

Migrants Entrepreneurship in Micro and Small Handicraft Business: A Case Study of Delhi

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Abstract

Migrants contribute to their nation's economic growth in a variety of ways, using their skills and competencies to alleviate labour shortages. However, their contribution to entrepreneurial activity and job development has received relatively sporadic attention to date. There is a complex relationship between migrants and entrepreneurship. Generally, migrants are seen as incapable of becoming entrepreneurs. There exists a mindset which sees migrants as a precarious, dirty and dangerous workforce. However, the last few decades have witnessed a substantive increase in entrepreneurship among migrant communities in the city of Delhi. This phenomenon necessitates an analysis of the key factors that have improved the socio-economic position of migrants and enabled them to become entrepreneurs in the urban economy. So far, little information on the nature of migrant entrepreneurship is available in big metropolitan cities like Delhi. The present study serves to fill this knowledge gap by paying attention to the socio economic and entrepreneurial activities of migrants with regard to their ethnic networks, and the potential of handicraft markets for employment generation in the city of Delhi. The study findings reveal relevance of familial and ethnic ties amongst the migrant entrepreneurs of Delhi and the existence of both opportunity and necessity driven enterprising activities amongst the migrant communities.

Key Words: Entrepreneurs, Women, Handicraft Industry, ethnic entrepreneurship, Migrants, Urban Economy

I

Introduction:

The category 'migrant worker' is imbued with complex meaning as 'it is often a catch-all term to describe workers whose legal status, working and employment conditions, skills, education and wages can be vastly different' (Buckley et al, 2016). Additionally migration can also be either inter- or intra-national, rural-urban, forced migration but what is implicitly obvious is the notion that people move from one region to another and in the process of their movement they negotiate with a host

of complex issues. The most prominent being the concern for livelihood, employment and work as they cross a political, legal and cultural boundary. While there have been considerable studies on the issue of migration and adaptation in an alien environment, what has not received significant attention is migrants' interaction with urban spaces as they negotiate their work and employment status.

Recent research has documented the implications of entrepreneurship for migrant communities in urban spaces by arguing that the ethnic communities have

better entrepreneurial access to resources than the others when it comes to business operations. However such studies are mostly from the perspective of international migration (Razin, 1988; Boyd, 1990; Waldinger et al, 1990). There exists a dearth of empirical studies on the nature and strategies of migrant communities' entrepreneurial activities in large metropolitan cities including Delhi, India. Viewed in this context, the case of Delhi having a characteristic feature of the pervasive presence of large numbers of rural and urban migrants becomes an ideal ground to conduct an empirical study on urban migrant entrepreneurs. The present study is aimed to understand empirically issues of migration and work as they negotiate with an urban site within the context of handicraft industries which have a pervasive presence of self-employment. This empirical study adds to the existing literature on handicraft production in India. In order to provide an empirical account of migrant entrepreneurs this study has investigated the entrepreneurial activities of migrants from a sociological perspective. Through this empirical study we aim to provide insights to ethnic entrepreneurial behaviour of migrants that is needed to develop a policy framework to boost the urban business culture in which migrants are no longer seen as source of problems but of great socio-economic opportunities, both for the migrant groups concerned and the city population in general.

II

Entrepreneurship in Urban Handicraft Economy in Delhi

Throughout history, cities played crucial role in fostering human achievement. In order to understand the contribution of migrant entrepreneurs to the growth and

development of the urban economy, it is important to comprehend the meaning of entrepreneur. According to the Webster's Dictionary (1970: 467) an entrepreneur is, "A person who organizes and manages a business undertaking, assuming the risk for the sake of profit." Viewed in this sense entrepreneurship is seen as an economic activity oriented towards solely profit making. However this ways of defining an entrepreneur undermines the economic activities in micro and small enterprises that are often carried out in many of the creative industries or socially oriented enterprising activities. Entrepreneurship therefore is not simply about a choice of occupation or about ownership or profit but rather it is fundamentally a dynamic entity embedded in socio-cultural contexts. Central to this discussion on entrepreneurship is the importance of creative industries and production under artisanal mode in India. The following paragraph elaborates on the nature of handicraft production in Delhi.

The handicraft industry in India is mostly associated with rural economies. When one imagines artisans and craftsmen one immediately thinks of villages and clusters located in rural or semi-rural spaces. This is because handicrafts are always associated with traditional knowledge and skills that have existed for centuries, much before any exposure to mechanised manufacture of goods. India is known to have a plethora of handicrafts belonging to different states and regions.

Delhi, the capital territory, is a metropolis. As a geographical space it comprises various forms of settlements from gated communities, unplanned settlements to slums. Being the capital, the city also offers opportunities for economic and social mobility and therefore has been a site for

immigration for the longest time. The history of the state has also given shape to its planning and composition of the population. In the history of the last century the architecture and planning by the British during the colonial period has had a lasting impact. During the colonial period the city of Delhi had four distinctly differentiated areas – Old Delhi, New Delhi, cantonment area and the unplanned peripheral areas. Old Delhi is the native city housing several constructions from the medieval period. The area can be described as where several traditional craft workers resided. New Delhi was a city with well designed, tree lined roads, bungalows with several symbolic areas, monuments etc. The cantonment area was the military camp in the southern part of Delhi. The fourth zone was the fringe, the unplanned town where rural migrants would come and settle in (Ridley, 1998). These four distinct areas have evolved on these similar lines over the years.

The economy and society in the national territory thus offers a unique yet composite form of economic and social relations. Given the diversity in the state in different aspects, one also finds the presence of unique handicraft businesses which have been studied as part of this project.

This chapter looks at the different forms of handicraft businesses run in three different locations in Delhi through a convenient sampling... By making a quantitative as well as qualitative analysis of data this chapter looks at the different conditions with gender being the pivot around which the other variables are studied.

III

Methodology:

The fieldwork was carried out in the three

locations. A combination of methods was used to collect the data which included questionnaires, interviews as well as observation. The different methods provided different forms of data that answered critical questions about women entrepreneurs in the handicraft industry in Delhi. The choice of the three sites was purposive in nature to draw a comparison between the different entrepreneurs in the different locations and also to highlight the specificities of handicraft businesses in Delhi, a metropolitan city. The choice of respondents was also purposive in order to interview a proportionate number of women and men so as to study the gender dynamics within the sector as well.

One of the challenges that occurred during the fieldwork was the occurrence of the COVID-19 pandemic. The different retailers, artisans, artisan-entrepreneurs who were immigrants from other states had returned to their home states. The data on the businesses that collected in the post lockdown period showed a significant difference from the pre-COVID-19 period.

The Field locations: The fieldwork for the project in Delhi was carried out in the following locations:

- Shahpur Jat – an urban Village
- Janpath Market (Gujarati Market lane) – A centrally located market in Delhi
- Delhi Haat – INA, (Kidwai Nagar Delhi)

The three locations in Delhi were spread out over parts of Central and South Delhi. These sites are all markets although they have differences from one another in terms of the demography they cater to, the footfall, the socio-economic background of the entrepreneurs etc. Markets are the traditional sites of trade and commerce. They help one learn about the ways in which businesses are carried out. In addition to this the markets

also help understand a lot about the transformations that have taken place in Indian society. Scholars have also argued that for countries like India markets should be seen as culturally meaningful spaces where transformations in urban Indian can be observed. In addition to them being markets these sites are also industrial clusters. Different academic works in the past have pointed to the fact that the small firms which are part of clusters both in developed as well as developing countries are able to overcome different barriers. Studies have also gone on to show that the advantages of being located in a cluster not only stem from within the cluster but from external sources too. According to Schmitz (1995) the clustering of firms gives competitive advantage and allows the firms to derive from local external economies and also raise collective efficiency. Collective efficiency can be understood as the 'competitive advantage derived from local external economies and joint action' (Schmitz, 1995: 530). These sites are therefore seen as clusters as well as markets that allow the promotion and development of the handicraft business as well as help the businesses reach a greater number of probable customers.

The fieldwork was carried out in the period of February, March and April, 2021. The time period of the fieldwork is crucial as it was right in the middle of the COVID-19 pandemic. This was the time when after a year of the virus, lockdown restrictions had reduced. Businesses had resumed work. Even the manufacturing sector was slowly picking up activity. Smaller businesses like the ones under this study had a different experience in the post lockdown period. The handicraft sector had been adversely affected in the pandemic (Pati, 2021). Most of the artisans went out of work and very few looms were functional. Due to the halt

in production during the lockdown of 2020 there had been a significant accumulation of unsold inventory.

Shahpur Jat: One of the first locations where the fieldwork in Delhi was carried out was in Shahpur Jat village. Shahpur Jat is an urban village located in South Delhi. The village forms part of the Siri Fort area which was built during the rule of the Delhi Sultanate. The village therefore comprises some extremely old constructions including remnants of the fort as well as newer constructions.

Over the last years the place has emerged as one of the major 'designer centres' for the capital city thronging with several boutiques that design high range clothes primarily bridal wear. A casual walk through the outer lanes in the village would bring attention to the garments in these stores that make use of intricate handiwork. A more careful scrutiny of the place would however indicate the presence of different stores, bridal boutiques, tailoring shops, smaller craft stores, artisan units, and other stores that sell items related to the handicraft items sold in the place. Given the variation in the type of shops that exist in the locality there are also different price ranges for the goods that are sold there.

The village as it exists in the present day has evolved due to the gentrification of the remains of the Siri fort over the years. The village has evolved as a site handicraft cluster with the changes in the social composition as well as the transformations in the economic patterns, occupations of the people located there.

The site became a handicraft cluster with special emphasis from the governments and civil society over the years to support the traditional craft works. Existing literature on the village shows that one of the oldest establishments was a non-governmental

organisation set up to support the same. Dastkar, the NGO has its office still functioning in one of the shops in the village. With the coming up of newer shops and other commercial establishments the village has transformed much. There are smaller business units run by the traditional *kaarigars* while the boutique shops are run by designers trained in fashion designing in some of the premier designing institutes in the country or abroad. Over time as the village transformed from the repository of traditional agrarian families to the village housing handicraft stores and eventually designer boutiques the rents in the village have also gone up which has then in turn led to a gradual reduction in the number of *kaarigars* who reside in the area. The changes have also accompanied the architecture of the village as well. There are now more multi-storey buildings that would simultaneously have a designer boutique on the ground or first floor, a restaurant on the second floor and a workshop in the basement.

Majority of the clients for the boutiques are from the upper middle-class families in South Delhi and from the foreign embassies located close to the village. In fact, the smaller craft stores also sell items in bulk to foreign clients.

Apart from the designer boutiques the village thrives with smaller tailoring shops and the workshops where the handicraft work takes place. The workshops exist either in basements of buildings or in the building located in the narrow lanes located in the innermost part of the village. The layout of the village and market is such that it is either difficult or impossible to identify the buildings that have workshops unless one is accompanied by someone else involved in the craft or business. Some of the workshops are attached with the

designer boutiques while some exist as independent units that supply materials on contractual basis.

The handicraft work that is carried out in Shahpur Jat is primarily the *zarodari* embroidery work. The artisan workshops or factories as they are locally called produce embroidered fabric which is sold to retailers. They sometimes also produce finished products like wedding outfits- lehengas, salwars etc using the embroidered fabric. The location of their workshops and even the smaller clientele networks limit their direct sales to consumers. Therefore, the majority of the artisan entrepreneurs or workers sell their produce to the boutiques.

The handicraft products produced by the *kaarigars* are primarily *zari* work on fabric. This craft is known as the *zardozi* embroidery. A workshop consists of the *kaarigars* who do the embroidery work along with a tailor who uses the embroidered fabric to make clothes. Apart from clothes the fabric is also used to design items such as bags and other small accessories.

The items used in the making of the embroidered fabric are primarily threads and sequins. The designs are intricate and make use of fine thread work. The *zardozi* artisans or the *kaarigars* make use of readymade fabric – silk, satin, net, depending on the demand from the customers or the special orders placed by *seths*, the owner of the workshop or the boutique owners. Traditionally the craft has been learnt by the artisans from their families. We interviewed several of the artisans who had been running their own units as well as those who worked on a wage in the units owned by a *seth*. Majority of them hinted that their entire family or village back in Howrah was engaged in needle work and that is where they learnt.

Janpath Market: The Janpath Market located in the heart of Delhi is one of the oldest markets in the city. Originally known as the Queens Way, the market was part of the British architect Edwin Lutyens architecture and planning. The Queens Way was where Lutyens located different cultural institutions, offices of record, museums (Ridley 1998). It was built during the colonial period in the early twentieth century. The market is lined with small shops and boutiques that sell handmade products, craft items and various handicrafts from the different Indian states. Due to its central location and vibrant ambiance, it has always been a site where tourists Indian and foreign always throng in. The market always caters to the requirements of buyers with different purchasing capacity. From a flea market where lower income groups, students purchase items at bargain prices, there are makeshift or temporary shops allotted by the New Delhi Municipal Corporation (NDMC) and there are also concrete shops that sell items which are on the higher side of the price range. The space of the market is where different aspects of the society intersect. According to Paolo Favero (2003) in Janpath market one can observe the global and local culture along with modernity and tradition coming together. The space is also used to promote tourism, consumerism and also enhances mobility. The space of the market is a 'culturally meaningful arena for expressing the changes that are taking place in contemporary urban India' (Favero, 2003: 554).

The market is thronged by entrepreneurs and vendors of different kinds. Due to its capacity to cater to the requirements of different classes of people it is a busy market thronged by customers throughout the year. The commodities sold in the market are also of different varieties. The flea market is where clothing apparel is

sold. The shops on the other hand sell handicraft items from different states. Some of the stores sell Kashmiri embroidered shawls, woolen items, handmade leather footwear, other fabric and handmade souvenirs. These items attract a lot of tourists both Indian and foreign alike. In addition to this is the Gujarati market lane that comprises small-scale sellers who sell handicraft items from different states. The uniqueness of this lane is that almost all the owners of the units in this lane are women of Gujarati origin. The name of the lane reflects this. The lane located in one of the alleys of central Delhi is an important site for studying aspects of women's entrepreneurship, caste and kin networks through an analysis of the handicraft-based businesses. The market is a site of economic activity as well as cultural production where traditional ties with family and community get produced and reproduced. It is however important to note that despite the Gujarati market lane being a site where the entrepreneurs share the same social identity the site displays the typical characteristics of any market with competing sellers. All these aspects shall be elaborated upon in another section.

Delhi Haat – INA, (Kidwai Nagar Delhi): The Delhi Haat is a permanent market in South Delhi established in 1994 jointly by the Delhi Tourism and New Delhi Municipal Corporation, D.C. (Handicrafts) & D.C. (Handlooms), Ministry of Textiles and the Ministry of Tourism under the Government of India. The market spans over a space of about 6 acres and is designed with small hut-like shops to resemble a village. While looking like a rural *haat* it seeks to cater to the city dwellers too. The market is known as a one place destination for purchasing handicraft items from different parts of the country. There are different stalls or shops that sell goods from the

respective states. The space also hosts frequent cultural events such as dance festivals and crafts exhibitions as well. This market was especially established with the purpose of promoting handicrafts and handlooms. It has provided space to artisans over the years to sell their products. Being a market established and monitored by the government, the Dilli Haat is a coveted space for several artisan entrepreneurs to sell their products.

IV

Findings and Discussions:

The fieldwork in Delhi showed the presence of different categories of entrepreneurs in the handicraft sector. There was a category of purely entrepreneurs who ran businesses using handicraft products. These entrepreneurs did not carry out any of the handicraft work themselves but instead hired paid artisans for the supply of handcrafted fabrics etc. These entrepreneurs used the handicraft products for the making of other items which were sold as the final products in the market. There was a further distinction between the entrepreneurs or retailers based on the area where their business units were established. This difference was based on earnings and motivations to enter the sector as well the role of the kin and caste networks in businesses. The second category of entrepreneurs is that of the artisan entrepreneurs. These are the entrepreneurs who carry out the handicraft work as well as run small businesses to sell their products. The third category was that of pure retailers who sold the handicraft products as they were made by the artisans. These retailers purchased the products from artisans in some other state and then sold them in Delhi. The presence of these three categories of entrepreneurs varied with the sites in Delhi.

Socio-Economic indicators: The socio-economic composition of the entrepreneurs highlights the uniqueness of the handicraft industry in Delhi. The impact of the processes of globalization and urbanization and evident in how the handicraft sector functions and the presence of different forms social and economic relations also substantiate this. For instance, migration is an important aspect when it comes to the handicraft sector in Delhi. The existing social relations are based on the different networks of migration that also get reproduced in the functioning of the different businesses.

One of the key features of the handicraft businesses as discovered through the study are there is a *significant presence of women*. Out of the total respondents interviewed 61.54 percent were women and the remaining 38.46 percent were men. The businesses in the form of boutiques in the Shahpur Jat area that made use of handicraft products were run by women. The respondents from Shahpur Jat who ran boutiques catering to the upper middle class were all run by women. The artisan entrepreneurs in the Shahpur Jat area were however all men. One of the most interesting aspects of the handicraft work carried out in the Shahpur Jat village is that almost all the workers or *kaarigars* as they are commonly referred to be migrant artisans from the Howrah district in West Bengal. These workers are men who are traditional handicraft workers having learnt the craft either from the family or other community networks. Gender wise composition of only artisans or *kaarigars* showed the predominant presence of men. All the units visited as part of the fieldwork had male owners. The workers in the units were all male except in one unit which had a female worker whose only task was to stitch together the bags. The predominant presence

of male artisans was migration. Since all the artisans were migrants to Delhi who moved precariously it was easier for men to be more mobile. Women would remain back in the villages with their families.

In the Gujarati market in Janpath as well the entrepreneurs were majorly women with few shops run by men. This stark difference between the two sites was due to the businesses being family businesses predominantly. The shops were run by women and the ownership was passed down from one generation to another via women. In INA however the picture was different from the other two sites and it were primarily men who were running the businesses or the shops.

The religion wise composition of the respondents showed that 17 practised Hinduism, 7 Islam, one Buddhism and one Christianity. Majority of the respondents

Table 1: Educational qualification:

Level of Education	Numbers	Percentage of total (%)
Uneducated	8	30.77
Primary	6	23.08
Secondary	4	15.38
Higher Graduation)	7	26.92
Post-Graduation	1	3.85

Migration and Networks: Delhi has been an interesting site for sociological studies. This stems from the fact that it's the capital territory and has been transforming over the years due to processes of urbanization as well as immigration of people with varied cultural backgrounds. The migrations occur due to economic reasons but they are accompanied by other changes that throw light on the social and cultural aspects of migrations.

were migrants from other states to Delhi. The details are discussed in the next section. In terms of educational qualification there was a lot of variation (see table below). There were respondents with no education as well as those with higher education degrees even distributed. The percentage of respondents with no educational training was the highest at 30.77 percent. About 27 percent of the respondents had acquired a higher education degree (graduation) and about 23 percent had had primary school education. The significant presence of the uneducated as well as those with graduation degrees in the sector shows how the participants in the sector are from two opposite ends of the socioeconomic strata. The presence of educated and middle-class professionals shows the appeal of the sector especially for those working in the fashion business.

The handicraft industry in Delhi has developed out of different migrations. The different crafts are performed by artisans who have originally migrated and settled in the capital over decades. This study also shows the significant presence of migrants in the small handicraft-based businesses in Delhi. Of the total respondents more than 75 percent are immigrants from other parts of the country. The respondents were found to have migrated from states like West Bengal,

Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, etc. Majority of the respondents, 38 percent, were migrants from the state of Gujarat (see Table 2). The Gujarati market lane in Janpath is predominantly run by women of Gujarati origin. This particular market highlights the important role that kin and caste networks play in businesses in India. In this particular context one also emphasizes gender

relations within the society because the businesses are run by women and are passed down from one woman to another in successive generations. It is usually the mother in laws passing down the businesses to their daughter in laws. There are some cases where mothers pass it on to daughters too. The following table depicts the migrants profile in Delhi.

Table: 2 Profile of Migrant Entrepreneurs from other states to Delhi

State of Domicile	Number of Entrepreneurs	Percentage
Delhi	6	23.07
West Bengal	2	7.69
Gujarat	10	38.46
Uttar Pradesh	2	7.69
Jammu & Kashmir	2	7.69
Ladakh	2	7.69
Other	2	7.69
Total	26	100

Scholarly works have shown that caste and family networks play an integral role in Indian businesses (Damodaran, 2008; Markovits, 2008). The family and caste networks act as the intermediaries that provide sources of financial, economic mobility. The family run businesses are an important aspect of Gujarati society. Scholars have argued that there are several cultural reasons for the presence of business in Gujarati society. There are also links between family entrepreneurship and women from the society (Singh and Sebastian, 2018).

Familial ties are extremely strong within rural Gujarat (Kapadia, 1959; Shah, 1973). A study of family businesses also throws light on the intergenerational economic choices, aspirations, as well as mobility. This study showed that familial ties, caste and community networks were crucial in

determining the migration and decision to enter the sector by a lot of the women. The businesses in the Janpath market were all family businesses passed down from one generation to another. Women in the families would be running the businesses and often with support from other members of the family especially the husbands. Several women claimed to have moved to Delhi post their marriage. Some of the units were also newly established units. In other words they were set up by the current owners of the units. For example, one of the couples running a shop had migrated from Gujarat about two years ago to start the businesses of handicraft garments, bags etc. In such cases again the role of the community networks was seen to be very important. Firstly, the information and knowledge about the business, the locations where trade related activities can be carried out reach the entrepreneurs through the kin and caste

networks. Secondly, the move to the city, getting uprooted from their hometowns and settling in an urban space also occurs through the same networks. Thirdly, the different decisions taken by the entrepreneurs emerge in the context of the networks or ties. Granovetter (1973) had talked about the role of ties in businesses. The different kinds of ties – strong which are characterised by high levels of trust and the weak ties which provide desired information – are crucial in business ventures. One finds this to hold true in the entrepreneurial behaviour in the case of the women in the Gujarati market. Similar instance was also found among the migrants entrepreneurs at Shahpur Jat. Mr. Atibar. Atibar is a thirty-two-year-old artisan entrepreneur who has a small factory with eight artisans working for him. He himself carries out the handicraft work. He makes products after receiving orders from customers. He belongs to a family of craft workers and artisans with all his other family members including his parents, siblings and wife doing the embroidery work back in his hometown. He moved to Delhi at the age of 12 through his personal networks. His father used to work as a migrant artisan in Shahpur Jat and that was how he got acquainted with the place. After moving to Delhi twenty years ago worked in different factories and workshops and finally two years ago he started his own business. His business operates through ethnic networks. From receiving orders to finding new clients all the necessary contacts come through the networks which have lasted for years. He learnt the craft from his father and some years ago he also worked for designer Sabyasachi in Kolkata where he learnt to combine handicraft zardozi work with the latest fashion trends to meet the market demands. Atibar recognises the disparity in the earnings of the boutique owners and the artisan entrepreneurs yet he

considers the business to be good if the unit is able to make fifty grand in a month. The entire family makes it living from handicraft work. Even though they tried to enter other sectors like agriculture, the earnings from the embroidery work are much better as per the respondent.

A similar case study was being recorded during the fieldwork that needs a mention here. Afsa Choudhary's case is a unique one. He is a male retailer in the Shahpur Jat area. Unlike most of the embroidery-based businesses he retails in the handmade bags and other items. He owns a factory where he has hired artisans and workers to make bags which are hand woven- either made of beaded fabric or embroidered fabric. He is a migrant from Meerut in Uttar Pradesh. This makes him an outlier in a market where most of the unit owners are either from Delhi or migrants from West Bengal. He has been running his enterprise since 2008. In the initial days he used to set up stalls in exhibitions and then later on started the shop which was registered in 2013. Shahpur Jat sees footfall from different international buyers and Choudhary was one to benefit from this. He came in contact with a French businesswoman who used to work in collaboration with him to hire artisans. This allowed him to learn the art of the trade which he then later on applied to maximize his profits. In particular this profession was not a family occupation but after having established his own business he would like his son to continue in the trade. As with all small businesses he makes use of his networks to acquire raw materials as well as to reach out to probable customers. His customers reach him through the contacts he has with the previous customers or buyers. According to him in a trade like this the networks are very important. The sales through these networks are much higher

than any other means such as online platforms, websites etc. Most of the customers are from the United States and United Kingdom. These case studies have amplified the findings of previous studies on migrant communities using ethnic networks for business or studies that have shown the importance of networks in businesses (Mitchell,1973).

Handicrafts in India have been traditional occupations performed by members of a caste group or community that possess knowledge of the craft. The knowledge is passed down through generations and the units are largely family based where members of the family perform different tasks. Majority of the handicraft businesses in India are based out of rural areas.

According to the sixth economic census (Krishnaswamy and Shetty, 2014), 13.76 percent of the total establishments in the country are run by women entrepreneurs. This implies that 8.05 million of the total 58.5 million establishments in India are run

by women. Majority of the establishments owned by women are located in rural areas. Of the total 8.5 million over 5.2 million which is close to 65 percent fall in the rural areas. The remaining establishments at 34.88 percent are located in urban areas. Further, the report also shows that over 90 percent of the companies run by women are micro or small-scale enterprises.

The following two tables based on the data collected from the field in Delhi showcase similar trends as discussed above. The majority of the businesses (over 53 percent) are those that have been run by the family for generations. Such cases were found in all the three sites in Delhi and included both female and male entrepreneurs. There were distinctions when it came to the scale of businesses and type of establishment. The designer boutiques in Shahpur Jat were largely those that did not run in the family while the artisanal enterprises in the same locality as well as in INA and the businesses in Janpath were run in the family.

Table:3 Percentage of enterprises which are run by the family:

Type	Numbers	Percentage of total enterprises (%)
Family Enterprise for generations	14	53.85
Enterprise started by respondent	3	11.54
Non-family enterprise	6	23.08
Enterprise started by respondent which has no family support	Nil	0

Further, a gender-wise analysis showed that a greater proportion of the enterprises run by women were those that were family based. (See table below)

Table: 4 Percentage of family enterprises owned by women and men respectively:

Type	Number	% of family run enterprises	Percentage of Total
Enterprises run by men which are family based	6	42.86	23.07
Enterprises run by women which are family based	8	57.14	30.77

(Figures rounded of two second decimal)

Motive to enter the sector:

The respondents mentioned varying reasons

for entering the sector. The motivation for the entrepreneurs was determined by different factors. For the majority of them

the motive came from reasons necessary to earn a living as well as seeing the handicraft sector as the most accessible and offering opportunities of social mobility. For the Bengali artisanal entrepreneurs located in Shahpur Jat, the craft was the only thing they knew and earning livelihood out of it was the most obvious choice. For the boutique owner the reasons were solely out of seeing the opportunity of having well earning businesses. The demand for designer

handicraft clothes was high in the locality and they viewed it as an opportunity. For the Gujarati women again it was both necessity and opportunity. Similarly the entrepreneurs in INA saw it as both an opportunity, especially because they were being provided with full government support to run their business. Additionally they also cited necessity as the reason to enter the trade.

Table: 5 Motive for choice of profession:

Reason	Number of entrepreneurs	Percentage of total
Solely opportunity	4	15.38
Necessity	10	38.46
Necessity plus opportunity	12	46.15

The most evident outcome of the study was that necessity plays a very crucial role in being the motivating factor for the entrepreneurs to enter the sector. Location wise distribution of entrepreneurs and motives:

Shahpur Jat- All the four entrepreneurs who cited opportunity as the sole reason to enter the business are located in the Shahpur Jat area. Of the ten entrepreneurs who gave necessity as the reason two are from Shahpur Jat area.

Majority of the entrepreneurs (eight out of twelve) who said that both necessity and opportunity were the reasons are located in the INA. And the entrepreneurs who cited necessity as the reason are located largely in the Janpath area.

This allows us to further look into the location wise variations in the size and type of entrepreneurs. Shahpur Jat being an urban village which has emerged as an important hub for high fashion bridal and ethnic clothes caters to the upper middle class of South Delhi, international clients including

NRIs and embassies mostly is home to entrepreneurs who have entered the trade purely for profit making. The case of Ms Sethi can be cited here to complement the discussion. Ms Sethi, an entrepreneur (Boutique owner) who has run her boutique for over thirty years in the neighbourhood of Shahpur Jat. She is one of the oldest entrepreneurs in the locality. She started the business post her marriage. The source of finance for the business was from the family. She specialises in making wedding lehengas and similar other outfits. She owns a small factory where she has hired workers who make the zardozi embroidered fabric which is later stitched into designer clothes. Since the boutique caters to the upper middle class-upper classes the fabrics used as raw material is mostly silk. Seth started the factory as a hobby. Being from an upper middle class herself she did not face any financial constraints but saw the business as an opportunity to professionally work out her interests. She also makes good use of social media platforms for her business.

Seth's case is a good representative of the boutique owners in the Shahpur Jat area. These businesses are owned by women who design high-end clothes that are purchased by the upper middle classes in South Delhi and neighbouring areas and also to embassies and NRIs. These boutiques are set up due to reasons which stem primarily from opportunity. There are negligible financial constraints that these boutique owners face. However, among the boutique owners as well there are some differences with some having greater earnings than the others. The location of the shop in the locality shows this too. For example, the Jungi lane is the most expensive lane in the entire Shahpur Jat market area.

Besides established retailers like Seth, the Shahpur Jat area also houses newer entrepreneurs with lesser experience and time in running the businesses. The

experiences of such entrepreneurs are different from more established retailers like Seth. There are however smaller artisan entrepreneurs as well who are running smaller businesses out of necessity.

Nature of Businesses: It is interesting to note that the most of the handicraft-based businesses in Delhi fall within the informal sector. This is because these businesses are characterized by informal relations, limited registration etc. The sale and purchase of products also happens through informal networks. Majority of the entrepreneurs (over sixty percent) claimed to own semi-formal establishments. This meant that some aspects of their businesses were recorded etc but certain others were not. In addition to this the establishments were run in rented spaces. This meant that the factories or shops were semi-permanent in nature.

Table: 6 Ownership and nature of establishment:

Type of Establishment	Numbers	Percentage of Total
Informal establishments owned by women	Nil	Nil
Semi-formal establishments owned by women	16	61.54
Informal establishments own by men	3	11.54
Semi formal establishments owned by men	7	26.92
Total	26	100

Table: 7 Type of establishments whether permanent or temporary

Type of Business (Duration)	Numbers	Percentage
Temporary owned by women	3	11.54
Semi-permanent owned by women	12	46.15
Permanent owned by women	1	3.85
Temporary owned by men	5	19.23
Semi-permanent owned by men	4	15.39
Permanent owned by men	1	3.85
Total	26	100

The smaller entrepreneurs even ran businesses in very small shops located in markets, often the street. The study found that nearly 7.69 percentage of entrepreneurs used home as their space of work whereas 46.15 percentage did their business in streets. The rest 46.15 percentage of respondents did manage to own shops for their business activities.

Challenges and resilience to the handicraft businesses: Running handicraft businesses in Delhi were found to be characterized by its own challenges. For most of the entrepreneurs the biggest challenge was the availability of raw materials. Next to this was the issue of selling stocks. Some of the respondents mentioned that post a mediocre sale season they are left with a lot of unsold goods which remain with them. The challenge then is to sell those items when the demand in the market is for newer products. Despite of these generic issues in the handicraft business, the migrant entrepreneurs also showcased resilience in their strategies of business particularly during the pandemic time. The case of Mrs. Aurora , a boutique owner needs to be highlighted here depicting the resilience and innovative strategies to reach to the consumers through social networks.

Ms Sonal Arora, a thirty-two-year-old boutique owner. Arora had started her store less than a year ago. She is someone who moved into the sector after spending some time as an online fashion blogger. Since her website was receiving good reviews, she decided to try her hand at designing clothes. She runs the store along with her partner and she also receives support from her family. In fact, the financial support to start the business also came from her fiancé. Sonal's experiences present the special case where one sees the younger female entrepreneurs making use of the latest available

technology, internet, social media platforms etc. to promote their business. They make use of the internet to sell their products and also to know of the latest designs and items of demands based on which they make their products. Before starting the shop physically, she had been conducting business virtually. This had its own advantages such as having sales throughout the year. Given that it is a lucrative business she wants to continue in it for long. She has also acquired business cards and recognition from the government.

V

Conclusion:

The study of entrepreneurs in Delhi offers very unique insights into the complex ways in which social and economic relations are shaped around traditional craft work in the light of processes of urbanization and globalization. A further analysis of gender relations allows us to learn the ways in which women from different backgrounds-class, caste, religious, regional, work towards achieving economic mobility. Mobility is not only about the individual but it's about 'individuals as embedded in, and interacting with, the household, family, community and larger society' (Hanson ,2010: 8). Therefore, people's mobility has to be viewed keeping in mind their context-social, cultural as well as geographical. Similarly, when trying to understand gender contexts become important. How different social, cultural and even geographic contexts produce gender meanings and practices.

The different existing socio-economic conditions showcase the predominance of artisans, entrepreneurs from specific communities or regions engaged in the sector. This highlights the importance of networks in sectors such as handicraft.

Migrations, influencing factors to enter the work are all impacted by social relations. The presence of community members in the craft and engaged in the same trade in Delhi makes it easier for people to enter the sector. For women marriage plays a huge influencing role. For example, in Delhi's Gujarati market women become owners of the business through marriage. They are passed down from the mother in laws to the daughter in laws mostly. The traditional crafts get transformed in the urban context of

Delhi. The buyers are the middle-class buyers or the NRIs who want to combine the latest designs with the traditional crafts. Therefore the entrepreneurs, artisans accordingly modify their designs, products to meet these demands. Migrant entrepreneurs in Delhi-NCR have significantly impacted the urban economy by providing jobs for local residents and thereby contributing to economic progress of the state and nation.

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