly employed to refer to the type of individual who is highly determined, confidant, creative and sales oriented personality, familiar with the trends and able to translate a vision into real business (Colombo Plan Staff College 1998). These individuals are often viewed as reckless risk takers. But because of their good grasp of things their risk taking is more calculative than that it apparent.

One definition of entrepreneurs is that they are change agents within large corporations of bureaucracies (Dawar1997). Thus an entrepreneur is a person with in a large organization who is able to innovate and make lasting changes for the betterment of business organization.

Self-advancement and self-reliance are the main goals of most of the entrepreneurs. The entrepreneurs are key persons of the country for promoting economic growth and the development of entrepreneurship is directly related to the socio-economic development of any society (Singh 1985). The socio-economic development of the country is attained only when the society creates a large number of entrepreneurs from various strata of population.

The concept of entrepreneurship as is used today is borrowed from the western economy. It is not only employed in India but in all the third world economies.

Perspectives for the study of entrepreneurship

On a broader plane, entrepreneurial activities have developed in a systematic way for the last two hundred years since the beginning of the industrial revolution in Europe. The data generated from various societies has contributed largely to the formulation of various theoretical frameworks for analyzing entrepreneurial behaviour. One has to bear in mind that no single factor therefore can be assumed as the only determining variable for studying the phenomenon of entrepreneurship even though some of the scholars emphasized one or the other factor as the prime factor.

Various factors are explained till now to give a proper analysis of entrepreneurial development. For instance ethical value is said to be the significant factor for entrepreneurial behaviour for Max Weber (1947), minority group moral and status withdrawal is assigned to be a core principle for entrepreneurial development by Hegan (1964). McClelland (1961) emphasized on

psychological need for achievement motivation is responsible for accomplishing entrepreneurial development. Bounding (1957) and Hoselitz (1964) argued that it is the political system, which determines the development of entrepreneurship. For some others new ideas and opportunities, importance of family background are the important factors that facilitates entrepreneurship. However it is evident from the above that analysis of any single variable would provide only a partial understanding of entrepreneurship.

The theories of entrepreneurship and development are broadly classified into two categories: psychological and sociological theories of entrepreneurship. McClelland (1961) and Hegan (1964) emphasized on the psychological approach towards the analysis of entrepreneurship whereas Max Weber (1947), Cochran (1967) and Hoselitz (1964) advocated a sociological explanation for the study of entrepreneurship.

Psychological approach of entrepreneurship

David McClelland (1971) has explained entrepreneurial development from psychological perspective. According to McClelland, entrepreneurial growth can be explained in terms of need for 'achievement motivation' which he considers as the major determinant of entrepreneurial development. For McClelland 'achievement motivation' is a motivation of the people to achieve. It is a strong desire on the part of the people, if not by all but at least by some to achieve. This motivation imbued in the culture in terms of values, norms, and beliefs (what McClelland calls value attitudes). That is the reason why some cultures motivate their people towards a strong desire to achieve and while others are not.

McClelland attempts to apply his thesis in analyzing entrepreneurial development among different societies by interpreting them in the terms of ideologies reflected in the literature, art, history and religion. According to him, these ideas help to generate the need for achievement motivation. As Jains and Parsis in India and Japanese and Chinese in United States progressed

economically due to high degree of their need for achievement motivation as a result of their child rearing practices. In this regard McClelland comes closer to Weber when he talks of legends, child rearing practices and ideologies as factors generating need for achievement because these reflects ethical values too (Sharmal973). McClelland tries to argue that motivation is directly related to entrepreneurship and assuming that it is the immediate cause of the entrepreneurship.

Evertt Hegan's (1964) approach to entrepreneurial function has much in common with McClelland's concept of entrepreneurship. Hegan's theory too presents a psychological explanation through his concept of "creative personality". According to him entrepreneur is a creative personality who is interested in accelerating the change and driven by a motivation to achieve. According to Hegan, entrepreneurial growth has been very gradual and may or may not occur in the same generation but it is more likely to be an inter-generation change.

Hegan developed a thesis that the disadvantage minority group is mostly the source of entrepreneurship. He illustrated the case of Japanese history to substantiate his argument. He argues that the forces of disruption against the stability of traditional society should be powerful to have creative personalities. The withdrawal of status respect may occur when a traditional group is displaced from its previous status or on migration to other place or to a new society.

Like Hegan (1964), Park (1950) and Stonequist (1937) also have emphasized that technical innovations are caused more by culturally marginal persons than others. According to Hegan the concept of 'marginal man' is similar to his concept of 'disadvantaged minority'. But Hegan's arguments of status withdrawal and thesis of disadvantaged minority group have their own limitations. Various scholars pointed that there are many disadvantaged minority groups such as Catholics in England, Negroes in the United States, Tibetans in

India have not supplied a good number of entrepreneurs. McClelland modified Hegan's thesis to explain the case of Catholics, Negroes. He stated that the subordination of minority group may develop achievement motivation among its members but it depends upon the group values and initial level of motivation with in the group.

It is evident from the human history, that entrepreneurs are not equally distributed in any population or minorities. Migration of the ethnic groups might have provided most of the entrepreneurial talent, but not all the ethnic groups are the sources of entrepreneurship. Marginal situation is not the all-exclusive condition for the growth of entrepreneurship. There must be some additional factors at work.

Sociological approach of entrepreneurship

Max Weber (1947) analyzed religion and it's impact on economic organization of the society. According to him religious beliefs are the driving or restraining force for generating entrepreneurial activity. The religious beliefs play a crucial role in determining the behaviour or actions of the entrepreneur towards generating or limiting profit. Weber is the first among the social scientists, who took the position that entrepreneurial growth is dependent upon the ethical values of society.

According to Max Weber, entrepreneurial growth depends upon a specific value orientation of individuals, especially those of ethical values. Weber illustrates his theoretical formulation by the relationship that he found between 'Protestant Ethnic and Spirit of Capitalism'. He holds that this thesis is true about other religions like Hinduism, Jainism, and Judaism. He argued that the followers of Protestantism progress fast in bringing capitalism because their ethical value system bestowed them with rational economic attitude. Some of the Weberians contended that Jews and Jains fail to develop because of their value restrictions in having contact of any type with other communities (Singh 1985). Many others

supported Weber's opinion, that entrepreneurship develops faster in those societies where ethical values help to develop independent capacity of decision-making (Kennedy Robert 1976).

But Weber's standpoint is not accepted universally. Various scholars observed that ethical values have some effect on entrepreneurial growth but to consider them exclusively would be unrealistic. Some contended that Weber's model is not adequate to analyze the entrepreneurship particularly in Indian situation, as it is developed from the western social system (Dwijendra 1970).

Another sociological theory of entrepreneurship is of Thomas Cochran (1968). His approach to entrepreneurship is based on cultural values, role expectations and social sanctions. According to him, entrepreneurship needs to be seen in reference to the prevailing child rearing practices. For Cochran, entrepreneurs are the "model personality" of the society. He stated that the performance of the entrepreneur might be seen in reference to his own attitudes towards occupation. Values and role expectations of that particular social group are the most important determinants in the performance of business entrepreneurial roles.

Frank Young shares Cochran's position pertaining to the role of personality factor and child rearing practices in shaping the entrepreneurial spirit. But Young differs with Cochran by locating entrepreneurs in groups. He contended that entrepreneur should be located in clusters rather than an isolated individual. Young states that reactivity of the subgroup, if it experienced low status in a larger society will lead to entrepreneurial behaviour, particularly if the group has better institutional resources than others in the same level.

Young (1967) considers that, the creation of supportive institutions in the society as a determinant of the entrepreneurship. Family is one among those

institutions. Young maintains that the particular family background generates entrepreneurial activity and it is a reflector of the general cultural values.

There is a growing trend in theorizing entrepreneurship by taking cultural factors into account. Economists, anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists and management experts have underlined the importance of cultural factors in entrepreneurship. They are in broad agreement that a fuller appreciation of the many-faceted role of the modern entrepreneur can no longer be achieved with in the confines of traditional academic disciplines.

Various scholars have identified different cultural factors behind the rise of distinctly modern form of entrepreneurship (Berger 1991). Why certain ethnic groups are more successful in their entrepreneurial activities than others, and why culture is conducive for certain ethnic group's entrepreneurial development? Various contributors to the entrepreneurial literature underlined the role of cultural factors in accelerating the entrepreneurial development, and pointed out that the culture is the conductor and the entrepreneur is the catalyst (Linda, Rutten 1991).

Among the scholars who employ cultural factors to explain entrepreneurial development, the Weberian proposition on culture of entrepreneurship is notable. Max Weber's work 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism' may serve as the best available source, to identify the constitutive elements of culture of modern entrepreneurship. In his thesis, Weber articulated singular importance is the shift in the attitude towards work. Under the influence of Calvinism, Weber argues that work transformed from a technique for survival and crude profit making, to a tool for salvation of the individual. In this shift, the protestant ethic and new forms of production emphasized hard work, frugality, individual accountability and reliability, as well as habits of self-regulation and personal drive.

Psychological theories of entrepreneurial development demonstrate the necessity for separating psychological factors of entrepreneurship from those of culture. A substantial body of research in the tradition of David McClelland has been able to identify psychological factors underlining entrepreneurship. McClelland clearly showed that different individuals possess entrepreneurial drive at different degrees. These differences are result from a complex process of socialization in which psychological factors interact in a variety of ways with those of family and social class. Cultural conditions are important to give form and direction to individual potentials. In one type of culture, individuals may measure high on the entrepreneurial motivation scale and in another it may be vice versa (Berger 1991). So nothing would be untrue to say culture is the one which serves as the conductor and the entrepreneur is a catalyst.

This kind of cultural approach to entrepreneurship is capable of showing how economic growth occurs from the bottom to up not from the top to down. The process is fueled by the efforts of the individuals and their groups to achieve a variety of goals.

Integrated approach

There are a few behaviorists who have tried to develop a theoretical framework for analysing entrepreneurship. For instance, Udai Pareek and T.V.Rao argued that there are some sequential propositions in human behaviour, which lead to entrepreneurship. These propositions which occur in sequence, ultimately end up with entrepreneurial development.

On psychological plane the first and foremost proposition is need to motive. They advocate that human action is goal directed. Without a goal it merely remains an act. The explanation for action is psychological. It is the motive, which is main thrust behind the action.

The second proposition of entrepreneurial development refers to the long-term involvement of particular action. If the motivation for action is temporary, behaviour remains short-lived. The constant reinforcement of action takes the actor more ahead.

The third proposition suggested by the behaviorists consist the resources that a person should have at the level of cognition, social and material input. The forth proposition consists socio-political system which reinforces the individual needs to establish, develop, maintain or expand his business activity.

In search of an integrated approach, the behaviorists tried to synthesize psychology and sociology to explain entrepreneurship. However there has been a dominant influence of psychological parameters in their interpretation of entrepreneurial behaviour.

From the above explanations it emerges that neither a single factor nor a model is adequate to explain the development of entrepreneurship. There is a consensus among some scholars with regard to factors facilitating entrepreneurial development. The creative nature of innovations (Schumpeter 1970), need for achievement motivation (McClelland 1971), disadvantaged minority group (Hegen 1964), group morale (Brozen 1954), ethical value system (Weber 1930), cultural value system (Berger 1991), role expectations and social sanctions (Cochran 1973) and reactiveness of the ethnic group when it experiences how economic status in the large society etc (Young 1974) are the prime factors for entrepreneurial development.

This present inquiry is about the entrepreneurial development among ethnic minority groups and in such a study single factor can not be all exclusively regarded as the sole criteria to explain the entrepreneurial development. This study attempts to explore the contribution of multiple factors in the evolution and

the development of the entrepreneurial behaviour among ethnic business communities.

Ethnic entrepreneurship

Ethnic entrepreneurship is an important sub-field of study of entrepreneurship, characterized by certain distinctive features. Contributors to this sub-field have provided explanations on the nature and involvement of ethnic minority group members in entrepreneurial activities. Some scholars viewed 'ethnic entrepreneurs on par with other capitalists who own their means of production in many ways'. But unlike their capitalist counterparts, the position of the ethnic entrepreneurs is more subjected to the vicissitudes of market because of being relatively small in nature.

The literature on ethnic entrepreneurship, especially in the sub-field of ethnic relationships, grew out of a larger concern with economic advancement and social mobility of ethnic minorities in developing countries. Unfortunately, literature on the role of ethnic entrepreneurs and their contribution to the national economy is limited. Some social scientists have devoted considerable attention to the study of ethnic entrepreneurship, focussing on the group characteristics and opportunity structure that favours the ethnic business creation.

Theorization in ethnic entrepreneurship

Sociological attempts to analyze ethnic entrepreneurship have given rise to two approaches: cultural and structural. The cultural approach focuses its attention on the supply side of entrepreneurship or resources internal and indigenous to the ethnic group concerned. These resources are imported or transplanted as a part of cultural heritage of the ethnic group in terms of values, beliefs, that are being produced and reproduced to start and maintain ethnic business. Culture is useful for a migrant ethnic group, intent on pursuing an entrepreneurial pathway to economic achievement and mobility. This approach stresses how ethnicity as a resource is being put to use. The researches following

the cultural approach emphasize the ethnic advantage enjoyed by migrant group in terms of ready access to start an entrepreneurial activity. This is because of the incessant supply of cheap, dependable, loyal family or co-ethnic labour and support from their community institutions. Along with this, specific norms and values prevail in an ethnic community also influence entrepreneur and consumer relationships. Ethnic resources include those distinct cultural and group characteristics that predispose and direct members of the ethnic group towards entrepreneurial activities in the host society. This approach maintains that cultural predispositions are resource in entrepreneurial activity and development (Berger 1991).

The 'structural' explanations of the development of ethnic entrepreneurship focus on the contextual and external forces of society. These approaches focus on constraints and opportunities on the ethnic entrepreneurship. Explanations of structural approach attribute the emergence of ethnic enterprise, to filling in a status gap created among the dominant and subordinate groups (Bonacich 1973). The structural approach locate the determinants that are innate to the opportunity structure, market conditions, government policies, and taxes and examines their relationship with entrepreneurial development. Generally the migrant ethnic groups have some special social adjustments, needs, tastes and preferences that can not be met by non-ethnic sector.

An out growth of a desire to fuse culture with structure, ethnic resources with opportunity structure various interactive explanations are being put forward. These explanations are based on a series of industry case studies conducted in New York between 1984-85 (Waldinger), and several ethnic group studies in 1984 (Mars and Ward). These studies argue that ethnic business proliferate in industries is a consequence of dynamic interaction between the demand of the economic environment and supply of informal resources of the ethnic population.

This blend of cultural and structural approach considers that the demand for business and the supply of skills and resources interact to produce ethnic entrepreneurship. The fusion of explanations in terms of culture and structure are not new. Yancey (1976), in his formation of the concept 'emergent ethnicity,' argues that ethnicity is manufactured in the host society rather than imported or transplanted in whole sale from overseas. While the migrant ethnic groups do bring along an orthodox culture with them that shapes their initial orientations and behaviours. The structural conditions of the host society significantly intervene with culture and personality. In a long course culture is rarely transplanted as it is, but reproduced and produced, deconstructed and constructed, in adaptation to these structural constraints.

Waldinger (1984) formulated a model that represents the most recent attempt to capture the 'interactive, adaptive and emergent character of ethnic entrepreneurship. At the core of the model he examined various ethnic strategies which emerge from the interaction of two factors i.e. opportunity structure and ethnic group culture. Ethnic entrepreneurs adapt to the constraints of the host society, build their group characteristics and attempt to carve out their own niche. It is implicit in such a model that migration as an emancipatory process, a positive act (Chan 1992, Park 1950). opens up potential opportunities for social mobility, for the growth and development of members of an ethnic group.

It is important here to point out that the cultural and structural approaches to ethnic entrepreneurship are not mutually exclusive and several scholars, especially in the recent times have included both perspectives in their studies. Most of the ethnic entrepreneurial studies in the past are not satisfactory because they tend to privilege one type of explanation over the other, rather than

integrating them. The present study is not advancing either structure or culture centered analysis, but tries to combine the two approaches by looking at how social, economic and cultural processes interact with the historical process of

entrepreneurial development. Both the structural and cultural explanations are extremely deterministic in theorizing of ethnic entrepreneurship.

Various studies of ethnic entrepreneurship

There has been a highlighted interest in the study of entrepreneurship in recent years. Research on entrepreneurship in the field of psychology, sociology, economics, management sciences contributed extensively, both content and method wise, to the study of phenomenon of entrepreneurship. These studies have been primarily concerned with an identification of factors associated with entrepreneurial behaviour.

Several studies demonstrated the importance of ethical values like religion, culture as the potential factors affecting the entrepreneurial development. Some studies found out that favorable socio-economic milieu will help to develop industrial entrepreneurship. Various studies have provided insights into the importance of psychological factors and their relationship with entrepreneurial development. Some studies brought out the importance of variable like self-image constructions, aspirations, occupational background, marital status, and their relationship between entrepreneurial development.

Among the works on ethnic entrepreneurship, the study of Bonacich and Modell on small business in Japanese American community (1980) is significant. This study examines the reasons as to why ethnic groups enter into small business. They trace personality and achievement motivations, which are based on social and structural conditions as the most significant criteria for entrepreneurial development. They illustrate how social norms and values push particular ethnic groups into small business. Their study has been further substantiated by the findings of Light (1972) who stressed the role of ethnic networks in entrepreneurial development.

Another important study of Lieberson (1991), on "Black and White immigrants in the United States since 1980" gives description of the factors that condition ethnic group's chances of entering in entrepreneurship. He highlighted the role of economic and residential factors of ethnic communities in entrepreneurial development. According to Lieberson the limited education and lack of training in skills required for higher paying jobs among the members of minority ethnic groups restrict their entry into main stream economy. They generally take up peripheral jobs in the occupational structure, which are characterized by high degree of job insecurity. These conditions force them to consider on other options. In this scenario self-employment is an attractive alternative for them.

Another important study is of Waldinger (1982) which examines the organization of production with in an ethnic firm, which is different from that of mainstream enterprises. From this study it is found that kinship and ethnicity are significant in reducing managerial, technical and capital costs. The study reveals that family participation and extremely long working hours are often viewed as expected responsibilities among the family members, which further prompts the survival of this labour intensive ethnic entrepreneurship. Studies of Turkish Cypriots and Pakistani immigrants in Britain substantiate this argument.

Lovell and Troy (1980) study shows the importance of clans and their role in the economic organization of Greeks. There are some studies on the extent to which solidarity persists among the ethnic group and the relationship of the solidarity with the prosperity of the ethnic group. A study on Jews by Jaebel and Resentranb (1980) reveals the evidence of relation between ethnic collectivity, solidarity and entrepreneurship.

There are various studies that demonstrate the important strategies of ethnic groups and their entrepreneurial success. The study of Henry-Wai-Chung-Yung (1998) on the ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs reveal that family control of the

enterprise is one among the strategies which is important for the success of the firm and their entrepreneurial development. The study of Yacey, Erikson and Juliani in 1976 reveals, how the entrepreneurial development of the ethnic community emerges out of the structural conditions and constrains faced by them.

This chapter provides certain clarifications on the concept of entrepreneurship and introduces ethnic entrepreneurship. The next chapter offers a detailed analysis of ethnic entrepreneurship and ethnic entrepreneurs.

Chapter III

THE EHTNIC ENTREPRENEURSHIP

THE ETHNIC ENTREPRENEURSHIP

This chapter provides insight into the sub field of ethnic entrepreneurship. It focuses on the nature of ethnic entrepreneurship and various theoretical perspectives for the study of ethnic entrepreneurship. An analysis of the conditions that conduce the chances of ethnic group in entering into entrepreneurship is included here besides providing a detailed account of ethnic entrepreneurs and their distinctive nature.

Ethnic entrepreneurship is a sub-field within the broad area of ethnic relations, which grew out of a larger concern with economic achievement and social mobility of ethnic minorities in advanced industrial societies. Two observations may be noted pertaining to the literature on ethnic entrepreneurship. First the confinement of ethnic minorities to the secondary labour market and their subjection to exploitation (Hill, 1980) and the second, the representation of the foreign born persons among the self-employed, along with the native population. In the former observation, on the basis of ethnicity groups suffered from blocked opportunity. The latter is migration as a social process that bestows on ethnic groups a sociological advantage in the form of an internal ethnic cohesiveness and collectivity, which appears to be conducive for doing business. These two observations reveal that ethnic groups turned their disadvantages into an advantage. For instance, by being precluded from entering in to the mainstream capitalist economy, the ethnic groups responded by creating their own capitalism (Light 1972). In this way blocked opportunity ironically opened certain alternative opportunities for the ethnic group. The greater the disadvantage, the greater the frustration the greater the motive and incentive for change (Portes 1981).

Different scholars have examined the field of ethnic entrepreneurship from different perspectives. For instance to bibliography, Ivan Light's classical work 'Ethnic Enterprises in America' (1972), which has infused the literature on ethnic

entrepreneurship. Ward and Jenkins (1984), edited volume 'Ethnic Communities in Business' also retains a similar spirit to the analysis of ethnic entrepreneurship. The publication of 'Ethnic Entrepreneurs Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies' in 1990 by Waldinger is arguably the most wide ranging study of fifty ethnic groups - Asians, Cubans, Jews etc. All these contributors to the ethnic entrepreneurship bear in mind, that the entrepreneurial activity is a highly variable enterprise among the ethnic groups. Many of these scholars offer explanations about the nature and involvement of ethnic minority group members in entrepreneurial activities.

Perspectives for the study of ethnic entrepreneurship

Among the various theoretical perspectives the foremost is Max Weber's (1947) views on entrepreneurial development which, seems to have some relevance with the entrepreneurial development among the ethnic groups. Ethnic groups are marked by distinctive cultural and social values, which are different from that of large society. This perspective highlights the role of socio-cultural factors and demonstrates the functional relationship between value orientation and the social outlook of the entrepreneurs towards their entrepreneurial activity. This perspective identified the significant role of socio-cultural factors in the emergence and development of entrepreneurial activity among ethnic groups. Values in this context refer broadly to different attributes of the traditional social organization of the ethnic group namely faith in religion, rituals, tradition, etc. Many studies have find out that the entrepreneurs particularly ethnic groups are driven by ethical value orientations (Medhora 1965).

David McClelland's (1961) psychological perspective provides keen insights into the aspect of entrepreneurial development among ethnic groups. This approach brings out the importance of personality traits and their relationship with the entrepreneurial development. Apart from the family, kinship, religious values, entrepreneurship goes more with a typical personality structure. This can be very easily observed by the fact that some entrepreneurs are ranked high at the

success scale and some are located at low. The success of the entrepreneurs lies in the degree of adventurous vigour, entrepreneurial talent and high achievement motivation that the entrepreneur possesses. In this ground we can presume that immigrant groups will have high level of economic aspiration, therefore these entrepreneurs are more successful in entrepreneurial activities than native entrepreneurs. Some observed that immigrant entrepreneurs have better managerial capability and better business insight. That is the reason why immigrant ethnic groups are some times more successful than native population.

According to Hegan (1964), disadvantages of the minority group are the source of their entrepreneurial development. The illustrations from Japanese history substantiate his arguments. Hegan points out the entrepreneurial development of ethnic group may occur, when withdrawal of status respect happens for a traditional ethnic group, because of the migration to other place or new society.

Young Frank (1967) has proposed another approach that deals with the entrepreneurial development of ethnic groups. He states that entrepreneurial development of ethnic group takes place when the ethnic sub group reacts, if it experiences low status in the larger society. Young states that ethnic groups will become reactive when it experiences low status (economic) recognition, when the denial of access to some important economic and social networks takes place (Ward and Jenkins 1984). For him the entrepreneurial development of ethnic groups embedded in the personality structure and group values, Socialization and child rearing practices of the particular group.

Another sociological theory, which bears certain similarities with the perspectives of entrepreneurial development among ethnic groups, is that of Cochran (1968). He highlighted the role of cultural values, role expectations and social sanctions of the group and it's relationship with the entrepreneurial development.

Ethnic entrepreneurs

Through out the history, ethnic enterprises have received a modest attention by different scholars. Ethnic entrepreneurship is a small business activity undertaken by member of an immigrant group. The concept of ethnic enterprise could be applied to any business owned and run by a member of an ethnic minority. The structure and functioning of ethnic enterprise to a great extent is determined by social and environment comprising elements such as religious adherence, geographical location, occupational background, family and residential type.

The early sociological literature depicted ethnic entrepreneurs as political conservatives who put in long hours of work and maintain a sense of autonomy and independence. Many social scientists assumed that a need for autonomy and independence explains why particular ethnic group members enter in to small business. Because it satisfies socio-psychological need to be one's own boss. Some social scientists argued that this is the only way through which an ethnic group member who lacked educational qualifications could attain the status of marginal middle class (Ward and Jenkins 1984)

The ethnic entrepreneur may be according to the definition; an entrepreneur is a person seeking and seizing the opportunities, moving from one venture to another venture. But more often he is a person, who creates his own employment but also employs few others in trade, in a manufacturing process, service or in a wholesale/retail distribution. He possesses many of the qualities of the large-scale entrepreneurs but he may lack skills needed for business and administration (Bauckely 1998).

Attributes of ethnic entrepreneurs

- The ethnic enterprise generally satisfies one's own psychological needs. There is not much that delegation of authority prevails in case of ethnic enterprises. Ethnic entrepreneurs are subjected to the decisions regarding their own enterprises.
- The ethnic entrepreneurs as the owners of small business are self-motivated. Achievement orientation plays a vital role in case of their entrepreneurial activity. The tendencies like self-advancement and self-reliance had been important features for most of the ethnic entrepreneurs (Boswell 1976)
- The distinctive feature of ethnic entrepreneurs is their attention towards value orientation. Many of the ethnic entrepreneurs are driven by values. There exists a close link between ethical values i.e. their attitudes towards religion, custom, culture, community or the group values and their entrepreneurship. These are the one of the important motivational drives of the ethnic entrepreneurs. There exists a functional relationship between value orientation and social outlook of the entrepreneurs. These values have an inhibiting or encouraging role in the emergence and development of the ethnic entrepreneurial activity. The ethnic entrepreneurs are conformist to their religion, culture and community ethos. Their entrepreneurial activities are most of the time infused by the ethical values. The ethical values and religious beliefs act as the conditions for their entrepreneurial development. Many studies in the sub field of ethnic entrepreneurship proved the fact that the ethnic entrepreneurs are high in ethical values and less of practical mindedness (Komovies 1972, Medhora 1965, Nandy 1973).
- The small business firms are generally started by the natives initially as personal hobbies gradually develop into profitable venture and finally culminate into a full time business enterprise. But for any immigrant ethnic group member starting of a venture is a survival strategy than hobby. Because of their low educational qualifications and less employment opportunities they found small business is the

most promising alternative. By this they could attain the status of marginal middle class. Many of the ventures owned by the ethnic entrepreneurs do not fetch returns more than subsistence wages, that too after a lot of hard work, worry and long working hours (Center for immigration studies 2'k)

- Ethnic entrepreneurs, like all other capitalists, own their means of production. Their enterprises also depend on the market conditions. But one distinctive feature of ethnic entrepreneurs is unlike the entrepreneurs of the larger business, however the ethnic entrepreneurs and their entrepreneurial activities are extremely vulnerable to the vicissitudes of the market. They face higher degree of uncertainty (Ward and Jenkins 1984). The firms of the ethnic entrepreneurs are at the mercy of the market. Whenever the economic condition changes, they must change (Rutten and Upadhaya 1997).
- Ethnic entrepreneurs take advantage of certain structural constraints in the host society. Their entrepreneurial activity is a reaction against the blocked avenues of occupational mobility. It is a survival strategy for coping on the margins of native dominated main streams of the economy. In reaction to this structural constraints the ethnic entrepreneurs worked hard to maintain autonomy in the mainstream economy of the host land. These factors contributed for the ethnic entrepreneurs in a positive way to gain toehold self- employment (Frank 1986).
- Another distinctive feature of the ethnic entrepreneurs is their confirmistic attitude towards their ethnic group morale (Brozen 1954). The intra group relationships are given priority by the ethnic entrepreneurs. They utilize their social life contacts to engage in exchange in order to acquire the profits (Chia oai peng 1997). The migrant ethnic entrepreneurs get advantages from the internal group solidarity. The degree of cohesiveness is high among the ethnic groups. Their entrepreneurship is generally a product of the withdrawal of their traditional status in the host nation and a reaction to the blocked avenues of mobility. Many of the migrant ethnic entrepreneurs have not acquired entrepreneurial qualities from

their native land; these qualities are nurtured and developed by the prevailing environment in the host nation (Research perspectives in migration 1997). The chances of survival of ethnic business are better if they are owned or established by a person who was practicing a trade or profession prior to the immigration.

- Another distinctive feature of the ethnic entrepreneurs lies in the structure of their business organization. The ethnic entrepreneurs run their businesses at home treat the business much of a family affair, with the spouse activity involved in it. Ethnic enterprises are generally home based enterprises; usually employing fewer than five workers who are involved either in manufacturing or service activities. The mode of production in case of ethnic enterprises is essentially family oriented. Their parents or family members mostly influence ethnic entrepreneurs. The close family network is also considered to be important for the entrepreneurial success among the minority ethnic groups. Family and kinship provide ethnic entrepreneur an access to capital and credit. Family members form an integral part in assisting the activities of the ethnic enterprise. The help offered by the kinsmen and family on informal grounds is always an advantage for an ethnic entrepreneur. However family is the primary economic unit, bound by high degree of cohesiveness and solidarity, characteristic of any migrant ethnic group.
- One most important and distinctive feature of the ethnic entrepreneurship is the support of the community networks. Ethnic entrepreneurs generally get advantages from the networks. Many of the ethnic entrepreneurs, both in manufacturing and service-oriented sectors are linked to larger companies through sub contracting relationships. Such networks have given rise to new opportunities for independent entrepreneurship for those who have small amount of capital to invest under fordist production regime (Burger 1991).
- These networks not only develop their business contacts, but also help them to raise their social standing, which in turn contributes to their entrepreneurial

success. The ethnic entrepreneur utilizes various social and cultural strategies to enhance their social status, to establish contracts with financing institutions, and to build up social networks that may further their business interests (Rutten and Upadhaya 1997).

- The ethnic entrepreneurs placed the social networks at center of their entrepreneurial activity. The networks are preferred in a broader sense as a kind of 'social capital'. This social capital is essential not only for successful business dealings and the enhancement of prestige but also as an insurance against the uncertain future of the ethnic enterprises. These networks also play a pivotal role in building up the social cohesiveness among the ethnic community members (Rutten, Upadhaya 1997).

The above descriptions provides an interesting picture of the ethnic entrepreneur who is almost entirely a self made person, minimally (some times not at all) educated, person of an average social background (some times worse) and surely driven by motivations. Ethnic entrepreneurs as small business owners contributed well for the economy of the host land. Many times their proportion to the small business is higher than the natives (Center for Immigration Studies 2'k). Recent times witnessing a trend where many of the enterprises owned by the ethnic entrepreneurs is showing the 'symptoms of collapse'. The reasons for this are lack of the working capital, wrong locations and poor managerial skills etc.

Running small business may bring potential for an ethnic group in the host land 'in case of both personal satisfaction and conspicuous spirit. But there are several challenges and problems waiting. The primary problems for an immigrant group are the hostility, suppression by the natives along with the competition in the wider market. (Ward and Jenkins 1984).

Factors conditioning ethnic business opportunities

We have seen that there is no single path to success in business trodden by the ethnic minorities. On the contrary there are major variations in the proportion of different ethnic groups in business, in the profitability of their enterprises, the sectors in which they sought to operate and in their entrepreneurial style. Not enough literature is available about ethnic business, which enable us to give a full and systematic account of factors underlying the development of entrepreneurial spirit among different ethnic communities. The following illustrations reflect the relationship between the resources that the ethnic group possesses and the business opportunities they encounter.

There are various opportunity factors that condition the chances of an ethnic group entering in to small business. The two primary factors, which condition the chances of an ethnic group, a.) economic or employment and b.) residential or locational factors.

a) The employment opportunities for ethnic minorities are often restricted because of their limited education, lack of training in the skills required for the high paying jobs and their poor knowledge of the language spoken by majority group. The migrant groups lack the resources to compete for the best jobs in the core economy of the host nation. Prejudice and discrimination are often the powerful obstacles to gainful employment.

b) The residential opportunities are also limited for many of the ethnic groups that are migrating. Migrants generally can not compete for the sites in city that were already residentially developed. The discrimination often limited minorities to confine themselves to a particular quarter of the city, and high rents generally push them to the cheaper dwellings vacated by the native population. Residential segregation was a frequent occurrence where the financially weak and disadvantaged ethnic minority group replaced natives in many neighborhoods.

Thus the factors such as lack of education and skills, discrimination, residential segregation, and limited economic opportunities in the mainstream economy for the ethnic minorities, force them to consider other options. Many of the immigrants who took poorly paid jobs in peripheral firms' experience a high degree of job insecurity and less monetary benefits. So, for an ethnic group the self-employment is an attractive alternative to low income employment in a native owned business. The opportunity structure in employment and residential segregation has severely restricted the access of ethnic minorities from well-paid and secure jobs in the labour market.

In the same way ethnic groups benefit greatly from residential segregation. This in turn leads to the residential concentration of the ethnic group. Residential concentration brings several advantages to any ethnic enterprise. It leads to the availability of the initial cushion of customers for their products (Aldrich 1973). It creates a large enough demand for the provision of ethnic products and services. Apart from getting the initial consumers for their products this residential segregation paves the way for the development of social cohesiveness. Residential concentration increases the intra group relations, develops higher degree of solidarity and ultimately leads to the awareness of the collective interests of an ethnic group.

The above mentioned factors condition the opportunities of an ethnic group from entering into small business in a variety of ways. Factors like prejudice and discrimination that are powerful obstacles for the gainful employment of the ethnic groups interestingly contributed for their entry into small business sector. For example the early opposition towards Japanese immigrants on the west coast of United States by the labour unions, which feared that Asian immigrants would replace them at lower wages, obstructed Japanese entry in to the mainstream economy. In response to this segregation the Japanese pooled their resources and ultimately captured a significant portion of California's

agricultural sector. The strong ethnic solidarity formed by union hostility generated ethnic networks that supported the subsequent generations (Bonacich and Modell 1980). This hostility of the host society in fact had a positive impact on the migrant group leads to strong solidarity among themselves, to improve their economic position and for their social mobility.

c.) Another factor that conditioned the chances of ethnic entrepreneurship, is the markets that are abandoned by the native or majority business groups. This leaves vacancy for the ethnic businessmen to fill. In this way the migrant ethnic groups one after another move into the markets abandoned by local, native small entrepreneurs and strive to generate whatever marginal profit is left. In such markets the profit margins are relatively low and ethnic entrepreneurs put maximum efforts to sustain. Another factor that provides opportunity structure for ethnic entrepreneurship is the demand among the majority population for exotic goods and services. The migrant ethnic groups thus seize the opportunity to control a protected market and gain toehold in self-employment.

The traditional opportunity structure of the host nation provides space for an immigrant ethnic group only at the bottom of the socio-economic system. The entrepreneurship is seen to be a viable route up the socio-economic ladders in an economically uncertain environment. The entrepreneurship is a mechanism of survival and increasingly as an important alternative to wage labour. The entrepreneurship among the immigrants is conditioned by the factors such as their social cohesiveness and the extent of exploitation that the ethnic groups encountered in the broader labour market. Many researchers argued that the more hardships and frustrations the migrant ethnic groups experience in the mainstream economy, the more likely they were to seek alternative opportunities through self employment and to develop stronger economic and social bonds with in their own ethnic community. These in turn strengthened the migrants capacity to compete

in the broader market by providing them with information networks, sources of credit, a loyal consumer base for their goods (Ward and Jenkins 1984)

d). Another factor that conditions the ethnic entrepreneurship is the human capital possessed by ethnic groups. Ethnic enterprises are particularly labour intensive and service sector firms. So there is a need to keep labour costs lower than the native competitors. The ethnic entrepreneurs exploits the kinship networks in this regard. They have a chance to employ relatives and other community members both managers and operatives and by this they can reduce the cost of labour. This is one essential factor, which condition the chances of ethnic group to sustain in the small business sector (center for immigration studies 2'k).

e). Another important factor that conditions the opportunity of an ethnic group in entrepreneurship is 'culture'. Various scholars have identified major cultural factors behind the rise of distinctive ethnic entrepreneurship. Culture plays the role of a conductor in the entrepreneurial development of the ethnic groups. This process is fueled by the efforts of individuals and their groups to achieve a variety of goals such as economic profit and self-advancement (Burger 1991).

The role of culture in entrepreneurial development is vital. Some cultures predispose their members towards successful pursuit of the entrepreneurial goals. This is based on the view that the 'cultural predispositions' are a resource in entrepreneurial activity and development. The cultural factors direct the entrepreneurial potentials. Culture conditions the chance of ethnic groups to enter into small entrepreneurial activity in a variety ways. Cultural factors increase the degree of intensity in the group relationships, internal sociability and solidarity of an ethnic group. In the literature of ethnic entrepreneurship certain questions regarding 'culture' are till unanswered. One major question in this regard is 'why

cultures of particular ethnic groups is conducive for their entry in to business and why some cultures hinder to do so in case of others' (Burger 1991).

f). Another important factor is the opportunity structure. This is determined partly by the prevailing market conditions and the accessibility of resources to the immigrant entrepreneurship. Some opportunities are ready at hand such as supplying the ethnic foodstuff, newspapers, clothes and other culture specific goods from their country of origin. The ethnic entrepreneurs generally take advantage of the prevailed linkages with business in their home country.

g). Another factor that conditions the chance of ethnic business is their familial ties, which enable the entrepreneurs to respond quickly and flexibly to the exigencies of the circumstances. Information about employment opportunities can be passed through friends or family for recruiting labour as needed. In addition, if the employer and employee are of the same ethnic or the national origin then it is an added adversarial for their relationship.

h). Migration is another important factor, which conditions the chances of ethnic entrepreneurship. Migration as a social process bestows on ethnic group a 'sociological advantage' in the form of an internal ethnic cohesiveness and collectivity, which appears to be conducive to doing business (Cohen 1997). The impact of migration can be seen in many spheres of life without excluding demographical, physical, economic, social and so on. Through migration ethnic group's come into contact with the different social as well as physical environment, which is some times contradictory to that of their own. The social cohesiveness and solidarity facilitated by the migration makes the ethnic groups to adjust with the new conditions (Sinha and Atullah 1987). The migrant entrepreneurs generally have high level of economic aspirations, which

will be equipped with sufficient amount of business acumen and therefore will be more successful in entrepreneurial activities than the natives. They generally have better managerial capacities, capabilities and better business insight than the native entrepreneurs (Singh 1986). The migrant ethnic group complements the nation's small business sector. Their entrepreneurial capabilities are not in born but cultivated to surmount the challenges of the host country.

Migration generally provides a path for the upward mobility of the ethnic group. The migrant ethnic entrepreneurs do not bring entrepreneurial qualities with them from their homeland, but these qualities are often created, nurtured and promoted by the environment and market conditions of the host nation.

i). Finally 'ethnic enclaves' are the distinctive features of the ethnic groups that condition the chances of the ethnic group in entrepreneurial activities. To start an enterprise in the host land, ethnic groups need some support at two levels: i.) informal support from friends and relatives is at one level, ii.) the formal support from institutions. These institutional forms are labeled as the 'ethnic enclaves' (Wilson and Portes 1980).

Ethnic enclaves benefit greatly from several distinctive features: geographical segregation and residential concentration, independent networks of social and business relationships, and a relatively advanced division of labour. The ethnic enclave functions as a substitute environment for the incorporation of the ethnic groups in the host country by providing both community support and employment (Research perspectives in migration 2'k). The most striking feature of the enclave studied by Portes and Bach was its capacity to provide the migrant ethnic group with a path for upward mobility. Ethnic enclaves provide much more generalized support for ethnic business than a potential protected market of customers.

The above discussed are the factors that condition and contribute for the entry of ethnic groups into entrepreneurial arena. Among these factors, the employment and residential opportunities, segregation, hostility-suspicion, market conditions are the vital factors, which felicitate ethnic entrepreneurship. These factors are also responsible for the development of high degree of social cohesiveness among the ethnic group members.

The forgoing review of the literature on ethnic entrepreneurship provides an understanding of the process of adjustment and adaptation of various ethnic groups in the new environment of host society. Despite differences in the economic milieu presented by the host societies, a common pattern of coping exists among the ethnic groups. However most of the studies dealing with the process of adoption have been at the level of small-scale enterprises, reflected the structural approach of ethnic entrepreneurship.

New wave ethnic entrepreneurs: a changing scenario:

The new ethnic entrepreneurs are different from that of earlier immigrants. They are benefited by new immigration policies. They form a very different social category compared with those of earlier waves (Cohen 1995).

The earliest wave of immigrants encountered extreme exploitation during the process of their settlement. In the second wave, the entrepreneurs by seeking to establish themselves permanently in the host society started exploiting the advantage of the host society. In the current third wave, the attraction towards a host society may be functions as an opportunity for the development of entrepreneurship. The entrepreneurial activities of the ethnic groups are different from that of natives and the former could create new employment opportunities for their subsequent generations and offer choices for the consumers (Center for immigration studies 2'k).

Ethnic entrepreneurs most of the times occupy the better half of the self-employment sphere in the host's economy. For the ethnic entrepreneurs, entrepreneurship is a survival strategy rather than hobby. The entrepreneurship is the only alternative for economic advancement and social mobility. It is reaction to the blocked avenues in economic, educational sphere and promoted by the internal cohesiveness and social order.

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that ethnic entrepreneurship presents a distinctive sub field of study. This chapter also provides some insight in to the various factors that facilitate entrepreneurship among ethnic groups. The following Chapter 4 examines the empirical context of ethnic entrepreneurship. It deals with an in-depth study of Tibetan settlement at Ladhakh Buddha vihar and Majnu-Ka-Tilla in north Delhi.

Chapter IV

THE EMPIRICAL CONTEXT

THE EMPIRICAL CONTEXT

This chapter deals with the empirical context of the study on ethnic entrepreneurship. In this study, the investigations and observations were carried out focussing on particular ethnic group i.e. Tibetans with special emphasis on their entrepreneurial development. The scope of the present investigation was restricted to the Tibetan entrepreneurs as the universe, and data was collected from two main sources. First is from secondary sources such as from books, documents and reports. Secondly the data was collected through primary sources by employing various techniques of fieldwork. Data was also collected from the key persons from the Tibetan organizational structure with the help of formal and structured interview schedule.

The data collected from secondary sources included the demographic profile, social conditions and social structure of Tibetans as described in the works of various scholars. Data pertaining to key persons from the organizational structure and also the variables like age, educational qualifications, marital status, occupational back ground, structural and cultural attributes, psychological motivation of the respondents were collected through fieldwork.

Before proceeding any further, description of the Tibetans as an ethnic group and the conditions that led their way in to exile will be dealt here.

Tibetans as an ethnic Group

The world's image of Tibet - as a land of breath-taking beauty, rich cultural legacy, intriguing spirituality and intractable political travail - is really based on two Tibets. One is the great landmass under control, while the other is a widely scattered diaspora of Tibetans who rejected Chinese rule. Tibet comprises of about half million square miles but it is very scarcely populated. Undoubtedly

it is the highest country in the world, and it appropriately called "The Roof of the World". However to call it a 'Land of Snow' will not be a misnomer.

The social structure of Tibetan society rests in differentiating people into two groups, one is the well to do families owning herds or lands and the other being labourers subordinate to the well to do families. A further division also can be added between the mass of non-specialist workers, providing labour and services without any distinction, and few skilled craftsmen. There are no middle classes in the Tibetan social order except for a few rich merchants from better off plebian families. Apart from foreign traders, large-scale commerce is in the hands of the nobility and clergy while petty trading for occasional pursuit is shared by all sections of the society (Stein 1982).

Family is more of patrilineal and patrilocal. Tibetan family is a strong cohesive unit, which is bounded with its dwelling place. Joint ownership of land and solidarity contributes for building up of strong cohesiveness among the family members. Where each generation is termed as a homogenous and undivided group (McDonald 1965)

For Tibetans, agriculture is the prime occupation. The traditional, political and cultural centers of Tibet are marked for intensive agriculture. The animal husbandry is also considered as the basic occupation for many of the Tibetans. Here again family is the basic unit that collectively owns the land, cattle etc. and members have the equal rights.

Religion plays a vital role in the life of Tibetan people. Tibetan religion is highly organized with the institution of monasteries at the core. Monasteries are exempted from tax and services since they are regarded as the independent overlords. Monasteries are also allowed to work for private gains. Private property is allowed by the religion and hence, the monasteries are allowed to own

property. Rich monks own the property and the poor monks are servants (Stein 1982).

This is the brief description of some aspects of life of the people of Tibet. These features make Tibetans as a distinct category, an extremely cohesive ethnic group whose culture is unique and members bound together by common ties of family.

The following is a brief assessment of the contemporary conflict of Tibetans and the conditions that forced their way in to exile.

Tempted by its richness China and Nepal have attacked Tibet since 1700. It was during the Nepal invasion of Tibet in 1788 that China effectively interfered into the internal affairs of Tibet. After that China gained control over the Tibet. Various efforts by the British government, about China's nominal suzerainty over Tibet were not standardized. The Sino-Tibetan agreements in 1951 and 1954, signed by India and Nepal, for autonomous status of Tibet including non-interference in the Tibetan traditions have given a chance to the Chinese to start the process of complete accession of Tibet. The financial resources of monasteries and their activities were curbed and the economic and social structure of Tibet was re-modeled in the Chinese pattern (Hemindorf 1985).

Chinese started implementing agricultural policies, which were not suitable for Tibetans. Tibetan natural resources were being exploited in the classical colonial pattern. The worst aspect of the system is the denigration of the Tibetan culture by greater Han chauvinists. The religious freedom is restricted and conditions of life became so unbearable that the Tibetans were forced to leave their native land, migrating to India and Nepal (Hemindorf 1985).

Tibetan migration to India is essentially a refugee migration. They are the people who fled from a real threat of persecution in their country of origin on the

ground of their political opinions. Tibetan migration is a result of the complex historical forces and they have chosen migration as a means of survival.

After migration, Tibetans formed networks in India and slowly started growing into small scale ethnic communities with their own institutions and enterprises including commercial services, cultural associations, entertainment sites etc. The Indian business environment, public attitude towards Tibetans significantly influenced the subsequent development of Tibetan migrant population.

The map 2 and the table 4.1 illustrate the settlement of Tibetans in various parts of the country.

Table 4.1

Tibetan population in India

Region / State / Place	Population
South India	30,000
Central India	8,000
Uttar Pradesh	6,500
Himacal Pradesh	21,000
North East India	8,000
West Bengal and Sikkim	14,300
Ladhakh	5,600

Source: <http://www.tibet.com/exileglance.html>

The Tibetan settlements are stellar examples of the refugee self-help, with extremely limited resources, coping with the trauma of loss of nation and family, adjusting to vastly different cultures and climates in the widely varied geographical zones of India. Tibetan refugees in many places cleared jungles, started business, created firms, homes, school and monasteries, an achievement comparable to the Israeli Kibbutzim who transformed a desert into a thriving habitat. During the 38 years of their arrival in India Tibetan settlements have

TIBETANS IN INDIA



MAP
IS
AN ART

Gla.

grown from primitive campsites into unified, economically self-sufficient communities.

Today there are 54 Tibetan settlements through out India, Bhutan and Nepal. In this 26 are agricultural, 17 are agro-industrial and 11 are handicraft-based settlements. The Tibetan refugee population has grown to approximately 1,21,143. According to 1994 census, 69,426 Tibetan refugees live in settlements, another 51,715 live in scattered communities across the Indian subcontinent. Relationships between the Tibetan refugees and their Indian hosts are as fine as an example of peaceful co-existence of two distinct ethnic groups as can be found anywhere in the world.

The elder Tibetans who created the settlements are the vital link between the homeland and the exile. Every refugee who was born in Tibet and who escaped into exile witnessed military invasion, many lost their relatives, many of them were survivors of torture, yet most have never had their stories documented, and still have vivid memories of invasion, flight, survival in refugee camps, adjustment to exile. Today even though Tibetans have achieved an impressive measure of self-sufficiency, they are still refugees in India, live at subsistence levels in remote communities with no tax base, holding together in a fragile Diaspora. They are legally stateless and a very small percentage of Tibetans bear foreign passports. Most of them hold Indian registration certificates only.

Description of the field

The present study was conducted in Ladakh Buddha Vihar (Tibetan settlement) a flourishing market yard of Tibetans located near Inter-State Bus Terminal (ISBT) in the northern part of Delhi. This place is situated on the Delhi-Chandigarh high way along the riverbanks of Yamuna. This is one of the popular market places in Delhi marked for its ethnic goods, food and beverages. Almost all the shops in this market yard belong to the Tibetans.

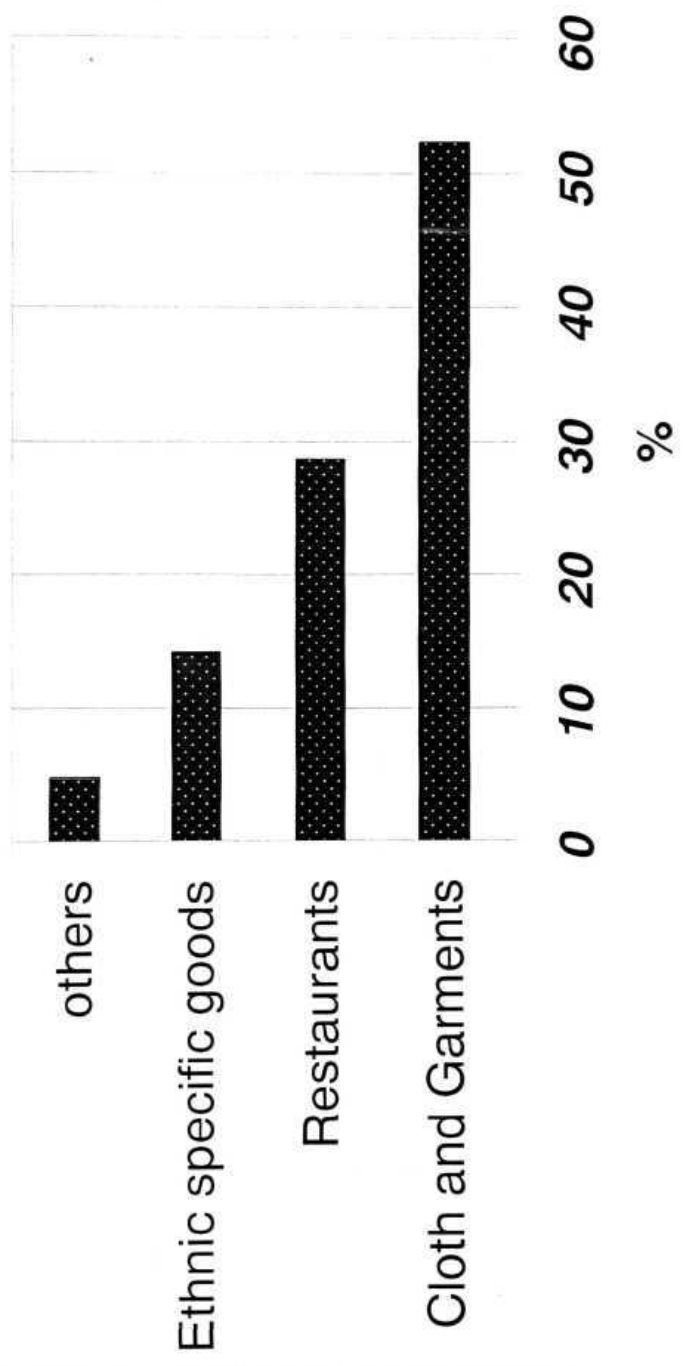
Many of the Tibetan entrepreneurs running enterprises here are either uneducated or under educated. They are basically small business entrepreneurs. Their entrepreneurial activities include cloth and garments business, restaurants, and Tibetan ethnic goods. Very few of them are running small-scale industrial operations, which require technical expertise. Their prime business activity is production and sale of garments. Restaurants with ethnic food form their next entrepreneurial activity in Ladhakh Buddha Vihar.

Many of the entrepreneurs belong to the first generation of immigrants, who are largely engaged in cloth and garments business. Many of them do not have any occupational background related to their current enterprise. Many of them have hardly received any formal education or training in skills related to their entrepreneurial activity. The business activity and their firms are family oriented. The activities of the firm and tasks are divided among the members of the family (Rein De Court 1967). They consider entrepreneurship as a balance between family and work. Tibetans are highly aesthetic in values. Most of the times these ethical values drive their entrepreneurial activities.

In the Tibetan settlement, the residential units exist along with the market yard. They also have a monastery inside the settlement. Tibetans are very much conformists to their religious order and societal values. Whatever they learn from their religion they try to practice in their day to day life. They prefer consumer satisfaction and quality of products rather than profit.

Though most my fieldwork was carried out in Ladhakh Buddha Vihar, I have also gathered information from another settlement of Tibetans located at Majnu-Ka-Tilla. This place is about 5k.m away from Inter-State Bus Terminal (ISBT) on Delhi-Chandigarh high way. Many of the Tibetans in this settlement were in entrepreneurial activities but because of the physical distance of the settlement from the city, the consumer inflow was less when compared to Ladhakh Buddha Vihar. Tibetan Welfare Office, a part of Dalailama exile

Entrepreneurial activities of Tibetans



government and in charge of the Tibetans in Delhi is situated here. There is a Tibetan day school here to provide education for Tibetans.

Most of the Tibetan population in Delhi is residing in these two settlements. There is no official record regarding how many Tibetans are there in Delhi and the number of entrepreneurs among them. According to the rough estimates, there are around three thousand five hundred (3500) Tibetans in Delhi and more than hundred families are living in each of these settlements.

Entrepreneurial activities of Tibetans

On the basis of general information and this field study more than 150 families living in Ladhakh Buddha Vihar. Among them, 84 families are involved in some entrepreneurial activity or the other. As observed earlier most of these Tibetan entrepreneurial families are joint families and the family members collectively own the enterprise. They are engaged in non-farm entrepreneurial activities like manufacturing, trading and other allied activities. Four prime entrepreneurial activities in which Tibetans are engaged are garments / cloth business, restaurants, enterprises concerning with ethnic specific goods such as paintings, idols, and the other enterprises like travel agency, computer centers so on. Twenty-one entrepreneurs covering the above-mentioned entrepreneurial activities are identified as the sample for this present inquiry.

Table: 4.2
Entrepreneurial activities of the Tibetans

Age groups	No. of Respondents	Type of entrepreneurial activity			
		Cloth	Restaurants	Ethnic goods	Others
20-24	1		1		
25-29	3	2			1
30-34	2	2			
35-39	2	\		1	
40-44	2		1	1	

45-49	3	1	1	1	
50 & above	8	5	3	—	—
Total	21	11	6	3	1

Order of generation and entrepreneurship

The sample identified for this present study consisted entrepreneurs that belonged to two different generations, the first generation entrepreneurs those who came to India in the late fifties and the second generation who are the children of the first generation Tibetans in India. The table 4.3 illustrates the proportion of these two generations to the total entrepreneurial activity.

Table: 4.3
Order of generation and proportion in the entrepreneurial activity

Order of Generation	Percentage
First generation	52.3 %
Second generation	47.7 %

The contribution of the first generation to the entrepreneurial activity is 52.3% of the total business activity. 47.67% of contribution was from the second generation of Tibetans in India. Many of the first generation families were engaged in cloth and garments business than the other entrepreneurial activities. They contribute remarkably 54% for this entrepreneurial activity. Next to this are the restaurants in which 36% of the first Tibetan entrepreneurial families are engaged.

Table: 4.4
Proportion of the first generation in various entrepreneurial activities

Order of Generation	Cloth and Garments	Restaurants	Ethnic Goods	Others	Total House holds
First	6(54%)	4 (36%)	1 (9 %)	-	11(100 %)

The second generation families were in the age group between 20-44. They even contribute substantially for the cloth and garments business almost to the extent of 46%. If we take second generation entrepreneurial families exclusively their contribution towards cloth and garments' retailing business was 50%. The below table gives best illustrations this (table 4.4).

Table: 4.5

Proportion of the second generation in various entrepreneurial activities

Order of Generation	Total House holds	Cloth and Garments	Restaurants	Ethnic Goods	Others
Second	10	5 (50 %)	2 (20 %)	2 (20 %)	1 (10 %)

Educational Qualification and entrepreneurship

Tibetan entrepreneurs are either uneducated or under-educated. They are basically small business entrepreneurs. The below table illustrates the educational qualifications of the Tibetan entrepreneurs.

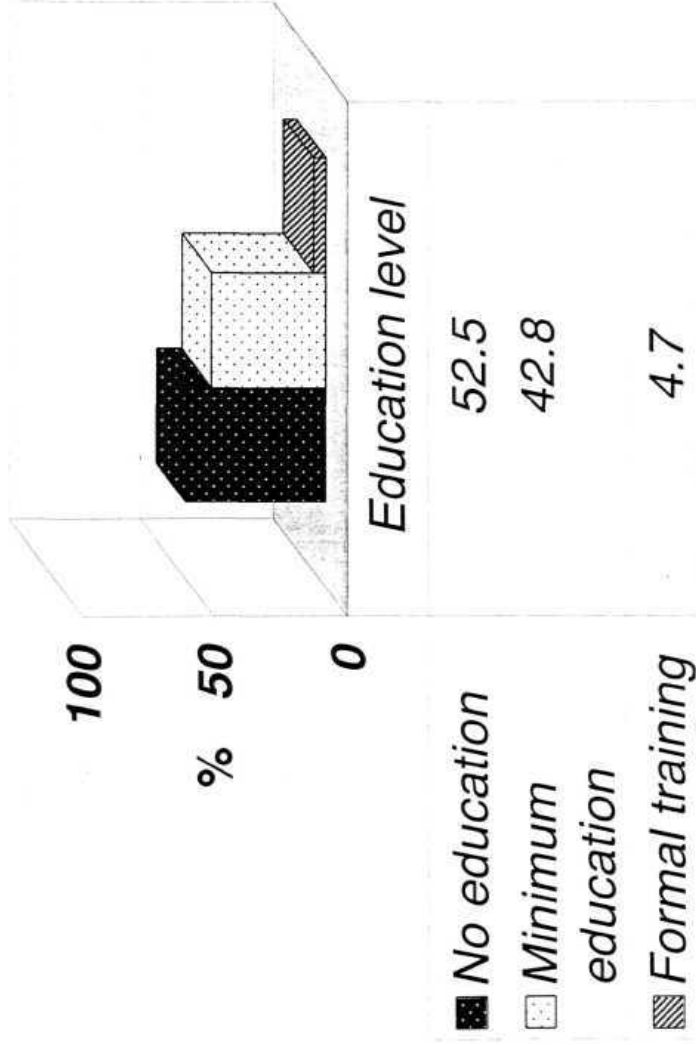
Table: 4.6

Educational qualifications of the entrepreneurs

Educational level	No. of respondents	Percentage
No education	11	52.5 %
Minimum education	9	42.8 %
Formal education related to business	1	4.7%
Total	21	100 %

Around 50% of the Tibetan entrepreneurs do not have any formal educational qualifications. 33.3% of the entrepreneurs are having minimum education, 9.5% of the entrepreneurs are having more than minimum education, but their education does not related with their entrepreneurial activity. It is only 4.7% of entrepreneurs who are educated and their educational capabilities were key factors for their entrepreneurship. Those people belong to the second

Education and entrepreneurship



66a.

generation of Tibetans in India particularly between the age group 20-24 and 25-29.

Marital status and entrepreneurship

All entrepreneurs, irrespective of their order of generation and age group are married. Marital status is most important variable in case of entrepreneurial studies (Komovics 1982). These entrepreneurs generally put long working hours and struggled hard to sustain their business. These long working hours generally put a strain on their relationships on the domestic front. So entrepreneurs usually involve their spouses in the entrepreneurial activities.

Table: 4.7
Marital status of the entrepreneurs

Marital status	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Married	20	96 %
Unmarried	1	4 %

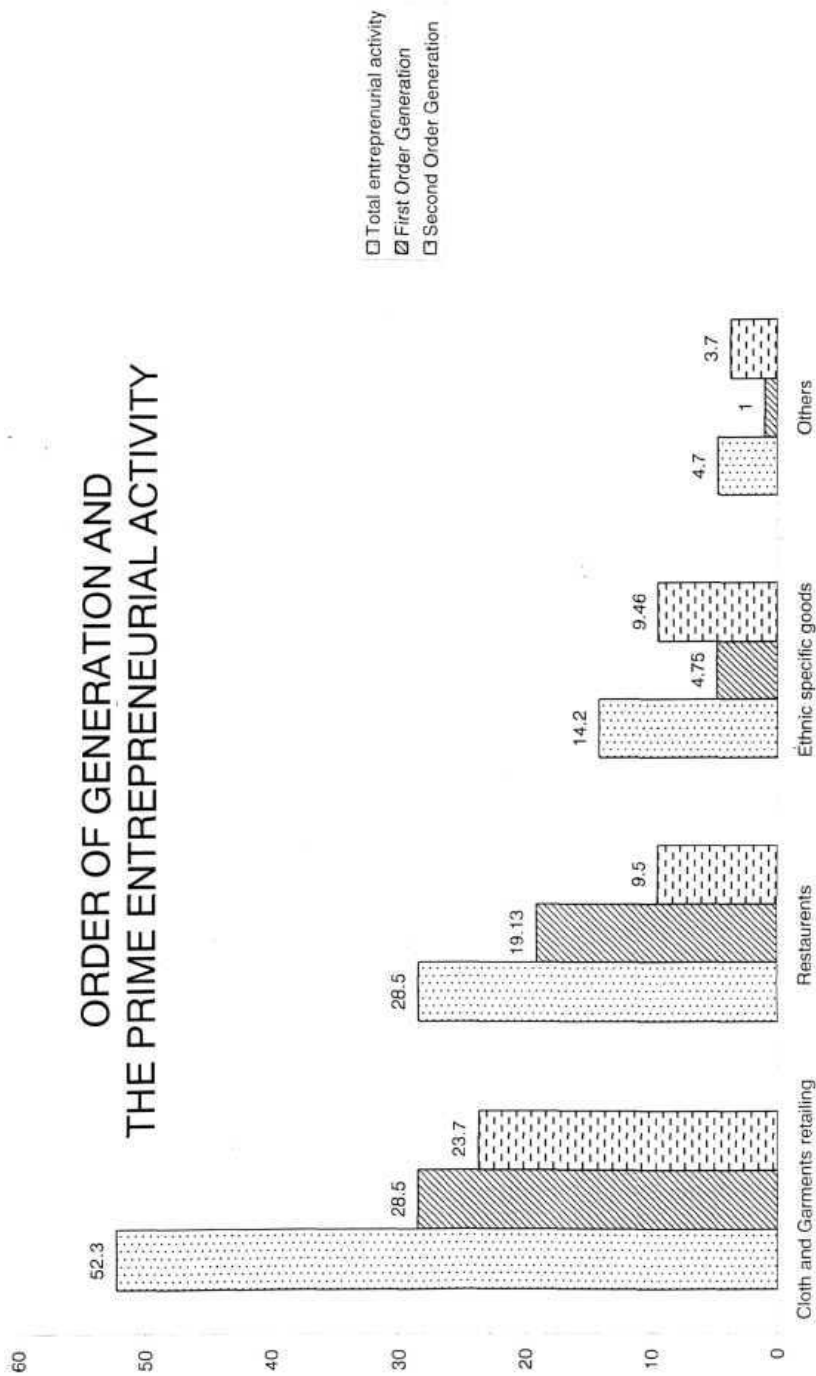
Prime entrepreneurial activity

As mentioned earlier, Tibetans are engaged in four types of entrepreneurial activities. Cloth and garments business is their prime entrepreneurial activity. This can be illustrated in the below table (4.8).

Table: 4.8
Prime entrepreneurial activity of the Tibetans

Type of enterprise	No. of house holds	Percentage
Cloth and Garments	11	52.3 %
Restaurants	6	28.7 %
Ethnic specific goods	3	14.2 %
Others(travel agency etc)	1	4.76 %
Total	21	100%

ORDER OF GENERATION AND THE PRIME ENTREPRENEURIAL ACTIVITY



67a.

The foregoing analysis entrepreneurial performance clearly illustrated the fact that many of the Tibetans belonging to the both first and second generation were engaged in cloth and garments business. Tibetans are widely known for their garments and cloth retailing business even in the other settlements of India. This accounts for 52.3% of their whole entrepreneurial activity while 28.57% is from the restaurants that serve the ethnic specific food items. The rest is by the ethnic specific goods i.e. paintings, idols etc and others.

Tibetans are remarkably known for their cloth and garments enterprises. They generally maintain good quality and go by the changing fashion trends and seasonal variations. Surprisingly in winters, we can only see Tibetans selling winter garments and in summers, their shops are filled with the wide variety of cloths, which are summer specific.

Occupational background of the entrepreneurs

It would be interesting to note that many of the Tibetan entrepreneurs do not have similar occupational background. They do not bring entrepreneurial qualities from their homeland, but these qualities are often created, nurtured and promoted by the environment and market conditions of the host nation (India). This can be illustrated in the following table.

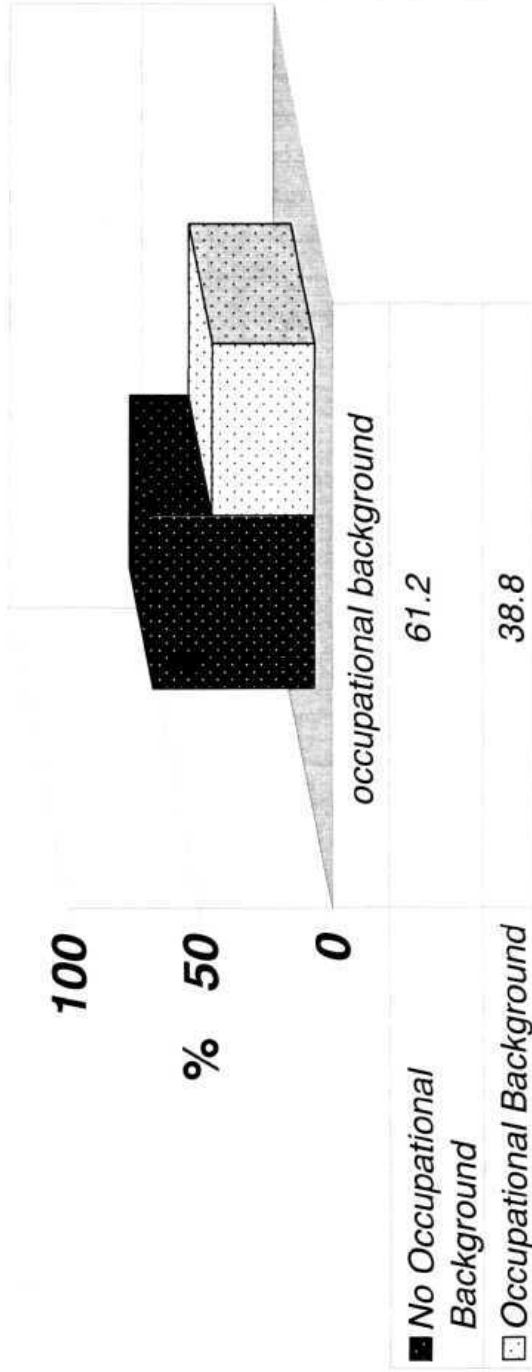
Table; 4.9

Occupational background of the entrepreneurs

Status	Respondents	Percentage
No occupational Background	13	61.2%
Similar occ.background	8	38.7 %

One interesting factor about the Tibetan entrepreneurship is that they are successful and their entrepreneurial activity flourished over years though many of the Tibetans did not have similar occupational background back home. It is evident from the data that as many as 61% of the Tibetan entrepreneurs belonged

Occupational background and entrepreneurship



G&a.

to non-entrepreneurial background. Only 38.7% of the entrepreneurs came from the same occupational background who were predominantly the second generation. They are socialized in the entrepreneurial activities and acquired skills from their predecessors. Some of them even received formal training related to their enterprise. Many of the first generation entrepreneurs do not have similar occupational background and they entered into entrepreneurial arena due to certain factors, which will be analyzed in the next section

Working hours

The early sociological literature defined ethnic entrepreneurs as political conservatives, who put long hours of hard work to maintain a sense of autonomy and independence in the host land (Bunzel 1955, Mills 1951). This is true in case of Tibetans. They generally work thirteen to fifteen hours a day and work usually on weekends as well.

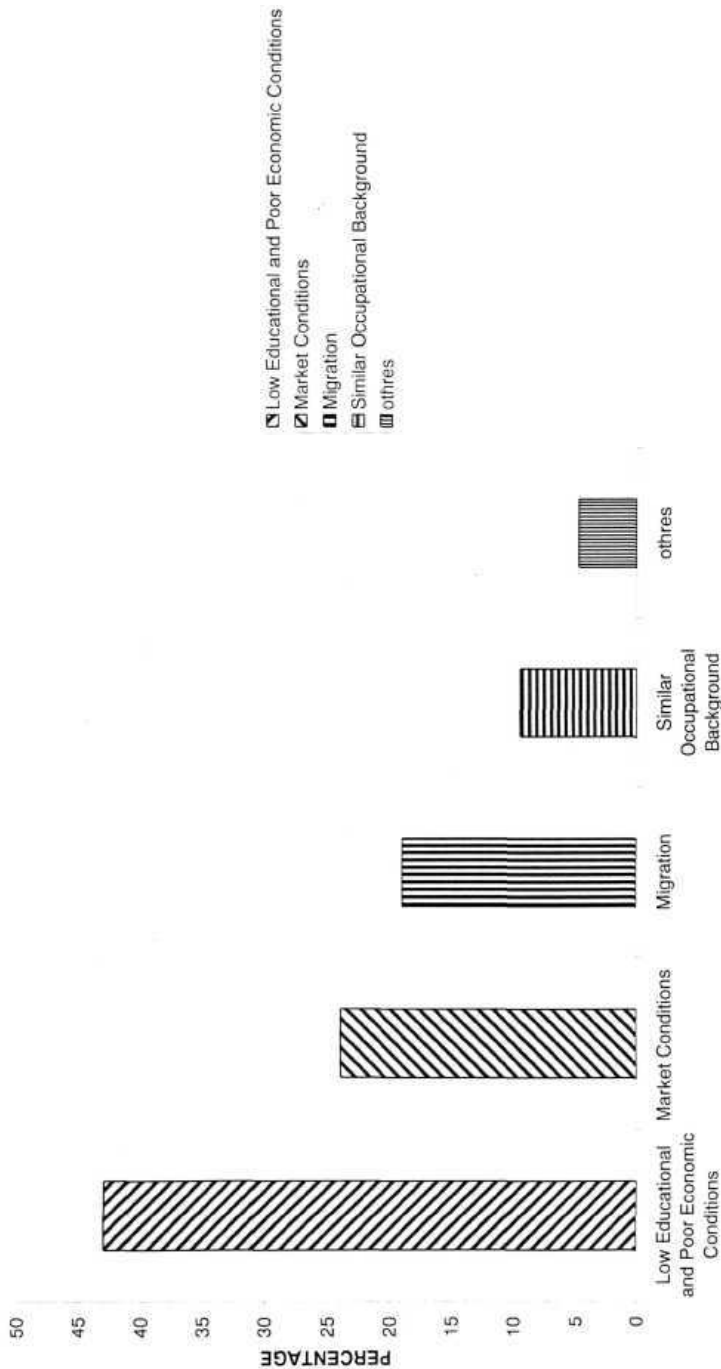
Case: 1:

Phuntshong Tendzin aged fifty-six years; an ethnic entrepreneur belongs to the first generation of Tibetans in Delhi. He owns a small restaurant in the Tibetan settlement, Ladhakh Buddha Vihar. He works minimum of thirteen hours per day. He said this nature of work obviously strains his relationships with the other family members of his family.

Structural conditions conducive for entering into small business

Generally for many of ethnic groups two factors condition their chances of entering into small business, viz., economical and residential. These factors are closely linked to the extent of literacy among the members of ethnic groups in the host nation. Because of poor educational qualifications they are not able to enter the main stream job market of the host nation. Hence, for many of the ethnic groups small business is the lucrative alternative (Mayer 1975)

FACTORS CONDITIONING ENTREPRENEURSHIP AMONG TIBETANS



69a.

The table 4.10 illustrates the major contextual and external forces that an ethnic group faces in the opportunity structure of the host land and examines how these constraints lead to their entrepreneurship.

Table: 4.10

Reasons for entering in to entrepreneurial activities

Factors	No. of respondents	Percentage
Poor educational And Low income Conditions	9	43 %
Market conditions	5	24 %
Occupational background	4	19 %
Migration	2	9.52 %
Others	1	4.76 %

Poor educational and low economic conditions and entrepreneurship

Through the responses of informants, it may be concluded that for many of the Tibetans, entrepreneurship is a survival strategy. About 43% of the entrepreneurs stated that low educational and economic conditions are responsible for their entry into small business. Low education and lack of training in the skills limited their opportunities for better paying jobs. Owing to the above reasons they cannot get a good job and hence they take poorly paid jobs in peripheral firms which are characterized by high degree of job insecurity and low wages. Under such circumstances self-employment is an attractive alternative in the alien land.

Case-2:

Tsenzin Sangpo belongs to first generation of Tibetan entrepreneurs in Delhi. He owns a cloth and garments shop. He said, "the poor educational and economic opportunity made us to enter into the business field. There is no proper employment for us. My low income does not allow me to provide good education to my sons. Even though they are educated, their educational capabilities do not match the requirements for better paying jobs. No alternative is left for us". He

said that now the exile government has realized the need for education and they have started a Tibetan day school. They are providing education just with Rs 60/- per month.

Residential conditions and entrepreneurship

Another factor in relation with the educational, economic conditions is the residential conditions of the Tibetans. Because of their poor educational status they can not enter into the mainstream jobs of the host nation. Because of their low economic conditions and poor incomes they just can not compete for the residential sites in the city. This pushed ethnic groups towards cheaper dwelling and unauthorized settlements in the periphery. Their residential places generally develop on the outskirts of the city. Members of an ethnic group generally reside at one place and such a settlement facilitates their entrepreneurship.

Tibetan settlement - Ladakh Buddha Vihar is one such settlement in the out skirts of the Delhi metropolis. Living together in one area leads to the development of social cohesion and solidarity. Specific needs of an ethnic community besides their identity and material requirements provide an initial cushion of consumers for their products. The residential and market yard in Ladakh Buddha Vihar seems to be a mini Tibet.

Market Conditions and entrepreneurship

Apart from the educational and economic conditions, Tibetan chances of entering into small business were also conditioned by the prevailing market conditions. The demand among the majority population for exotic ethnic goods and services, the tastes and preferences of the native majority and economic benefits involved in the ethnic business also played a key role in conditioning the Tibetan chances of entering into small business (Research perspectives in migration 1997).

The study shows that for 24% of the ethnic entrepreneurs consider the prevailing marketing conditions, such as the demand for the Tibetan ethnic specific goods among the large majority, tastes and preferences of the native majority to be responsible for their entry into small business.

Occupational background and entrepreneurship

The primary socialization, occupational background, transmitting of skills from one generation to other generation also conditioned their chances of entering into small business. From the data collected, it was found that around 19% of entrepreneurs consider the primary socialization, transmitting of skills to the next generation and informal support by the family were responsible for their entering into entrepreneurial activity, besides poor educational and low economic opportunities (Ward and Jenkins 1984). This view was also prevalent among the majority of second generation Tibetans in India, who either inherited the enterprises from their parents or supported by their relatives.

Migration and entrepreneurship

Another important variable examined in this present study is migration. Migration was an important factor for the entrepreneurial development of Tibetan community. Many of the Tibetan entrepreneurs (about 68.2%) are migrants who came to India in late fifties and in early sixties. Migrations as a social process bestow the Tibetans a sociological advantage in the form of internal ethnic cohesiveness and collectiveness and appear to be conducive for business activities (Research perspectives in migration 1997)

The primary reason for the Tibetan migration was the conditions prevailing in their homeland. For many of ethnic entrepreneurs entering into small business initially was a survival strategy. Because of the migration they came into touch with the prevailing market conditions.

The reasons for migration from Tibet to India were similar for many Tibetan entrepreneurs. The Chinese exploitation, high agricultural levies, destruction of their religious identity and cultural heritage were the push factors that forced their way into exile (Hemindorf 1992). In the recent times there is an increasing migration of Tibetans within the country especially from one settlement to another. The case below illustrates the reasons for such an internal migration.

Case-3:

This case exemplifies the internal migration of Tibetan refugees. Tashi Choling belonged to the first generation of Tibetan entrepreneurs in Delhi. He came to India in 1959 and first settled in Dharmasala. His previous trade contacts with India helped him to start a cloth enterprise in Dharmasala. But because of the limited market in Dharmasala he migrated to Delhi. Delhi market is relatively bigger and characterizes with good consumer inflow.

Case-4:

Another case is of Ngawang Sokur. He belonged to the first generation of Tibetans in Delhi. He came to Delhi from Shilong. Reasons for his migration are favourable market conditions in Delhi and good consumer inflow. Demand for the co-ethnic specific items and preference of native majority for ethnic stuff also made him to migrate.

Some of the young Tibetans have started migrating within the country. The reasons for such case of internal migration are the enthusiastic and ambitious spirit of the Tibetans.

Case-5:

Thurung Dorjeff belongs to the second generation of Tibetans in Delhi. His family is engaged in agricultural activities. He is ambitious and interested in non-farm entrepreneurial activities. The market conditions of Delhi and demand

for ethnic specific items made him to migrate to Delhi. His in-laws supported him to start an enterprise in Delhi.

From the above illustrations it could be observed that for many of the Tibetans entrepreneurship was a survival strategy, and an alternative for economic advancement. The responses reveal changing trend among the Tibetan entrepreneurs. This can be observed from the responses to the questions on factors conditioning their chances of entrepreneurship. For many of the first generation of Tibetans in India, entrepreneurship is a survival strategy because of the blocked avenues. But many of the second generation Tibetan generation favourable local market conditions for ethnic stuff, primary socialization and informal support etc. encouraged their entrepreneurship. For them it is not just a survival strategy but struggle for better survival, economic advancement and social mobility. This changing trend can be easily observable by the case illustrated below

Case-6:

Tsering belongs to second generation of Tibetan in Delhi. He has studied till matriculation and managing the enterprise that he inherited from his father. His primary socialization and transmission of skills from parents facilitated his entry in small business. The market conditions and the demand for Tibetan goods made his way more conducive for economic advancement.

Case-7:

Thurng Dorjef, 30year old second-generation entrepreneur, is running a cloth and garment retailing business. He belonged to an agricultural family settled in Mundgond Tibetan refugee camp. He was interested in non-farm entrepreneurial activities. The market conditions and environment of Delhi made him to migrate from Mundgond and with the informal support of his in-laws, he has entered in to entrepreneurial activities.

Research on ethnic entrepreneurship needs to go beyond the analysis of structural conditions to include the cultural attributes also. Many of the earlier studies on the ethnic entrepreneurship have ignored the cultural side of entrepreneurship. Attention to the role of values and attitudes has been much less than they deserved in the case of many ethnic entrepreneurial studies. Value attitudes refer the beliefs towards religion, culture, community or group values etc. These value attitudes of the ethnic group are one of the important motivators for their entrepreneurial development. There exists a functional relationship between value orientation of the entrepreneur and their entrepreneurial activity. The value attitudes have an inhibiting or encouraging role in the emergence and development of entrepreneurial activity among ethnic groups (Shoebhal Singh 1985).

Cultural factors and entrepreneurship

Religion and entrepreneurship

The history of Tibetan society closely intervened with their religious identity. Tibetans are an ethnic group marked by distinctive religious adherence. Religion plays a vital role in Tibetan way of life. The religious values and beliefs are at high esteem in the Tibetan social setting (Robert A Stein 1982). Religion plays an influencing role and acts as a prime motivational factor in case of the Tibetan entrepreneurial development.

Religion hardly has any influence in choosing a particular type of entrepreneurial activity though it influences in their business operations. The business way of life of Tibetans is indirectly influenced by their religion.

Interestingly, from the inferences it is observed that the attitudes of Tibetan entrepreneurs towards quality of product and consumer satisfaction are nothing but the application of religious principles i.e. quality, sincerity, purity, in general entrepreneurial way of life. Many of Tibetan entrepreneurs believe that it

is the religion that teaches about doing things properly. Religion seeks traders to contribute for the monastery and each trader has to contribute for the maintenance of a monk (Polakshappa 1987). The influence of religion is best illustrated by the following cases:

Case-8:

Lama Cheospel Jodhpa, a religious laureate turned activist of free Tibet movement. He is presently working as treasurer of India-Tibet Friendship Society. According to him, Buddhism as such does not influence business activities, but at the same time it does not object. He stated that Tibetans are very conformist to their religious order. Whatever they learn from religion they try to practice in their way of life. The priority of Tibetans towards quality of products is the best example of practicing religious preaching. Buddhism advocates quality, sincerity, purity, and harmonization, which can be seen the way of life of the Tibetans. Tibetans prefer quality of products, consumer satisfaction, which are the outcomes of their religious ethics.

Case-9:

Hemis Norbu, a senior monk in the lamaish hierarchy of Karmapa Buddhist Institute. He feels that religion is the one, which tells about how to lead a good life. Regarding the influence of religion on entrepreneurship, he stated that Buddhism by its nature states that mans ultimate fate depends on his free behaviour. Religion encourages the entrepreneurial activities as long as they coincide with the religious rules.

Case-10:

Mr. Sonam C. Shosur (Tibetan Welfare Officer) states that religion does not have direct influence but it plays an inhibiting role in business. Tibetans strongly believe that certain religious beliefs and practices will give them monitory profits. At the same time Buddhism preaches about quality of life, which in turn make the Tibetans to concentrate on quality of their products.

The religious orientation of Tibetan entrepreneurs can be observed through their contributions to the religion. The religious contributions are inseparable part of the Tibetan social order. Though the entrepreneurs earn very less profits, they contribute considerable part of their profits to the religious institutions.

Above explanations are similar to the Max Weber's thesis on "Protestant ethic and spirit of capitalism". But Max Weber was pessimistic about the role of Buddhism on entrepreneurial development (Weber 1930). He stated that Buddhism by its vary nature is very stringent and hence, a rational economic behavior could hardly develop in this sort of religious order. He pointed that Buddhism puts restrictions on their contacts with outsiders. But condition has now changed that of from the times of Max Weber. Because of continuous migration Tibetans started coming in touch with the different environments. This has lead to mutual adoption between Tibetans and the receiving population. These contacts inturn facilitated their entrepreneurship.

Community values and entrepreneurship

Along with the religion and culture the role of community values is also notable. Community values are responsible for building of greater social cohesion among the community members.

While examing the role of community values and entrepreneurship, the respondents came up with identical opinions. They believe that community values provide avenues for the emergence of cohesiveness among the community members. Community values provide the basic orientation to Tibetan life that is responsible for the development of we-feeling among the community members. These community values build up a high degree of social solidarity among the community members, which provides necessary support for their entrepreneurial development. Various studies on ethnic groups i.e. Japanese, Chinese and Jews

prove that the community values have an encouraging role in the entrepreneurial development (Wilson and Portes 1980). It should be noted that in case of Tibetans, the community supports them informally and accepts what ever they do as long as it consensus with the group values.

Case-11:

Tashi choling (fifty years) and Thinley Gheri (fifty-five years) are the first generation of Tibetans in Delhi engaged in entrepreneurial activities, garments retailing and restaurant respectively. They believe that community values develop strong solidarity and social cohesion among the Tibetans. But they felt that community recognition for their entrepreneurial activities is marginal.

Case-12:

Ringzin (Thirty-six years) and Tsewang (Thirty-eighty years) belong to the second generation of Tibetans in Delhi doing entrepreneurial activities, cloth retailing and ethnic specific goods shop respectively. They believe that sense of belongingness helps them a lot. This develops higher degree of cohesiveness and also mobilizes informal support. The community recognition for entrepreneurial activities is marginal.

From the foregoing a question arises that despite the fact that their community accords them a marginal status, then how the Tibetan entrepreneurs continued to be conformist to their community values? This is only because of the informal support that community provides for its members. This is what an immigrant group needs the most when they are settling in an alien nation. The social cohesiveness and solidarity were strengthened by the community values. Though these community values do not help the entrepreneurs in their entrepreneurship, they help the Tibetans to develop strong in-group solidarity.

Social cohesiveness, solidarity and entrepreneurial development

The observations on the social life of the Tibetan entrepreneurs helped to identify certain interesting features about them. The Tibetans being a small community in size, all Tibetan entrepreneurs have some contact with each other in one way or the other. In addition to this, the entrepreneurs and their families, frequently interact with other members of their community during the religious festivals and organisational activities.

During the course of the fieldwork, one of the members of the business community passed away. I found that at least one member from every business household visited the family where death has occurred and attended the funeral rights. The market was also closed as a mark of respect to the departed soul. During the funeral rights, many of the community members apart from the relatives and close friends kept the company with the family of the deceased.

Social cohesiveness can also be observed through their religious gatherings. Tibetans regularly gather every morning between 8a.m to 9a.m for religious offerings. To observe their religious congregation, Lama Chospel Jodhpa provided me a chance to be present in their religious offerings. I went along with Tsanag, a restaurant owner in settlement and interestingly found that in these gatherings many of the entrepreneurs exchanging news, stories and updating their information about everyone in the community and even others outside the community members and develop strong in-group solidarity.

Their community networks also develop cohesiveness and solidarity among the Tibetans. Community networks play a vital role in creating intensive community belongingness among the members.

The information obtained from the respondents is similar in this regard. They believe that the community networks play a key role in strengthening the in-group solidarity (Rutten 1997). Entrepreneurs felt that their community networks

helps them informally. They provide educational facilities, and allot residential areas for the new comers and constructed old age homes. But the community organizations do not help them in their entrepreneurship. They do not provide any institutional credit for the business operations. So entrepreneurs have to struggle for loans. Many of the entrepreneurs obtain loans from the native Indian moneylenders called "lalas" on a short-term basis. They have to depend on non-institutional sources of credit and are subjected to all kinds of mal-practices. This can be very well illustrated by the cases described below.

Case-13:

Tusham Thoundup belongs to the first generation of Tibetan entrepreneurs in Delhi. He is running a small cloth and garments retailing firm. He says, "the support from the community organizations is good. They provide all the basic amenities like education and residential facilities. But the community institutions do not offer any financial assistance for starting a business or enterprise. They hardly have any institutional credit facilities for the entrepreneurs. Hence, for running any business one has to struggle a lot. One has to get loans from 'lalas'. Often only short-term loans are available. The interest rates are very high and repayment periods are very short".

The institutional credit support by the ethnic networks is the key factor for entrepreneurial development for many ethnic groups. The studies conducted on Japanese, Chinese reveals that their overseas communities provide substantial support to start an enterprise. Why Tibetans lack such support from their community institutions? The answer to this question sought through informal interviews with some of the key persons from the Tibetan organizations.

Case-14:

Wakangyal working as vice president of the welfare society of central Dokham Chushi Gangruk. He said that society does not provide any institutional aid for Tibetans to start or support any business. He admitted the fact that the

funding for the society is itself extremely limited. This is the reason why they can not institutionally encourage Tibetans to enter even any in small business. Apart from this, the welfare society is highly successful in providing educational and residential facilities for Tibetans. They constructed old age homes and they even managed to get scholarship for students who are studying abroad.

Unlike the other ethnic contexts, the Tibetan entrepreneurs are not beneficiaries of financial support by the community organizations. They had to work hard to come up on their own. This again shows the relationship between religion and entrepreneurial activity. The underlying principles of Buddhism states that salvation, the basic goal of life is an absolute personal performance of the individual. In this way entrepreneurial development, which is a basic goal for an entrepreneur entirely a personal performance and no one and no community organization help him in this regard. Tibetans improved their personal economic status only by their own efforts.

Though the community networks do not provide institutional financial support for Tibetan entrepreneurs, they are successful in strengthening the internal cohesiveness among the community members. The solidarity is observed during the Tibetan community procession on 10th March, the day on which China invaded Tibet, and took away their autonomy. Every year on 10th March Tibetans organize a procession to protest against the Chinese occupation. Majority of Tibetans settled in Delhi participated in the procession to express their protest against the Chinese authoritarianism and to demand for free Tibet. This procession is the best evidence of their in-group solidarity and cohesiveness prompted by community networks.

Social life contacts and nature of entrepreneurial relationships

While analyzing the Tibetan entrepreneurship, data has been collected regarding the nature of relationships with their other community members in

different places. It helps to comprehend the nature of relationship that ethnic entrepreneurs engage with the members of community in different settlements.

Table: 4.11

Nature of entrepreneurial relationships

Nature of Relationships	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Family relationships	10	47.6 %
Friendly business alliances	6	28.5 %
Contractual relationships	5	23.8 %

The data reveals that 47.6% of the Tibetan entrepreneurs have family relationships with their community members living in different settlements. Many of the entrepreneurs belong to the first order generation of Tibetans in India.

28.5% Tibetan entrepreneurs, especially those in the middle age, have both the family relationship as well as friendly business alliances with their community members. Even some of the first generation entrepreneurs are engaged in these relationships. These entrepreneurs having friends and relatives in other settlements too.

It is only 23.8% of entrepreneurs have entrepreneurial relationships with community members purely on the contractual lines. These people have trade and business oriented contractual relationships. Their transaction of goods and services operated mainly on the contractual lines. These entrepreneurs are the second generation of Tibetans in India.

Another inference is that many of those entrepreneurs have either friendly alliances or contractual relationships with community members, are engaged in cloth and garments retailing. They maintain close contacts with the people living in Dharmasala, Ladhakh, and Dehradun.

Family and entrepreneurial activity

Most of the sociological literature on the ethnic entrepreneurship underlines that such entrepreneurship is much of a family affair, involving spouse activity. Ethnic enterprise is generally home based enterprise, employing fewer than five workers who are involved either in manufacturing or services activities. The mode of production in ethnic enterprises is essentially family oriented. The parents and family members mostly influence the entrepreneurs. The close family network is also considered to be an important factor for the entrepreneurial success of many ethnic groups (Pollins 1982).

Family plays a significant role in case of Tibetan entrepreneurship. The family members commonly own the enterprise. Every member fulfils certain tasks and contributes to the enterprise. They exhibit a high degree of cohesiveness among the family members.

Family involvement in enterprise is widely prevalent among the Tibetan enterprises. The enterprises are collectively owned, based on the principle of seniority. The elders generally take the decisions and different tasks of the enterprise are assigned to different family members.

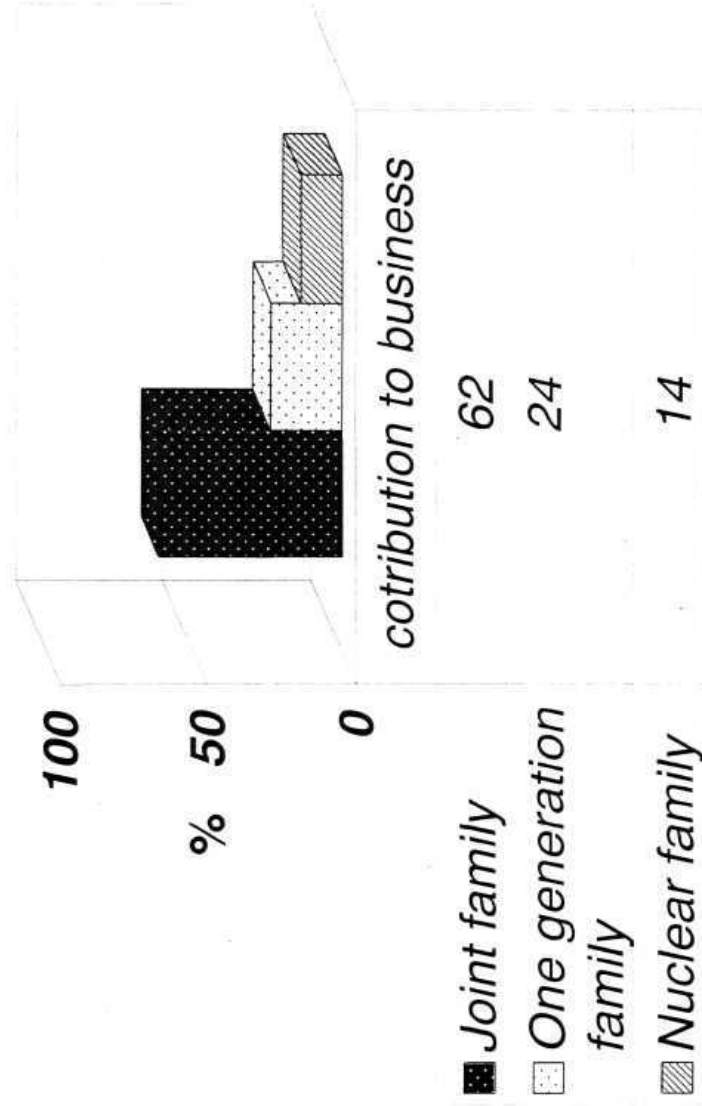
Table: 4.12

Family and entrepreneurship

Type of the Family	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Joint family	13	62 %
One generation family	5	24 %
Nuclear family	3	14.2%
Total	21	100%

In the context of the present study, it would be interesting to note that the joint families carry out 62% of business activity. 24% of enterprises were owned by the brothers and supported by spouse. Only 14.2% of the enterprises do not

Family and entrepreneurship



have any involvement by any of the other family members except the entrepreneur and the spouse.

Table: 4.13

Family involvement in terms of entrepreneurial activity

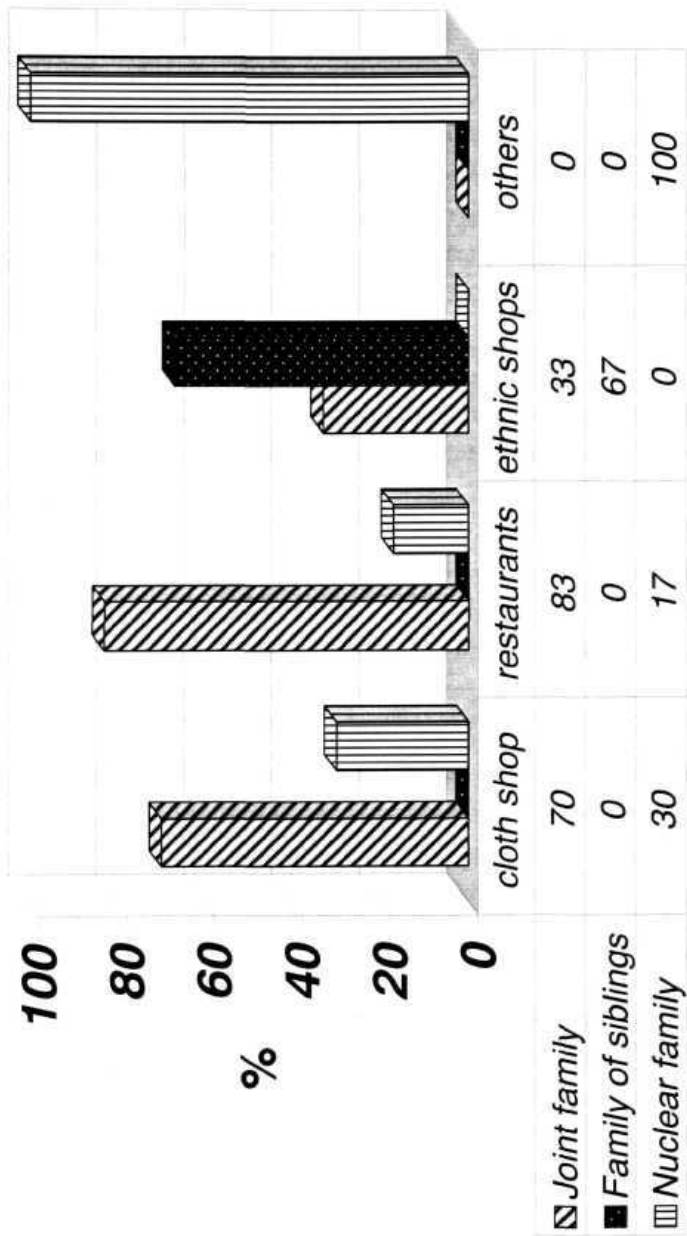
Type of the family	Type of entrepreneurial activity			
	Cloth	Restaurant	Ethnic goods	Others
Joint Family	70%	83.3 %	33.3 %	—
Family of Siblings	—	—	66.6 %	—
Nuclear Family	30%	16.7 %	—	100%

Family involvement was highly visible in case of the restaurant business. Among the all restaurants owned by the Tibetans, 83.3% were family oriented. They are collectively owned by the family which, involve more than one generation in their operation, where the tasks are divided among the family members.

In case of ethnic specific goods shops, the entrepreneurs belonging to the same generation often siblings managed 66.6% of the enterprises. In this entrepreneurial sphere 33.3% of enterprises are run by members comprising more than one generation.

The solidarity of the Tibetan business community is best reflected in their institution of family it self. All members work for the family business; they live, eat and work in a manner that is in conformity with the group norms. However, while making decisions regarding the enterprise, the patriarch is vested with authority to make decisions. But the family members share the day today activities. The following case illustrates the nature of family involvement in entrepreneurial activities among the Tibetans of Ladhakh Buddha Vihar, Delhi.

Family involvement in business



84 a.

Case-15:

Phuntshog Tendzin belongs to first generation of Tibetans in Delhi who runs a restaurant in the settlement. He is the operational head of his enterprise. But tasks of the enterprise are divided and carried out by the members of the family. His two sons are involved in the activities of the restaurant. His wife and daughters-in-law plan and execute the menu in the restaurant. The family jointly owns the enterprise and all his family always supports him in his entrepreneurial activities.

Tibetan enterprises are close family units, in which all the assets are held together. All the family members have their way of life centered on the enterprise.

In case of Tibetan families, for many of its members, there is a social pressure to carry on the family business. Economic compulsion however can force some members to take up jobs in addition to the income from the family business. Such instances are rare. One of which is mentioned below.

Case-16:

Lobsang Tang-Hsang is youngest in his family and working in Tibetan Bureau. His father involved in garments and cloth retailing enterprise. The economic compulsion forced him to take up this job. He felt that the profit margin does not highly vary even if the whole family involves in it. So, he chooses a job, which was out of his family business activity.

Family and kinship provides Tibetan entrepreneurs an access to capital and credit as well as support networks. Family members form integral part in assisting the activities of the ethnic entrepreneurs. The informal support that family provides is always an advantage for a Tibetan entrepreneur. Family is the primary economic unit for many of the Tibetan entrepreneurs. The below illustrated case comprehend this.

Case-17:

Choegyul belongs to second generation of Tibetan entrepreneurs in Delhi. He owns an ethnic specific good shop. His father owns a cloth and garments retailing shop. The support he got from his family enabled him to start up a venture of his own. He is helped and assisted by his brother in all his entrepreneurial activities. Though he is engaged in a separate entrepreneurial activity, most of the time his father assists him.

From the foregoing, it is observed that Tibetan enterprises are primarily family oriented in which all the family members' contribution is essential. Since many of them were small business entrepreneurs they can't afford to pay high labour charges. The labour costs are very less when compared to the native firms because of the 'family managing system'.

A new trend can be observed regarding the involvement of sons in family entrepreneurial activities. Many of the Tibetan entrepreneurs do not want their sons to join their entrepreneurial activities. 66.6% of Tibetan entrepreneurs in the sample did not prefer their sons to join their entrepreneurial activities. They want them to have a better career.

Case-18:

Tsering, a second-generation Tibetan entrepreneur in Delhi, inherited a cloth and garment retailing shop from his father. He does not want his children to face any uncertainty, which he is facing. He does not prefer his children joining in his business. He wants them to be educated and have a settled life.

It is only 54.5% of the first generation of Tibetan entrepreneurs prefer their children to join family enterprise and share their burden. Many of these entrepreneurs belong to the age group between 45-49 and 50 and above. But as

many as 45.7% of first generation Tibetan entrepreneurs want their sons to have a good career and settled life than entrepreneurship.

An intergenerational change in the attitudes can be seen from the above illustrations. It reveals that for the Tibetans, entrepreneurship is an alternative and a survival strategy. Economic compulsion is the main factor responsible for their entering into small business. Many of them want to take up jobs, but because of their low educational qualifications it would be difficult for them to enter into the jobs. So entrepreneurship is the best available alternative in this circumstances.

Diversification of entrepreneurial activity

Diversification in entrepreneurial activities often involve running inter related entrepreneurial activities. Diversification was one of the essential avenues for entrepreneurial development (Henry-Wai-Chen-Yung 1999). This approach is hardly pursued among the Tibetan entrepreneurs. Many of the Tibetans are confined to one entrepreneurial activity.

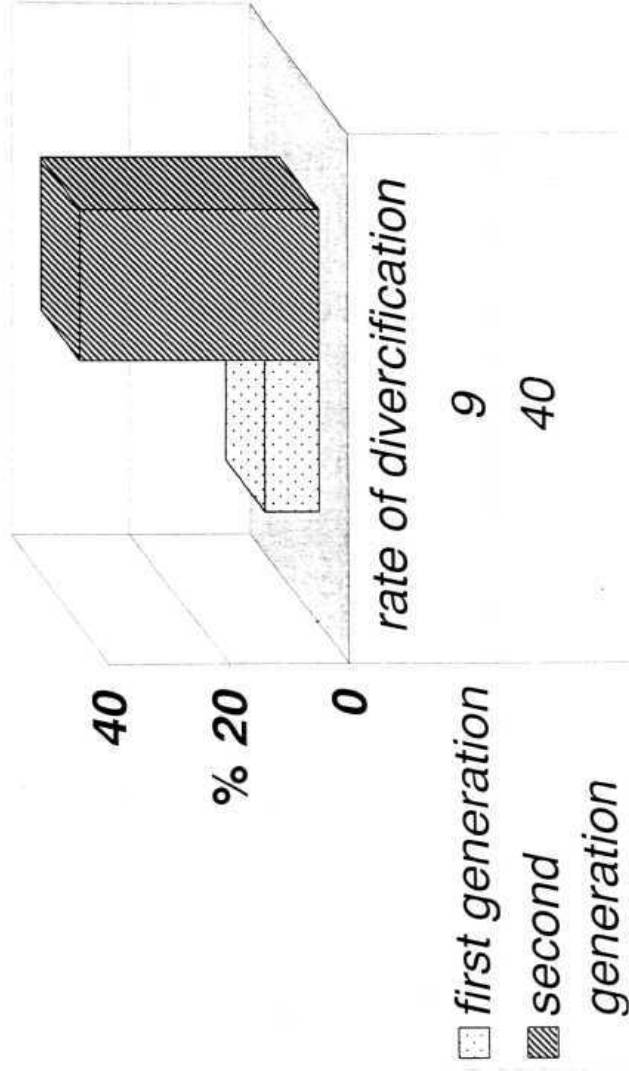
Table: 4.14

Rate of diversification (order of generation wise)

Order of Generation	No. of house holds	Percentage
First generation	1 (11)	9 %
Second generation	4 (10)	40 %

From the data collected, was observed that some of Tibetans were engaged in more than one business. In such cases, the same business activity is repeated, as there is no shift in their entrepreneurial activities. Some of the children of Tibetan entrepreneurs have started individual firms with the family support. But these enterprises are similar to the family entrepreneurial activity. These units generally work as additional units. The case described below illustrates this.

Diversification among tibetan entrepreneurs



87a.

Case-19:

Tsering belongs to second generation of Tibetans in Delhi. He runs a cloth and garment retailing shop in the settlement. Though his firm is individually owned, it is supported by the family. His father also runs the similar kind of entrepreneurial activity. He selected this because of the similar occupational background and primary socialization in this entrepreneurial activity.

This study also examines the extent of entrepreneurial diversification among the Tibetans. To get the proper understanding of the attitudes of the entrepreneurs towards diversification, it is found necessary to categorize of the responses in terms of order of generations.

The diversification or entering into new domains of entrepreneurial activities is low among the first order generation of Tibetans. They generally continue their family occupation, and involve in the familiar entrepreneurial activity, in which they are socialized.

The changing trend in the entrepreneurial activities may be observed in case of the younger generation of entrepreneurs, particularly among those in the age group of 20 to 30 years. Though not significant, some diversification of entrepreneurial activities prevails. The case below illustrated this.

Case-20:

Rexing (24 years) is the youngest among all the entrepreneurs included in the study. He is running a restaurant in the settlement. His family entrepreneurial activity is different from that of his own. His family is engaged in cloth and garments retailing. The family provides the informal and financial support for launching his enterprise.

Case-21:

Zigme Wangyal, is a cyber center owner in the settlement. He belongs to the second generation of Tibetans in Delhi. His family is running a restaurant in

which his mother and brothers are involved. Education and formal training helped him to start this new venture. This is a joint holding of the family even though he individually operates.

Psychological motivation and entrepreneurial development

The most important variable, which is tested in the present inquiry, is psychological motivation. Psychological factor plays a vital role and acts as one of the prime movers of the entrepreneurial development of the ethnic groups. The psychological motivations like need for achievement, need for power and autonomy are generally found to be associated with the starting of an enterprise. The significance of psychological motivations for entrepreneurial development has been underlined in various studies of entrepreneurship (McClelland 1964).

Various psychological motivations instrumented in starting enterprises among the Tibetans in Ladhakh Buddha Vihar are listed below.

Table: 4.15

Psychological motivations and entrepreneurship

Psychological motivations	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Personal satisfaction from entrepreneurship	3	14.2 %
Maintaining ethnic identity	6	28.5 %
Income	6	28.5 %
Feeling of one's own boss	4	19.0 %
Autonomy and security in the host land	1	4.7 %
Some achievement to pass to next generation	1	4.7 %

The averages calculated from the data on motivational ratings, it is identified that for Tibetan entrepreneurs maintaining ethnic identity and feeling of one's own boss are the prime psychological motivations for their

entrepreneurship. The personal satisfaction from business, to maintain autonomy and security in the host land occupy second place in the psychological motivation and entrepreneurial development sphere. The income and economic benefits related with entrepreneurship also motivates Tibetan entrepreneurship. This occupied third place respectively. The tendency to pass something to the next generation is the forth-psychological motivation for Tibetan entrepreneurship.

These observations show the changing attitude of the Tibetans towards their entrepreneurial activities. For many of the first generation Tibetans entrepreneurs, maintaining ethnic identity is the prime motivational factor. For the second generation Tibetans, incomes, feelings of ones own boss were prime psychological movers. This clearly demonstrates the intergenerational change in the attitudes of the Tibetan entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurship is a strategy for revitalization of their lost status in the case of second generation of Tibetans in India.

The inferences were drawn from data regarding psychological motivations by employing socio-metric method.

Attitude towards 'motherland'

Important psychological aspect observed among the Tibetans in Delhi is their feeling for their own land. Although many of the Tibetan entrepreneurs are doing well in the host nation, their attachment to their native land is ever lasting. By doing business in India many of them gained economic advancement and social mobility. Even though the market conditions, support and sympathetic attitude of the Indians are favoring their entrepreneurship. They prefer to go back to Tibet if they are given such opportunity.

The data collected from many of the first order generation of Tibetan entrepreneurs and some of the second order generation reveals the fact that Tibetans are very much attached to their own land. Many of the respondents

replied that the market conditions, support from the native Indians and the government are favourable for their socio-economic development, but they wish to go back to the Tibet once Tibet gets rid of Chinese occupation.

Following the Chinese persecution, Tibetans are dispersed around the globe. A majority of them immigrated to different parts in India. Tibetans are comparable to other immigrant diaspora communities like Chinese, Africans, Jews etc., except for the fact they are not given the status of immigrants and citizenship in India. They are still considered as refugees. Their stay in India is contractual that they will go back to Tibet once the conditions become normal. They are not given any reservations in public services and they do not take part in any political process of India.

This Diasporic element can be best illustrated by the following case.

Case-22:

Tsang is a first generation Tibetan entrepreneur settled in Delhi. He is running a restaurant in the settlement. He came to India in the early 60's. He is quite successful in entrepreneurial activities. He has diversified into cloth and garment retailing in the market yard. He diversified his entrepreneurial activities to earn more profits and to improve the family income. He is very much comfortable with his position in India. At the same time he is very much attached to his native land. Even though he is successful in India and gained good economic position. He wants to go back to Tibet once it gets rid of Chinese domination.

For many of the second generation Tibetans, India is the only home they have known. Yet their heart is in Tibet, the land of their ancestors and their parents who fled Tibet to settle in India with Dalai Lama forty one year ago. They never seen their home land. So in a way they are not very sure how they will

adjust there if Tibet gains freedom from China. At the same time they are very confident that they will adjust because that is their homeland.

Tibetan immigrants truly confess that they are very satisfied with whatever modern India has offered to them. Many of the first generation immigrants feel that if they were back in Tibet their children would not have received as much exposure as here in India. They also said that they have greater freedom to practice their religion in a manner in which they want to. They feel India is their second home ' a home far away from home'. At the same time they have a strong attachment to their native land. Tibetan immigrants typically believe that they'll return to their homeland at some time. Even their duration of stay in India is growing longer; their hope that they will return is not diminishing. By retaining this hope, they achieve psychological boost and are able to endure physical hardship in daily routines. This myth of return unfortunately has put them in an extremely marginal position within India, because Indians perceive that Tibetan presence in India as being temporary and without substantial participation in social activities.

Entrepreneurship and success

Another important observation from the data collected is about the Tibetan attitudes towards success in the entrepreneurial activities. Four alternatives are given in the interview schedule. For many of the entrepreneurs social and religious contributions are the basic parameters of success. Though they possess profit motive and materialistic out look, they never can overlook their social and religious contributions. Even though their profit margins are less, they contribute well towards their religious activities. They prefer consumer satisfaction, earning profits in a proper way, just not by mal practices. This can be illustrated in the table 4.17.

Table: 4.16

Perception of the Tibetan entrepreneurs towards success

Parameters	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Profit	5	24%
Socio-religious contributions	7	33.3%
Consumer satisfaction	7	33.3%
Balance between family and work	2	9.52%
Total	21	100%

Overall entrepreneurial position

Tibetans entrepreneurs are very much satisfied with their overall position in India in general and in Delhi in particular. Through entrepreneurial activities, they are able to maintain their identity and attained certain economic advancement. They are very much comfortable, with the support provided by the government, with regard of tax benefits. But they are denied institutional credit for running their enterprises.

About 81% of the Tibetan entrepreneurs maintain that running business in India is satisfactory. They believe that the support from native Indians and government is encouraging. 10% of entrepreneurs are a bit dissatisfied because of lack of institutional financial support. It is only 9% of entrepreneurs who are not at all satisfied with their on over all position.

Tibetan entrepreneurs do not think that they are facing competition from the other native Indian markets in Delhi. They feel they are not competing with any one. They have faith in the quality of goods that they produce. This can illustrated by the cases given below.

Case-23

Tsezing Chospel, a second generation of Tibetan entrepreneur in Delhi. He is running a small cloth and garment shop, which he inherited from his father. He is very much satisfied with the way the Indians are supporting. He does not think that he is facing competition because of the wider local market. He says, "there is nothing like competition, the goods we produced got their own value and quality".

Case-24

Tanghsiang, an ethnic entrepreneur belongs to first generation Tibetans in Delhi. He says, "business in Delhi is good by which we can gain economic advancement and maintaining own identity". He is happy with the way the Government is supporting them. He says the low taxes and encouragement by the native Indians for their products really helped them to improve their economic position. But the lack of institutional credit support is the only challenge, which threatening their entrepreneurship.

This chapter has provided the empirical findings regarding the Tibetan entrepreneurship and next chapter provides the summary and conclusions of the present study.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

This chapter puts forth the findings drawn from the analysis of a wide range of data presented in the earlier chapter. The primary data forming the basis of this study has been derived from the responses of the community leaders, entrepreneurs and religious functionaries. On the basis of this study, this chapter introduces an interactive model for the analysis of entrepreneurial development among the Tibetans.

Tibetans are people from the roof of the world, the land of rich cultural legacy and remarkable religious identity. Tibetans migrated to India in the late fifties and early sixties. Tibetan migration to India does not come into the domain of 'world system perspective' where the people migrate from the developing country to a developed country. From the world system perspective, the developed countries import labour from the less developed nations to meet the needs of their expanding economies. Migration provides human capital for the developed nations and reallocates the labour resources between core and peripheral economies (Ward and Jenkins 1984). But the Tibetan case is different. Exploitation of resources on the classical colonial pattern, assimilation of Tibet with China, denigration of Tibetan culture and religious integrity are the factors that forced them out of their country (Hemindorf 1962).

The reasons behind Tibetan's entry into small business bear certain similarities with other immigrant ethnic groups (Auster and Aldrich 1985). Because of their limited education and lack of training in the skills required for better paid jobs encourage their entry into small business. They are often forced to take poorly paid jobs in the peripheral firms and petty works in unorganized sector, which are characterized by high degree of job insecurity. Under these circumstances self-employment is an attractive alternative to low income employment. It is a survival strategy for them to cope on the margins of the native dominated economy. The blocked avenues of employment gave rise to awareness among the ethnic groups to create some thing of their own. Entrepreneurship provided them a chance to preserve their identity and status enhancement. The blocked avenues also

contributed for the development of the ethnic entrepreneurship and helped them to gain toehold self-employment in the host land (Boswell 1972).

Tibetan entrepreneurs are small business owners, with limited diversification in entrepreneurial activities. This study reveals that their prime entrepreneurial activity is cloth and garments business. Many of the entrepreneurs initially did not have any skills pertaining to their entrepreneurial activity, since they hailed from non-entrepreneurial background. Their skills are nurtured and promoted because of their accommodation in the host nation.

Tibetan entrepreneurs are either uneducated or under educated. Many of them do not have proper educational qualifications. Even if they are educated, their standard of education is minimal and it does not correspond with their entrepreneurial activity.

Tibetan entrepreneurs are, in the context of their family, generally the first male children, who are exposed to the new environment of the host society and marketing conditions. The principle of seniority that prevails in their family helps them to command respect from the other family members. The head of the family controls the enterprise but the family members always assist him in the activities of the enterprise.

Tibetans entry in to entrepreneurship is not only conditioned by their low educational capabilities, poor economic conditions and but also by the market opportunities. The demand for exotic, ethnic goods and services among the native population, tastes and preferences of the native majority and the economic benefits involved in ethnic business also played a role in conditioning the Tibetan chances in entering into small business.

Along with these above mentioned structural constraints the value attitudes of the ethnic group plays an encouraging role in case of their entrepreneurial development. Values in this context refer to the religious manifestations, community ethos etc. These value attributes fuel the efforts of the ethnic group members to achieve a variety of goals.

There is no evidence to show that Tibetan religion has any influence on choosing any entrepreneurial activity. Buddhism, unlike Protestantism, does not have any direct relationship with entrepreneurial development. Though the direct link between religion and entrepreneurship is absent among the Tibetans, their entrepreneurial way of life is highly influenced by religious values. Tibetan entrepreneurs' emphasis on quality of product and consumer satisfaction, is nothing but the application of religious principles in the general entrepreneurial way of life. The religious orientation of Tibetans can be observed through their participation and contribution to the activities of religious institutions. Religious contributions are inseparable from the Tibetan way of life and they are placed at high esteem.

Along with religion, community values also play a significant role in the development of the entrepreneurial spirit among the ethnic groups. Community values strengthen the group solidarity and cohesiveness. The community values enable their entrepreneurship as long as it is in conscience with the prescribed community rules. For instance, values morally restrict the entrepreneurs, from making too much profiteering, maintaining quality of products etc. Tibetan entrepreneurs are conformists to their community order. That is why Tibetan entrepreneurs exhibit more commitment to ethical values rather than being purely materialistic and business minded. This is the distinctive feature of ethnic entrepreneurship.

Family control and management is a primary strategy in Tibetan entrepreneurship. Family is the basic economic unit and the family members collectively own the enterprise. The tasks are divided among the members. Every member contributes for the family enterprise by fulfilling his or her tasks.

Family and kinship provide the Tibetan entrepreneurs an access to capital and credit as well as support networks. Members of the family form an integral part in assisting the activities of the ethnic entrepreneurs. The support that family provides on the informal grounds is always an advantage for the ethnic entrepreneur (Henry-Wai-Chung-Yung 1995). Since many of the Tibetan entrepreneurs are small business people, they cannot

afford to pay high labour charges. The family involvement reduces all the labour costs. Tibetan entrepreneurs generally exploit the family and kinship networks to keep the labour costs lower than that of the native counter parts (Indians).

The rate of diversification in the entrepreneurial activities is low among the Tibetans. Many of them are confined to one entrepreneurial activity. Even in the case of some of the Tibetans who operate more than one enterprise, no shift can be seen in their entrepreneurial activity. The second-generation Tibetan entrepreneurs start their own separate units but their entrepreneurial activity is similar to that of their parents. Their primary socialization and family occupational background made them to remain in the family entrepreneurial activity rather exploring new fields. Even in cases where they start new ventures, their enterprises are always subsidiary units to their family enterprise.

The psychological motivations also play an important role in entrepreneurial development among the ethnic groups. The psychological motivations like need for achievement, need for power and autonomy generally found to be associated with the starting of new enterprises (McClelland 1961). Along with educational, economic, occupational, residential conditions and value attitudes the Tibetan entrepreneurs are also driven by certain psychological motivations. The tendency of the Tibetan entrepreneurs to maintain ethnic identity and feeling of 'ones own boss' are the prime psychological motivations for their entrepreneurship.

Tibetans are very much attached to their motherland. Even those Tibetan entrepreneurs who are successful in the host nation entertain the image of their 'native land' still fresh in their mind. Despite the market conditions being favourable for their economic advancement and the native majority is co-operative, they wish to return to Tibet, once Tibet gets rid of Chinese occupation.

Tibetans in India are regarded as 'refugees' and hence not granted any citizenship. Tibetans are not given the status of immigrants. Their stay in India is temporary. They are not given any reservations, institutional support and their access is denied to certain important networks.

Like many other immigrant diasporic communities Tibetans too have strong ethnic consciousness that has sustained their identity over a long period of time. They have a common history behind their migration and persecution. The only feature that they do not share with other diasporic communities is the recognition as citizens in the land of their settlement. Tibetans never suffered from any humiliations or suspicion at the hands of native population. Although Tibetans experience frustrations because of the blocked avenues of mobility in occupational structure and face certain hardships because of their denial of access to important networks in India, they never experienced a real hostile and suspicious environment which is quite common to many of the diaspora communities like Japanese, Jews, Black refugees etc. Over the years Indian government as well as people remained accommodative about Tibetans, which sustained their subsequent migration.

Tibetan entrepreneurs believe that one's own success lies in his contribution to the community. For them the best parameters to measure one's success are religious, social contributions and consumer satisfaction.

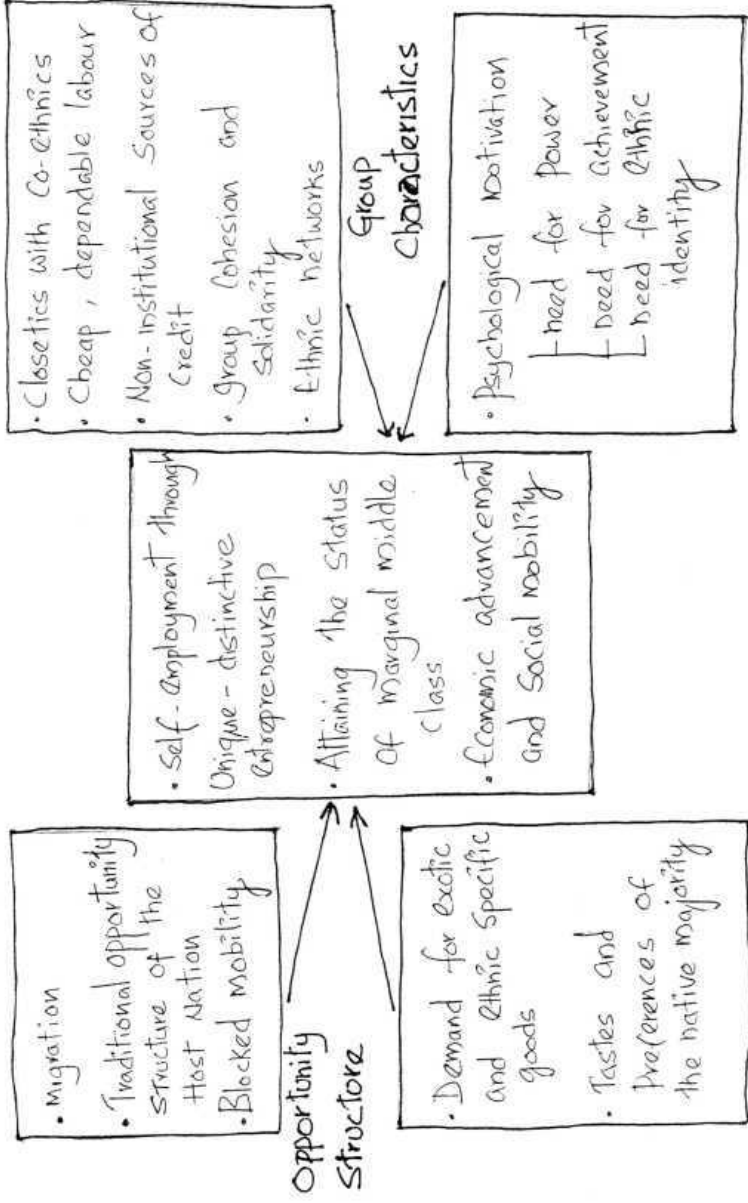
Tibetan entrepreneurs are satisfied with their overall position in India. The entrepreneurship provided them an opportunity to maintain their own integrity, to preserve their identity, a way for economic advancement and to enhance their overall status.

Tibetans have no barriers to their entrepreneurial activities in India. They are not subjected to much competition in the wider open market. The quality of product they maintain and economy prices of their goods sometimes bestows them superior status than the other local entrepreneurs. At the same time, being small business people their enterprises are always subjected to the market falls and fluctuations.

Interactive model for the study of ethnic entrepreneurship among Tibetans

The present study examines various theoretical perspectives in the sub-field of ethnic entrepreneurship. The findings of the present study are in consensus with the approaches that followed in theorizing of ethnic entrepreneurship. From the analysis of both

ETHNIC ENTREPRENEURSHIP AMONG TIBETANS



the structural as well cultural approaches, it may be concluded that blocked opportunity structure, the reactiveness of the ethnic group when it experiences low economic status in the larger society of the host nation, ethical value system, role expectations, social sanctions, group values are the prime factors for the development of the entrepreneurial spirit among Tibetans.

From the foregoing analysis it is clear that no single theoretical perspective is adequate for the analysis of entrepreneurial development of the Tibetan refugees. The process of entrepreneurial development among Tibetans is not just influenced by a particular attribute, but it include the interplay of wide variety of attributes ranging from structural constraints, cultural values, market conditions to psychological motivations. So there is a need for an interactive model, which take multidimensional factors in to account to analyse the entrepreneurial development among Tibetans. This interactive model has been developed on the similar lines of Waldinger's model on immigrant entrepreneurship, with certain modifications with the view to make it more relevant for the context of understanding Tibetan entrepreneurship.

This interactive mode) clearly shows how various factors lead to the entrepreneurial development among the Tibetan refugees. The interactive model is described in the following paragraphs.

The interactive model maintains that the hardships faced by the Tibetans because of their blocked avenues in the opportunity structure of the host nation made them to consider other options. They realized self-employment is a lucrative option rather than taking poorly paid jobs in the firms of native population. In this way the Tibetans adapted to the constraints in the social structure, build their group characteristics and attempted to carve out their own niche.

Along with this, the demand for exotic ethnic specific goods and foods and lower labour costs, because of the family division of labour conditioned their chances for entering into small business arena.

The entrepreneurial development is again facilitated because of their in-group solidarity. Their familial contacts, easy access to non-institutional sources of credit and their close ties with co-ethnics has paved their way to entering into ethnic business. This also leads to their entrepreneurial development.

Apart from these structural constraints, psychological motivations also influenced the Tibetan entrepreneurship. The motivation to achieve, the need for power drives their entrepreneurial spirit. Along with these psychological attributes, cultural predisposition in terms of religious beliefs, social values, community ethos, socialization facilitated the entrepreneurial development among Tibetan refugees in India.

All these lead to the economic advancement of Tibetans. The small business became a viable mechanism to the particular refugee community for their social mobility and economic advancement.

Utility of the present study

This chapter also provides some insight into the utility of the present inquiry. The present study endeavors to make a comparative analysis between Tibetans and various other immigrant groups like Jews, Chinese, Japanese etc. Such a comparative analysis helps to provide reasonable answers to the question why Tibetans are not successful in their entrepreneurial activities when compared to other ethnic groups?

This study helps to understand the intergenerational attitudinal change among the ethnic entrepreneurs and also to identify the changes brought by the entrepreneurship with in the Tibetan refugee community.

The study also analyzes the problems concerning the entrepreneurial activity of the Tibetans. On the basis of this analysis we can propose certain remedial measures and suggestions for their further entrepreneurial development. The Findings of this study can be utilized to sketch outlines for the further research in this field.

a) Tibetans Vs other immigrant entrepreneurial ethnic groups: what accounts for the differences?

There are certain questions in the literature of ethnic entrepreneurship, which are yet to be answered. The entrepreneurial approach to ethnic groups fail to account for the reason why members of particular ethnic groups have contributed high proportions of their members to small business proprietorship, where as other ethnic groups are have been under represented (Bonacich and Modell 1980). What accounts for the higher proportions of some ethnic group members in small business? The answer for this rests in the personality or achievement motivation of the group members. The societal values and norms play a vital role in pushing the particular ethnic groups into business.

Tibetans also maintain certain similarities with other immigrant groups in case of entrepreneurial development. Like many other immigrants Tibetan entrepreneurship is a result to low educational capabilities and poor economic standards, favourable market conditions, blocked avenues of mobility in the host nation. The in-group cohesiveness, solidarity and social life contacts paved the way for Tibetan entrepreneurial development, which is similar to many ethnic groups like Japanese, Chinese, Jews etc (Ward and Jenkins 1984). But Tibetan case is different from these ethnic groups. This is mainly because Tibetans lack proper support from ethnic networks with regard to entrepreneurship. Ethnic networks do not provide financial support for the Tibetan enterprises. Unlike Tibetans, the Chinese and Japanese have strong solidarity networks and credit institutions to help their entrepreneurial activities.

Though Tibetan entrepreneurship maintains certain similarities with the other ethnic entrepreneurial communities, their case is remarkably different from the other ethnic groups. First and foremost difference is that unlike the others, Tibetans are not immigrants. They are refugees. Their stay in India is ephemeral. They can't avail the status of immigrants. That's why various immigration policies, laws, can not benefit them. Another thing is that Tibetans did not experience the bitter hardships in their host land like many other ethnic groups. They did not face any real opposition, suspicion or hostility from the

native Indians. Even though they enter in to entrepreneurship their entrepreneurship is just an alternative survival strategy. They take up entrepreneurial activities just because they can't avail better paid jobs in the host economy.

b) Tibetan entrepreneurs: a marginal entrepreneurial middle class

Though Tibetans are not very successful in their entrepreneurial activities like many other ethnic groups and their proportion to the small business is steadily decreasing, the entrepreneurship acts as a viable mechanism for their social mobility and status enhancement. It is not untrue to say that entrepreneurship has provided an opportunity for the Tibetans to attain a marginal middle class status. Tibetans come under the category of an entrepreneurial middle class who utilizes both capital and labour for the purpose of economic regain (Scase 1982).

Tibetan entrepreneurs come into the marginal sectors of the entrepreneurial middle class. They are not permanently structured. They are active proprietors of petty productive assets. They are self-employed possessed with lower grade managerial, professional and technical skills. As the marginal entrepreneurial middle class, they are characterized with high rates of intergenerational mobility. Entrepreneurial development in the case of Tibetans is inter generationally transmitted and the life chances of the children of these self employed are a little better than those of property less employees. Proprietorship offers opportunities for upward mobility. Their enterprises are labour intensive and service oriented so Tibetans exploit their family and kinship networks for cheap supply of labour.

c) Intergenerational attitude change with regard to entrepreneurship

For many of the first generation Tibetan entrepreneurs in India, entrepreneurship is just a survival strategy. Their chances of entering into entrepreneurial activity were conditioned by their low educational and poor economic conditions. Entrepreneurship was a mechanism for maintaining their identity and for status enhancement. But for many of the second generation entrepreneurs it is not only educational or economic factors are responsible, but also market conditions, primary socialization, transmission of skills and

contacts from their predecessors are responsible for entering into small business. For them entrepreneurship is a viable mode for economic advancement and social mobility. They perceive entrepreneurship as not just a survival strategy but a strategy for better survival. For them success can be measured by profit than by social and religious contributions and profit. This is different from the perception of entrepreneurs above 45 years, who measure their success by social and religious contributions and consumer satisfaction.

The study also reveals the growing trend towards diversification in entrepreneurial activity. The rate of diversification is very low among the early Tibetan entrepreneurs. Contrary to this, there is an increasing trend towards diversification that can be observed from the entrepreneurial practices of the new age entrepreneurs (second generation). The second-generation entrepreneurs started entering into various new and unrelated fields and doing two different entrepreneurial activities at a time, with an intention of extracting more economic rewards.

d) Problems in entrepreneurial activities and remedial measures:

Even though Tibetan ethnic goods and products have their own value and quality they do face certain challenges in their entrepreneurial activities. The following are the problems that Tibetan entrepreneurs generally face:

The first and foremost, is the growth of the native dominated local market. Since 1975 there has been an increase in the involvement of native Indians in small business. There are many native dominated local markets in Delhi namely sarojini Nagar market, Lajpat Nagar central market, Lodhi market, Khan market, Palika Bazaar, Kamala Nagar market, Gaffar Market, Chandini chowk etc. These markets get certain advantages because of their location in the city centers and cheap market prices. Because of these reasons, local markets are characterized by high consumer inflow and monetary transactions than the Tibetan market in Ladhakh Buddha Vihar. Because of the distance from the city Tibetan market enjoys relatively low consumer and monetary inflows. Along with this, another problem is that the prime entrepreneurial activity in the local markets also is garments and cloth retailing. Because of higher intra market competition, native entrepreneurs generally

have a low price level, which gives the local market a relative advantage. Unlike the Tibetan market, these local markets provide a wide range of choices at lower prices, which some times give them an edge over the ethnic markets, in terms of economic pursuits.

Apart from this the Tibetan entrepreneur face problems from the sources of credit. Their institutional networks and community organizations do not formally encourage their entrepreneurial activity. So they have to rely on non-institutional sources of credit. They generally get loans form the local moneylenders. These loans are temporary, short termed and are given on a seasonal basis. Non institutional sources provide loans with high interests. The period of repayment is very short and characterized by various mal-practices.

Tibetans also face problems because of their low technical skills, low expertise, less delegation in authority, and high competition from the wider market etc. Because of these reasons many of the Tibetan enterprises are now showing the symptoms of collapse. This situation can be brought back to normal by implementing certain remedial measures. Formal training should be provided and the government should encourage those who are taking the option of self-employment.

Many of the Tibetan entrepreneurs are unhappy with the fact that they are not institutionally backed. They feel that the government should come forth and take certain initiatives for their entrepreneurial development. They want certain reservations in their access to important social and economic networks. From the above observations, one feels that there is a need for remedial measures for the better living conditions and economic advancement of Tibetans.

Suggestions for future research

In the closing section of this chapter I will briefly discuss some of the areas where research is required, and will try to sketch out an outline for research in ethnic minority business activity, which might be useful for further research.

The present study examines some theoretical perspectives in relation with ethnic entrepreneurial development. This analysis has led to the conclusion that no single perspective is accountable for the overall analysis of ethnic entrepreneurship. There is need to develop a perspective by taking various multi dimensional factors into account, which are best suitable for the study of ethnic entrepreneurship in the future. Future research in this sub field should come out of certain stereotypical assumptions like immigrants are more entrepreneurial than native population. Research in the future must go beyond all this assumptions and a wide variety of factors should also be examined along with the structural and cultural attributes.

The intergenerational attitude changes should also be given emphasis. In future research these changes must be examined by taking several variables into account. This analysis will facilitate to have a better understanding of entrepreneurial behaviour, orientation and changes that occur with the passage of time. Another factor on which the future research must concentrate is the role of women. The wives of the ethnic entrepreneurs play a vital role in the success of their enterprises. Ethnic enterprises are essentially family oriented economic units. Wives of the ethnic entrepreneurs provide the captive labour supply of this ethnic enterprise. The role played by women in case of ethnic enterprise, discriminations against them, the problems of maintaining the enterprise and house keeping at the same time, are some important areas which should be explored in the future research in the sub field of ethnic entrepreneurship.

Another point is that research into ethnic minority business has to be more explicitly comparative than it has been so far. There is a need for more studies, which set out to compare the entrepreneurial activity of different ethnic groups. There is a need for more international comparisons of the immigrant entrepreneurial activity. The future research in this sub field of ethnic minority business activity should be more qualitative and more comparative. There is an imbalance existing in the studies of ethnic entrepreneurship. The service sector is emphasized in these studies rather than the manufacturing sector. The role of salaried ethnic entrepreneurs who are working as employees in manufacturing firms and in the unorganized sector should also been focussed in future studies.

References

References:

1. Ajay, Lakhanpal. (1990) *Entrepreneurial Development-an Institutional Approach*, New Delhi: common wealth publishers
2. All India Management Association. (1998) *Business Trends in India*, New Delhi: AIMA in association with excell books
3. Barrow, Colin. (1998) *The Essence of Small Business*, London: prentice hall
4. Barrow, Colin. (1997) *The Principles of Small Business*, London: international thomson press
5. Bonacich, Edna. (1973) 'A Theory of Middle Men Minorities', *american sociological review*, 38(5 October), 583-94
6. Boswell, Jonathan. (1976) *Small Business Enterprises- an Introduction to Organizational Economics*, London: george alien
7. Boswell, Jonathan. (1973) *The Rise and Decline of Small Business*, London: george alien
8. Brass Paul, R. (1991) *Ethnicity and Nationalism- Theory and Comparison*, New Delhi: sage publications
9. Bulmer, Martin. (1977) *Sociological Research Methods*, London: McMillan publishers
10. Bun, Chankwok and Haiong. (1995) *The Many Faces of Immigrant Entrepreneurship in Robin Cohen (eds.) Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, Cambridge: Cambridge university press
11. Burger, Brigitte (eds.). (1991) *The Culture of Entrepreneurship*, New Delhi: tata McGraw-Hill company limited
12. Chandler, Edmond. (1981) *The Unveiling Lhasa*, New Delhi: cosmo publications
13. Colombo Plan Staff College for Technical Education. (1998) *Entrepreneurship Development*, New Delhi: tata McGraw-Hill publishers limited
14. De Reincourt, Amanury. (1950) *Lost World Tibet*, New Delhi: sterling publications private limited

15. Dwivedi, R.S. (1998) Corporate Excellence-The External Quest, New Delhi: McMillan India limited
16. Giddens, Anthony. (1976) New Rules of Sociological Method, New York: basic books
17. Gupta, Deepankar. (1976) Concept of Ethnicity-Sikh Identity in a Comparative Perspective, New Delhi: oxford university press
18. Hamiendorf Furer. (1989) The Renaissance of Tibetan Civilization, New Delhi; Oxford university press
19. Juneja, R.S. (1998) Small and Medium Enterprises-Challenges and Opportunities, New Delhi: A.I.M.A
20. Lakshmi, Narasu. (1976) The Essence of Buddhism, New Delhi: bhartiya publishing company
21. McClelland, David. (1961) Motivating Economic Development, New York: the free press
22. McClelland, David. (1967) The Achieving Society, New York: the free press
23. Macdonald. (1981) Cultural Heritage of Tibet, New Delhi: light and life publishers
24. Manohar, U.Deshpande. (1982) Entrepreneurship of The Small Scale Industries- Concept, Growth and Management, New Delhi: deep deep publications
25. Murthy, Narasimha. (1989) Entrepreneurship in Small Towns, New Delhi: mittal Publications
26. Martin, Perry. (1999) Small Firms and Network Economies, London: routledge
27. Polakshappa, T.C. (1978) Tibetans in India-a Case Study of Mundgod Tibetans, New Delhi: Sterling publishers
28. Ray, K.Rajat. (1992) Entrepreneurship and Industry in India since 1800-1947, New Delhi: Oxford university press
29. Remenyi, Dan, Williams Brain, Money Arthur (eds.). (1998) Doing Research in Business and Management, New Delhi: sage publications

30. Robin, Cohen. (1997) *Global Diasporas-an introduction*, London: ucl press limited
31. Robin, Cohen. (1995) *Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, Cambridge: Cambridge university press
32. Rosemary, Brown. (1977) *Small Business-Strategies for Survival*, London: wilton house
33. Rutten Mario and upadhaya carol (eds.). (1997) *Small Business Entrepreneurs in Asia and Europe-Towards a Comparative Perspective*, New Delhi: sage publications
34. Saini, J.S. (eds.) *Entrepreneurship and Small business*, Jaipur: rawat publications
35. Scarce, Richard and Gofee, Robert. (1982) *The Entrepreneurial Middle Class*, London: Croom helm
36. Schumpeter, J.A. (1967) *Creative Response to The Economic History and the Theory of Economic Development*, New York: oxford university press
37. Schumpeter, J.A. (1962) *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, New York: oxford university press
38. Sharma, K.L. (1978) 'A Multi Variable Model for The Analysis of Entrepreneurship in Manufacturing Organization', *sociological bulletin*, vol-27
39. Sharma, K.L. (1975) *Entrepreneurial Performance in Role Perspective*, New Delhi: abhinav publications
40. Shiva Ramu, S. (1995) *The Dragons of Asia- Asia Pacific Rim countries*, New Delhi: weeler publishing company
41. Shiva Ramu, S. (1996) *Globalization-Indian Scenario*, New Delhi: weeler publishing company
42. Singh, Sheobahal. (1985) *Entrepreneurship and Social Change-a Study of Carpet Entrepreneurship in Bhahodi Town*, Jaipur: rawat publications
43. Sinha, Atullah. (1987) *Migration an Interdisciplinary Approach*, New Delhi: seema publications

44. Siropolis, Nicholas. (1964) *Small Business Management-a Guide to Entrepreneurship*, Boston: houghton mifflin
45. Smith Mark, E, Thorpe, Richard and Louie, Andrew. (1997) *Management Research an Introduction*, London: sage publications
46. Stein Robert, A. (1962) *Tibetan Civilization*, London: faber and faber limited
47. Dutta, Sudipt. (1997) *Family Business in India*, New Delhi: response books
48. Trevedi, Madhusudhan. (1991) *Entrepreneurship among Tribals*, Jaipur: print well publications
49. Vertovec, Steven and Robin, Cohen, (eds.) (1999) *Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism*, Glos: edward elgar publishing limited
50. Vishal, Goutham. (1979) *Enterprise and Society*, New Delhi: concept publishing company
51. Wadwa Raj,K, Jimmy Davar and P. Bhaskar rao (eds.). (1997) *Entrepreneur and Enterprise Management*, New Delhi: kanishka publishers
52. Wai-Chung-Yeung-Henry.(1999) *Internationalization of Ethnic Chinese Business Firm From South East Asia*, London: joint editors and black well publishers Limited
53. Waldinger, Roger. (1990) *Ethnic Entrepreneurs; Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies*, New Bury park: sage publications
54. Waldinger, Roger. (1985) 'Ethnic Business and Occupational Mobility in Advanced Societies', *sociology*, 19(4) 586-97
55. Ward and Jenkins (eds.) (1984) *Ethnic Communities in Business- a Strategies for Survival*, Cambridge: Cambridge university press
56. Wayne.G, Brohel jr. (1978) *Village Entrepreneurs-Change Agents in Indian Survival Development*, Cambridge: harvard university press
57. Weber, Max. (1947) *The theory of Social and Economic Organization*, New York: Oxford university press
58. Weber, Max. (1958) *The Religion of India-Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism*, New York: the free press.