CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Structural reforms which were introduced by the government in the early 90s made the Indian economy more market-oriented. This Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) involved a number of measures to be undertaken to change the direction of the economy in consonance with the globalisation policy. These changes were expected to increase economic growth and promote the growth of the private sector. The programme was framed to cover changes mainly in government policies, which affected industry, trade, public enterprise, finance, etc. The government planned to mould Indian industries to cope with international competitiveness. In this regard, it was expected to bring administrative changes, which make it easier for the new firms to enter the industrial sector and for the existing industries to expand, modernise or diversify their operations. In this entire process, entrepreneurship plays a very significant role.

Entrepreneurship is very closely related to the culture and social structure of a people. The concept of entrepreneurship has been identified as the most important factor in the process of economic development. Since the time it was introduced by
Richard Cantillon, an Irishman who lived in France in the early 18th century, the concept has been mostly used in economics (Silberman, 1956). It was realised that entrepreneurial efficiency, which was equated with innovation, sometimes, sponsors changes in techniques of production leading to the development of the area/region.

An entrepreneur is the kingpin in the growth process. He is a catalyst and propeller of change. Whatever might be the supply and potentiality of other factors, nothing happens until such factors of production are galvanised into action by enterprise. "Gap-filling" and "input completing" capacities are the unique characteristics of entrepreneurs. They are men of vision, drive and talent, who seek out opportunities and promptly seize them for exploitation. By their restless endeavours, they contribute immensely for the rise of the material well being of any nation.

Swamy observed that, "If Columbus discovered America, Tenzing Norvey climbed Mount Everest and Neil Armstrong landed on Moon, the driving force behind their accomplishments may be traced to an incessant urge to achieve the will to conquer and a penchant desire to excel others which are manifestations of what is conceptually known as entrepreneurship. History is fully replete with the spectacular rise or ignominious fall of societies of nations because of the abundance or the lack of the spirit of enterprise among the populace. It is the supply of people with entrepreneurial thrust that makes a nation to march ahead or lag
behind in the process of development. It is this spirit of enterprise that transformed man from a simple nomad to cattle-rearer, settled agriculturist, a trader, an industrialist and what not. The vision of social scientists who are bogged down for decades and decades together in search of answers for economic development appears to have narrowed down on entrepreneurship which is considered to be a vital component for the process of growth of any nation" (1988:vii).

The Practitioners in each of the social sciences tend to define the problem so that the principal determinants of entrepreneurial performance fall within their discipline (Kilby 1971: 4). Many a scholar defined entrepreneurship in terms of an activity than as an attribute. Mc Clelland defined that, "an entrepreneur is simply some one who exercises control over production that is not just for personal consumption" (1961:114). In some other studies (Kilby 1971) a list of entrepreneurial roles are included in the definition, such as: 1) perception of market opportunities, 2) gaining command over scarce resources, 3) purchasing inputs, 4) marketing of the product and responding to competition, 5) Management of human relations within the firm, 6) management of customer and supplier relations, 7) finance mobilisation, 8) upgrading processes and product quality, and 9) introduction of new production techniques and product

Therefore, the term entrepreneurship used in the present study refers to the performance of the above roles by a weaver
entrepreneur with his/her capacity of risk taking and the ability of adaptation to the changing situations (such as innovations in the occupation). Thus, our study regards entrepreneurs as those who have the ability and attempt to achieve something in the profession against all odds. A successful entrepreneur is one who makes use of different resources at his command - cultural, social, professional and technical - and moves up in the entrepreneurial ladder.

Kilby described the defining of entrepreneur as "Hunting the Heffalump". According to him, "The Heffalump is a rather large and important animal. It has been hunted by many individuals using various ingenious trapping devices, but no one so far has succeeded in capturing him. All who claim to have caught sight of him report that he is enormous, but they disagree on his particularities. Not having explored his current habitat with sufficient care, some hunters have used as bait their own favorite dishes and have then tried to persuade people that what they caught was a Heffalump. However, few are convinced, and the search goes on" (Kilby 1971:1).

An important question for any theory of entrepreneurship is to identify the channels by which entrepreneurial personalities or groups are directed into business pursuits. Economic theory under Schumpeter (1934), Cochran (1971) and others considered entrepreneurship as a significant factor in the operation of economy. The importance given to the entrepreneur as a causal
variable in the process is strongly conditioned by the particular scholar's field to use it so flexibly and centrally in economic literature.

The psychologists identified certain non-materialistic and inner psychic concerns as the prime movers for risk bearing and innovation. However, they did not deny that the extreme economic inducements or impediments would significantly effect entrepreneurial activity.

Contrary to economists and psychologists, the sociologists argued in favour of societal values and status hierarchy as the prime movers of entrepreneurial supply in a society. According to them, the economic incentives are a part of a larger social system, which in its entirety will determine the extent of entrepreneurial activity.

Sociological studies on entrepreneurial supply trace their theoretical constructs from Weberian-Parsonian tradition and Durkheim and the Levi-Strauss tradition. The key elements in the system of Weberian-Parsonian tradition are cultural values, role expectations and social sanctions. Sociologists of this ilk (e.g., Cochran 1962) consider entrepreneurs not as being deviant or supernormal individuals, but rather as representing society's model personality. According to them the individual's performance as a businessman will be influenced by three factors:
1. His own attitude towards his occupation,
2. The role expectations held by the sanctioning groups, and
3. The operational requirements of the job.

But the society's values are the most important determinants, highlighted by the first two factors.

The other sociological group on entrepreneurship, that is related to Durkheim and Levi-Straussian group, agreed with the above group on certain points but disagreed with them on certain other points. While sharing on the position that the personality factors have hardly anything to do with entrepreneurial performance, they also have denied the role of societal values that show impact on entrepreneurship. For example, Young's (1971) theory of change is based on society's incorporation of reactive subgroups, which was concerned with inter-group relations.

The behaviourist perspective in sociological literature on entrepreneurship reduces values and personality types to behavioural patterns. According to them, behavioural patterns are determined by reinforcing and aversive stimuli present in the societal context. Hence entrepreneurial behaviour is a function of the surrounding social structure, both past and present, and can be readily influenced by manipulable economic and social incentives. Theories of Kunkel (1971) Holland and Skinner (1961) and Homans (1961) reflect these viewpoints.
In this background, when viewed in a broader spectrum, the concern for entrepreneurship becomes all the more important. Particularly, its importance has been highly felt since the government in early 90s introduced the structural reforms. The government planned to mould Indian industry to cope with international competitiveness. In this regard, it was expected to bring administrative changes, which will pave the way for new firms to enter the industrial sector and for existing industries to expand, modernise, or diversify their operations.

The involvement of social scientists, other than economists, has been minimal in the development enterprise. There are a number of reasons for this. By and large, policy makers and planners, who are predominantly quantitative oriented economists, rarely consider goals not directly related to economic development. Also, social commitment to economic growth is often considered unimportant. In this regard, there is a greater need for entrepreneurial planning for development in the country, more so to better the conditions of small entrepreneurs like weavers. In this context, an anthropological understanding of entrepreneurship will be very rewarding.

But any attempt for a planned modernisation must take cognisance of the linkages of the traditional pattern of behaviour in the socio-cultural system. The kind of approaches adopted by planners and policy makers were top-down and uniform in their approach with a scant regard to social, cultural, ecological and
economic diversities. Except for the lone voice of anthropologists, there was hardly any attempt for micro-level planning for enhancing distributive justice and growth. Now it is widely acknowledged that the anthropological approaches are more suitable for development planning and people's participation. This is equally true in the case of entrepreneurial development wherein the anthropologists show concern for the variation in human nature. Also, in a country like India, there are inevitable ambiguities in interpretation of terms or categories with overlapping boundaries. In these circumstances, as Bardhan observed, an ethnographer can cross check data from one context to another as he resides in the field area. Staying in the field becomes an asset in measuring change. Hence, "A micro cosmic study is more flexible in reshaping its investigative strategy midstream and probing an unanticipated or new phenomenon in depth" (Bardhan 1989: 5).

In this background, social anthropologists, as well as sociologists, in their studies on entrepreneurship in an industry or a factory, have to focus on community life and the more familiar social institutions involved. Arensberg (1942) felt that such studies on the relationship between community and industry helps to trace the effects of a particular innovation or a particular invention upon established folkways or upon the older communities. Also, he views that the form of the community and its established behaviour in many cases exert as strong an influence on organisation in
industry as does the newer technical innovations upon social structure. He argues that, "A particular shift in industrial technique becomes a specific change in organisation among the persons of a specific community, to be related at once to further, subsequent changes in other non-industrial patterns of organisation among the same men in their lives outside of work in the same community. Once such a parallelism between industrial and community organisation can be set up and dealt with, specific consequences can be traced from event to event and from behavior to behavior among the same population, and the direction of the influence - whether from community to industry or from industry to community - can be followed explicitly" (1942:3). Further Arensberg calls for evolving a sociological approach to study these aspects in industrial organisations.

The term entrepreneur has only slowly come into the anthropologists' vocabulary. Raymond Firth (1967) observed that early anthropologists made little use of the concept and he suggested that the anthropologists should study entrepreneurs more widely, in primitive, peasant and industrial societies, and even in relation to the complex problems of modern business administration.
REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

Several theories have been postulated on entrepreneurship in different disciplines of social sciences. Some of these theories on entrepreneurship have drawn psychological assumptions, whereas some others have depended on sociological factors in bringing out the reasons for entrepreneurship. Schumpeter (1934) terms entrepreneurs as economic leaders, who are individually motivated by an atavistic will power, who occur randomly in any ethnically homogeneous population. McClelland's (1966 and 1971) theory, as set forth in the Achieving Society, can be seen as a development of Weber's Protestant ethic in which an intermediating psychological motive (the need for achievement) is introduced. Hagen (1971) in a paper on the theory of social change agrees with the ideas presented in the Achieving Society. Hagen's theory views economic development as a process of technological change, which is brought about by the technological creativity of individuals in the society. Thus, Hagen sees the entrepreneur as a creative problem solver interested in things in the practical and technological realm and driven by a duty to achieve. Young (1971) adopts an explanation of personality characteristics, which mediates between structural factors and consequent economic growth as causal factors for entrepreneurship.

In spite of a wide recognition of the importance of social and cultural factors by economists, Cochran (1971) attempted a
comprehensive general model. In this model he concentrated on how the variables that seem most essential affect entrepreneurial decisions. A certain level of education, social status and types of cultural conditioning represents the model personality. A channel through which diverse social forces translate their effects into economic action, a point where social factors can be observed and estimated for relative intensities, carries the modal entrepreneur. He emphasises that the executive plays a social role partly shaped by the modal type of personality, which comes from the social conditioning of his generation. He further states that, "While the unusual characters will always depart from the norms, in general invention and innovation will tend to be along lines congenial to the type of conditioning" (Cochran 1971:97). According to him, anthropologists interested in change support this premise by saying that new items in the culture must be not only physically but also psychologically available. What is important to note is that where a cultural setting provides a congenial atmosphere, individuals or groups conceptualise and use a new idea or item to become entrepreneurs.

Mishra and Sohal (1985) have identified the level of motivation as an entrepreneurial attribute among the milk producers in rural Gujarat. They call for improving the motivational levels among farmers. Thakur (1988) highlighted entrepreneurial strategy towards labour in sustaining the textile industry in India. Singh's (1985) micro-structural analysis of the
carpet-weaving entrepreneurs in Uttar Pradesh was aimed at understanding the impact of entrepreneurial development on social change.

At a time when the tendency to discard entrepreneurship as a significant factor was popular, Schumpeter put the entrepreneur at the center of the process of economic development. He states that "The entrepreneurial kind of leadership, as distinguished from other kinds of economic leadership such as we should expect to find in a primitive tribe or a communist society, is of course colored by the conditions peculiar to it. It has none of that glamour which characterizes other kinds of leadership. It consists in fulfilling a very special task, which only in rare cases appeals to the imagination of the public. For its success, keenness, and vigor are not more essential than a certain narrowness which seizes the immediate chance and nothing else" (1971: 66).

As the shortage of factors of production lead to underdevelopment in a region, so does an acute shortage of entrepreneurship, as one of the limiting factors, in economic development. Berna (1958) considers the entrepreneur, who organises the community's resources, as most important. In his study of medium-scale enterprises in Madras State (presently, Tamil Nadu) in South India, he analysed the patterns of entrepreneurship in South India. He observed that the entry into the engineering industry is quite democratic and open to all. This
is contrary to the prevalent notion that entrepreneurs in a particular industry will come from a similar economic and social background.

Hagen (1971) argues that traditional society sometimes sponsors a creative personality with reinforced values and innovative attitude. Such personalities emerge into a group of individuals, creative, and alienated from traditional values, driven by a growing burning drive to prove themselves. They seek an area to do this to gain power and thus against the existing values in that traditional society and thus turn innovative. He points out that, "The drive for security, self-reassurance, and power will surely lead many innovational individuals to technological innovation, though frequently within social forms differing from those of the West" (1971:137).

It has been postulated that entrepreneurial activities will emerge more or less spontaneously when economic conditions are favourable. However, the importance of cultural factors in entrepreneurship is ignored for long. Such a revised understanding of modern entrepreneurship is long overdue. Since entrepreneurship is embedded in culture, such dynamics must be incorporated into the studies on entrepreneurship. Berger's (1991) is one such attempt to fill this lacuna. She attempted to identify major cultural factors behind the rise of a distinctly modern term, entrepreneurship, in the societies other than the West. In this regard, she tried to set forth the contours of a cultural theory of entrepreneurship broad enough to integrate a variety of
approaches, and to explore the relationship between culture and entrepreneurship in these societies. Lavoie (1991) also argued on similar lines with regard to the creative processes of discovery and interpretation that are integral to entrepreneurship. He states that, "entrepreneurship necessarily takes place within culture, it is utterly shaped by culture, and it fundamentally consists in interpreting and influencing culture" (1991: 36).

The beliefs and values the migrants bring with them will have a bearing on the processes of organising their economic activities. Redding (1991) addresses the above issues in his study on culture and entrepreneurial behaviour among the overseas Chinese living in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and Indonesia. He attempts to reconstruct their belief systems and values and relates those patterns to the existing managerial behaviour in the Chinese family business. He concludes that, 'The movement toward modernity has not been accompanied in these cases by a noticeable rise in individualism. These societies are fundamentally paternalistic, and operate to secure trust and co-operation by bonds of obligation rather than by legal contractual relations. A universal model of development is thus apparently not tenable. The entrepreneurial organizations are, as elsewhere, embedded in their societal contexts and can not be comprehended without reference to those contexts" (1991:152).

Baviskar (1980) argued that the culture and tradition of a group influences its members to acquire the attributes of innovators
and entrepreneurs. These attributes among the migrant Mali caste families in Kopargoan area in Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra kept them continuously mobile in search of irrigated land. This urge among the Mali forced them to migrate to new areas wherever irrigated land was available. According to him "The Malis had [therefore] the necessary experience and skills to cultivate irrigated land, an experience of marketing, better financial resources to undertake the cultivation of cash crops such as sugarcane, and pressure on land in their own area obliged them to look for new opportunities elsewhere. Moreover, they had a fairly long established tradition of migrating to new areas in search of irrigated land. In their culture and tradition the Malis displayed the attributes of innovators and entrepreneur" (1980: 22).

Presence of some social groups featured by certain stereotypes, traditions, occupational directions, attitudes and social position sponsor or streamline industrial development in various parts of the country. Such groups evolve identity and get recognised as "commercial community", which brings them an advantageous position in their venture. Marwaris, who performed crucial role in the development of industrial and commercial economy of India, are one such group. Timberg (1978), who analysed the entrepreneurial performance among Marwaris, assigns certain industrial factors, apart from commercial practices and the possession of a commercially oriented "resource group/' for entrepreneurial success.
Landa (1991) highlights the middleman-entrepreneur role among 'Ethnically Homogeneous Middleman Groups', such as the Jews in Medieval Europe, the Chinese in Southeast Asia, the Indians in East and Central Africa, the Lebanese in West Africa etc. According to her, the cultural norms of behaviour embedded in an ethnic group having an efficient social structure will facilitate mutual aid and cooperation among its members. She states that such contacts with mutual cooperation become a differential group advantage over other ethnic groups to create appropriate middleman-entrepreneur roles for themselves. She terms such contacts as ethnic-specific asset which function as cultural bearing units to maintain middleman entrepreneur roles.

Godsell (1991) examined the community-supported entrepreneurship among the South African groups (Indians, Afrikaans and Urban Blacks) as against the individualistic entrepreneurs of the West. She finds that the African Indians, among the South African groups, command a deep-rooted entrepreneurial culture of long standing, while the other two groups have had considerably greater difficulty in responding to entrepreneurial challenge. She demonstrated how factors of culture shape the response to economic challenges. Gupta (1991) in his study on the entrepreneurs from Bengal and Eastern India identifies two sets of forces. One set is represented on the plane of entrepreneurial autonomy by qualities of individualism, social conditioning, and the propensity to exploit structural
opportunities. The second set of forces is made up of structural determinants such as religion, culture, and socio-political conditions. Gupta points out that, "In spite of waves of historical influences and unfettered interaction with other major religions, entrepreneurs from Eastern India remain acutely conscious of their culture. Some are increasingly impassioned about their regional identity" (1991:135).

Singer (1956 and 1966), Srinivas (1958) and Goheen (1958) revealed the capacity of Hinduism to adapt to changing conditions. The above scholars have refuted the presumptions that the traditional elements in Indian society come in the way of modernisation and development. The modernisation process in a society and culture should be seen in its totality. Some (Rodan (1966); Whartan (1966); Wellisz, (1966); and Gerschenkron (1966)) argued that economic performance is closely linked to a broad range of human life. Economic achievement is directly tied to the spirit of modernising industry, agriculture technology and entrepreneurship of a people, and the nature and policies of the government.

What mattered most in the origins of entrepreneurship among the Meiji, Japan, was the new ideology and new system of values that each man had to absorb. These entrepreneurs had to be men of new era. Though capital was supplied, it was the necessary change in ideology or values facilitated by certain key factors that marked the features of entrepreneurial history during the Meiji
regime in Japan. The dissatisfaction at home led these men to leave home and become economically uprooted. Thus, they were compelled to get accustomed to a learning process, which became a vehicle for the new ideas and an aid in grasping the complexities of the enterprise system. The conducive bureaucratic atmosphere stemmed from their sharing of a common task with the entrepreneurs made them to mould themselves as entrepreneurs (Hirschmeier, 1971). However, Yamamura (1971) argues that such viewpoints are hardly supportable when a closer examination is made of the behaviour, decisions, and motivations of the leading Meiji entrepreneurs. Therefore, he calls for including the more globally acceptable profit incentive as a principal determinant of entrepreneurial behaviour of the early Meiji years.

Mayor (1961) provides a basis for understanding the role of the Indians in Fiji, where he studied the role of associations. He shows that the economic, religious and political activities of these associations as well as the degree to which a man participates in these activities when the primordial factors - such as neighbourhoods, kinsmen, or people with same occupation, religion, caste or cultural background - are in common. But there is a factor underlying all these is entrepreneurship, which prompts one to exploit the above factors.

Traditional norms and institutional patterns of Indian society are not considered to be conducive for introducing modern technology that influences occupational structure and
entrepreneurship, thus affecting changes in socio-economic status of the people. On the contrary, Seth (1979) points out that the flexible nature of Indian traditions furthers this change. He argues that, in fact, entrepreneurs perceive it easier to move from the moral agricultural nexus to modern industrial work.

Nandy (1973) observed a differential entrepreneurial success in two communities having modern and traditional outlook, respectively. He observed that the entrepreneurial exposures - through primordial ties, aspects of personal modernity, extent of participation in high culture of societies and other motives as listed in other entrepreneurial studies - in an enterprising community contribute substantially to entrepreneurship.

The entrepreneurial skills are highly streamlined in the homogenous groups and ethnic links have led some individuals to shift from family management to professional management (Papanek, 1971; Timberg, 1978; and Nafziger, 1978). According to Harris (1971), entrepreneurial success in migrant minority groups is linked to geographic, occupational and social mobility. Kasdon analyses the patterns of entrepreneurship among the Basque rural community and points out how social structure, which includes family structure, migration, etc., moulds a person entrepreneurially. Commenting on the social bases of entrepreneurship, Kasdon observed that, "Socialization influences adult behaviour, but how one is socialized is limited and influenced by the institutional arrangements of his society."
Institutional factors may cause peoples socialized by the same practices to have quite different personalities" (1971: 237).

Moving away from the functionalist idea of bounded groups (factories or neighbourhods), which always looked at the systems of relations as something working towards a kind of balance, and from the over-simplifications of the transactional theory, Holmstrom (1976) attempted to develop anthropology of factory workers in India from a more dialectical account of industrial workers' situation. Keeping in view the changed values and social relations in the factory, he interpreted that the tradition of choice and equality is becoming central, because it is more relevant to the situation and aspirations of new classes or kinds of people. Further, he observed that, "a hierarchical, organic tradition, which was dominant, is becoming marginal instead" (1976: 136). Thus, in the present changed scenario, entrepreneurial opportunities cut across the traditional boundaries. However, in enterprises where the traditional callings have a bearing, the castes with those traditional callings will have an advantage over the others. In this context, the observation of Ramu and Sivaprasad (1981) is quite apt. They point out that, in case of migrations of people to urban centres, in the absence of any skills, the traditional caste occupations act as portable kits.

Entrepreneurship conjoins several other key variables that link the socio-cultural milieu with the degree of economic development. In his detailed survey on Indian entrepreneurship,
Nafziger (1971) observed that despite the impediments to mobility due to the caste system, there are certain dynamic elements in Indian social structure that allow for the rate of entrepreneurial participation. Similarly, he considers the Indian joint family as a unit of entrepreneurship, as it supplies the necessary managerial and financial resources for business operations. Also when the joint family as a unit of several members provide the entrepreneur with networks, this can determine the access to credit and opportunities for mobility in entrepreneurial endeavours. Further, as a part of the approaches to future studies on Indian entrepreneurship he considers the need for studies on analysis of markets for entrepreneurs and other productive resources.

Umamohan and Rao in their study stated that, "Entrepreneurial skill does not spring, as many think, from the pedestal of education, occupational background, or caste; nor does it depend on age or previous experience to attain success in an industrial activity. Technical skill and knowledge may help an individualist to shine at his helm; but, at Grass-root level, it is not a must. People with little or no experience also shown their mettle in running their industries with good results" (1987:13-14).

Altuf (1983) touched upon the aspect of human factor in industrialisation in entrepreneurial studies. He examined the origins and occupations of the entrepreneurs and found that aspects such as power, prestige, self-confidence and informal contacts play a significant role in entrepreneurial development
Murthy's (1988 and 1989) study of entrepreneurship in two small towns, Gudiwada and Anakapalle in Andhra Pradesh, was aimed at identifying the socio-economic origins of the entrepreneurs emerging in small towns and the forces that led to create an entrepreneur. He also examined the occupational and geographic mobility of the entrepreneurs through generations. He concluded that, "the hold of caste structure on occupation in India is getting loosened throwing the doors of entrepreneurial opportunities wide open to people who are willing to take risks irrespective of their caste origins" (1989: 215).

Bose (1975:194-95) highlights how the locational advantages are utilised for the expansion of traditional industry in Katwa village of West Bengal. He stated that a village being situated on riverside with a port, roads radiated into the surrounding industrial town motivated the weavers to strengthen their occupational benefits. They could establish links to the markets suitable for buying yarn and also for disposing of their products to wholesalers. He remarked that such an accommodation of occupational status to the changed situation was possible only with entrepreneurial skills.

Ethnic migrant populations are, mostly, said to be successful entrepreneurs. Contrary to this view, Khanka (1990) has observed that the participation of outsiders in entrepreneurship is always smaller. He states the locational disadvantages play a key role in keeping the new comers low in entrepreneurial success.
Entrepreneurship depends not only on the socio-cultural setting but even depends on the way the community is organised into cooperative effort to achieve a greater participation in the enterprise. This can be seen in the study made by Chang (1971), who has highlighted the technological and institutional changes centering on the development of the local fishing industry in a Japanese Island community. According to him, the technological change involved wide acceptance of innovative elements, which have direct bearing upon modernisation of fishing techniques for local fishermen and fishing operations of the community, as a whole. He concluded that the socio-economic consciousness of modernisation, besides playing a key role in reshaping the local fishing operations and the economy, have led to a greater involvement of the local population in all spheres of socio-economic affairs. Effective readjustment to local social conditions and the fishing industry was accomplished by the cooperative. Further, he stated that, "While imposing changes on the local scene, the fishing co-operative has adjusted to changing economic conditions with less difficulty than have individual kin groups, even though the basic fishing operation clings to the traditional mode of the household unit" (1971:168).

A number of aspiring entrepreneurs, who have learnt their entrepreneurial skills in small-scale industries, have risen to the level of corporate managers. The small-scale entrepreneurs are susceptible to forces promoting a commercial orientation rather
than production orientation. Van Der Veen (1976) felt that this is due to the fact that their enterprises are generally material intensive and that the opportunity costs of searching for inexpensive material inputs are low. He called for an appropriate policy formulation by the Indian government to meet the situation.

Padmini Swaminathan (1994) presented data on private industry in Tamil Nadu in order to reflect the ability and capability of entrepreneurship in the performance of private sector after the introduction of economic reforms in the country. Kanitkar's study (1994) is based on quantitative data, which discusses the emergence of successful entrepreneurs and owners of micro-enterprises in rural India. He examined the socio-economic profile of the entrepreneurs and their motivation for shifting from agriculture-based occupation to non-farm activities. He observed that the informal apprenticeship arrangement became useful and valuable in this case, irrespective of their traditional backgrounds.

Effective management systems and other economic factors are generally highlighted in several studies on entrepreneurship. But the influence of external factors like environment cannot be ignored in entrepreneurial success. Tandon (1975) focussed his study in this direction. According to him, the business executive should study the nature and character of control over the enterprise exercised by the environment. He emphasised that an entrepreneur should try to adjust to the conditions prevailing and
thus influencing the environment in order to make it congenial and favourable for developing an enterprise.

Rating the performance of a firm on the basis of its low price and high quality of production is not sufficient but the competitive spirit of it can be rated keeping in view the incentives and innovations adopted by the management. Sen (1996) calls these factors as entrepreneurship. He customarily distinguishes between different production processes of a firm, viz., i) basic research, ii) applied research, iii) development and iv) diffusion. He entrusted greater importance to the last point, which, according to him, is the spread of innovations throughout the industry.

The agricultural innovation becomes uniquely specific to each farm and hence it stays with each entrepreneur farmer because it is a specialised and individual attribute of each farm, which cannot be brought in the market. Also, while industrial entrepreneurship can be transferred from one firm to another without much loss of entrepreneurial talents, agricultural entrepreneurship is not transferable, as it is farm-specific, location-specific and product-specific. At the outset, Kalirajan and Shand (1994) proposed a method for measuring the entrepreneurial abilities of farmers differentiating these from their managerial abilities.

Heredero (1979) gives an entirely different understanding about the agricultural entrepreneurs. He considers that, an
agricultural entrepreneur is the one who brakes with outdated and insufficient farming technology and adopts a better and more productive one. He concluded that the agriculture entrepreneurs are the farmers who introduce better agricultural technology, and also institutional changes, effecting changes in socio-economic structure of the village. He favours realisation of co-operative philosophy to streamline the entrepreneurial activity among all the farmers in a village.

Entrepreneurship is just an innovation or capacity to adapt to the situations. The work of Swamy (1988) is purported to assess the thrust of entrepreneurial farmers in coastal Andhra Pradesh, who have settled down in the command areas of major irrigation projects in the State. In this empirically tested study, he brought into light the socio-economic factors in post-independent India, which ushered a new era in irrigation development and the consequent migration of enterprising farmers to the command areas of such irrigation projects. He remarks that the entrepreneurial act is indispensable for the growth and development of any society, irrespective of whether the field of activity pertains to industry or agriculture or something else, for the transformation of traditional forms into a modern one becomes impracticable without entrepreneurial ability.

Entrepreneurial spirit guides an individual towards success despite many difficulties. Nabi’s (1988: 156) study on individual entrepreneurs in agriculture machinery industry highlighted the
above aspects. He stated that these entrepreneurs could succeed despite their lack of any effective access to the economic institutions in the larger society and even without any encouragement from the government institutions. Nandapurkar (1982) felt that the entrepreneurial behaviour, and thus entrepreneurial development, among the small farmers could be achieved by means of educational programmes.

Attwood (1993) discussed about commercial peasantry and the enterprising peasantry, the two classes among the peasants. He explains about how peasants built a new political economy to suit their own interests. He observed that the existing qualities such as sophisticated economic and political skills, risk abilities and survival strategies make them enter into the commercial economy. In other words, they consciously evolve skills and strategies to cope with risk, to broaden and diversify their economic base, to take advantage of new opportunities.

Entrepreneurship is an undisputed factor in economic development, even though it's trends vary from free economy to that of a regulated economy. But at a time when almost all countries are following the line of open market economy they started hastening the process of economic development through industrialisation. In this regard Mishra (1990) studied the efforts of the government to develop entrepreneurship in underdeveloped region - Bihar. He remarked about various monetary and non-monetary incentives like the development of infrastructure,
assistance in marketing and procuring raw materials, providing finance or granting subsidies on investment in its venture to create an atmosphere conducive for the entrepreneurs.

Many scholars also have agreed upon the need for urgent research on entrepreneurial development. Thus, while Akhouri and Bhattacharjee (1979) have presented a strategy for selecting the entrepreneurs, i.e., beneficiaries in government-sponsored schemes, on the basis of available experiences outlining the characteristics of entrepreneurs. This type of contention mainly reflects the view that the main objective of entrepreneurship is to contribute to the development of the society by developing the persons who perform entrepreneurial roles. The selection of persons for performing entrepreneurial roles depend on how the given society (in which the entrepreneur has to operate) is perceived for social development.

Staley and Morse (1971) called for an action programme for developing entrepreneurship. The factors of this programme included good environment setting, good government, an expanding economy, human resources development, natural resources development, basic utilities and services, laws, regulations, and procedures for small-scale entrepreneurship. Chakravarthy (1987) has discussed the present status and emerging priorities in entrepreneurship development programme. He highlighted the wide variety of self-employment programmes for different target groups, involvement of organisations in conducting
the development programmes; efforts of the Department of Science and Technology and Government of India, etc., as the main features of entrepreneurship development programme in India.

Mathai (1979) hypothesises that the reassuring circumstances and developing individual capabilities of reducing perceived risks are important to emphasise in a study of success of rural entrepreneurs. The circumstances, according to Mm, include studying technical training, counselling, financial aspects, and also the preparedness of a group within which mutually reinforcing individuals exist. This means that a study of preparing the entrepreneur to manage the social relations should take into consideration the social structure.

Richard P. Taub and Doris L Taub (1989) have highlighted certain key elements that characterise successful entrepreneurs in many ways. They stated that the entrepreneurship differed in three states - Tamil Nadu, Orissa and Punjab - despite the level of developed technology and degree of modernity or traditionalism in orientation.

The socio-economic development of a country cannot be fully realised so long as its women are confined to a subordinate position and their talents are unexplored. Azad (1988) felt the necessity to develop the latent skills of entrepreneurship in women, especially rural women. Rani (1986) in her study on potential women entrepreneurs reiterates that entrepreneurs are made and
not born. She emphasised that entrepreneurship can be planned and developed by providing appropriate environment. Further, she observed that right type of training also decides a person in knowing details regarding incentives, lending institutions, product technology, demand, preparation of project, profits, etc.

Azad (1988) defines that an entrepreneur is a person who has all enterprising quality with use of opportunities and an uncanny vision, commercial acumen and above all, a person who is willing to take risks because of the adventurous spirit within. He applied these qualities to women entrepreneurs also and states that the entrepreneurship among the women could be developed through proper training and also should keep in view the family resistance and social constraints for establishing themselves as independent entrepreneurs.

III

The number of studies reviewed above has shown how the socio-economic, cultural and psychological factors tend to develop or retard entrepreneurial performance. Most of them being economic and managerial, they focussed on economic and managerial perspective in entrepreneurial success/failure.

Some studies have highlighted the psychological reasons; that is, an intermediating psychological motive (the need for achievement) is introduced as a determining factor in
entrepreneurship. The studies that have emphasised sociological point of view have dwelled upon macro-structural aspects. Microcosmic studies with anthropological insights are scant [except for the studies by Firth (1967), Barth (1960), Singer (1967) Geertz (1967a and 1967b) and Epstein (1964)] in the literature on entrepreneurship. By and large, most of the studies are based on the nature of industrial man in industrial-urban societies, neglecting the small-scale/cottage based enterprises.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:

Adding to the above reasons, taking note of the research gaps, the present study investigates into the dynamics of entrepreneurship among the village based weaving communities from an anthropological perspective. Studies on entrepreneurship are mainly in the areas of peasant and large-scale industrial societies. Studies on the traditional artisan castes and then-entrepreneurial potential were scanty. Hence, our study makes an attempt to understand the dynamics of entrepreneurship among the handloom weavers of Gudekal village, who were affiliated to the Yemmiganur Weaver's Co-operative Society (YWCS), in Andhra Pradesh. In this village, weaving is a cottage industry undertaken by both the traditional and non-traditional weaver caste/community members.

NEED FOR A STUDY AMONG HANDLOOM WEAVERS:

An entrepreneur takes advantage of the primordial attachments and in turn acts as a catalyst in organising the local
resources. In other words, an entrepreneur streamlines his ideas into the group to which he belongs, gets the cooperation of his fellow members and makes the entrepreneurship an integral part of the particular social structure, which, in turn, nurtures the entrepreneurial abilities in the society. Particularly, in a situation like handloom weaving a small scale entrepreneur has to take on himself/herself, the roles of both the technician and the manager. Hence, to understand the dynamics of entrepreneurship among the handloom weavers, an in-depth analysis of entrepreneurial performance from an anthropological perspective is imminent. Further, identification and examination of the role of social institutions - family, kinship, marriage etc., - could help in providing an insight into the influence of structure upon entrepreneurship in a particular society.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE:

Our study considers that in case of community-based enterprises, traditional factors play a significant role in entrepreneurial development. In order to survive in the market the traditional enterprises adapt to the changing circumstances. Thus they become continuously innovative in the process of adapting to new challenges. In other words, tradition, in small/cottage based enterprises, strengthens and adds to the entrepreneurial dynamics.

In our study entrepreneurs are regarded as those who have the ability and try to achieve something in the profession against all odds. A successful entrepreneur is one who makes use of different
resources - professional, technical, social and cultural - and moves up in the entrepreneurial hierarchy/ladder. In the present study Master Weavers, Independent Weavers and Middlemen Weavers are considered as entrepreneurs. Hired Weavers are not treated as entrepreneurs.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:
1. The first objective of the study was to understand the structure and organisation of YWCS, it focuses on social and cultural bases in the formation and sustenance of YWCS. The study attempts to understand the entrepreneurial dynamics of YWCS in the process of its growth to the present level.
2. The Study attempts to analyse the profiles of weaving castes/communities in Gudekal. The study also attempts to highlight the differential performance of weavers from diverse backgrounds.
3. The present study also explores the role of primordial factors in promoting entrepreneurial qualities among the traditional weaver castes. In this regard, the study focuses on how a successful entrepreneur would make use of different resources - cultural, social, professional and technical - to move up in entrepreneurial ladder.
4. The study emphasises on how the traditional background of weavers promotes entrepreneurship performance among them. It attempts to understand the weavers' life from the
standpoint of socialisation practices, family pattern, marriage, rituals, etc., and their role in the promotion of entrepreneurship.

METHODOLOGY:

The study concentrated only on handloom weaving communities in the study village. To facilitate the study and to obtain data with a scientific rigour, qualitative anthropological techniques or methods of fieldwork were employed.

The data for the present study were collected with the help of participant observation, informal in-depth interviews using detailed check lists, key informant interviews, case studies and census schedules. Data pertaining to the process of weaving, agriculture and other activities, rituals - including life cycle rituals, calendrical festivals, fairs, folklore, disputes, transactions, etc., were collected through the use of participant observation and informal discussions. Participation in Caste meetings (see Plate 1.1) and YWCS board meetings, helped in collecting details regarding weaving and the factors that are responsible for the sustenance of the enterprise in the region.

Census of Weavers:

Census schedules were used as an entry point in rapport establishment with weaver families. Rapport established at this stage became useful to gather basic data pertaining to demographic, economic and social aspects, which served as a
background for the entire study. This was collected through a house-to-house census of weaver families covering socio-economic aspects, such as caste, religion, literacy, educational background, etc.

Interviews:

The socio-economic data, and also data relating to entrepreneurial aspects among weavers, were collected through in-depth interviews using a detailed checklist. Data on caste organisations, YWCS activities were collected through informal interviews with the weaver members and YWCS officials. Matters relating to weavers' cultural and ethical conceptions, which are considered to be crucial for the study, were also gathered through informal interviews.

Establishing Rapport:

The major objective of the stay in the study village, during fieldwork, was to establish and solidify rapport with the villagers. Rapport building in the beginning was planned through informal talks. The lifestyle, social categories in the village, problems related to their economy, health, etc., were discussed in the informal talks with them. These informal talks included group discussions with people gathered at tea shops, YWCS and gram Chavadi, etc.

As the fieldwork began in the month of January, most of the people in the village, other than weavers, were found free from agricultural works and they could be easily approached in the
above centres and also at the places where they were playing cards. The Chariot festival celebrated in the name of Sri Neelakanteswara Swamy in Yemmiganur, which took place in the month of January that year helped in building a better rapport with the weavers. All communities/castes in the village celebrate this month long occasion during which they invite friends and relatives for dinner, etc. This occasion is more important especially for the traditional weavers. This occasion helped the researcher to identify with many weavers in the village.

Since the study area was approached through higher level officials of Directorate of Handlooms and Textiles, the researcher received warm hospitality. Initially, YWCS officials provided accommodation in Yemmiganur town. As they were not aware of the anthropological kind of work, they expected the researcher to live in their guest house at Yemmiganur, since it is only 3 kilometres away from the study village, Gudekal. As the basic purpose of participant observation is to obtain data through direct contact by participating among the people, help was sought from YWCS to find accommodation in the study village. As observed by Florence Kluckhohn, "In terms of specific situations in which the distortion that results from the investigators being an outside agent is reduced to the minimum" (1940: 2) because of the stay in the village.

However, it was realised that staying in the guest house for a few days helped in establishing closer ties with the neighbours -
such as designers, accountants, auditors related to YWCS - who were living adjacent to the guest house. Discussions and hours long informal talks with them during nights made the researcher to understand the status of YWCS, which also happen to be one of the objectives of the present study. Faying utmost attention to what they said, helped in winning their goodwill. As they were closely associated with the governing body of the YWCS - Administrator, Chairman, Secretary, etc., - they carried the same impression about the researcher to them. This helped in obtaining official records regarding year-wise members and balance sheet showing the financial details and other matters related to YWCS.

Key Informant Interviews:

Key informants were identified from among different types of weavers across different weaver castes/communities. Key informants were identified after developing sufficient rapport with the respondents. The key informant interviews provided quite useful information, which was later cross-checked with the other weaver informants.

Case study Method:

Van Velsen (1967) prefers to call this method as 'situational analysis'. According to him by this method the ethnographer not only presents the reader with abstractions and inferences from his field material but also provides him some of the material itself. This puts the reader in a better position to evaluate the ethnographer's analysis not only on the basis of the internal
consistency of the argument but also by comparing the ethnographic data with the inferences drawn from them. While discussing the use of Extended Case Method, Max Gluckman (1967: 10) states that the most fruitful use of cases consists in taking a series of specific incidents affecting the same persons or groups through a long period of time, and showing how these incidents are related to the development and change of social relations among these persons and groups, acting within the framework of their social system and culture.

In this background, case studies of Master Weavers in silk, influential persons in weaving profession, Independent Weavers, Hired Weavers, Weavers Working under Master Weavers, Middlemen Weavers, destitute women, etc., were collected. They provided an insight into the role of kin, caste and other primordial factors in entrepreneurship in the study village.

Besides the above, secondary data from the following sources were also collected:

Data from Secondary Sources:
- Census records of the village, census data covering ethnographic details of the village was obtained from MDO.
- Data on land ownership was obtained from the Village Administrative Officer (VAO). Also data relating to the size of cultivation units, ownership of livestock, bullock carts, and agricultural machinery was also obtained. Much of the data in this
regard was obtained from the village records available with the VAO and Village Development Officer (VDO).

- Data from the proceedings of caste meetings, souvenirs and booklets published on caste mythology of traditional weaving communities were collected.
- The YWCS reports and annual reports showing the status of YWCS, extent of its membership, balance sheets, by-laws, etc., were also collected from YWCS.

Finally the data from different sources were verified from a cross section of weavers and other resource persons in the village, for authenticity.

**TABLE 1.1: Tools used for primary data collection**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Data</th>
<th>Name of the Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Members of YWCS</td>
<td>Master Weavers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board Members of Administrative Staff of YWCS</td>
<td>Independent Weavers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers and Union members of YWCS</td>
<td>Weavers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>Working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton Weavers</td>
<td>Under Master Weaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Processed workers</td>
<td>Middlemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>Working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key Informants Interview</td>
<td>Hired silk weavers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case studies</td>
<td>Weavers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caste meetings</td>
<td>Hired cotton weavers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board meetings of YWCS</td>
<td>Non-hired cotton weavers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>Others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE STUDY AREA:

The study area, Yemmiganur, has been a centre for the variety and quality of cotton products, and it has carved a place for itself in the Indian handloom industry. A well-established and popular cooperative society, the Yemmiganur Weavers' Cooperative Society (YWCS) has brought this handloom industry in Kurnool district into limelight. The members of the YWCS are among the best organised in the handloom industry and they also enjoy the benefits of ideal cooperative society in terms of working capital, marketing, technical guidance and other welfare measures. The society has been very popular and exemplary through decades for its good standards. Its popularity is basically due to the well-knit social solidarity of the weavers in the area.

There are six branches of YWCS in and around Yemmiganur. They are Kosigi, Gudekal, Yemmiganur, Nandavaram, Nagaladinne and Gonegandla. Amongst these, Gudekal is the most prominent village having large number of weavers from diverse communities involved in weaving. Also, it is one of the oldest branches of YWCS.

A few castes in this area are deeply attached to the weaving occupation. The weavers who are confined to this occupation can be categorised into a) traditional and b) non-traditional. Kinship plays a very significant role in this occupation. As a result of this industry, the weavers in this area have established a wide range of social networks based on filial and affinal relationships. This
attachment and the industry's expansion converted the area into "one of the quickly developed and mostly industrialized taluks in the district" (Gazetteer, 1974).

Selection of the Village:

The study village, Gudekal, is situated in the Yemmiganur Mandal of Kurnool district in Andhra Pradesh. It is three kilometres away from the South of Yemmiganur, the Mandal headquarters. Also, it is 25 kilometres away from Mantralavam, a popular Hindu pilgrimage centre. The area of the village is 1530.92 square kilometres. This village was selected on the basis of following factors:

1. It has a sizeable number of weaver families, traditional and non-traditional. This provided us a good opportunity to understand the social relationships among and between the traditional and non-traditional weaving castes. In other words, it would be interesting to know how this occupation binds various sections of the village together, both socially and culturally.

2. The village has a YWCS branch, which is one among the six other branches.

3. The village was one to respond quickly to silk weaving after the crisis in cotton yarn supply that arose in the early 80s in YWCS.
Before undertaking a full-fledged fieldwork, a pilot survey was conducted in the area to select a village for the purpose of our study. Once the selection procedure to finalise the study village was completed, the full-length fieldwork was undertaken for one year during 1996-97. As a first step, a household survey of the weaving communities in Gudekal was conducted to construct socio-economic profile of these categories. This helped in getting the size of the weavers among the traditional and non-traditional categories.

Based on the household schedules of weavers, weavers from both traditional and non-traditional castes/communities were grouped under two categories. They are 1) Cotton Weavers, and 2) Silk Weavers. Cotton weavers were further categorised into two types - i) owners working on YWCS looms, and ii) weavers working on hired looms. Silk weavers were divided into three categories based on the nature of their work and ownership of looms. They are 1) Master Weavers, 2) Independent Weavers, and 3) Weavers Working under Master Weavers. There are two types among Weavers Working under Master Weavers - a) Middlemen Weavers and b) Non-middlemen Weavers. The above categorisation has helped in identifying persons for in-depth interviewing, case studies, key informant interviews, etc (Table 1.1).

Chapter Scheme:

The present study is organised into seven chapters. The first chapter, Introduction, includes a review of the available studies
conducted both in India and abroad on entrepreneurship. The chapter provides certain conceptual clarifications regarding entrepreneurship. In general, this chapter attempts to develop a perspective on entrepreneurship among handloom weavers. Apart from this, objectives, selection of study area, methodology adopted for the study is also discussed in this chapter.

The second chapter deals with the profile of the study area/village. General features regarding climate, flora and fauna, economic organisation, social organisation of the village, and other ethnographic aspects are discussed in this chapter.

The third chapter analyses cooperatives in general, and the structure and organisation of Yemmiganur Weavers' Cooperative Society (YWCS) in particular. The structure of weaving industry in the study area and the situation of weavers before the formation of YWCS, etc., are discussed in detail in this chapter. It also traces the developments that led to the formation of YWCS. This chapter also analyses the role of caste and kinship in the emergence and growth of YWCS. As a response to modernisation, it attempts to analyse, how the YWCS has evolved from a remote labour intensive to capital intensive kind of cooperative. This chapter highlights the entrepreneurial dynamics of YWCS and its leadership.

The fourth chapter deals with the structure of weaving castes/communities. This chapter analyses the links between the process of weaving and social structure. As a part of this exercise,
the social background of the weaving communities and different categories among Cotton and Silk Weavers is analysed in this chapter. To get a better understanding of entrepreneurship, the process of weaving in relation to social and cultural factors of the communities involved is discussed in this chapter.

An attempt is made to observe the influence of social and cultural bases on entrepreneurship among weaving communities in the fifth chapter. This throws light on the role of primordial factors in entrepreneurial performance. Besides, it would also highlight the role of primordiality in switching over to silk weaving from cotton weaving in the village. It tries to show how marital alliances and kinship networks have helped entrepreneurship in certain traditional weaving castes, who, in turn, diffused it to the other weaver castes/communities in introducing new products (e.g. silk weaving) in the village. Particularly, how the emergence of master weaving has helped in developing a commercial networking system between entrepreneurs and suppliers of raw material on one hand and between entrepreneurs and consumers on the other is discussed in this chapter.

Our concern in the sixth chapter is to analyse the culture of weaving. The role of tradition, customs and values and their impact on the differentiation among different weaving castes/communities in weaving enterprise is the focus in this chapter. This chapter also provides a discussion on the role of life-
cycle rituals, socialisation, family, folklore, religious performances, etc., in maintaining weaving traditions and in promoting entrepreneurship among different castes/communities.

A summary of the findings and conclusions are presented in the last chapter. Apart from summarising the findings, this chapter points out to the contribution of our study to the anthropological literature on entrepreneurship, in general, and handloom weaving communities, in particular. The concluding chapter has policy implications for occupations based cooperatives, in general, and weavers cooperatives in particular. This chapter also points out the kind of further research that is needed in the field of entrepreneurship in anthropology.